THE ROYAL INSCRIPTIONS OF SENNACHERIB,
KING OF ASSYRIA (704–681 BC),
PART 1
THE ROYAL INSCRIPTIONS OF THE NEO-ASSYRIAN PERIOD

EDITORIAL BOARD

Grant Frame (Philadelphia)
   Director and Editor-in-Chief

Barry L. Eichler (New York)
Erle Leichty (Philadelphia)
Karen Radner (London)
Steve Tinney (Philadelphia)

PROJECT CONSULTANTS

Robert K. Englund (Los Angeles)
   A. Kirk Grayson (Toronto)
   Simo Parpola (Helsinki)

Volumes Published

1 The Royal Inscriptions of Tiglath-pileser III (744–727 BC)
   and Shalmaneser V (726–722 BC), Kings of Assyria
   HAYIM TADMOR and SHIGEO YAMADA

4 The Royal Inscriptions of Esarhaddon, King of Assyria (680–669 BC)
   ERLE LEICHTY
The Royal Inscriptions of Sennacherib, King of Assyria (704–681 BC), Part 1

A. Kirk Grayson and Jamie Novotny
ana W.G. Lambert† rab ṭupšarri
This page intentionally left blank.
Contents

Detailed Table of Contents ............................................................... viii
List of Figures ..................................................................................... x
Contents of Scores .............................................................................. xi
Foreword .............................................................................................. xiii
Preface ................................................................................................. xv
Editorial Notes ................................................................................... xvii
Bibliographical Abbreviations ............................................................ xix
Other Abbreviations ........................................................................... xxvii
Object Signatures ............................................................................... xxix

Introduction ......................................................................................... 1

I. Assyria

   Nineveh
      Cylinders — Nos. 1–13 ................................................................. 29
      Octagonal prisms — Nos. 14–18 ............................................... 87
      Hexagonal prisms — Nos. 19–26 .............................................. 161
      Miscellaneous prisms — Nos. 27–33 ...................................... 211
      Stone Tablets — Nos. 34–37 ..................................................... 219
      Steles — No. 38 ..................................................................... 237

Minor Variants and Comments .......................................................... 243
Index of Museum Numbers .............................................................. 249
Index of Excavation Numbers .......................................................... 255
Index of Names ................................................................................ 257
Concordances of Selected Publications ........................................... 265
Scores of Inscriptions (on CD-ROM) .................................................. 1–411

   (the CD-ROM is in an envelope at the back of the book)
## Detailed Table of Contents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Pages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Introduction</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>I. Assyria</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nineveh</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cylinders</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. 1 — First Campaign Cylinder</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. 2</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. 3 — Bellino Cylinder</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. 4 — Rassam Cylinder</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. 5</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. 6</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. 7</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. 8</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. 9</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. 10</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. 11</td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. 12</td>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. 13</td>
<td>86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Octagonal prisms</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. 14</td>
<td>87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. 15 — “Cylinder C”</td>
<td>89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. 16 — “Cylinder D”</td>
<td>106</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. 17 — King/Heidel Prism</td>
<td>125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. 18</td>
<td>146</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hexagonal prisms</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. 19</td>
<td>161</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. 20</td>
<td>164</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. 21</td>
<td>165</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. 22 — Chicago/Taylor Prism</td>
<td>167</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. 23 — Jerusalem Prism</td>
<td>186</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. 24</td>
<td>203</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. 25</td>
<td>206</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. 26</td>
<td>208</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miscellaneous prisms</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. 27</td>
<td>211</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. 28</td>
<td>213</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. 29</td>
<td>214</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. 30</td>
<td>215</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. 31</td>
<td>216</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. 32</td>
<td>217</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>Description</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>--------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>Stone Tablets</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No. 34 — Nebi Yunus Inscription</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No. 35 — Ungnad/Winckler Fragments</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No. 36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No. 37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38</td>
<td>Steles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No. 38 — Royal Road Inscription</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
List of Figures

Figure 1. Plan of Kuyunjik ca. 640 ................................................................. 16
Figure 2. Plan of Nineveh ................................................................. 19
Figure 3. BM 113203 (text no. 1 ex. 1), the First Campaign Cylinder of Sennacherib, which records the king’s first campaign and the construction of the “Palace Without a Rival” ........................................... 31
Figure 4. BM 22502 (text no. 3 ex. 1), the Bellino Cylinder of Sennacherib, which records two military campaigns and the construction of the “Palace Without a Rival” ......................................................... 50
Figure 5. BM 91032 (text no. 22 ex. 2), the Taylor Prism of Sennacherib, which records eight military campaigns and the rebuilding of two wings of the armory ......................................................... 171
Figure 6. Israel Museum 71.72.249 (text no. 23 ex. 1), the Jerusalem Prism of Sennacherib, which records eight military campaigns and the rebuilding of one wing of the armory ......................................................... 189
Figure 7. VA 3310 (text no. 35 ex. 1), obverse of a stone tablet of Sennacherib, probably from Nineveh ......................................................... 228
Figure 8. VA 3310 (text no. 35 ex. 1), reverse of a stone tablet of Sennacherib, probably from Nineveh ......................................................... 229
Figure 9. BM 124800 (text no. 38 ex. 2), one of the steles of Sennacherib that were erected along the fifty-cubit-wide royal road that ran through Nineveh ......................................................... 239
## Contents of Scores

(\textit{CD-ROM})

### I. Assyria

**Nineveh**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>First Campaign Cylinder</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Bellino Cylinder</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Rassam Cylinder</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
<td>125</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Octagonal prisms**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>&quot;Cylinder C&quot;</td>
<td>127</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>&quot;Cylinder D&quot;</td>
<td>184</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>King/Heidel Prism</td>
<td>276</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Hexagonal prisms**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>Chicago/Taylor Prism</td>
<td>346</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>Jerusalem Prism</td>
<td>402</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td></td>
<td>405</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td></td>
<td>406</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Stone Tablets**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>35</td>
<td>Ungnad/Winckler Fragments</td>
<td>410</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
This page intentionally left blank.
The present series of publications, Royal Inscriptions of the Neo-Assyrian Period (RINAP), is intended to present up-to-date editions of the royal inscriptions of a number of Neo-Assyrian rulers. It is modeled on the publications of the now-defunct Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia (RIM) series and will carry on where its RIMA (Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia, Assyrian Periods) publications ended. The RIM Project was initiated by A. Kirk Grayson at the University of Toronto in 1979 and over the years received extensive support from the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada, the University of Toronto, and private individuals, in particular Laurence Shiff. In all, it produced ten volumes in its various sub-series. Grayson retired from the University of Toronto in 2000 and a few years later found it necessary to cease scholarly pursuits due to personal and family illnesses. At that time, he handed over responsibility for the work of the project to me, formerly the assistant director and at times acting director of the RIM Project. When I took up a position at the University of Pennsylvania in 2006 and the last RIM volume (RIME 1 by Douglas R. Frayne) appeared in early 2008, the RIM Project officially ceased to exist. Work on several further volumes of inscriptions of Assyrian and Babylonian rulers had already begun during the time of the RIM Project and Grayson passed on responsibility for the materials and manuscripts to me. In 2007, I initiated the current project in order to continue the task of making the official inscriptions of the several important Neo-Assyrian rulers available in up-to-date, scholarly editions. While the volumes in the new series will resemble the format of the RIM volumes in most matters, the RINAP volumes will include indices of proper names, and editions of the texts will also be available online, in connection with the Cuneiform Digital Library Initiative (CDLI).

Two volumes have already appeared in this series: RINAP 1, comprising the inscriptions of Tiglath-pileser III and Shalmaneser V (begun by Hayim Tadmor and completed by his collaborator Shigeo Yamada), and RINAP 4, comprising the inscriptions of Esarhaddon (by Erle Leichty, with a contribution by Grant Frame). The royal inscriptions of Sennacherib will be presented in two parts, with the present volume being the first part (RINAP 3/1, by A. Kirk Grayson and Jamie Novotny); part two, also by Grayson and Novotny, is scheduled to appear in 2014. With the collaboration of Andreas Fuchs for two texts, I am preparing RINAP 2, the inscriptions of Sargon II. In addition, Jamie Novotny and Greta Van Buylaere are currently carrying out work on the inscriptions of Ashurbanipal and his successors Aššur-etel-ilāni and Šīn-šarra-iškun.

The National Endowment for the Humanities awarded the RINAP Project research grants in 2008, 2010, and 2012 to help carry out its work and my thanks must be expressed to it. My appreciation must also be extended to the University of Pennsylvania, where the project is based in the Babylonian Section of its Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology.
This page intentionally left blank.
Preface

The preparation of this book has taken far longer than expected partly because the number of inscriptions of Sennacherib has continued to increase at a pace commensurate with the passing of the decades since the inception of the project. The delay was compounded by the unexpected closure of the Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia (RIM) Project resulting in a long period when no research was done at all. Grant Frame, with the encouragement of Erle Leichty, rescued the Sennacherib project in 2007 when he founded the Royal Inscriptions of the Neo-Assyrian Period (RINAP) Project at the University of Pennsylvania with funding from the National Endowment for the Humanities. The authors are extremely grateful to Professors Frame and Leichty for their initiative.

While Kirk Grayson has been involved in research on Sennacherib since his graduate student days in the 1950s, active work on preparing the corpus of the complete royal inscriptions of this king only began in earnest under the auspices of the RIM Project in the 1980s. Lynne George and Hannes Galter, student assistants on the Project, began the systematic preparation of preliminary transliterations and bibliographies of some of the texts. When Grayson had completed RIMA 3, he personally took over work on the Sennacherib project in the mid-1990s and continued in that capacity until 2003 when family and illness forced him to stop. During that time, Grayson did the bulk of the research and collation of the texts of Sennacherib that were inscribed on clay cylinders, clay prisms, clay and stone tablets, stone horizontal prisms, and stone bull and lion colossi, preparing the transliterations, translations, scores, catalogues, introductions, commentaries, and bibliographies. In 2003, Grayson found it necessary to cease scholarly pursuits and thus work on the Sennacherib volumes was put on hold.

In 2008, when the last RIM volume appeared, the RIM Project officially ceased to exist and the fate of the Sennacherib inscriptions was in limbo. Grant Frame, however, was given responsibility for the materials and manuscripts. In 2008–2009, Matthew Rutz, the Project’s postdoctoral researcher, organized the numerous paper and electronic files, carefully assessed the material, especially the inscriptions from Aššur, made some preliminary notes on what work needed to be carried out, and collated several clay cylinders and prisms in the British Museum (London).

After Rutz took up a position at Brown University in 2009, Jamie Novotny took over responsibility for the Sennacherib texts. He reorganized and standardized the contents of the book, prepared the front and back material, collated further texts in the British Museum (London) and Vorderasiatisches Museum (Berlin), wrote the book’s introduction and most of the on-page notes, updated and expanded the existing commentaries and bibliographies, and finalized the editions and scores.

Work on the present corpus of texts necessitated extensive travel for collation of previously published inscriptions and for examination of unpublished material. The authors wish to thank the various museums and museum authorities that have cooperated in the preparation of this book. First, they would like to thank the directors, keepers, curators, and assistants of the Vorderasiatisches Museum (Berlin), Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago (Chicago), British Museum (London), Yale Babylonian Collection (New Haven), and Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York). Specifically, the authors express their gratitude to John Curtis, Walter Farber, Irving Finkel, Joachim Marzahn, Jonathan Taylor, and Christopher Walker. These individuals, and their staff, have been extremely helpful and have extended to us every courtesy and assistance. Secondly, they would like to thank the Trustees of the British Museum and the Vorderasiatisches Museum for allowing the RINAP Project to publish photographs of objects bearing Sennacherib inscriptions, and the British Institute for the Study of Iraq for giving permission to reproduce plans published in the journal Iraq.

As usual with a volume in this series, numerous individuals aided in the production of the volume in some
way. Since the preparation of this book has spanned more than two decades, it is impossible to name everyone who has contributed to RINAP 3/1 and thus any omissions is unintentional. While the authors have collated most of the texts themselves, other scholars have kindly collated some texts, provided information on pieces, or aided in some way. These include Jeremy Black, Eckart Frahm, Grant Frame, Douglas Frayne, Renee Gallery, Hannes Galter, Lynne George, Amir Harrak, Mikko Luukko, Alan Millard, John Russell, Julian Reade, Karen Radner, Matthew Rutz, Edmond Sollberger, David Stronach, and Christopher Walker.

In Toronto, during the RIM years, and later in Philadelphia, several individuals contributed to the technical preparation of the volume and they deserve credit for performing tedious and time-consuming tasks. For the Toronto stage of production, the authors offer their gratitude to Lynne George and Hannes Galter for preparing and entering the preliminary transliterations of some of the inscriptions, and to Hope Grau and Jill Ruby for performing various other tasks. For the Philadelphia stage of production, the authors would like to thank the postdoctoral researchers and student assistants who helped in the completion of the volume: Hezekiah Akiva Bacovcin, Matthew Rutz, Irene Sibbing Plantholt, Zackary Wainer, and especially Andrew Knapp. Last, but by no means least, special thanks must be given to Steve Tinney for undertaking the arduous task of generating the final camera-ready copy and converting and preparing the texts for the online version.

The penultimate manuscript was read by Nicholas Postgate, Greta Van Buylaere, and Martin Worthington, all of whom made numerous astute comments, welcome criticisms, and improvements, particularly on the transliterations and translations. In addition to providing valuable feedback, Martin Worthington kindly provided the RINAP Project with a near complete draft of his unpublished book Principles of Akkadian Textual Criticism. In addition, members of the RINAP editorial board and the project consultants offered helpful suggestions at various times near the completion of the volume. Their time, care, and generosity are greatly appreciated.

Wilfred Lambert, to whom this book is dedicated, had been asked to serve as a reader, but sadly passed away prior to reviewing the manuscript. Lambert served as a reader for all ten RIM volumes and the first two published RINAP volumes (RINAP 1 and RINAP 4). His critical feedback, which stemmed from his vast knowledge of Mesopotamian texts (published and unpublished) and secondary literature, always improved the books immensely. The authors would like to acknowledge here their gratitude to Wilfred Lambert not only for his time, service, and generosity to both the RIM and RINAP Projects, but also for his numerous contributions to the field of Assyriology.

The authors’ appreciation goes out once again to the National Endowment for the Humanities, the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada, the University of Toronto, the University of Pennsylvania, and several private individuals, in particular Laurence Shiff and Malcolm Horsnell, whose financial support allowed for their travel to the numerous museums cited above and provided the funding necessary for them to conduct the research in Sennacherib’s inscriptions and to publish this volume.

Last, but by no means least, the authors wish to record their gratitude for the ongoing support and encouragement of their families: Eunice Grayson¹, Vera and Sally Grayson, and six grandchildren; Denise Bolton, Robert and Diana Novotny, and Jennifer Novotny.

Toronto
Philadelphia
June 2012

A. Kirk Grayson
Jamie Novotny
Editorial Notes

The volumes in the RINAP series are modeled upon the publications of the now-defunct Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia (RIM) Project, with a few modifications, in particular the addition of indices of proper names. Like the RIM volumes, the volumes in this series are not intended to provide analytical or synthetic studies, but rather to provide basic text editions that can serve as the foundations for such studies. Thus, extensive discussions of the contents of the texts are not presented, and the core of each volume is the edition of the relevant texts.

In this volume, the order of the texts is based for the most part upon the following two criteria:

1. The city at which the structure dealt with in the building or dedicatory portion of the text was located. If that information is not preserved on the text, the provenance of the inscribed object is the determining factor.

2. The type of object upon which the inscription is written (prism, cylinder, tablet, etc.).

Following the practice of the RIM series, inscriptions that cannot be assigned definitely to a particular ruler are given text numbers beginning at 1001. Certain other inscriptions that provide information relevant for establishing royal names and titles (e.g. “servant seals”) and any composed in the name of another member of the royal family (e.g., royal wives) have been given numbers that begin at 2001.

In the volumes of the RINAP series, the term “exemplar” is employed to designate a single inscription found on one object. The term “text” is employed to refer to an inscription that existed in antiquity and that may be represented by a number of more or less duplicate exemplars. In these editions exemplars of one text are edited together as a “master text,” with a single transliteration and translation. Variants to the “master text” are provided either on page (major variants) or at the back of the volume (minor variants).

Each text edition is normally supplied with a brief introduction containing general information. This is followed by a catalogue containing basic information about all exemplars. This includes museum and excavation numbers (the symbol + is added between fragments that belong to the same object), provenance, dimensions of the object, lines preserved, and indication of whether or not the inscription has been collated (c = collated with the original, p = collated by means of a photograph, (p) = partially collated from a photograph; and n = not collated). The next section is normally a commentary containing further technical information and notes. The bibliography then follows. Items are arranged chronologically, earliest to latest, with notes in parentheses after each item. These notes indicate the exemplars with which the item is concerned and the nature of the publication, using the following key words: provenance, photo, copy, edition, translation, catalogue, and study. Certain standard reference works (e.g., the various volumes of “Keilschriftbibliographie” and “Register Assyriologie” published in Orientalia and Archiv für Orientforschung respectively; Borger, HKL 1–3; AHw; CAD; and Seux, ERAS) are not normally cited, although they were essential in the collecting and editing of these texts. While the bibliographies should contain all major relevant items, they are not necessarily totally exhaustive; a vast amount of scattered literature exists on many of the inscriptions edited in this volume and much of this literature is of only limited scholarly interest.

As noted earlier, a distinction is made between major and minor variants to a “master text”; the major variants are placed at the bottom of the page and the minor variants at the back of the book. In brief, major variants are essentially non-orthographic in nature, while minor variants are orthographic variations. Orthographic variants of proper names may at times be significant and thus on occasion these will also appear on the page as major variants. Complete transcriptions of all exemplars in the style of musical scores are found on the CD-ROMs accompanying the volumes and thus any reader who finds the notes on variants insufficient for his/her needs may check the full reading of any exemplar. Such scores, however, are not
normally given for bricks and seal inscriptions. Objects whose attribution to a particular text is not entirely certain are given exemplar numbers that are followed by an asterisk (*); for example, BM 134584 is regarded as text no. 1 ex. 1*, since it is uncertain that it is a duplicate of BM 113203 (text no. 1 ex. 1). Moreover, these exemplars are listed in separate catalogues (Catalogue of Uncertain Exemplars), beneath the main catalogue.

Seven photographs are included in this volume. The selection includes the best preserved inscriptions on clay cylinders and clay prisms, as well as a stele from Sennacherib’s royal road and a fragmentary stone tablet. The photographs are not intended to be exhaustive, but rather to show a few of the object types upon which Sennacherib’s inscriptions were written.

As is the normal practice for transliterating cuneiform inscriptions, lower case Roman is used for Sumerian and lower case italics for Akkadian; logograms in Akkadian texts appear in capitals. The system of sign values in Borger, Mesopotamisches Zeichenlexikon, is generally followed. Italics in the English translation indicate either an uncertain translation or a word in the original language. In general, the rendering of personal names follows the PNA; however, the names of Babylonian rulers follow the spelling used in RIMB 2.

There are several differences between the RIM and RINAP styles. Among these, the most notable is that all partially preserved or damaged signs, regardless of how they are broken, now appear between half brackets ([ and ]). Thus, no partially preserved sign has square brackets ([ and ]) inserted in its transliteration; for example, [DINGIR] and LUGAL KUR appear in the transliteration as 'DINGIR' and 'LUGAL KUR' respectively. This change was made to ensure compatibility of the online RINAP editions with the standards of the Open Richly Annotated Cuneiform Corpus (Oracc), the parent site and project where RINAP Online is housed. This change was implemented in the print version in order to present identical editions in RINAP 1 and RINAP Online. Note, however, that the translations may appear more damaged than their corresponding transliterations indicate, as the translations were prepared according to standard Assyriological practices; for example, ‘DINGIR’ (= [DINGIR]) and ‘LUGAL KUR’ (= LUGAL KUR) are translated as “[the god]” and “king [of the land],” and not “the god” and “king of the land.”

In addition to the indices of museum and excavation numbers and selected publications found in RIM volumes, the RINAP volumes also contain indices of proper names (personal names, topographical names and divine names). Online versions of the manuscripts are maintained by CDLI (Cuneiform Digital Library Initiative) and are fully searchable.

Philadelphia
June 2012
Grant Frame
Editor-in-Chief
Bibliographical Abbreviations

AAA Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology. Liverpool, 1908–48
Abel and Winckler, Keilschrifttexte L. Abel and H. Winckler, Keilschrifttexte zum Gebrauch bei Vorlesungen. Berlin, 1890
Animali E. Cingano, A. Gheretti, and L. Milano (eds.), Animali tra zoologia, mito e letteratura nella cultura classica e orientale. Venice, 2005
AnSt Anatolian Studies. London, 1951–
AoF Altorientalische Forschungen. Berlin, 1974–
Bagh. For. Baghdader Forschungen. Mainz am Rhein, 1979–
BAR The Biblical Archaeology Review. Washington, DC, 1975–
Beaulieu, Cat. P.-A. Beaulieu, Late Babylonian Texts in the Nies Babylonian Collection (=Catalogue of the Babylonian Collections at Yale 1). Bethesda, MD, 1994
BiAr The Biblical Archaeologist, New Haven, 1938
BiOr Bibliotheca Orientalis. Leiden, 1943–
Boh, Chrestomathy F.M.T. Böhl, Akkadisch Chrestomathy Volume 1: Selected Cuneiform Texts. Leiden, 1947
Böhl, MLVS F.M.T. Böhl, Mededelingen uit de Leidsche verzameling van spijkerschrift-inscripties, 3 vols. Amsterdam, 1933–36
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Publisher and Location</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Börker-Klähn, J.</td>
<td>Bildstelen</td>
<td>Mainz am Rhein, 1982</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Borger, R.</td>
<td>Die Inschriften Asarhaddons, Königs von Assyrien</td>
<td>Graz, 1956</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Budge, E.A.W.</td>
<td>By Nile and Tigris</td>
<td>(=Sources from the Ancient Near East 1/5). Malibu, 1978</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burstein, S.M.</td>
<td>The Babylonica of Berossus (=Sources from the Ancient Near East 1/5).</td>
<td>Malibu, 1978</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CAH^2 3/1</td>
<td>The Prehistory of the Balkans; and the Middle East and the Aegean World, Tenth to Eighth Centuries B.C. Cambridge, 1982</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CAH^2 3/2</td>
<td>The Assyrian and Babylonian Empires and Other States of the Near East, from the Eighth to the Sixth Centuries B.C. Cambridge, 1991</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CANE</td>
<td>Civilizations of the Ancient Near East, 4 vols.</td>
<td>New York, 1995</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CDA</td>
<td>A Concise Dictionary of Akkadian.</td>
<td>Wiesbaden, 1999</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Curtis, J.E.</td>
<td>Bronzeworking Centres of Western Asia c. 1000–539 B.C.</td>
<td>London, 1988</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Publisher</td>
<td>Title</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Donbaz and Grayson, RICCA</td>
<td>V. Donbaz and A.K. Grayson, Royal Inscriptions on Clay Cones from Ashur Now in Istanbul (=RIMS 1). Tokyo, 1984</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ebeling, BBK 1/2</td>
<td>E. Ebeling, Ein Bericht Sanheribs über seinen I. Feldzug (=BBK 1/2). Berlin, 1922</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Forrer, Provinz.</td>
<td>E. Forrer, Provinzeinteilung des assyrischen Reiches, Leipzig, 2000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frahm, KAL 3</td>
<td>E. Frahm, Historische und historisch-literarische Texte (=Keilschrifttexte aus Assur literarischen Inhalts 3). Wiesbaden, 2009</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frame, RIMB 2</td>
<td>G. Frame, Rulers of Babylonia from the Second Dynasty of Isin to the End of Assyrian Domination (1157–612 BC) (=RIMB 2). Toronto, 1995</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frayne, RIME 1</td>
<td>D.R. Frayne, Pre-Sargonic Period (2700–2350 BC) (=RIME 1). Toronto, 2008</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fuchs, Khorsabad</td>
<td>A. Fuchs, Die Inschriften Sargons II. aus Khorsabad. Göttingen, 1993</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glassner, Chronicles</td>
<td>J.-J. Glassner, Mesopotamian Chronicles (=Writings from the Ancient World 19). Atlanta, 2004</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gonçalves, L’Expédition de Sennacherib</td>
<td>F.J. Gonçalves, L’Expédition de Sennachérib en Palestine dans la littérature hébraïque ancienne (=Publications de l’Institut orientaliste de Louvain 34). Louvain, 1986</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grayson, Chronicles</td>
<td>A.K. Grayson, Assyrian and Babylonian Chronicles (=Texts from Cuneiform Sources 5). Locust Valley, NY, 1975</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gressmann, ATBAT</td>
<td>H. Gressmann (ed.), Altorientalische Texte und Bilder zum Alten Testament. Tübingen, 1909</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grollenberg, Bildatlas zur Bibel</td>
<td>I.H. Grollenberg, Bildatlas zur Bibel, 3rd edition. Güterslohn, 1959</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Herodotus, Hist.</td>
<td>Herodotus, Historiae.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Title</td>
<td>Authors/Editors</td>
<td>Place/Year</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>---------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>History, Historiography and Interpretation</td>
<td>H. Tadmor and M. Weinfield (eds.), History, Historiography and Interpretation:</td>
<td>Jerusalem, 1983</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Holloway, Aššur is King</td>
<td>S.W. Holloway, Aššur is King! Aššur is King!: Religion in the Exercise of Power in the Neo-Assyrian Empire (=Culture and History of the Ancient Near East 10). Boston and Leiden, 2002</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hooker, Reading the Past</td>
<td>J.T. Hooker, Reading the Past: Ancient Writing from Cuneiform to the Alphabet.</td>
<td>London, 1990</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Houwink ten Cate, Luwian Population Groups</td>
<td>P.H.J. Houwink ten Cate, The Luwian Population Groups of Lycia and Cilicia Aspera</td>
<td>Leiden, 1965</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Howgego, Coins</td>
<td>C.J. Howgego, Ancient History from Coins. New York, 1995</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JCSMS</td>
<td>Journal of the Canadian Society for Mesopotamian Studies. 2006–</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JESHO</td>
<td>Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient. Leiden, 1957–</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kataja and Whiting, SAA 12</td>
<td>L. Kataja and R. Whiting, Grants, Decrees and Gifts of the Neo-Assyrian Period (=SAA 12). Helsinki, 1995</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>King, Notebook</td>
<td>L.W. King, Kuyunjik: Notes on Sculptures and Inscriptions. Department of Western Asiatic Antiquities, British Museum, London (unpublished)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Layard, Discoveries</td>
<td>A.H. Layard, Discoveries among the Ruins of Nineveh and Babylon, with Travels in Armenia, Kurdistan and the Desert. London, 1853</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Layard, ICC</td>
<td>A.H. Layard, Inscriptions in the Cuneiform Character from Assyrian Monuments. London, 1851</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Layard, MS C</td>
<td>A.H. Layard, Unfinished, made on the spot during the second season at Nimrud. Department of Western Asiatic Antiquities, British Museum, London (unpublished)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Author(s)</td>
<td>Title</td>
<td>Notes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td>-------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Livingstone, SAA 3</td>
<td>A. Livingstone, Court Poetry and Literary Miscellanea (=SAA 3). Helsinki, 1989</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meissner, Chrestomathie</td>
<td>B. Meissner, Assyrisch-babylonische Chrestomathie für Anfänger. Leiden, 1895</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meissner and Rost, BiS</td>
<td>B. Meissner and P. Rost, Die Bauinschriften Sanheribs. Leipzig, 1893</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ménant, Manuel</td>
<td>J. Ménant, Manuel de la Langue assyrienne. Paris, 1880</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Messerschmidt, KAH 1</td>
<td>L. Messerschmidt, Keilschrifttexte aus Assur historischen Inhalts, erstes Heft (=WVDGO 16). Leipzig, 1911</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NABU</td>
<td>Nouvelles assyriologiques brèves et utiles. Paris, 1897–</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Naster, Chrestomathie</td>
<td>P. Naster, Chrestomathie accadienne. Louvain, 1941</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OIP</td>
<td>Oriental Institute Publications. Chicago, 1924–</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OLG</td>
<td>Orientalistische Literaturzeitung. Berlin and Leipzig, 1898–</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parpola, LAS</td>
<td>S. Parpola, Letters from Assyrian Scholars to the Kings Esarhaddon and Assurbanipal, 2 vols. (=AOAT 5/1–2). Kevelaer and Neukirchen, 1970 and 1983</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parpola, SAA 1</td>
<td>S. Parpola, The Correspondence of Sargon II, Part 1: Letters from Assyria and the West (=SAA 1). Helsinki, 1987</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parpola, Toponyms</td>
<td>S. Parpola, Neo-Assyrian Toponyms (=AOAT 6). Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1970</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 R</td>
<td>H.C. Rawlinson and E. Norris, The Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia, vol. 1: A Selection from the Historical Inscriptions of Chaldaea, Assyria, and Babylonia. London, 1861</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Bibliographical Abbreviations

3 R

5 R
H.C. Rawlinson and T.G. Pinches, The Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia, vol. 5: A Selection from the Miscellaneous Inscriptions of Assyria and Babylonia. London, 1880–84

RA

Rassam, Asshur
H. Rassam, Asshur and the Land of Nimrod, Being an Account of the Discoveries Made in the Ancient Ruins of Nineveh, Asshur, Sepharvaim, Calah, Babylon, Borsippa, Cuthah and Van, Including a Narrative of Different Journeys in Mesopotamia, Assyria, Asia Minor and Koordistan. New York, 1897

Rép. Géogr.

RIM

RIMA

RIMB
The Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia, Babylonian Periods, 1 vol. Toronto, 1995

RIME

RIMS
The Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia Supplements, 1 vol. Toronto, 1984

RINAP
The Royal Inscriptions of the Neo-Assyrian Period. Winona Lake, IN, 2011–

RLA
Realelexikon der Assyriologie. Berlin, 1932–

Ross, Letters from the East

Roux and Renger, Irak in der Antike

G.L. Russell, Senn.

J.M. Russell, Senn.’s Palace

J.M. Russell, Writing on the Wall

SAA
State Archives of Assyria. Helsinki, 1987–

SAAB

SAAS
State Archives of Assyria Studies. Helsinki, 1992–

Saggs, Assyria

Salonen, Wasserfahrzeuge
A. Salonen, Die Wasserfahrzeuge in Babylonien nach sumerisch-akkadischen Quellen (=Studia Orientalia 8/4). Helsinki, 1939

SANE

SAOC 62

Schell, Prisme

Schelkle und Nitsch, Rätsel Geld

Schrader, KB

Schrader, KB 2
E. Schrader, Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek, Sammlung von assyrischen und babylonischen Texten in Umschrift und Übersetzung 2. Berlin, 1890

Schroeder, KAV
O. Schroeder, Keilschrifttexte aus Assur historischen Inhalts, Zweites Heft (=WVDOG 37). Leipzig, 1922

Schroeder, KAV
O. Schroeder, Keilschrifttexte aus Assur verschiedenen Inhalts (=WVDOG 35). Leipzig, 1920

Schuster-Brandis, AOAT 46

Searight, Assyrian Stone Vessels

Seux, ERAS

Sex and Gender

Sievernich and Budde, Europa und der Orient

Sieverich and Budde, Europa und der Orient
G. Smith, Senn.  
G. Smith, History of Sennacherib Translated from the Cuneiform Inscriptions.  
London, 1878

S. Smith, Sculptures  
S. Smith, Assyrian Sculptures in the British Museum from Shalmaneser III to  
Sennacherib. London, 1938

S. Smith, Senn.  
S. Smith, The First Campaign of Sennacherib, King of Assyria, B.C. 705–681: The  
Assyrian Text Edited with Transliteration, Translation, and Notes. London, 1921

Spar, CTMMA 4  
I. Spar, Cuneiform Texts in the Metropolitan Museum of Art 4: Temple Archive and  
Other Texts From the First and Second Millennium B.C. New York, forthcoming

SPAW  
Sitzungsberichte der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, philosophisch- 
historische Klasse, vols. 1–. Berlin, 1922–

Stephens, YOS 9  
F.J. Stephens, Votive and Historical Texts from Babylonia and Assyria (=YOS 9). New  
Haven, 1937

Studies Aro  
Memoriae Jussi Aro dedicata (=Studia Orientalia 55). Helsinki, 1984

Studies Astour  
G.D. Young, M.W. Chavalas, and R.E. Averbeck (eds.), Crossing Boundaries and Linking  
Horizons: Studies in Honor of Michael C. Astour on His 80th Birthday. Bethesda, MD,  
1997

Studies Borger  
1994: tikip saktakki mala bašmu ... Groningen, 1998

Studies Dever  
S. Gitin, J.E. Wright, and J.P. Dessel (eds.), Confronting the Past: Archaeological and  
Historical Essays on Ancient Israel in Honor of William G. Dever. Winona Lake, IN,  
2006

Studies Dussaud  

Studies Ellis  
M.J. Boda and J. Novotny (eds.), From the Foundations to the Crenellations: Essays on  
Temple Building in the Ancient Near East and Hebrew Bible (=AOAT 366). Münster,  
2010

Studies Gaster  
The Gaster Festschrift (=Journal of the Ancient Near Eastern Society of Columbia  
University 5). New York, 1974

Studies Kallai  
G. Galil and M. Weinfeld (eds.), Studies in Historical Geography and Biblical  
Historiography Presented to Zecharia Kallai (=Supplements to Vetus Testamentum  
81). Leiden, Boston, and Köln, 2000

Studies Landsberger  
H.G. Güterbock and T. Jacobsen (eds.), Studies in Honor of B. Landsberger on his  
Seventy-fifth Birthday, April 21, 1965 (=Assyriological Studies 16). Chicago, London, and  
Toronto, 1965

Studies Larsen  
J.G. Dercksen, Assyria and Beyond: Studies Presented to Mogens Trolle Larsen  
(=Publications de l’Institut historique et archéologique néerlandais de Stamboul 100).  
Leiden, 2004

Studies Matouš  
B. Hruška and G. Komoróczy (eds.), Festschrift L. Matouš (=Az Eötvös Loránd  
Tudományegyetem Ökori Történeti tanszékeinek kiadványai 24–25 = Assyriologia 4–  
5). Budapest, 1978

Studies Moran  
T. Abusch, J. Huelnergard, and P. Steinkeller (eds.), Lingering over Words: Studies in  
Ancient Near Eastern Literature in Honor of William L. Moran (=Harvard Semitic  
Studies 37). Atlanta, 1990

Studies Na’aman  
Y. Amit, E. Ben Zvi, I. Finkelstein, and O. Lipschits (eds.), Essays on Ancient Israel and  

Studies Oates  
Pots and Plans: Papers on the Archaeology and History of Mesopotamia and Syria  
presented to David Oates in Honour of his 75th Birthday. London, 2002

Studies Oded  
G. Galil, M. Geller, and A. Millard (eds.), Homeland and Exile: Biblical and Ancient  
Near Eastern Studies in Honour of Bustenay Oded (=Vetus Testamentum Supplements  
130). Leiden and Boston, MA, 2009

Studies Oppenheim  
R.D. Biggs and J.A. Brinkman (eds.), Studies Presented to A. Leo Oppenheim, June 7,  
1964. Chicago, 1964

Studies Parpola  
M. Luukko, S. Svärd, and R. Mattila (eds.), Of God(s), Trees, Kings, and Scholars: Neo-  
Assyrian and Related Studies in Honour of Simo Parpola (=Studia Orientalia 106).  
Helsinki, 2009

Studies Schretter  
R. Rollinger (ed.), Von Sumer bis Homer: Festschrift für Manfred Schretter zum 60.  

Studies von Soden  
M. Dietrich and O. Lorentz (eds.), Vom Alten Orient zum Alten Testament: Festschrift  
Kevelaer and Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1995
Bibliographical Abbreviations


Tadmor and Yamada, RINAP 1  H. Tadmor and S. Yamada, The Royal Inscriptions of Tiglath-pileser III (744–727 BC) and Shalmaneser V (726–722 BC), Kings of Assyria (=RINAP 1). Winona Lake, IN, 2011


Unger, ABK  E. Unger, Assyrische und babylonische Kunst. Breslau, 1927

Ussishkin, Conquest of Lachish  D. Ussishkin, The Conquest of Lachish by Sennacherib (=Publications of the Institute of Archaeology, Tel Aviv University 6). Tel Aviv, 1982

VAS  Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler der Königlichen Museen zu Berlin. Leipzig and Berlin, 1907–


VT  Vetus Testamentum. Leiden, 1951–

Wachsmuth, Alten Geschichte  C. Wachsmuth, Einleitung in das Studium der Alten Geschichte. Leipzig, 1895


Winckler, AOF  H. Winckler, Altorientalische Forschungen, 3 vols. Leipzig, 1893–1905


WVDÖG  Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft. Leipzig and Berlin, 1901–

YOS  Yale Oriental Series, Babylonian Texts. New Haven, 1915–

ZA  Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und Vorderasiatische Archäologie. Berlin, 1886–

Other Abbreviations

Akk. Akkadian
Asn. Ashurnasirpal
Baub. Baubericht ("building report")
bibl. biblical
c collated
c. circa
cf. confer (lit. "compare")
cm centimeter(s)
col(s). column(s)
dia. diameter
DN divine name
ed(s). editor(s)
esp. especially
et al. et alii (lit. "and others")
ex(s). exemplar(s)
fig(s). figure(s)
fol(s). folio(s)
frgm(s). fragment(s)
gen. gentilic
m meter(s)
MA Middle Assyrian
n not collated
NA Neo-Assyrian
n(n). note(s)
nos. number(s)
NS New Series
NT Nabû Temple (Kalḫu)
obv. obverse
p collated from photo
ph(s) photo(s)
p(p). page(s)
pl(s). plate(s)
rev. reverse
SH House of Sennacherib’s son (Nineveh)
Sum. Sumerian
var(s). variant(s)
vol(s). volume(s)

+ Between object numbers indicates physical join
(+) Indicates fragments from same object but no physical join
This page intentionally left blank.
Object Signatures

When the same signature is used for more than one group, the first group in this list is meant unless otherwise indicated. For example, “A” always means the Asiatic collection of the Oriental Institute unless stated otherwise.

A 1) Asiatic collection of the Oriental Institute, Chicago
   2) Aššur collection of the Arkeoloji Müzeleri, Istanbul
AH Abu Habba collection of the British Museum, London
Ass Prefix of excavation numbers from the German excavations at Aššur
BM British Museum, London
Bu E.A.W. Budge collection of the British Museum, London
DT Daily Telegraph collection of the British Museum, London
EHE Signature of objects in the collection of the École Pratique des Hautes Études, IVe Section, Paris
EŞ Eşki Şark Eserleri Müzesi of the Arkeoloji Müzeleri, Istanbul
I2b Signature of objects in the collection of the Pushkin Museum, Moscow
IM Iraq Museum, Baghdad
K Kuyunjik collection of the British Museum, London
Ki L.W. King collection of the British Museum, London
MMA Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York
NBC James B. Nies collection of the Yale Babylonian Collection, New Haven
ND Prefix of excavation numbers from the British excavations at Nimrud
NIN Prefix of excavation numbers from the University of California excavations at Nineveh
PA Signature of Neo-Assyrian historical prisms from the collection of the late A.C. Piepkorn, now in the Asiatic collection of the Oriental Institute, Chicago
Rm H. Rassam collection of the British Museum, London
Sm G. Smith collection of the British Museum, London
SM Signature of objects in the collection of the Sulaimaniya Museum, Sulaimaniya
Th R.C. Thompson collection of the British Museum, London
TM Prefix of excavation numbers from the British excavations at Nineveh
VA Vorderasiatisches Museum, Berlin
VA Ass Aššur collection of the Vorderasiatisches Museum, Berlin
VAT Tablets in the collection of the Vorderasiatisches Museum, Berlin
YBC Babylonian collection of the Yale University Library, New Haven
This page intentionally left blank.
Introduction

In 705, Sargon II was killed in battle and his body was never recovered. Amid the tragedy and apparently without opposition, his eldest living son and designated successor ascended the throne of Assyria on the twelfth of Abu (V). 1 Sennacherib, whose name means “The god Sîn has replaced the brothers” (Akk. Sin-ahḫē-eriba) and who was about forty years old at the time, was well suited for the task, as his father Sargon had conferred on him numerous important military and administrative duties soon after he had become king in 722. 2 His on-the-job training, which may have been supervised by a man called Ḫunnī, served him well during his twenty-four-year reign (704–681), both at home and on the battlefield. He personally led the Assyrian army on campaign no fewer than ten times and sponsored large-scale building projects in several Assyrian cities, Aššur, Nineveh, and Tarbīṣu in particular. His name and deeds, as recorded in his own words, as well as in later foreign sources, were never forgotten; Sennacherib was remembered long after his death for besieging the Judean capital Jerusalem, an event described in the Bible (2 Kings 18:13–19:36 and 2 Chronicles 32:1–22) and for destroying Babylon and its revered temples. 3 His fame (or infamy) revived when European explorers began uncovering the ruins of Assyrian royal cities in the mid-nineteenth century. Of the late Neo-Assyrian kings mentioned in the Bible and classical sources, Sennacherib is probably the best known.

Sources for Sennacherib’s reign are both abundant and informative. Royal inscriptions provide the bulk of the information about his successes both on the battlefield and at home, where he sponsored major building enterprises. Royal rhetoric, which does not always accurately record historical reality, is supplemented by chronographic texts (the so-called Babylonian Chronicle and Eponym Chronicle), letters, astrological reports, legal and administrative documents, and grants, as well as by numerous bas-reliefs sculpted on orthostats that lined the interior walls of his ornately decorated palace at Nineveh. The Bible and some classical sources (e.g., Berossus, Babyloniaca; Herodotus, Hist.; and Josephus, Ant. Jud.) also provide insight into his reign.

1 The fact that the Assyrians were not able to recover Sargon’s body and that Sennacherib was not able to hold a funeral for his father as tradition prescribed was regarded as highly inauspicious. The so-called “Sin of Sargon” text (Livingstone, SAA 3 no. 33), probably written during the reign of Sennacherib’s immediate successor Esarhaddon, reports that Sennacherib investigated the nature of his father’s alleged sin; for a recent study, see Weaver, Iraq 66 (2004) pp. 61–66. E. Frahm (ICS 51 [1999] pp. 73–90) has suggested that the Assyrian scholar Nabû-ziqiq-kēnū may have studied the passage about the spirits of the deceased in Gilgamesh Tablet XII in order to elucidate the consequences of Sargon II’s death. He proposes also that Sennacherib immediately transferred the royal court to Nineveh since the newly enthroned king may have feared that his father’s unburied ghost was still present at Dūr-Sarrukīn (mod. Khorsabad) and that his renovations of the temple of the god Nergal at Tarbīṣu at the very beginning of his reign were inspired by Sargon’s ill fate.

2 For information on Sennacherib’s name, his family background, and his responsibilities during his father’s reign (including the relevant source material), see in particular Frahm, PNA 3/1 pp. 1113–1118 sub Sin-ahḫē-eriba I–II.3b-1’; and Frahm, RLA 12/1–2 (2009) pp. 12–14 §§1–4. The name Sin-ahḫē-eriba implies that he was not Sargon II’s firstborn son; his elder brothers, it appears, had all died by the time of his birth. Because his eldest son Aššur-nādin-Šumi was old enough to become king of Babylon in 700, S. Parpola (LAS 2 p. 231 n. 390) and E. Frahm (PNA 3/1 p. 1113 l.1) suggest that Sennacherib was born around 745. The identity of Sennacherib’s mother is unknown, but it has been suggested that she may have been Sargon’s wife Atalia.

Sennacherib’s name appears as snb(r)ḥúb in the Bible (2 Kings 18:13 and 19:20); s/nḥb(ʾ)rḥúb in Aramaic sources (including Ahīqar); Ṣēnʾnuḫū in the Septuagint; Ṣēmēnuḫū in Herodotus (Hist. 2, 141); and Ṣēm-nḥ-nf in Demotic sources. For other Greek and Latin forms of his name, see Weissbach in Wissowa, Paulys Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft, Zweite Reihe 1/2 col. 2277; that publication does not collect all the many different writings of the name which derive from Hebrew and Greek transcriptions of Sennacherib. A document from Nineveh written ca. 670 (83-1-18,231) seems to imply that giving the name of the former king Sennacherib (or that of Ashurbanipal, who was at that time either the ruling king or his designate) to a commoner was considered taboo, a sacrilege punishable by the river ordeal; see Kataja, SAAB 1 (1987) pp. 65–68.

3 For a study of sources referring to Sennacherib from the reign of his son and successor Esarhaddon to the twentieth century, see Frahm, Sanherib pp. 21–28.
Texts Included in Part 1
Numerous inscriptions written in Sennacherib’s name have been recovered and most of these are housed in museum collections and private collections around the world; the majority of these are in the British Museum (London) and the Vorderasiatisches Museum (Berlin). Many other inscribed objects of his that were discovered by early excavators were too large and heavy for transport or were in such bad condition that they were reburied and left in the field. Clay, stone, and metal objects bearing texts of this once-great king originate from a broad geographic area, although most come from the two principal cities of the Assyrian heartland: Aššur and Nineveh. The present corpus comprises both excavated objects and objects purchased from local dealers.

Because of the large number of texts and the length of some of those compositions (several of which are over 500 lines/2500 words long), the inscriptions of Sennacherib are edited in two volumes. Luckenbill, The Annals of Sennacherib (OIP 2), the last volume to edit a substantial portion of Sennacherib’s official texts, did not even include all of the then-known (1924) inscriptions and treated many complete inscriptions as duplicates, citing only orthographic and major variants from those sources. Since the publication of Luckenbill, Senn. over eighty-five years ago, numerous new inscriptions and (better preserved) duplicates have come to light. The present volume, although it contains only thirty-eight individual texts (approximately a sixth of the known corpus of inscriptions), surpasses Luckenbill’s publication in size.

The division of the Sennacherib corpus is somewhat arbitrary as we have tried to maintain a balance between Part 1 and Part 2 by including major, well-preserved inscriptions in both volumes. Because Part 2 will contain fewer long inscriptions than Part 1, all of the smaller texts will be edited in that volume. The present publication includes all historical inscriptions on clay cylinders, clay prisms, and stone tablets from Nineveh, while the second part will include historical inscriptions on bull and lion colossi from Nineveh, rock reliefs, stone horizontal prisms, and clay cylinders and prisms from other cities under Sennacherib’s authority (especially Aššur and Tarbiṣu). An inscription on several steles from Nineveh is also included in Part 1, while epigraphs on reliefs and inscriptions on clay tablets, bricks, threshold slabs, wall panels, stone blocks, beads, etc. are edited in Part 2. The arrangement of the inscriptions more or less follows that of Frahm, Einleitung in die Sanherib-Inschriften (AfO Beiheft 26). Note, however, that historical inscriptions on stone tablets and the text on steles (Frahm’s T 61–64) have been placed before inscriptions on bull and lion colossi, epigraphs, and texts written on door sockets, all of which were discovered in the ruins of the South-West Palace (Frahm’s T 25–60).

All of the inscriptions included in Part 1 originate from Nineveh. Most of the exemplars of those inscriptions come from Nineveh, but several exemplars were discovered at Aššur and Kalḥu (biblical Calah). These pieces (for example, text no. 4 exs. 9, 25, 43, 45, 48, 56, 60, 67, 69–70, 74 and 82–87) preserve texts duplicating inscriptions from Nineveh, including the building reports. Unless a fragment from Aššur and Kalḥu clearly preserves an inscription unique to those cities, those pieces are treated here as duplicates of the well-known Nineveh texts.

Survey of the Inscribed Objects Included in Part 1
Clay Cylinders
Inscriptions of Sennacherib written on clay cylinders and prisms from Nineveh were among the earliest cuneiform texts published in the nineteenth century, three of best known texts being the Bellino Cylinder (text no. 3), whose popular name derives from the facsimile of the inscription that K. Bellino supplied to G.F. Grotefend for publication, the Rassam Cylinder (text no. 4), which is named after its excavator H. Rassam, and the Taylor Prism (text no. 22 ex. 2), which is named after the man who purchased it (Col. J. Taylor). During the first years of Sennacherib’s reign, inscriptions were written on clay cylinders since those objects provided sufficient space for descriptions of both the king’s military campaigns and building enterprises. Text was inscribed in long lines that ran along the horizontal axis of the cylinder, from one end to the other. However, when the surface area of a cylinder proved inadequate for the space required for the ever-growing number of military reports and for more elaborate building accounts, Sennacherib had his scribes write his res gestae on upright, multi-columned clay prisms, a medium well suited for long texts. The transition from cylinders to prisms occurred in 698, the king’s 7th regnal year.

Inscriptions on clay cylinders fall into two categories: (1) texts with historical narrative followed by an account of construction at Nineveh (text nos. 1–9) and (2) inscriptions with no historical narrative, but only a report of work on a single structure at Nineveh (text no. 10, but probably also text nos. 11–13). The earliest
known inscriptions were composed ca. 702, Sennacherib’s 3rd regnal year. The First Campaign Cylinder (text no. 1), although not dated, likely comes from the first half of 702 and describes in great detail a campaign against Marduk-apla-iddina II (biblical Merodach-baladan), an account of the construction of the king’s new royal residence, Egalzagdinutukua (the “Palace Without a Rival”; the South-West Palace at Nineveh), and the creation of a botanical garden and canals for irrigation. Later that same year (702), in the Elamite month Sibûti (= Arahšamna [VIII]), two new texts appear: the Bellino Cylinder (text no. 3) and a text combining elements of the First Campaign Cylinder and the Bellino Cylinder (text no. 2). Both inscriptions contain reports of Sennacherib’s first two campaigns and work on the “Palace Without a Rival”; the texts differ only in the building account. Two years later, in 700, a new inscription of the king’s deeds was commissioned (text no. 4 = Rassam Cylinder and “Cylinder B”) and produced in great number, which we know since several complete cylinders have been discovered and numerous fragments bearing this text have been identified. Building on previous texts, the Rassam Cylinder contains accounts of Sennacherib’s first three campaigns, including his dealings with Hezekiah of Judah, a short passage stating that Sennacherib formed a large military contingent of archers and shield bearers from prisoners, and a new description of the king’s palace at Nineveh. The amount of text inscribed on cylinders was proving difficult for the scribes as they attempted to write this ninety-four-line inscription with the exact same line divisions on each and every cylinder. The fully preserved copies have numerous erasures, dittographies, omissions, and cramped signs, attesting to the limitations the scribes faced as they wrote this edition of Sennacherib’s res gestae on clay cylinders. Despite these problems, cylinders were used as the principal clay medium at Nineveh for one more year. Two fragments of clay cylinders (text nos. 5 and 8) are dated to 699 (the king’s 6th regnal year) and another two fragments are thought to have been inscribed at that time (text nos. 6 and 7). Despite their poor state of preservation, we can surmise that these cylinders contained reports of Sennacherib’s first four campaigns, a passage mentioning a large military contingent of archers and shield bearers being formed from prisoners, and an account of building at Nineveh. The building reports of two of the fragments (text nos. 5 and 6) are completely missing; the account of the third fragment (text no. 7) records work on the citadel wall; and the building report of the fourth cylinder fragment (text no. 8) describes the creation of a botanical garden and canals for irrigation and the construction of Nineveh’s inner and outer walls, Badnigalbīlukuraššu (“Wall Whose Brilliance Overwhelms Enemies”) and Badnigerimḫušuluaḫa (“Terrorizer of Enemies”). The building report of text no. 8 probably also recorded the rebuilding of the “Palace Without a Rival.”

A few clay cylinders with no historical narrative, but only a report of work on a single structure, are known from Nineveh. Although three of the four known texts in this category (text nos. 11–13) are not well preserved, the format of these inscriptions is similar to that of an inscription written on stone horizontal prisms discovered at Aššur (including VA 8254). These texts recorded (1) Sennacherib’s titles and epithets (which deviate from those found in texts with military narration), (2) an account of the rebuilding of a single building (most often a temple), (3) an appeal to the building’s foundation to speak favorably to the god Aššur (or the deity whose temple was being rebuilt), and (4) advice to future rulers (concluding formulae). The best preserved Nineveh example (text no. 10) records work on a temple of the god Ḥaya, the god of scribes. Since these texts are not dated and since they do not contain historical references, it is not known when these cylinders were written.

Clay Prisms: General Introduction

Beginning in 698, Sennacherib’s 7th regnal year, the writing of inscriptions with historical narrative on clay cylinders was abandoned in favor of a medium with more surface area, one conducive to the narration of lengthy reports of military successes and accounts of construction: hexagonal and octagonal prisms. Contrary to popular belief and despite the fact that the earliest extant hexagonal prism comes from 695 (the king’s 10th regnal year), six-sided prisms and eight-sided prisms were both used as foundation documents for the first time in 698.4 We can be certain about the date of transition since there is one known prism (text no. 14) dated to that year, the eponymy of Šulmu-šarrī. Unfortunately, nothing has been published about the object or the text inscribed upon it except for the date the prism was written. Based on the latest editions of Sennacherib’s res gestae on cylinders (text nos. 5–8) and the known 697 edition on octagonal prisms (text no. 15), we can surmise that that inscription contained a short prologue, reports of the first four campaigns, a short passage stating that Sennacherib formed a large military contingent of archers and shield bearers from prisoners deported from conquered lands, a building report, and concluding formulae.5

---

4 Cf., for example, Reade, JCS 27 (1975) pp. 189–196; and Frahm, Sanherib p. 65.
5 See the commentary of text no. 14 for further information.
Octagonal prisms are presently attested for 697–694 and 691 and these inscribed objects, as evident from the concluding formulae, were deposited primarily in Nineveh’s city walls. Hexagonal prisms are presently attested for 695, 693 (or 692), and 691–ca. 687. Some of these foundation records (text nos. 22–23 and 25), those inscribed in 691–688, were placed in the armory, as indicated by their building reports and concluding formulae. Presumably, six-sided prisms were commissioned and deposited in other buildings constructed anew or rebuilt at Nineveh, for example the “ Palace Without a Rival.” We assume that texts were written on octagonal and hexagonal prisms every year from 698 to 689 and conjecture that these media were used until the end of Sennacherib’s reign (681).

Late in his reign, probably sometime after 689, Sennacherib had his scribes write his res gestae on decagonal clay prisms. These are very poorly attested, as this medium is represented by only two small fragments (text nos. 31–32). It is possible that ten-sided prisms replaced octagonal prisms sometime after 689 as foundation records deposited in Nineveh’s walls. Of course, this is just conjecture.

In addition, short texts of Sennacherib comprising only his titles and epithets and a short statement about the god Aššur supporting him as king are written on small ‘triangular’ prisms (text no. 27). It is not known if these curious prisms had some functional purpose (foundation deposit, site marker, etc.) and/or if they were scribal exercises written on practice prisms.

**Octagonal Clay Prisms**

The earliest attested eight-sided prisms (text no. 15 = so-called “Cylinder C”) were inscribed in the king’s 8th regnal year (697). That edition of Sennacherib’s accomplishments contains descriptions of his first four campaigns, a short passage stating that Sennacherib formed a military contingent from prisoners, a lengthy building report, and concluding formulae. As for the building report, it comprises: (1) an introduction to Sennacherib’s building program at Nineveh; (2) an account of the rebuilding of the palace Egalzagdinutukua and the planting of a botanical garden; (3) a report of the construction of the city walls Badniqalbilkururušu and Badnigerimhuluḫu, with their fourteen gates; (4) a general statement about other building activities at Nineveh; (5) a passage recording the building of a bridge and aqueducts; and (6) reports of the creation of gardens, orchards, a game preserve, and a marsh, and the digging of canals upstream and downstream of the city to irrigate those areas. Over the next two years (696–695), scribes of the king inscribed prisms with a text (text no. 16 = so-called “Cylinder D”) containing reports of his first five campaigns, the same passage summarizing the formation of a large military contingent of archers and shield bearers, and a building report that was nearly identical to that of the 697 edition (text no. 15). In Sennacherib’s 11th regnal year (694), inscriptions intended to be deposited in the city walls of Nineveh were updated once again. The historical narrative (text no. 17 = King and Heidel Prisms) now contained reports of the first five campaigns and military expeditions that took place in the eponymies of Šulmu-Bēl (696) and Aššur-bēlu-ušur (695), a passage summarizing the king’s spoils of war, and an updated account of the construction of Sennacherib’s palace, the creation of a botanical garden and canals for irrigation, and the building of Nineveh’s walls, which were now reported to have fifteen gates. No octagonal prisms for Sennacherib’s 12th (693) and 13th (692) regnal years are presently known, but presumably new texts were composed during those two years. The 693 edition(s) would have contained reports of the first six campaigns, while the 692 edition(s) would have had accounts of his first seven campaigns. The latest certain eight-sided prism dates to his 14th regnal year (691). Although that inscription (text no. 18) is very fragmentarily preserved, this 691 edition would have been one of the longest inscriptions written under the auspices of Sennacherib, as it would have been more than 800 lines long. Despite the many lacunae in the text, we are certain that that inscription contained reports of eight campaigns and a very detailed account of Sennacherib’s numerous building activities at Nineveh.

**Hexagonal Clay Prisms**

Only three fragments of hexagonal clay prisms (text nos. 19–21) are known from the period prior to 691 (Sennacherib’s 14th regnal year) and these come from prisms that were inscribed in 695–693 (or 695–692). Because only a very small portion of those inscriptions is preserved, little can be said with certainty about those editions of Sennacherib’s res gestae. It is certain, however, that the military narration of these campaigns follows the designations given in Sennacherib’s inscriptions. Therefore, the sixth, seventh, and eighth campaigns are respectively his campaigns against the Chaldeans living in Elam, against Elam, and the battle of Ḫalūlū. The military expeditions of 696 and 695, which were led by his officials, are referred to by the eponym in which they were conducted. Although the campaign of 696 is technically Sennacherib’s “sixth” campaign, that event is never referred to as such by Sennacherib’s scribes since the king did not personally lead his troops on campaign.
inscriptions duplicates that of Smith Bull 4, an inscription written on a bull colossus stationed in Court H, Door a of Sennacherib’s palace (the South-West Palace), and that the military narration of the 695 edition (text no. 19) ended with an account of the fifth campaign and a short passage stating that Sennacherib formed a large military contingent of archers and shield bearers from prisoners deported from conquered lands. As for the building reports, they may have described work on the “Palace Without a Rival” (as suggested by the similarity of the military narration to texts inscribed on bull colossi stationed in that building), the armory, or some other structure at Nineveh.

Most of Sennacherib’s inscriptions on hexagonal prisms come from the period between 691 and 689; certainly the best known texts of his — the Chicago Prism (text no. 22 ex. 1), the Jerusalem Prism (text no. 23 ex. 1), and the Taylor Prism (text no. 22 ex. 2) — date to this time. During Sennacherib’s 14th–16th regnal years, two nearly identical texts (text nos. 22–23) were inscribed on prisms deposited in the armory, which is located south of the citadel, along the western wall, in the mound of Nebi Yunus. Both inscriptions include a short prologue, reports of Sennacherib’s first eight campaigns, an account of the rebuilding of the armory (the “Rear Palace”), and concluding formulae. Because the month during which the Jerusalem Prism (text no. 23 ex. 1) was inscribed is not preserved, it is not known with absolute certainty which edition of this king’s res gestae is earlier: text no. 22 or text no. 23. The fact that the building report of text no. 23 is shorter than that of text no. 22 and that it describes the construction of only one wing of the armory, rather than two wings of that building, may suggest that the text inscribed on the Jerusalem Prism is earlier in date than the one written on the Chicago Prism and the Taylor Prism.

After the capture and subsequent destruction of Babylon in late 689, Sennacherib continued to have texts inscribed on hexagonal prisms (text nos. 24–26). Like the period prior to 691, very few fragments of six-sided prisms have been identified for the post-689 period and those that are extant are fragmentarily preserved. When complete, text nos. 24 and 25, both of which were written ca. 688, would have included a prologue, reports of Sennacherib’s first eight campaigns, an account of the conquest of Babylon in 689, the building report, and concluding formulae; one or both texts may have also included a passage describing the king’s Arabian campaign. As for the building reports, it is not certain what the building account of text no. 24 commemorated, but that of text no. 25 recorded the rebuilding of the armory (the “Rear Palace”). A fragment of a prism that was inscribed ca. 687 (text no. 26) contains an inscription that summarizes Sennacherib’s many accomplishments on the battlefield and describes one of his building projects at Nineveh. The text, as far as it is preserved, duplicates (with variations) several summary inscriptions that were written on stone tablets, text nos. 34–35. It is not known where prisms inscribed with that text were deposited since their building reports are completely missing. Based on similarities with inscriptions on stone tablets, the building report of text no. 26 may have recorded work on the armory.

Stone Tablets with Historical and/or Building Narrative

In addition to smaller clay foundation deposits and inscribed bricks built into the superstructure of buildings and walls, Sennacherib’s scribes and craftsmen wrote out and engraved texts on a variety of large stone objects, including foundation tablets. Only a handful of stone tablets from Nineveh are known (text nos. 34–37). Each tablet was inscribed in a single column of text, on both the front and back faces. In the 1929–30 campaign of R.C. Thompson at Nineveh, a small, broken stone tablet (text no. 36) was discovered in the area between the Nabû and Ištar temples. This piece likely dates to ca. 702, the same time as the Bellino Cylinder (text no. 3). When complete, the text included an invocation of gods (beginning with Aššur and ending with Ištar and the Sebetti), reports of the first two campaigns, an account of the rebuilding of numerous dilapidated temples located in Nineveh’s citadel (which are said to have been last built by Ashurnasirpal II), and concluding formulae. This inscription is one of the few contemporary pieces of evidence for Sennacherib working on existing temples at Nineveh.

The other known texts written on tablets from Nineveh with historical and/or building narratives were all composed ca. 691–689. The largest and best preserved of these (text no. 34 = Constantinople Inscription, Memorial Tablet, and Nebi Yunus Inscription) was reported to have been discovered at Nebi Yunus in 1852 (or 1854?). That inscription contains summaries of Sennacherib’s first eight campaigns and military expeditions that took place in the eponymies of Šulmu-Bêl (696) and Aššur-bêlu-ušur (695) and a detailed description of the

---

7 For a copy of Smith Bull 4, see R pls. 12–13.
8 E. Frahm (Sanherib p. 107) suggests that the building report of text no. 24 may have described the rebuilding of the Sebetti temple in Nineveh. For further information, see the commentary of text no. 24 and the on-page note to vi 17’–18’ of that inscription.
rebuilding of the armory. Two fragmentary exemplars of another text with historical narrative (text no. 35 = Ungnad and Winckler Stone Tablet Fragments Inscription) preserve a text similar, but not identical, to text no. 34; one significant difference is that this inscription includes a report of a campaign against the Arabs. As the building report is not sufficiently preserved and since nothing is known of the original find spots of the tablet fragments, nothing can be said with certainty about where Sennacherib had tablets bearing this text placed. Based on the approximate date of composition (ca. 690–689) and the mention of the king reviewing valuable enemy booty (reading not entirely certain), these objects may have also been placed in Nineveh’s armory.

A small limestone tablet discovered at the Nergal Gate of Nineveh in 1992–93 is inscribed with a text (text no. 37) concerning work on an akītu-house (a temple for the celebration of New Year rituals) at Nineveh that Sennacherib had built outside the newly constructed wall of the city. Although only the beginning and end of the inscription are preserved, it is certain that this text did not include reports of military narration. The tablet is dated to the eponymy of Nabû-kēnu-uṣur (690) and the text gives some insight into political-religious reforms that were initiated in Assyria: at Nineveh the former akītu-house, which had last been built by Sennacherib’s father and which was now situated inside the expanded circumference of Nineveh’s wall, was abandoned and replaced by a new building located outside the city, north of the Nergal Gate.9

Steles

As part of his urban renewal and expansion of Nineveh, Sennacherib created a royal road. To ensure that no one would build a house that would encroach upon that royal road, the king had round-topped steles (each with an image of the king standing before symbols of his tutelary deities) erected on both sides of the road. Three of the steles (text no. 38 = Inscription from the Royal Road) lining this road, which may have run from the Aššur Gate in the south wall to the Sin Gate (formerly the Gate of the Garden) at the western end of the north wall, are extant today, while several others are reported to have been broken up and burnt into lime in the nineteenth century. The steles, although not dated, may have been inscribed ca. 693–691.

Overview of Previous Editions

Sennacherib has been a popular subject of study from the very beginning of Assyriology. There are numerous books, dissertations and articles devoted to him, his inscriptions, and his reign.10 Clay, stone, and metal objects bearing texts of this once-great king were among the earliest cuneiform texts brought back to Europe and deciphered in the mid-nineteenth century. The birth of the modern study of Sennacherib and his inscriptions began well before the decipherment of Akkadian cuneiform, when C.J. Rich visited Mosul in 1820 and acquired what he described as “a small earthen vase covered with cuneiform writing.” Shortly thereafter, K. Bellino, his secretary, made a facsimile of the text, which he sent to G.F. Grotefend, a man who had by that time already made several breakthroughs in the decipherment of the Old Persian language, also written in cuneiform. Throughout the first half of the nineteenth century, objects inscribed with cuneiform writing were purchased from local dealers and brought back to Europe, where they made their way into museums and private collections. The discovery of Assyrian palaces at Khorsabad (ancient Dūr-Šarrukīn), Nimrud (ancient Kalḥu, biblical Calah), and Nineveh in the 1840s, the display of those objects in the British Museum (London) and the Louvre (Paris), and the publication of popular accounts of their discovery (with their fanciful reconstructions) generated a great deal of interest in the decipherment of “Assyrian” cuneiform and the history of kings named in the Bible.11

From 1850 to the present, numerous works, large and small, have been devoted to Sennacherib. Because this is not the place to present a complete and detailed historical survey of the publication of the Sennacherib corpus, or to provide a complete bibliographical study of this king, we will focus on previous editions (and translations) and major studies of the corpus that have advanced our knowledge of this king’s royal inscriptions. Extensive bibliographies are provided for each text.

Treatments of Sennacherib and his reign are to be found in every general history of Assyria or Mesopotamia. Particularly useful are the biographical sketches by A.K. Grayson in CAH2 3/2 and by E. Frahm in

---

9 At Aššur, Sennacherib also rebuilt an akītu-house outside the city. For details on the two akītu-houses at Nineveh, see Frahm, NABU 2000 pp. 75–79 no. 66.
10 For a good historical survey of previous work on the Sennacherib corpus (1820–1997), see Levine, History, Historiography and Interpretation pp. 59–64; and Frahm, Sanherib pp. 29–32.
11 For a recent study on the early explorations of Assyria, see in particular Larsen, Conquest of Assyria.
Sanherib, as well as the entries on Sennacherib by E. Frahm in PNA 3/1 pp. 1113–1127 sub Sin-aḫḫē-eriba and RLA 12/1–2 (2009) pp. 12–22. Translations of selected inscriptions of his, usually those with descriptions of his campaign to the Levant, often appear in collected works of Mesopotamian texts in translation, for example, Borger in Galling, Textbuch; Oppenheim in ANET; Borger in TUAT 1/4; Cogan in COS 2; Melville in Chavalas, ANE; and Cogan, Raging Torrent.

Before discussing previous editions and major studies of this text corpus, we would like to cite here other works in which Sennacherib texts have been published. For copies, typeset Neo-Assyrian or hand-drawn facsimiles, see: Layard, Monuments; Layard, ICC; Thompson, Arch. 79 (1929); Thompson, AAA 18 (1931); Thompson, AAA 19 (1932); and Marzahn and Rost, VAS 23. For editions/transliterations of a single text, or a very small group of texts, often accompanied by a copy and/or photograph(s), see in particular: King, CT 26; S. Smith, Senn.; Jacobsen and Lloyd, OIP 24; Thompson, Iraq 7 (1940); Heidel, Sumer 9 (1953); Grayson, ANET 3; Walker, CBI; George, Iraq 48 (1986); Galter, ARRIM 5 (1987); Ling-Israel, Studies Artzi; Ahmad and Grayson, Iraq 61 (1999); Frahm, ISIMU 6 (2003); Searight, Assyrian Stone Vessels; and Frahm, KAL 3. Information on objects inscribed with inscriptions of Sennacherib is provided in numerous museum and excavation catalogues. The most useful of these are: Bezold, Cat. 1–4; King, Cat.; Lambert and Millard, Cat.; Pedersén, Katalog; and Lambert, Cat.

In 1878, G. Smith’s History of Sennacherib, Translated from the Cuneiform Inscriptions was the first book dedicated entirely to Sennacherib’s inscriptions. Work on the volume began in November 1871 and it was expected to be 300 to 400 pages long. Smith had prepared as far as page 152 when the publisher revealed to Smith that the cost of publication would far exceed the original estimate. The project was suspended, in part due to an expedition that Smith took to “Assyria.” Smith hoped to complete his history of Sennacherib when he returned, with the help of new inscriptions he expected to discover in the ruins of Nineveh. Smith never saw the completed publication of the fruits of his labors, as he died in August 1876. His manuscript was then handed over to J.W. Bosanquet to finish, but he too died suddenly. Before his death, Bosanquet was able to write a short essay on the date of the siege of Lachish (Appendix 1). In 1878, A.H. Sayce completed Smith’s History of Sennacherib, namely by preparing the final thirteen pages of the text editions. The format of the volume was modeled upon Smith’s History of Assurbanipal Translated from the Cuneiform Sources. The texts were edited passage by passage (prologue, first campaign, etc.), with the master text appearing in typeset Neo-Assyrian cuneiform, beneath which appeared the corresponding transliteration and English translation. Occasionally minor variants were cited and some major variants were edited after the master text. In total, twenty-three texts were utilized, including the Bellino Cylinder (text no. 3), the Rassam Cylinder (text no. 4; = his Cylinder B), Smith Bull 4, the Taylor Prism (text no. 22 ex. 2), the Nebi Yunus Inscription (text no. 34; = his Memorial Tablet), and the Bavian Inscription.

In 1890, in a volume of Neo-Assyrian historical texts edited by E. Schrader (KB 2), C. Bezold published editions of a handful of Sennacherib inscriptions. His contribution included full editions of the Taylor Prism (text no. 22 ex. 2) and the two epigraphs on the Lachish Room reliefs, and very short excerpts from the Bellino Cylinder (text no. 3), the Rassam Cylinder (text no. 4), and the Nebi Yunus Inscription (text no. 34). Bezold, unlike G. Smith, gave extensive notes on textual variants. His critical apparatus included variants from seven (hexagonal and octagonal) clay prisms, fourteen clay cylinders, one bull inscription, and two clay tablets.

Three years later, in 1893, B. Meissner and P. Rost published their Die Bauinschriften Sanheribs; this was the second volume devoted entirely to the inscriptions of Sennacherib. Meissner and Rost’s edition focused only on the building reports of the then well-known inscriptions, especially those describing the construction of the “Palace Without a Rival” (the South-West Palace) and the armory (the “Rear Palace”). Five cylinders, one clay tablet, fragments of five inscribed bull colossi, and one clay prism were used in their composite edition of Sennacherib’s description of the construction of his royal residence. The building reports of the Taylor Prism (text no. 22 ex. 2) and the Nebi Yunus Inscription (text no. 34) were combined as a single account of the rebuilding of the armory. Just as Bezold had done in KB 2, Meissner and Rost provided extensive notes on minor and major variants. Unlike Smith and Bezold, they provided detailed philological commentary. In addition to the two main composite building reports, editions of eighteen other short texts, all concerned with Sennacherib’s building activities (including those at Kālu and Tarbišu), were included in the volume. Hand-drawn facsimiles of fifteen texts accompanied the editions.

In 1924, D.D. Luckenbill published The Annals of Sennacherib in the series Oriental Institute Publications (vol. 2) because he felt there was “a crying need for an up-to-date publication of the Assyrian sources,” and because it seemed “the opportune moment to make available in translation a complete body of Sennacherib’s
historical and building texts.” The acquisition by the Oriental Institute of a six-sided clay prism in “almost as perfect condition as when it left the hands of the ancient scribe” and the fact that many of Sennacherib’s inscriptions had already been edited for incorporation into the files of the Chicago Assyrian Dictionary were further incentive for him to pursue this publication. Luckenbill was influenced by A.T.E. Olmstead’s Assyrian Historiography and took to heart the latter’s complaint about the growing tendency to use only “the final Assyrian edition,” and thus Luckenbill edited the earlier or alternate versions of reports known in Sennacherib’s “final edition of the annals” separately. Duplicate passages, however, were still not edited as independent texts; minor, orthographic variants appearing in those texts were cited in on-page notes. In total, sixty-four objects inscribed with texts of Sennacherib, with the Chicago Prism (text no. 22 ex. 1) as the centerpiece of the book, were utilized. Of these, seven clay cylinders, four clay prisms, two clay tablets, three bull colossi, two stone tablets, and two rock reliefs were used for his edition of the annals and their building reports. Photographs and a hand-drawn facsimile of the Chicago Prism accompanied the editions. Editions of forty-four building inscriptions, texts that did not include annalistic narration, and epigraphs were also included. Most of those were short texts inscribed on limestone blocks, door sockets, and bricks, many of which were discovered at Aššur and published in copy in Messerschmidt, KAH 1 and Schroeder, KAH 2. Although Luckenbill states that he made available “a complete body of Sennacherib’s historical and building texts,” he did not publish all of the then-known inscriptions; he appears to have made use of texts published in only twelve books and journals. Nevertheless, Luckenbill’s The Annals of Sennacherib was at that time the most comprehensive volume of Sennacherib inscriptions. Three years later, in 1927, Luckenbill included the translations of The Annals of Sennacherib in his Ancient Records of Assyria and Babylonia (vol. 2), a two-volume set that published English translations of the entire corpus of Assyrian royal inscriptions.

In 1963, R. Borger published his three-volume Babylonisch-assyrische Lesestücke, which included a hand-drawn facsimile and a transliteration of the Taylor Prism (text no. 22 ex. 2). Borger took the opportunity in the introduction to that text to provide up-to-date information about the historical inscriptions of Sennacherib. Relevant information was provided for inscriptions on clay cylinders, clay prisms, bull colossi, clay tablets, stone tablets, and rock reliefs. Numerous unpublished cylinders, prisms, and tablets catalogued by C. Bezold (Cat. 1–4) and L.W. King (Cat.) were listed under the edition to which they belonged. Borger, unlike Luckenbill forty years earlier, made a concerted effort to gather in one place all of the known published and still-unpublished sources for Sennacherib’s historical texts. That contribution formed the solid base upon which most future studies and editions of Sennacherib’s res gestae were to be built.

In 1967, G.L. Russell completed and submitted a dissertation entitled Sennacherib’s Annals: A Foundational Text Study (Dropsie College). His work was to present a detailed study for a new edition of the Sennacherib corpus. Building upon Luckenbill’s 1924 publication, Russell’s unpublished dissertation arranged the texts into three groups (annalistic material, building inscriptions, and varia [unclassified texts]), discussed the style of the inscriptions, and presented new editions of six historical texts (with some commentary). The inscriptions edited were: the First Campaign Cylinder (text no. 1), the Bellino Cylinder (text no. 3), the Rassam Cylinder (text no. 4), the King Prism and Heidel Prism (text no. 17 exs. 1–2), Smith Bull 3, and the Judi Dagh Inscription. A list of 118 inscriptions was included in an appendix. That list was compiled for a projected new edition of the entire Sennacherib corpus, a work that was never completed.

J.E. Reade felt that the textual evidence for following the evolution of Sennacherib’s building and irrigation projects in and around Nineveh was not as accessible as one could hope for. In July and August 1974, he carefully examined in the British Museum the published and unpublished Sennacherib prisms, as well as some unidentified prism fragments. His work was facilitated by W.G. Lambert, E. Leichty, and A.R. Millard. The fruits of his labors were published as “Sources for Sennacherib: The Prisms,” which appeared in JCS 27 (1975) pp. 189–196. That article presented information on all of the known and conjectured res gestae of Sennacherib that were inscribed on octagonal and hexagonal clay prisms from Nineveh. Reade’s study benefited greatly from Borger, BAL and Lambert and Millard, Cat. From published and unpublished material, Reade was able to identify twelve different prism editions, several more than previously thought.

Borger published a second edition of his Babylonisch-assyrische Lesestücke in 1979. He did not, however, substantially update his study of Sennacherib’s historical texts.

At a colloquium held in Jerusalem on May 9th 1979, L.D. Levine delivered a lecture on the inscriptions of Sennacherib. A few years later, in 1983, he published his “Preliminary Remarks on the Historical Inscriptions of Sennacherib” in History, Historiography, and Interpretation: Studies in Biblical and Cuneiform Literatures, edited by H. Tadmor and M. Weinfeld. In that work, he reviewed the history of research on Sennacherib’s inscriptions, provided a general discussion of the sources and corpus, and discussed various methods of editing.
Military Campaigns

Although many of the events of Sennacherib’s reign are well documented in his res gestae, the internal chronology of his twenty-four-year reign is not as certain as one would like. There is difficulty not only about the precise years of some of the royal expeditions, but also about how many there were. The problem of dating arises out of the fact that Sennacherib’s campaigns are generally not dated by eponym or regnal year, but are merely numbered sequentially as first, second, third, etc. The official numbering, which goes up to eight in the extant corpus, included only expeditions personally led by the king. Campaigns led by Sennacherib’s officials were usually excluded from royally sponsored compositions. Two of those, however, were recorded in some official inscriptions, but they were never given an official campaign number. This intentional omission of events and the fact that few texts written after his 16th regnal year (689) survive today make it impossible to know the exact number of campaigns. Chronographic texts, unfortunately, shed little light on this problem, as the Eponym Chronicle is not preserved except for the beginning of his reign, and as the Babylonian Chronicle is concerned only with events in Babylonia (and Elam). Furthermore, the latter text records events by the regnal years of Babylonian kings, without reference to Sennacherib’s regnal years. Thus, despite the numerous sources for Sennacherib’s reign, there are still many gaps in our knowledge.

In total, twelve campaigns are recorded in the extant corpus of Sennacherib’s inscriptions. These took place between his accession year (705) and his 16th regnal year (689). Events from his 17th regnal year (688) to his death in 681 (his 24th regnal year), however, are completely unknown. Eight campaigns were given an official number, while the other four were not. Two campaigns led by the king’s officials are also known. Those events were never given an official campaign number; their date, however, is known as one inscription records the regnal years during which they took place (696 and 695; Sennacherib’s 9th and 10th regnal years). It is unclear how the second conquest of Babylon (689), which is referred to as his second campaign in the Bavian Inscription, and the campaign to Arabia were designated in Sennacherib’s annalistic texts since reports of the former event are not preserved in extant foundation inscriptions (those written on clay prisms) and since the latter event is known only from a badly damaged summary inscription, a text where official campaign numbers

---

12 In so-called “double datings” found in some colophons from Sennacherib’s reign, there are a few inconsistencies with regard to his 1st regnal year (705, 704, or 703). It has been suggested that these discrepancies arose because the Assyrians were not accustomed to dating texts by regnal year (that is, in a Babylonian fashion) or because Assyrian scribes did not always achieve precision when calculating dates according to varying calendrical systems. On “double datings,” see Millard, SAAS 2 pp. 70–71. For example, the Baltimore Inscription line 126 (Grayson, AfO 20 [1963] p. 96) states that the eponymy of Nabû-kēnu-usur was Sennacherib’s 14th regnal year, thus making 703 his 1st regnal year.

13 For translations of the chronographic texts, see pp. 23–27.

14 Luckenbill, Senn. p. 83 line 43: i-na 2-2-2 i-ger-ri-ä-i “on my second campaign.” Note that the Bavian Inscription, which will be edited in Part 2, records only two campaigns: (1) the battle of Ḫalēlu (the eighth campaign) and (2) the second conquest of Babylon.
were not included. More specifically, we do not know if Sennacherib referred to the second conquest of Babylon as his ninth campaign and the Arabian expedition as his tenth campaign.

For details on the military campaigns narrated in the texts edited in this volume, see the five tables (Tables 1–2d) below.

Table 1: Dates and Targets of Military Campaigns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year(s)</th>
<th>Regnal Year(s)</th>
<th>Campaign Number/Reference</th>
<th>Target(s) of Campaign</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>704</td>
<td>1st</td>
<td>1st Campaign</td>
<td>The Kulummians</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Late 704-Early 702</td>
<td>Late 1st–Early 3rd</td>
<td>1st Campaign</td>
<td>Marduk-apla-iddina II of Babylonia and his Elamite, Chaldean, and Aramean allies; Aramean tribes; the city Irîmmu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>702</td>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>2nd Campaign</td>
<td>The Kassites and Yasubigallians living in the Zagros Mountains; Ispabāra of Ellipī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>701</td>
<td>4th</td>
<td>3rd Campaign</td>
<td>Lulî, the king of Sidon; Šidqā of the city Ashkelon; the nobles and citizens of the city Ekron, and their Egyptian and Ethiopian allies; Hezekiah of Judah and Jerusalem</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>700</td>
<td>5th</td>
<td>4th Campaign</td>
<td>The Chaldean ruler Šurûtu (Mašesīb-Marduk), Bit-Yakin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>696</td>
<td>9th</td>
<td>5th Campaign</td>
<td>The inhabitants of cities located on and near Mount Nipur; Maniye of the city Uku</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>695</td>
<td>10th</td>
<td>Eponymy of Šulmu-Bēl</td>
<td>Kirūa of the city Illubru (in Hīlakkū [Cilicia]); the cities Illubru, Ingi, and Tarsus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Late 693</td>
<td>12th</td>
<td>6th Campaign</td>
<td>The Bit-Yakīn exiles living in Elam; Nergal-âšēzib (a king of Babylon installed by the Elamite king)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>691–Late 690</td>
<td>14th</td>
<td>7th Campaign</td>
<td>Border cities of Elam (including Rāšīd); the city Madaktu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>690–Late 689</td>
<td>15th–Late 16th</td>
<td>8th Campaign</td>
<td>Muṣēzēb-Marduk (king of Babylon), Umman-menanu (king of Elam), and their allies at the city Halûlē</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>690</td>
<td>15th</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>Teʾēlûnu, queen of the Arabs, and Hazael; the city Adummuṭu and another Arabian city</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2a: Military Campaigns Narrated on Clay Cylinders

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Campaign</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>7</th>
<th>8</th>
<th>9</th>
<th>10</th>
<th>11</th>
<th>12</th>
<th>13</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2b: Military Campaigns Narrated on Octagonal Clay Prisms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Campaign</th>
<th>14</th>
<th>15</th>
<th>16</th>
<th>17</th>
<th>18</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>ii</td>
<td>ii</td>
<td>ii</td>
<td>ii</td>
<td>ii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>iii</td>
<td>iii</td>
<td>iii</td>
<td>iii</td>
<td>iii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>vi</td>
<td>vi</td>
<td>vi</td>
<td>vi</td>
<td>vi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

15 Y= Yes, campaign included. We assume that text no. 14 included the first four campaigns, but line numbers cannot be assigned since that text is unpublished and not available for study.
Babylonian and Elamite Campaigns

The biggest problems Sennacherib faced were Babylonia and Elam. Throughout his reign, he wrestled with the problem of ruling the land of Sumer and Akkad, and attempted various solutions, none of which worked.17 Between 705 and 689, Sennacherib undertook military action against Babylonia and its ally, the land Elam, no fewer than six times.18 Ultimately, Sennacherib resorted to drastic action and captured and destroyed Babylon; Marduk, the city’s tutelary deity, his entourage, and possessions were carried off into captivity, where they remained in exile until 668.

The initial transition of power in Babylonia (705) appears to have been fairly smooth. Sennacherib took direct control of Sumer and Akkad,19 but the situation quickly deteriorated. Marduk-zäkir-šumi II led a rebellion and seized power at the beginning of Sennacherib’s 1st regnal year (704). His tenure as king was very brief; Marduk-apla-iddina II (Merodach-baladan) deposed him after only one month. For nine months,
Sennacherib left his Chaldean rival unchallenged, probably because his attention was drawn elsewhere.20 During those nine months, Marduk-apla-iddina strengthened his position as king by gathering support from the citizens of prominent Babylonian cities, Chaldean and Aramean tribal groups, the Arabs, and the king of Elam (Šutur-Naḥundu =Šutruk-Naḥunte II). On the twentieth day of the month Šabītu (XI), Sennacherib set out from Aššur with his army. In advance of the king, troops under the authority of the chief official and several provincial governors were dispatched to Kish; Sennacherib and his host marched on Cutha. While Cutha was under attack, the contingent sent to Kish faced off with Marduk-apla-iddina and his supporters. The initial confrontation at Kish met with failure. But when the main body of the Assyrian army arrived after capturing Cutha, Marduk-apla-iddina became frightened, fled the battlefield, and eluded capture. The Assyrians searched for him in the marshes, but their efforts were in vain. As his army fought and defeated other enemy contingents, Sennacherib marched to Babylonia, where he plundered Marduk-apla-iddina’s palace.21 Over the course of his 2nd regnal year (703), the Assyrians brought order back to Babylonia. Numerous Chaldean-controlled cities and towns were conquered and mass deportations took place. Sennacherib attempted to rule Sumer and Akkad through a puppet ruler in Babylon. Late in the year, Bēl-ibni, who is described as “a son of a rab bani (and) a scion of Šuanna (Babylon) who had grown up like a young puppy in my palace,” was installed as king.

As the Assyrians withdrew, probably at the beginning of Sennacherib’s 3rd regnal year (702), numerous Aramean tribes were plundered, a substantial voluntary payment was received from Nabû-bēl-šumāti (the official in charge of the city Ḥararat), and the city Ḥirimmu was captured.

For the next two years, Sennacherib left Babylonia in the hands of Bēl-ibni. With Assyrian attention drawn elsewhere, Marduk-apla-iddina took the opportunity to make his presence felt. By early 700 (Sennacherib’s 5th regnal year and Bēl-ibni’s 3rd regnal year), Bēl-ibni’s jurisdiction appears to have been restricted to northern Babylonia; the Chaldeans were in control of the south. To remedy the situation, Sennacherib marched into Babylonia; he officially regarded this expedition as his fourth campaign.22 First, he hunted down a man called Šūzubu (who must be identical to Mušēzib-Marduk), a new, influential Chaldean leader. That Chaldean was defeated at the city Bittūtu; he fled before the Assyrians could capture him. Sennacherib then advanced on Bīt-Yākin. Marduk-apla-iddina, as he had done many times before, ran away. He fled by ship across the Persian Gulf to Elam; his abandoned family and supporters were captured and deported to Assyria. On his return march, the Assyrian king removed Bēl-ibni and his officials, whether for incompetence or disloyalty is not known, and installed in Bēl-ibni’s place Aššur-nādin-šumi, Sennacherib’s eldest son. This arrangement ensured Assyrian control over Babylonia for the next six years.

In his 11th regnal year (694), Sennacherib decided to attack the Bīt-Yākin exiles living in Elam and the Elamites who had granted them asylum; the expedition is officially designated as his sixth campaign.23 To catch the enemy off guard, Sennacherib decided to enter Elam via the Persian Gulf. Syrian ships were built at Nineveh and then sailed down the Tigris River to Opis, at which point the boats were dragged overland to the Arahūt; the ships were manned by well-trained sailors from Tyre, Sidon, and Cyprus (or Ionia). Assyrian troops, horses, and their supplies and equipment were loaded onto the ships and sailed down the Tigris. Sennacherib and his elite troops, however, remained on shore and marched along the bank. Once they reached the head of the Persian Gulf, the advance was delayed for five days; this may have been due to the fact that the Phoenician sailors were not accustomed to the strong gulf tide. After this minor setback, which Sennacherib claims to have resolved by making an offering to the god Ea, the Assyrians sailed over to the Elamite coast. Upon landing, the Elamite cities that had granted asylum to exiles from Bīt-Yākin were captured and plundered. The Bīt-Yākin

---

20 The Eponym Chronicle (see below) records that Sennacherib sent his officials against the Kuliummans in Tabal to avenge his father’s death. E. Frahm (ISIMU 6 [2003] p. 130) forwards the idea that “Sennacherib may have found it too risky to engage his troops in two dangerous spots in the north and in the south at the same time” and therefore did not march into Babylonia immediately after Marduk-apla-iddina II seized the throne.

21 It is uncertain if Sennacherib participated in the akitu-festival at this time, thus officially inaugurating his 2nd regnal year as king of Babylon. For ten months of his 1st regnal year, Marduk-zākir-šumi II and Marduk-apla-iddina II sat on the throne in Babylon. Thus, the two years that Babylonian Kinglist A states that Sennacherib was king of Babylon (704–703) overlap with the one month and nine months that Marduk-zākir-šumi II and Marduk-apla-iddina II sat on the throne (704) respectively. This coincides nicely with the Ptolemaic Canon, which records that the two years between the reigns of Sargon II and Bēl-ibni were “kingless.”

22 Text no. 6 line 15’, text no. 15 iv 15’–9’, text no. 16 iv 38–69, text no. 17 iii 82–iv 17, text no. 18 iii 1’–30’, text no. 19 i 15’–16’, text no. 21 ii 1’–8’, text no. 22 iii 50–74, text no. 23 iii 43–65, text no. 26 i 4 b–5’, text no. 28 i 1–2, and text no. 34 lines 8b–12a. The events are also recorded in the Babylonian Chronicle (see below), the Eponym Chronicle (see below), Babylonian Kinglist A iv 15 (see below), the Ptolemaic Canon (see below), the Synchronistic King List iv 3–4 (see below), and the Babyloniana of Berossus (Burstein, SANE 1/5 [1978] p. 23).

23 Text no. 18 iv 1’–6’, text no. 20 i 1–13, text no. 22 iv 32–53, text no. 23 iv 26–46, text no. 26 ii 1’–6’, text no. 34 lines 20–36a, and text no. 35 lines 1’–15’. The events are also recorded in the Babylonian Chronicle (see below), Babylonian Kinglist A iv 17 (see below), the Ptolemaic Canon (see below), and the Synchronistic King List iv 7 (see below).
exiles and the Elamites who took them in were loaded onto boats and transported back across the Persian Gulf.

From all appearances, this campaign should have been a resounding success for Sennacherib. However, this was not the case, as the Assyrian king had been outwitted.

While the Assyrian army was busy in Elam, the Elamite king Ῥαββί (Ῥαββίδας Ενσινακ) had invaded northern Babylonia through the Diyala valley and occupied Sippar. The Babylonians struck a deal with Ῥαββί: they handed over Ἀσσύρ-ναδίν-σουми and the king of Elam appointed Nergal-uṣṣūsib (of the Γαθηλ [Γαθα] family) as king of Babylon in his place; Ἀσσύρ-ναδίν-σουμι was carried off to Elam. Sennacherib was caught completely off guard when he returned to Babylonia. The Assyrians had to fight their way north. The fighting was fierce and the conflict continued into the next year (693; Sennacherib’s 12th regnal year and Nergal-uṣṣūsib’s 1st regnal year). Nergal-uṣṣūsib managed to capture Nippur, while the Assyrians were able to take Uruk. In the month Tašritu (VII), Sennacherib and Nergal-uṣṣūsib fought a pitched battle near Nippur. The Assyrians won the day. Nergal-uṣṣūsib was taken prisoner and carried back to Nineveh, where he was publicly humiliated.

Sennacherib, enraged by the fact that the Elamite king had carried off his son, immediately sought to extract revenge on Elam. The situation in Elam was ripe to launch a full military assault: Ῥαββίδας Ενσινακ had just been deposed and executed in an insurrection. Almost immediately after returning home in late 693, Sennacherib mustered his army and marched directly into Elamite territory; this was officially his seventh campaign.24 Several border cities, including Rāšī, were captured, garrisoned with Assyrian troops, and placed under the authority of the garrison commander of the city Dēr. Thirty-four cities are reported to have been captured, plundered, and destroyed. Kudur-Naḥundu (Kudur-Naḥjun-te), the newly enthroned Elamite king, heard the bad news and fled. Sennacherib ordered the march to the royal city Madaktu, but deep winter set in during the month Tēbētu (X) and the Assyrians felt it best to return home. Thus, the final conflict with Elam was postponed. Meanwhile, Muṣṣūzib-Marduk (Σζζουβού), the same influential Chaldean whom Sennacherib had defeated several years earlier (700), became king in Babylon.25

What transpired in Sennacherib’s 13th regnal year (692, Muṣṣūzib-Marduk’s 1st regnal year) is not entirely clear. Chronographic sources are silent on the matter and record only that Kudur-Naḥundu was deposed in the month Abu (V) and succeeded by Umman-menanu (Ὑμμαν-μενανου). Muṣṣūzib-Marduk, as Sennacherib reports, was strengthening his ties at home and abroad. A substantial bribe was sent to the Elamite king, enticing Elam once again to bring its armies onto Babylonian soil. Sennacherib caught wind of the situation brewing in the south, mustered his army, and marched against the king of Babylon and his allies. This campaign, which is the eighth campaign by official reckoning, is generally thought to have taken place in Sennacherib’s 14th regnal year (691, Muṣṣūzib-Marduk’s 2nd regnal year).26 Sennacherib confronted Muṣṣūzib-Marduk, Umman-menanu, and their allies in the plain near the city Ḥalulē. The true outcome of the battle is obscured by conflicting accounts of the event.27 The Babylonian Chronicle records an Assyrian retreat, while Sennacherib’s res gestae describe in a highly poetic style a total rout of the enemy. The fact that Muṣṣūzib-Marduk remained in power may suggest that the Assyrians suffered a setback at Ḥalulē. In any event, any setback was short lived, as Assyrian troops started laying siege to Babylon by the middle of 690 (Sennacherib’s 15th regnal year and Muṣṣūzib-Marduk’s 3rd regnal year).28

Despite the desperate state of affairs, Babylon and Muṣṣūzib-Marduk refused to submit for another fifteen months. On the 1st day of the month Kislimu (IX) 689 (Sennacherib’s 16th regnal year and Muṣṣūzib-Marduk’s 4th regnal year), Babylon fell.29 Sennacherib records that he utterly destroyed Babylon and its temples by

28 Text no. 18 iv 7”–11”, text no. 22 iv 54–v 16, text no. 23 iv 47–v 8, text no. 26 ii 7”–13”, text no. 34 lines 36b–44a, and text no. 35 lines 16”–29a. The events are also recorded in the Babylonian Chronicle (see below), Babylonian Kinglist A iv 18 (see below), the Synchronistic King List iv 8–9 (see below), and in inscriptions of Ashurbanipal (Borger, BIWA p. 46 Prism A iv 123–127).

29 The details of Muṣṣūzib-Marduk’s rise to power are not known. Sennacherib’s res gestae imply that he came to power through his own efforts (that is, not appointed by the Assyrian or Elamite king). The fact that Sennacherib does not appear to have made an immediate attempt to remove him from power may suggest that the Assyrians suffered a setback at Ḥalulē. In any event, any setback was short lived, as Assyrian troops started laying siege to Babylon by the middle of 690 (Sennacherib’s 15th regnal year and Muṣṣūzib-Marduk’s 3rd regnal year).28

29 Text no. 24 vi 1”–16” and the Bavian Inscription lines 43b–54a (Luckenbill, Senn. pp. 83–84). The event and the period following the second conquest of Babylon are also recorded in the Babylonian Chronicle (see below), the Esarhaddon Chronicle (see below), the Akītu
diverting water from canals to completely wash away the mud-brick structures, making it impossible for future generations to recognize the ground plans of the city and its buildings. The actual destruction was probably not as bad as Sennacherib describes.30

Sennacherib ruled Babylonia directly for the next eight years (688–681), but the extent of his affairs there is not known. He did not assume the titles “king of Babylon,” “viceroy of Babylon,” or “king of Sumer and Akkad,” and he does not appear to have sponsored building activities there. His involvement may have been very limited as one Babylonian chronicle and the Ptolemaic Canon considered Sennacherib’s second tenure as ruler of Babylon to be “kingless.”

Zagros Mountain Campaign

Probably early in his 3rd regnal year (702), Sennacherib marched into the Zagros, where he attacked the Kassites and Yasu-bigallians living there; this expedition was officially regarded as his second campaign.31 The fortified city Bit-Kilamzaḫ was captured and plundered. The insubmissive inhabitants were settled in the cities Ḫardišpu and Bit-Kubatti and placed under the authority of the governor of Arraḫa. Sennacherib then moved on to the land Ellipi. Ispabāra, its king, who had been a vassal of Sargon II, heard about the Assyrian advance and fled; the inscriptions do not record why Sennacherib marched against Ellipi, but it may have been because Ispabāra had thrown off Assyrian domination when Sargon died. The Assyrian army swept through the area, captured and plundered Ellipi’s principal cities (including Şišîrtu and Kummâlhum), and annexed part of it. The city Elenzaḫ was reorganized as an Assyrian center. Its name was changed to Kār-Sennacherib (“Quay of Sennacherib”) and the city was put under the authority of the governor of Ḫarḫar. On his return home, Median rulers paid tribute to him.

Expeditions to the Levant and Arabia

In modern scholarship, the best known and most widely discussed military expedition of Sennacherib is his third campaign, according to the official numbering. This is not surprising as the event is also recorded in the Bible, which describes this Assyrian king’s invasion of Judah during the reign of Hezekiah and a siege of Jerusalem.32 During the early years of Sennacherib’s reign, rulers in the Levant renounced allegiance to Assyria, probably with the encouragement of the Nubian rulers of Egypt, and supported those opposed to Assyrian domination, including Marduk-apla-iddina II (Merodach-baladan) of Babylon.

In his 4th regnal year (701), Sennacherib mustered his troops and marched to the Levant. Lulî, the king of Sidon, was his first target. However, before Sennacherib’s arrival, Lulî fled, leaving the cities and towns under his control undefended. The cities Great Sidon, Lesser Sidon, Bit-Zitti, Śarepta, Māḫallibā, USû, Aṣkûbû, and Acco were captured. Tu-Bařu, a man considered loyal to Assyria, was made king of Sidon. With a large Assyrian army on the scene, several rulers in the area quickly sought to avert battle. Minuḫimmu of Samsīmuranû, Abdi-Li’ti of Arwad, Uru-milki of Byblos, Mitinti of Ashdod, Būḏi-il of Bit-Ammon, Kam̄mûs̄u-nadībi of Moab, and Aya-rāmu of Edom all brought gifts and tribute before Sennacherib. The bribes worked. However, not everyone was as easily cowed into submission.

Ṣîḏqā of the city Ashkelon, the nobles and citizens of the city Ekron, and Hezekiah of Judah fought back. Ṣîḏqā’s efforts failed. Ashkelon along with the other cities under his authority fell to the Assyrians and he together with his family was captured and deported. Sennacherib put Šarru-lā-dāri, the son of a former ruler (Rûkibtu), on the throne of Ashkelon. The nobles and citizens of Ekron — who had deposed Padi, their pro-Assyrian king, and who had handed him over to Hezekiah — became frightened and sought military support

Chronicle (see below), Babylonian Kinglist A iv 19 (see below), the Ptolemaic Canon (see below), and the Synchronistic King List iv 10–11 (see below). Inscriptions of Esarhaddon record the destruction of the city, but those accounts remove all human agency from the events. See for example Leichty, RINAP 4 pp. 195–196 Esarhaddon 104 i 18b–ii 1a.

30 See Frame, Babylonia pp. 55–56.
31 Text no. 2 lines 20–33, text no. 3 lines 20–33, text no. 4 lines 18–31, text no. 15 ii 1–37”, text no. 16 ii 6–75, text no. 17 i 78–ii 57, text no. 18 i 14”–ii 28”, text no. 22 i 65–ii 36, text no. 23 i 59–ii 34, text no. 24 ii 1–9”, text no. 25 vi 6–8”, text no. 34 lines 12b–13a, and text no. 36 rev. 1–2”. For studies, see Levine, JNES 32 (1973) pp. 312–317; Levine, JCS 34 (1982) pp. 38–40; Grayson, CAH 11/2 pp. 112; and Frahm, Synchronistic King Lists p. 10.
from Egypt and its Nubian rulers. The Assyrian army met the Egyptian-led coalition at the city Eltekeh and routed it. Eltekeh and the city Tamnā were besieged, captured, and plundered, and the anti-Assyrian elements at Ekron were put to death; corpses were hung from the towers of the wall as a warning to anyone who thought of rebelling against Assyria. The turn of events must have taken Hezekiah of Judah by surprise, as he released Padi; Sennacherib returned Padi to his rightful place as ruler of Ekron.

The kingdom of Judah put up a good fight against the Assyrians, but it too suffered a heavy defeat. Sennacherib boasts that he captured forty-six Judean cities, including Lachish, which fell after an intensive siege. Hezekiah and his elite forces were confined to Jerusalem, where the Judean is said to have been caged like a bird. The defenses of Jerusalem held, however, and the Assyrians returned home without taking the city. Before departing, Hezekiah appears to have struck a deal with Sennacherib, for he sent a substantial payment to Nineveh in exchange for remaining in power (as an Assyrian vassal). The Levant, having witnessed firsthand the might of Assyria, did not rebel again.

In his 15th regnal year (690), possibly while Babylon was under siege, Sennacherib marched into the north Arabian desert against Te’elhunu, queen of the Arabs, and Hazael. The city Adummatu (biblical Dumah, mod. Dūmat al-Jandal) and another city (name not preserved) were besieged and plundered. According to later sources, Te’elhunu was carried off to Assyria.

Campaigns to the North and Northwest

Sennacherib directed his attention to the north and northwest with a series of campaigns during his 8th (697), 9th (696), and 10th (695) regnal years. The king personally led the first of these, but stayed at home for the other two. During his fifth campaign (697), according to the official numbering, Sennacherib attacked the inhabitants of cities located on and near Mount Nipur (mod. Judi Dagh). The victories were hard earned, as the Assyrian army was not well trained in marching through and fighting in difficult, narrow mountain terrain. Official reports, including those inscribed on several rock faces in that region, record the difficulties encountered. After the Mount Nipur area was brought into submission, Sennacherib set his sights on Maniye, king of the city Ukku. As the Assyrian army approached Ukku, Maniye is reported to have abandoned the city and fled to a remote location. Ukku and thirty-three cities in its vicinity are said to have been captured, plundered, and subsequently destroyed.

In his 9th (696) and 10th (695) regnal years, Sennacherib sent expeditions to Anatolia. These campaigns were led by his officials. His reluctance to personally go on these campaigns was likely rooted in the fact that Sargon II had been killed there and that his body had never been recovered. In 696, Assyrian troops were sent to Ḥilakkû (Cilicia), where Kirū, the city ruler of Illubru, had incited rebellion and blocked the road to the land Que. It has been suggested that Que may have been once again friendly towards Assyria and possibly a vassal state, and the purpose of the campaign was to assist that pro-Assyrian area. The rebel cities Illubru, Ingrā, and Tarsus were besieged, captured, and plundered. Kirū was captured and brought back to Nineveh, where he...
was flayed publicly. The next year (695), Sennacherib sent his army to the land Tabal, where Gurdi, the city ruler of Urdutu (and possibly the man responsible for Sargon II’s death), had taken up arms against Assyria. Only the city Til-Garimme is reported to have been captured and destroyed. The campaign was far from successful, since the chief instigator remained at large.

Building Activities at Nineveh

Numerous texts describe Sennacherib’s renovation and expansion of Nineveh, a city that he transformed into the leading metropolis of Assyria. He began projects there almost immediately after he became king; the labor was provided by prisoners of war, including Chaldeans, Arameans, Manneans, and the inhabitants of Que, Ḥilakku, Philistia, and Tyre. For general studies, see in particular Grayson, CAH² 3/2 pp. 113–116; Frahm, Sanherib pp. 265–276 and passim; Reade, RLA 9/5–6 (2000) pp. 389–433, esp. §§11, 13.1, 13.5–6, 14.2–3, 15.2, 15.4, and 15.8; Frahm, PNA 3/1 pp. 1121–1122 sub Sin-āḫḫē-eriba II.3c-1’; and Frahm, RLA 12/1–2 (2009) p. 19 §6.1.1–8. For a detailed and comprehensive study of the “Palace Without a Rival,” see J.M. Russell, Senn.’s Palace. Only the projects recorded in texts edited in this volume will be discussed here.

Figure 1. Plan of Kuyunjik ca. 640. Drawing by J. Reade (Reprinted from Iraq 67 [2005] p. 348 fig. 1). © The British Institute for the Study of Iraq.
Egalzagdinutukua: The “Palace Without a Rival”

One of this king’s most ambitious projects was the construction of his royal residence and progress on its construction can be followed in texts inscribed on clay cylinders, clay prisms, and stone bull colossi between 702 and 691. This once-magnificent palace, which he gave the Sumerian ceremonial name Egalzagdinutukua (the “Palace Without a Rival”), has only been partially excavated. The royal residence, which is on the larger of the two Nineveh mounds, Kuyunjik, is also referred to as the South-West Palace, as it is located on the southwest part of the citadel.

Early in his reign, Sennacherib razed the former palace, diverted the Tebilti River (which is reported to have flooded the area around the palace and to have eroded the previous brickwork), made a large tract of land (including areas previously underwater) suitable for building, laid the foundations of a massive mud-brick terrace, and began construction of the terrace upon which his palace would be built. The site of the previous palace was enlarged by 340×288 cubits (ca. 187×158 m). A high terrace was constructed on water-proofed stone foundations. Originally the terrace was raised 160 courses of brick, but it was later raised to a final height of 190 courses of brick.

The palace, which grew in size every year, was sumptuously decorated with various types of wood, stone, and metal. Its palatial halls were roofed with beams of cedar and Cypress from Mounts Lebanon and Sirāra. Tall metal-banded door leaves were hung in their gateways. Some of the rooms were decorated with glazed baked bricks. Like his predecessors, Sennacherib had numerous apotropic colossi stationed in principal gateways and had the walls of many rooms and halls lined with sculpted limestone slabs, many of which were unearthed in the mid-nineteenth century. A.H. Layard described these orthostats as “two miles of bas-relief” and Sīn-sar-ra-īškun, Sennacherib’s fourth successor, referred to this building as “the palace of alabaster.” Unlike his forefathers, Sennacherib had colossi cast from bronze and copper using a metalworking technique he claims to have perfected. In total, he claims to have set up in the palace’s gateways twelve copper bulls, two alabaster bulls, and seventy-two bulls and sphinxes of white limestone, stone laboriously hauled from the city Balāṭaya.

A striking feature of the palace described in the texts was an elaborated portico, a bit-appāte (a bit-ḫilāni in the “Amorite tongue”) that was modeled on a feature of Hittite palaces. This section included twelve striding lion colossi of bronze, which served as bases for four cedar and two copper columns. Twenty-two copper sphinxes and ten alabaster sphinxes were also used as bases for wooden columns decorated with metal inlay, but it is not clear from reports of this project where in the palace these were set up.

Between 694 and late 691, Sennacherib appears to have put the finishing touches on the “Palace Without a Rival.” In 694, the (final?) dimensions are reported to have been 914×440 cubits (ca. 503×242 m). In 691, Sennacherib boasted that Egalzagdinutukua had been completed.

Walls of Nineveh and Their Gates

Inscriptions dating from 699 to 691 commemorate one of Sennacherib’s most ambitious building enterprises: the construction of Nineveh’s walls. Sennacherib states that the former circumference of the city was 9,300 cubits and that no previous ruler had built an inner or outer wall for the city. He boasts of expanding Nineveh’s circumference by 12,515 cubits, expanding the length of the city walls to a total of 21,815 cubits, and of building the outer defenses in two parts: (1) the main (or great) inner wall, Badnigalbilukurāšušu (“Wall Whose Brilliance Overwhelms Enemies”), constructed with limestone foundations and built to a height of 180 (later 200) courses of brick and to a width of 40 bricks; and (2) an outer stone wall, Badnigerimḫuluḫa (“Wall, Terrorizer of Enemies”), whose foundations were 45 nindanu deep.

---

39 Text no. 1 lines 63–86, text no. 2 lines 34–63, text no. 3 lines 34–56, text no. 4 lines 61–84, text no. 15 v 18–vii 9, text no. 16 v 41–vii 16, text no. 17 v 23–vii 52, text no. 18 vi 1–vii 11a, and text no. 22 vi 36–38. See Frahm, Sanherib pp. 267–269 for references in texts not included in this volume.
40 For a detailed study and for images of the numerous reliefs decorating the palace, see Barnett et al., Sculptures from the Southwest Palace.
41 As early as ca. 702, Sennacherib claims to have completed the palace, invited Aššur and the gods and goddesses of Assyria inside, and to have celebrated the palace’s dedication. Of course, this is just royal rhetoric as it would have been impossible for Sennacherib to have completed such a large-scale project in such a short time. See, for example, text no. 1 lines 91–92.
42 Text no. 8 lines 9–13, text no. 15 vii 14–24 and 24’–29’a, text no. 16 vii 22–33 and 70–76a, text no. 17 vii 58–69 and viii 6–12, text no. 18 vii 1’–9’ and 41’–48’, and text no. 38 lines 16–18. Bricks, stone slabs, and stone blocks attest to this project; see Frahm, Sanherib pp. 141–142 T 75–80a. Nearly the entire city wall is still visible today, as a high mound or as a modern reconstruction. Excavations near the Šamaš Gate and the Ea Gate reveal that the inner wall was ca. 15–16 m wide, a figure consistent with the thickness of forty bricks; Reade (RLA 9/5–6 [2000] pp. 399–400 811.3) suggests that the inner wall was approximately 25 m high. The outer, stone wall was ca. 11 m thick and ca. 4.8 m high. BM 124938, a relief depicting Nineveh, shows the city walls Badnigalbilukurāšušu and Badnigerimḫuluḫa. See Frahm, Sanherib p. 99 and Reade, RLA 9/5–6 (2000) p. 398 fig. 3.
Sennacherib initially states that the city wall had fourteen gates (697–695), but later records that it had fifteen (694), and then eighteen (691) gates. Clearly, the plan evolved over time. The gates are listed counterclockwise as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gate</th>
<th>Text nos. 15–16 (697–695)</th>
<th>Text no. 17 (694)</th>
<th>Text no. 18 (691)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>1. Ḥandīrū Gate: “The God Śarur Is the One Who Cuts Down the King’s Enemy”</td>
<td>15. Ḥandīrū Gate: “The God Śarur Is the One Who Cuts Down the King’s Enemy”</td>
<td>1. Ḥandīrū Gate: “The God Śarur Is the One Who Cuts Down the King’s Enemy”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>8. Ḥalāḫḫu Gate: “The Bearer of the Produce of the Mountains”</td>
<td>7. Ḥalāḫḫu Gate: “The Bearer of the Produce of the Mountains”</td>
<td>8. Ḥalāḫḫu Gate: “The Bearer of the Produce of the Mountains”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>18. Desert Gate: “The Presents of the People of Tēma and Sumū’el Enter Through It”</td>
<td>18. Desert Gate: “The Presents of the People of Tēma and Sumū’el Enter Through It”</td>
<td>18. Desert Gate: “The Presents of the People of Tēma and Sumū’el Enter Through It”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

Figure 2. Plan of Nineveh. Reprinted from Scott and MacGinnis, Iraq 52 (1990) p. 73 fig. 4. © The British Institute for the Study of Iraq.
Botanical Gardens, Swamps, and Related Waterworks

Sennacherib created a large botanical garden beside his palace, which he claims was "a replica of Mount Amanus," and he planted a large variety of trees in it.\(^{44}\) In addition, he provided the citizens of Nineveh with numerous garden plots that were planted on newly tilled soil, and created a park and a game preserve beside the city.\(^{45}\) Those gardens and parks required much water and the king devoted a great deal of time and effort to providing irrigation water for those areas and regulating the flow of that water.

Early in his reign (ca. 702–700), Sennacherib diverted water from the Ḫusur River (mod. Khosr), near the city Kisiru, for a distance of one and a half leagues to the plain of Nineveh.\(^{46}\) To control the flow and to carry off excess water during the flood season, a large wet marsh was created east of the city wall (ca. 699).\(^{47}\) The area was stocked with flora and fauna of the Babylonian marshes and populated with migratory birds (herons), wild pigs, roe deer, and other animals. Sometime between 700 and 694, a more substantial irrigation system was needed and the requisite water was found in mountain springs northeast of the city, near Mount Muṣrī and the cities Dūr-Īştar, Șiбанiba, and Sulu. Three new canals were dug to the Ḫusur River, where their waters supplemented those of the river, thus making it possible to irrigate fields upstream and downstream of Nineveh all year long.\(^{48}\)

Throughout the rest of his reign, Sennacherib continued his extensive waterworks program, creating at least sixteen canals that brought a constant supply of water to Nineveh.\(^{49}\)

Bridges and Aqueducts

Sennacherib built a bridge paved with limestone opposite a gate of the citadel in order to facilitate access to the citadel from the lower town; the Ḫusur River flows between the royal road and the citadel, thus preventing direct access to the upper town from the southeast.\(^{50}\) A second bridge was built downstream, but its precise location is not indicated in the texts. To control the flow of the waters of the Ḫusur River, Sennacherib had aqueducts built.\(^{51}\) Work on one of the bridges and on the aqueducts is first attested in 700 and 699 respectively.

The City Squares and Streets, and the Royal Road

Throughout his reign, Sennacherib boasts that he broadened the squares, streets, and alleys of Nineveh, thus brightening the city.\(^{52}\) As part of his transformation of the lower town, Sennacherib created a fifty-two-cubit-wide royal road that ran through the city. That road may have run north from the Aššur Gate in the south wall, east past the armory and the citadel, to the Šīn Gate (formerly the Gate of the Gardens) at the western end of the north wall.\(^{53}\) To prevent future encroachment, he erected inscribed and sculpted steles on both sides of the roadway. Reports of that project are known from texts composed ca. 693–691.

---

\(^{44}\) Text no. 1 line 87, text no. 2 line 64, text no. 3 line 57, text no. 4 line 85, text no. 15 vii 10–13, text no. 16 vii 17–21, and text no. 17 vii 53–57. See Frhm, Sanherib p. 276 for references in texts not included in this volume. For a discussion on the location of the parks, gardens, and orchards, see Reade, RLA 9/5–6 (2000) pp. 403–405 §11.6 with figs. 6–8. For the opinion that Sennacherib’s “replica of Mount Amanus” was the origin of the “Hanging Gardens of Babylonian” story, see Dalley, Iraq 56 (1994) pp. 45–58; and Dalley, ISAHO 6 pp. 19–24. See also Dalley, City of the Sun p. 47; and Oates pp. 67–73; and K.P. Foster, Iraq 66 (2004) pp. 207–220. For some critical reviews of Dalley’s proposal, see Reade, Iraq 66 (2004) pp. 207–220.

\(^{45}\) Text no. 1 line 87, text no. 2 line 64, text no. 3 line 57, text no. 4 line 85, text no. 15 vii 10–13, text no. 16 vii 17–21, and text no. 17 vii 53–57. See Frhm, Sanherib p. 276 for references in texts not included in this volume. For a discussion on the location of the parks, gardens, and orchards, see Reade, RLA 9/5–6 (2000) pp. 403–405 §11.6 with figs. 6–8. For the opinion that Sennacherib’s “replica of Mount Amanus” was the origin of the “Hanging Gardens of Babylonian” story, see Dalley, Iraq 56 (1994) pp. 45–58; and Dalley, ISAHO 6 pp. 19–24. See also Dalley, City of the Sun p. 47; and Oates pp. 67–73; and K.P. Foster, Iraq 66 (2004) pp. 207–220. For some critical reviews of Dalley’s proposal, see Reade, Iraq 66 (2004) pp. 207–220.

\(^{46}\) Text no. 8 lines 5´–6´, text no. 15 vii 1´–3´, text no. 16 vii 29–44, text no. 17 vii 46–49 and 56–59, and text no. 18 viii 7´–17´a. For additional references, see Frhm, Sanherib p. 276. Read (RLA 9/5–6 [2000] p. 406 §11.7) proposes that the Ḫusur valley east of the city wall, where there were massive dams, was an appropriate location for the creation of a marsh, noting that the river was controlled by well-preserved dam just below al-Ḡila, at least two more upstream of Nineveh’s wall, and another dam at the city wall.

\(^{47}\) Text no. 1 line 88, text no. 2 line 65, text no. 3 line 58, text no. 4 line 86, text no. 8 line 1´, text no. 15 vii 2´–11´, text no. 16 vii 3–15, and text no. 17 vii 16–21. For additional references, see Frhm, Sanherib p. 276.

\(^{48}\) Text no. 1 lines 89–90, text no. 2 lines 66–67, text no. 3 lines 58–60, text no. 4 lines 87–88, text no. 8 lines 2´–3´, text no. 15 vii 12´–19´, text no. 16 vii 15–23, text no. 17 vii 22–30, and text no. 18 viii 1´–5´. See Frhm, Sanherib p. 276 for references in texts not included in this volume. For a detailed study of Sennacherib’s waterworks program at Nineveh, see Bagg, Assyrische Wasserbauten pp. 169–224.

\(^{49}\) Text no. 8 lines 5´–6´, text no. 15 vii 1´–3´, text no. 16 vii 29–44, text no. 17 viii 46–49 and 56–59, and text no. 18 viii 7´–17´a. For additional references, see Frhm, Sanherib p. 276. Read (RLA 9/5–6 [2000] p. 406 §11.7) proposes that the Ḫusur valley east of the city wall, where there were massive dams, was an appropriate location for the creation of a marsh, noting that the river was controlled by well-preserved dam just below al-Ḡila, at least two more upstream of Nineveh’s wall, and another dam at the city wall.

\(^{50}\) Text no. 18 viii 6´–12´ records the digging of several new canals near/from the cities Girmua and Ālum-labir. Work at Ḫumnu-Bavian and on the Jerwan aqueduct will be discussed in the introduction of Part 2.

\(^{51}\) Text no. 4 line 90, text no. 7 line 4’, text no. 8 line 16’, text no. 15 vii 1´, and text no. 16 vii 85–8vi 3a. Stonework located at two places on the Ḫusur River may derive from bridges: one is a little upstream of Kuyunjik and the other is just inside the east city wall. The former stonework is probably the ruins of the bridge opposite a gate of the citadel, while the latter stonework is likely the ruins of the bridge just inside the city wall, by the Mullissu Gate. For further details, see Scott and MacGinnis, Iraq 52 (1990) p. 67 and p. 73 fig. 4.

\(^{52}\) Text no. 8 line 15´ and text no. 16 vii 81–84.

\(^{53}\) Text no. 1 line 87, text no. 2 line 64, text no. 3 line 61, text no. 4 line 89, text no. 7 line 3´, text no. 8 line 14´, text no. 15 vii 29´b–31´, text no. 16 vii 76–80, text no. 17 viii 13–14, text no. 18 vii 49´–52´, and text no. 38 lines 13–16.

\(^{54}\) Text no. 18 vii 50–52 and text no. 38 lines 15–16 and 19b–23. The discovery of paving stones midway between the Nergal Gate and the northern end of the citadel may be evidence for the royal road north of the citadel mound. S. Lumsden (ICAANE Proceedings 1 pp. 817–818 and p. 825 fig. 1), based on his work in the lower town in 1989–90 (Lumsden, Mar Śipri 4 [1991] pp. 1–3; and Stronach and Lumsden, BiAr 55
The Moat

In inscriptions composed ca. 693–691, Sennacherib boasts of widening Nineveh's moat to a width of one hundred large cubits.\(^{54}\)

The Citadel Wall

Very little is known about work on the citadel wall since few contemporary texts refer to its rebuilding; Ashurbanipal credits Sennacherib as a previous builder, but does not describe his grandfather's work.\(^{55}\) Sennacherib claims to have raised its summit as high as a mountain and to have reinforced its base with limestone. As part of the renovations, its gates were presumably rebuilt; at least one gate is mentioned as being opposite a bridge that crossed over the Ḫusur River. Work on the citadel wall was in progress in 699.

The Citadel Temples

Early in his reign (ca. 702), Sennacherib sponsored the renovation of several temples in Nineveh’s citadel. Among these were the temples of Šin, Ningal, Šamaš, Aya, and the Lady of Nineveh (= Ištar/Mullissu).\(^{56}\) Sennacherib also renovated a shrine of the god Ḫaya (the god of scribes), but it is uncertain whether this sanctuary was part of the Nabû temple Ezida (“True House”) or was located elsewhere (possibly in Aššur).\(^{57}\)

The Armory

After the completion of the “Palace Without a Rival,” or shortly before work on that palace was finished, Sennacherib began rebuilding and enlarging the armory, a large building south of the citadel and next to the western city wall that he referred to as the “Rear Palace” (ekal kutalli) and occasionally as the “Review Palace” (ekal māsart).\(^{58}\) The work may have begun in 691, as suggested by the earliest known sources for that project, and probably continued for several years, at least until 688 or 687.\(^{59}\) Sennacherib razed the former armory — which he complained was too small, poorly constructed, and dilapidated — made fallow land in its vicinity suitable for building, and constructed its replacement on a high brick terrace. The new “Rear Palace” comprised two wings and a large outer courtyard. One wing was built in the Syrian style, while another was built in the Assyrian style. Timber for its roof and doors was supplied by kings of Amurrū (the West). Bull colossi, sculpted from white limestone hewn in the region of the city Balāṭaya, were stationed in its gateways. Statues of sphinxes bore cedar columns; other monumental bronze protective figures (including lamassus) and decorative elements adorned its rooms and gates. The outer courtyard was designed so that horses and other animals could be exercised there. In addition, Sennacherib had a structure with four copper pillars and a cedar
roof constructed; this may have been the very spot where the king sat when reviewing troops and animals, tribute, and prisoners.

A New Akītu-house

Sennacherib had a new akītu-house built to the north of the Nergal Gate (ca. 690). Ešaḫulezenzagmukam (“House of Joy and Gladness for the Festival of the Beginning of the Year”) was intended to replace the existing akītu-house, which after the completion of the new city wall was now situated inside Nineveh. The new temple was probably constructed in connection with his religious reforms. It is possible that this project was abandoned before its completion. Sometime after the destruction of Babylon in 689, Sennacherib may have decided to construct another akītu-house for the god Aššur in the outskirts of Aššur; this may explain why Ashurbanipal rebuilt the former, original akītu-house, and not Ešaḫulezenzagmukam.

Other Projects at Nineveh

Prism fragments (text no. 33) discovered in a palatial building excavated about 600 m northeast of Nebi Yunus attest to another project of Sennacherib at Nineveh. Since those inscriptions have not yet been published, we do not know the function of that building.

Dating and Chronology

Texts edited in this volume occasionally mention contemporary dates and the charts in this section are intended to aid the reader in understanding those dates.

The Mesopotamian month names and their modern equivalents are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>I</th>
<th>Nisannu</th>
<th>March–April</th>
<th>VII</th>
<th>Tašrītu</th>
<th>September–October</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td>Ayyāru</td>
<td>April–May</td>
<td>VIII</td>
<td>Araḫsamna</td>
<td>October–November</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III</td>
<td>Simānu</td>
<td>May–June</td>
<td>IX</td>
<td>Kislimu</td>
<td>November–December</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV</td>
<td>Du’ūzu</td>
<td>June–July</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>Ṭebētu, Kinūnu</td>
<td>December–January</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>Abu</td>
<td>July–August</td>
<td>XI</td>
<td>Šabātu</td>
<td>January–February</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI</td>
<td>Ulūlu</td>
<td>August–September</td>
<td>XII</td>
<td>Addaru</td>
<td>February–March</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI₂</td>
<td>Intercalary Ulūlu</td>
<td></td>
<td>XII₂</td>
<td>Intercalary Addaru</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Unless it is stated otherwise, the dates given in this volume (excluding those in bibliographical citations) are all BC. Each ancient Mesopotamian year has been given a single Julian year equivalent even though the ancient year actually encompassed parts of two Julian years, with the ancient year beginning around the time of the vernal equinox. Thus, for example, the 3rd regnal year of Sennacherib (the eponymy of Nabû-li’e’i) is indicated to be 702, although it actually ended in early 701 and thus events which took place late in the ancient year “702” actually took place early in the Julian year 701.

Several exemplars of text no. 2 and text no. 3 are dated according to the Elamite month Sibīt, the seventh month of the Elamite calendar. At this time, we cannot offer a satisfactory explanation why Sennacherib’s (and later Esarhaddon’s) scribes dated some texts by Elamite months rather than Mesopotamian ones.

King Lists

Babylonian King List A and several synchronistic king lists record that Sennacherib was king of Assyria and Babylonia. The Ptolemaic Canon, however, does not mention Sennacherib as a ruler of Babylon, but rather records the periods that he directly controlled Babylon as “kingless.” For the convenience of the user of this volume, it has been thought useful to present translations of the relevant passages here. In this section, the entries immediately preceding and following those of the kings whose inscriptions are also edited in this volume are given when they are preserved.

---

60 Text no. 37. For evidence that there were two akītu-houses at Nineveh, see Frahm, NABU 2000 pp. 75–79 no. 66.

1. Babylonian King List A

(CT 36 pls. 24–25; Grayson, RLA 6/1–2 [1980] pp. 90–96 §3.3)

iv 11) 5 (years) Sargon (II)
iv 12) 2 (years) Sennacherib, Ḫabigal (Ḫanigalbat) Dynasty
iv 13) 1 month Marduk-za-ki-r-šumi (II), son of Arad
iv 14) 9 months Marduk-apla-iddina (II), a soldier of Ḫabībāt (Ḫanigalbat)
iv 15) 3 (years) Bēl-ibi, E (Babylon) Dynasty
iv 16) 6 (years) Aššur-nādin-šumi, Ḫabigal (Ḫanigalbat) Dynasty
iv 17) 1 (year) Nergal-ušēzib
iv 18) 4' (years) Mušēzib-Marduk, E (Babylon) Dynasty
iv 19) 8' (years) Sennacherib
iv 20) [N] (years) Esarha(dddron)

2. Synchronistic King List


Lacuna (at the end of col. iii)
iv 1) [Senn]acherib, king of Assyria [and Babylon]
iv 2) Nabû-apla-iddina (was) his scholar [...]
iv 10) Sennacherib, king of Assyria and Babylon
iv 11) Bēl-upaḫhir (and) Kalbu (were) his schol[ars]
iv 12) Esarhaddon, son of Sennacherib, king of Assyria and Babylon
iv 13) Nabû-zēru-lišer (and) Ištar-šumu-ēreš (were) his scholars

3. A Fragment of a Synchronistic King List

(Schroeder, KAV no. 9; Grayson, RLA 6/1–2 [1980] pp. 121–122 §3.13)

Lacuna
iv 1’) [...] Aššur-nādin-šumi
iv 2’) [...] Šū[zubu (Nergal-ušēzib)]
iv 3’) [...] Šū[zubu (Mušēzib-Marduk)]
iv 4’) [...] Sennach[erib]
iv 5’) [...] Esar[haddon]

4. A Fragment of a Synchronistic King List

(Schroeder, KAV no. 182; Grayson, RLA 6/1–2 [1980] pp. 124–125 §3.17)

Lacuna
iv 1’) [Sennacherib, king of Assyria and Babylon] Nabû-bānī
iv 2’) [ditto] Kalbu

---

62 For an explanation of BALA Ḫa-bi-gal (iv 12 and 16) and ERIM Ḫa-bi (iv 14), see Brinkman, Studies Oppenheim pp. 35–37 and Frame, RIMB 2 pp. 90–91. Recently, M. Valério (Journal of Language Relationship 6 [2011] pp. 173–183) has argued that the Semitic name of Mitanni (Ḫanigalbat) should be read as Ḫa-ni-Rabbāt, a West-Semitic (Amorite) name meaning “Great Ḫani.” If this understanding of the name is correct, then one should read BALA Ḫa-bi-gal as BALA Ḫa-bi-GAL “Habi-rabbat dynasty.” As pointed out by G. Frame (RIMB 2 pp. 90–91), it is unclear why some Assyrian kings are given dynastic affiliation (Sennacherib and Aššur-nādin-šumi to the Ḫabībāt [Ḫanigalbat] dynasty, and Shalmaneser V to the Baltil dynasty) while others are not (Tiglath-Pileser III, Sargon II, and Esarhaddon). It is also curious that King List A describes Marduk-apla-iddina II during his first regnal period (721–710) as being from the Sealand dynasty (KUR tam-tim), but as a soldier of Ḫabībāt during his second regnal period (703).
63 J.A. Brinkman (Studies Oppenheim pp. 24–25 n. 137 and RLA 7/5–6 [1989] p. 379) proposes that Marduk-za-ki-r-šumi II is likely to be identified with a provincial governor of this name who is said to have been the son (or descendant) of Arad-Ea and who appeared as a witness in a kudurru composed at Babylon in 715 (Messerschmidt and Ungnad, VAS 1 no. 37 v 2–3).
64 For the interpretation that BALA E may refer to the Babylon Dynasty, see Brinkman, PKB pp. 166–171.
5. *Ptolemaic Canon*

(Wachsmuth, Alten Geschichte p. 305; Grayson, RLA 6/1–2 [1980] p. 101 §3.8)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Eponym</th>
<th>Date of Reign</th>
<th>Dated Texts</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Arkeanos (Sargon II)</td>
<td>5 (years)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bēl-ibni</td>
<td>2 (years)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aparanados (Aššur-nādin-šumi)</td>
<td>6 (years)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rhegelos (Nergal-ušezib)</td>
<td>1 (year)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mesimordakos (Mušezib-Marduk)</td>
<td>4 (years)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asaradinos (Esarhaddon)</td>
<td>13 (years)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Eponym Dates**

In Assyria, each year was named after a high official, called a *limmu* or *limu* in Akkadian, and lists of these officials (eponyms) were compiled by the Assyrian scribes. The following list of the eponym officials for the reign of Sennacherib is based upon Millard, SAAS 2 pp. 48–51, 60–61, and 71. Dated inscriptions that are included in the present volume are also noted below. A number of inscriptions whose dates may possibly be determined with some degree of confidence (e.g., instances with a clear *terminus post quem* for the inscription) are given in bold.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Regnal Year</th>
<th>Eponym</th>
<th>Dated Texts</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>705</td>
<td>Accession</td>
<td>Nashūr-Bēl, governor of Amedī</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>704</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Nabū-đeni-ēpuš, governor of Nineveh</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>703</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Nuhšāya, governor of Kilizi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>702</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Nabū-ēli, governor of Arbela</td>
<td>1, 2–3, 36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>701</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Hanānu, governor of Til-Barsip</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>700</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Mitūnu, governor of Isāna</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>699</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>Bēl-šarrēni, governor of Kurbail</td>
<td>5, 6–7, 8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>698</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>Šulmu-šarri, governor of Ḥalzi-atbar</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>697</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>Nabū-durī-uṣur, governor of Tamnunna</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>696</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>Šulmu-Bēl, governor of Talmusī</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>695</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>Aššur-bēlu-uṣur, governor of Šaḫuppa/Katmuḫu</td>
<td>16, 19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>694</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>Ilu-issiya, governor of Damascus</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>693</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>Iddin-ahḫē, governor of Dūr-Šarrukīn</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>692</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>Zazāya, governor of Arpad</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>691</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>Bēl-ēmuranni, governor of Carchemish</td>
<td>18, 22–23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>690</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>Nabū-kēnu-uṣur, governor of Samaria</td>
<td>35–36, 37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>689</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>Gaḥilu, governor of Hartirika</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>688</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>Iddin-ahḫē, governor of Šīmrīra</td>
<td>24–25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>687</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>Sennacherib, king of Assyria</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>686</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>Bēl-ēmuranni, commander of the right</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>685</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>Aššur-da’īnannī of Que</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>684</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>Manzernē, governor of Kullania</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>683</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>Mannu-ki-Adad of Šupite</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>682</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>Nabū-šarru-uṣur, governor of Mar’aš</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>681</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>Nabū-ahḫē-ēreš, governor of Sam’al</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Chronicles

The Eponym Chronicle and three Mesopotamian chronicles provide useful information both on events of the reign of Sennacherib and on the order of those events. The standard edition of the Eponym Chronicle is that of Millard (Millard, SAAS 2) and that of Mesopotamian chronicles is the edition of A.K. Grayson (Grayson, Chronicles), but note also the recent edition by J.-J. Glassner (Glassner, Chronicles) and the on-going work by I. Finkel and R.J. van der Spek (see www.livius.org/cg-cm/chronicles/chron00.html [2012]). For the convenience of the user of this volume, it has been thought useful to present translations of the relevant passages here; these translations are adapted from the aforementioned works.

1. The Eponym Chronicle

(Millard, SAAS 2, in particular pp. 48–49 and 60–61; Glassner, Chronicles pp. 164–177 no. 9, especially pp. 174–177)

In the eponymy of Nasḫur-Bēl, governor of the city Amedi (705):

The king ...; against Gurdî, the Kulummian ... [...]. The king was killed (and) the camp of the king of Assyria [...]. Sennacherib [became] king in the month Abu (V), on the 12th day.65

In the eponymy of Nabû-dēnī-ēpuš, governor of Nineveh (704):

To [...] the cities Larak, Sarrabānu, [...]; the palace of the city Kilizi was built; ... in [...]; nobles against the Kulummians.66

In the eponymy of Nabû-lēʾi, governor of Arbela (702):

In the eponymy of Nuṣya, governor of the city Kilizi (703):

In the eponymy of Nabû-lī, governor of Arbela (702):

In the eponymy of Šanūn, governor of the city Tīl-Barṣip (701):

[...]

In the eponymy of Mitūnu, governor of the city Isna (700):

[...]

In the eponymy of Bēl-šarrāni, governor of Kurbail (699):

Lacuna

2. Chronicle Concerning the Period from Nabû-nīr to Šamaš-šuma-ukīn

(Grayson, Chronicles pp. 69–87 no. 1; Glassner, Chronicles pp. 193–203 no. 16 and pp. 202–207 no. 17; note also Brinkman, Studies Moran pp. 73–104, especially pp. 102–104; and Weissert, CRRA 38 pp. 273–282)67

ii 6–11) The first year of Sennacherib (704): [...] ... [...] ... Marduk-apla-iddina (II) (Merodach-baladan) [...] ...

ii 12–16a) The second year [of Sennacherib (703)]: He went down to Akkad and did battle with Marduk-apla-iddina (II) before Kish. Marduk-apla-iddina (II) retreated before him (and) fled to the land Guzummānu. In Babylon, Sennacherib entered the palace of Marduk-apla-iddina (II) and ... his royal treasures.

ii 16b–19) He (Sennacherib) ... [... (and) plundered (it), but] he did not disperse the Babylonians. He pursued Marduk-apla-iddina (II) [... (to) the border of ...], but Marduk-apla-iddina (II) [could] not be found.68

ii 20–23) He (Sennacherib) plundered his (Marduk-apla-iddina II’s) land, ... [...] [... and took] the cities Larak and Sarrabānu. When he withdrew, he (Sennacherib) put Bēl-ibni on the throne in Babylon.


Lacuna

65 See Weissert, CRRA 38 pp. 279–280.
67 J.A. Brinkman (Studies Moran pp. 73–104) and E. Weissert (CRRA 38 p. 273 n. 1) prefer to treat this chronographic text as made up of three separate recensions rather than duplicates; J.-J. Glassner (Glassner, Chronicles pp. 193–203 no. 16 and pp. 202–207 no. 17) similarly prefers to treat this text as two separate recensions.
68 The restorations in ii 6–19 tentatively follow Glassner, Chronicles pp. 196–197.

ii 32–35) The first year of Aššur-nādin-šumi (699): Ḫallušu-(Inšušînâk I), his (Šrutuk-Naḥḥunte II’s) brother, seized Šrutuk-Naḥḥunte (II) and imprisoned him. Šrutuk-Naḥḥunte (II) ruled the land Elam for eighteen years. His brother Ḫallušu-(Inšušînâk I) ascended the throne in the land Elam.


ii 46–iii 6a) The first year of Nergal-uṣêzib (693): On the sixteenth day of the month Du’ûzu (IV), Nergal-uṣêzib captured, looted, (and) plundered Nippûr. On the first day of the month Taṣîrîtu (VII), the army of Assyria entered Uruk (and) plundered the gods of Uruk and its inhabitants (by the Assyrians). On the seventh day of the month Taṣîrîtu, Nergal-uṣêzib fought against the army of Assyria in the province of Nippur. He was captured on the battlefield and taken to Assyria. Nergal-uṣêzib ruled Babylon for one year, (actually) six months.

iii 6b–9a) On the twenty-sixth day of the month Taṣîrîtu (VII), the subjects of Ḫallušu-(Inšušînâk I), king of the land Elam, rebelled against him, imprisoned him, (and) executed him. Ḫallušu-(Inšušînâk I) ruled the land Elam for six years. Kudur-(Naḥḥunte) ascended the throne in the land Elam.

iii 9b–12) Afterwards Sennacherib went down to the land Elam and ravaged (and) plundered (it) from the land Rûšî as far as Bit-Bûnakî (var. Bit-Bunakî). Muṣêzib-Marduk ascended the throne in Babylon.

iii 13–16a) The first year of Muṣêzib-Marduk (692): On the seventeenth (var. eighth) day of the month Abu (V), Kudur-(Naḥḥunte), king of the land Elam, was captured during a rebellion and killed. Kudur-(Naḥḥunte) ruled the land Elam for ten months. (Ḥūmîn)-nimena ascended the throne in the land Elam.

iii 16b–18) In an unknown year, (Ḥūmîn)-nimena mustered the troops of the land Elam (and) Akkad and at the city Ḥalûlê he fought against Assyria (var. the army of Assyria). He effected an Assyrian retreat. On the seventh day of the month Addaru (XII), (Ḥūmîn)-nimena, king of Elam, died. For four years (Ḥūmîn)-nimena ruled Elam in his stead. Muṣêzib-Marduk ascended the throne in the land Elam.

ii 28–33) The eighth year that there was no king in Babylon (681): On the third day of the month Du’ûzu (IV), the gods of Uruk went to Uruk from the land Elam. On the twenty-third day of the month Taṣîrîtu (VII), Ḫūmîn-[haltâš] (I), king of the land Elam, was stricken at midday and [dî]ed at [sun]set. Ḫūmîn-[haltâš] ruled the land Elam for eight years. Ḫūmîn-[haltâš], the second, his [son], ascended the throne.

ii 34–37) On the twentieth day of the month Ṭebêtu (X), Sennacherib, king of Assyria, was killed by his son in a rebellion. Sennacherib ruled Assyria for twenty-four years. The rebellion continued in Assyria from the twentieth day of the month Ṭebêtu until the second day of the month Addaru (XII).
On the eighteenth/twenty-eighth day of the month Addaru (XII), his son Esarhaddon ascended the throne in Assyria.

3. Esarhaddon Chronicle
(Grayson, Chronicles pp. 125–128 no. 14; Glassner, Chronicles pp. 206–211 no. 18; note also Brinkman, Studies Moran pp. 88–90)

31´–34´) For eight years (during the reign of) Sennacherib, for twelve years (during the reign of) Esarhaddon — twenty years (altogether) — the god Bēl stayed in Bālti (Aššur) and the *akitū*-festival did not take place. The god Nabû did not come from Borsippa for the procession of the god Bēl. In the month Kislīmu (IX), Ashurbanipal, [his (i.e. Esarhaddon’s)] son, ascended the throne in Assyria.

4. *Akītu Chronicle*
(Grayson, Chronicles pp. 131–132 no. 16; Glassner, Chronicles pp. 212–215 no. 20)

1–4) For [eight] years (during the reign of) Se[nacherib], for twelve years (during the reign of) Esar[haddon] — twenty years (altogether) — the god Bēl s[tayed] in Bālti (Aššur) [and] the *akitū*-festival did not take pla[ce].
This page intentionally left blank.
Several clay cylinders and cylinder fragments from Nineveh and Aššur are inscribed with the earliest known annalistic account of Sennacherib's reign. This inscription includes a short prologue, a lengthy and detailed account of the king's first campaign (late 704–early 702), which was directed against Marduk-apla-iddinna II (biblical Merodach-baladan) and his Chaldean and Elamite allies in Babylonia, and a building report describing the large-scale renovations of the "Palace Without a Rival" (the South-West Palace) and various other public works at Nineveh, including the creation of a botanical garden. Although none of the cylinders inscribed with this text are dated, the inscription was probably written early in 702 (Sennacherib's 3rd regnal year). In lieu of a date, the scribe indicated the total number of lines; each copy was inscribed with ninety-four lines of text. The inscription is sometimes referred to as the “First Campaign Cylinder.”

CATALOGUE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ex.</th>
<th>Museum Number</th>
<th>Excavation/Registration No.</th>
<th>Provenance</th>
<th>Dimensions (cm)</th>
<th>Lines Preserved</th>
<th>cpn</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>BM 113203</td>
<td>1915-4-10,1</td>
<td>Purchased from L. Géou</td>
<td>23.5 long; 13.5 dia.</td>
<td>1–95</td>
<td>c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>Ki 1902-5-10,1</td>
<td>Nineveh, Area SH</td>
<td>12.7 long; 10.5 dia.</td>
<td>1–10, 79–95</td>
<td>c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>Bu 89-4-26,175</td>
<td>Probably Nineveh</td>
<td>6.5×10</td>
<td>1–7, 82–94</td>
<td>c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>81-7-27,21</td>
<td>Probably Nineveh</td>
<td>9×9</td>
<td>1–4, 82–94</td>
<td>c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>BM 127939</td>
<td>1929-10-12,595</td>
<td>Nineveh</td>
<td>6×6.7</td>
<td>1–4, 86–95</td>
<td>c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>Bu 89-4-26,39</td>
<td>Probably Nineveh</td>
<td>4.5×3.5</td>
<td>1–10</td>
<td>c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Rm 2,186</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>Probably Nineveh</td>
<td>5.8×3.2</td>
<td>14–21</td>
<td>c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>Bu 89-4-26,140</td>
<td>Probably Nineveh</td>
<td>4.5×4</td>
<td>18–26</td>
<td>c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>BM 99046</td>
<td>Ki 1904-10-9,75</td>
<td>Nineveh</td>
<td>6×7</td>
<td>23–39</td>
<td>c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>Bu 89-4-26,149</td>
<td>Probably Nineveh</td>
<td>4.5×3</td>
<td>46–55</td>
<td>c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>VA 8985</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>Aššur</td>
<td>10×11</td>
<td>49–78</td>
<td>c</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

CATALOGUE OF UNCERTAIN EXEMPLARS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ex.</th>
<th>Museum Number</th>
<th>Excavation/Registration No.</th>
<th>Provenance</th>
<th>Dimensions (cm)</th>
<th>Lines Preserved</th>
<th>cpn</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1*</td>
<td>BM 134584</td>
<td>1932-12-12,579</td>
<td>Nineveh, South-West Palace, Trench II</td>
<td>3×3.5</td>
<td>1–5</td>
<td>c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2*</td>
<td>K 14959</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>Probably Nineveh</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>48–60</td>
<td>c</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

COMMENTARY

The so-called “First Campaign Cylinder” is one of the earliest extant texts composed under the auspices of this king. Two versions of the text are presently known. The first is written on cylinders discovered at Aššur and Nineveh, and the second is inscribed on two cylinders found at Tarbiṣu. The prologues and accounts of military narration of both editions are identical (with minor variants), but the build-
ing reports deviate: those from Aššur and Nineveh record work undertaken at Nineveh, while those from Tarbišu describe the rebuilding of Egalmeslam, the temple of the god Nergal in that city. For this reason, the Tarbišu cylinders are edited on their own, in Part 2 (with the other Tarbišu inscriptions). That text, however, is used in the reconstruction of the damaged passages in lines 1–62. E. Frahm has suggested that the talented scribe Nabû-uzuq-pēnū was the author of this inscription. For the evidence, see Frahm, ISIMU 6 (2003) pp. 157–160. For other biographical information on Nabû-uzuq-pēnū, see Baker and Pearce, PNA 2/2 pp. 912–913.

Sennacherib’s cylinder inscriptions fall into two broad categories: (1) foundation inscriptions with annalistic accounts (text nos. 1–9) and (2) foundation inscriptions with no military narration; these correspond to Grayson’s IA1 (and IA2) and IB1 categories respectively (Orientalia NS 49 [1980] pp. 150–153). The first type, the group to which this text belongs, represents the most common type of text attested on clay cylinders from the reign of Sennacherib, while the second type is far less commonly attested. The inscriptions with annalistic narration were inscribed on cylinders deposited in the structure of Egalzagdinutukau (the “Palace Without a Rival”), located in the southwest corner of Kuyunjik, in the structure of the citadel wall, and in the structure of Nineveh’s new wall (Badnigalibilukurāšu, “Wall Whose Brilliance Overwhelms Enemies”); at Tarbišu, they were deposited in the structure of Egalmeslam. Texts without military narration were probably all written on clay cylinders deposited in the structure of a temple.

There are numerous fragments of clay cylinders inscribed with annalistic accounts and reports of construction of the king’s palace. Almost all of these, with a few exceptions (text nos. 5–9), are duplicates of text nos. 1–4. The attribution of many of the fragments can be determined with certainty because there is sufficient textual variation in the content of those four inscriptions; in some cases, especially with text no. 4, line divisions can aid in the attribution of some of the pieces (because each copy of text no. 4 divides the inscription in the exact same manner). Nevertheless, there are a few tiny fragments whose precise identification still remains uncertain. This is particularly true when trying to distinguish some of the small fragments inscribed with text no. 3 and text no. 4. Exemplars whose attribution is not certain have an asterisk (*) following the exemplar number, for example exs. 1* and 2* of this inscription, and these exemplars are listed in a separate catalogue (Catalogue of Uncertain Exemplars), beneath the main catalogue. Assuming ex. 1* is not inscribed with a copy of this text, then that fragment could preserve lines 1–5 of text no. 2, text no. 3, or text no. 4. Ex. 2* is likely an exemplar of this text (rather than of text nos. 2–4), but its attribution is a bit uncertain because there are only traces of signs in lines 1′–6′ and 13′ and because the readings of several of the signs in lines 7′–12′ are not entirely certain.

The provenance of ex. 1 is not known, but according to records in the British Museum this cylinder was purchased from I. Géjou. S. Smith (Senn. p. 2) proposed that it came from the same location as BM 103000 (text no. 17 ex. 1), which E.A.W. Budge (By Nile and Tigris 2 p. 23) states “was found in a chamber built in the wall (or perhaps it was sunk in the actual wall), close to one of the human-headed bulls of one of the gates of Nineveh, and the bull near which it was placed must have been removed before it could be extracted from the wall.” Although the building report describes work on Sennacherib’s “Palace Without a Rival,” it should not be assumed that ex. 1 was deposited in the structure of that building because several clay prisms and cylinders containing building reports recording work performed at Nineveh (for example, ex. 11) were discovered at Aššur. E. Frahm (Sanherib p. 42 and ISIMU 6 [2003] p. 131) tentatively suggests the possibility that ex. 1 originates from Area SH, an area located north of Kuyunjik and close to the western wall, and a location at which many inscribed cylinders and prisms were found or are thought to have been discovered. Ex. 2 (Ki 1902–5-10,1) may have been picked up by a guard in Area SH; see Frahm, ISIMU 6 (2003) p. 132. Based on their museum number, exs. 3, 6, 8, and 10 could come from the same cylinder, but without any physical joins. R. Borger (BAL2 p. 64) listed Th 1905-4-9,64 as an exemplar of this text, but that fragment is an exemplar of text no. 4 and is therefore edited with that inscription.

The master text is ex. 1, with some restorations from exs. 2, 4, 6–7, and 11; line 95 is a conflation of exs. 1 and 6. A score of the inscription is presented on the CD-ROM. The damaged passages in lines 5–15 are restored from the two cylinders discovered at Tarbišu. For a combined score of lines 1–62 of the Nineveh and Tarbišu recensions of the “First Campaign Cylinder,” with detailed textual commentary, see the edition in Frahm, ISIMU 6 (2003) pp. 134–151.
BIBLIOGRAPHY

1896 Bezdol, Cat. 4 pp. 1655, 1796, 1920, 1927, and 1930 (exs. 3-4, 6-8, 10 study)
1914 King, Cat. pp. 1 no. 1, 19 no. 111 and 144 no. 1493 (exs. 2, 9, 2* study)
1921 S. Smith, Senn. (exs. 1–2, copy, edition)
1921 Thureau-Dangin, RA 18 pp. 154–155 (exs. 1–2, study)
1922 BM Guide pp. 224 no. 13 (ex. 1, study)
1922 Ebeling, BBK 1/2 (exs. 1–2, edition)
1922 Meissner, OLZ 25 cols. 402–406 (exs. 1–2, study)
1939 Weidhaas, ZA 45 pp. 109–110 (lines 82–85, edition, study)
1964 Brinkman, Studies Oppenheim pp. 22–26 and 45 (study)
1965 Brinkman, JNES 24 pp. 164–165 (lines 6–9, edition, study)
1968 Lambert and Millard, Cat. pp. 39 and 79 (exs. 5, 1*, study)
1974 Eph'al, JAOS 94 pp. 110–115 (ex. 1, study)
1979 Borger, BAL 2 pp. 64–65, 68 (study)
1984 Brinkman, Prelude pp. 56–59 (study)
1988 Dalley in Curtis, Bronzeworking pp. 104–105 (lines 83–84, study)
1992 Lambert, Cat. p. 77 (ex. 1, study)
1995 Laato, VT 45 p. 204 (lines 5–62, study)
1995 W. Mayer, Studies von Soden pp. 310–312 (line 60, study)
1995 Reade in Curtis and Reade, Art and Empire p. 95 no. 37 (ex. 1, photo, study)
1997 Frahm, Sanherib pp. 42–45 T 1 (exs. 1–1*, study; lines 5–10, score)
1997 Pedersén, Katalog p. 223 (ex. 11, study)
1999 Gallagher, Sennacherib's Third Campaign p. 81 (line 19, translation, study)
1999 Matthiae, Ninive p. 20 (ex. 1, photo)
2000 Lanfranchi, Melammu 1 p. 22 n. 61 (line 71, study)
2000 Na’a’man, JAOS 120 p. 621 (line 52, translation, study)
2003 Cogan, COS 2 pp. 300–302 (lines 5–62, translation)
2003 Frahm, ISIMU 6 pp. 129–164 (lines 1–62, composite edition; exs. 1–11, study)
2003 Renger, Studies Wilcke p. 234 (study)
2004 Rivaroli, Iqra 66 pp. 201–202 (line 76, translation; lines 76, 87–88, study)
2007 Aster, JAOS 127 pp. 267 and 269 (lines 26, 62, translation, study)
2008 Frahm, JCSMS 3 p. 15 (lines 81–84, translation; study)
2008 Winter, SAOC 62 p. 335 (lines 83–84, study)
2009 Frahm, KAL 3 pp. 15, 76–78 and 221 no. 33 (ex. 11, copy, edition)
2009 Frahm, RLA 12/1–2 p. 15 (study)

Figure 3. BM 113203 (text no. 1 ex. 1), the First Campaign Cylinder of Sennacherib, which records the king’s first campaign and the construction of the “Palace Without a Rival.” © Trustees of the British Museum.
TEXT

1) mdųEN.ZU-ŠEŠ.MEŠ-eri-ba  LUGAL GAL LUGAL
dan-nu  LUGAL KUR aš-šur.  LUGAL  ša-na-an
RE.É.UM mut-nen-nu-uu  pa-ših  DINGIR.MEŠ
GAL.MEŠ

2) na-šir  kit-ti  ra’  i-im  mi-ša-ra  e-piš  ú-sa-a-ti  a-lik
tap-pu-u  u-ti  i-sa-ši-ru  dam-qa-a-ti

3) e-tum  git-ša-lum  zi’-ka-ra  qar-du  aša-red  kal
ma-al-li  rap-pu  la’-i-it  la  ma-gi-ri  mu-ša-bi-qu
za-ma-a-ni

4) aš-šur  KUR-ti  GAL-ú  LUGAL-ut  la  ša-na-an
‘uša-lam-ša-an  ta-ši  ta-ra  KUR-ti  GAL-ú
la ša-na-an

5) i-na  SAG  LUGAL-ti-ia  ša  i-na  GIŠ.GU.ZA
[(be-lu-ti)]  uš-ši-bu-ma  ba-ša-hu-la-a-te  KUR
aš-šur.  ša  i-na  ta-ša-me-e  uša-li-me

6) AMAR.UTU-IBILA-SUM  NA  LUGAL
KUR.KAR-šun-[ia-šš  a-šu  len]-nu
ba-ra-nu-ű  karaš  sur-ru-a-ti  e-piš  le-mut-ti  ša
an-zil-la-šu  ‘kit-tu

7) šu-tür-[ša-su]-hu-du  uša-lam-ša-an  ib]-nu
ša-šu-a-ti-ša  is-šu-ma  KUR.GI  KUR.BABBAR
ni-si-tq-šu  ša.MEŠ  ša-ša-lim-šu  e-ter-ri-su

8) šm-ba-ap-pa  LÚ-tur-ta-nu
ša-šu-a-ti-ša  sa.na-an-nu-uu  LÚ.Š.Ū,  10
LÚ.GAL  KI.SIR.MEŠ  aš-ša-li
LÚ.su-tiš-šu  la  a-di-ru  ta-ša-šu

9) 80  lim  LÚ.Erim.MEŠ  GIŠ.PA.NI
[GIŠ.az-ma-re-e  8  ME  50  GIŠ.][šu-ša]-nī
KUR.RA.MEŠ  ša-nu-ši  a-na  KUR.EM.GI,  ū  URI.KI  is-pu-ra
rušu-šu-šu-šu

10) ū  šu-ši’-išu  [LÚ.kal-du-šu-nu  e-piš  HUL-tim
NUMUN  nê-er-ti  UNUG.KI1  ARARMA.KI  ůR.LI
ERIDU.IK  KUL-ab,1  ki  is-siK.KI1
URU.ME-nED [ša]-[gu]-da

11) KUR.É-ra-[ša]-ni  KUR.É-ma-muk-ka-a-ni
KUR.É-šu-ša-a-ni  KUR.É-ma-ša-a-ni
KUR.É-ša-li-[šu]-ni
KUR.É-ma-kur-ri  si-hir-ti  ‘LÚ.š[u]-di  ma-la
ba-ša-ti

12) ša  GÚ  ši[š]-[CU]-DAQ-QU  LÚ.GIB-re-e
’LÚ.ma-li-šu  ša-GÚ  ši[š]-[DU]-BA-QU

1-3) Sennacherib, great king, strong king, king of Assyria, unrivalled king, pious shepherd who reveres the great gods, guardian of truth who loves justice, renders assistance, goes to the aid of the weak, (and) strives after good deeds, perfect man, virile warrior, foremost of all rulers, the bride that controls the insubmissive, (and) the one who strikes enemies with lightning:

4) The god Aššur, the great king, granted to me unrivalled sovereignty and made my weapons greater than (those of) all who sit on (royal) daises.

5-7 At the beginning of my kingship, after [I sat on the ([lordly]) throne] and took command of the population of Assyria amid obedienc and peace, Marduk-apla-iddina (II) (Merodach-baladan), king of Karduniša (Babylonia), an evil [foe], a rebel (with) a treacherous mind, an evildoer whose villainous acts are true, sought [friendship with Šutur-Nahhunu (Šutur-Nahḫunte II), an [Elamite], by presenting him with gold, silver, (and) precious stones; then, he continuously requested reinforcements.

8-9 To the land of Sumer and Akkad, he (Šutur-Nahhunu) sent to his (Marduk-apla-iddina’s) assistant Imbappa, [his] field marshal, [together with the] massed body of [his] [Ir]oops, Tannānu, (his) third man, ten unit commanders, including Nergal-nāṣīr, a Sutian who is fearless in battle, 80,000 archers (and) lancers, (and) the 850] wagons (and) horses that were with them.

10-15 Moreover, he, [the evil Chaldean, evildoer, (and) offspring of murder], gathered together [Urux, Lars]a, Er, Erud, Kulaba, Kissik, (and) Nēmed-la-guda, the lands of the Bīt-Ya’Kīn, Bīt-Amukānī, Bīt-Šillānī (Bīt-Šillānī), Bīt-Sa’ajīlī, (and) Bīt-Dakkūrī, all of the Chaldeans, as many as there were; on the bank(s) of the [Tigris] River, the [Tu’umuna, Riḫiḫa], Yadaquaq, Gibrē, (and) Malīḫu (Malāḫu); on the bank(s) of the [Surappu] River, [the Gurumu, Ubulu, Damu]nu, Gam- bulu, Hindaru, Ru’u’a, (and) Puqudu; on the bank(s)

1) RE.É.UM mut-nen-nu-uu  pa-ših  DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ “pious shepherd who reveres the great gods”; Sennacherib uses these epithets in most of his cylinder inscriptions written between 702 and 700. The Tarbiṣu copies of the “First Campaign Cylinder”, however, have RE.É.UM ke-e-nu mi-gir DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ “true shepherd, favorite of the great gods,” epithets more in line with texts inscribed on clay prisms. See Frahm, ISIMU 6 (2003) p. 145 for further information.

2) For a study of these epithets, see Tadmor, Studies Weinfeld pp. 385-390.

3) zi’-: Ex. 1 has zi’-

4) Ba-ra-nu-ű ka-raš sur-ru-a-ti e-piš le-mut-ti ša an-zil-la-šu ‘kit-tu” “a rebel (with) a treacherous mind, an evildoer whose villainous acts are true”’ As E. Frahm (ISIMU 6 [2003] p. 145) has already pointed out, these epithets for Marduk-apla-iddina II are antithetical to Sennacherib’s epithets.

5) M.P. Streck (RLA 9/1-2 [1998] p. 209), assessing the present textual evidence, proposes that the Bīt-Yaḵīn city Nēmed-Laguda is located in southern Mesopotamia, right on or near the Persian Gulf. D.R. Frayne (ICMS 4 [2009] p. 61), however, suggests a precise location, proposing that Nēmed-Laguda is modern Mazlaq, which is located on the delta of the ancient course of the Euphrates, as the river enters the modern Hor al Hammari.
14) ša GÖ 'ID;[BURANUN LÜ. hasta-am-ra-a-nu LÜ. hasta-ga-ra-a-nu] LÜ.na-ba-ti LÜ.hi-`i-ta-á-ú LÜ.a-ra-mu la kan-šu šá la i-du-`u³
    m-i-`u²-tum
15) NIBRUK DIL-bar[.KI MARAD.DAKI KIŠ.KI
    URTU hur-sag-kalam-ma KÁ.DINGIR];RA.KI
    bádir-sipa.KI GÚ.DÚ.A.KI gi-mír
    KUR.kát-dun-iá-dás iš-te-níš ú-pa-hír-²ma³
    [ú]²šak-³-šir `ta³-ša-zu
16) ia-a-ti [-]md.ÉN.ZU-šEš³,MEš-eri²ba zI²-kar² EDIN²
    na-a²-du² ep-es-te-tí šam lemé-e-tí
    ú-šá-an-nu-ním-ma ša-la-bí ša-an-na-dir-ma
    qe-reb KÁ.DINGIR.RAKI a²-na maš³-ri-šu
    aq-ti²-bi¹ a-la-ku
17) šú-ú hi-ri-iš gal-le-e lem-ní a-lak ger-ri-ia
    iš-me-ma ANŠ.KUR.RA.MEŠ ERIM.MEŠ GIŠ.PÁN
    LÜ.a-la-mu-LÜ a-ra-mu LÜ.kal-du it-tí
    [-]md.GUR-na-šir ū 10 LÜ.GAL KI.ŠIR.[MEŠ LUGAL]
    KUR.EL.MAKI ³šá la¹ i-du mi²-tú³
18) e-ru-qi² la ni-bi it-tí šá-nu-tí-ma šá-dan-ní-in
    ki-is-ri-šá-un qe-reb GÚ.DÚ.A.KI iš-te-níš
    ú-še-ri²-ma a-na me-te-eq ger-ri-ia ú-šá-an-²šir
    ka²-¹-du³
19) ší-in-di-ia uš-te-še-ra UD.20.KÁM ša ITI-ZÍZ ul-ru
    bal-tíl.KI GIM GÚ³.AM gap-ší meh-ret
    ERIM.HÁ.ÁA aš-bat-ma pa-an gi-ip-ší-ia ul
    ú-šá²-gil²-ma³ ar-²ka²-a ul ú-šá-qi²
20) LÜ.GAL SAG LÜ.EN.NAM.MEŠ-ia a-na kiš.KI
    ú-ma²-er maš-ru-u-a la ū-ru-ú
    md.ÁMAR.UTU-IBILA-SUM.NA šab-ta-a-ma e
tè-ga-a dun-ní-na ma-sa-túš
21) šú-ú LÜ.EN.NAM.MEŠ-ia e-mur-ma a-di gi-mír
    el-la-tí Ší KÁ.GAL [4za-ba²,ba² usša-am ma i-na
ta-mír-tí kiš.KI it-tí LÜ.GAL.MEŠ-ia e-ru-úš
ta-ḥa-žu
22) LÜ.GAL.MEŠ-ia qit-ru-ub ta-ḥa-zi LÜ.KÚR
    UGU-šú-an iš-ð-nim-ma ul i-le²-u-ú ma-har-šú
    LÜ².A šip-ri-šú-an šá-ḥa-mat i-na qe-reb
ta-mír-tí GÚ.DÚ.A.KI še-ru-u-a iš-pu-ru-ú-ni
    i-na ugu-lig bi-iša UGU GÚ.DÚ.A.KI ti-bu
    šam-gaš-aš-kun-nu LÜ.mun-dah-sí sa-hi-ir
    BÁD-šá² aš²-lí-iš ú-teb²-bi-iš-ma aš-ša-bat URU
23) ANŠ.KUR.RA.MEŠ ERIM.MEŠ GIŠ.PÁN
    LÜ.e-la-me-e LÜ.a-ra-mu LÜ.kal-du LÜ.GAL
    KI.ŠIR.MEŠ.LÜ.KUR.EL.MAKI ū
    md.GUR-na-šir a-di DUMU.MEŠ URU EN ḥi-ít-tí

16–18) When they reported his (Marduk-apla-iddina’s) evil deeds to me, Sennacherib, the attentive man of the steppe, I raged up like a lion and ordered the march into Babylon to confront him. He (Marduk-apla-iddina), the (very) image of an evil galli-demon, heard about the advance of my expeditionary forces, then he reinforced his companies with horses (and) Elamite, Aramean, (and) Chaldean archers, together with Nergal-násir and ten unit commander[s of the king of] the land Elam who did not know (fear of) death, (and) the countless forces who were with them. He brought his contingents together in Cutha and had (them) keep watch at outposts for the approach of my expeditionary forces.

19–20) I put my yoked teams in order. On the twentieth day of the month Ṣabāṭu (XI), like a powerful wild ox, I took the lead of my troops from Baltîl (Aššur), but I did not wait for the main force of my army, nor did I wait for the rear guard. (20) I sent (my) chief eunuch (and) my provincial governors to Kish ahead of me, (saying): “Take the road to Marduk-apla-iddina (II) (Merodach-baladan), but do not be careless about putting a strong watch on him!”

21–22) He (Marduk-apla-iddina) saw my provincial governors, then came out of the Zababa Gate with all of his forces and did battle with my magnates in the plain of Kish. The enemy prevailed over my magnates in the thick of battle and they (my magnates) were unable to withstand them. They sent their messenger to me in the plain of Cutha for help.

23–24) In my rage, I unleashed a fierce assault on Cutha, I slaughtered the warriors surrounding its wall like deer and took possession of the horses. I brought out horses, the Elamite, Aramean, (and) Chaldean archers, the Elamite unit commanders, and Nergal-násir, together with the guilty citizens, and I counted (them) as booty.
ú-še-ša-am-ma šal-la-ti-iš am-nu
25) la-ab-biš an-na-dir-ma al-la-bi-ib a-bu-bi-iš it-ti
LÜ.qa-ra-di-ia la ga-me-lu-ti se-riš
mömAR,UTU-IBILA-SUM.NA a-na kiš.KI
àš-ta-kan pa-ni-ia
26) ù šu-ù e-piš lem-né-e-ti a-kā-ku ger-ri-ia a-na
ru-qé-e-ti e-mur-ma im-qu-su ḥat-tu gi-mir
el-lā-ti-iš ē-zib-ma a-na KUR.gu-zu-um-ma-ni
in-na-bit
27) mW-a-an-na-a-nu a-di um-ma-na-at
LÜ.ELAM.MA,KI LÜ.kal-du ù LÜ.a-ra-mu ša
i-da-a-šu iz-i-zu-ma il-li-ri-šu us-su
BAD,BAD,-šu-un āš-kun-ma ú-par-ri-ir el-lat-su
mW-a-di-nu DUMU NIN möm
28) mömAR,UTU-IBILA-SUM.NA a-di mba-as-qa-a-nu
šēš àia-i’i-e šar-rat LÜ.a-ri-bi it-ti
um-ma-na-te-išu-bu bal-šu-su-un ina qa-ti aš-bat
GIš.GIR.GIR,MEŠ GIš,šu-um-bi ANŠE.KUR.ŠA.ŠE
ANŠE.KUNGA,MEŠ ANŠE.MEŠ ANŠE.AB,BA,MEŠ
ANŠE,ud-ri ša qe-reb tam-ja-ri muš-šu-su
ik-šu-da ŠU.IL-a-a
30) i-na hù-ud lib-ši ù nu-um-mur pa-ni a-na
KĀ.DING.RA.KI a-hi-šu ma a-na Ė.GAL
mömAR,UTU-IBILA-SUM.NA dš-šu pa-qad NIG.ŠI
ù NIG.GA qe-reb-iš e-ru-ub
31) ap-te-e-ma Ė. ni-si-te-iš KŪ.GI KŪ,BABBAR
ù-nu-ut KŪ.GI KŪ,BABBAR NA₄,MEŠ a-qar-ti
GIš.NA,MEŠ GIš.GU.ZA,MEŠ né-me-di GIš.ŠA
ša-da-di GIš.gi-SH-ŠU- Rd LUGAL-ti-iši ša
iḫ-zi-šu-nu KŪ.GI KŪ,BABBAR
32) mim-ma šum-šu NIG.ŠU NIG.GA la ni-bi
ni-si-tum ka-bit-tum DAM-su MUNUS,ŠU.ŠA
MEŠ.ĠAL-ŠU MUNUS,AGIR.GIR.MEŠ LŪ.SU-ŠU SAG,ŠE
LŪ.SIR,MEŠ LŪ,man-za-az pa-ni LŪ.NAR,MEŠ
MUNUS,NA,MEŠ
33) LŪ.ARAD,MEŠ Ė.GAL nu-nam-mi-ru tê-mu
ru-bu-ti-iši ši-hi-ir-ti um-ma-iši ma-la bā-šu-ù
mut-tab-br-lu-tu Ė.GAL-ŠU šu-ša-am-ma
šal-li-ti-iš am-nu
34) ur-ri-iš-ma EGIŠ-ŠU a-na KUR.gu-zu-um-ma-ni
LU₄.mun-aši-iš a-na qe-reb ID.AQAM-mu û
ap-pa-ra-a-ti ú-ma-i’ser-ma 5 u₄-me
ù-ba-‘u-šu-ma ul in-nam-ma a-šar-šu
35) si-te-et ANŠE.KUR.ŠR,MEŠ ERIM,HA-LA-šu ša
ia-‘a-šu ma-na-àš-tum na-à-liš
ip-par-ši-du-šu-ma la il-li ku i-da-a-šu iš-tu
qe-reb EDIN û ba-ma-a-ti iš-te-niš u-pa-hiর
25–26) I raged up like a lion and became furious like the Deluge. With my merciless warriors, I set out for Kish against Marduk-apla-iddina (II) (Merodach-baladan). Moreover, he, (that) evildoer, saw the cloud of dust of my expeditionary force from afar and fear fell upon him. He abandoned all of his forces and fled to the land Guzummannu.

27–29) I defeated Tannânu, together with the Elamite, Chaldean, and Aramean troops who had stood by him and had come to his aid, and I scattered his forces. I captured alive Adinu, a nephew of Marduk-apla-iddina (II) (Merodach-baladan), together with Basîn, a brother of Ilati’e, queen of the Arabs, along with their troops. I seized the chariots, wagons, horses, mules, donkeys, camels, and (and) Bactrian camels that he had abandoned during the battle.

30–33) With a rejoicing heart and a radiant face, I rushed to Babylon and entered the palace of Marduk-apla-iddina (II) (Merodach-baladan) to take charge of the possessions and property therein. I opened his treasury and brought out gold, silver, gold (and) silver utensils, precious stones, beds, armchairs, a processionial carriage, royal paraphernalia of his with gold (and) silver mountings, all kinds of possessions (and) property without number, a substantial treasure, (together with) his wife, his palace women, female stewards, eunuchs, courtiers, attendants, male singers, female singers, palace servants who cheered up his princely mind, all of the craftsmen, as many as there were, (and) his palace attendants, and I counted (them) as booty.
36–39) In the course of my campaign, I surrounded, conquered, (and) plundered the cities Amatu, Ḫauae, Supapu, Nuqabu, Bit-Sannabi, Qudayin, Kidrina, Dūr-Ladini, Bitāti, (and) Bānitu, the land Guzmānu, the cities Dūr-Yansuri, Dūr-Abī-Yata’, Dūr-Rudumme, Bīt-Raḥē, Ḫāpiša, Sadian, Ḫurdu, Saḥrina, Iltuk, Allallu, Marad, Yaqimuna, Kupruna, Bīt-Kudurri, Sūqa-Marusi, altogether 33 fortified cities, fortresses of the land of the Bīt-Dakkūrī, together with 250 small(er) settlements in their environs;

40–41) the cities Dūr-Appē, Dūr-Tānē, Dūr-Sama’, Sarrabātu, Ṣalaḥātu, Dūr-Abdāya, Sappi-ḥimari, Šibtu-ṣa-Makkamē, altogether 8 fortified cities, fortresses of the land of the Bīt-Sa‘allī, together with 120 small(er) settlements in their environs;


48–49) (and) the cities Bīt-Zabidiyya, Larsa, Kulaba,
Eridu, Kissik, Nêmed-Laguda, (and) Dûr-Yakin, including the city Kûr-Nabû, which is on the shore of the Bitter Sea, altogether 8 fortified cities, fortresses of the land of the Bit-Yakin, together with 100 small(er) settlements in their environs;

50) the (grand) total is 88 fortified cities, fortresses of Chaldea, together with 820 small(er) settlement[s] in their environs.

51) I let my troops eat the grain (and) dates in their gardens (and) their crops in the countryside. I destroyed (them), devastated (them), (and) burned (them) with fire, (and) turned (them) into forgotten ruin hills.

52) I brought out the auxiliary forces of the Arameans (and) Chaldeans who were in Uruk, Nippur, Kish, (and) Hûrsagkalama, together with the [guilty] citizens, and I counted (them) as booty.

53) I let my army eat the grain (and) dates in their gardens, the fields they had labored in, (and) the crops in the countryside, which is [the] life[er’s] necessity.

54) I appointed over them Bêl-ibni, a son of a rab bánî (and) a scion of Šuanna (Babylon) who had grown up like a young puppy in my palace, [as king of the land of Sumer] and Akkad.

55–56) On my return march, I defeated [all togeth]her the Tu-ûmûna, Riḫûdu, Yadaqqu, Ubûdu, Gıbrê, Malûlu (Malâhu), Gurumû, Uûbuûlu, Damûnu, Gambulû, Ḥîndarû, Ru’u’a, Pûqudu, Ḥamrânû, Ḥagaraûnu, Nâbatû, (and) Lî[ta]’u, [insubmissive Arameans] and I plun-dered them.

57) In the course of my campaign, I re[ceived] a substantial payment from Nabû-bêl-Šumûti, the official in charge of the city Ḥararatu: gold, silver, large mu[sukkamu]-trees, donkey[s, c]amels, oxen, and sheep and goats.

58–59) I put to the sword the population of the city Ḥirrimûnu, a dangerous enemy who since time immemorial had not submitted to the kings, my ancestors, and I did not leave one alive. I reorganized that district (and) imposed for eternity one ox, ten sheep, ten homers of wine, (and) twenty homers of dates as his first-fruits offerings for the ginû-offerings.

50 88 URU.ME-NI “88 cities”: Only eighty-one cities are actually listed. Compare the Tarišu recession, which records the total as “eighty-eight cities,” but with eighty-seven cities mentioned by name in one exemplar and eighty-six cities named in the other exemplar. See the on-page note for the name to 39 for the names of the missing seven cities. The total number of Chaldean cities in text no. 2 line 11, text no. 3 line 11, and text no. 4 line 9 is 89. In inscriptions written on prisms, the total is reduced to 75; for example, see text no. 15 i 12’ and text no. 22 i 36. 8 ME 20 URU.ME*] TUR.MEŠ “420 small(er) settlement[s]”: The number is reduced to 620 in text no. 4 and to 420 in the prism inscriptions; see text no. 4 line 9, text no. 15 i 14’, and text no. 22 i 37.


55 Lû.ma-li-ḫu “the Malûhu”: Cf. text no. 16 i 62, text no. 17 i 53, text no. 22 i 45, and text no. 23 i 40, where Lû.ma-li-ḫu is written Lû.ma-la-ḫu.
to the gods of Assyria, my lords.
60–61) I returned safely to Assyria with 208,000 substantial captives, 7,200 horses (and) mules, 11,073 donkeys, 5,230 camels, 80,050 oxen, (and) 800,100 sheep and goats. This is apart from the people, donkeys, camels, oxen, and sheep and goats that all of my troops had carried away and appropriated for themselves.

62) Moreover, I put to the sword the soldiers of the enemy, a recalcitrant force who had not submitted to my yoke, and hung (their corpses) on poles.

63–65) At that time, Nineveh, the exalted cult center, the city loved by the goddess Ištar in which all of the rituals for gods and goddesses are present; the enduring foundation (and) eternal base whose plan had been designed by the stars (lit. “writing”) of the firmament and whose arrangement was made manifest since immemorial time; (65) a sophisticated place (and) site of secret lore in which every kind of skilled craftsmanship, all of the rituals, (and) the secret(s) of the alagar (cosmic subterranean water) are apprehended;

66–67) in which since time immemorial earlier kings, my ancestors, before me exercised dominion over Assyria and ruled the subjects of the god Enil, and wherein annually, without interruption, they received an income unsurpassed in amount, the tribute of the rulers of the four quarters (of the world);

68–69) (but) not one among them had paid heed to (or) shown interest in the palace inside it, the seat of lordly dwelling whose site had become too small; nor had anyone (of them) conceived of and put his mind towards the straightening of the city’s street(s) and the widening of (its) squares, the dredging of the river, (and) the planting of orchards:

70–72) (But) as for me, Sennacherib, king of Assyria, the performing of this work came to my attention by the will of the gods and I put my mind to it. I forcibly removed the people of Chaldea, Aramean (tribes), the land of the Manneans, (and) the lands Que and Ḫīlakkū, who had not submitted to my yoke, then I made them carry baskets (of earth) and they made bricks. I cut down carrnbakes in Chaldea and I had their splendid reeds hauled (to Nineveh) for its (the palace’s) construction by enemy soldiers whom I had defeated.

73–74) The fo[rm]er palace, whose longer side was
NINDA SAG.KI-sa ša LUGAL.MEŠ-ni a-li-kut pa-ni
AD.MEŠ-ia ú-se-pi-šu-ma la ú-nak-ki-šu ši-pi-ša
74 ša ul-tu [u₄-mu rul]₃-qu-ti ÍD.te-bil-ti i-ta-a-ša
í-ba-’u-ma i-na uš-ši-ša ab-bu úš-šab-šu-ú
ú-ri-ib-bu tem-me-en-ša

75 ¹É,GAL,TUR.²[Ra ša-a-tu] ¹a-naᵃ ²si-hir-ti-ša
aq-qur-ma ša ÍD.te-bil-ti ma-lakša uš-šib-ma
ú-še-šir mu-šu-ša

76 ‘i-naᵃ [ITI] še-[me-e i-na] u₄-mi mit-ga-ri qé-reb
ka-tim-ti a-sur-rak-ki-ša 1 US šid-du 34 SAG.KI
NA₄, KUR-i dan-nu ak-si-ma AŠA ul-tu ma-a-me
ú-še-lam-ma na-ba-liš ú-še-me

77 ¹la-ba-riš u₄-me³ i-na ILU kiššu-ti te-me-en-šu
la e-né-li as-ku-pat NA₄-pi-i-li rab-ba-a-ti
a-sur-ru-ši ú-ša-as-hi-ra ú-dan-ni-na
šu-pu-uk-šu

78 2 US 40 ti-ib-ki še-su-uš-šin a-na e-la-ni
tam-la-ti ú-mal-li-ma e-li mi-ši-ih-ti Œ,GAL
mah-ri-te ú-rad-di-ma ú-ša-an-di-la ti-sar-sa

79 ⁹É,GAL ZU AM.SI GÍS,ESI GÍS,TUG
GIŞ.mu-suk-kan-ni¹ GÍS,EREN³ GÍS,SÚR.MIN
GIŞ,ŠIM,LI ú GIŞ,求助 ut-ni é-gal-zag-du-nu-tuku-a
a-na mu-šab LUGAL-ti-ia ú-še-pi-ša qé-reb-ša

80 GIŞ,ÚR,MEŠ GIŞ,EREN tar-bit KUR,ha-ma-nim ša
ul-tu ‘uhr-ša-a-ni ru-qu₄-ú-ti nam-ra-si-ši
ib₂-ba₂-lu-ni ú-šar-ri-ša ta-ra-an-si-ši

81 GIŞ,IG,ME GIŞ,ŠÚR.MIN ši-ra-a-ti ša i-na pe-te-e
‘u³ ta-ra-e re-si-nu ta-a-bu me-sér ZABAR nam-ri
ú-rak-kiš-ma ú-rat-ta-a ba-bi-šin

82 É ap-pa-a-te tam-šiš É,GAL KUR,hat-ti ša i-na
li-ša₃-li¹ KUR MARTU,KI É hi-la-a-ni

thirty nindanu and whose shorter side was ten nindanu,
which earlier kings, my ancestors, had had con-
structed, but whose construction they had carried out
inexpertly, (and) alongside of which the Tebiriti
River had flowed from [dis]tant [days], caused erosion in its
foundations, (and) shaken its base:

75 I tore down [that] small pala[ce] in its entirety
and improved the course of the Tebiriti River and directed
its outflow.

76-78 In [a] pro[pitious moment, on] a favorable day,
in the hidden depths of its subterranean waters I
bonded together strong mountain stone sixty (nindanu)
along (its) longer side (and) thirty-four (nindanu) along
(its) shorter side, then I raised (that) area out of the
water and converted (it) to dry land. In order to
prevent its foundation from being weakened over the
passage of time by cre[sting flood(s), I surrounded its
damp course with large limestone slabs (and thereby)
reinforced its base. Upon them, I filled in a terrace to
a height of 160 courses of brick, then added (it) to the
dimensions of the former palace and (thus) enlarged
its structure.

79 I had a palace of elephant ivory, ebony, boxwood,
mušu-kkan-wood, cedar, cypress, juniper, and tere-
binth, (a palace that I named) Egalzagdumutukua (“The
Palace Without a Rival”), constructed thereon as my
royal residence.

80-81 I roofed them (the rooms of the palace) with
beams of cedar grown on Mount Amanus, which were
brought with difficulty from (that) distant mountain
terrain. I fastened bands of shining bronze on magnifi-
cent doors of cypress, whose scent is sweet on opening
and closing, and I installed (them) in their gates.

82 For my lordly pleasure, I had a portico, a replica
of a Hittite palace, which is called bût-ḫiliâni in the

134 cubits wide opposite the tower of the Bit-Kidmuri, (and)
ety 95 cubits wide (on the other side).” For a chart comparing the dimensions of both
the former and new palaces, see Frahm, Sanherib pp. 270-271.
74 ÍD.te-bil-ti “Tebiriti River”: S. Dalley (Iraq 56 [1994] p. 55 n. 63) has argued that ÍD.te-bil-ti should not be understood as a proper name,
but as an epithet describing the nature of the canal; she proposes “flood-prone” and “flooded” as translations of tebiliti and understands the
preceding ÍD (“river, canal”) as a bound noun followed by a genitive, not as a determinative followed by a proper name.
75 ¹É,GAL,TUR.²[Ra] “small pala[ce]”: E. Frahm (Sanherib pp. 60 and 81) prefers to read É,GAL,TUR,RA as the proper name Egalitura. Cf. vonoden,
AHw p. 189 sub epálturrâ, where this word is regarded as a Sumerian loanword that appears in Standard Babylonian texts.
76 1 US šid-du 34 SAG.KI “sixty (nindanu) along (its) longer side (and) thirty-four (nindanu) along (its) shorter side”: Later building reports
exclude these dimensions in favor of the newly constructed terrace; see text no. 2 lines 50-51, text no. 3 lines 50-51, and
text no. 4 lines 77-79. NA₄, KUR,i dan-nu “strong mountain stone”: Sanherib records in several inscriptions written on bull colossi that four
large limestone blocks were bonded together; for example, see Thompson, Arch. 79 (1929) pl. LII nos. 122M and 122N line 16.
77 NA₄, gi-i-li “limestone”: T.C. Mitchell and A.P. Middleton (JS 54 [2002] pp. 93-98) tentatively conclude that pilu was gypsum rather than
limestone and that NA₄,ŠÊ,TIR (pêndül) in the context of large sculptures was limestone. Based on the color of the sculptures in the British
Museum, London, they suggest that pešâ (“white”) could be rendered as “light colored” or even “light grey.”
78 2 US 40 ti-ib-ki “160 courses of brick”: Cf. text no. 2 line 54, text no. 3 line 54, and text no. 4 line 82. Ti-sar-sa “its structure”: Cf. for example
text no. 3 line 55, which has ši-kit-taš “its structure”; šiškutu must be a synonym of the less commonly used word tisašu.
79-86 These lines are more or less borrowed directly from the inscriptions of Sargon II. Cf. for example, Fuchs, Khorsabad pp. 68-70
pp. 157-160) has suggested that the scholar Nabû-zuqiq-kênu may have been actively engaged in writing royal inscriptions during the reign
of Sargon II, as suggested by close parallels between Sargons’s “Display Inscription” from Dûr-Sarrukin (Khorsabad) and Sennacherib’s “First
Campaign Cylinder” inscriptions; Frahm proposes that this individual may have also been the “author” of other Sargon texts, including his
Annals. Of course, Nabû-zuqiq-kênu’s “authorship” of these texts cannot be proven with certainty.
79 é-gal-zag-du-nu-tuku-a “Egalzagdumutukua”: Cf. text no. 3 line 56, where the ceremonial name is written é-gal-zag-di-nu-tuku-a. For ZAG.DU
and ZAG.DI šanûnu, see CAD Š1/1 p. 368 sub šanûnu 3a-1.’
80-86 This passage is not included in the building reports of text no. 3 and text no. 4.
language of the land Amurru, constructed inside them.

83–84) Eight striding lions, standing opposite one another, which were made from 11,400 talents of shining copper, cast by the god Ninagal, (and) were filled with radiation — upon (those) lion colossi I installed two identical columns that were cast from 6,000 talents of bronze, together with two large cedar columns, and I positioned cross-beams (upon them) as a cornice for their gate(s).

85) I expertly fashioned four mountain sheep colossi of silver (and) bronze, together with mountain sheep colossi of massive mountain stone, and in four directions I had them (hold their (the gates’) suitable door bolt(s).

86) I engraved on large limestone slabs (images of) the enemy settlements that I had conquered. I surrounded (their (the palace rooms’)) lower courses (with them and) made them (an object of wonder).

87) I planted alongside it (the palace) a botanical garden, a replica of Mount Amanus, which has all kinds of aromatic plants (and) fruit trees, trees that are the mainstay of the mountains and Chaldea, collected inside it.

88) To plant gardens, I subdivided the meadowland upstream of the city into plots of two pānu each for the citizens of Nineveh and I handed (them) over to them.

89–90) To make (those) planted areas luxuriant, I cut with iron picks a canal straight through mountain and valley, from the border of the city Kishur to the plain of Nineveh. (90) I caused an inexhaustible supply of water to flow there for a distance of one and a half leagues from the Hissur River (and) made (it) gush through feeder canals into those gardens.

91–92) After I had finished the work on my lordly palace, broadened the squares, (and) brought light
Three badly damaged cylinders, all presumably from Nineveh, are inscribed with a text that duplicates material from two well-known inscriptions, text no. 1 and text no. 3. This foundation inscription with annalistic narration includes a short prologue, an abbreviated report of Sennacherib’s first campaign (against Marduk-apla-iddina II and his Chaldean and Elamite allies), an account of his second campaign (a military expedition against the Kassites and Yasyubigallians, and the land Ecce, and a building report describing the large-scale renovations of the “Palace Without a Rival” (the South-West Palace) and various other public works at Nineveh, including the creation of a botanical garden. Two of the exemplars preserve a date and both were inscribed in the second half of the eponymous of Nabû-lē’i, governor of the city Arbel (702); copies of text no. 3 were made at the same time. In addition, the scribe indicated the total number of lines; each copy was inscribed with seventy-one lines of text.

### CATALOGUE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ex.</th>
<th>Museum Number</th>
<th>Excavation/Registration No.</th>
<th>Provenance</th>
<th>Dimensions (cm)</th>
<th>Lines Preserved</th>
<th>cpn</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Rm 2,95 + BM 134458 (+) BM 123412 + BM 134482</td>
<td>1932-12-12,453 (TM 1931-2,8) 1932-12-10,355 + 1932-12-12,477</td>
<td>BM 134458: Nineveh, Ishtar Temple, Square Oo; BM 123412: Ishtar Temple, Square N</td>
<td>Rm 2,95+: Width: 7.7; Max. dia.: 10. BM 123412+: 15.5×12.5</td>
<td>11-49, 59-71, date</td>
<td>c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>A 16937</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>Probably Nineveh</td>
<td>9.6×7.5</td>
<td>1-11, 62-71, date</td>
<td>c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>A 16940</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>Probably Nineveh</td>
<td>5.3×5</td>
<td>50-60</td>
<td>c</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
COMMENTARY

This badly damaged inscription duplicates (with orthographic variation) text no. 3 lines 1–56 (the prologue, the military narration, and the first part of the building report) and text no. 1 lines 79–94 (the second part of the building report and concluding formulae). Despite the fact that some copies were written at the same time as the following text, this inscription was probably composed shortly before text no. 3. This is suggested by the fact that it duplicates text found in text no. 1. Note that the extant copies of both text nos. 2 and 3 were inscribed in the Elamite month Sibûti, the seventh month in the Elamite calendar and the equivalent of Arâšamna (VIII). See the on-page note to line 72 for further information on the use of Elamite months in the dating of Assyrian royal inscriptions. As E. Frahm (Sanherib p. 46) has pointed out, two inscriptions were simultaneously in circulation during the second half of 702: text no. 2 and text no. 3.

E. Frahm (Sanherib pp. 45–46) proposed the non-physical join between Rm 2,95+ and BM 123412 since the surface of both pieces is very worn in exactly the same manner (thus making the inscription difficult to read) and since at least one piece of each sub-exemplar was discovered by R.C. Thompson in the vicinity of the Istar temple at Nineveh. After careful re-examination of the fragments in the British Museum, Frahm’s conjectured join is accepted here. Frahm also raises the possibility that exs. 2 and 3 come from the same cylinder. J.A. Brinkman kindly re-examined A 16937 and A 16940 and he could not find any convincing evidence to support a view that these fragments could not belong to one and the same cylinder; Brinkman notes that the height of the signs, the vertical spacing between the lines, and the curvature are roughly the same on both fragments. Since the non-physical join between exs. 2 and 3 is tentative, it is best to edit them individually.

In addition to the three certain exemplars of this inscription, there are thirteen cylinder fragments that may preserve copies of this text. These are edited as text no. 1 ex. 1° and text no. 3 exs. 1°–12*. See the catalogues and commentaries of those texts for further details.

The master text of lines 1–50 and 59–71 is ex. 1, with some restorations from exs. 2 and 3, and that of lines 51–58 is ex. 3. A score of the inscription is presented on the CD-ROM. The restorations in lines 1–56 are based on text no. 3 and those in lines 57–71 are based on text no. 1. Note that lines 34–43 also duplicate text no. 1 lines 63–72.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1940 Thompson, Iraq 7 p. 94 and fig. 10 no. 6 (ex. 1 [BM 134458], study, partial copy of line 23)
1967 G.L. Russell, Senn. p. 56 (line 23, study)
1968 Lambot and Millard, Cat. pp. 23, 70 and 72 (ex. 1, study)
1996 Borger, BIWA 4° Heft (microfiche) 225–226 (exs. 2–3, transliteration)
1997 Frahm, Sanherib pp. 45–46 T 2 (exs. 1–3, study)
2005 Reade, Iraq 67 p. 380 (exs. 1, study)
2009 Frahm, RLA 12/1–2 p. 15 (study)

TEXT

1–3) [Sennacherib, great king], strong king, king of Assyria, unrivalled king, pious shepherd who reveres the [great] god[s, guardian of truth who loves justice], renders assistance, goes to the aid of the weak, (and) strives after good [deeds, perfect man, virile warrior], foremost of all rulers, the bridge that controls the submissive, (and) the one who strikes [enemies] with lightning:

4) [The god Aššur, the great mountain], granted to me [unrivalled sovereignty] and made [my weapons] greater than (those of) all who sit on (royal) [das]i]ses.

5) [At the beginning of my kingship], I brought

5 re-[ṣi-šu]-“his al[ies]”: This word is omitted in text no. 3 line 5. It is, however, included in text no. 4 line 5. With regard to lines 5–7, compare the longer, detailed account of the events in text no. 1 lines 5–29.
about [the defeat of Marduk-apla-iddin]a (II) (Mero-
dach-baladan), king of Karduniša (Babylonia), together
together with the troops of (the land) Elam, [his] all[ies, in]
the plain of Kish. [In the midst of that battle he
abandoned his camp]. He fled alone and escaped to the
land Guzummânu, (where) [he entered] the swamps and
marshes [and (thereby) saved his life. I seized the
chariots, wagons, horses], mules, donkeys, camels, and
Bactrian camels that [he had abandoned] in the thick of
battle].

8–9 I [joyfully] entered [his palace, which is in Baby-
lon], then I opened his treasury and [brought out]
go[ld, silver], gold (and) silver [uten]si]s, precious
stones, [all kinds of possessions (and) property, a
substantial property], (together with) his wife, his palace
women, courtiers, attendants, all of the crafts[men,
as many as there were, (and) his] palace attendants,
and I counted (them) as [booty].

10 I pursued him to the land Guzummânu and
ordered my warriors into the midst of swamps and
marshes. For five days they searched (for him), but
(his) hiding place could not be found.

11–12 [With the strength of the god Aššur, my lord,
I surrounded, conquered, (and) plundered 89 fortified
cities, fortresses] of Chal[dea, and 820 small(er) settle-
ments in their environs. I brought out the auxiliary
forces of the Arameans and Chaldeans who were in
Uruk, Nip[pur, Kish, Hursagkalama, (and) Cutha, to-
gether with the guilty citizens, and I counted (them)
as [booty].

13 I [appointed] over them [Bel-ibni, a son of a rab
bani] (and a scion of Šuanna (Babylon) who had grown
up like a young [in my palace, as king of the
land of Sumer and Akkad].

14–16 [On my return march], I defeated all to-
gether [the Tu umuma, Rihûš, Yaqaddu, Ubudu, Gibr,
Malîšu (Malahu), Gurum, Ubula], Damunu, (15) [Gam-
bulu, Ḫindaru, Ru’u’a, Pqudu, Ḥarmānu, Ḫagaranu,

7 ša i-na “qit-ru-ub” ta-ḥa-[zi u-μα-ši-ri] “that he had abandoned] in the thick of bat[tle]”; Cf. text no. 1 line 29, which has ša qê-reb tam-ḥa-ri
ma-ši-ru “that he had abandoned during the battle”.

8–9 Cf. text no. 1 lines 30–33.

10 Cf. text no. 1 line 34. aṣ-bat-ma “I pursued and”: Text no. 1 line 34 has ur-ri-im-ba “I rushed and.” J.N. Postgate (personal communication)
tentatively suggests reading aṣ-bat-ma as az-ziz-ma “I called a halt and.” However, the interpretation presented here follows the
conventional reading of the A2 and B2 signs as aṣ and bat. i-pa-ru-nim-ma “they searched [for him] and”: Text no. 1 line 34 has u-ḥa-’u-ša-ru “they sought
him out and.”

11–12 Compare the longer, detailed account in text no. 1 lines 36–52, 89 Uram-MEŠ “89 cities”: This text, text no. 3 line 11, and text no. 4
line 9 state that Sennacherib surrounded, captured, and plundered eighty-nine Chaldean cities. The Nineveh version of the “First Campaign
Cylinder” (text no. 1) records the total as eighty-eight, but lists only eighty-one cities and the Tarbišu recension of that text (Frahm, ISIMU
6 [2003] pp. 138–139) also records the total as eighty-eight, but with eighty-seven cities listed in one exemplar and eighty-six in the other.
In inscriptions written on prisms, the total is reduced to seventy-five (for example, text no. 22 i 36), 8 Mei 20 Ulram-MEŠ TUR.MEŠ “820 small(er)
settlements”: The number is reduced to 620 in text no. 4 (line 9) and to 420 in the prism inscriptions (text no. 22 i 37).

12 Lū-ḥir-bi “auxiliary forces”: See the on-page note to text no. 1 line 52.

15 ak-su-du “I defeated”: Text no. 1 line 56 has ak-su-du-šu aš-la-la šal-la-su-un “I defeated and plundered them.”
Nabatu, (and) Li’ta’u, insubmissive [Arameans]. I carried off into Assyria [a substantial] booty (consisting of) 208,000 people, male and female, 7,200 horses (and) mules, 11,073 donkeys, 5,230 camels, 80,100 oxen, (and) 800,000 sheep and goats.

[In the course of my campaign], I received [a substantial] audience gift [from Nabû-bēl-Šumâti], the official in charge of the city Ḥararatu: gold, silver, large musukkanû-trees, donkeys, camels, oxen, and sheep and goats.

18-19] [I put to the sword the population of the city Tîrîmmu, a dangerous enemy who since time immemorial had not submitted to my yoke, and] I did not leave one [alive]. I reorganized that district (and) imposed for eternity [one ox, ten sheep, ten homers of wine, and] twenty homers of dates as his first-fruits offerings to the gods of Assyria, my lords.

20-21] [On my second campaign, the god Aḥšûr, my lord, encouraged me and] I marched [to the land of the Kassites and the land of the Yâsubgallian, a dangerous enemy who since time immemorial] had not submitted [to the kings, my ancestor’s]. [In the high mountains, difficult terrain, I rode on horseback and had my personal chariot carried on (men’s) necks. In very rugged terrain] I roamed about [on foot] like a wild bull.

22-23] [I surrounded (and) conquered the city Bit-Kilmašt, their fortified city. I brought out of it [people, young (and) old, horses, mules, donkeys, oxen, and sheep and goats], and I counted (them) as booty. I destroyed, devastated, (and) turned into ruins their (smaller) settlements, which were without number. I burned with fire the pavilions (and) tents that they relied upon, and] reduced (them) to ashes.

24-26] [I made that city Bit-Kilmašt a fortress again (and) strengthened its enceinte more than before]. I settled [therein the people of the lands that I had conquered. (25) I brought down from the mountains the people of the land of the Kassites and the land of the Yâsubgallians who had fled from my weapons and I made (them) dwell[ll in the cities Ḥardišpu] (and) Bit-Kubatti. [I placed them under the authority of a eunuch of mine, the governor of the city Arrapha.]

Note that this inscription moved this passage. Cf. text no. 1 line 60, where it appears after the statement regarding the payment received from Nabû-bēl-Šumâti and the reorganization of the city Tîrîmmu as a provincial capital.
had a stele made, had all the victorious conquests that I achieved over them] written [on it, and I erected (it) in that city.

27-29) [I turned around (lit. “I turned the front of my yoke”) and took the road to the land Ellipi. Before my arrival, Isipabara, their king, abandoned his fortified cities (and) his treasury and fled far away. I overwhelmed all of his wide land like a fog. I destroyed, devastated, (and) burned with fire the cities Mar’ubisti (and) Akkuddu, cities of his royal house, together with thirty-four fortified cities and small(er) settlements in [their] environs, which were without number, [then I cut down their orchards (and) poured deathly quiet over their fertile fields]. (In this manner) I reduced to desolation [the land Ellipi to] its full [extent].

30-31) [I called upon people, young (and) old, male and female, horses, mules, donkeys, oxen, and sheep and goats without number] and brought them [to nought]. I detached [fr]om his land [the cities Sis(s)irtu (and) Kummahlim, fortified cities, together with the small(er) settlements in their environs (and) the district of the land Bit-Barrû in its entirety], and I added (this area) to the territory of Assyria.

32) [I took the city Elenzaš as a royal city and a fortress for that district, then I changed its former name and called it] (Kār-Sennacherib).

33) [On my return march, I received a substantial payment from the distant Medes, of whose land none of the kings, my ancestors, had heard mention]. (Thus) I made them bow down [to the yoke of] my [lord’s ship].

34-36) [At that time, Nineveh, the exalted cult center, the city loved by the goddess Ishtar in which [all of the rituals for gods and goddesses are presented]; (35) the enduring foundation (and) eternal base whose plan had been designed [by the st]ars (lit. “[writ]ing”) of the firmament and whose arrangement [was made] based on time immemorial; a sophisticated place (and) site of secret lore in which [every kind of skilled craftsmanship, all of the ritual(s), (and) the
secret(s) of the lagar (cosmic subterranean water) are apprehended;
37–38 [in which since time immemorial earlier kings, my ancestors, before] me exercised dominion over Assyria and ruled the subjects of the god Enlil, [and] wherein [annually, without interruption], they received [an income unsurpassed in amount, the tribute of the rulers of the] four [quarters (of the world)];
39–40 [(but) not one among them had paid] heed [to (or) show]n interest [in the palace inside it, the seat of lordly dwelling] whose site had become too small; (40)
nor had anyone of (them) [con]ceived of and put his
[mind towards the straightening of the city’s street(s) and the widening of (its) squares, the dredging of the river, (and) the planting of orchards]:
41–43 [(But) as for me, Sennacherib, king of Assyria, the performing of this work] came to my [attention by the will of the gods] and I put my mind to it. I forcibly removed [the people of Chaldea, Aramean (tribes), the land of the Manneans, (and) the lands Que and Tiglath, who had not submitted to my yoke, then I made them carry] baskets (of earth) [and they made bricks. I cut down canebrakes in Chaldea and I had their splendid reeds hauled (to Nineveh) for (the palace’s) construction by soldiers (as) I whom I had defeated.

44–47 [The former palace, which was 360 cubits long opposite the zamá-wall of the zigurratt, 80 cubits wide opposite the tower of] the temple of the goddess Istar, 134 cubits wide op[posite the tower of the Bit-Kidmuri, (and) 95 cubits wide (on the other side); (45) which earlier kings, my ancestors, had had constructed for their lordly dwelling, but whose construction] they had [carried out] in[expertly — the Tebiliti River, a tempestuous flow (of water) which when it rose had destroyed sacred buildings inside the city and exposed] the moun[d(s) of] their tombs (lit. “their moun[ded] tombs”) [to the sun, and which had flowed from distant days by the side of the palace and which (thereby) had caus[ed] erosion in its foundation when its flow was in full spate] (and) had [shaken its base]:
48 [I tore down that small palace in its entirety, then I changed the course of the Tebiliti River, repaired (the effects of) the erosion, and directed its outflow].
49–52 [In the hidden depths of its subterranean waters I bonded together, with bitumen, reeds below (and) strong mountain stone above, then I raised (that)

---

44 Compare the dimensions of the former palace in text no. 1 line 73. That inscription records information as follows: “Whose longer side was thirty thousand and whose shorter side was ten thousand.”

45 a-na ri-mi-ti be-lu-ti-ša-an “for their lordly dwelling”: The purpose for which former kings built the palace is not included in text no. 1; see line 73 of that inscription.

46–48 Cf. text no. 1 lines 74–75. For the opinion that Id.te-bil-ti is not a proper name, but rather an epithet describing the nature of a river course, see Dalley, Iraq 56 (1994) p. 55 n. 63.

48 E.GAL.TUR.RA “small palace”: See the on-page note to text no. 1 line 75.

49–53 Cf. text no. 1 lines 76–77.
ú-še-lam-ma na-ba-liš ú-ter]
50) [7 ME ina AŠ₃,LUM GAL-tí UŠ 1 ME 62 ina AŠ₃,LUM GAL-tí SAG.KI AN.TA IM.SI,SÁ 2 ME 17 ina AŠ₃,LUM GAL-tí SAG.KI MURUB,-tím]
51) [3 ME 86 ina AŠ₃,LUM GAL-tí SAG.KI KI.TA]
1MUX₃,LU [[US,S.A.DU ID,IGNA tam-la-á ú-mal-li-ma am-šu-ul me-ši-ih-tá]
53) [MU,SAR,e ši-tir šu-mi-ia 1 ME 60 ’ti’,ib-ki tam-’il-i ’qé-[reb-sá al-ḫu-ur-ma šap-la-nu i-na úš-ši-šu e-zib aḫ-ra-taš]
54) [ar-ka-nu šu-ú,šu-i tam-li-i ka]-bat-ti ub-’lam₃-ma [20 ti-bí-ki se-er maḫ-rí-i úš-šip-ma 1 ME 80 ti-bí-ki ú-šaq-ê-e-la-niš]
55) [tar-pa-šu-ú el ša ti,-me pa-ni ú-šar]-bi’ê-ê-ér me-ši-ih-tí [ti É.GAL maḫ-rí-tí ú-rá-di-ma ú-šá-an-di-la ši-kit-taš]
56) [É,GAL ZÚ AM.SI GIŠ,EŠI GIŠ,TÜG GIŠ,šu-suk]-k₃-niš GIŠ,EŠI,1 GIŠ,SUR,MIN šI,M,S,I ši GIŠ,šu-ut-ni é-gal-zag-di-nu-tuku-a a-na mu-šab LUGAL-ti-ia ú-šé-pi-sá qé-reb-sá]
57) [GIŠ₃,ŠUR,MEŠ GIŠ,EŠEN tar-bi KUR,ha-ma-nim ša] al-ta ’qé’,reb₁ ĥur-sá-[a-ni xu-qu-û-tí nam-ra-si-ši ibb-ba-hu-ni ú-šat-lat-ša ta-ra-an-šin]
58) [GIŠ₃,GES,M,ŠUR,MIN ši-ra-a-tí ša i-na] pe-te-e ’ú ta]-[a-rí e-re-sin ta-a-bu me-sér ZABÀR nam-ri ú-rá-kís-ma ú-rá-ta-ba-bi-si₃]
59) [É ap-pa-a-te tam-šil É,GAL KUR,ḥat-tí ša i]-₃ na₃ li-šá-ta]-[ni KUR MAR,TU,KI É hi-la-a-ni i-šá-as-su]-₂ šu’₃ a-na ’mul-ta,’u-ú-ti be-šu-ti]-[la ú-šé-pi-sá qé-reb-sín]
60) [8 UR,M,R,MEŠ pe-tan bir-ki šu-ta-tu-tí ša i-na SÁR SÁR GIŠ₃,ŠUR GUN URUDU nam-ru] ’pi’₃-tí-ša ²nin-á-gal šu-pu-šu ’ma]-[lu-ú nam-ri-ri]
61) [Ù 2 tim-me šu-ta-hu-tí ša SÁR GIŠ₃,ŠUR GIŠ₃,ŠUR GUN PII,ti-iq ší-par-ri] ’šu’₁-ub-bu’-u a-di 2 tim-me GIŠ,EŠEN GAL,MEŠ UGU piriq-gal-le-e ú-[kim-ma dáp-pi ku-lul KÁ-ši-in e-mid]
62) [er-bet UDU šad-di ³LAMMA ša KU,BABBAR area out of the water and converted (it) to dry land. (50) I filled in and measured a terrace of 700 large aslu-cubits along (its) longer side, 162 large aslu-cubits along (its) upper, northern shorter side, 217 large aslu-cubits along the inner, shorter side, (and) 386 large aslu-cubits along the lower, southern [shorter side, (which is) beside the Tigir River]. In order to prevent its foundation [from being weakened over the passage of time by creasing flood(s), I surrounded its damp course with large limestone slabs (and thereby) reinforced its base].
53) [I inscribed objects bearing my name 160] courses of brick with[thin] the terrace, [and I deposited (them) deep down in its foundation for ever after].
54–55) [Afterwards, I decided [to increase the height of the terrace], then I added 20 courses of brick to the former (terrace) and (thus) I raised (it) to (a total) height of 180 courses of brick. (55) I made the area larger [than before, added (it)] to [the former] dimensions [of the palace, and (thus) enlarged its structure].
56) [I had a palace of elephant ivory, ebony, boxwood, musuk]amnu-wood, cedar, cypr[ess, juniper, and tere-]
57–58) [I roofed them (the rooms of the palace) with beams of cedar grown on Mount Amanus, which were brought with difficulty] from (that) [distant] mountain terr[ain]. I fastened bands of shining bronze on magnificent doors of cypress, whose scent is sweet on[ opening and closing], and I installed (them) in their gates].
59) For [my] lordly pleasure, [I had a portico, a replica of a Hittite palace, which is called bit-hilâni] in the language [of the land Amurr, constructed inside them].
60–61) Eight striking lions, standing opposite one another, which, were made [from 11,400 talents of shining copper, cast by the god Ninagal, (and) were [filled with radiance] — upon (those) lion colossi I [installed two identical columns] that were cast [from 6,000 talents of bronze], together with two large cedar columns, and I positioned cross-beams (upon them) as a cornice for their gate(s)].
62) I expertly fashioned [four mountain sheep colossi

50–51 Text no. 1 records the dimensions of the bonded stone, which apparently comprised four large limestone blocks, in lieu of the dimensions of the terrace; that area is said to have been “sixty (nindana) along (its) longer side (and) thirty-four (nindana) along (its) shorter side.” 1 ME 62 “162,” 2 ME 17 “217,” and 3 ME 68 “268.” Text no. 4 lines 77–79 have 1 ME “76,” 2 ME 68 “268,” and 3 ME 68 “266.” That inscription also includes the dimensions of a fifth façade of the palace; that side is said to have measured 383 large aslu-cubits.
55 ši-kit-taš “its structure”: Text no. 1 line 78 has ti-sar-sá “its structure.”
56 é-gal-zag-di-nu-tuku-a “Egalzagadimitukua”: See the on-page note to text no. 1 line 79.
57–63 Text no. 3 and text no. 4 do not include these passages in their building reports.
61 ’šu’₁-ub-bu’-u “that were cast”: See the on-page note to text no. 1 line 84.
62 SI,GAR,SŠ-in “their door bolt(s)”: See the on-page note to text no. 1 line 85.

64) [giš.kîr, MAH-ẖu tam-šîl KUR. ū-a-ma-nîm ša gi-mîr] [SIM.[I].LA GURUN [sip-pa-a]] [te] GIŠ. MEŠ. TUK-lat KUR-i ú KUR. kâ-dî qê-reb-šû ûr-ru-šû i-ta [a-šâ az-qu-up]


68) [ul-tu šip-rû È.GAL be-lu-ti-ia ú-qat]-tu-u ú-šâ-an-dî-la re-ba-a-ti bi-re-e-ti su-qa-a-nî ú-sp-ar-du-ma ú-nam-mîr [GIM u₃.me]

69) [ša-šûr EN GAL-û DINGIR.MEŠ ū DIŠ.TAR.MEŠ a]-Šî²-bu-ut KUR aš-šûr.KI i-na qer-be-ša aq-re ÎDU.SISKUR.MEŠ taš-ri-il-tî aq-qî-ma ú-šâ-tî-[mîn [kâd-ra-a-a]

70) [a-na ār-kât u₃.me i-na LUÇAL.MEŠ-ŠI DUMU.MEŠ-ŠI]² xá ša-šê-šur a-na RE.È.U.MUT KUR û UN.MEŠ i-nam-bu-a zî-ki-rû ša-nu-ma È.GAL šâ-a-tu i-[lab-bi-ru-ma en-na-ẖu]

71) [an-hu-sa lu-ud-diš MU.SAR-še ši-tir] ŠÎ²-me-ia LI-mur-ma LI.SI גîš li-pî-sû-šû ÎDU.SISKUR liq-qî a-ŠÎ² dê-šî li-ter ŠÎ²-aš-šûr ãr-bi-šû [i-šêm-me]

72) [1 UŠ 11.TA.ÂM]² MÅ.DILLI MU.SAR-ŠE IT.LI.BU-TI LI-MÅ MU.ATI-ZU LU.GAR.ÎK URU.ÎÂ LÎMMÎ-Î-DINGIR²

of silver (and) bronze, together with mountain sheep colossi of massive mountain stone, and in four directions I made (them) hold [their (the gates’) suitable door bolt(s)].

63) I engraved on [large limestone slabs (images of the enemy) settlements] that [I] had conquered. I surrounded their (the palace rooms’) lower courses with them) and (made) (them) an object of wonder.

64) I planted [an] garden, a replica of Mount Amanus, which has [all kinds of] aromatic plants (and) fruit [trees], trees that are the mainstay of the mountains and Chaldea, collected inside it.

65) [To plant gardens], I subdivided [the meadowland upstream of] the city into plots of two pânu ea[ch] for the citizens of Nineveh and I handed (them) over to (them).

66–67) [To make (those) planted areas luxuriant], I cut with iron picks [a canal straight through] mountain and valley, [from the border of] the city Kisiru to the plain of Nineveh. I caused an inexhaustible supply of water to flow there for [a distance of one and a half leagues from the Ḥusur River] (and made) (it) gush [through feeder canals] into those gardens.

68–69) [After I finished]ed [the work on my lordly palace], broadened the squares, (and) brought light into the alleys (and) streets, making (them) [as] bright [as day], I invited inside it (the palace) [the god Aššûr, the great lord, (and) the gods and goddesses] living in Assyria, then I made splendid offerings and presented [my gifts(s)].

70–71) [In the future, may one of the kings], my [descendants], whom the god Aššûr names for shepherding the land and people, [renovate its dilapidated section(s)] when that palace be comes old and dilapidated. May he find [an inscribed object bearing] my name, anoint (it) with oil, make an offering, (and) return (it) to its place. The god Aššûr [will (then) hear] his prayers.

72) The line count of the inscription is [71] (lines). Šûbûti, eponym of Nabû-li’i, governor of the city Arbela (702).
3

One complete clay cylinder and several fragments of clay cylinders are inscribed with an inscription that is a near duplicate of text no. 2. The prologue and military narration (which contains accounts of Sennacherib’s first two campaigns) are identical to the previous inscription (with one minor omission and minor orthographic variations). The building report, however, deviates from that text, as it omits the passage recording the roofing of the palace, the construction of an ornate portico (a bit-ḫilānī), and the lining of the walls of the palace with sculpted orthostats, as well as the passage stating that the gods were invited into the “Palace Without a Rival” upon its completion. The complete cylinder (ex. 1) was inscribed at the same time as several copies of text no. 2, in the second half of the eponymy of Nabū-lē’i, governor of the city Arbela (702). The scribe also indicated the total number of lines; each copy was inscribed with sixty-three lines of text. The inscription is commonly referred to as the “Bellino Cylinder.” The name derives from Karl Bellino’s hand-drawn facsimile of the complete cylinder (ex. 1) that C.J. Rich, the Resident in Baghdad for the East India Company, purchased at Nineveh in 1820; that copy was published in 1850 by G.F. Grotefend, who had received the copy in 1820 (just before Bellino died). In older literature, this inscription is very occasionally referred to as “Cylinder A.”

CATALOGUE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ex.</th>
<th>Museum Number</th>
<th>Excavation/Registration No.</th>
<th>Provenance</th>
<th>Dimensions (cm)</th>
<th>Lines Preserved</th>
<th>cpn</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>BM 22502 (K 1680)</td>
<td>R 102</td>
<td>Acquired by C.J. Rich, probably at Nebi Yunus</td>
<td>25.5 long; 12.5 dia.</td>
<td>1–63, date c</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>BM 134469</td>
<td>1932-12-12,464</td>
<td>Nineveh</td>
<td>12×11</td>
<td>38–63</td>
<td>c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>79-7-8,288</td>
<td>Probably Nineveh</td>
<td>10.5×6.5</td>
<td>47–63</td>
<td>c</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

CATALOGUE OF UNCERTAIN EXEMPLARS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ex.</th>
<th>Museum Number</th>
<th>Excavation/Registration No.</th>
<th>Provenance</th>
<th>Dimensions (cm)</th>
<th>Lines Preserved</th>
<th>cpn</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1*</td>
<td>K 1649</td>
<td>R 104</td>
<td>Same as ex. 1</td>
<td>6×5</td>
<td>1–11</td>
<td>c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2*</td>
<td>NBC 6057</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>10×9</td>
<td>7–26</td>
<td>c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3*</td>
<td>Rm 2,185</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>Probably Nineveh</td>
<td>4.5×4</td>
<td>12–23</td>
<td>c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4*</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>81-2-4,478</td>
<td>Probably Nineveh</td>
<td>3×3</td>
<td>21–27</td>
<td>c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5*</td>
<td>BM 123428</td>
<td>1932-12-10,371</td>
<td>Nineveh, Area SH</td>
<td>3.6×3.5</td>
<td>26–32</td>
<td>c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6*</td>
<td>BM 134457</td>
<td>1932-12-12,452</td>
<td>Nineveh</td>
<td>6.5×10</td>
<td>28–48</td>
<td>c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7*</td>
<td>VA 15467</td>
<td>Ass 1773 (Ass ph 4583)</td>
<td>Aššur, hDhE, dump</td>
<td>10.5×4.7</td>
<td>33–44</td>
<td>c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8*</td>
<td>BM 98560</td>
<td>Th 1905-4-9,66</td>
<td>Nineveh</td>
<td>3×4.2</td>
<td>35–44</td>
<td>c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9*</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>81-7-27,7</td>
<td>Probably Nineveh</td>
<td>4.5×4.5</td>
<td>39–48</td>
<td>c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10*</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>81-2-4,175</td>
<td>Probably Nineveh</td>
<td>5×5</td>
<td>43–56</td>
<td>c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11*</td>
<td>VA 15470</td>
<td>Ass 11594 (Ass ph 2764)</td>
<td>Aššur, bA8II</td>
<td>5×6</td>
<td>17–27</td>
<td>c</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
COMMENTS

The birth of the study of Sennacherib’s inscriptions began in 1820, when C.J. Rich visited Mosul and acquired what he described as “a small earthen vase covered with cuneiform writing” (= ex. 1). Shortly thereafter, K. Bellino, his secretary, made a facsimile of the text, which he sent to G.F. Grotend, a man who by that time had already made several breakthroughs in the decipherment of Persian cuneiform.


An old, yellow paper label attached to ex. 1 states that the clay cylinder was “From Nineveh.” E.A.W. Budge (By Nile and Tigris 2 p. 25) and others (Frahm, Sanherib pp. 29 and 46) have suggested that the piece originates from Nebi Yunus, where locals had already dug deep into the mound, exposing the foundation of a palace of Sennacherib there. Ex. 1*, which also is part of the R[ich] collection, may have been acquired at the same time as ex. 1, in 1820, and may come from a similar provenance as the complete cylinder (ex. 1). Exs. 7* and 11*–12*, however, do not come from Nineveh, but originate from Aššur.

In addition to the three certain exemplars of this inscription, there are fourteen cylinder fragments that may preserve copies of the “Bellino Cylinder” (best preserved on ex. 1). These are edited as exs. 1*–13* and as text no. 1 ex. 1*. For text no. 1 ex. 1*, see the commentary to that inscription.

Exs. 1*–12*, all of which preserve parts of lines 1–56, are duplicates of either the “Bellino Cylinder” (ex. 1) or text no. 2 since both inscriptions are near duplicates up to line 56, at which point the texts deviate. Ex. 1* may preserve lines 1–11 of text no. 2, but since it does not add re-šu-ši (“his ally”) after ELAM.MA.KI (“Elam”) in line 5, that fragment is more likely an exemplar of this text. Should exs. 2*–12* be exemplars of text no. 2, then those fragments would preserve the following lines of that inscription: ex. 2* contains parts of lines 7–26; ex. 3* has parts of lines 12–23; ex. 4* preserves parts of lines 21–27; ex. 5* is inscribed with parts of lines 26–32; ex. 6* contains parts of lines 28–48; ex. 7* has parts of lines 33–44; ex. 8* preserves parts of lines 35–44; ex. 9* is inscribed with parts of lines 39–48; ex. 10* contains parts of lines 43–56; ex. 11* has parts of lines 17–27; and ex. 12* is inscribed with parts of lines 37–57.

Ex. 13* may be a duplicate of either text no. 3 or text no. 4. Should that fragment be an exemplar of the latter text, then it preserves parts of lines 83–88.

It is uncertain how long this inscription was in circulation since only ex. 1 has a date preserved on it. It is possible that this inscription was also inscribed on clay cylinders during the eponymy of Ḫanānu, governor of the city Til-Barsip (701); note that all of the known copies of text no. 4 that preserve a date were inscribed in the first part of the eponymy of Mitīnu (700).

The master text is ex. 1, with some minor improvements from the other exemplars. A score of the inscription is presented on the CD-ROM. The scribe of ex. 1 marked every tenth line with a winklehaken on the left edge; line counts also appear on several exemplars of text no. 4.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1850 Grotend, Abhandlungen der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Hist.-phil. Klasse 4 after p. 206 (ex. 1, copy [by Bellino])
1851 Layard, ICC pl. 63 (ex. 1, copy)
1853 Layard, Discoveries p. 345 (ex. 1, study)
1878 G. Smith, Senn. pp. 1–2, 12, 24–30, 43–51, 140–150 (ex. 1, copy, edition)
1889 Bezd, Cat. 1 pp. 324–325 and 330–331 (exs. 1, 1*, 13*, study)
1890 Bezd in Schrader, KB 2 pp. 80–91 (exs. 1, 1*, variants [of text no. 22 i 1–ii 36])
1893 Meissner and Rost, BIS pp. 1 and 6–42 (ex. 1 lines 34–63, edition [confounded with text no. 4 and Smith Bull 4])
1895 Meissner, Chrestomathie pp. 20–22 (lines 34–63, copy)
1896 Bezd, Cat. 4 pp. 1655, 1722, 1768, 1792 and 1795 (exs. 3, 3*, 4*, 9*, 10*, study)
1910 Deimel, Textus cuneiformes in usum scholae pp. 3–8 (ex. 1, copy, collations)
1914 King, Cat. p. 56 no. 476 (ex. 8*, study)
TEXT

1) mEN.ZU-ŠEŠ.MEŠ-erí-ba LUGAL GAL LUGAL
dan-ru LUGAL KUR aš-šUR.KI LUGAL la ša-na-an
RE.É.UM mut-nen-ru-ú pâ-liḫ DINGIR.MEŠ
GAL.MEŠ

2) na-šir kit-ši raʾ-ʾi-im mi-šá-ri e-piš ú-sa-a-ši a-liḫ
tap-pu-ut a-ki-i sa-ḫi-ru dam-qa-ți

3) eṭ-lu giš-ma-lım zi-ka-ru qar-đu ašá-red kal
ma-ṣà-šu râ-ṣu la-ʾi-ṣṭ la ma-gi-ri mu-ša-ri-qu
za-ma-a-ši

4) aš-šUR KUR-ú GAL-ú LUGAL-ut la ša-na-an
ú-ša-li-ma-an-ni-ma UGU gi-šuš aš-siḫ pa-raš-ki

1-3) Sennacherib, great king, strong king, king of Assyria, unrivalled king, pious shepherd who reveres
the great gods, guardian of truth who loves justice,
renders assistance, goes to the aid of the weak, (and)
strives after good deeds, perfect man, virile warrior,
foremost of all rulers, the bride that controls the
insubmissive, (and) the one who strikes enemies with
lightning;

4) The god Aššur, the great mountain, granted to me
unrivalled sovereignty and made my weapons greater

1-56 Text no. 2 lines 1-56 duplicate these lines, apart from orthographic variants and the one minor deviation in line 5; see the on-page notes of that text for comments.
úšar-ba-a GIŠ.TUKUL,MEŠ-ia
5) i-na SAG LUGAL-ti-ia ša
mdAR.MAR.UTU-IBILA-SUM.NA LUGAL
KUR.kár-dun-i-aš a-di ERIM.HLA ELAM.MA.KI
i-na ta-ta-ri kiš.KI āš-ta-kan BAD.BAD-ša

6) i-na MURUB, tam-ha-ri šu-a-tu e-zîb KARAŠ-su
e-diš ip-par-šid ma-a-nA KUR.gu-zu-um-ma-ni
in-na-bit qé-reb I.D.a.gam-mē u ap-pa-ra-a-te
e-ru-um-ma na-piš-taš e-ti-iš

7) GIŠ.GIGIR,MEŠ GIŠ.su-um-bi ANŠE.KUR.RA,MEŠ
ANŠE.KONGA,MEŠ ANŠE.MEŠ,ANŠE.MEŠ MALI-ša
ū ANŠE.ud-ri ša i-na qit-ru-ub ta-ḫa-zi
ū-šaš-šu-ri ša šu-da ŠU.IL-a-a

8) a-na É.GAL-šiša qé-reb KÁ,DINGIR.RA.KI ḫa-diš
e-ru-um-ma ap-te-e-me ē ni-ši-ir-ti-ši KU.GI
KU.BABBAR u-nu-ut KU.GI KU.BABBAR NA₅
a-qar-tu mim-ma ŠUM-šu NG.ŠU NG.GA
ni-ši-tu ka-bit-tu

9) DAM-su MUNUS,UN.MEŠ É.GAL-šiša LÚ.TI.RU.MEŠ
LÚ.man-za-az pa-ni si-ḫir-ti um-ma-a-ni ma-la
ba-sha-ú mut-tab-bi-šu-tu É.GAL ú-ša-ša-am-ma
šal-la-tiš-šu-am-ma

10) ašbat-ma EGIR-šiša a-na KUR.gu-zu-um-ma-ni
LÚ.mun-daḫ-iša a-na qé-reb I.D.a-gam-mē u ap-pa-ra-a-te ú-ma-‘e-er-ma 5 u₄-mē
i-pa-pa-nim-ma ul i-na-mi a-šar-ša

11) i-na e-muq aš-Sùr ŠI.ni 89 URU.MEŠ-ni
dan-nu-ti ḫE.BAD.MEŠ-ni ša KUR.kal-di u 8 ME
20 URU.MEŠ TUR.ŠEŠ ša li-me-tišiš-nu al-me
ak-šaṭ₂u aš-lašu šal-la-su-un

12) LÚ.úr-bi LÚ.á-ra-mu ša qé-reb
UNG.KI NIBRU.KI kiš.KI ḫU-SAG-KALAM-MA.KI
GU.DU₅.AKI a-di DUMU.MEŠ URU ŠI-hi-ša-ši
ú-ša-ša-am-ma šal-la-tiš-am-mu

13) ₂EN-DU₃ DUMU LÚ.GAL-DU₃ pe-e₂r₁ ‘i šu-an-na.KI
ša GIM mi-ra-ni ša-ṣaš-ri qé-reb É.GAL-BA
ir-šu-ú a-na LUGAL-uT KUR.EMEGI, ŠU URI.KI
aš-ta-kan UGU-ŠU-un

14) i-na ta-a-ar-tiš-ša LÚ.tu-́u-nu LÚ.ri-ḫi-ḫu
LÚ ia-daṣ-ku LÚ.ū-bu-du LÚ.gib-re-e LÚ.mal-li-ḫi
LÚ.gu-la-ti LÚ.ū-bu-lum LÚ.đa-na-μu

15) LÚ.gam-bu-šu LÚ.ḫi-ı-da-da LÚ.ru-́u-u-a
LÚ.mu-qu-du LÚ.ḫa-ša-ra-a-nu LÚ.ḪA-NA-na-šu
LÚ.na-ba-ti LÚ.li-ta-á-a LÚ.a-ra-μa-la ša-ša-
mit-ḫa-raš ak-šaṭ₂u

16) 2 ME ₈ LIM UN.MEŠ zIK-ru u MUNUS 7 LIM 2
ME ANŠE.KUR.RA,MEŠ ANŠE.KONGA,MEŠ 11 LIM
73 ANŠE.MEŠ 5 LIM 2 ME 30
ANŠE.GAM,MEŠ 80 LIM 1 ME GU.₅.MEŠ 8 ME
LIM 6 ME US₅,UDU.HLA šal-la-tu ka-bit-tu
aš-la-la a-na qé-reb ŠUR aš-Sùr.KI

17) i-na me-ti-iq ger-r)i-ša ša mdAG-EN-MU.MEŠ
LÚ.qa-pi URU.ḫa-ra-ra-ti KU.GI KU.BABBAR

17) In the course of my campaign, I received a
substantial audience gift from Nabû-bēl-šumāti, the
than (those of) all who sit on (royal) daises.
5-7) At the beginning of my kingship, I brought about
the defeat of Marduk-apla-iddina (II) (Merodach-balad-
ian), king of Karduniaš (Babylonia), together with the
troops of (the land) Elam in the plain of Kish. In the
midst of that battle he abandoned his camp. He fled
alone and escaped to the land Guzzummānu, (where)
he entered the swamps and marshes and (thereby)
saved his life. I seized the chariots, wagons, horses,
mules, donkeys, camels, and Bactrian camels that he
had abandoned in the thick of battle.

8-9) I joyfully entered his palace, which is in Babylon,
then I opened his treasury and brought out gold,
silver, and silver utensils, precious stones, all
defense, all kinds of possessions (and) property, a substantial
vessels, courtiers, attendants, all of the craftsmen,
architects, and (and) his palace attendants, and I counted
them (as) booty.

10) I pursued him to the land Guzzummānu
and ordered my warriors into the midst of swamps
and marshes. For five days they searched for him,
but his (hiding) place could not be found.
11-12) With the strength of the god Aššur, my lord,
I surrounded, conquered, (and) plundered 89 fortified
cities, strongholds of Chaldea, and 820 small(er) settle-
ments in their environs. I brought out the auxiliary
forces of the Arameans and Chaldeans who were in
Uruk, Nippur, Kish, Ḫursagkalama, (and) Cutha,
and, together with the guilty citizens, and I counted
them (as) booty.

13) I appointed over them Bēl-ibni, a son of a rab banî
(and) a son of Šuanna (Babylon) who had grown up
like a young puppy in my palace, as king of the land
of Sumer and Akkad.
14-16) On my return march, I defeated all together
the Tu umuna, Riḫḫu, Yadaqqu, Ubuđu, Gibrê, Maliḫu
(Malāḫu), Gurumu, Ubuđu, Damunu, (15) Gambulu, Ḫi-
daru, Ru‘u‘a, Puqqu, Ḫamarrū, Ḫagarānu, Nabatu,
and, Lī’ta‘u, insubmissive Arameans. I carried off into
Assyria a substantial booty (consisting of) 208,000
people, male and female, 7,200 horses (and) mules, 11,073
donkeys, 5,230 camels, 80,100 oxen, (and) 800,600
sheep and goats.

5 This inscription omits re-šiši “his ally” after ELAM.MA.KI “(the land) Elam.” Cf. text no. 2 line 5 and text no. 4 line 5.
GIŠ.mu-suk-kan-ni GAL.MEŠ ANŠE.MEŠ
ANŠE.GAM.MAL.MEŠ GU₄.MEŠ û US₄.UDU.HI.A
ta-mar-ta-ša ka-bit-tu-am-ḫur

18) ba-ḫu-la-ti URUḪ,ri-mim-me LŪ.казывает ša
ul-tu ul-la a-na ni-ri-ia la kit-nu-šu ī-na
GIŠ.TUKUL ū-šam-git-na na-piš-tu ul e-zib

na-gu-ū šu-a-tu a-na eš-šu-ti aš-bat 1-en GU₄
10 UDU.MEŠ 10 ANŠE.GEŠTIN.MEŠ 20 ANŠE
ZU₂.SUMER.MA re-še-te-ša a-na DINGIR.MEŠ-ni
KUR as-šur.KI EN.MEŠ-ia ū-kin dá-ri-šam

20) ina 2-e ger-ri-ia 4aš-šur be-li
ū-tak-ši-an-ni ma a-na KUR LŪ.kašši-ī ū KUR
ia-su-bi-gal-la-a-a LŪ.казывает ū di-šu a-na
GIŠ.BAR qQ.XUQHG DURXQG (erasures) di-ta-li ši ū-še-mi

22) URU.E₂₃.ki-lam-za-ḫḫ URU dan-nu-ti-šu-nu al-me
ak-šu₂₃ UN.MEŠ.TÜR GAL.aneously KUR.RA.MEŠ
ANŠE.KUNGA.announce ANŠE.GU₂₄.MEŠ û
US₄.UDU.HI.A ul-tu qer-ši-ū ū-še-ša-am ma
šal-la-tīš am-nu

24) URU.MEŠ-šu-nu TUR.MEŠ ša ni-ba la i-šu-ū
ap-pul aq-qur ū-še-me kar-meš E EDIN kal-ta-ri
tu-kul-ti-šu-nu i-na GIŠ.BAR aq-ma-ma
(erasures) di-ta-li ši ū-še-mi

26) URU.MEŠ KUR LŪ.kašši-ī ū KUR
ia-su-bi-gal-la-a-a ša la-pa-an GIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ-ia
ip-par-ši-du ul-tu qē-reb KUR-i ū-še-ši-rim da-
i-na URU.HAR.dīš.pu URU.E₂₃.bat-ti ū-šar-me
i-na ŠUV.LU₂₂.ŠU₂₂.uṭ SAG-la LŪ.È.E.NAM
URU.ar-rap-ha am-nu-šu-nu ti Nat₄.NA.RU₂₂.A
ū-še-ši-ma li-i-tum ki-ši-ti ŠUV₁₂ ša UGU-šiš-un
aš-ta-kana ū-šu-ū ū-ša-ši-tir ma ina
qer-ši URU ul-zīz

27) pa-annu-rin-ī ū-ter-ma a-na KUR.el-li-pi
aš-ša-bit ūr-ra-nu el-la-mu-u-a 4i-pa-ba-a-ra
LUGAL-šu-un URU.MEŠ-šu-dan-nu-ti ū
ni-šir-ši-ša ū-mašš-šir-ša a-na ru-qē-ē-ti
in-na-bit

28) GIM.RI KUR-šu DAGAL-ti ki-ma MURU₂₂, as-ḫu-up
URU.mar-ii-bīš-ti URU.ak-ku-ad-du URU.MEŠ ū
LUGAL.MEŠ-šu-a-di 34 URU.MEŠ dan-nu-ti ū
URU.MEŠ TUR.MEŠ ša li-me-ti-šu-nu ša ni-ba la
i-ša-ū

29) ap-pu-ul aq-qur i-na GIŠ.BAR aq-mu-ma
KIR₂₂.MEŠ-šu-nu aš-ši ūGU₂₂,AGAR.MEŠ-šiš-un
ḥab-su-ti ša-ḫur-ra-tum at-ūḫ KUR.el-li-pi
a-na paṯ gīm-ri-ša ar-bu-ta ū-ša-liš

official in charge of the city Ḥararatu: gold, silver, large musukkammu-trees, donkeys, camels, oxen, and sheep and goats.

18–19) I put to the sword the population of the city Ḥirimmu, a dangerous enemy who since time immemorial had not submitted to my yoke, and I did not leave one alive. I reorganized that district (and) imposed for eternity one ox, ten sheep, ten homers of wine, (and) twenty homers of dates as his first-fruits offerings to the gods of Assyria, my lords.

20–21) On my second campaign, the god Aššur, my lord, encouraged me and I marched to the land of the Kassites and the land of the Yasubigallians, a dangerous enemy who since time immemorial had not submitted to the kings, my ancestors. In the high mountains, difficult terrain, I rode on horseback and had my personal chariot carried on (men’s) necks. In very rugged terrain I rode around on foot like a wild bull.

22–23) I surrounded (and) conquered the city Bit-Kilmazā, their fortified city. I brought out of it people, young (and) old, horses, mules, donkeys, oxen, and sheep and goats, and I counted (them) as booty. I destroyed, devastated, (and) turned into ruins their smaller settlements, which were without number. I burned with fire the pavilions (and) tents that they relied upon, and reduced (them) to ashes.

24–26) I made that city Bit-Kilmazā a fortress again (and) strengthened its enceinte more than before. I settled therein the people of the lands that I had conquered. (25) I brought down from the mountains the people of the land of the Kassites and the land of the Yasubigallians who had fled from my weapons and I made (them) dwell in the cities Ḥardišpu (and) Bit-Kubatti. I placed them under the authority of a eunuch of mine, the governor of the city Arapḫa. I had a stele made, had all the victorious conquests that I achieved over them written on it, and I erected (it) in (that) city.

27–29) I turned around (lit. “I turned the front of my yoke”) and took the road to the land Ellipi. Before my arrival, Ḣapabāra, their king, abandoned his fortified cities (and) his treasury and fled far away. I overwhelmed all of his wide land like a fog. I destroyed, devastated, (and) burned with fire the cities Ma’ubištû (and) Akkuddo, cities of his royal house, together with thirty-four fortified cities and smaller settlements in their environs, which were without number, then I cut down their orchards (and) poured deathly quiet over their fertile fields. (In this manner) I reduced to desolation the land Ellipi to its full extent.
30) UN.MEŠ TUR GAL NITA u MUNUS ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ ANŠE.KUNGA.MEŠ ANŠE.MEŠ GU,MU,U.S.,UDU.HLA la mi-nam āš-lu-lam-ma a-di la ba-še-ša-e ā-šá-liš-ša-nu-ti
31) URU,ŠI,ŠI,ŠI-ir-tu URU,ku-um₃,ma₁-ah-lam URU,MEŠ dan-mu-ti a-di URU,MEŠ TUR.MEŠ ša li-me-ti-šu-nu KUR.É-bar-ru-ú na-gu-u a-na gi-mir-ti-šu ū-lu-šu qē-reb KUR-Ša ab-tuq-ma UGU mi-šir KUR āš-šur.KI ū-raid-di
34) i-na u₄,mⁱ-šu-ma NINA.KI ma-ḥa-зу ši-i-ru URU na-ram 4₂tar ša nap-ḥar ki-du-de-e DINGIR.MEŠ ū 4₁š.tar.MEŠ ba-šu-ú qē-reb-šu
36) ša ul-tu ul-₃la LUGAL,M.EŠ-ni a-li-کut mah-ri AD.MEŠ-ía ul-la-na-u a-be-lu-tu KUR aš-šur.KI e-pu-su-ma ū-ma-e-ru ba’-u-lat 4₁EN.LİL
37) ū šat-ti-šam la na-par-ka-a e-reb la nar-ba-a-ši GUN mal-ki kb-ri-rat ar-ba’-i im-da-na-ah-ḥa-ru qē-reb-šu
38) a-a-um-ma i-na šu-ši-nu a-na ḫ.GL QER-BI-šu kūm-mu ri-miš be-lu-ti ša šu-uḥ-ḥur šu-ba-ti le-e-su ul i-da-a šu-bu-us šu iṣ-su-us
40) i-a-ti m₃EN.ZU-ŠEŠ.MEŠ-eri-ba LUGAL KUR aš-šur.KI e-peš ši-pi-šu a-ta ki-te-em DINGIR.MEŠ i-na uz-ni-ia ša-ši-ma ka-bat-ti ūb-lam-ma
41) a-pa ku-ke-e ša qē-reb KUR.kal-di ak-šiṭ-ma ap-pa-ri-šu-un ša-mḫ-ti i-na ba-hu-lu-ta na-ki-ri ki-ši-ti ŠU,ni-ia āš-ṣal-di-da a-na e-peš ši-pi-ša
30–31) I carried off people, young (and) old, male and female, horses, mules, donkeys, oxen, and sheep and goats without number and brought them to nought. I detached from his land the cities Și(s)širtu (and) Kummahbhum, fortified cities, together with the small(er) settlements in their environs (and) the district of the land Bit-Barrû in its entirety, and I added (this area) to the territory of Assyria.
32) I took the city Elenazaš as a royal city and a fortress for that district, then I changed its former name and called it Kār-Sennacherib.
33) On my return march, I received a substantial payment from the distant Medes, of whose land none of the kings, my ancestors, had heard mention. (Thus) I made them bow down to the yoke of my lordship.
34–36) At that time, Nineveh, the exalted cult center, the city loved by the goddess Ištar in which all of the rituals for gods and goddesses are present; (35) the enduring foundation (and) eternal base whose plan had been designed by the stars (lit. “writing”) of the firmament and whose arrangement was made manifest since time immemorial; a sophisticated place (and) site of secret lore in which every kind of skilled craftsmanship, all of the rituals, (and) the secret(s) of the lagar (cosmic subterranean water) are apprehended;
37–38) in which since time immemorial earlier kings, my ancestors, before me exercised dominion over Assyria and ruled the subjects of the god Enlil, and wherein annually, without interruption, they received an income unsurpassed in amount, the tribute of the rulers of the four quarters (of the world);
39–40) (but) not one among them had paid heed to (or) shown interest in the palace inside it, the seat of lordly dwelling whose site had become too small; (40) nor had anyone (of them) conceived of and put his mind towards the straightening of the city’s street(s) and the widening of (its) squares, the dredging of the river, (and) the planting of orchards:
41–43) (But) as for me, Sennacherib, king of Assyria, the performing of this work came to my attention by the will of the gods and I put my mind to it. I forcibly removed the people of Chaldea, Aramean (tribes), the land of the Manneans, (and) the lands Que and Hilakk, who had not submitted to my yoke, then I made bricks. I cut down canebrakes in Chaldea and I had their splendid reeds hauled (to Nineveh) for its (the palace’s) construction by enemy soldiers whom I had defeated.
44) ṢEGAL mah-ri-tu ša 3 ME 60 ina 1.KUŠ UŠ i-na tar-ši za-me-e ṢEGAL 'DAGAL i-na tar-ši ṢE.na-ma-ri ṢEGAL 'DAGAL 1-i na-ša-ri ṢE.na-ma-ri ṢEGAL Š2 muli 95 ina 1.KUŠ ṢEGAL

45) ša LUGAL.MEŠ-a li-kūt mah-ri AD.MEŠ-a a-na ri-mi ti be-lu-šiš-un úš-e-piš-ša-ma la ú-nak-ki-lu ši-pir-ša


49) qe-reb ka-tim-ti a-sur-rak-ki-ša šap-la-nu GL.MEŠ e-la-niš NA ṢE.MEŠ KUR-i dan-ni it-ti ESIR.UD.A ak-si-ma AŠA ú-ul-ta ma-a-me úš-e-lam-na na-ba-liš ú-ter

50) 7 ME ina AsL.UUM GAL-ti ŠU 56 ina AsL.UUM GAL-ti SAG.KI AN.TA IM.SLSÁ 2 ME 17 ina AsL.UUM GAL-ti SAG.KI MURUB-tim

51) 3 ME 86 ina AsL.UUM GAL-ti SAG.KI KI.TA IM.UL.UU UŠ.SA.DU Ð ID.INDIQA tam-la-a úmal-li-ša-am-šu-uh meši-iš-ta

52) la-ba-riš ID.MEŠ i-na ÙLU kaš-ša-ši tem-me-en-ša la e-ne-še aš-kup-pat NA ap-i-li rab-ba-a-ti a-sur-ru-ša úš-ša-as-ši-ra ú dan-ni šu-pu-uk-ša

53) MUSHAR-e ši-tir šu-mi-ia 1 ME 60 ti-ib-ki tam-li-i qe-reb-ša al-tu-ur-ma šap-la-nu i-na úš-ši-šu e-ziš aḥ-ra-taš

54) ar-ka-nu šu-us-qi-ú tam-li-i ka-bat-ti ub-lam-ma 20 ti-ib-ki še-er mah-ri-i usši-sa-mpa 1 ME 80 ti-ib-ki úšaq-qi e-la-niš

55) tar-pa-šu-ú el ša uq-me pa-ni úš-šar-bi še-er meši-iš-ti ṢEGAL mah-ri-ti ú-rad-di-ma úš-ša-an-di-la ši-ki-taš

56) ṢEGAL ŽÚ AM.SI GES.EŠI GUS.TUG GES.MU-suk-kàn-ni GES.EŠI.SUR.MIN SIM.LI u GUS.bu-uñ-ni e-gal-zag-di-nu-tuku-a a-na MUŠAB LUGAL-ti-ia Úš-e-pi-ša qe-reb-ša

57) GIŠ.KIRI MAH.HU tam-šil KUR.ŠA-ma-nim ša gi-miš SIM.HI.A GURUN sip-pa-a ti GIŠ.MEŠ tak-lat KUR-i ú KUR.KAL-di qe-reb-ša ṢUR-ru-šu i-ta-a-ša az-qu-up

44-47) The former palace, which was 360 cubits long opposite the zami-wall of the zigurrat, 80 cubits wide opposite the tower of the goddess Ištar, 134 cubits wide opposite the tower of the Bit-Kidmuri, and (95) cubits wide (on the other side); (45) which earlier kings, my ancestors, had had constructed for their lordly dwelling, but whose construction they had carried out inexpertly — the Tebilbi River, a tempestuous flood (of water) which when it rose had destroyed sacred buildings inside the city and exposed the mounds of their tombs (lit. “their mounded tombs”) to the sun, and which had flowed from distant days by the side of the palace and which (thereby) had caused erosion in its foundation when its flood was in full spate (and) had shaken its base:

48) I tore down that small palace in its entirety, then I changed the course of the Tebilbi River, repaired (the effects of the erosion) and directed its outflow.

49-52) In the hidden depths of its subterranean waters I bonded together, with bitumen, reeds below (and) strong mountain stone above, then I raised (that) area out of the water and converted (it) to dry land.

50) I filled in and measured a terrace of 700 large aslu-cubits along (its) longer side, 162 large aslu-cubits along (its) upper, northern shorter side, 217 large aslu-cubits along the inner, shorter side, and (386) large aslu-cubits along the lower, southern shorter side, (which is) beside the Tigris River. In order to prevent its foundation from being weakened over the passage of time by creasing floodwaters, I surrounded its ramp course with large limestone slabs (and thereby) reinforced its base.

53) I inscribed objects bearing my name 160 courses of brick within the terrace and I deposited (them) deep down in its foundation for ever after.

54-55) Afterwards, I decided to increase the height of the terrace, then I added 20 courses of brick to the former (terrace) and (thus) I raised (it) to a (total) height of 180 courses of brick. (55) I made the area larger than before, added (it) to the former dimensions of the palace, and (thus) enlarged its structure.

56) I had a palace of elephant ivory, ebony, boxwood, musukkanu-wood, cedar, cypress, juniper, and terebinth, (a palace that I named) Egalzadindutukua (“The Palace Without a Rival”), constructed thereon as my royal residence.

57) I planted alongside it (the palace) a botanical garden, a replica of Mount Amanus, which has all kinds of aromatic plants (and) fruit trees, trees that are the mainstay of the mountains and Chaldea, collected inside it.
58) ást-šá za-qa-ap šip-pa-a-ti Ašša ta-mi-r-ti e-le-en
URU NIGIDAMIN.TA.ÂM a-na DUMU.MEŠ NINA.KI
plit-kú ú-pal-lik-ma ú-ša-d-qi-lá pa-nu-uš-šá-un
59) a-na miš-ra-a-ti šum-mu-ḥi ul-tu pa-a-ti
URU.KI-si-ri a-dí ta-mi-r-ti NINA.KI KUR-a ù
bi-ru-tú i-na ak-kal-la-te ú-šat-tír-ma ú-še-šér
fd.ḫar-ru
60) 1 1/2 KASKAL.GÍD qaq qa-ru ul-tu qé-reb
fd.ḫu-su-ur ma-a-me dá-ra-ú-ti a-šar-šá
ú-šar-da-a qé-reb šip-pa-a-ti šá-ti-na
ú-ša-h₂biᵗ⁻ba pat-ti-iš
61) ša NINA.KI URU be-lú-ti-ia šu-bat-su uš-rab-bi
re-ba-ti-šá ú-ša-an-díl-ma bi-re-e-ti û su-qa-a-ni
uš-par-di ú-nam-mír GIM u discretionary
62) a-na EGIR UD.MEŠ i-na LUGAL.MEŠ-ní
DUMU.MEŠ-iš ašš-šár a-na RE.É.U.M-ut KUR û
UN.MEŠ i-nam-bu-u zi-kír-šá e-nu-ma É.GAL
ša-a-tu i-lab-bi-ra-ma en-na-ḫu
63) an-ḫu-sa lu-ud-diš MU.SAR-e ši-tir šu₂-miᶓ-ia
li-mur-ma l.GIS li-pu-šu-Š UDU.SISKUR liš-qi a-na
aš-rí-lníter šaš-šur ik-ri-šá i-šem-me
64) 1 UŠ.TA.ÂM MU.DIDI ML.SAR-e ITI.sí-bu-šiᵗ⁻ni³
lim-mu mdAG-ZU LÚ.GAR.KUR URU.er-ba-il
8) To plant gardens, I subdivided the meadowland
upstream of the city into plots of two pānu each for
the citizens of Nineveh and I handed (them) over to
them. 59–60) To make (those) planted areas luxuriant, I cut
with iron picks a canal straight through mountain and
valley, from the border of the city Kisiru to the plain
of Nineveh. (60) I caused an inexhaustible supply of
water to flow there for a distance of one and a half
leagues from the Ḫusur River (and) made (it) gush
through feeder canals into those gardens.
61) I enlarged the site of Nineveh, my capital city. I
broadened its squares and brought light into the alleys
and streets, making (them) as bright as day.
62–63) In the future, may one of my kings, my
descendants, whom the god Aššur names for shepherding
the land and people, renovate its dilapidated section(s)
when that palace becomes old and dilapidated. May he
find an inscribed object bearing my name, anoint (it)
with oil, make an offering, (and) return (it) to its place.
The god Aššur will (then) hear his prayers.
64) The line count of the inscription is 63 (lines).
Sibûti, eponym of Nabû-lē‘i, governor of the city
Arbela (702).

Eight complete clay cylinders and numerous fragments from Nineveh and
Aššur are inscribed with a text describing Sennacherib’s first three
campaigns and his large-scale renovations of the “Palace Without a Rival” (the
South-West Palace) at Nineveh, as well as various other public works in
that city, including the creation of a botanical garden, the broadening of
city squares, and the construction of a bridge. The prologue, the accounts
of the first and second campaigns, and the building report are similar to
those of text no. 3. This inscription also includes the earliest known account
of his third campaign, during which he marched to the Levant, where
he collected gifts and tribute from eight kings, deposed Šidqā of Sidon and
replaced him with a pro-Assyrian ruler (Šarru-šú-dārī), defeated an Egyptian-
led coalition that had been organized by the nobles and citizens of the city
Ekon, reinstalled Padî as king of Ekron, captured numerous cities belong-
ing to the Judean king Hezekiah, and laid siege to Jerusalem (but without
capturing the city). Some of the events in Judah are also described in the
Bible (2 Kings 18:13–19:36 and 2 Chronicles 32:1–22). The military narra-
tion concludes with a boast about Hezekiah sending a substantial payment.

3 line 61 This inscription and text no. 4 do not state that the palace was completed, nor do their building reports include mention of the gods being invited inside it. Cf. text no. 1 lines 91–92 and text no. 2 lines 68–69.
3 lines 62–63 These lines duplicate text no. 1 lines 93–94 and text no. 2 lines 70–71.
3 line 64 Sibûti, the month in which ex. 1 of this text and some exemplars of the previous inscription (text. no. 2) were inscribed, is an Elamite
month, the seventh month in the Elamite year. For details, see the on-page note to text no. 2 line 72.
to Nineveh and a short passage stating that Sennacherib formed a large military contingent of archers and shield bearers from prisoners deported from conquered lands. Several exemplars preserve a date and these were inscribed at the beginning of the eponymy of Mitānu, governor of the city Isāna (700). In addition, the scribe indicated the total number of lines; each copy was inscribed with ninety-four lines of text. The inscription is commonly referred to as the “Rassam Cylinder,” being named after Hormuzd Rassam, who discovered several complete copies (exs. 1–5) in the ruins of the South-West Palace. In older literature, this inscription is also referred to as “Cylinder B.”

**CATALOGUE**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ex.</th>
<th>Museum Number/ Source</th>
<th>Excavation/ Registration No.</th>
<th>Provenience</th>
<th>Dimensions (cm)</th>
<th>Lines Preserved</th>
<th>cpm</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>BM 22503</td>
<td>80-7-19,1</td>
<td>Nineveh, South-West Palace, Court VI, in the wall between Doors d and e</td>
<td>26.3 long; 10.7 dia. on right (smallest edge)</td>
<td>1–94, date</td>
<td>c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>BM 22500</td>
<td>81-2-4,42</td>
<td>Presumably from Nineveh, South-West Palace</td>
<td>25.9 long; 10.1 dia. on right (smallest edge)</td>
<td>1–94, date</td>
<td>c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>BM 22501</td>
<td>79-7-8,302</td>
<td>Nineveh, South-West Palace, Court VI, in the wall between Doors g and h</td>
<td>25.6 long; 11.1 dia. on right (smallest edge)</td>
<td>1–94, date</td>
<td>c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>BM 22504</td>
<td>80-7-19,2</td>
<td>Nineveh, South-West Palace, Court VI, in the wall between Doors c and d</td>
<td>26 long; 10.4 dia. on left (smallest edge)</td>
<td>1–94, date</td>
<td>c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Istanbul (formerly 80-7-19,3)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Nineveh, South-West Palace, in the wall between Room VII and Room VIII just east of Door a</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>1–94, date</td>
<td>p</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>81-7-27,1 + 81-7-27,264</td>
<td>Probably Nineveh</td>
<td>9.5 long; 10.2 dia. on right (smallest edge)</td>
<td>1–94, date</td>
<td>c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>81-2-4,47</td>
<td>Probably Nineveh</td>
<td>1 long</td>
<td>1–94, date</td>
<td>c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Sumer 24 pl. 16B</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>Nineveh, South-West Palace, in the foundation of the western wall of the throne room</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>1–94, date</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>VA 7516</td>
<td>Ass 5040</td>
<td>Aššur, gD51IV, “Quergraben I,” by the Libbu-Wall</td>
<td>9.6×8.2</td>
<td>1–18, 77–94, date</td>
<td>c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>81-2-4,168</td>
<td>Probably Nineveh</td>
<td>5.5×6.5</td>
<td>1–12</td>
<td>c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>K 1636a</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>Probably Nineveh</td>
<td>14 long, 13.5 high</td>
<td>1–10, 72–94, date</td>
<td>c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>K 1637</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>Probably Nineveh</td>
<td>4.5×7</td>
<td>1–9, 88–94, date</td>
<td>c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>BM 98558</td>
<td>Th 1905-4-9,64</td>
<td>Nineveh</td>
<td>3.2×5.4</td>
<td>1–9, date</td>
<td>c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>BM 134456</td>
<td>1932-12-12,451</td>
<td>Nineveh, Kuyunjik</td>
<td>3×4</td>
<td>1–7</td>
<td>c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>K 1641</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>Probably Nineveh</td>
<td>5×6.5</td>
<td>1–6, 93–94, date</td>
<td>c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>80-7-19,10</td>
<td>Nineveh, Kuyunjik, probably the South-West Palace</td>
<td>6×6.5</td>
<td>4–20</td>
<td>c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>K 1644 + 79-7-8,220</td>
<td>79-7-8,220</td>
<td>Probably Nineveh</td>
<td>10.5×5</td>
<td>5–19</td>
<td>c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>Reference</td>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Description</td>
<td>Length</td>
<td>Width</td>
<td>Region</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----</td>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Sm 2123 + Rm 2,94</td>
<td>81-7-27,5</td>
<td>Probably Nineveh</td>
<td>4.5×6</td>
<td>7-23</td>
<td>c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>K 1642 + Sm 2123</td>
<td>81-7-27,6</td>
<td>Probably Nineveh</td>
<td>5.5×13.5</td>
<td>12-43</td>
<td>c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Sm 2123 + Rm 2,94</td>
<td>79-7-8,15</td>
<td>Probably Nineveh</td>
<td>4×3.5</td>
<td>14-34</td>
<td>c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>Sm 2123 + Rm 2,94</td>
<td>79-7-8,16</td>
<td>Probably Nineveh</td>
<td>5.5×5</td>
<td>14-29</td>
<td>c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>DT 69</td>
<td>79-7-8,15</td>
<td>Probably Nineveh</td>
<td>4×5.5</td>
<td>14-28</td>
<td>c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>EHE 322</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>Probably Nineveh</td>
<td>5×8</td>
<td>16-37</td>
<td>c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>VA 7508</td>
<td>Ass 1248</td>
<td>Aṣšur, Palace of the crown prince, Temple, Square R</td>
<td>6.8×6.7</td>
<td>17-36</td>
<td>c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>BM 123415</td>
<td>1932-12-10,358</td>
<td>Nineveh, Ištar, Temple, Square R</td>
<td>8.4×7.7</td>
<td>18-41</td>
<td>c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>BM 99047</td>
<td>Ki 1904-10-9,76</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>6×9</td>
<td>19-40</td>
<td>c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>BM 99047</td>
<td>Ki 1904-10-9,76</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>5×4.7</td>
<td>19-31</td>
<td>c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>BM 99047</td>
<td>81-2-4,170</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>2×7.5</td>
<td>20-39</td>
<td>c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>BM 98559</td>
<td>Th 1904-10-9,65</td>
<td>Nineveh</td>
<td>3.5×3.5</td>
<td>21-28</td>
<td>c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>BM 98559</td>
<td>Th 1904-10-9,65</td>
<td>Nineveh</td>
<td>3.5×5.5</td>
<td>21-28</td>
<td>c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>BM 134451</td>
<td>1932-12-12,446</td>
<td>Nineveh</td>
<td>3×5.5</td>
<td>21-28</td>
<td>c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>BM 134451</td>
<td>1932-12-12,446</td>
<td>Nineveh</td>
<td>3×5.5</td>
<td>21-28</td>
<td>c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>A 16933</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>6.4×4</td>
<td>24-34</td>
<td>c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>81-7-27,17</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>4.5×4</td>
<td>25-40</td>
<td>c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35</td>
<td>A 16933</td>
<td>81-7-27,2 + 81-7-27,4</td>
<td>Probably Nineveh</td>
<td>4.3×6.5</td>
<td>26-44</td>
<td>c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36</td>
<td>A 16933</td>
<td>81-7-27,2 + 81-7-27,4</td>
<td>Probably Nineveh</td>
<td>3×5.6</td>
<td>26-44</td>
<td>c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37</td>
<td>A 16933</td>
<td>81-7-27,2 + 81-7-27,4</td>
<td>Probably Nineveh</td>
<td>3×5.6</td>
<td>26-44</td>
<td>c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38</td>
<td>A 16933</td>
<td>81-7-27,2 + 81-7-27,4</td>
<td>Probably Nineveh</td>
<td>4×4</td>
<td>26-44</td>
<td>c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39</td>
<td>K 1640</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>6×12</td>
<td>30-57</td>
<td>c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40</td>
<td>K 1636b</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>5×2.5</td>
<td>31-44</td>
<td>c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41</td>
<td>K 15312</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>4.1×4</td>
<td>32-43</td>
<td>c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42</td>
<td>A 3515</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>3.5×5.6</td>
<td>33-44</td>
<td>c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43</td>
<td>K 15312</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>3×2.5</td>
<td>33-44</td>
<td>c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44</td>
<td>K 15312</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>3×5.5</td>
<td>33-44</td>
<td>c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45</td>
<td>K 15312</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>3×5.5</td>
<td>33-44</td>
<td>c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46</td>
<td>K 15312</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>3×5.5</td>
<td>33-44</td>
<td>c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>47</td>
<td>K 15312</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>3×5.5</td>
<td>33-44</td>
<td>c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>48</td>
<td>A 3596 (Istanbul)</td>
<td>Ass 17180 (Ass ph 5180)</td>
<td>Nineveh, iD3IV, in rubble</td>
<td>42-50</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>Aṣšur, iD3IV, in rubble</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>49</td>
<td>BM 99325</td>
<td>Ki 1904-10-9,358</td>
<td>Nineveh</td>
<td>3×4</td>
<td>43-52</td>
<td>c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50</td>
<td>BM 99325</td>
<td>Ki 1904-10-9,358</td>
<td>Nineveh</td>
<td>2×2.3</td>
<td>44-49</td>
<td>c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51</td>
<td>BM 123417</td>
<td>1932-12-10,360</td>
<td>Nineveh, Ištar, Temple, Square M</td>
<td>11×9</td>
<td>46-77</td>
<td>c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>52</td>
<td>BM 123417</td>
<td>1932-12-10,360</td>
<td>Nineveh, Temple, Square M</td>
<td>6×7</td>
<td>46-62</td>
<td>c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>53</td>
<td>BM 123417</td>
<td>1932-12-10,360</td>
<td>Nineveh, Temple, Square M</td>
<td>5×6</td>
<td>46-69</td>
<td>c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>54</td>
<td>BM 123417</td>
<td>1932-12-10,360</td>
<td>Nineveh, Temple, Square M</td>
<td>6×6</td>
<td>46-69</td>
<td>c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55</td>
<td>BM 123417</td>
<td>1932-12-10,360</td>
<td>Nineveh, Temple, Square M</td>
<td>3×5</td>
<td>47-59</td>
<td>c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>56</td>
<td>BM 123417</td>
<td>1932-12-10,360</td>
<td>Nineveh, Temple, Square M</td>
<td>3×5</td>
<td>47-59</td>
<td>c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>57</td>
<td>BM 123417</td>
<td>1932-12-10,360</td>
<td>Nineveh, Temple, Square M</td>
<td>2.5×3.5</td>
<td>49-57</td>
<td>c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>58</td>
<td>BM 123417 + BM 127972</td>
<td>1932-12-10,374 + 12907</td>
<td>Nineveh, Temple, Square M</td>
<td>4.7×5.2</td>
<td>52-73</td>
<td>c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>59</td>
<td>BM 123417 + BM 127972</td>
<td>1929-10-12,628</td>
<td>Nineveh, Temple, Square M</td>
<td>5×6</td>
<td>53-68</td>
<td>c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60</td>
<td>BM 123417 + BM 127972</td>
<td>1929-10-12,628</td>
<td>Nineveh, Temple, Square M</td>
<td>3.8×6.1</td>
<td>56-71</td>
<td>c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>61</td>
<td>BM 123417 + BM 127972</td>
<td>1929-10-12,628</td>
<td>Nineveh, Temple, Square M</td>
<td>6×5</td>
<td>58-69</td>
<td>c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>62</td>
<td>BM 123417 + BM 127972</td>
<td>1929-10-12,628</td>
<td>Nineveh, Temple, Square M</td>
<td>9.5×7.5</td>
<td>59-75</td>
<td>c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>63</td>
<td>BM 123417 + BM 127972</td>
<td>1929-10-12,628</td>
<td>Nineveh, Temple, Square M</td>
<td>4×7.5</td>
<td>61-85</td>
<td>c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>64</td>
<td>BM 123417 + BM 127972</td>
<td>1929-10-12,628</td>
<td>Nineveh, Temple, Square M</td>
<td>5.5×5</td>
<td>62-77</td>
<td>c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65</td>
<td>BM 123417 + BM 127972</td>
<td>1929-10-12,628</td>
<td>Nineveh, Temple, Square M</td>
<td>13×9</td>
<td>67-87</td>
<td>c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>66</td>
<td>BM 123417 + BM 127972</td>
<td>1929-10-12,628</td>
<td>Nineveh, Temple, Square M</td>
<td>8.9×3.8</td>
<td>68-90</td>
<td>c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>Cylinder</td>
<td>Date Range</td>
<td>Site</td>
<td>Location</td>
<td>Coordinates</td>
<td>Length (cm)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----</td>
<td>----------</td>
<td>------------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>----------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>67</td>
<td>VA 15468</td>
<td>Ass 15222 (Ass ph 4335)</td>
<td>Aššur, 1D1II west</td>
<td>9.7×7.5</td>
<td>67–84</td>
<td>c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>68</td>
<td>K 1647</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>Probably Nineveh</td>
<td>10×5.5</td>
<td>69–94, date</td>
<td>c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>69</td>
<td>VA Ass 4364</td>
<td>Ass 8578 + Ass 8722 (Ass ph 1972)</td>
<td>Aššur, cD6II, vestibule of House 24</td>
<td>8×7×2</td>
<td>70–88</td>
<td>c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70</td>
<td>VA Ass 4363</td>
<td>Ass 8532 (Ass ph 1972)</td>
<td>Same as ex. 69</td>
<td>8.9×7.2</td>
<td>71–94</td>
<td>c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>71</td>
<td>K 1638</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>Probably Nineveh</td>
<td>5.5×5.5</td>
<td>75–87</td>
<td>c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>72</td>
<td>K 1650</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>Probably Nineveh</td>
<td>8.5×7</td>
<td>76–90</td>
<td>c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>73</td>
<td>BM 134515</td>
<td>1932-12-12,510</td>
<td>Nineveh, Kuyunjik</td>
<td>5×6</td>
<td>77–93</td>
<td>c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>74</td>
<td>VA 7509</td>
<td>Ass 1261</td>
<td>Aššur, 1C9II, by the inner wall of the palace of the prince</td>
<td>3.5×4.7×2</td>
<td>78–87</td>
<td>c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>75</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>82-5-22,25</td>
<td>Probably Nineveh</td>
<td>6×5</td>
<td>79–94</td>
<td>c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>76</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>79-7-8,17</td>
<td>Probably Nineveh</td>
<td>5×7</td>
<td>80–94</td>
<td>c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>77</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>Bu 89-4-26,74</td>
<td>Probably Nineveh</td>
<td>2.5×4.5</td>
<td>83–93</td>
<td>c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>78</td>
<td>BM 134606</td>
<td>1932-12-12,601</td>
<td>Probably Nineveh</td>
<td>4×7</td>
<td>84–94</td>
<td>c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>79</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>48-11-4,281</td>
<td>Probably Nineveh</td>
<td>5×5</td>
<td>85–94, date</td>
<td>c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>80</td>
<td>BM 99048</td>
<td>Ki 1904-10-9,77</td>
<td>Nineveh</td>
<td>6×6</td>
<td>87–94, date</td>
<td>c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>81</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>80-7-19,14</td>
<td>Probably Nineveh</td>
<td>4×4</td>
<td>87–94</td>
<td>c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>82</td>
<td>VA Ass 4365</td>
<td>Ass 5405 (Ass ph 1972)</td>
<td>Aššur, city area</td>
<td>8×8.5</td>
<td>15–37</td>
<td>c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>83</td>
<td>VA 15473</td>
<td>Ass 9858 (Ass ph 1972)</td>
<td>Aššur, city area</td>
<td>9.3×4.6</td>
<td>22–36</td>
<td>c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>84</td>
<td>VA Ass 4366</td>
<td>Ass 11398 (Ass ph 2470)</td>
<td>Aššur, bD8III</td>
<td>7.1×8.7</td>
<td>45–62</td>
<td>c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>85</td>
<td>VA 7502</td>
<td>Ass 2448</td>
<td>Aššur, hB4V, southeast corner</td>
<td>4×4.5</td>
<td>47–55</td>
<td>c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>86</td>
<td>VA Ass 4369</td>
<td>Ass 5456 (Ass ph 1972)</td>
<td>Aššur, dE5IV, by the west corner of the small ziggurat</td>
<td>4.2×3.9</td>
<td>54–62</td>
<td>c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>87</td>
<td>VA 15472</td>
<td>Ass 15625 (Ass ph 4541)</td>
<td>Aššur, city area</td>
<td>4×2.8</td>
<td>55–65</td>
<td>c</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**COMMENTARY**

The prologue, the accounts of the first and second campaigns, and the building report of this inscription are more or less borrowed directly from text no. 3, but with some omissions and additions, and the occasional substitution of words; most of text no. 3 is copied from text no. 2, which in turn borrows some of its content from text no. 1. The report of the third campaign, however, appears to have been composed anew for this inscription. Close examination of text nos. 1–4, as well as of inscriptions written on clay prisms between 697 and 691/689 (text nos. 15–18 and 22–23), provides valuable insight into some of the editorial practices of scribes used in the composition of this king’s res gestae; omissions, additions, and substitutions can be easily tracked from one edition to the next. This volume, however, is not the venue for a complete and thorough examination of the editorial history of Sennacherib’s foundation inscriptions. Some of the more significant changes are noted in the on-page notes of text nos. 1–4, 15–18, and 22–23. For further information about Sennacherib’s foundation inscriptions that were written on clay cylinders, see the commentary of text no. 1.

Ex. 32 (BM 134451) may have been inscribed in the eponymy of Bēl-Šarrāni (699) since a horizontal ruling separates the reports of the second and third campaigns (after line 8’). Ruling lines appear to have been used for the first time in texts inscribed in 699 (Sennacherib’s 6th regnal year); see Frahm, Sancherib pp. 49 (ex. HHH) and 61, and the commentary to text no. 5.

Exs. 1–5, all complete cylinders, were discovered by Hormuzd Rassam, or his nephew Nimrud Ras- sam, during the 1878–82 excavations of the South-West Palace. J. Reade (ARRIM 4 [1986] pp. 33–34) suggests that they were discovered in the following order: ex. 3 (BM 22501), ex. 1 (BM 22503), ex. 4 (BM 22504), ex. 5 (Istanbul; formerly 80–7–19,3), and ex. 2 (BM 22500). Since BM 22501 (ex. 3) reached the British Museum in mid-1879, that complete cylinder is most likely the cylinder discovered in December 1878, in “the solid brick pillar ... between entrances
g and h of Chamber IX.” BM 22503 (ex. 1) was found by N. Rassam on 25 October 1879, in the “first foundations” of Room VII, in the “small pillar at the entrance” (= the wall between Doors d and e). BM 22504 (ex. 4) was discovered by N. Rassam on 22 November 1879, in the “second foundations” of Room VII; the “second foundations” are thought to be the wall between Doors c and d. The Istanbul cylinder (formerly 80–7–19.3; ex. 5) was found by N. Rassam on 20 January 1880, in the “foundations” (that is, the wall) between Rooms VII and VIII. BM 22500 (ex. 2) is thought to have been discovered prior to December 1880 in a wall of Sennacherib’s palace; the details of its discovery are not known. See Reade, ARRIM 4 (1986) pp. 33–34 for further details, including the relevant documentation in the British Museum.

Several fragments of clay tablets inscribed with copies of this text were discovered at Assur. These are edited as exs. 9, 25, 43, 45, 48, 56, 60, 67, 69–70, 74, and 82–87. It is curious that texts whose building reports describe construction at Nineveh should be found at Assur, and in more than one exemplar; note that some exemplars of text no. 1 and text no. 3 were also discovered at Assur.

There are a number of cases where two or more fragments probably come from the same cylinder, but without any physical join (for example, exs. 29 and 34, and exs. 69 and 70 [suggested by O. Pedersen; Katalog p. 207]). Since such speculation is necessarily tentative, all unjoined fragments are registered in the catalogue as separate exemplars.

There are numerous scribal errors in the completely preserved cylinders, exs. 1–5; ex. 3 has an exceptionally high number of errors, dittagraphies in particular. The high number of erasures, omissions, and dittagraphies may be attributed to the fact that the scribes divided the ninety-four-line text in the exact same way on every copy of the inscription. Based on orthography, exs. 1–5 are assumed to have been inscribed by three different scribes; exs. 1–2 and 5 by one scribe, ex. 3 by another, and ex. 4 by a third scribe. The scribes of exs. 7, 29, and 68 marked every tenth line with a winkelhaken on the left edge; line counts also appear on text no. 3 ex. 1.

In addition to the eighty-seven certain exemplars of this inscription, there are two cylinder fragments that may preserve copies of this text. These are edited as text no. 1 ex. 1* and text no. 3 ex. 13*. See the catalogues and commentaries of those texts for further details. S.A. Picchioni (Sumer 42 [1979–81] p. 50 fig. 7) published a photograph of a badly damaged clay cylinder in the Mosul Museum. That object could be a duplicate of this inscription, but the photograph is illegible. Since its contents cannot be confirmed, it is excluded from the catalogue. MMA 86.11.197 (ex. 40) is included here courtesy of G. Frame. A copy and an edition of the fragment will appear in Spar, CTMMA 4 (forthcoming).

The master text is generally ex. 1, with some minor improvements from the other exemplars; see the on-page notes for details. A score of the inscription is presented on the CD-ROM. Ex. 5 (formerly 80–7–19.3) was sent to Istanbul, but was copied (up to line 65) by G. Smith; his unpublished copy is in the Department of the Middle East of the British Museum. A transliteration of this complete cylinder is included in the score since it was collated from legible photographs. 81–2–4.47 (ex. 7) is really just the left rim of a cylinder, with only traces of one sign on each line. Enough traces are preserved to recognize that these are the first signs of lines 1–95 of this text, but it would be pedantic to transliterate those signs, all of which would appear between half brackets in the score; in lieu of this, ellipses (...) appear for each line of ex. 7. Ex. 8 is known only from a mostly illegible photograph (lines 47–54 are legible) published by T. Madhloom (Sumer 24 [1968] pl. 16B). Since that complete cylinder was not available for study, that exemplar does not appear in the score.

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

1877 G. Smith, Senn. pp. 2, 13, 24, 30, 43, 53, 140 and 150–151 (ex. 1, study, variants [of texts nos. 2 and 22])
1888 Evetts, ZA 3 pp. 311–331 (ex. 1 lines 56–94, copy, edition; exs. 2–5, study)
1889 Bezold, Cat. 1 pp. 323–325 (exs. 11–12, 15, 17, 20, 35, 39, 55, 65, 68, 71–72, study)
1890 Bezold in Schrader, KB 2 pp. 80–97 (exs. 1–6, 11–12, 15, 17, 20, 35, variants [of text no. 22 i 1–iii 49])
1893 Meissner and Kost, BIS pp. 1 and 6–42 (exs. 1–4 lines 61–94, edition [conflated with text no. 3 and Smith Bull 4])
1897 Rassam, Assur pl. after p. 220 (ex. 1, photo)
1914 King, Cat. pp. 20 nos. 112–113 and 115, 45 no. 373, 56 nos. 474–475, and 177 no. 1844 (exs. 13, 27, 30, 49, 80, study)
1916 Olmstead, Historiography p. 44 (exs. 1–6, 11–12, 15, 17, 20, 35, study)
1921 Scheil, RA 18 p. 3 no. 2 (ex. 31, study)
1922 BM Guide pp. 225 nos. 16–19 (exs. 1–4, study)
1922 Schroeder, KAH 2 no. 120 (ex. 9 copy; exs. 9, 25, 74, study)
TEXT

1) m敦煌ZU-ŠEŠ.MEŠ-erī-ba LUGAL GAL-ū LUGAL dan-nu LUGAL kiš-šā-ti LUGAL KUR aš-šar.KI LUGAL la ša-na-an RE.ŪM mut-nen-nu-ū pa-liḥ DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ

2) na-šir kit-ti ra-’i-im mi-šā-ri e-piš ī-ša-a-ti a-li̇k tap-pu-ut a-kī i sa-ḫi-ru dam qa-a-ti

3) eṭ-lu gīt-ma-lum zi-ka-ru qar-du a-šṭa-ṛ e-reṣ kal ma-al-ki rap-pu la-’i-ṛ la ma-[^h]i-ri mu-šab-ri-qu za ma-a-ni


1 LUGAL kiš-šā-ti “king of the world”: This title is first used by Sennacherib in this inscription; cf. text no. 1 line 1, text no. 2 line 1, and text no. 3 line 1.
than (those of) all who sit on (royal) daises.

5–6) On my first campaign, I brought about the defeat of Marduk-apla-iddina II (Merodach-baladan), king of Karduniash (Babylonia), together with the troops of the (land) Elam, his allies, in the plain of Kish. In the midst of that battle he abandoned his camp, fled alone, and (thereby) saved his life. I seized the chariots, horses, wagons, (and) mules that he had abandoned in the thick of battle.

7–8) I joyfully entered his palace, which is in Babylon, then I opened his treasury and brought out gold, silver, gold (and) silver utensils, precious stones, all kinds of possessions (and) property, a substantial treasure, (together with) his wife, his palace women, courtiers, attendants, all of the craftsmen, as many as there were, (and) his palace attendants, and I counted (them) as booty.

9–10) With the strength of the god Aššur, my lord, I surrounded, conquered, (and) plundered 89 of his fortified cities, fortresses of Chaldea, and 620 small(er) settlements in their environs. I brought out the auxiliary forces of the Arameans (and) Chaldeans who were in Uruk, Nippur, Kish, Šurangelama, Cutha, (and) Sippar, together with the guilty citizens, and I counted (them) as booty.

11) I placed Bêl-ibni, a son of a rab bani, on his royal throne (and) entrusted him with the people of Akkad. I appointed my eunuchs to governors over all of the districts of Chaldea and I imposed the yoke of my lordship upon them.

12–14) On my return march, I defeated all together the Tu’umuna, Ribidi, Yadaqiu, Ubu, Gibir, Malibû (Malau), Guruma, Ubulu, Damunu, Glamulu, Hendaru, Ru’u’a, Puxdu, Šarmänu, Ḥajaranu, Nabatu, (and) Li’ta'u, insubmissive Arameans. I carried off into Assyria a substantial booty (consisting of) 208,000 people, young (and) old, male and female, 7,200 horses (and) mules, 11,073 donkeys, 5,230 camels, 80,100

---

5  "on my first campaign": Cf. text no. 1 line 5, text no. 2 line 5, and text no. 3 line 5, all of which have i-na SAG LUGAL-ti-la "at the beginning of my kingship." re-ši-ša "his allies": Cf. text no. 3 line 5, which omits this word.

6  text no. 3 line 6, which adds a-na KUR.gu.zi.um-a-ši in na-bit qe-re-bi LUGAL-ša ume ap-pa-ra-a-te e-ra-um-a "he escaped to the land Gwynnau, (where) he entered the swamps and marshes and." Also compare the list of equipment and animals let loose during that battle; text no. 3 line 7 has Gil.GIGIR.MES Giš.šu-um-bi ANŠEKUR.RA.MES ANŠE.KUNGA.MES ANŠE.MES ANŠE.GAM.MAL.MES & ANŠE.ud-ri "chariots, wagons, horses, mules, donkeys, camels, and Bactrian camels."

7  "u-ši-ši-šu": Ex. 3 has Na,"stone" instead of u-ši-šu.

8  This inscription omits reference to Sennacherib's troops searching the marshes for the fugitive Marduk-apla-iddina II (Merodach-baladan) and their failure to locate him after five days. Cf. text no. 3 line 10.

9  text no. 1 line 50, text no. 2 line 11, and text no. 3 line 11. Later prism inscriptions reduce the number to 420; see for example, text no. 22 i 37.

11) text no. 1 line 54, text no. 2 line 13, and text no. 3 line 13. Earlier inscriptions do not mention Sennacherib appointing his officials as governors over Chaldea.

14) 5 2 ME 30 ANŠE.GAM.MAL.MES & 80 LIM 1 ME GU,MES "5,230 camels, 80,100 oxen": Ex. 3 has 5 LIM 2 ME 33 ANŠE.GAM.MAL.MES 2 ME LIM 1 ME GU,MES "5,233 camels, 200,100 oxen." 6 ME 6 ME US,UDU,JUL "600,660 sheep and goats": Ex. 2 has 8 ME 6 ME US,UDU,JUL "800,880 sheep and goats"; exs. 3–4 have 8 ME 6 ME US,UDU,JUL "800,660 sheep and goats"; and ex. 19 has 8 ME 5 ME US,UDU,JUL "800,500 sheep and goats."
15) In the course of my campaign, I received a substantial audience gift from Nabû-bêl-sumerî, the official in charge of the city Ḫararatu; gold, silver, large musakannu-trees, donkeys, camels, oxen, and sheep and goats.

16–17) I put to the sword the population of the city Ḫirimmu, a dangerous enemy, and I did not spare a single one. I hung their corpses on poles and placed (them) around the city. I reorganized that district (and) imposed for eternity one ox, ten sheep, ten homers of wine, (and) twenty homers of dates as his first-fruits offerings to the gods of Assyria, my lords.

18–21) On my second campaign, the god Aššur, my lord, encouraged me and I marched to the land of the Kassites and the land of the Yastubigallians, who since time immemorial had not submitted to the kings, my ancestors. In the high mountains, difficult terrain, I rode on horseback and had my personal chariot carried on (men’s) necks. In very rugged terrain I roamed about on foot like a wild bull.

20) (I) surrounded (and) conquered the cities Bīt-Kilmanṣaḥ, Ḫardišpu, (and) Bīt-Kubatti, their fortified walled cities. I brought out from them people, horses, mules, donkeys, oxen, and sheep and goats, and I counted (them) as booty. Moreover, I destroyed, devastated, (and) turned into ruins their small(er) settlements, which were without number. I burned with fire pavilions (and) tents, their abodes, and reduced (them) to ashes.

22–24) I made that city Bīt-Kilmanṣaḥ a fortress again (and) I strengthened its walls more than before, then I settled therein the people of the lands that I had conquered. I brought down from the mountains the people of the land of the Kassites and the land of the Yastubigallians who had fled from my weapons and I made (them) dwell in the cities Ḫardišpu (and) Bīt-Kubatti. I placed them under the authority of a eunuch of mine, the governor of the city Arrapha. I had a stele

oxen, (and) 600,600 sheep and goats.

15 LIM 2 ME ANŠE.KU.RA.MEŠ ANŠE.KUNGA.MEŠ
11 LIM 73 ANŠE.MEŠ 5 LIM 2 ME 30
ANŠE.GAM.MEŠ 80 LIM 1 ME GU.MEŠ 6 ME
LIM 6 ME US₄,UDU.H.LA šal-la-tu ka-bit-tu
da-lu-la a-na qē-reb KUR aš-šur.KI

18 LIM 1 ME 40 UN KUR aš-šur.KI

19) LIM 1 ME 40 UN KUR aš-šur.KI

20) LIM 1 ME 40 UN KUR aš-šur.KI

21) LIM 1 ME 40 UN KUR aš-šur.KI

22) LIM 1 ME 40 UN KUR aš-šur.KI
made, had all the victorious conquests that I achieved over them written on it, and I erected (it) in (that) city.

25–26) I turned around (lit. “I turned the front of my yoke”) and took the road to the land Ellipi. Before my arrival, Ispabāra, their king, abandoned his fortified cities (and) his treasury and fled far away. I overwhelmed all of his wide land like a fog. I surrounded, conquered, destroyed, devastated, (and) burned with fire the cities Marʿūbištū (and) Akkaddu, cities of his royal house, together with thirty-four small(er) settlements in their environs.

27–28) I carried off people, young (and) old, male and female, horses, mules, donkeys, camels, oxen, and sheep and goats without number, then I brought him (Ispabāra) to nought and made his land smaller. I detached from his land the cities Shiṣṣištū (and) Kummālhum, fortified cities, together with the small-ler settlements in their environs (and) the district of the land Bīt-Barrū in its entirety, and I added (this area) to the territory of Assyria.

29–30) I took the city Elanzaš as a royal city and a fortress for that district, then I changed its former name and called it Kār-Sennacherib. (30) I settled therein the people of the lands that I had conquered. I placed (it) under the authority of a eunuch of mine, the governor of the city Harḥar, and (thus) enlarged my land.

31) On my return march, I received a substantial payment from the distant Medes, of whose land none of the kings, my ancestors, had heard mention. (Thus) I made them bow down to the yoke of my lordship.

32–34) On my third campaign, I marched to the land Ḥatti. Fear of my lordly brilliance overwhelmed Lului, the king of the city Sidon, and he fled afar into the midst of the sea. The awesome terror of the weapon of the god Aššur, my lord, overwhelmed the cities Great Sidon, Lesser Sidon, Bīt-Zitti, Šarepta, Maḥallība, Ušû, Akzibû, (and) Acco, his fortified cities (and) fortresses, an area of pasture(s) and water-place(s), resources upon which he relied, and they bowed down at my feet.
35) I placed Tu-Ba’lu on his royal throne over them and imposed upon him tribute (and) payment (in recognition) of my overlordship (to be delivered) yearly (and) without interruption.

36–38) As for Minuḫimmu of the city Samsimuruna, Tu-Ba’lu of the city Sidon, Adbi-Li’ti of the city Arwad, Ūru-Milkī of the city Byblos, Mītinti of the city Ashdod, Būdi-il of the city Bit-Ammon, Kammāsū-naḍbi of the land Moab, Aya-rāmu of the land Edom, all of the kings of the land Amurru, they brought extensive gifts, four times (the normal amount), as their substantial audience gift before me and kissed my feet.

39) Moreover, (as for) Šidqā, the king of the city Ashkelon who had not bowed down to my yoke, I forcibly removed the gods of his father’s house, himself, his wife, his sons, his daughters, his brothers, (and other) offspring of his father’s house and took him to Assyria.

40) I set Šarru-lū-dāri, son of Rūktītu, their former king, over the people of the city Ashkelon and imposed upon him the payment of tribute (and) gifts (in recognition) of my overlordship so that he (now) pulls my yoke.

41) In the course of my campaign, I surrounded, conquered, (and) plundered the cities Bit-Daganna, Joppa, Banayabarqa, (and) Azuru, the cities of Šidqā that had not submitted to me quickly.

42–43) (As for) the governors, the nobles, and the people of the city Eknīt who had thrown Pādi, their king who was bound by treaty and oaths to Assyria, into iron fetters and who had handed him over to Hezekiah of the land Judah in a hostile manner, they became frightened on account of the villainous acts they had committed. They formed a confederation with the kings of Egypt (and) the archers, chariots, (and) horses of the king of the land Melūḫa, forces without number, and they came to their aid.

44–45) In the plain of the city Eltekeh, they sharpened their weapons while drawing up in battline before me. With the support of (the god) Aššur, my lord, I fought with them and defeated them. (45) In the thick of battle, I captured alive the Egyptian charioteers.
45) LÜ.EN GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ ù DUMU.MEŠ LUGAL.MEŠ KUR.MU-su-ra-a-a a-di LÜ.EN GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ ša LUGAL.KUR.me-luḫ-ḫa bal-ḫu-su-un i-na MURUB, tam-ḫa-ri ik-šu-da ŠU.IL-a-a


47) DUMU.MEŠ URU e-piš an-ni ú giš-la-ti a-na šaš-la-ti am-a ni-tu-te-šu-ni la ba-bi ḫi-ti-ti ú gül-lul-ti ša a-ra-an-šu-ni la ib-šu-ḫu uššu-šu-un aq-bi


49) ša Ṣha-za-qi-a-šu KUR.ia-u-da-a-a 46 URU.MEŠ-šu-šu É BĀ.DI.MEŠ-ša-ni-ti ú URU.MEŠ TUR.MEŠ ša li-me-ti-šu-ni ša nī-ba la i-šu-ū

50) i-na šuḫ-bu-us a-ra-mu-ša ú qar-ru-ub šu-pe-e mit-ḫu-uš zu-uk ĠI.RI pil-ši nik-si ú kal-ša-na-ti ak-šu-ud

51) 2 ME LIM 1 ME 50 UN.MEŠ TUR GÁL NITA u MUNUS ANŠE.KUR. RA.MEŠ ANŠE.KUNGA.MEŠ ANŠE.MEŠ ANŠE.GAM.MAL.MEŠ GU-ŠU.ŠE.ŠU URU.DH.LA ša la-bi ul-tu qer-ši-šu-un ū-še-ša-am-ma šaš-la-tiš am-nu

52) ša-a-šu GIM MUŠEN qu-up-pi qe-reb URU.ar-su-li-im-ma URU LUGAL-ti-šu e-sîr-šu URU.HAL.SU.ŠE UGU-šu ū-raq-kis-ma a-še-e KĀ.GAL URU-šu ū-ter-ra ik-ki-su-bu-šu


55) šu-ū Ṣha-za-qi-a-šu pu-ul-ḫi me-lam-me (and) princes (lit. “the sons of the kings”), together with the charioteers of the king of the land Meluḫḫa.

46–47) I surrounded, conquered, and plundered the cities Ektehe and Tamnā. I approached the city Ekron and I killed the governors (and) nobles who had committed crime(s) and hung their corpses on towers around the city; I counted the citizens who had committed the criminal acts as booty; and (and) I commanded that the rest of them, (those) who were not guilty of crimes or wrongdoing, (to) whom no penalty was due, be allowed to go free.

48) I brought out Padi, their king, from the city Jerusalem and placed (him) on the lordly throne over them, then I imposed upon him payment (in recognition) of my lordship.

49–51) (As for) Hezekiah of the land Judah, I surrounded (and) conquered forty-six of his fortified walled cities and small(er) settlements in their environs, which were without number, (50) by having ramps trodden down and battering rams brought up, the assault of foot soldiers, sapping, breaching, and siege engines. I brought out of them 200,150 people, young (and) old, male and female, horses, mules, donkeys, camels, oxen, and sheep and goats, which were without number, and I counted (them) as booty.

52–54) As for him (Hezekiah), I confined him inside the city Jerusalem, his royal city, like a bird in a cage. I set up blockades against him and made him dread exiting his city gate. I detached from his land the cities of his that I had plundered and I gave (them) to Mitinti, the king of the city Ashdod, and Padi, the king of the city Ekron, (and) Šili-bêl, the king of the land Gaza, (and thereby) made his land smaller. To the former tribe, their annual giving, I added the payment (of) gifts (in recognition) of my lordship and imposed (it upon them).

55–58) As for him, Hezekiah, fear of my lordly
be-lu-ti-ia is-šu-pu-šu-ma LÚ-áér-bi
LÚ.ÈR.MÍ.MĚŠ-šu SIG.,MĚŠ ša a-nu du-nu-un
URU,ur-sa-li-im-ma URU LUGAL-tí-ša
ú-šé-ri-bu-ma ir-šu til-la-á-te

56 30 GUN KÚ.GI 8 ME GUN KÚ.BABBAR ni-sīq-ti
gu-ul-li tāk-kás-si NA,NÁ.AN.ZA.GU.L.ME GAL.MÉŠ
GIŠ.NÁ.MÉŠ ZÚ GIŠ.GU.ZA.ME né-me-di ZÚ KÚš
AM.SI ZÚ AM.SI GIŠ.ÉSÍ GIŠ.TÚG lu-bul-tí bir-me
TÚG.GADA SIG.ta-kil-tí SIG.ar-ga-man-ku

57 ú-nu-út ZÁBAR AN.BAR URUDU ANA AN.BAR
GIŠ.GİGİR.MÉŠ ga-ba-bí az-ma-re-e si-ri-ia-am
GIR.MÉŠ AN.BAR šíb-bí til-pa-ni u uš-ši til-ši
ú-nu-út ta-ha-zi šá ni-ba la i-šu-ú

58 it-tí DÚMU.MUNUS.MÉŠ-šu MUNUS,UN.MÉŠ
É.GAL-šú LÚ.NAR.MÉŠ MUNUS,NAR.MÉŠ a-ná
gé-reb NINA.KI URU be-lu-tí-ti ÉGER-ia
ú-šé-bí-lam-ma a-ná na man-da-at-ê ti e-pëš
ARAD-ú-ti iš-pu-ra rak-šu-ú

59 it-ná šál-la-at KUR.MÉŠ šá-tí-ná šá áš-šu-la 10
LIM GIŠ.PAN 10 LIM GIŠ.a-rí-tú ina lib-ší-šu-ú
ak-šu-rú ma UGU ki-sír LUGAL-tí-ú ú-rad-dí

60 si-i-tí šál-la-tí na-ki-ri ka-bit-tu a-ná gi-mír
KARAŠ-ša a LÚ.EN.NAM.MÉŠ-šu UN.MÉŠ
ma-ḥa-za-ni-ia GAL.MÉŠ ki-má še-e-ní lu
ú-za-’i-iz

61 i-na uŠ-me-šú-ma NINA.KI ma-ḥa-za-šú-si-i-ru URU
na-ram 4iš-tar šá nap-ḫar ki-du-de-e
DINGIR,MÉŠ ú 4iš.TAR.MÉŠ ba-šú-u qé-reb-šu

tem-me-en-ru da-ru-ú du-ra-úš ša-a-ti ša ul-šu
ul-la it-tí ši-tiš bir-bu-ú-úme eš-ret-šu
ša-šu-pú-ú ši-in-du-šu

62 aš-ru nak-lú šu-bat pi-ríš-tí ša mim-ma šum-šu
ši-pír ni-ši-tí gi-mír pel-su-de-e ni-ši-tí lâl-gar
šu-ta-bu-la qé-reb-šu

63 ša ul-tu ul-la LUGAL.MÉŠ-ši a-li-kut mäh-ri
AD.MÉŠ-ši ul-la-nu-u-a be-lu-tí KUR aš-šur.KI
e-pu-šu-ma u-ša-e e-rá-ba-’u-lat 4EN.ÎLI

64 û šat-ti-šam la na-par-ka-a e-reb nar-ba-a-ti
GÚN mal-ki kib-rat ar-ba-’i im-da-na-ḥa-ra
qé-reb-šu

brilliance overwhelmed him and, after my (departure),
he had the auxiliary forces (and) his elite troops
whom he had brought inside to strengthen the city
Jerusalem, his royal city, and who had provided
support, (along with) 30 talents of gold, 800 talents
of silver, choice antimony, large blocks of ..., ivory
beds, armchairs of ivory, elephant hide(s), elephant
ivory, ebony, boxwood, garments with multi-colored
trim, linen garments, blue-purple wool, red-purple
wool, utensils of bronze, iron, copper, tin, (and) iron,
chariots, shields, lances, armor, iron belt-daggers, bows
and uṣu-arrays, equipment, (and) implements of war,
(all of) which were without number, together with his
daugther, his palace women, male singers, (and)
female singers brought into Nineveh, my capital city,
and he sent a mounted messenger of his to me to
deliver (this) payment and to do obeisance.

59–60) From the booty of those lands that I had plundered,
I conscripted 10,000 archers (and) 10,000 shield
bearers and added (them) to my royal contingent. (60)
I divided up the rest of the substantial enemy booty
like sheep and goats among my entire camp and my
governors, (and) the people of my great cult centers.

61–63) At that time, Nineveh, the exalted cult center,
the city loved by the goddess Ištar in which all of
the rituals for gods and goddesses are present; the
enduring foundation (and) eternal base whose plan
had been designed by the stars (lit. “writing”) of
the firmament and whose arrangement was made
manifest since time immemorial; a sophisticated place
(and) site of secret lore in which every kind of
skilled craftsmanship, all of the rituals, (and) the
secret(s) of the lâlgar (cosmic subterranean water) are
apprehended;

64–65) in which since time immemorial earlier kings,
my ancestors, before me exercised dominion over
Assyria and ruled the subjects of the god Enlil, (65) and
wherein annually, without interruption, they received
an enormous income, the tribute of the rulers of the
four quarters (of the world);
66) a-a-um-ma ina lib-bi-šú-nu a-na É.GAL qer-bi-šú kám-mu ri-mit be-lu-ti ša șu-ų-ų-hu-ų-ru șu-bat-su le-e-su ul id-da-a lib-bu-uš ul iš-su-us

67) a-na šu-te-šar SİLA URU ư šum-di-na, re-ba-a-ti ha-re-e ID za qa-ap šip-pa-ti u-už-un-šu ul ib-ši-ma ul uš-ta-bil ka-ras-su

68) ia-a-ti mE.Z.E.MEš-eri-ba LUGAL KUR aš-šar.Ki e-peš šip-ri ša-a-tu ki-ti të-em DINGIR.MEš i-na uz-ni-ia ib-ši-ma ka-bat-ti ub-lam-ma

69) te-ne-šet KUR.kal-di Lú.a-ra-me KUR.man-na-a-a KUR.qa-é KUR.hi-lak-kur KUR.pi-liš-ti u KUR.sur-ri ša a-na ni ri-ia la ik nu-šu as-su-ha-am-ma tup-šik-ku úš-ša-ši-hu-nu-ši-ta il-bi-nu SIG


71) É.GAL mah-ri-tu ša 3 ME 60 i-na 1.KÜŞ Uš tar-ši za-me-e É qiz-qr-raft 80 i-na 1.KÜŞ DAGAL i-na tar-ši É.na-ma-ré É qiz-tar 1 ME 34 i-na 1.KÜŞ DAGAL i-na tar-ši É.na-ma-ré É-kid-i-ru-ri 95 i-na 1.KÜŞ DAGAL

72) ša LUGAL.MEš-ni a-li-kut mah-ri AD.MEš-ia a-na ri-mit be-lu-ti-ši-un ú-še-ši-sú ma la ú-nak-ki-lu ši-pîr-ša


75) 7 ME ina 1.KÜŞ AS₃.LUM GAL-ti uš 1 ME 76 ina aSU₃.LUM GAL-ti SAG.KI AN.TA IM.SIS₃ 2 ME 68 ina aSU₃.LUM GAL-ti SAG.KI MURUB-ti mé-ğh-ret za-me-e at-ma-ni ku-tal 4iš-tar

76) 3 ME 83 ina aSU₃.LUM GAL-ti SAG.KI qab-li-tum 66–67) (but) not one among them had paid heed to (or) shown interest in the palace inside it, the seat of lordly dwelling whose site had become too small; nor had anyone (of them) conceived of and put his mind towards the straightening of the city’s street(s) and the widening of (its) squares, the dredging of the river, (and) the planting of orchards: 68–70) (But) as for me, Sennacherib, king of Assyria, the performing of this work came to my attention by the will of the gods and I put my mind to it. I forcibly removed the people of Chaldea, Aramean (tribes), the land of the Manneans, the lands Que, Hîlakkû, (and) Philistia, and the land (of the city) Tyre, who had not submitted to my yoke, then I made them carry baskets of (earth) and they made bricks. (70) I cut down canebrakes in Chaldea and I had their splendid reeds hauled (to Nineveh) for (its) the palace’s) construction by enemy soldiers whom I had conquered.

71–74) The former palace, which was 360 cubits long opposite the zamû-wall of the ziggurat, 80 cubits wide opposite the tower of the temple of the goddess Istar, 134 cubits wide opposite the tower of the Bit-Kidmûri, (and) 95 cubits wide (on the other side); which earlier kings, my ancestors, had had constructed for their lordly dwelling, but whose construction they had carried out inexpertly — the Tebîlî River, a tempestuous flood (of water) which when it rose had destroyed sacred buildings inside the city and exposed their hidden tombs to the sun, and which had flowed from distant days by the side of the palace and which (thereby) had caused erosion in its foundation when its flood was in full spate (and) had shaken its base: 75) I tore down that small palace in its entirety, then I changed the course of the Tebîlî River, repaired (the effects of) the erosion, and directed its flow. 76–80) In the hidden depths of (its) subterranean waters I bonded together, with bitumen, reeds below (and) strong mountain stone above, then I raised (that) area out of the water and converted (it) to dry land. I filled in and measured a terrace of 700 large aslu-cubits along (its) longer side, 176 large aslu-cubits along (its) upper, northern shorter side, 268 large aslu-cubits along the inner, shorter side, which is opposite the zamû-wall of the shrine behind (the temple of) the
šá-ni-tú mu-uh-ḥur-ti šá-a-ri a-mur-ri ku-tal é ziq-qur-lat é ḥiṣ-tar
79) 3 ME 86 ina aS₃,ULG GAL-ti SAG.KI KŁTA IM.U₃,LU ÚS.SA.DU ÍD.İDİGNA tam-la-a ú-bal-li-ma am-šu-uh me-ši-i̇h-ta
80) la-ba-riš ú₃,me ina ILLU kīš-šá-ti tem-me-en-šu la e-né-šes as-kup-pat NA₄,pi-i-li rab-ba-a-ti ki-is-su-u-šu ú-šá-as-ḫi-ra ú-dan-ni-na šu-pu-uk-šu
81) MU.SAR-e ši-tir šu-mi-ia 1 ME 60 ti-ib-ki tam-li-i qē-reb-šu al-tu-ur-ma šap-la-nu ina uš-ši-su e-zib aḥ-r̄a-taš
83) tar-pa-šu-ū UGU šu u₃,me pa-ni ú-šar-ši še-er me-ši-i̇l-ȳ-ti é.GAL maḥ-ri-ti ú-rad-di-ma ú-šá-an-dî-li ši-kî-taṣ
84) É.GAL NA₄,GIŠ.NU₁₁,GAL ZÚ AM.SI GIŠ.EŠI GIŠ.TÜG GIŠ.muk-suk-kan-ni GIŠ.EREN GIŠ.SUR.MIN GIŠ.đap-ra-ni ŠI-MI.LI ŋ GIŠ.bu-ṭṭ-ni ĝ-gal-zag-di-ni-tuku-a a-nu mu-šab-LUGAL-ti-ia ú-ši-pi-šu qē-reb-šu
85) GIŠ.KIRI,MAH-ḫu ŋam-šil KUR.ḫa-ma-ni-ša gi-mîr ŠIM.HI.A GUR.qip-pa-a-ti GIŠ.MEŠ tuk-lat KUR-i ŋ KUR.kal-di qē-reb-šu ḫur-ru-šu i-ta-a-ṣa az-qu-up
89) ša NINA.KI URE be-lu-ti-ia šu-bat-su uš-rab-bi re-ba-ti-ša ú-ša-an-di-ma bi-re-e-ti ú su-a-qu-an-iš uš-pa-di-ma ú-nam-mîr GIM u₃,me
90) i-na me-eḥ-ret KÂ.GAL MURUB₁, URU i-na a-gūr-ri NA₄,pi-i-li pe-še-e a-na me-ti-iq be-lu-ti-ia ú-šaṭ-ki-is ti-tur-ru
91) MU.SAR-a ú-še-piṣ-ma li-i-tuf da-na-nu ša i-na tukul-ti aš-šar EN GAL EN-ı-a UGU kul-lat
goddess Ištar, 383 large aslu-cubits along the other, parallel, inner shorter side, (which is) on the west behind the ziggurat of the temple of the goddess Ištar, (and) 386 large aslu-cubits along the lower, southern shorter side, (which is) beside the Tigris River. (80) In order to prevent its foundation from being weakened over the passage of time by creasing flood(s), I surrounded its base with large limestone slabs and thereby reinforced its base.
81) I inscribed objects bearing my name 160 courses of brick within the terrace and I deposited (them) deep down in its foundation for ever after.
82–83) Afterwards, I decided to increase the height of the terrace, then I added 20 courses of brick to the former (terrace) and (thus) I raised (it) to a (total) height of 180 courses of brick. I made the area larger than before, added (it) to the former dimensions of the palace, and (thus) enlarged its structure.
84) I had a palace of alabaster, elephant ivory, ebony, boxwood, musukkammu-wood, cedar, cypress, dapranum-juniper, juniper, and terebinth, (a palace that I named) Egalzagdinutukua (“The Palace Without a Rival”), constructed thereon as my royal residence.
85) I planted alongside it (the palace) a botanical garden, a replica of Mount Amanus, which has all kinds of aromatic plants (and) fruit trees, trees that are the mainstay of the mountains and Chaldea, collected inside it.
86) To plant gardens, I subdivided the meadowland upstream of the city into plots of two pānu each for the citizens of Nineveh and I handed (them) over to them.
87–88) To make (those) planted areas luxuriant, I cut with picks a canal straight through mountain and valley, from the border of the city Kīṣiru to the plain of Nineveh. I caused an inexhaustible supply of water to flow there for a distance of one and a half leagues from the ḫusir River (and) made (it) gush through feeder canals into those gardens.
89) I enlarged the site of Nineveh, my capital city. I broadened its squares and brought light into the alleys and streets, making (them) as bright as day.
90) I had a bridge constructed opposite the Citadel Gate (by packing down) paving stones of white limestone for my lordly procession(s).
91–92) I had a unique object made and inscribed thereon all the mighty victories that I achieved over all
na-ki-ri āš-tak-ka-nu
92) ā mim-ma ep-šet e-tep-pu-šu qē-reb-šu
ū-ša-tir-ma i-na tem-me-en-ni É.GAL be-lu-ti-ia
e-zib aḥ-ra-ša
93) a-na ar-kāt u-š-me i-na 1UGAL.MEŠ-ni
DUMU.MEŠ-ia ša 4aš-šur a-na RE.É.UM-ut KUR ā
UN.MEŠ i-nam-bu-šu zi-kīr-šu e-nu-ma É.GAL
ša-a-tu ī-lab-bi-ru-ma en-na-šu
94) an-šu-sa lu-dū-diš MU.SAR-a ši-tir šu-mi-ia
li-mur-ma L.GIš lip-šu-uš UDU.SISKUR liq-qi a-na
āš-ri-sā li-ter 4aš-šur ik-ri-bi-šu i-šem-me
95) 1 UŠ 34.TA.ÅM MU.DIDLI MU.SAR-e ITI.GU₄.SI.SA
li-mu śm-tu-nu LÜ.GAR.KUR URU.i-sa-na

of (my) enemies with the support of (the god) Aššur,
the great lord, my lord, and everything (else) that I
had been doing. I deposited (it) in the foundation
of my lordly palace for ever after.
93–94) In the future, may one of the kings, my de-
cendants, whom the god Aššur names for shepherding
the land and people, renovate its dilapidated section(s)
when that palace becomes old and dilapidated. May he
find an inscribed object bearing my name, anoint (it)
with oil, make an offering, (and) return (it) to its place.
The god Aššur will (then) hear his prayers.
95) The line count of the inscription is 94 (lines).
Ayyāru (II), eponymy of Mitūnu, governor of the city
Isāna (700).

5

A small fragment of a clay cylinder from Nineveh preserves parts of the
prologue, concluding formulae, and date line of a foundation inscription
with annalistic narration. The cylinder was inscribed in the eponymy of
Bēl-šarrānī, governor of the city Kurba齿轮 (699), the year after the three-
campaign version (text no. 4) was composed, and thus the military narration
presumably included an account of Sennacherib’s fourth campaign, which
was directed against Bit-Yakin. It is no longer possible to determine which
building project at Nineveh this inscription’s building report commemorated.

CATALOGUE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Museum Number</th>
<th>Registration Number</th>
<th>Provenance</th>
<th>Dimensions (cm)</th>
<th>cpn</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>K 1645</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>Probably Nineveh</td>
<td>3.5×4</td>
<td>c</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

COMMENTARY

E. Frahm (Sanherib p. 61) suggests that there are
four cylinder fragments that were inscribed in the
eponymy of Bēl-šarrānī (699): (1) K 1645 (this text);
(2) 82-5-22,24 (text no. 6); (3) Bu 91-5-9,32 (text
no. 7); and (4) 81-2-4,46 (text no. 8). K 1645 and 81-
2-4,46 (text no. 8) preserve part of the date line, but
82-5-22,24 (text no. 6) and Bu 91-5-9,32 (text no. 7)
do not. The assignment of text no. 6 to 699 is based on
the fact that the scribe responsible for copying
that inscription on the cylinder separated passages
with horizontal rulings. Prior to 699 (Sennacherib’s
6th regnal year), ruling lines were not used to divide
units of text, but only to separate the date line from
the inscription; cf. text nos. 1–4.

With regard to the content of these four texts,
Frahm proposes that these editions contained a
short prologue, accounts of Sennacherib’s first four
campaigns, (probably) a concluding statement about
forming a large military contingent of archers and
shield bearers, a building report (with concluding
formulae), and a date line.

Due to the poor state of preservation of text

4 line 92 ā-sha-tir-ma “I inscribed and”: So exs. 1, 3, and 5. Exs. 2, 4, and 9 have ā-sha-dāš-tir-ma “I had inscribed and.”
nos. 5–8, it is not certain how many inscriptions those four fragments represent. There could be as few as two texts or as many as four. Text nos. 5 and 8 clearly represent different editions of Sennacherib’s res gestae, as do text nos. 7 and 8. Text nos. 5, 6, and 7, on the other hand, either represent a single inscription or two or three different inscriptions. Moreover, text nos. 6 and 8 could be parts of the same text. Because text nos. 5–8 are not sufficiently preserved to be certain of their contents, each fragment is edited on its own.

The extant text of this inscription duplicates text no. 4 lines 1–3 and 93–94 and text no. 8 lines 1–3 and 19′–20′, but with variation in the prologue and concluding formulae. Text no. 8 follows earlier texts (text nos. 1–4), while text no. 5 deviates in several regards. In the prologue, the epithets šar lā šanān (“unrivalled king”) and reʾūm mutnennū pālīň ilāni rabūtī (“pious shepherd who reveres the great gods”) were replaced by šar kibrīt erbetī (“king of the four quarters”), reʾūm itpēšu (“capable shepherd”), and migir ilāni rabūti (“favorite of the great gods”). In the concluding formulae, Ištar, the patron deity of Nineveh, is invoked alongside Aššur. Because these editorial changes also appear in texts written on clay prisms (starting in 698), it is likely that text no. 5 was written later in the eponymy of Bēl-šarrānī than text no. 8. For a study of Sennacherib’s titulary, see Liverani in Fales, ARIN pp. 225–257.

Although this inscription has more in common with later texts than with earlier texts, restorations are based on other cylinder inscriptions, namely text no. 4.

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

1888 Bezdöld, SPAW p. 756 (study)
1889 Bezdöld, Cat. 1 p. 324 (study)
1997 Frahm, Sanherib p. 61 T 5 (transliteration, study)
2009 Frahm, RLA 12/1–2 p. 15 (study)

**TEXT**

1) [mêlÈN.ZU-ŠES.ΜΕΣ-ERI-BA LUGAL GAL-Ú LUGAL dän-nu LUGAL kiš-sá-ti LUGAL KUR aš-sùr.KI LUGAL kib-rat LIMMU-Ú RE.EUM it-pe-sú] mi-gir DINGIR.ΜΕΣ GAL.4.ΜΕΣ 1
2) [na-sir kit-ti ra-ʾi-im miš-sá-ri e-piš ú-sa-a-ti a-lik tap-pu-ut a-ki-i sa-ḫi-ru] ʾdam1 qa-ʾi-ti

Lacuna
1′) [a-na ar-kât u₄ me ina LUGAL.ΜΕΣ-NE DUMU.ΜΕΣ-ia ša ʾaš-šùr a-na RE.EUM-ut KUR ú UN.ΜΕΣ i-nam-bu-u zî-kî-sû e-nu-ma x (x) šà-a-tu i-lab-bî-ru][1] ʾma1 en-na-ʾḫu ʾ1
3′) [x x (x ḫ.TA.ĂM MU.DIDL MI.SAR-e ... li-mu mÎN-LUGAL-an-ni LŬ.GAR),1 KUR1 URU.KUR-BA-IL

1 [LUGAL kib-rat LIMMU-Ú RE.EUM it-pe-sú] mi-gir DINGIR.ΜΕΣ GAL.4.ΜΕΣ “[king of the four quarters (of the world), capable shepherd], favorite of the great gods”;
2′ an-ḫu-us-su[1] “its dilapidated section(s)”; Or possibly restore instead an-ḫu-ṣṣa; see text no. 4 line 94, i-šem-su-ʾu[1] “they will (then) hear”; Cf. text no. 4 line 94 and text no. 8 line 20’, both of which have i-šem-me “he will (then) hear.” The subject of the verb in this text is none other than Aššur and Ištar.

1–3) [Sennacherib, great king, strong king, king of the world, king of Assyria, king of the four quarters (of the world), capable shepherd], favorite of the great gods, [guardian of truth who loves justice, renders assistance, goes to the aid of the weak, (and) strives after] good deeds, [perfect man, virile warrior, foremost of all rulers, the bridle that controls the insubmissive, (and) the one who strikes enemies] with [lightning]:

Lacuna
1′–2′) [In the future, may one of the kings, my descendants, whom the god Aššur names for shepherding the land and people, renovate its dilapidated section(s) when that ... becomes old] and dilapidated. [May he find an inscribed object bearing my name, anoint (it) with oil, make an offering, (and) return (it) to its place. The god Aššur and the goddess Ištar] will (then) hear [his prayers].

3′) [The line count of the inscription is ... (lines). ... the eponymy of Bēl-šarrānī, govern or of the city Kurba] (699).
A small fragment of a clay cylinder from Nineveh preserves part of a foundation inscription with annalistic narration. The extant text, which is difficult to read because the inscribed surface is badly worn, contains parts of reports of Sennacherib’s third and fourth campaigns (to the Levant and against Bit-Yakin respectively). Although the date is no longer preserved, this cylinder was probably inscribed in the eponymy of Bēl-šarrāni, governor of the city Kurbail (699).

CATALOGUE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Museum Number</th>
<th>Registration Number</th>
<th>Provenance</th>
<th>Dimensions (cm)</th>
<th>cpn</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>—</td>
<td>82-5-22,24</td>
<td>Probably Nineveh</td>
<td>6×6</td>
<td>c</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

COMMENTARY

This inscription, as noted already by E. Frahm (Sennacherib p. 61), is either part of the same inscription as text nos. 5 and/or 7, the same inscription as text no. 8, or a unique inscription. Because of the fragmentary nature of the sources, one cannot be certain of the relationship of 82-5-22,24 (this text) to K 1645 (text no. 5), Bu 91-5-9,32 (text no. 7), and 81-2-4,46 (text no. 8), and therefore this fragment is edited on its own.

With regard to its contents, the complete text may have contained a short prologue, accounts of Sennacherib’s first four campaigns, (probably) a concluding statement about forming a large military contingent of archers and shield bearers, a building report (with concluding formulæ), and a date line. As for the year 82-5-22,24 was inscribed, Frahm (Sennacherib p. 61) proposes 699 (Sennacherib’s 6th regnal year) since this text includes a report of Sennacherib’s fourth campaign (700) and because the scribe who copied out the text used a horizontal ruling to separate the accounts of the third and fourth campaigns (between lines 14’ and 15’). Moreover, the report of the campaign to the Levant has more in common with those of later prism inscriptions than with the account of the third campaign in text no. 4; cf. lines 1’–14’ to text no. 22 ii 82–iii 49 and text no. 4 lines 44–58.

The surface of the cylinder is very badly worn and relatively little of the extant text can be read with certainty, and thus no edition is given. However, we provide here a few minor notes, most of which follow Frahm, Sanherib p. 62. Line 6’ reads: [...] KUR.ia-ú-da-a]-a 6a7 la ik-nu-šu a-na [ni]-ri]-ia x x [...] “[... of the land Judah, who did submit to my [yok]e, ... [...].” The phrase 6a lā ikmuša ana nīrīya is included in the reports of later prism inscriptions, but not in that of text no. 4; compare text no. 22 iii 18–19 to text no. 4 line 49. Lines 12’–14’ read: [...] pu-l-ḥi me-lam-me be]-lu-ti-ia is-ḥu-pu-šu]-ma [LŪ].ūr-bi ū ]LŪ]1.[ERIM.MEŠ-šū SIG3,MEŠ ...] / [...] ni-s]iqt-ti ga-uh-li tāk]-kās1-[si NA4,AN.ZA.GUL.ME GAL.MEŠ ...] / [...] MUNUS.NAR.MEŠ a-na qē]-reb NINAN3.[KI ...] “[... fear of] my [lordly) [splendor] overwhelmed him and [the] auxiliary forces and [his] elite troops [... choi]ce antimony, [large] block[s of ..., ...] (and) female singers into Nineveh [...]” Those lines duplicate text no. 22 iii 38–47. After the initial report of the third campaign in text no. 4 (700), the list of payment received from Hezekiah was significantly reduced in subsequent editions (beginning in 699); compare text no. 22 iii 38–49 to text no. 4 lines 55–58.

After a ruling line, a small portion of one line (with traces of four signs) is preserved. Line 15’ is probably the first line of an account of Sennacherib’s fourth campaign (700), rather than that of the building report. The extant text of that line, [...] x x GAL1 x [...] does not appear to correspond with text found in later prism inscriptions. Frahm (Sanherib pp. 62 and 200) has suggested that the text written on K 2627 + K 2666 + K 2676 (+) DT 320 may have had the same narration of military campaigns as 82-5-22,24 since that inscription also deviates from the fourth cam-
paign report that was included in texts inscribed on octagonal and hexagonal prisms (text nos. 15–18 and 22–23). 82-5-22,24 and K 2627+, however, are both too poorly preserved to confirm Frahm’s proposal. K 2627+ will be edited in Part 2, with the other inscriptions of Sennacherib written on clay tablets.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1896  Bezold, Cat. 4 p. 1829 (study)  
1997  Frahm, Sanherib pp. 61–62 and 200 T 6 (study)  
2009  Frahm, RLA 12/1–2 p. 15 (study)

7

A tiny fragment of a clay cylinder from Nineveh preserves part of the building report and concluding formulae of a foundation inscription (with annalistic narration) commemorating the construction of the citadel wall of Nineveh, the expansion and internal restructuring of that city, and the building of a bridge. Although the date is no longer preserved, this cylinder is thought to have been inscribed in the eponymy of Bēl-ṣarrāni, governor of the city Kurbail (699), in the same year as text nos. 5–6 and 8.

CATALOGUE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Museum Number</th>
<th>Registration Number</th>
<th>Provenance</th>
<th>Dimensions (cm)</th>
<th>cpn</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>—</td>
<td>Bu 91-5-9,32</td>
<td>Probably Nineveh</td>
<td>3×3</td>
<td>c</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

COMMENTARY

R. Borger identified this text as a Sennacherib inscription. As noted by E. Frahm (Sanherib p. 61), this text is either part of the same inscription as text nos. 5 and/or 6, or a unique inscription. This text, however, belongs to a different text than 81-2-4,46 (text no. 8). Because of the fragmentary nature of the sources, one cannot be certain of the relationship of Bu 91-5-9,32 (this text) to K 1645 (text no. 5) and 82-5-22,24 (text no. 6), and therefore this fragment is edited on its own.

With regard to its contents and date, Frahm (Sanherib p. 61) proposes that Bu 91-5-9,32 was inscribed in 699 and that the text, when complete, may have contained a short prologue, accounts of Sennacherib’s first four campaigns, (probably) a concluding statement about forming a large military contingent of archers and shield bearers, a building report (with concluding formulae), and a date line. The preserved text most closely parallels an inscription written on tablet fragment K 2662 (rev. 3’–20’); see Frahm, Sanherib pp. 197–198. It is from that inscription, which is a later copy (reign of Ashurbanipal or Esarhaddon), that we are able to determine that the building report of Bu 91-5-9,32 commemorated the construction of Nineveh’s citadel wall. That project is confirmed by Ashurbanipal, who not only names Sennacherib as a previous builder but also records that he discovered foundation inscriptions of his when he renovated sections of that wall; see Borger, BIWA pp. 118–120 Prism D viii 64–100 and p. 183 Prism E Stück 18 lines 4–8.

Restorations are based on text no. 4, text no. 8, and K 2662 (Frahm, Sanherib pp. 197–198); lines 3’ and 6’–8 are restored from K 2662. With regard to the restorations, preference is given, when possible, to text no. 4 and text no. 8 because K 2662 is a copy from the time of Ashurbanipal (or Esarhaddon).
BIBLIOGRAPHY

1896 Bezdol, Cat. p. 1933 (study)
1997 Frahm, Sanherib pp. 61–62 and 197–198 T 7 and pl. I
2009 Frahm, RLA 12/1–2 p. 15 (study)

TEXT

Lacuna

1) [...] x (y) [...] 1’–2’) [...] [...] its foundations [...].
2) [...] 1’ŝ-de-e[^3]-šu[^4] [...] 3’) [I enlarged] the si[te of the citadel and Nineveh], my [cap]ital [city]. I broadened their squares and brought light into the avenues and streets, making (them) as bright as day.
3) [...] 4’) I had a bridge constructed opposite] the Citadel [gate] with paving stones[es of white limestone for the passage of my lordly chariot].
4) [...] 5’–6’) I had an inscribed object made and had all the mighty victo[ries that I achieved over all of (my) enemies with the support of (the god) Aššur, the great lord, my lord, and all of my (other) achievements inscribed thereon. With inscribed objects of earl[ier] rule[ers], [my ancestors, I deposited (it) for ever after in the citadel wall of Nineveh, my capital city, for the kings, my descendants].

5’–7’) [At any time (in the future), may one of] my [descendants (lit. “future children”), whom the god Aššur names for shepherding the land and people, renovate its dilapidated section(s) when that wall becomes old and dilapidated]. May he find [an inscribed object bearing my name, anoint (it) with oil, make an offering, (and) return (it) to its place. The god Aššur and the goddess Ištar will (then) hear his prayers].

Ruling line and date missing

2’ See Frahm, Sanherib p. 197 K 2662 lines 1’–5’.
3’ NINA.KI “Nineveh”; Or URU.NINA. su-qa-a-ni “streets”; Or su-qa-a-ti; see Frahm, Sanherib p. 198 K 2662 line 8.
4’ uš-še-piš “I had constructed”: The restoration is based on text no. 8 line 16’ and K 2662 line 10’ (Frahm, Sanherib p. 198). Cf. text no. 4 line 90, which has uš-ša-bi-is “I had constructed (by packing down).”
5’ The restoration of damaged text is based on text no. 8 line 17’, which is partially restored from text no. 4 lines 91–92 and K 2662 lines 11’–13’ (Frahm, Sanherib p. 198). uš-še-piš-ma “I had made and”: K 2662 line 11’ has ab-ni-ma “I built and.” Imm-ma e-piš-ti Suš-šu “all of my (other) achievements” Text: No. 4 line 92 has im-ma ep-set ep-set-pu-su “everything (else) I had been doing.”
6’ The restoration is based on text no. 8 line 18’, which is partially restored from K 2662 lines 14’–16’ (Frahm, Sanherib p. 198). Cf. text no. 4 line 92.
7’ ma-ti-ma: Apart from K 2662 line 17’ (Frahm, Sanherib p. 198), matma “for ever” is used to introduce the concluding formulae only in the Baltimore Inscription line 122 (Grayson, AFO 20 [1963] p. 96) and the Bavarian Inscription line 57 (Luckenbill, Senn. p. 84). Cf. text no. 4 line 93, which has a-na ar-kašt u-ma ina lugal-meš-ni “in the future, may one of the kings.” Šal-šur “the god Aššur”: K 2662 line 18’ has ANŠAR “(the god) Aššur.” Frahm (Sanherib p. 199) correctly points out that the writing of the name Aššur as ANŠAR in that text clearly indicates that the tablet is a later copy; this writing of the DN in cylinder and prism inscriptions of Sennacherib from Nineveh appears only in text no. 10. a-na re.ŠUM-UM kut ur ŠUM “for shepherding the land and people”: The restoration is based on text no. line 4 text. No. 93. K 2662 line 18’ has a-na be-šu-lur kut ur [UN-MES] “for the lordship of the land and [people],” which is otherwise unattested in the concluding formulae of Sennacherib’s inscriptions. The use of ana bēlāt māši u nīša may be a slip on the part of the scribe who copied the inscription, as that expression is commonly used in this context in the inscriptions of Esarhaddon and Ashurbanipal; see, for example, Leichty, RINAP 4 p. 26 Esarhaddon 1 vi 66; and Borger, BIPA p. 74 Prism A x 109 and Prism F vi 63. This is further evidence that K 2662 is a later copy (reign of Ashurbanipal or Esarhaddon).
8’ Mušur-a “inscribed object”: Or Mušur-u or Mušar-e. Šal-šur a-rš-tar ik-ri-bi-šu i-šem-mu-u “the god Aššur and the goddess Ištar will (then) hear his prayers.” Or possibly restore šal-šur ik-ri-bi-šu i-šem-me “the god Aššur will (then) hear his prayers.”
A fragment of a clay cylinder from Nineveh preserves part of a foundation inscription with annalistic narration. The cylinder was inscribed in the eponymy of Bēl-Šarrānī, governor of the city Kurball (699), but earlier in the year than text no. 5 (see the commentary). The extant text contains parts of the prologue, an account of the first campaign (against Marduk-apla-iddina II and his Chaldaean and Elamite allies), and the building report (with concluding formulae). The complete inscription probably also included accounts of the second, third, and fourth campaigns, as well as a concluding statement about forming a large military contingent of archers and shield bearers. The building report commemorates the construction of the inner and outer walls of Nineveh, Badnigalbilukurašušu (“Wall Whose Brilliance Overwhelms Enemies”) and Badnigerimḫuluḫa (“Wall, Terrorizer of Enemies”), and various other public works, including the construction of aqueducts and a bridge.

### CATALOGUE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Museum Number</th>
<th>Registration Number</th>
<th>Provenance</th>
<th>Dimensions (cm)</th>
<th>cpn</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>—</td>
<td>81-2-4,46</td>
<td>Probably Nineveh</td>
<td>9×12</td>
<td>c</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### COMMENTARY

This inscription, as noted already by E. Frahm (Sannehib p. 61), is either part of the same inscription as text no. 6 or a unique inscription; this text, however, belongs to a different text than K 1645 (text no. 5) and Bu 91–5–9,32 (text no. 7). Because of the fragmentary nature of the sources, one cannot be certain of the relationship of 81-2-4,46 (this text) to 82-5-22,24 (text no. 6) and therefore this fragment is edited on its own.

The extant text of the prologue and report of the first campaign (lines 1–15) and the concluding formulae (lines 19’–20’) duplicates text no. 4 lines 1–15 and 93–94. Text no. 5, which was also written in the eponymy of Bēl-Šarrānī (699), includes several editorial changes known from inscriptions written on octagonal and hexagonal clay prisms (beginning in 698); for example, Sennacherib’s epithets šar la šanān (“unrivalled king”) and rē’tān mutnēmā pāliḫ ilāni rabāti (“pious shepherd who reveres the great gods”) were replaced in text no. 5 (and texts written after 699) by šar kibrāt erbettī (“king of the four quarters”), rē’ān ūtešu (“capable shepherd”), and migir ilāni rabāti (“favorite of the great gods”). Such differences between this text and text no. 5 indicate that 81-2-4,46 was inscribed earlier in the year than K 1645 (text no. 5) since it follows more closely the prologue and concluding formulae of text no. 4. Moreover, these changes indicate that several editorial changes were introduced to those passages during the year 699.

The building report (lines 1’–18’) includes passages composed for earlier inscriptions (commemorating the construction of Egalzagadinutukua) and sections composed anew for inscriptions recording the construction of Badnigalbilukurašušu and Badnigerimḫuluḫa, Nineveh’s inner and outer walls. With regard to material borrowed from other cylinders (text nos. 1–4), lines 1’–3’, 14’, and 16’–18’ duplicate (with a few minor changes) text no. 4 lines 86–92. As for lines 4’–13’ and 15’ — which describe the creation of a marsh, the construction of the walls of Nineveh, and the building of aqueducts — these passages were either composed anew for this inscription or were borrowed from an earlier text (now lost) that also commemorated those events. Those sections of the building report were incorporated (with editorial changes) into the building reports of inscriptions written on octagonal clay prisms inscribed from 698 to 695. Cf. text no. 15 vii 14–24, 24’–30’, viii 2’–8’a, and 1’–7’; and text no. 16 vii 22–33, 70–76a,
81–84, and viii 29–51.

Restorations are based on text no. 4, text no. 15, and text no. 16, but with help in lines 1’–5’ and 18’–19’ from K 2662 and K 3752 (Frahm, Sennacherib pp. 197–198), two fragmentarily preserved clay tablets.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1896 Bezdol, Cat. 4 p. 1755 (study)
1997 Frahm, Sennacherib pp. 61–64 T 8 and pl. I (copy; 1’–21’, edition)
2003 Renger, Studies Wilcke p. 234 (study)
2009 Frahm, RLA 12/1–2 p. 15 (study)

TEXT

1) [m̌en.zu-šēš.mēš-e-ri-ba luγaľ gāl-ú luγaľ
dan-nu luγaľ kiš-sa-ti luγaľ kuγur aš-šur.ki
luγaľ la ša-na-an re]ē.umed mut-nen1-nu-ú
pa-liš dingir.meš gāl.meš
2) [na-sir kit-ti ra-ʾi-im miš-ši-ri e-piš ú-sa-a-ti
a-lik tap-pu-ut a-ki]1 ti sa-hi-ru dam qa-a-ti
3) [et-lu ġit-ma-lum zi-ka-ru gar-du aša-red kal
ma-al-ki rap pu-laʾi]-]i tš la ma-gi-ri
mu-ša-ri-qu za ma-a-ni
4) [šaš-šuγur kuγur kuγal-ú luγal-ut la ša-na-an
úšat-li ma-an-ni-ma ugu gi-miř ašiš
pa]1 tš-šir-ša-qi ušar-ba-a ġiš.tukul.Šeš-ia
5) [i-na maḫ-re-e ġer-ri-ia ša
mā.ama.ru.ub-lu.ila-sum.na luγal-
kuγur,kaš-dun-ia-dš a-di erim,šil.a(e)la]1,ši.meš
re-ši-ša i-na ta-mir-ti kiš.ki aš-ta2-kan²
[bud,baš,šu]
6) [i-na muγur, tam-ha-ri šu-a-tu ε-ziγ karāš-su
e-diš ip-par-šiš-ša ma na-piš tuš e-ti-ir
šiš.šǐgir.meš anše.kur.ra,meš gīš,šu-um-bi
anše.kunγa,meš]² šaš1 ina qit-ru-ub ta-ha-zi
uša-ši-ri kuš-da [šu,šī-a-a]
7) [a-na e.γal-šu ša qē-reb kaš.đingir.ra,šǐh-ha-diš
er-u-um ma ap-te-e ma ē ni-šir-ti Šu kuγi
kuγ.bub-bar ú-ν u-ut kuγi kuγ.bub-bar naš,
a-qar-tu mim ma σum-šuš] niššu nišša
ni-šiš-tu ka-bi-t [tu]
8) [dam-su muγus.un.meš e.γal.meš ša
luš.ṭirum.meš uš.man-za az pa-ni si-ḫi-ri
tum ma-a-ni ma-la šu-ša ušu mu-ta-bi-lu]-τu
ē.γal-ush ūša-ša ama ma šaš-la-tiš [am-nu]
9) [i-na e-muq šaš-šuγur en-iš 89 uγur.meš ša
dan-nu-ti ġe bāγal.meš ša kuγal dāli uš 6 me 20
uγur.meš tuγur.meš ša li-me-ti Šu-ni]1 ašš-me
tuγur ušu-ša šaš-la-[su-un]
10) [luγur-bi lu.γa-ra-mu luγa kul du ša qē-reb

1–3) [Sennacherib, great king, strong, king, king of the world, king of Assyria, unrivalled king], pious [shep]herd who reveres the great gods, [guardian of truth who loves justice, renders assistance, goes to the aid of the weak], (and) strives after good deeds, [perfect man, virile warrior, foremost of all rulers, the bridle that con]trols the in submissive, (and) the one who strikes enemies with lightning:

4) [The god Aššur, the great mountain, granted to me unrivalled sovereignty and] made my weapons greater [than (those of) all who sit on (royal) da]lises.

5–6) [On my first campaign], I brought about [the defeat of Marduk-apla-iddina (II) (Merodach-baladan), king of Karduniš (Babylonia), together with the troops of (the land) Ela)m, his allies, in the plain of Kish. [In the midst of that battle he abandoned his camp, fled alone, and (thereby) saved his life. I] seized [the chariots, horses, wagons, (and) mules] that he had abandoned in the thick of battle.

7–8) [I joyfully entered his palace, which is in Babylon, then I opened his treasury and] brought out [gold, silver, gold (and) silver utensils, precious stones, all kinds of] possessions (and) property, a substan[tial] treasure, (together with) [his wife, his palace women, courtiers, attendants, all of the craftsmen, as many as there were], (and) his palace [attendan]ts, and [I counted] (them) as booty.

9–10) [With the strength of the god Aššur, my lord], I surrounded, conquered, (and) plundered 89 of his fortified cities, fortresses of Chaldea, and 620 small(er) settlements in their environs. (10) I brought out [the auxiliary forces of the Arameans (and) Chaldeans who

1–16 These lines duplicate text no. 4 lines 1–16; see the on-page notes of that text for comments.
9 The number of cities and towns surrounded, captured, and plundered is based on text no. 4 line 9. Later prism inscriptions reduce the numbers from 89 and 620 to 75 and 420; for example, see text no. 22 i 36–37. It is possible that these numbers were first reduced in inscriptions written on clay cylinders in 698, rather than in texts inscribed on prisms in 698.
were in Uruk, Nippur, Kish, Ḫursagkalama, Cutha, (and) Sippar, together with] the guilty [citizens], and [I counted (them) as] bo[oty].

11) [I placed Bēl-ibni, a son of a rab bani, on his royal throne (and) entrusted him with the people of Akkad. I ap]pointed [my eunuchs to be governors over all of the districts of Chaldea] and [I imposed] the yoke of my lordship [upon them].

12–14) [On my return march, I defeated all together [the Tu’umana, Riḫiḫu, Yadaquu, Ubudu, Girbē, Māluḫu (Malaḫu), Gurumu], Ubulu, [Damunu, Gambulu, Ḫīn-]

15) [In the course of my campaign, I received a substantial audit[ence gift from Nabû-bēl-Šumâti, the official in charge of the city Ḫarraratu; gold, silver, large musukkannu-trees, donkeys, camels, oxen, and sheep and goats].

16) [...] [...].

Lacuna


2') [a-na mit-ra-a-ti ūš-mu-hi il-tu pa-ā-ti URU.KI-ri-i ri-a di-ta mir-ti NINA.KI KUR-a ū bi-ru-tī ina ak-kul-la-a-ṭi ū-ṣāṭ-tir]-ma ū-[še-šir ÍD.ḪAR-RU]


4') [I-na tē-em DINGIR-MA qē-reb GĪS.KIRI,MES GĪS.GESTIN gi-mir GURUN GĪS.ŠER-u ṣEH ŠIM.HLÂ ma-gal iš-mu-hu GĪS.ŠUR.MIN GĪS.MES.ŠAKA NA-nāp ḪAR.GIS as]-[ṣu]-[i]-ša]-huma-[u]-ṣar]-rī]-[šu]-pa-pa-al]-lum]

5') [a-na ṣup-ṣu-uh a-lak-ti A.MEŠ ša GĪS.KIRI,MES a-gam-mu ū-ṣaḥ-ši-ma ū-su-ū-ū-ṣū-ṭa-sti-il IGĪR.AMU,ŠEŠ.EH MEŠ MEŠ,MES GĪS] 5’ a-lap qi-šī
greatly. Birds of the heavens, heron(s) whose home(s) are far away, made nest(s) and wild boars (and) roe deer ga[ve birth] in abundance.

7’ [ cut down musukkanu-trees (and) cypress trees grown in the orchards (and) marsh reeds from the swamps and] I us[ed (them) in the work required] (to build) my [lor]dy [palatial halls].

8’ [ At the inauguration of the palace, I had the heads of the subjects of my land drenched] (and) I w[atered] their insides with [sw]eet [wine].

9’–10’ [Nineveh, the site of whose circumference had been 9,300 cubits since former times (and) for which no earlier ruler [had had an inner or outer wall built — (10’) I added 12,515 (cubits) in the plain around the city to (its) previous measurement and] (thus) established its dimensions [as 21,815 larg[e cubits].

11’ [ I laid the foundation of its great wall, Bad-nigalbilkurāšûšu, (which means) “Wall Whose Bril-liance Overwhelms Enemies,” upon limestone and made (it) 40 bricks thick. I raised its superstructure [180 cou]res of brick high.

12’–13’ [I opened up a foundation pit for the outer wall, Badnigerimḥuluḥa, (which means) “Terrorizer of Enemies,” then I dug down forty-five ninda[n and made (it) reach] the water table. I [bound together] strong mountain stone in the below and above] I expertly carried out its construction [with large limestone (blocks) up to its copings].

14’ [ I enlarged the site of Nineveh, my capital city. I broadened its squares, making (them) as bright as day. I had [an inner (and) outer wall] built and I raised (them) as high as mountain(s).]

15’ [ So that there would be outflow from the Ḥusur River in the (city) and the passage of water upstream and downstream], I built aqueducts beneath it (the city wall) [with baked bricks, ...].

16’ I had a bridge constructed [opposite the Citadel Gate with paving stones of white limestone for the

8’ At the beginning of the line, E. Frahm (Sennacherib p. 62) restores l. giššé-sér-di _processes the field of olive and aromatics."

9’–14’ The restorations are based on text no. 15 vii 14–24 and 24’–31’, and text no. 16 vii 22–33 and 70–80. These lines were either composed anew for this inscription or for an earlier text commemorating the construction of Nineveh’s walls. This passage was incorporated without editorial changes into the building reports of later prism inscriptions (Beginning in 698). As noted already by E. Frahm (Sennacherib p. 273), the work on Badnigalbilkurāšušu and Badnigerimḥuluḥa was probably in the very early stages of construction since this text does not mention any gates.

14’ Bad ... Ḥur-ša-a-niṣṭ ‘wall ... as mountain(s)’; this inscription is the earliest text to include this statement in the building report. It is included in later prism inscriptions commemorating the construction of Nineveh’s inner and outer walls; for example, see text no. 16 vii 79–80 and text no. 17 vii 15. See the on-page note to lines 9’–14’.

15’ The restorations are based on text no. 16 vii 81–84. This line was composed anew for this inscription or for an earlier text commemorating the construction of Nineveh’s walls and was incorporated without editorial changes into the building reports of later prism inscriptions (beginning in 698). 14’ ‘...’ and 15’ ‘...’ Read as either qi-i or ki-i, “bitumen” and “kiln (for lime and bitumen)” respectively. mašš-i ‘...’ The meaning of this word is unknown and it is not certain from context whether mašši is a noun or an adjective. ti-tur-rî ‘aqueducts’; Following Frahm (Sennacherib pp. 64, 83, and 86) and Bagg (Assyrische Wasserbauten pp. 196–198), titirru probably refers to aqueducts, and not to a bridge, in this passage. This word clearly has this meaning in Jerwan Inscription B lines 8b–9 (Jacobsen and Lloyd, OIP 24 pl. 18): ša NA,pi-i-li pi-qi-i ša-šak-bi-is ti-tur-râ A. hēš-du-nu ul-še-ti-qi še-ru-uš-šul ‘I constructed an aqueduct of white limestone (and) made those waters flow over it.”

16’ ul-še-piš ‘I had constructed’; Text no. 4 line 90 has ul-šak-bi-is ‘I had constructed (by packing down).’
GIŠ.GIGIR be-lu-ti-ia] ú-še-piš ti-tur-ru


18') [it-ti MU.SAR-e ša mal-ki a-li-kut maḫ-ri AD.MEŠ-ia ina BĀD ša NINA.KI URU be-lu-ti-ia a-na LUGAL.MEŠ DUMU].MEŠ-ia e-zib aḫ-ra-taš

19'] [a-na ar-kât u₄-me i-na LUGAL.MEŠ-ni DUMU.MEŠ-ia ša aš-sur a-na RE.È.UM Ut.KUR û UN.MEŠ i-nam-bu-u zi-kir-šu e-nu-ma] BĀD u BĀD.ŠUL.HI ša-tu-nu i-lab-bi-ru-ma en-na-[hu


21') [x x (x x).TA.ĀM MU.DIDLI MU.SAR-e ... lĭ-mu md]EN-LUGAL-an-ni

passage of my lordly chariot.

17’–18’ [I had an inscribed object made and] had [all the mighty victories that I] achieved [over all of (my enemies with the support of (the god) Aššur, the great lord, my lord], and all of my (other) achievements inscribed thereon. [With inscribed objects of earlier rulers, my ancestors], I deposited (it) for ever after [in the wall of Nineveh, my capital city, for the kings], my [descendant].

19’–20’ [In the future, may one of the kings, my descendents, whom the god Aššur names for shepherding the land and people, renovate their dilapidated section(s) when] these inner and outer walls become old and dilapidated. (20’) [May he find an inscribed object bearing my name, anoint (it) with oil, make an offering], (and) return (it) [to its place]. The god Aššur will (then) hear his prayers.

21’ [The line count of the inscription is ... (lines). ... eponym of] Bēl-šarrāni (699).

A small fragment of a clay cylinder from Nineveh (or Aššur) preserves the first thirteen lines of a foundation inscription with annalistic narration. The extant text contains parts of the prologue and an account of the first campaign (against Marduk-apla-iddina II and his Chaldean and Elamite allies). The text is either a duplicate of one of the better preserved cylinder inscriptions (text nos. 2–3) or a copy of a hitherto unknown text. Because the prologue and military narration are not separated by a horizontal ruling, this cylinder must have been inscribed in 702, 701, or 700.

**CATALOGUE**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Museum Number</th>
<th>Registration Number</th>
<th>Provenance</th>
<th>Dimensions (cm)</th>
<th>cpn</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>12b 837</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>Probably Nineveh (or Aššur)</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

8 line 17’ The restorations are based on text no. 4 line 91. mim-ma e-piš-ti šu.ii-ia “all of my (other) achievements”: Text no. 4 line 92 has mim-ma ep-ši e-tep-ši “everything (else) that I had been doing.” K 2662 line 13’ (Frahm, Sanherib p. 198) also has mimma epšiti qatiya “all of my (other) achievements.”

8 line 18’ The restorations are based on K 2662 lines 14’–16’ (Frahm, Sanherib p. 198) and text no. 7 line 6’. Cf. text no. 4 lines 92–93.

8 line 20’ i₅-šem1-ma “he will (then) hear”: This inscription follows earlier cylinder inscriptions, including text no. 4. Cf. text no. 5 line 2’, which has i₅-šem-ma2-u “they will (then) hear,” with Aššur and litár as the subjects of the verb; that variation is found also in the concluding formulae of inscriptions written on clay prisms.

8 line 21’ Cf. text no. 5 line 3’, which includes Bēl-šarrāni’s title.
COMMENTSARY

The fragment is housed in the N.P. Lichatschev Collection of the Pushkin Museum (Moscow). It was not examined from the original and therefore the edition is based on E. Frahm’s published transliteration, which is based on an unpublished copy of V.K. Šileiko. The copy has traces of signs that cannot be clearly identified from better preserved texts. Because there appear to be problems with Šileiko’s copy, it is uncertain if this is a unique text or if it is actually a duplicate of one of the better known inscriptions. What is preserved most closely parallels text no. 2 lines 1–12 and 14–15, and text no. 3 lines 1–12 and 14–15; cf. text no. 4 lines 1–10 and 12–13. The restorations in lines 1–8 and 10–13 are based on text no. 3. The problematic passages in the text are noted in the on-page notes.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1997 Frahm, Sanherib pp. 64–65 (transliteration, study)

TEXT

1–3) [Sennacherib, great king, strong king, king of Assyria, unrivalled king, pious] shepherd [who reveres the great gods, guardian of truth who loves justice, renders assistance], goes to the aid of the weak, (and) [strives after good deeds, perfect man, virile warrior, foremost of all rul]ers, the bridle that controls the in[submit]sive, (and) the one who strikes enemies with lightning):

4) [The god Aššur, the great mountain, granted to me unrivalled sovereignty and made my weapons greater] than (those of) all who sit on (royal) daises.

5–6) [At the beginning of my kingship, I brought about the defeat of Marduk-apla-iddina (II) (Merodach-ba]ladan), king of Karduniaš (Babylonia), together with the troo[p]s of (the land) Elam, his ally, in [the p]la[n] of Kish. I seized the chariots, wagons, horses, mules, donkeys, camels, and [Bactrian camels that he had abandoned in the thick of battle].

5–6 E. Frahm (Sanherib pp. 64–65) rightly questions whether or not there is a line completely destroyed between lines 5 and 6 since the copy is reported to be very clear at this point. Assuming the modern copyst did not omit a line and that nothing is missing between lines 5 and 6, then this text deviates in the passage reporting on Marduk-apla-iddina II’s flight after the battle at Kish either by omitting the mention of the Chaldean hiding in swamps and marshes altogether or by placing it in line 9.

5 re-ši-šu “his ally”: Text no. 2 line 5, text no. 4 line 5, and text no. 8 line 5 all add re-ši-šu “his ally” after Erim.ii,la Elam.ma.Ki “the troops of (the land) Elam.” Text no. 3 line 5 omits this word.
A small damaged clay cylinder and a fragment of another cylinder, both presumably from Nineveh, are inscribed with a short inscription recording the construction of a shrine for the god Ḫaya, the “god of scribes.” The style of the inscription is similar to a text written on stone horizontal prisms recording the construction of the Aššur temple at Aššur. Both texts consist of a prologue, a building report, a petition to the foundation inscription, and advice to future rulers. Because the inscription does not include narration of military events and since the known copies do not include a date line, the year during which the cylinders were inscribed is not known.

**CATALOGUE**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Museum Ex. Number</th>
<th>Registration Number</th>
<th>Provenance</th>
<th>Dimensions (cm)</th>
<th>Lines Preserved</th>
<th>cpn</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 K 1635</td>
<td></td>
<td>Probably Nineveh</td>
<td>11 long; 4.6 dia.</td>
<td>1–29</td>
<td>c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 A 16931</td>
<td></td>
<td>Probably Nineveh</td>
<td>5.1 wide</td>
<td>15–23</td>
<td>c</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
A little less than half of ex. 1 is missing from the left-hand side and middle. Physically the cylinder is similar to those with text nos. 12 and 13, but it does not join or come from the same cylinders with text nos. 12 and 13. Only a small portion of the middle of ex. 2 is preserved. Horizontal rulings separate each line of text on both exemplars.

Text nos. 10–13 are foundation inscriptions with no military narration (Grayson, Orientalia NS 49 [1980] p. 153). In the Sennacherib corpus, the text written on VA 8254, a stone horizontal prism from Aššur recording work on the Aššur Temple, best exemplifies this type of text because that inscription is complete; see Schroeder, KAH 2 no. 124 and Luckenbill, Senn. pp. 144–147 17. The prologues, the petitions to the foundation inscription, and advice to future rulers of text nos. 10–13 duplicate those same passages (with minor variation) on VA 8254 (lines 1–8a and 30b–39). E. Frahm (Sanherib pp. 109–111) regarded these cylinder fragments as inscriptions from Nineveh with “Aššur titulary,” but that designation is not entirely accurate. These texts, as well as the text written on VA 8254, should be regarded as foundation inscriptions with demilitarized, cult-focused prologues and building reports commemorating work on temples. Sennacherib’s titles and epithets in the prologues of text nos. 10–13 and of VA 8254 are probably representative of those used in foundation inscriptions without military conquests that were written on clay cylinders and stone horizontal prisms deposited in the structure of temples at Aššur and Nineveh. Therefore, there is no need to stress the Aššur aspect of the titulary. For a study of Sennacherib’s titulary, see Liverani in Fales, ARIN pp. 225–257.

Due to the poor state of preservation of text nos. 10–13, it is not certain how many inscriptions these fragments represent; there could be as few as two texts or as many as four. Text nos. 10 and 11 clearly represent different inscriptions, but text nos. 12 and 13 could be duplicates of either text nos. 10 or 11 or be parts of unique text(s). K 1635 (ex. 1) and A 16931 (ex. 2) are arbitrarily edited together, as they both refer to Ḫaya, the “god of scribes,” but BM 123418 (text no. 11), BM 127888 (text no. 12), and BM 128242 (text no. 13) are each edited on their own.

The master text is ex. 1, with some restorations from ex. 2. A score of the inscription is presented on the CD-ROM. Restorations are based on VA 8254 lines 1–8a and 30b–39; that inscription will be edited in Part 2 with the other texts from Aššur.

The building report is poorly preserved and it describes work on a shrine of the god Ḫaya (formerly read as Ḥani), which may have been the Ezida temple (“True House”) at Nineveh since this deity, who is described in this text as the “god of scribes” (line 19), is often identified with Nabû, the preeminent scribal god of the first millennium; see Frahm, Sanherib pp. 110–111 and Reade, RLA 9/5–6 (2000) p. 410. It has also been suggested that the shrine of Ḫaya was located in Aššur because the prologue, the passage requesting that the foundation inscription speak favorably about Sennacherib, and the advice to future rulers duplicate passages on texts from Aššur; see Menzel, Tempel 1 p. 79 and Frahm, Sanherib p. 110.

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

1889 Bezold, Cat. 1 p. 323 (study)
1893 Meissner and Rost, BiS pp. 96–99 and pl. 15 (copy, edition)
1924 Luckenbill, Senn. pp. 21 and 147–148 18 (ex. 1, edition)
1927 Luckenbill, ARAB 2 p. 191 §8456–458 (translation)
1981 Menzel, Tempel 1 p. 79 (study)

1996 Borger, BIWA 4° Heft (microfiche) 222–223 (ex. 2, transliteration)
1997 Frahm, Sanherib pp. 110–111 T 21 (study)
2000 Reade, RLA 9/5–6 p. 410 (study)

**TEXT**

1) [mfd]30-1-PAP.MEM-SU MAN GAL-u MAN dan-nu MAN kis-ša-ti MAN KUR ash-šur.KI

2) [MAN kib-rat LIMMU]-tum mut-tar-ru-û

1–9) [S]ennacherib, great king, strong king, king of the world, king of Assyria, [king of the fou]r [quarters] (of the world), leader of a widespread population, [the

---

1 MAN kis-ša-ti “king of the world”: Text no. 4, copies of which are dated to 700, is the earliest text of Sennacherib from Nineveh in which this title appears.

2 [MAN kib-rat LIMMU]-tum “[king of the fou]r [quarters] (of the world)”: Text no. 5, which is dated to 699, is the earliest text of Sennacherib from Nineveh in which this title appears. The inclusion of šar kiššat “king of the world” and šar kibrāt erbeti “king of the four quarters (of the
3) [e-pis ša-lam AN.ŠAR d-a-nim d30 dUTU] f31šKUR 1.qiGUR d13-[tar]
4) [ša É-kid-mu-ri ...] 10–17) ... the administrator who [knows] how to reckon the accounts [...] the god Ḥaya, their god,
5) [...] [...] their [...], the great gods [...] the commander of the gods [to lay] the foundation [...] his [...] ... before me (15) [...] [...] the one who fashioned (the image of) the god Ḥaya [...] [...] ..., the one who performed the rites:
6) [...] xu-sù ina mah-r-i-ta
7) [...] x É x rim-me pa me kal x
8) [...] x1 pi4 ša-ia
9) [...] x3 li x [...] x 2-piš me-e-sî
10) 18–19) 1 bu[lt][l] (and) completed [it] from its foundations to its crenellations [and] I settled the god Ḥaya, the god of scribes, [inside it].
11) 20–22) O foundation inscription, [speak] favorable things to (the god) Aššur about Sennacherib, king of Assyria, the one who [set[s] correct behavior], the one who fashioned image(s) of (the god) Aššur and the great gods, (and) the one who built (this) temple, so that his sons (and) his grandsons may endure forever[er] with the black-headed (people).
12) 23–26) May any future ruler, whom (the god) Aššur names for shepherding the land and people (and) during whose reign that temple becomes dilapidated,

one who fashioned image(s) of the deities Aššur, Anu, Sin, Šamaš, Adad, Nergal, Ishtar of Bit-Kidmuri, ... (5) ... whose dominion [is more] praised [than (that of all) kings who sit on (royal) thrones, the support of his land, the one who is trustworthy in battle and combat, (and) the protection of] his troops, I:

world” among Sennacherib’s titles suggests that this text was probably not composed prior to 699. mut-tar-ru-ú UN.MEŠ DAGAL.1 MEŠ3 “leader of a widespread population”: At Nineveh, this epithet also appears in several texts inscribed on bull colossi stationed in gateways of the “Palace Without a Rival” (the South-West Palace) and the so-called “Eastern Building,” as well as in an inscription written on a stone tablet. For example, see text no. 34 line 3; Layard, ICC pl. 38 line 2; and King, Notebook p. 1 nos. 1–2 and p. 3 nos. 1–2 line 3. Note that these texts are all written ca. 693–689 and thus the use of mutarrá ná datrapá “leader of a widespread population” in this text may suggest that the inscription was written at the same time.

4–8a For the missing text, see text no. 11 lines 4–7, text no. 12 lines 4–7, text no. 13 lines 3–7, and Schroeder, KAH 2 no. 124 (VA 8254) lines 3–6.
10 See CAD N/2 p. 228 sub nikkassu A 1k.
16 Ex. 2 has [...] x1 ššKUR x [...] “... the god Adad [...].” As pointed out by E. Frahm (Sanherib p. 111), this passage may refer to Sennacherib seeking guidance from Šamaš and Adad through divination; cf. Schroeder, KAH 2 no. 124 (VA 8254) lines 13b–15a. 4ša-ia “the god Ḥaya”: This deity is also mentioned in inscriptions written on stone blocks recording the construction of the akku-house at Aššur; for example, Schroeder, KAH 2 no. 109 line 15.
17 Meissner and Rost’s copy (BIS pl. 15) has lines 17–18 wrongly aligned on the two joined fragments. Ex. 2 has [...] x-ul é-su x [...] “... his temple [...].”
19 Ex. 2 has [...] dUB.RAR.MEŠ ú2-sar4 [...] “[... ] scribes, I set[le]d [...].” The appearance on A 16931 (ex. 2) of the title [liš ša] tupšarru “the god of scribes” indicates that it is probably a duplicate of K 1635 (ex. 1), or at the very least another text recording work on the Ḥaya shrine.
21 AN.ŠAR ú DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ “(the god) Aššur and the great gods”: Schroeder, KAH 2 no. 124 (VA 8254) line 31 has DINGIR-šú “his god.”
22 Schroeder, KAH 2 no. 124 (VA 8254) line 32 adds d3i2-ti-ba-la-ti, u ešš-ŠU-ra li-te-li-pu “may they flourish together with Baltit and Ešarru” after qf-bí “speak.” The absence of the mention of Baltit and Ešarru may lend further support to the proposal that the shrine of Ḥaya was located at Nineveh, and not at Aššur. DUMU.MEŠ-šú DUMU DUMU.MEŠ-šú “his sons (and) his grandsons”: Schroeder, KAH 2 no. 124 (VA 8254) line 32 adds NUNU.MEŠ-šú “his offspring” before DUMU.MEŠ-šú “his sons.”
23 Sipa-út “shepherding”: Schroeder, KAH 2 no. 124 (VA 8254) line 33 also has SIPA-út. The writing of ré ù “shepherding” is always RÉ.LUM-út; see, for example, text no. 4 line 93.
25) in-na-ḫu
26) an-ḫu-us-su lu-diš MU.SAR-ū li-mur-ma .authenticate
lip-šu-uš
27) UDU.SISKUR liq-qi ina ḍā-ṛ-sū šī-kun aš-šūr ḍā-š-tar ik-ṛ-bi-šū i-šēm-[mu]ṭ³ [išu]'
28) ša AN-e ū Kī-tim ar-rat la nap-šu-rī ma-ru-uš-tū li-ru-ru-šu-ma

(25) renovate its dilapidated section(s). May he find (this) inscribed object, anoint (it) with oil, make an offering, (and) put (it back) in its place. (The god) Aššur and the goddess ʾištar will (then) heal[r] his prayers.

27–29) (As for) the one who alters my inscribed object (and) disrespects my words, may (the god) Aššur, king of the gods, and the great gods of heaven and netherworld curse him with a harsh, irreversible curse, and may they overthrow his kingship, deprive him of his life, (and) eradicate his name, his seed, his offspring, (and) his progeny from the mouth of the people.

11

A small fragment of a clay cylinder from Nineveh preserves the prologue of a foundation inscription (presumably without military narration), as well as part of a passage mentioning lamentation singers (kalā). The building report, which is completely missing, may have described construction on a temple at Nineveh. The concluding formulae are also completely missing. The prologue duplicates those of text nos. 10, 12, and 13, and that of a text written on a stone horizontal prism from Aššur (VA 8254). The year during which the cylinder was inscribed is not known.

CATALOGUE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Museum Number</th>
<th>Registration Number</th>
<th>Provenance</th>
<th>Dimensions (cm)</th>
<th>cpn</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>BM 123418</td>
<td>1932-12-10,361</td>
<td>Nineveh, CHOL</td>
<td>4.7×4.9</td>
<td>c</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

COMMENTARY

Physically the cylinder is twenty to twenty-five percent larger than text no. 10 ex. 1 (K 1635). Each line of text is separated by a horizontal ruling.

Text nos. 10 and 11 clearly represent different inscriptions. BM 127888 (text no. 12) and BM 128242 (text no. 13), however, could be duplicates of this text or copies of another inscription. Because all three pieces are not sufficiently preserved to be certain of their contents, the fragments are each edited on their own.

Although only small portions of the first eleven lines of the text are preserved, this inscription may have been similar in format to text no. 10 and the text written on VA 8254, a stone horizontal prism from Aššur recording work on the Aššur Temple; for the latter inscription, see Schroeder, KAH 2

10 line 26 ina ḍā-ṛ-sū šī-kun “may he put (it back) in its place”. The same expression appears in Schroeder, KAH 2 no. 124 (VA 8254) line 35. Other cylinder inscriptions from Nineveh have q-nā ḍā-ṛ-sū šī-ter “may he return (it) to its place” (e.g., text no. 4 line 94). aš-šūr ḍā-š-tar “(the god) Aššur and the goddess ʾištar”: The pairing of Aššur and ʾištar in the concluding formulae first occurs in text no. 5, an inscription written in 699. The invocation of both of these deities suggests that this text was probably not written prior to 699. Schroeder, KAH 2 no. 124 (VA 8254) line 35 mentions only Aššur.

10 lines 27–29 Apart from text no. 12 (and probably also text nos. 11 and 13), an admonition against the removal of a royal inscription does not appear in cylinder inscriptions from Nineveh. Such advice appears in only one prism inscription from Nineveh: text no. 22 vi 80b–83.
no. 124 and Luckenbill, Senn. pp. 144–147 17. Therefore, the complete text probably comprised a prologue, a building report, a passage requesting that the foundation inscription speak favorably about Sennacherib, and advice to future rulers. Based on Sennacherib’s titulary, the building report may have recorded work on a temple at Nineveh; see the commentary to text no. 10. At Nineveh, Sennacherib is known to have worked on the shrine of the god Šaya (text no. 10), the Šin-Šamaš temple (text no. 36), the temple of the Lady of Nineveh (text no. 36), and the akītu-house Ešaḫulezengamukam (text no. 37); another temple is mentioned in text no. 36 (line 3’), but the name of the deity to which it belonged is completely missing. Thus it is possible that the building report of this text recorded work on one of those temples.

Lines 1–9a duplicate text no. 10 lines 1–9, text no. 12 lines 1–7, text no. 13 lines 1–6, and VA 8254 lines 1–8a. The restoration of damaged text is generally based on VA 8254. Lines 9b–11 are not duplicated elsewhere in the known Sennacherib corpus.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1968 Lambert and Millard, Cat. p. 24 (study) 1997 Frahm, Sanherib p. 111 T 22 (study)

TEXT

1) [m'd30-PAP,MEŠ-SU MAN GAL MAN dan-nu MAN ŠU MAN] KUR aš-šur.[x]
2) [MAN kib-rat LĪMMU-tim mut-tar-ru-ū UN,MEŠ]
   'DAGAL',MEŠ
3) [e-piš ša-lam AN,ŠÁR qa-nim d30 dUTU ḫšKUR
   ḫ,UGUR ḫ15 ša] É-kid-mu-ri
4) [DINGIR,MAḤ ū DINGIR,MEŠ GAL,MEŠ mu-šak-lil
   pa-ra-aš ē]-šár-ra
5) [ū é-maš-maš ša pa-laḥ DINGIR,MEŠ ša AN-e ū
   DINGIR,MEŠ KUR aš-šur].̅'[K1] ra-biš mu-du-u
6) [e-piš KUR aš-šur.KI mu-šak-lil ma-ḥa-zi-šā
   na-si-iḥ] 'na'-ki-ri
7) [mu-ab-bit da-ād-me-šā-um al-a-ku pit-qu-du
   ša UGU] 'LUGAL,MEŠ a-šib BĀRA
8) [nu'-u-ū-da-at be-lut-su tukul-ti KUR-šā
   na-a' id] 'MURUB,3 u MĒ
9) [šu-hu-šu ERIM,H1,Š1 a-na-ku ...]
   'LŪ,GALA',MEŠ ma-ni-iḥ
10) [...] 'LŪ,GALA,MEŠ
11) [...] 'LŪ,GALA

Lacuna

12

A small fragment of a clay cylinder from Nineveh preserves parts of the prologue and concluding formulae of a foundation inscription (presumably without military narration). The building report, which may have described construction on a temple at Nineveh, is completely missing. The prologue,

11 lines 1–2 See the on-page notes to text no. 10 lines 1–2.
11 lines 9–11 Lamentation singers (kalū) are mentioned in line 27 of the Bavian Inscription (Luckenbill, Senn. p. 81): a-na pa-te-e [dš Šut-a-tu LŪ,MAŠ,ŠAŠ LŪ,GALA u-ma- e-er-ma Šat-[... “in order to open up that canal, I sent an excorcist (and) a lamentation singer and [...].”
which contains a list of cult-focused epithefs of the king, duplicates those of
text nos. 10, 11, and 13, and that of the Aššur Temple Inscription (VA 8254),
a stone horizontal prism from Aššur. The year during which the cylinder
was inscribed is not known since no date line was included on the object.

CATALOGUE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Museum Number</th>
<th>Registration Number</th>
<th>Provenance</th>
<th>Dimensions (cm)</th>
<th>cpn</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>BM 127888</td>
<td>1929-10-12,544</td>
<td>Nineveh</td>
<td>9×6.5</td>
<td>c</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

COMMENTARY

Physically the cylinder is similar to text no. 10 ex. 1 (K 1635) and text no. 13 (BM 128242), but it does
not join or come from the same original as either of
them. Horizontal rulings separate each line of text.

This text could be a duplicate of text nos. 10, 11,
or 13, or it could be a unique text. Because BM 127888
does not preserve enough text to be certain of its
contents, this inscription is edited on its own.

Although only small portions of the text are
preserved, this inscription may have been similar
in format to text no. 10 and the text written on
VA 8254, a stone horizontal prism from Aššur recording
work on the Aššur Temple; for the latter in-
scription, see Schroeder, KAH 2 no. 124 and Luck-
enbill, Senn. pp. 144–147 17. See the commentary
of text no. 10 for further details. The building re-
port, despite the fact that it is completely missing,
may have recorded work on a temple at Nineveh,
perhaps the shrine of the god Ḫaya (text no. 10),
the Śin-Šamaš temple (text no. 36), the temple of
the Lady of Nineveh (text no. 36), or the akītu-house
Ešālulezenazmukam (text no. 37).

The extant text duplicates text no. 10 lines 1–3
and 27–29, text no. 11 lines 1–7, text no. 13 lines 1–7,
and VA 8254 lines 1–6a and 35b–39. Restorations are
generally based on VA 8254.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1968  Lambert and Millard, Cat. p. 36 (study)  1997  Frahm, Sanherib p. 111 T 23 (study)
1979  Borger, BAL 2 p. 88 (study)

TEXT

1) [matégà-pap.Ka-Maš-Su] 1Lugal 1GALGAL dan-nu
man Šū man Kur aš-šar.KI
2) [Lugal kib-rat li-mu-tim mut]-tar-ru-ú
3) [e-piš ša-lam an.Šār ʔa-nim 630] 1ฐUTU ʔiš.KUR
4) [u-gur 615 ša ʔa-kid-mur-ri
5) [d.AMA ֶRA-ding.ŠAMŠ GAL.MES] muš-šak-lil
pa-ra-ás ʔa-šá-ra
6) [u ʔa-maš-maš ša pa-läh] ¹DINGIR 1MES šá AN-e ০
dingir,mes šú an-e ০
dingir,mes šú an-e ০
7) [ra-biš mu-du-u e-piš KUR] aš-šar.KI muš-šak-lil
ma-ṭa-zu-zi-[šú]
8) [na-si-iḫ na-ki-ri mu-ab-biṯ da]-⁵ad⁵-meš-šú-un
ma-[al-ku]

1–7) [Sennacherib], great king, strong king, king of
the world, king of Assyria, [king of the four quarters
(of the world),] lea[d]er of a widespread population,
[the one who fashioned image(s) of the deities Aššur, Anu,
Šīn], Šamaš, Adad, Nergal, Ištar of Bīt-Kidmuri, [Bēlet-
il, and the great gods], the one who carries out to
perfection the rites of Ešarrā (5) [and Emašmaš, who
knows well how to revere the go[d]s of heaven and
the gods of Assyria, [the builder of Assyria, the one who
brings [his] cult centers to completion, [the one who
uproots enemies (and) destroys] their [set]tlemens,
circumspect] ru[ler],

1–2) See the on-page notes to text no. 10 lines 1–2.

Lacuna after line 7 Based on parallels, the translation assumes that the now-missing line 8 would have begun with pit-qi-du “circumspect.”
Lacuna
1) [mu-nak-šir MU.SAR-a-a da-a-a-i-ši a-ma-ti-ia AN.SAR MAN DINGIR.MES u DINGIR.MES GAL].MES
2) [Sa AN-e û KI-tim ar-rat la nap-šu-ri ma-ru-uš-tiš] [li]-[ru-ru-ša-ma
3) [LUGAL-su liš-ki-pa TI.LA-šu li-ki-mu-ša MU-ša NUMUN-šu NUNUZ-šu na-an-nab-šiš] [li]-na KA UN.ME li-ḫa-li-qi

Lacuna
(As for) the one who alters my inscribed object (and) disrespects my words], may [the god Aššur, king of the gods, and the great gods of heaven and netherworld] curse him [with a harsh, irreversible curse, and may they overthrow his kingship, deprive him of his life], (and) eradicate [his name, his seed, his offspring, (and) his progeny] from the mouth of the people.

13

A small fragment of a clay cylinder from Nineveh preserves parts of the first seven lines and the last line of a foundation inscription (presumably without military narration). All of the building report, which may have described construction on a temple at Nineveh, and most of the concluding formulae are missing. The prologue duplicates those of text nos. 10, 11, and 12, and that of the Aššur Temple Inscription (VA 8254), a stone horizontal prism from Aššur. The year during which the cylinder was inscribed is not known since no date line was included on the object.

CATALOGUE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Museum Number</th>
<th>Registration Number</th>
<th>Provenance</th>
<th>Dimensions (cm)</th>
<th>cpn</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>BM 128242</td>
<td>1932-12-10,499</td>
<td>Nineveh</td>
<td>9-6</td>
<td>c</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

COMMENTARY

Physically the cylinder is similar to text no. 10 ex. 1 (K 1635) and text no. 12 (BM 127888), but it does not join or come from the same original as either of them. Each line of text is separated by a horizontal ruling.

This text could be a duplicate of text nos. 10, 11, or 12, or it could be a unique text. Because BM 128242 does not preserve enough text to be certain of its contents, the inscription written on this fragment is edited on its own.

Although only small portions of the text are preserved, this inscription may have been similar in format to text no. 10 and the text written on VA 8254, a stone horizontal prism from Aššur recording work on the Aššur Temple; for the latter inscription, see Schroeder, KAH 2 no. 124 and Luckenbill, Senn. pp. 144–147 17. See the commentary of text no. 10 for further details. The building report is completely missing, but it may have recorded work on a temple at Nineveh, perhaps the shrine of the god Ḫaya (text no. 10), the Šīn-Šamaš temple (text no. 36), the temple of the Lady of Nineveh (text no. 36), or the akitu-house Ešaḫilezazagmukam (text no. 37).

The extant text duplicates text no. 10 lines 1–3, text no. 11 lines 1–6, text no. 12 lines 1–6, and VA 8254 lines 1–5a. Restorations are generally based on VA 8254.

12 lines 1–3’ Apart from text no. 10 (and probably also text nos. 11 and 13), an admonition against the removal of a royal inscription does not appear in cylinder inscriptions from Nineveh.
BIBLIOGRAPHY

1940  Thompson, Iraq 7 p. 94 and fig. 6 no. 5 (copy, edition)  1979  Borger, BAL 2 p. 88 (study)
1968  Lambert and Millard, Cat. p. 57 (study)  1997  Frahm, Sanherib p. 111 T 24 (study)

TEXT

1) [m]4EN.ZU-PAP.MEŠ-SU 'MAN][GAL MAN dan-NU MAN šU MAN KUR aš-šur.KI]
2) MAN kib-rat limmu-tim 'mut'[tar-ru-ú UN.MEŠ DAGAL.MEŠ]
3) e-piš ša-lam AN,šÁR d.a-nim d₃₀ ṃTU ḫ[TŠKUR ḫU.GUR ḫ₁₅ šá E-kid-mu-ri DINGIR.MAH]
4) ù DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ₅ mu-šak-lil pa-ra-āš ḫ[š-šar-ra ù é-maš-maš šà pa-lāḫ DINGIR.MEŠ šà AN-e]
5) ù DINGIR,MEŠ KUR aš-šur.KI[ra-biš mu-du-u]
6) e-piš [KUR] aš-šur₃.KI [...]
7) (traces) [...]  1–7) Sennacherib, [great] king, [strong king, king of the world, king of Assyria], king of the four quarters (of the world), leader of a widespread population, the one who fashioned image(s) of the deities Aššur, Anu, Sîn, Šamaš, [Adad, Nergal, Ištar of Bit-Kidmuri, Bêlet-ili], and the great gods, the one who carries out to perfection the rites of Ešarra and Ėmašmaš, who knows well how to revere the gods of heaven] (5) and the gods of Assyria, the builder of Assyria, [...] ... [...]

Lacuna  1') (traces) [...]  1') ... [...]

14

Beginning in 698, Sennacherib’s scribes abandoned clay cylinders in favor of (octagonal and hexagonal) clay prisms as the principal medium upon which this king’s res gestae was written. J. Reade and A. Millard both report seeing a Sennacherib prism dated to the eponymy of Šulmu-šarrī, governor of the city Ḥalzi-atbar (698); neither, however, provides additional information about the object or the text. Because the inscription seen by Reade and Millard is still unpublished (except for its date) and since the object (or a photograph of it) cannot be located, its contents are not known with certainty. Its content, we assume, was probably similar (or identical) to that of text no. 15 (see the commentary for further details).

CATALOGUE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Provenance</th>
<th>Dimensions (cm)</th>
<th>cpn</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>JCS 27 p. 191</td>
<td>Probably Nineveh</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

13 lines 1–2 See the on-page notes to text no. 10 lines 1–2.
13 line 1’ This is the last line of the inscription and it probably contains part of Sennacherib’s advice against the removal of one of his royal inscriptions.
COMMENTARY

In 1975, J. Reade (JCS 27 p. 191), citing C. Walker as his source, reported that a prism dated to 698 was “in private hands.” In 1992, A. Millard (SAAS 2 p. 122) noted that the object was in the Klassiska Institutionen of Göteborgs Universitet. Its present location is not known, but this Sennacherib prism may be in a private collection in Sweden. For additional information, see Frahm, Sanherib p. 65.

According to Millard (SAAS 2 p. 122), the prism was inscribed on the fourteenth day of the month Araḫsamna (VIII), in the eponymy of Šulmu-šarrī, governor of the city Ḥalzi-atbar (šul-mu-UGAL / LUG.KUR URU.Ḫal-zī-NA₂,at-bar).

E. Frahm proposes that this unpublished prism was octagonal since Sennacherib’s scribes did not begin writing inscriptions on hexagonal prisms until 695. However, this may not be the case. At present, all of the known octagonal prisms (text nos. 15–18) were intended for Nineveh’s inner and outer walls (Badnigalbilukuraššu and Badnigerimḫuluḫa), while all of the known hexagonal prisms whose building reports are preserved (text nos. 22–23 and 25) were written for the armory. The available source material does not exclude the possibility that Sennacherib’s scribes wrote out texts on six-sided prisms as early as 698; such objects may have replaced cylinders as the principal medium of texts deposited in the structure of the “Palace Without a Rival” (and possibly the citadel wall) after 699. Therefore, it is not impossible that this unpublished prism was hexagonal.

With regard to the text itself, we can only speculate on its contents, just as Frahm has already done (Sanherib pp. 65–66). Given the fact that foundation inscriptions written in 699 and 697 contained a prologue, reports of the first four campaigns, a short passage stating that the king formed a large military contingent of archers and shield bearers, a building report, and concluding formulae, this text must have also had those same sections. As for the military narration, the accounts of Sennacherib’s third and fourth campaigns either duplicate those of text no. 15 or deviate from those reports in a few places, just like text nos. 16 and 19–21; note that text nos. 19–21, all of which are written on hexagonal prisms, duplicate a text that is inscribed on a fragmentarily preserved bull colossus (Smith Bull 4; 3 R pls. 12–13).

With regard to the building report, its contents depend on whether the prism was six- or eight-sided. Frahm, assuming this prism is octagonal, proposes that the building report could duplicate that of text no. 15 or follow the style of those of text nos. 7 or 8. Cf. text no. 7 lines 1–8’, text no. 8 lines 1–20 (with the on-page note to line 1’), and text no. 15 v 18–viii 18”; also compare text no. 16 v 41–viii 63, since it is better preserved than text no. 15. Should Frahm’s conjectures prove correct, then this inscription would have been written for Nineveh’s inner and outer walls (Badnigalbilukuraššu and Badnigerimḫuluḫa) or for the citadel wall. However, if the prism was hexagonal, one would expect the building report to have been much shorter than that of text no. 15; this would probably have been the case if the inscription was intended for prisms deposited in the structure of the “Palace Without a Rival” (for which no foundation record written after 700 is known with certainty). Thus, this section may have included: (1) an introduction to Sennacherib’s building program at Nineveh; (2) a detailed account of the rebuilding of Egalzadınutukía, the planting of a botanical garden, and the digging of canals for irrigating fields and orchards; (3) a general statement about enlarging Nineveh and restructuring its streets, alleys, and squares; and possibly (4) a passage recording the construction of a bridge. Reports of the construction of the inner wall (Badnigalbilukuraššu) and its fourteen gates, the building of the outer wall (Badnigerimḫuluḫa), the construction of aqueducts, and the creation of a marsh were probably omitted. In essence, the proposed building report follows the compositional arrangement of text no. 4, but with the expanded descriptions of text no. 15. Compare text no. 4 lines 61–92 to text no. 15 v 18–vii 13, 29‘b–viii 1”, and 8‘b–18”; cf. also text no. 16 v 41–vii 21, 76b–80, 85–viii 3a, and 12–23. In sum, this inscription could either be a duplicate of text no. 15, a text very similar to that 697 edition of Sennacherib’s res gestae (an intermediary edition between text nos. 8 and 15), or a unique text. Frahm tentatively proposes that this unpublished prism could be a copy of text no. 15 that was inscribed in the eponymy of Šulmu-šarrī (698), one year earlier than the known dated exemplars, which were inscribed in the eponymy of Nabû-dūri-ṣuṣur, governor of the city Tammuṣanna (697).
BIBLIOGRAPHY

1975  Reade, JCS p. 191 (study)  1997  Frahm, Sanherib pp. 65–66 T 9 (study)
1992  Millard, SAAS 2 p. 122 (study of the date)

15

Two fragmentarily preserved octagonal clay prisms and numerous prism fragments from Nineveh and Aššur are inscribed with a text describing Sennacherib’s first four campaigns, the large-scale renovations of the “Palace Without a Rival” (the South-West Palace), the construction of Nineveh’s inner and outer walls (Badnigalbilukurâššu and Badnigerimḫuruḫa), and many other public works at Nineveh. Sennacherib boasts also of forming a military contingent of 20,000 archers and 15,000 shield bearers from prisoners deported from conquered lands. The building report, which utilizes material from earlier inscriptions, includes: (1) an introduction to Sennacherib’s building program at Nineveh; (2) a detailed account of the rebuilding of Egalzanginutukua and the planting of a botanical garden; (3) a passage describing the construction of the great wall Badnigalbilukuraššu, with its fourteen gates, and the outer stone wall Badnigerimḫuruḫa; (4) a general statement about enlarging Nineveh, restructuring its public areas, and building its walls; (5) a brief report recording the building of aqueducts and a bridge; (6) reports of the creation of a game preserve and a marsh; and (7) an account of the digging of canals for irrigating fields and orchards given to the citizens of Nineveh. In connection with the construction of his palace, Sennacherib openly criticizes work sponsored by his predecessors. He states that they had depleted valuable resources, performed certain tasks (namely the transport of stone bull colossi) at the wrong time of year, and exhausted the workforce. Moreover, he notes that the work had been clumsily done and the result was not in good taste. The text concludes with a short passage stating that Sennacherib celebrated the completion of his palace; Aššur and other deities are said to have been invited inside, where they were presented with offerings and given gifts. Four exemplars preserve a date and these were all inscribed in the first half of the eponymy of Nabû-dû-ûṣur, governor of the city Tamnumna (697). This text is sometimes referred to as “Cylinder C” in older publications.

CATALOGUE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ex.</th>
<th>Museum Number</th>
<th>Excavation/Registration No.</th>
<th>Provenance</th>
<th>Dimensions (cm)</th>
<th>Lines Preserved</th>
<th>cpn</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>BM 22508</td>
<td>K 1674 + 81-2-4,44 + 83-1-18,598 + 81-2-4,169 + 82-5-22,12</td>
<td>Nineveh</td>
<td>Cols. 5 wide; 25.4 high</td>
<td>i 1–8, 3″–35″, ii 1–10, 1″–24″, 28″–35″, iii 1–11, 16–19, 1″–35″, iv 1–25, 1″–35″, v 3–66, vi 3–68, vili 1–14, vili 9″–28″, date</td>
<td>c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>Catalog Number</td>
<td>Date Range</td>
<td>Location</td>
<td>Description</td>
<td>Notes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----</td>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>------------</td>
<td>----------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>BM 121011 (+)</td>
<td>1929-10-12,7 (+)</td>
<td>Nineveh</td>
<td>BM 121011: Cols. 5 wide; 10 high; BM 127985: Cols. 5 wide; 8.3 high; A 1692: Cols. 5.0 wide; 8.9 high</td>
<td>i 23’–ii 4, 15’–iii 1, 10’–iv 4, 20’–36’, v 1–15, 65–vi 11, 70–79, vii 26’–28’, date</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>BM 127985 +</td>
<td>1929-10-12,641 +</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>BM 128245 (+)</td>
<td>1932-12-10,502</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>A 16916 + A 16922 +</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>A 16923 + A 16924</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>Bu 89-4-26,177</td>
<td>Probably Nineveh</td>
<td>Cols. 5 wide; 6 high</td>
<td>i 23’–39’, ii 1–2, 26’–33”, vi 64–72, vii 15’–29’, viii 23’–28”, date</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>BM 127970 (+)</td>
<td>1929-10-12,626 (+)</td>
<td>Nineveh, Nebi Yunus</td>
<td>BM 127970: Cols. 3 wide; 4.5 high; 79-7-8,305: Cols. 4.5 wide; 11.5 high</td>
<td>i 11’–39’, ii 1, 11’–30”, iv 7–18, v 9–22, vii 7’–30”, viii 1”–28”, date</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>79-7-8,305</td>
<td>79-7-8,305</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Rm 38</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>Probably Nineveh</td>
<td>Cols. 2.2 and 4.5 wide; 4.5 high</td>
<td>i 9–22, vii 10’–19’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>VA 8427</td>
<td>Ass 20635</td>
<td>Aššur, city area</td>
<td>Cols. 2.9 and 1.5 wide; 5.8 high</td>
<td>i 1’–12’, vii 4’–16”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>BM 127952 + 79-7-8,2</td>
<td>1929-10-12,608 + 79-7-8,2</td>
<td>Nineveh</td>
<td>Cols. 5 wide; 8.3 high</td>
<td>i 22’–36”, vii 14’–31”, viii 3’–28”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>A 35257 (formerly PA 17)</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>Probably Nineveh</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>ii 18’–32”, iii 10’–26”, iv 19’–25”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>Bu 89-4-26,145</td>
<td>Probably Nineveh</td>
<td>Cols. 4.3 and 1 wide; 2.5 high</td>
<td>i 29’–37”, iii 27’–33”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>BM 122612</td>
<td>1930-5-8,1</td>
<td>Nineveh, Asn. Palace, Square C</td>
<td>Cols. 5.5 wide; 3.8 high</td>
<td>i 34–37, vii 1’–6’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>K 1751</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>Probably Nineveh</td>
<td>Cols. 4 and 1.5 wide; 3.7 high</td>
<td>iv 23’–35’, v 64–69</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>80-7-19,101</td>
<td>Probably Nineveh</td>
<td>Cols. 3 and 2.5 wide; 3 high</td>
<td>iv 36’–v 7, vi 1–8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>K 1838</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>Probably Nineveh</td>
<td>Cols. 6 wide; 11 high</td>
<td>v 28–34, vi 25–39, vii 18–31</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>VA 8436</td>
<td>Ass 6643</td>
<td>Aššur, eC6V, north of the Ištar and Nabû temples</td>
<td>Cols. 3.7 and 3.7 wide; 7.6 high</td>
<td>vi 16–25, vii 7–19</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>83-1-18,766</td>
<td>Probably Nineveh</td>
<td>Cols. 0.6 and 0.7 wide; 1.9 high</td>
<td>vi 34–37, vii 1’–6’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>79-7-8,3</td>
<td>Probably Nineveh</td>
<td>Cols. 3.3 and 5.5 wide; 5.5 high</td>
<td>vii 7–20, viii 1’–16’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>VA 8421a + VA 8421b + VA 8421c–g (+)</td>
<td>Ass 14561a + Ass 14561b + Ass 14561c–g (+)</td>
<td>Aššur, ga9l</td>
<td>Cols. 5.8–6.2 wide; 21 high</td>
<td>i 1’–11’, iii 12–16, 9’–20’, iv 5–12, v 12–22, 37–41, 50–59, vi 14–46, vii 8–15, vii 12’–28”, date</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
This inscription is very similar to text no. 16, but with less military narration and some variation in the building account. The two major features distinguishing this inscription from the following text are: (1) the military narration ends with a report of Sennacherib’s fourth campaign; and (2) a passage recording the depositing of inscriptions in the foundation of the citadel terrace and the raising of that terrace by 190 courses of brick is included in this text. There are a few other variants in the building report and these are noted in the on-page notes.

The building report contains material composed anew for this inscription or for text no. 14 (if that prism is inscribed with a unique text), and passages borrowed (with changes) from the building reports of earlier inscriptions, namely text no. 1, text no. 4, and text no. 8. Additional information is provided in the on-page notes.

In some instances, the identification of certain fragments as exemplars of this text, rather than of some other inscription, is difficult and is based on very limited criteria. Ex. 3, although its preserved text does not deviate from text no. 16, is included here since it is dated to 697, and not 696 or 695, when certain exemplars of text no. 16 were inscribed. Ex. 5 is included here arbitrarily since R. Borger has suggested that it could belong to the same prism as ex. 1. Since a non-physical join between Rm 28 (ex. 5) and K 1674+ (ex. 1) is not entirely certain, Rm 28 is edited here as its own exemplar; note that the extant contents of that prism fragment duplicate both this text and text no. 16. The attribution of exs. 6 and 7 to this text is based solely on the fact that the preserved text on those pieces follows ex. 4 by omitting text no. 16 viii 50–51: īš-šu na-dāš šī-pa-a-tī ib-šu-mu im-ḥa-šu šu-ba-tī-š ī “they picked cotton (lit. “trees bearing wool”) (and) wove it into clothing.” The attribution of exs. 8 and 9 to this inscription is very uncertain as the text preserved on these fragments does not contain anything specific to this text or text no. 16. The suggestion that ex. 9 is a duplicate of ex. 1 goes back to J. Reade (JCS 27 [1975] p. 191), presumably based on the column divisions; col. ii’ (= col. iv) begins with iii 27’, which may indicate that the prism from which this fragment came contained accounts of only four campaigns. Both exemplars are arbitrarily included here. The attribution of exs. 10, 11, and 12 is based on the fact that there is insufficient room for the report of the fifth campaign. The attribution of ex. 13 is based on the fact that its contents follow ex. 1 by not omitting Frahm, Sanherib p. 75 Baub. lines 85–94 (= vi 32–41), a passage stating that Sennacherib deposited foundation inscriptions in the citadel terrace and raised that terrace by 190 courses of brick; cf. text no. 16 vi 52–53. The attribution of exs. 14 and 16 is based solely on the fact that they follow ex. 1 and omit text no. 16 vii 20: a-di īš-šu na-dāš šī-pa-a-tī “together with cotton (lit. “trees bearing wool”).”

Ex. 17 (VA 8421a–h) comprises eight fragments from the lower half of an eight-sided clay prism. Although parts of all eight columns and the bottom of the prism are preserved, most of the surface is very badly eroded. Because portions of the preserved text are completely illegible, only the legible lines are included in the catalogue.

There are twenty-nine other prism fragments that may be duplicates of this inscription, but they are not sufficiently preserved to determine whether they are actually exemplars of this text, rather than of some other inscription written on an octagonal prism. These fragments are edited with text no. 16 because that inscription is better preserved. The relevant pieces are exs. 1*–25*, 28*–29*, and 31*–32*. Moreover, K 4492 (Frahm, Sanherib p. 213 T 177), a fragmentarily preserved clay tablet from Nineveh (Kuyunjik), preserves part of the building report of this inscription. That fragment is not included here since it is from a tablet, not a prism, and is thus edited on its own in Part 2, with other texts inscribed on clay tablets.

BM 127970 and 79–7–8,305 almost certainly come from the same prism: they have a distinctive shape, the script is the same, and the contents do not overlap; and thus the fragments are edited as a single exemplar (ex. 4). K 1751 (ex. 11) and 80–7–19,101 (ex. 12) may belong to the same prism since K 1751 cols. i’ and ii’ end respectively with iv 35’ and v 69 and 80–7–19,101 cols. i’ and ii’ begin respectively with iv 36’ and vi 1. These two fragments, however, are not edited together as a single exemplar because it cannot be proven with certainty that K 1751 and 80–7–19,101 come from the same object. O. Pedersén (Katalog p. 155) suggests Ass 6643 (VA 8436; ex. 14) belongs to the same object as Ass 6673 (VA 8414) and Ass 6724 (Istanbul A 2039). This may be so, but it is best to edit them individually. Because it is unclear if Ass 6673 and Ass 6724 are fragments of a text recording work at Nineveh or at Aššur, those pieces are edited as text no. 16 exs. 29* and 32*. See the commentary of text no. 16 for further information.

The line numbering follows ex. 1 when possible, but the master line is a conflated text because of the fragmentary nature of ex. 1 (as well as of the other certain exemplars). The line count of this edition is
based on the following exemplars: Ex. 1 in i 1–8, 1′–33′, ii 1–10, 1′″–22′″, 28′″–35′″, iii 1–11, 16–19, 1′″–33′; iv 1–25, 1′″–35′, v 4–66, vi 12–68, vii 1–14, and viii 9′″–28′″; ex. 2 in i 34′–36′, ii 23′″–27′″, 36′″–37′″, iv 36′″–v 3, 67–vi 11, and 70–79; ex. 3 in vii 16′–29′; ex. 4 in vii 7′–15′, 30′–31′, and viii 1′–8′″; ex. 5 in i 9–22 and vii 17′–19′; ex. 10 in i 12–15; ex. 13 in vii 18–31; ex. 15 in vii 1′–5′; ex. 16 in vii 15–17 and vii 1″–15′; and ex. 17 in ii 1′–11′. A score of the inscription is presented on the CD-ROM. Restorations are based on text no. 16, text no. 17, and text no. 22; preference is given to text no. 16.

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

1853 G. Smith, Assyrian Disc. pp. 295–308 (ex. 1 [K 1674 only], translation)
1878 G. Smith, Senn. pp. 14, 30, 43, 53, 73, 76–77, 140, and 151 (ex. 1 [K 1674 only], study; v 10–17, copy, edition)
1889 Bezold, Cat. 1 pp. 329–330, 344 and 358 (exs. 1, 11, 13, study)
1890 Bezold in Schrader, KB 2 pp. 80–105 (ex. 1 [K 1674 only], 4, variants [of text no. 22 i 1–ii 74])
1896 Bezold, Cat. 4 pp. 1574, 1699, 1724, 1739, 1755, 1767, 1828, 1903, 1908, 1927 and 1930 (exs. 1, 3–5, 7, 9, 12, 15–16, study)
1900 King, CT 26 p. 10 n. 2 and pl. 38 (ex. 1 [K 1674] viii, copy, study)
1916 Olmstead, Historiography p. 44 (ex. 1 [K 1674 only], study)
1922 BM Guide pp. 225 no. 14 (ex. 1, study)
1928 Schreoder, KAI 2 no. 121 (ex. 14 i′, copy)
1924 Luckenbill, Senn. pp. 20–21, 25–26 and 107 n. 1 D2, H1a–b (exs. 1 [K 1674 only], 4, 14, study; variants [of text no. 22 i 1–ii 74])
1967 G.L. Russell, Senn. pp. 91–93 (ex. 1, 14, study)
1968 Lambert and Millard, Cat. pp. 3, 33, 40–42 and 57 (exs. 2, 4, 7, 10, study)
1975 Freedman, St. Louis pp. 12 and 40–41 no. 29 (ex. 8, study, variants [of text no. 22])
1975 Readé, JCS 27 pp. 191 and 195 (study)
1979 Borger, BAL 2 pp. 65–66, 77 and 87 (study)
1988 Cogan and Tadmor, JCS 40 pp. 85 n. 5 (ex. 8, study)
1996 Borger, BIWA 4° Heft (microfiche) 137, 215 and 218–220 (exs. 2 [A 16916 + A 16922 + A 16923 + A 16924], 8, transliteration)
1997 Frahm, Sanherib pp. 66–87 T 10 (exs. 1–5, 7–16, study; v 10–vii 28″ edition)
1997 Petersen, Katalog pp. 155, 157 and 159 (exs. 6, 14, 17, study)
1999 Gallagher, Sennacherib’s Third Campaign passim (iii 1–iv 14″, study)
2002 Mitchell and Middleton, JCS 54 p. 94 (v 55–57a, study)
2008 Cogan, Raging Torrent pp. 127–129 no. 31 (v 18–47a, translation, study)
2008 Frahm, JCSFS 3 pp. 17–18 (v 41–50, vii 10–13, translation, study)
2009 Frahm, KAL 33 pp. 16, 81–82 and 224 no. 38 (ex. 6, copy, edition)
2009 Frahm, RLA 12/1–2 p. 15 (study)

**TEXT**

Col. i

1) [maen.ZU-ŠEŠ.MEŠ-ERI-ba] LUGAL GAL-ū
2) [LUGAL dan-nu LUGAL kiš-sá-ti] LUGAL KUR aš-ŠUR.KI
3) [LUGAL kb]-[rat]-[LIMMU-ti]
4) [RE.EUM] it-pe-šā
5) [mi-gir DINGIR].MEŠ GAL.MEŠ
6) [na-šir kit-ti] [ra].[i]-im mi-sā-ri
7) [e-piš] iš-a-a-te
8) [a-liš tap-pu-ut] a-[ki]-[i]
9) [sa-hi-ru dam qa-a-ti]
10) et-lum gīt-ma-lum [zi]-[ka-ru qar-du]
11) aš-a-red [kal]-[mal-ki]
12) rap-pu la-‘i-it la-[ma]-[gī-ri]
13) mu-šab-ri-qu za-[ma]-[a-ri]
14) aš-SUR KUR-ū GAL-ū LUGAL-ut la ša-[na]-[an]
15) û-SAT-li-ma-an-ni-[ma]
16) UGU gim-ri a-šīb pa-‘rak-[ki]
17) û-šar-ba-a GIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ-[iā]

Col. ı 1–13) [Sennacherib], great king, [strong king, king of the world], king of Assyria, [king of the] four [quar]ters (of the world), capable [shepherd, (i 5) favorite of the] great [gods, guardian of truth] who loves justice, [renders] assistance, [goes to the aid of] the weak, (and) [strives after good deeds], (i 10) perfect man, vi[rile warrior], foremost of all [rulers], the bridle that controls the insub[missive], (and) the one who strikes enem[ies] with lightning:

i 14–22) The god Aššur, the great mountain, granted to me unrivaled[led] sovereignty [and] made [my] weapons greater (than those of) all who sit on (royal) dais[es]. He made [all of the black]-headed (people)
18) ul-tu¹ A.A.B.B.A e-le-ni-[ri]
19) ša šāl-mu ṣUTU-[ṣi]
20) a-di tam-tim šap-[ri]
21) ša si-it ṣUṭUTU-[ṣi]
22) [gim-ri šal-mat] ṣAG.DU uš-šak-niš še-[pu-ū-a]

Lacuna
1°) ʾa-[na UAGE.GAL-ša ša qeš reb KÁ.DINGIR.RA.KI]
3°) ḫE ni-[sīr-ti-šu KÚ.GI] KÚ'.BABBAR
4°) ū-nu-ut KÚ.GI [KÚ'.BABBAR] ṣA,a-qar-tu
5°) mim-ma šum-šiš NÚ.G.ŠU ni-G.ŠU GA la ni-bi
6°) ka-bit-tu GUN MUNUS.UN.MEŠ É.GAL-ša
7°) LÚ.TIRUM.MEŠ ʾLÚ'.man-za-az pa-ni
8°) LÚ.NAR.MEŠ ʾMUNUS.MEŠ,
9°) sī-hir-ti um-a-na ṣIŠ-ma-la-ša-šu-ū
10°) mut-ta-bi-lu-tu É.GAL-uš
11°) ūš-eša-am-ma šal-la-tiš am-nu
12°) i-na e-muq ḫaš-šur EN-ia ṣU.7 U.RU.MEŠ-šá
13°) dan-nu-ti É ĀDs.MEŠ-ŠI ʾšaš KUR.kal-di
14°) ū 4 ME 20 U.RU.MEŠ TUR.MEŠ ša li-me-ti-šá-nu
15°) al-me KUR-ud dš-šu-lu šal-la-su-ur
16°) LÚ.ʾMr-bi LÚ.ʾra-rum LÚ.Šal-du
17°) ša qeš reb UNUG.KI NIBR.U.KI šIš.KI
18°) U.RU.ŠUR-sag-kalam-MA GÚ.ŠU.A.KI ZIMBIR.KI
19°) a-di DUMU.MEŠ U.RU EN ḫi-it-ši
20°) ūš-eša-am-MA šal-la-tiš am-nu
21°) i-na ta-a-ar-ti-la I.A.TU-*u-mu-na
22°) LÚ.ʾri-ḫa-ḫu LÚ.ʾa-da-qu-qu
23°) LÚ.ʾu-bu-du LÚ.ʾgib-ŷ-e
24°) LÚ.Šal-šu-Šal LÚ.Šal-du
25°) LÚ.Šal-šu-Šal LÚ.Šal-du
26°) LÚ.gam-bu-lu LÚ.ʾši-ʾin-da-ru
27°) LÚ.Šal-bu-Šal LÚ.ʾšu-Šal-du
28°) LÚ.Šal-bu-Šal LÚ.ʾšu-Šal-du
29°) LÚ.Šal-bu-Šal LÚ.ʾšu-Šal-du
30°) LÚ.Šal-bu-Šal LÚ.ʾšu-Šal-du
31°) 2 ME 8 LIM UN.MEŠ TUR GAL NITA U MUNUS
32°) ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ ANŠE.KUNGA.MEŠ ANŠE.MEŠ
33°) ANŠE.GAM.MAL.MEŠ GU.MEŠ ʾUŠ.NU.ʾDU.HI.A
34°) ša la ni-bi šal-la-tu ka-bit-tu
35°) ḫaš-šu-la a-na qeš rebell KUR ḫaš-šur.KI
36°) i-na me-ti-iq ger-ri-ia ša mušag-en-mu.MEŠ
37°) LÚ.qi-ŠI URU.Ša-ra-te-kU.KU.KU.KU.BABBAR

From the Upp[er] Sea of the Setting Su[n] (i 20) to the Low[er] Sea of the Rising Su[n] bow down [at my] fø[et].

Lacuna
i 1°–11°) I[ ]joy[fully] entered his palace, which is in Babylon, then I opened [his] treas[ury and] brought out [gold], silver, gold (and) [silver] utensils, precious stones, (i 5°) all kinds of possessions (and) property without number, a substantial tribute, (together with) his palace women, courtiers, attendants, male singers, female singers, all of the craftsmen, as many as there were, (and) his palace attendants, and I counted (them) as booty.

i 12°–20°) With the strength of the god Aššur, my lord, I surrounded, conquered, (and) plundered 75 of his fortified cities, fortresses of Chaldea, and 420 small(er) settlements in their environs. I brought out the auxiliary forces of the Arameans (and) Chaldeans who were in Uruk, Nippur, Kish, ḫūrsagkalama, Cutha, (and) Sippar, together with the guilty citizens, and I counted (them) as booty.

i 21°–35°) On my return march, I defeated all together the Tu’ummuna, Rīḥiḫu, Yadaqqu, Ubudu, Gibrē, Malīḫu (Malağu), Gurumu, (i 25°) Ubulu, Damunu, Gambulu, Ḧindaru, Ru’u’a, Puqqu, Ḫamrānu, Ḫagarānu, Nabatu, (and) Li’ta’u, (i 30°) insubmissive Arameans. I carried off into Assyria a substantial booty (consisting of) 208,000 people, young (and) old, male and female, horses, mules, donkeys, camels, oxen, and sheep and goats, which were without number.

i 36°–ii 1a) In the course of my campaign, I received a substantial audience gift from Nabū-bēl-šumātī, the
38') Giš. mu-suk-kan-ni Ga.l.Meš aNš.E.Meš aNš.E.Ga.m, M.aL.Meš
39') Gu₄, Meš ù Us₄, UdU.Hi.A ta-mar-ta-šu
Col. ii
1) ka-bit-tu am-ḫur ba-ḫu-la-te UrU.hi-ri-mE₂
e₄-du Ul e-zib
3) pag-ri-šu-nu i-na ga-ši-si a-lul-ma
4) si-ḫi-ri-ur Úš-šal-me
5) na-gu-šu ša-a-tu
6) a-na es-šu-ti aš-ba-tu
8) [20 aNš.E Zu.Lu.Ma] 're₂-šè-te-šu
9) [a-na DiNgiR.Meš-ni] 'Kû₃ aš-šur.Ki
10) [en.Meš-ia ú-kîn] 'dà₂-ru₂-sam³

Lacuna

1') [...] Meš³
2') [...] 'Us₄, UdU.Hi.Ł¹[A]
3') [šù-tu qer-bi-ša-ša-un ú-ša]-ša-am-ma šal-la₅-tiš³
4') [am-nu ú UrU.Meš₃-nu TuR₄], Meš³ ša ni ba la i-šu-ú
5') [ap-pul aq-qur ú]-šè³-me kar-meš
6') [ē EdI-n] t₃-rï mu-ša-bi-ša-nu
7') [i-na 6Gîš.TaR aq₄]-mu₃ ma₁ dî-tal-liš ú-ša-mE
8') [ū-ter-ma] ' Uri.É₇₆ ki-šam-za-ah šu-a-tu
9') 'a-na UrU.bi-ru-ti tî aš-ba-tu UGu ša u₅-me pa-nî¹
10') BâD.Meš₃-šu ú-dan-nin-na₃
11) 'UN.Meš.TU.R.KUR.kî ši-tï šu.II-ia³

Lacuna

1') 'Na₄, Na₄[Rû. A ú-ša-piš-ma li-i-tum]
2') ki-šît-ti [Šu.II ša UGu-ši-un dî-tak-ka-nu]
3') še-ru-šu-šu ú-ša-[dî-tir-ma i-na qer-bi UrU ul-zîc pa-an ni-i-ia]
4') ū-ter-ma [a-na Kûr/el-li-pî]
5') aš-ša-bat har-ra [nu el-la-mu-ú-a]
6') ᵐšs-pa-a-ra Lugal-[šu-un UrU.Meš₃-šu dan-nu-ti]
7') ē ni-sîr-ï-šu ú-ši₃-[šî₄-[ma a-na ru-qé-e-ti in-nà-bit]
8') gim-ri Kûr-šî 'Dagal-tim ][Gîm MûRu₄ as-šû-up]
9') UrU.MaR-ub₃i-ši [UrU.ak-ku-ud-du]
10') UrU.Meš₃-ni [UrU.Lag₃-ti₄]-šî₁-[a₃-[dî] '3₄]
11') UrU.Meš₃-ni TuR₄[Meš ša li-me-ti-šu-nu
12') al-me Kur-ud ap-pul 'aq₄-[qur i-na] [Gîš.Bar aq-mu
13') 'UN.Meš₃ TuR Ga.l nîTa [U muNUs]
15') aNš.E.Kûng₂₃, Meš aNš.E.Meš
16') aNš.E.Ga.m, M.aL.Meš

official in charge of the city Ḥararat: gold, silver, large musukkanum-trees, donkeys, camels, oxen, and sheep and goats.

ii 1b–10) I put to the sword the population of the city Ḥirimmu, a dangerous enemy, and I did not spare a single one. I hung their corpses on poles (and) placed (them) around the city. (ii 5) I reorganized that district (and) [imposed] for eternity [one] yoke ox, ten sheep, ten homens of wine, (and) [twenty homens of dates] as his first-fruits offerings [to the gods of] Assyria, [my lords].

Lacuna

tii 1'–7') I brought out [of them ...] ... [sheep and goat[s], and I counted] (them) as booty. [Moreover, I destroyed, devastated, (and) tur]ned into ruins [their small(er) settlements], which were without number. [I burned] [with fire pavilions and] t]ents, their abodes, and reduced (them) to ashes.

ii 8–11') I made that city Bit-Kilamza as a fortress [again] (and) I strengthened its walls more than before, then [I settled therein] the people of the lands that I had conquered.

Lacuna

ii 1'–3'a) I had a st[ele made], had [all the victorious] conquests [that I achieved over them written] on it, (and I erected it) in (that) city.
ii 3'b–12') I turned [around] (lit. “I turned the front of my yoke”) and took the road[a to the land Ellipi. (ii 5”) Before my arrival, Ispabāra, [their] king, aban-doned [his fortified cities] (and) his treasury [and fled far away. I overwhelmed] all of his wide land [like a fog], I surrounded, conquered, destroyed, deva[tated], (and) burned [with] fire the cities Mar’uṣištu (and) [AkkuDdu], (ii 10”) cities of [his] royal house, toget[her with] thirty-four small(er) settlements [in] their environs.

ii 13'–24’a) I carried off people, young (and) old, male [and female], horses, mules, donkey[s], camels, (ii 15”) oxen, and sheep and goat[s] without number, then I brought him (Ispabāra) to nought and made his land...
smaller. I detached from his land the cities Şiḫ(s)ırtu (and) Kumaḫšum, fortified cities, [to]gether with the small(er) settlements (ii 20\textsuperscript{r}) in their environs (and) I added the land of Bit-Barru in its entirety, and I (added this area) to the territory of Assyria.

(ii 24\textsuperscript{b–31\textsuperscript{r}}) I took the city Elenząš as a royal city and a fortress for that district, then I changed its former name and called it Kär-Sennacherib. I settled therein the people of the lands that I had conquered. (ii 30\textsuperscript{r}) I placed it (under the authority of a eunuch of mine, the governor of the city Ḥarḫar, and (thus) enlarged my land.

(ii 32\textsuperscript{r}–37\textsuperscript{r}) On my return march, I received a substantial payment from the distant Medes, of whose land none of the kings, my ancestors, had heard mention. (Thus) I made them bow down to the yoke of my lordship.

(iii) 1–14\textsuperscript{r}) On my third campaign, I marched to the land Ḥatti. Fear of my lordly brilliance over[whelmed] Luli, the king of the city Sidon, and (iii 5) he fled afar into [the midst of] the sea and disappeared. The awesome terror of the weapon of the god Aššur, my lord, overwhelmed the cities Great Sidon, Lesser Sidon, Bit-Zitti, Ṣarepta, Maḫalliba, [Ušša], (iii 10) Akzibu, (and) Acco, his fortified [cities] (and) fortresses, [an area of] pasture(s) and water-place(s), resources upon which he relied, [and they bowed do]wn at my feet.

(iii 15–19) [I placed] Tu-Ba[l]u on the royal throne over them and [imposed upon] him [tribute (and) payment (in recognition of) my overlordship (to be delivered) yearly (and) without interrupt]ion.

Lacuna

(iii 1–2\textsuperscript{r}) [I imposed upon him (Ṣarru-lū-dāri) the payment of tribute (and) gifts (in recognition of) my [overlord]ship [so that he (now) pulls] my yoke. (iii 3\textsuperscript{r}–7\textsuperscript{r}) [In the course of my campaign], I surrounded, [conquered, and plundered] the cities [Bit-Dagan]na, Joppa, [Banayabarqa,] and (Azuru, (iii 5) [the cities
of Şijdqā that had not submitted [to me qu]ickly.

iii 8‘–17’ (As for) the governors, the noble[s, and the people] of the city Ekrōn who had thrown Padi, their [king] who was bound by treaty (iii 10‘) and oaths to Assyria, into iron fetters and who had handed him over to Hezekiah of the land Judah in a hostile manner, they became frightened on account of the villainous acts they had committed. They formed a confederation with the kings of Egypt (and) the archers, (iii 15‘) chariots, (and) horses of the king of the land Meluḥha, forces without number, and they came to their aid.

iii 18‘–25’ In the plain of the city Eltekeh, they sharpened their weapons while drawing up in battleline before me. With the support of the god Aṣṣur, my lord, I fought with them and defeated them. In the thick of battle, I captured alive the Egyptian charioteers and princes (lit. “the sons of the king”), together with the charioteers of the king of the land Meluḥha.

iv 1b–5’ I brought out Padi, their king, from the city Jerusalem and placed (him) on the lordly throne over them, then I imposed upon him [pay]ment (in recognition) of [my] overlordship.

iv 6–17 Moreover, (as for) He[ze]kiah of the land Judah, [who had not] submitted to my yoke, I surrounded (and) conquered forty-six of [his] fortified [walls] and small[er] [settlements] in their environs, (iv 10) which without bearing, and dragging harnessed rams brought up, the assault of foot soldiers, sapping, breaching, and siege engines. I brought out of them 200,150 people, young (and) old, male and female, sappers, mules, donkeys, (iv 15) camels, oxen, and sheep and goats, which were
15) ANŠ.EGAM.MAL.MEŠ GU₆.MEŠ 乌克兰
16) śa la ni-bi ul-tu ger-bi-ša-ûn
17) ú-še-ša-am a šal-la-tiš am-nu
18) ša₆.a-ša GIM MUSEN qu-up-pi qé-reb₁
  URU,UR-SA-li-im-ma
19) 1 URU₆ LUGAL-ti-ša ė-e-sîr₆-su URU,HAL.SU,MEŠ
20) [UGU]₆-ša₁ ú-ruk-kis-ma a-[še]-e KÂ.GAL URU-šū
21) ú-ter-ra] i̱k₁-ki-bu-uš
22) [Uru,meš-šû śa aš-ša-la ul-tu] qé-reb KUR-šû
23) [ab-tuq-ma a-na mi-mi-in-ti LUGAL]
  1 URU₆-as-du-di
24) [ma-pa-di-i LUGAL URU,am]₆ gar¹-ra-na
25) [û mi-gissu-en LUGAL URU,hu]₆ zi¹-[ti]

Lacuna
1) [LÚ.ár-bi 1 UÚ.ÉRIM]₆ MEŠ-šû SIG₃,₃[MEŠ]
2) [ša a-na dun-nu-un] URU,UR-SA-li-im-ma₆
3) [Uru LUGAL-ti-ša ú-ši-ri-bu-ma ir-ši-û-u]
4) til₆-ša₁-[a-te it-ti] 30 GNU KU₂.GI₆
5) 8 ME [GNU KU₂.BABBAR ni₆ sîq₄ ti gu-ù-li
6) tā-kās-si 1 [AN.ZA]₆.GAL₆,MEŠ
7) GIS.NA.MEŠ 1 ZO₄ [GIS.GU,ZA.MEŠ]₆ né-me-di ZU
8) KUSH AM.SI ZU AM₃.SI₃ [GIS,EŠI GIŠ.TÜG
9) mim-ma šum-šû ni₂-sîr₄ [tu ka-bit-tu]
10) û DUMU.MUNUS,MEŠ-šû MUNUS,UN,MEŠ
  É.GAL₆,šû [LÚ.NAR.MEŠ MUNUS,NAR,MEŠ]
11) a-na qé-reb NINA.KI URU be-lu-[ti-ia]
12) EGIR-ia ú-ši-ši₂-lam₃ [ma]
13) a-na na-dan [man]-dá-at-ti
14) ú e-peš ARAD-ud₆-ti iš₃-pu-ra rak-bu-ša

15) i-na 4-e ger-ri-[ia]₆ aš-sur be-li
16) ú-tak-ki₃-an₃-ni₃ ma₆ um-ma-na-[te]-ia
17) gap-ša₆-a te-ad-ke-ma a-na KUR,E₆,₃ [ma]-₃ kin₃,₃
18) ū₆-lu-ku aq-bi ina me-ti-iq ger₃-[ri]-₃ ia
19) ša₆₁-ša₆₂-ru-bi LÚ.KAL-dá-a a-a-šib qé-reb
  ðo₆₃-ram-me
20) ù₆ URU,bi-it-tu-ud₃-dša-ta-kan BAD₃,BAD₃,šû
21) šu₆-uḥu₃-hu₃ šu₃-ta₃-ha-_zi-ia
22) UGU,ša₆ im-qat-ma it₆-ru₃-ku₁ ša₃-ša₆
23) ki-ma a-ra₃ e-di₄ ip-pa₄-si₃-md₃ ma ul in-na-mi₄
  a-šar₃-[ši]
24) pa-an₃ ni₃-ri-ia ú₆-ter₃ ma₆
25) a-na KUR,E₆,₃,ki₃,₃ aš-aṭ-bat ḫa-ra₃-nu
26) šu₆-AR AMBAR,UṬU,IBILA-SUM,NA
27) śa [ina a]-₆-lak₃ ger-ri-ia mah-re-e BAD₃,BAD₃,šû
  aš₃-ku₆-nu-ma

Lacuna after iv 25 The translation assumes that the now-missing iv 26 began with ad-din-ma “I gave and.”

iv 9 The list of payment sent by Hezekiah to Nineveh was first shortened in inscriptions written in 699. The expression mim-ma šum-šû ni₃-
šir-tu ka-bit-tu “every kind of valuable treasure” replaced lu₆-ti₃ bir-mi TŪ₃.GADA SIG₂.KA₃-KI₃-TI₂ SIG,AN.GAR qa-man-nu ú₃-nu-u₃ ZABAR ANBAR URUDU
AN_NA ANBAR GISH.GIR.MES ga-ba₃ bi₃ az-ma-re-e ši₃-ra-la-am cil₃,MEŠ ANBAR,SIB₂ bi₃ til-pa₃-ni u₃-si₃ til-ti-si₃ in-nu-u₃ AT-la₃ ši₃ ni-ba₃ la i₃-la₃ “garments
with multi-colored trim, linen garments, blue-purple wool, red-purple wool, utensils of bronze, iron, copper, tin, and (iron) chariots, shields,
lances, armor, iron belt-daggers, bows and usšu-arrows, equipment, (and) implements of war, (all of) which were without number.” The full
list appears in text 4 no. lines 56β–57.

iv 10 “as well as”: Text no. 4 line 58 has it-ti “together with.” DUMU,MUNUS,MEŠ-šû “his daughters”: See the on-page note to text no. 4 line
58.
iv 15’–23’ On [my] campaign, the god Aššur, my lord, encouraged so that I mustered my numerous troops and ordered the lord
Bit-Yakin. In the course of my campaign, I defeated Shûzûb (Muṣêzib-Marduk), a Chaldean who lives in the marshes, (iv 20’) at the city Bît-tûtu. As for him, terror of doing battle with me fell upon him and his heart
pounded. He fled alone like a lynx and [his] (hiding) place could not be found.

iv 15’–23’ [On my] campaign, the god Aššur, my lord, encouraged so that I mustered my numerous troops and ordered the lord
Bit-Yakin. In the course of my campaign, I defeated Shûzûb (Muṣêzib-Marduk), a Chaldean who lives in the marshes, (iv 20’) at the city Bît-tûtu. As for him, terror of doing battle with me fell upon him and his heart
pounded. He fled alone like a lynx and [his] (hiding) place could not be found.
the clanger of my mighty weapons (iv 30’) and my fierce battle array, then [dislodged] the gods of the (full) extent of [his] land [from their abodes, and loaded] (them) onto boats. He flew away like a bird to (the city) Nagite-raqqi, which is in the midst of the sea. [I] brought his brothers, the seed of his father’s house, whom he had abandoned at the shore of the sea, together with the rest of the people of his land, out of the land Bit-Yakin, (v 1) which is in the swamps (and) [marshes], and I counted (them) as booty.

Col. v
1) ’g[2b-4] [Once again] I destroyed (and) devastated his cities, (and) [turned (them) into ruins]. I poured out awe-inspiring brilliance upon his ally, the king of the land Elam.

v 5–9) On my return ma[rch], I placed Aššur-nādin-šumi, my first-born son (whom I) [rai]sed on my own knee, on his lō[rd]ly throne and entrusted him with the wide land of Sumer and Akkad.

v 10–17) From the booty of those lands that I had plundered, I consecrated 20,000 archers (and) 15,000 shield bearers and added (them) to my royal contingent. I divided up the rest of the substantial enemy booty (v 15) like sheep and goats among my entire camp (and) my governors, (and) the people of the great cult centers.

v 18–27) At that time, Nineveh, the exalted cult center, the city loved by the goddess Ištar (v 20) in which all of the rituals for gods and goddesses are present; the enduring foundation (and) eternal base whose [plan] had been designed by the stars (lit. “writing”) of the firmament and whose arrangement was made manifest since time immemorial; (v 25) [a sophisti]cated [place] (and) site of secret lore in which every kind of [skil]led [craftsmanship], all of the rituals, (and) [the secret(s) of the lalgar] (cosmic subterranean water) are apprehended; (v 28-39a) [in which since time immemorial] ea[rl]ier [kings], [my ancestors, before] me (v 30) exercised dominion over Assyria and ruled the subjects of the
v 30 Cf. text no. 4 line 65, which adds ú šat-ti-šam la na-par-ka a-reb nar-ba-ati GUN mal-ki kib-rat arBa-ì ím-da-na-ha-rà qé-reb-sà “and wherein annually, without interruption, they received an enormous income, the tribute of the rulers of the four quarters (of the world).”

v 31-39a Text no. 4 lines 66–67 have a-a-um-ma ina il-bi-sí-su-nu a-na E.GAL qer-bi-šúl ‘kùm-mu ri-mít be-lu-ti ša[a-uh]-hu-ra7 šu-bat-su le-e-su ul id-da-a a-lib-šu-us ú a-na-ša-te-sär SILA URU ú šam-dul, re-ba-ati ša ha-re-e li za-qa-ap šip-pa-a-ti ú šu-za-un šá a-lib-bu-úš “(but) not one among them had paid heed to (or) shown interest in the palace inside it, the seat of lordly dwelling whose [site had become too small] (and) whose construction was inexpert:

v 39b–47a) (But) as for me, Sennacherib, king of the world, king of Assyria, the performing of this work came to my attention by the will of the gods and I put my mind to it. I forcibly removed the people of Chaldea, Aramean (tribes), the land of the Manneans, the lands Que, Hîlakku, (and) Philistia, (v 45) and the land (of the city) Tyré, who had not submitted to my yoke, then I made them carry baskets (of earth and) they made bricks.

v 47b–54) The former palace, which was 360 cubits long, 80 cubits wide opposite the zamû-wall of the zigurrat, (v 50) 134 cubits wide opposite the tower of the temple of the goddess Istar, (and) 95 cubits wide opposite the tower of the Bit-Kidmûri; which earlier kings, my ancestors, [had had] constructed for their lordly dwelling, but whose construction they had carried out inexpertly:

v 55–66a) [They quarr[i]ed mountain sheep colossi of white limestone [in the city T]astiatel, which is across the Tigris River, to be their (the palatial halls’) gatekeepers. Throughout their entire land [they] depleted forests [of large trees to have] boats [bu]lit. (v 60) [In the month Ayyûru (II), the time of] spring [f]loods, [they brought] (the colossi) across [to this side] (of the river) with difficulty [in] magnificent [boats]. They sank [large boats] [at the quay dock (and)}
then] made their] cre[ws struggle (and) strain. (v 65)

With might and ma[in], they [strug]gled to transport (the colossi) and ins[tall] (them) in their gates.

v 66b–69] The Tebéli River, a [tempestuous] flood (of water) which had flowed from distant days by the side of the palace and which had caused erosion [in its foundation] when its flood was in full sp[ate] (and) had shaken [its base]:

vi 1–3] [i tore down] that small palace in its entirety, [then] I chan[ged] the course of the Tebéli River, repaired (the effects of) the erosion, and directed [its] out[flow].

vi 4–19] In the hidden depths of its subterranean waters I bonded together, with bitumen, reeds below (and) strong mountain stone above, then I raised (that) area out of [the water and co]nverted (it) [to dry land].

I added to the dimensions of the former terrace a plot of land that was 288 cubits wide. (vi 10) In total, I filled in and measured a terrace of 700 large aslu-cubits along (its) longer side, 176 large aslu-cubits along (its) upper, northern shorter side, 268 [large aslu-cubits along the] inner, [shorter side], (which is) opposite the [zamā]-wall of the shrine behind) (the temple of the goddess Ištar, 443 [lar]ge aslu-[cubits] along (vi 15) the other, parallel, inner shorter side, (which is) on the west behind the zig[gur]rat of the temple of the goddess Ištar, 386 large aslu-cubits along the lower shorter side, (which is) beside the Tigris River.

vi 20–27] So that the construction of my palace might be carried out correctly and that my handiwork be completed, at that time, [the god Aššur and the goddess Ištar revealed] [to me the presence of [white] limestone in the city Balāṭaya. (vi 25) Therein, I
vi 27 ina KAMEŠ E.GAL be-lu-ti-ia “for the gates of my lordly palace”;
Text no. 16 vi 47 has [a-na] šip-ri E.GAL be-lu-ti-ia “[for] the construction of
my lordly palace.”
vi 29 tem-me-en tam-le-e “the foundation of the terrace”; Text no. 4 line 80 has tem-me-en-ši “its foundation.”
vi 32-41 The passage recording the depositing of foundation documents and the expansion of the terrace is not included in text no. 16 and therefore the restorations are generally based on text no. 4 lines 81-83.
vi 36 30 “30”. E. Frahm (Sanherib p. 75 Baub. line 89) correctly points out that 30, not 20, must be read here since the height of the terrace is 190 layers of bricks in this inscription, not 180 as it is in text no. 4 line 82.
vi 38 1 ME 90 “190”;
Text no. 4 line 82 has 1 ME 80 “180”.
vi 42 This inscription adds breccia (NAŠDURM.NA.BAN.ĐA) to the list of materials used in the construction of the palace; Text no. 4 line 84.
vi 46b–52 Cf. text no. 1 lines 80-81 and text no. 2 lines 57-58, which served as the model for these lines. In this text, Sennacherib records that he used cedar and cypress (from Mount Amanus and Mount Sirāra) to roof the palace and that he hung doors of cedar, cypress, and juniper in its earlier days. He states that cedar from Mount Amanus was used for the roofing and that the palace’s doors were made from cypress.
vi 48 KUR.SI.RA-RA “Mount Sirāra”: This mountain in Neo-Assyrian inscriptions not only refers to Mount Hermon, but also to the Anti-Lebanon; it is also identical with Sirion, the “Amorite” name of Mount Hermon. See Bagg, SAA 15 (2006) pp. 190–191.
vi 51 KISAG “silver”: For the identification of KISAG as a type of silver, see Frahm, Sanherib p. 85 (commentary to T 10 and T 11 Baub. line 104) and Borger, MZ p. 412 (with references to previous literature).
vi 53-56 This passage was composed anew for this text or text no. 14.
vi 57-68 Cf. text no. 1 lines 82-84 and text no. 2 lines 59-61, which served as the model for these lines.
replica of a Hittite palace, which [is called] bit-hilâ[mi] in [the language of the land Amurru, constructed inside them].

vi 61–68 Twelve [striding lions] [of shining copper] (and) fierce [demeanor, (which were) standing opposite another], which [were skillfully cast] through the craftsmanship of the god [Ninagal], and which were filled with radiance — upon (those) lion coloss[i]s I installed [two] identical [columns that were] c[ast from] [bronze], together with four large [cedar] colu[mns], and I positioned cross-beams (upon them) as a cor[nice for their gates].


vi 78–vii 4) Moreover, [I made] twelve mountain sheep [colossi of cast bright urudâ-copper, which are splend]id in form (and) [perfect in shape], (vii 1) two moun[tain] sheep [colossi of alabaster], (and) seventy-two mountain sheep [colossi and sphinxes of whit[e] limestone suitable for holding the door bolt(s) for leaving and entering.

vii 5–9) I engraved on slabs of breccia (and) [al]abaster, and on [large] limestone slabs (images of) the enemy settlements that [I] had conquered. I surrounded their (the palace rooms') lower courses (with them and) made (them) an object of wonder.

vii 10–13) I planted alongside it (the palace) a botanical garden, a replica of Mount Amanus, which has all kinds of aromatic plants (and) fruit trees, trees that
vi 14–20) Nineveh, the site of whose circumference had been [9],300 [cubits] since former times (and) for which no [earlier ruler had had an inner or outer wall built — I added 12,515 (cubits) [in] the plain around the city to (its) previous measurement and (thus) [established its dimensions as] 21,8[15 large cubits].

vi 21–24) [I laid the foundation of] its [great] wall, [Badnigalbilkurakusušu], (which means) "Wall [Whose Brilliance Overwhelms Enemies]," upon limesto[ne and made (it) 40 bricks thick. I raised its superstructure] 180 [courses of brick high],

vi 25–28) I had [fourteen gates] op[ened up in it] in fou[r directions], in front and be[hind, (and) along both sides], for en[tering and leaving].

vi 29–31) “The God Šarur [Is the One Who Cuts Down the King’s Enemy”: (this is) the Ḫandūru] Gate. "May [the Vice-Regent of the God Aššur Endure”]:

Lacuna

vi 11–10) (this is) [the Šamaš] G[ate, which (leads to) the land Gagal]. "O Iš[tar Bless the One Who Provides for You!": (this is) the Mullissu] G[ate, which (leads to) the city Kār–Mullissi]. “The One [Who Exorcises the ‘Flesh’ of the Asakku-demon]: (this is) the Step Gate. (vi 5) “The Cho[cest of Grain and Flocks] Are [Constantly Inside It]: (this is the gate) (that leads to) the city Śibaniba. “The Bearer] of the Produce of the Mountains”: (this is the gate (that leads to) the land Ḫalaḥnu. In total, eight gates (facing) the rising sun, towards the south and east, (vi 10’) (and) I gave them (these names).

vi 11–18) “The God Adad Is the Provider of Prosperity to the Land”: (this is) the Adad Gate, which (leads to) the game preserve. “[The God] Erra Is the One Who Cuts Down Enemies”: (this is) the Nergal Gate, which (leads to) the city Tarbišu. (vi 15”) “[The God Ig]iššig[iš][s]ig[s][is][s]ig[s] (the One Who Makes Orchards Flourish)”: (this is) the Gate of the Gardens. In total, three gates (facing) towards the north and I gave them (these names).

vi 19–23) “The God Ea Is the One Who Properly Directs (Water Flow into) My Cisterns”: (this is) the Maššu Gate. (vi 20”) “The One Who Brings in Income from the Settlements”: (this is) the Quay Gate. “The One Who Regulates Everything”: (this is) the Armory
Gate. In total, three gates (Facing) towards the west
(and I gave them (these) names.

vii 24’–29’a  I opened up a foundation pit for the outer
wall, Badnigerimhuluha, (which means) “Terrorizer of
Enemies,” then I dug down forty-five nindanu and
made (it) reach the water table. I located many
strong mountain stone in the water below and above
I expertly carried out its construction with large
limestone (blocks) up to its copings.

vii 29’b–31’) [I en]larged the site of Nineveh, my
capital city. [I broadened [its] square, making (them)
as bright as day].

Lacuna

Lacuna 1’ 1 I had [a bridge] constructed [opposite the
Citadel Gate with paving stones of white limestone]
for the passage of my lordly chariot.

vii 2’–8’a  [Besi]de the city, in a botanical garden
(one) pānu (in size) and a garden (one) pānu (in size)
for a game preserve, I gathered every type of aromatic
tree of the land Ḩatti, fruit trees of all [a[n]ds], (and)
trees that are the mainstay of the mountains and
Chal[dea]. Upstream of the city, on newly tilled soil, I
planted vines, every type of fruit tree, and olive trees.

vii 8'b–19’) For the expansion of orchards, I subdi-
vided the meadowland upstream of the city into plots
of two pānu each for the citizens of Nineveh and I
handed (them) over to them. To make (those) [plan]ed
areas luxuriant, (vii 15’) [I cut with] iron [pi]cks [a]
channel [straight through] mountain and valley, from
the border of the city Ḩisiru [to the] plain of Nineveh.
I caused an inexhaustible supply of water to flow
[there for a distance of one and a half leagues from the
Ḥuṣur [River ...]

vii 1’–3’) [...] [...] Wil[id] boars (and) [roe deer] ga[ve
birth in abun]dance.

Lacuna

Lacuna

vii 4’–7’) I cut down musukkan[nu]-trees (and) cy-
press trees grown in the orchards (and) marsh reeds

vii 24’–29’a Text no. 8 is the earliest known inscription in which this passage is preserved. It was incorporated into the building report of
this text without changes.

Lacuna before vii 1’ Based on the building report of text no. 16, the translation assumes that two now-missing lines immediately before
vii 1’ contained i-na mé-eh-ret KÁ, GAL MURUK, URU i-na a-gar-rí NA, pí-i-li pe-še-e “opposite the Citadel Gate with paving stones of white limestone.”

vii 2’–8’a This inscription is the earliest known text in which this passage appears. It is uncertain if it was composed anew for this text or
text no. 14.

vii 8’b dš-dšu šur-pa-ša šip-pa-a-tí “for the expansion of orchards” : This passage is not included in earlier inscriptions; see text no. 4 line 86.

from the swamps and I used (them) in the work required (to build) my lordly palatial halls.

viii 8’–18’) After I had finished the work on my palace, (viii 10’) I invited inside it the god Aššur, the great lord, (and) the gods and goddesses living in Assyria, then I made splendid offerings and presented my gift(s). (viii 15’) I made fine oil from olives and aromatics from the orchards (planted) on newly tilled soil. At the inauguration of the palace, I had the heads of the subjects of my land drenched (and) I watered their insides with sweet wine.

viii 19’–28’) In the future, may one of the kings, my descendants, whom the god Aššur names for shepherding the land and people, renovate its dilapidated section(s) when that wall becomes old and dilapidated. May He find an inscribed object bearing my name, (viii 25’) (anoint) it with oil, make an offering, (and) return (it) to its place. The god Aššur and the goddess Ištar will (then) hear his prayers.
Two fragmentarily preserved octagonal clay prisms and numerous prism fragments from Nineveh, Aššur, and Kalḫu are inscribed with a text describing Sennacherib’s first five campaigns, the formation of a large military contingent of archers and shield bearers, the large-scale renovations of the “Palace Without a Rival” (the South-West Palace), the construction of Badnigalbilukurašušu and Badnigerimḫuluḫa (Nineveh’s inner and outer walls), and many other public works at Nineveh. Apart from the account of the fifth campaign (to Mount Nipur and against Maniye, king of the city Ukku) and some variation in the building report, this inscription is a near duplicate of text no. 15. With regard to the fifth campaign, Sennacherib had his scribes describe in his res gestae the extremely rugged mountain terrain that he and his army had to traverse; he records that in the most difficult places he had to clamber forward on his own two feet, sit down when his legs got tired, and drink cold water to quench his thirst. The Judi Dagh Inscription (to be edited in RINAP 3/2) is proof that Sennacherib campaigned in the region and, furthermore, that he had an inscription carved on rock faces to commemorate his hard-earned victory over the insubmissive inhabitants of the Mount Nipur region (Judi Dagh, in southern Turkey); this inscribing of the rock face at Judi Dagh, however, is not recorded in accounts of the king’s fifth campaign. Upon his return to Nineveh, Sennacherib had his sculptors carve on his palace walls a relief depicting the narrow mountain passes through which his army marched and the difficult, steep terrain around the city Ukku. Two exemplars of this inscription preserve a date: one was inscribed in the eponymy of Šulmu-Bēl, governor of the city Talmusu (696), and the other in that of Aššur-bēlu-uṣur, governor of the city Šaḫuppa (695). This text is sometimes referred to as “Cylinder D” in older publications.

**CATALOGUE**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ex.</th>
<th>Museum Number</th>
<th>Excavation/Registration No.</th>
<th>Provenance</th>
<th>Dimensions (cm)</th>
<th>Lines Preserved</th>
<th>cpm</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>BM 127969</td>
<td>1929-10-12,625</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>47, 60–85, viii</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>BM 128001</td>
<td>1929-10-12,657</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>4–73, date</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>BM 128010</td>
<td>1929-10-12,666</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>BM 128090</td>
<td>1929-10-12,746</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>BM 128219</td>
<td>1932-12-10,476</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>BM 128223</td>
<td>1932-12-10,480</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>BM 128225</td>
<td>1932-12-10,482</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>BM 128280</td>
<td>1932-12-10,537</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>BM 128290</td>
<td>1932-12-10,547</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>BM 128295</td>
<td>1932-12-10,552</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>BM 128314</td>
<td>1932-12-10,571</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>BM 128316</td>
<td>1932-12-10,573</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>BM 128318</td>
<td>1932-12-10,575</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>BM 128411</td>
<td>1932-12-10,668</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>BM 138188</td>
<td>1932-12-12,915</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ex.</td>
<td>Museum Number</td>
<td>Excavation/Registration No.</td>
<td>Provenance</td>
<td>Dimensions (cm)</td>
<td>Lines Preserved</td>
<td>cpn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----</td>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------</td>
<td>------------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>-----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>BM 103216 +</td>
<td>1910-10-8,144 +</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>Cols. 6.5 wide; 9 high</td>
<td>ii 79–ii 5, 63–77, iv 65–84, iv 31–42, v 25–40</td>
<td>c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>BM 103217 +</td>
<td>1910-10-8,145 +</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>v 6–24, vi 3–29, 89–vii 19</td>
<td>c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>BM 103219 +</td>
<td>1910-10-8,147 +</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>v 24–32, vi 23–35</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>BM 103220 +</td>
<td>1910-10-8,148 +</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>v 24–32, vi 23–35</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1913-4-16,160a</td>
<td>1913-4-16,160a</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>v 24–32, vi 23–35</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>K 1675</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>Probably Nineveh</td>
<td>Cols. 5.8 wide; 9.5 high</td>
<td>v 6–24, vi 3–29, 89–vii 19</td>
<td>c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Vatican</td>
<td>(unnumbered)</td>
<td>Gift to Pope Gregory XVI; probably from Mosul</td>
<td>Cols. 2 and 2.5 wide; 3.5 high</td>
<td>v 26–32, vi 23–28</td>
<td>c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>Bu 89-4-26,41</td>
<td>Probably Nineveh</td>
<td>Cols. 2 and 2.5 wide; 3.5 high</td>
<td>v 26–32, vi 23–28</td>
<td>c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Rm 2,91</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>Probably Nineveh</td>
<td>Cols. 5 wide; 4.8 high</td>
<td>v 28–40, vi 25–43</td>
<td>c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>BM 134510</td>
<td>1932-12-12,505</td>
<td>Nineveh</td>
<td>Cols. 3.5 wide; 3.8 high</td>
<td>v 29–31, vi 21–28</td>
<td>c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>BM 127929</td>
<td>1929-10-12,585</td>
<td>Nineveh, Area SH</td>
<td>Cols. 4 and 3.5 wide; 6 high</td>
<td>v 42–48, vi 34–48</td>
<td>c</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**CATALOGUE OF UNCERTAIN EXEMPLARS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ex.</th>
<th>Museum Number</th>
<th>Excavation/Registration No.</th>
<th>Provenance</th>
<th>Dimensions (cm)</th>
<th>Lines Preserved</th>
<th>cpn</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>BM 121022 +</td>
<td>1929-10-12,18 +</td>
<td>Nineveh</td>
<td>Cols. 4.5 wide; 6.5 high</td>
<td>i 1–21, 83–ii 15, 78–iii 14, viii 14–23</td>
<td>c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>BM 127953</td>
<td>1929-10-12,609</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>Cols. 4.5 wide; 6.5 high</td>
<td>i 1–21, 83–ii 15, 78–iii 14, viii 14–23</td>
<td>c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>BM 121019 (+)</td>
<td>1929-10-12,15</td>
<td>Nineveh</td>
<td>Cols. 5.5 wide; 9.8 high</td>
<td>i 1–21, ii 6–23</td>
<td>c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>A 16929</td>
<td>1929-10-12,15</td>
<td>Nineveh</td>
<td>Cols. 5 and 2.5 wide; 7.7 high</td>
<td>i 1–21, ii 6–23</td>
<td>c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Sm 2083</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>Probably Nineveh</td>
<td>Cols. 3.4 and 2.7 wide; 3.8 high</td>
<td>i 1–10, ii 2–5</td>
<td>c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Rm 1003</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>Probably Nineveh</td>
<td>Cols. 3.4 and 2.7 wide; 3.8 high</td>
<td>i 1–10, ii 2–5</td>
<td>c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>A 16921</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>Probably Nineveh</td>
<td>Cols. 3.4 and 2.7 wide; 3.8 high</td>
<td>i 1–10, ii 2–5</td>
<td>c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>BM 123427</td>
<td>1932-12-10,370</td>
<td>Nineveh, Ištar Temple, Square K</td>
<td>Cols. 6.6 and 10.3 wide; 6.2 high</td>
<td>i 2–30, vii 7–24, c</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>BM 134452</td>
<td>1932-12-12,447</td>
<td>Nineveh</td>
<td>Cols. 5.5 wide; 8 high</td>
<td>i 7–26, vii 8–14, viii 4–23</td>
<td>c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Private Possession</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>Cols. 2 and 4.5 wide; 10 high</td>
<td>i 26–32, viii 18–32</td>
<td>p</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>BM 128271</td>
<td>1932-12-10,528</td>
<td>Nineveh</td>
<td>Cols. 2.7 and 3.2 wide; 6.8 high</td>
<td>i 37–59, ii 37–54</td>
<td>c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Böhl Archive no. 3239</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>Purchased from a dealer in Mosul</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>i 55–72, vi 60–71?</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>81-7-27,9</td>
<td>Probably Nineveh</td>
<td>Cols. 2.5 and 3.3 wide; 8 high</td>
<td>i 60–ii 2, 54–75</td>
<td>c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Rm 2,56</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>Probably Nineveh</td>
<td>Cols. 6.2 wide; 5 high</td>
<td>i 3–10, ii 10–20, iv 15–20</td>
<td>c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>Origin</td>
<td>Place</td>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Description</td>
<td>Length (cm)</td>
<td>Notes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>------------</td>
<td>-------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13*</td>
<td>BM 122620 (+) A 8153 + A 16919</td>
<td>Nineveh</td>
<td>1930-5-8,9</td>
<td>BM 122620: Cols. 1.5 and 2 wide; 3 high; A 8153: 6.2×8.9</td>
<td>ii 4–15, iii 7–27, c</td>
<td>74–iv 18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14*</td>
<td>IM —</td>
<td>ND 5414</td>
<td>Near Tawfiqiyah, in outer town</td>
<td>7×7</td>
<td>ii 20–29, iii</td>
<td>c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15*</td>
<td>K 1651</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>Probably Nineveh</td>
<td>Cols. 2.5 and 3 wide; 5 high</td>
<td>ii 34–46, iii 40–48, iii 43–51, c</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16*</td>
<td>BM 121028</td>
<td>Nineveh</td>
<td>1929-10-12,24</td>
<td>Cols. 2.8 and 3.5 wide; 3.5 high</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17*</td>
<td>BM 127950</td>
<td>Nineveh</td>
<td>1929-10-12,606</td>
<td>Cols. 4 and 2.5 wide; 5 high</td>
<td>iii 19–33, iv 16–26, vii 19–27, 86–vii 10, vi 88–vii 5, c</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18*</td>
<td>BM 134461</td>
<td>Nineveh</td>
<td>1932-12-12,456</td>
<td>Cols. 1 and 2 wide; 2.5 high</td>
<td>iii 247–277, iv 21–27, vii 35–46, c</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19*</td>
<td>BM 127919</td>
<td>Nineveh</td>
<td>1929-10-12,575</td>
<td>Cols. 2.2 and 5 wide; 6 high</td>
<td>vi 19–27, 86–vii 10, vi 88–vii 5, c</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20*</td>
<td>BM 134603</td>
<td>Nineveh</td>
<td>1932-12-12,598</td>
<td>Cols. 0.8 and 2.4 wide; 2.6 high</td>
<td>vii 1–15, viii 2–18, vii 35–46, c</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21*</td>
<td>Rm 39</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>Probably Nineveh</td>
<td>Cols. 3 and 5.5 wide; 7 high</td>
<td>vii 35–46, c</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22*</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>Bu 89-4-26,142</td>
<td>Probably Nineveh</td>
<td>5.4 wide; 5.3 high</td>
<td>vii 35–46, c</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23*</td>
<td>VAT 9621</td>
<td>Ass 19923</td>
<td>Aššur, eA7II, in the altar room of the Nabû temple</td>
<td>3.1×3.2</td>
<td>vii 2–10, c</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24*</td>
<td>BM 128327</td>
<td>Nineveh</td>
<td>1932-12-10,584</td>
<td>Cols. 1.2 and 2.6 wide; 3.8 high</td>
<td>i 48–56, viii 55–60, c</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25*</td>
<td>BM 99080</td>
<td>Ki 1904-10-9,109</td>
<td>Nineveh</td>
<td>Cols. 4.5 and 6 wide; 5 high</td>
<td>i 83–ii 7, iii 4–13, c</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26*</td>
<td>A 16920</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>Probably Nineveh</td>
<td>6.6×10.3</td>
<td>iii 1–14, iv 4–19, c</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27*</td>
<td>IM —</td>
<td>ND 5416</td>
<td>Kalḫu, Nabû Temple NT 1</td>
<td>8×3.5×1.6</td>
<td>v 10–18, vii 18–33, n</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28*</td>
<td>VA 8437</td>
<td>Ass 6694 (Ass ph 875)</td>
<td>Aššur, eD6V</td>
<td>3.9×5.9</td>
<td>i 49–55, c</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29*</td>
<td>VA 8414</td>
<td>Ass 6673 (Ass ph 875)</td>
<td>Aššur, eD6V west</td>
<td>Cols. 5.6 and 1.9 wide; 10.5 high</td>
<td>i 62–ii 5, 62–iii 7, c</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30*</td>
<td>VA 8442</td>
<td>Ass 15211 (Ass ph 4335)</td>
<td>Aššur, iA1II</td>
<td>Cols. 2.5 and 5.2 wide; 7.3 high</td>
<td>iii 62–73, iv 60–77, c</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31*</td>
<td>VA Ass 4720</td>
<td>Ass 22079a (Ass ph S 6848)</td>
<td>Aššur, eB6IV</td>
<td>Cols. 7.1 wide; 11.1 high</td>
<td>iv 31–53, c</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32*</td>
<td>A 2039 (Istanbul)</td>
<td>Ass 6724 (Ass ph 875)</td>
<td>Aššur, eB6IV</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—, c</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**COMMENTARY**

This inscription is very similar to text no. 15, but with more military narration and some variation in the building account. The two major features distinguishing this inscription from the previous text are: (1) the military narration ends with a report of Sennacherib’s fifth campaign; and (2) the passage recording the depositing of inscriptions in the foundation of the citadel terrace and the raising of that terrace by 190 courses of brick is omitted. There are a few other variants in the building report and these are noted in the on-page notes.

The evidence for considering exs. 3 and 10 as certain exemplars of this inscription is very limited. Although ex. 3 does not preserve text beyond the
fifth campaign, it is fairly certain that K 1666 is an exemplar of this text, and not of text no. 17, as the line and column arrangement follow ex. 2 very closely; for this opinion, see also Reade, JCS 27 (1975) p. 192 and Frahm, Sanherib p. 69 (ex. c). The attribution of ex. 10 is based solely on the fact that it follows exs. 1 and 2 by having i-na 1 ME 90 ti-ip-ki ul-la-a re-ši-šu ("I raised its superstructure 190 courses of brick") in vi 38; cf. text no. 15 vi 19, which has am-šu-uḫ me-ši-iḫ-ḫa "I measured (its) dimensions." This is not, however, substantial proof that BM 127929 (ex. 10) preserves a copy of this inscription, rather than that of the previous text, especially since ex. 8 follows text no. 15 in this same passage. Following E. Frahm, ex. 10 is arbitrarily included here as if it were a certain exemplar.

Numerous other prism fragments could be duplicates of this text, but due to their poor state of preservation their attribution cannot be determined with certainty. Fragments that could be duplicates of text no. 15 or this text are edited as exs. 1*-23*, 28*-29*, and 31*-32*. Pieces that could be exemplars of text no. 15, this inscription, or text no. 17 are edited as exs. 24*-25*. Fragments that could be inscribed with copies of this inscription or text no. 17 are edited as exs. 26*-27*. In the case of exs. 1*-25*, they are edited here, rather than with text no. 15, since this inscription is generally the better preserved of the two texts. Moreover, exs. 28*-32* are all fragments of octagonal clay prisms from Aššur. Because the building report is not preserved on these pieces, it is not possible to determine with certainty if VA 8437, VA 8414, VA 8442, VA Ass 4720, and A 2039 (Istanbul) are exemplars of one of the known Nineveh inscriptions or an edition whose building report describes building activities at Aššur (VA 5061 + VA 5632a + VA 5632b + VA 7512 + A 61 [unpublished] or VA 5634 [Frahm, KAL 3 no. 40]). Since the Aššur editions are badly damaged, these five fragments are tentatively edited here. Exs. 28*-29* and 31*-32* could be duplicates of text no. 15, this inscription, VA 5061*, or VA 5634. Ex. 30* could be a duplicate of this text, VA 5061*, or VA 5634. O. Pedersén (Katalog p. 155) suggests Ass 6643 (VA 8436; text no. 15 ex. 14) belongs to the same object as Ass 6673 (VA 8414; ex. 29*) and Ass 6724 (Istanbul A 2039; ex. 32*). This may be so, but it is best to edit them individually as the joins are not certain. VA 5061* and VA 5634 will be edited in Part 2, with the inscriptions from Aššur. Ex. 32* is not included in the score as the piece was not examined; although a small portion of one column is visible in Ass ph 875, we are unable to positively identify the contents of ex. 32* col. i’.

Should exs. 1*-23*, 28*-29*, and 31* be exemplars of text no. 15, then those fragments would preserve the following lines of that inscription: ex. 1* is inscribed with i 1-21, ii 2-[,], iii 2-19, and viii 10’-19’; ex. 2* has i 1-20, ii 2-4’, and iii 12-17; ex. 3* preserves i 1-21 and ii [...]’-7’; ex. 4* has i 1-9 and ii 5-10 written on it; ex. 5* is inscribed with i 2-[,] and vii 4’-[,]; ex. 6* has i 4-17 and i 32’-38’; ex. 7* preserves i 6-[,], vii 2-7, and vii 2-’20’; ex. 8* has vi 15’-2’ written on it; ex. 9* is inscribed with i [...]’-21’ and ii 3’-18’; ex. 10* has i 17’-39’ and vi 48-59; ex. 11* preserves i 21’-ii 6 and ii 18’-37’; ex. 12* has ii 7-[,], iii 12-[,], and iv 23-’[...]’ written on it; ex. 13* is inscribed with ii 8-[,], iii 10-20, and iv 6-26; ex. 14* has ii 4’-[,] and iii 16-[,]...; ex. 15* preserves ii [...]’-10’ and iii 8’-16’; ex. 16* has iii 5’-11’ and iii 10’-19’ written on it; ex. 17* is inscribed with iv 24-3’; ex. 18* has iv [...]’-4’; ex. 19* preserves vi 3-11 and 72-’74; ex. 20* has vii 75-8; ex. 21* is inscribed with vii 75-76 and viii 1’-15; ex. 22* has vii 26-2; ex. 23* preserves vii 1’-’7; ex. 28* has i 12’-17’ written on it; ex. 29* is inscribed with i 24’-ii 10 and ii 26’-’11; and ex. 31* has iv 8’-27’.

With regard to ex. 6*, Frahm (Sanherib p. 70) tentatively suggests that this fragment is more likely a duplicate of text no. 15 based on the line divisions. Ex. 10* is known from F.M.Th. Böhl’s translation in the “Böhl Archive” in Leiden, which he presumably copied in 1932 in the Iraq Museum and which he reports was purchased from a dealer in Mosul. Böhl’s translation was unavailable for study and thus its entry in the score appears as ellipses (…) in the relevant passages. According to Frahm (Sanherib p. 71 ex. XV) col. “…” corresponds to text no. 22 i 40-52 (= i 55-72 of this text) and col. “vi” duplicates his Baub. lines 100-112 (= vi 60-71/72 of this text). J. Reade suggests that BM 134452 (ex. 7*) and BM 134461 (ex. 18*) could belong to the same prism; this is based on the script and the color of the clay. Frahm (Sanherib p. 70) suggests that BM 128271 (ex. 9*) and BM 127950 (ex. 17*) could belong to the same prism since they both have a similar black layer and other similar physical characteristics. This may be so, but it is best to edit them individually here.

Should exs. 24*-25* be exemplars of text no. 15 or text no. 17, then those fragments would preserve the following lines of those inscriptions: ex. 24* preserves text no. 15 i 1’-18’ and vii 11’-16’ or text no. 17 i 40-47 and vii 69-74; and ex. 25* has text no. 15 ii 2-[,] and iii 7-16 or text no. 17 i 71-79 and ii 62-71 written on it.

Should exs. 26*-27* be exemplars of text no. 17, then those two fragments would preserve the following lines of that inscription: ex. 26* preserves text no. 17 ii 60-74, iii 48-63, and iv 38-47; and ex. 27* is inscribed with text no. 17 vii 54-69. Frahm (Sanherib p. 89) suggests that A 16920 (ex. 26*) and ND 5416
(ex. 27*) are probably exemplars of this inscription, rather than copies of text no. 17.

With regard to provenance, most of the exemplars come from Nineveh, but a few were discovered at Aššur (exs. 23* and 28*–32*) and Kalhu (ex. 27*). The fragments comprising ex. 2 were purchased from the Parisian antiquities dealer L. Géjou; Frahm (Sanherib pp. 40 and 42) proposes that those pieces may have originated from Nineveh Area SH. Ex. 3 was acquired by C.J. Rich and purchased by the British Museum from Mrs. Rich in 1825; for details on the R[ich] collection (also 1825–5–3), see Stolper, Studies Larssen pp. 516–517 and Reade in Searight, Assyrian Stone Vessels p. 108. Ex. 6 was brought to Rome from Mosul by Maximilian Rylo (1802–1848), a Jesuit Father, and presented to Pope Gregory XVI in 1838. For details on this gift from Rylo’s “expeditio Babylonica,” see Peiser, OLZ 7 (1904) cols. 36–46 and Budge, By Nile and Tigris 2 pp. 26–27.

One might prefer to use BM 103214+ (ex. 2) as exemplar 1 and the master text because it is the earliest in date, but BM 127837+ (ex. 1) is used instead since it is better preserved. The line numbering follows ex. 1 when possible, but the master line is a conflated text because of the fragmentary nature of ex. 1 (as well as of the other certain exemplars). The line count of this edition is based on the following exemplars: Ex. 1 in i 17–57, 65–84, ii 30–56, 59–79, iii 15–22, 32–v 30, 41–vi 27, 56–vii 47, 60–85, and viii 4–73; ex. 2 in i 58–64, ii 1–2, 57–58, iii 1–6, v 31–40, vi 28–55, vii 48–59, and viii 1–3; ex. 1* in i 1–16, ii 3–14, and iii 7–13; ex. 2* in ii 15–18; ex. 3* in ii 19–20; ex. 13* in iii 23–28; ex. 14* in ii 21–29; and ex. 26* in iii 14. A score of the inscription is presented on the CD-ROM. Restorations are based on text no. 15, text no. 17, and text no. 22; preference is generally given to text no. 15.

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

1878  G. Smith, Senn. pp. 30, 43, 53, 73, 76–79 (study; v 33–40, edition)
1899  Bezold, Cat. 1 pp. 325, 328 and 330 (exs. 3, 5, 15*, study)
1900  Bezold in Schrader, KB 2 pp. 80–101 (exs. 3, 15*, variants [of text no. 22 i–1 iv 31])
1893  Meissner and Rost, BiS pp. 3, 8–9 and 14–15 and pls. 3–4 (ex. 5 ii–iii; copy, edition)
1896  Bezold, Cat. 4 pp. 1530, 1574–1575, 1634, 1640, 1643, 1795, 1920 and 1927 (exs. 4, 7–8, 3*–4*, 11*–12*, 21*–22*, study)
1898  Winckler, OLZ 1 col. 77 (ex. 7 ii; study)
1904  Peiser, OLZ 7 col. 39 no. 2 (ex. 6, edition)
1904-05 Bezold, ZA 18 pp. 101–102 (ex. 6, study)
1914  King, Cat. pp. xix–xxiv no. 3330 and p. 25 no. 145 (exs. 2, 25*, study; vii 34–69, study)
1916  Olmstead, Historiography p. 44 (ex. 2, study)
1924  Luckenbill, Senn. pp. 21, 32 and 111 n. 1 H1e and g (exs. 2–3, 5, study; vii 34–69, variants [of text no. 17 vii 70–vii 5 and text no. 22 i–1 iv 31])
1936  Böhl, MLVS 3 p. 9 n. 1 (ex. 10*, study)
1940  Thompson, Iraq 7 p. 92 (vii 34–69, study)
1967  Knudsen, Iraq 29 p. 67 and pl. XXII (exs. 14*, 27*, copy, study)
1967  Reiner, JNES 26 pp. 197–198 (vii 34–69, study)
1967  G.L. Russell, Senn. pp. 90, 93 and 124–125 (ex. 1, study; variants [of text no. 17 vii 70–vii 5])
1973  Millard, AFO 24 p. 72 (ex. 1 date, study)
1974  Cooper, JCS 26 pp. 59–62 (ex. 8*, edition)
1975  Reade, JCS 27 pp. 192 and 195 (study)
1979  Borger, BAL2 pp. 65–66, 77 and 87 (study)
1984  Cogan, AFO 31 p. 72 n. 2 (ex. 1, study)
1992  Lambert, Cat. p. 79 (ex. 1, study)
1994  Pongratz-Leisten, Ina Sulmi šrub pp. 211–216 (ex. 2, variants [of text no. 17 vii 70–vii 5])
1996  Borger, BIWA 4th Heft (microfiche) 123, 216–218 and 222 (ex. 2* [A 16929], 5*, 13* [A 8153 + A 16919], 26*, transliteration)
1997  Frahm, Sanherib pp. 68–87 and 89 T 11 (exs. 1–32*, study; v 33–viii 74, edition)
1997  Pedersén, Katalog pp. 155, 157 and 159 (ex. 28*–32*, study)
2002  Mitchell and Middleton, JCS 54 p. 94 (v 79–82a, study)
2004  Bichler and Rollinger, Studies Schretter p. 185 (vii 17–21, translation)
2008  Cogan, Raging Torrent pp. 127–129 no. 31 (v 41–70, translation, study)
2008  Frahm, JCSMS 3 pp. 17–18 (v 18–27, vii 17–21, translation, study)
2009  Frahm, KAL 3 pp. 16, 82–84 and 225 no. 39 (ex. 30*, copy, edition)
2009  Frahm, RLA 12/1–2 p. 15 (study)

**TEXT**

Col. i
1) [m]EN.ZU-ŠES.MES-ERI-ba
2) 1LUGAL 1 Guth LUGAL dan-nu
3) 1LUGAL kīš-šā-ti LUGAL KUR aš-šur.KI

i 1–iv 69 These lines generally duplicate text no. 15 i 1–v 9 apart from orthographic variants; see the on-page notes of that text for comments.
4) Lugal\, kib-rat limmu-tim
5) Re\, it-pe-šu
6) mi^gir dingir.meš gal.meš
7) [na]-išri^ ki-ti ra'-i-im mi-sá-ri
8) e-piš ú-sa-a-ti
9) a-lik tap-pu-ut a-ki-i
10) sa-ši-ru dam-qa-a-ti
11) et-lum gīt-ma-lum zi-ka-ru qar-du
12) a-sá-red kal kal-ki
13) rap-pu la'-i-it la ma-gi-ri
14) mu-šab-ri-qu za-ma-a-ti
15) aššur kur-úgal-ú lugal-ut la šā-na-an
16) ú-sat-li-ma-an-ni-ma
17) ugi gi-mi ašši-pa-rak-ki
18) ú-sar-ba-a giš.tukul.meš-ia
19) ul-tu a.a.b.a a-e-li-ni-ti
20) ša šul-mu utu-ši a-di tam-tim
21) šap-lu-ti ša šir^ utu-si
22) gīm-rī sal-mat sag.du úšak-[niš še-pu-ú-a]
23) ú mal-ki šep-su-ti e-du-ru^ [ta'-ha-zî]
24) da-dá-me-šu-un e-zî-[bu-ma]
25) ki-ma su-tin-ni ni-gi-[iš-si]
26) e-diš ip-par-sū a-šar la a1-[a-rî]

---

i 15–26) The god Aššur, the great mountain, granted to me unrivalled sovereignty and made my weapons greater than (those of) all who sit on (royal) daises. He made all of the black-headed (people) from the Upper Sea (i 20) of the Setting Sun to the Lower Sea of the Rising Sun [n] bow [down at my feet]. Thus did recalcitrant rulers come to fear [battle with me]. While they were abandoning their settlements, (i 25) they flew away alone like bats (living) in crevices to inaccep[sible] place(s).

---

i 27–37) On [my] first campaign, [I brought about the defeat] of Marduk-apa-[iddina] (II) (Merodach-baladan), king of Kardun[iš] (Babyonia), (i 30) together with the troops of (the land) Elam, [his allies], in the plain of Kish. In the midst of [that] battle he abandoned his camp, [fled] alone, and (thereby) saved his life. (i 35) I seized the chariots, ho[ares], wagons, (and) mu[les] that he had abandoned in the thick of battle.

---

i 38–48) He joyfully entered his palace, which is in Babylon, then (i 40) I opened his treasury and brought [out] gold, silver, gold (and) silver utensils, precious stones, all kinds of possessions (and) property without number, [a substantial] tribute, (together with) his palace women, [ourtiers], attendants, (i 45) male [singers], female singers, all of the craftsmen, as many as there were, (and) his palace attendants, (and) I counted them (as) booty.

---

i 49–58) With the [strength of the god] Aššur, my lord, I surrounded, conquered, (and) plundered 75 of his fortified cities, fortresses of Chaldea, and 420 small(er) settlements [in] their environs. I brought out the auxiliary forces of the Arameans (and) Chaldeans (i 55) who were in Uruk, Nippur, Kish, Hur[sagkala]ma, Cutha, (and) Sippur, [together with the] guilty [citizen]s, and I counted (them) as booty.
i 59–74) [On] my [retu]rn march, I defeated all together the [Tu’u]muna, Riḥiḥu, [Yadaq]qu, Ubudu, [Gibrē], Malāḥu, [Guru]mu, Ubulu, [Damu]nu, Gamburgulu, (i 65) [Hin]daru, Ru’u’a, Puqudu, Ḥamrānu, Ḥagarānu, Nabatu, (and) Li’ta’u, in submissive Arameans. I carried off into Assyria a substantial booty (i 70) (consisting of) 208,000 people, young (and) old, male and female, horses, mules, donkeys, camels, oxen, and sheep and goats, which were without number.

i 75–80) In the course of my campaign, I received a substantial audience gift from Nabū-bēl-ṣumāt, the official in charge of the city Ḥararat: gold, silver, large musukkamma-trees, donkeys, camels, oxen, and sheep and goats.

i 81–ii 5) I put to the sword the population of the city Ḥirimmu, a dangerous enemy, and I did not spare a single one. I hung their corpses on poles and (ii 1) placed (them) around the city. I reorganized that district (and) imposed for eternity one ox, ten sheep, ten homers of wine, (and) twenty homers of dates as his firstfruits offerings to the gods of Assyria, my lords.

ii 6–14) On my second campaign, the god Aššur, my lord, encouraged me and I marched to the land of the Kassites and the land of the Yasubigallians, who since time immemorial had not submitted to the kings, (ii 10) my ancestors. In the high mountains difficult terrain, I ride on horseback and had my personal chariot carried on (men’s) necks. In very rugged terrain I roamed about on foot like a wild bull.

ii 15–23) [I surrounded (and conquered)] the cities Bit-Kilamzah, Ḥardiṣpu, (and) Bit-Ku[batti], their fortified walled cities. [I brought out] of [them] people, horses, mules, donkeys, oxen, and she[l]ep and goats, and I counted (them) as boo[y. Moreover, I destroyed, devastated, (and) turned] into ruins [their small(er)] settlements, (ii 20) which were [with]out num[ber. I burned] with fire pavilions (and) tents, their [abl]odes, [and] reduced (them) [to ashes].
20) ša šu-[ba lâ]-šu-ú
21) [ap-pul aq-qu̱r u̱-še-me] ƙaṟ-meš
22) [é EDIN kul-ta-ri mu]-ša-bí-[še]-nu
23) [i-na ƙiš.BAR aq-mu-ma di-tal-lîš] ƙa-bí-me
24) [u-ter-ƙa URU₄ mi-lam-â]-[še]-nu
25) [a-na URU₃] bi-ta-ƙi aš-bat UGU ša u-ter-me] "pa-ní
26) [BÂD,MEŠ-šu ú-dan]-nin-ma
27) [UN.MEŠ KUR.KUR Ki-ši-ti ŠU.II]-i na šal ú-še-šeš
du
28) [UN.MEŠ KUR.]-LÚ₄,kaš-ši-ți
29) [u KUR LÚ₄]-su-bi-gal-la-a-äßig
30) [ša lu-pa-an]-Giš₄.TUKUL,MEŠ-ia ip-par-ši-ść-du
du
31) [u] uš-ri-dam ma
32) [i-na URU₃] har-diš-și URU₄ ku-bat ti
33) [u-šar-me] i-na ŠU.II LÚ₄,šu-ut SAG-i₄
34) [LÚ₄,EN.NAM URU₄ ar-rap- ха am-nu-ša-nu-ri
35) [NA₄,RA₄,Å] uš-še-piš-ma li-šu-tum
36) [Ki-ši-ti ŠU.II ša UGU-šu-un
37) aš-ta-ƙa-nu še-du-uš-ša ša-ša-ši-tar ma
38) [i-na qer-bi URU₄ ul-zîz pa-an ni-ri-ia
39) [u] uš-ri-dam ma
40) [m̱-p₃] ba-a-ra LUGAL-šu-un URU₄ MEŠ-šu
41) [dan-nu-ți ni-šišt-ti šal maš-shirt ma
42) [a-na ru-qe-ėti in-ni-bit ma
43) [gi₄-ri KUR-ši DAGAL-tim GIM MURU₃
44) as-ḫu-up URU₄ mar-uš-bi₄-ti
45) URU₄ ak-ƙu-ud-du URU₄ MEŠ-ni E LUGAL-šu
46) a-di 34 URU₄ MEŠ-ni TUR.MEŠ ša li-me-ti ša-nu
47) [al-me KUR-a-pul aq-qur in-na] ƙiš.BAR aq-mu
48) [UN.MEŠ TUR GAL NITA] u MUNUS
49) [AN₄,KE₄,MEŠ AN₄,MEŠ AN₄,GAM.MAL,MEŠ
50) [GU₄,MEŠ] u US₄,UDU₃,HA a-na la mi-nam
51) aš-lu-lam ma a-di la ba-ši-i
52) [uš]-ša-liš-ša-nu uš-ša-ši-ḥi ir KUR-su
53) URU₄ ši-ir-tu URU₄ uš-šir-ni ma-ah lum
54) URU₄ MEŠ-ni dan-nu-ti a-di URU₄ MEŠ TUR.MEŠ
55) ša li-me-ti ši-nu KUR₃ ba-ar- thuế
56) na-ši-i a-na gi-mi-ti ši ši
57) ul-tu qe-re-b KUR-šiš ab-tua₄ ma
58) UGU mi-ši KUR ašš.KI u-rad-di
59) URU₄ el-en-za-šî a-na URU₄ LUGAL-ul-ti
60) u dan-na-at na-e-šu-u
61) aš-bat ma MU₄-šu maš-ra-a uš-nak-šir ma
62) URU₃ KAR₃,EN.ZU₄,ŠE₄,MEŠ,Eri-ba
63) at-ta-bi ni-bit-su UN.MEŠ KUR.KUR
64) ki-ši-ti ŠU.II-i a-na liš-ši uš-šiš
65) i-na ŠU.II LÚ₄,šu-ut SAG-i₄
66) [LÚ₄,EN.NAM URU₄ ar-har am-nu-ú ma
67) ú-rap-piš ma-a ti
68) i-na ta-a-ar-ti-i
69) ša KUR₃,ma-da-a a-a ru-qu-ti
70) ša i-na LUGAL,MEŠ-ni AD.MEŠ-i₄
71) ša ƙa šar-ta-a-tu-sir ma
72) ši ƙa šar-ta-a-tu-sir ma
73) ša ƙa šar-ta-a-tu-sir ma
74) [ii 24-38a] [I made th]at [city Bit-Kilamza] a fortress again (and) I strengthened [its walls more than be-fore], then I settled therein [the people of the lands that] I [had conquered]. I brought down from the mountains [the people of the land of] the Kassites [and the land of the Y]a[subigallians (ii 30) [who] had fled [from] my weapons and I made (them) dwell in the cities Håṟdišu (and) Bit-Kubatti. I placed them under the authority of a eunuch of mine, the governor of the city Arrapṭa. (ii 35) I had a stele made, had all the victorious conquests that I achieved over them written on it, and I erected (it) in (that) city.
75) [ii 38b-48] I turned around (lit. "I turned the front of my yoke") and (ii 40) took the road to the land Ellip̱i. Before my arrival, Išpābāra, their king, abandoned his fortified cities (and) his treasury and fled far away. I overwhelmed all of his vast land like a fog. (ii 45) I surrounded, conquered, destroyed, devastated, (and) burned with fire the cities Ma̱ṟ ʿubi.getElementById("{}") and Akkuddu, cities of his royal house, together with thirty-four small(er) settlements in their environs.
76) [ii 49-59] I carried off people, young (and) old, male and female, horses, mules, donkeys, camels, oxen, and sheep and goats without number, then I brought him (Išpābāra) to nought and made his land smaller. I detached from his land the cities šiššištu (and) Kummaẖlm, (ii 55) fortified cities, together with the small(er) settlements in their environs (and) the district of the land Bit-Barrût in its entirety, and I added (this area) to the territory of Assyria.
77) [ii 60-68] I took the city Elenzaš as a royal city and a fortress for that district, then I changed its former name and called it Kār-Sennacherib. (ii 65) I settled therein the people of the lands that I had conquered. I placed (it) under the authority of a eunuch of mine, the governor of the city Hāṟhar, and (thus) enlarged my land.
78) [ii 69-75] On my return march, I received a substantial payment from the distant Medes, of whose land none of the kings, my ancestors, had heard mention. (Thus)
858

ii 76–iii 11) On my third campaign, I marched to the land Ḫatti. Fear of my lordly brilliance (iii 1) overwhelmed Luš, the king of the city Sidon, and he fled afar into the midst of the sea and disappeared. The awesome terror of the weapon of the god Aššur, my lord, overwhelmed the cities Great Sidon, Lesser Sidon, (iii 5) Bit-Zitti, Šarepta, Maḥalliba, Ušu, Akzibu, (and) Acco, his fortified cities (and) fortresses, an area of pasture(s) and water-place(s), (iii 10) resources upon which they relied, and they bowed down at my feet.

ii 12–14) I placed Tu-ša-lu on the royal throne over them and imposed upon him tribute (and) payment (in recognition) of my lordship (to be delivered) yearly (and) without interruption.

iii 15–26a) As for Min(u)ḫimmu of the city Samsimu-runna, Tu-ša-lu of the city Sidon, Abdi-Lišti of the city Ar-wad, Ūru-Milkī of the city Byblos, Mitintī of the city Ashdod, (iii 20) Būdi-il of the land Bit-Ammon, Kammāsu-nadī of the land Moab, Aya-rāmū of the land Edom, all of the kings of the land Amurrū, they brought extensive gifts, four times (the normal amount), as their substantial audience gift before me and kissed my feet.

iii 26b–30) Moreover, (as for) Šidqā, [the king of the city Aš]kelon who had not bowed down [to my yoke], I forcibly removed [the god]s of his father's house, himself, [his wife, his sons, his daughters, his brothers, (and other) offspring of his father's house (iii 30) and took him to Assyria].

iii 31–34) I set Šarru-lū-dāri, [son of Rūkībtu, their] forme[r king, over the people of the city Ashkelon] and imposed upon him the pay[ment of] tribute (and) [gifts] (in recognition of) [my] lordship so that he (now) pulls [my] yoke.

iii 35–39) In the course of [my] campaign, I surrounded, conquered, (and) plundered the cities Bit-Daganna, Joppa, Banayabarqa, (and) Azuru, the cities of Šidqā that had not submitted to me quickly.

iii 40–49) (As for) the governors, the nobles, and the people of the city Ekron who had thrown Pādi, their
king who was bound by treaty and oaths to Assyria, into iron fetters and who had [had]ed him over] to [Hezekiah] of the land Judah [in a hostile manner], (iii 45) [they became frightened] on account of the villainous acts they had committed. They fo[rmed a]n expedition with [the kings of Egypt (and) [the archers], chariots, (and) horses of [the king of the land M]eu[h]a, forces without number, [and] they came to [their] aid.

iii 50–58 In the plain of the city [Eltekeh], they sharpened [their weapons while drawing up in] battle[ne] before me. With the support of the god Aššur, [my] lord, I fought with them and defeat[ed them], (iii 55) In the thick of battle, I captured alive the Egyptian charioteers and [princes (lit. “the sons of the king”)], together with the charioteers of [the king of] the land Melu[h]a.

iii 59–69a I surrounded, conquered, (and) plundered the cities Eltekeh (and) Tammâ. I approached the city Ekron and I killed the governors (and) nobles who had committed crime(s) and hung their corpses on towers around the city; (iii 65) I counted the citizens who had committed the criminal acts as booty; (and) I commanded that the rest of them, (those) who were not guilty of crimes or wrongdoing, (to) whom no penalty was due, be allowed to free.

iii 69b–73 I brought out Padî, their king, from the city Jerusalem and placed (him) on the lordly throne over them, then I imposed upon him payment (in recognition) of my overlordship.

iii 74–iv 7 Moreover, (as for) Hezekiah of the land Judah, who had not submitted to my yoke, I surrounded (and) conquered forty-six of his fortified cities, fortresses, and small(er) settlements in their environs, which were without number, by having ramps trodden down and battering rams brought up, (iv 1) the assault of foot soldiers, sapping, breaching, and siege engines. I brought out of them 200,150 people, young (and) old, male and female, horses, mules, donkeys, camels, oxen, and sheep and goats, which were without number, and I counted (them) as booty.

iv 8–21 As for [him] (Hezekiah), I confined him inside the city Jerusalem, his [royal] city, like a bird in a cage. I set up blockades against him and made him dread exiting his city gate. I detached from his land the cities of the his that I had plundered and (iv 15)
13) <ik>-ki-bu-uš URU.MEŠ-šú šaás-lu-la
gave (them) to Mitinti, the king of the city Ashdod,
14) ul-tu qe-reb KUR-šú ab-tuq-ma
Padi, the king of the city Ekron, and Şilli-Béî, the king
15) a-na ūmi-ti-in-ti LUGAL URU.as-du-di
to the city Gaza, and (thereby) made his land smaller.
16) ūmi-pa-di-i i LUGAL URU.am-qar-ru-na
To the former tribute, their annual giving, I added the
17) ū ūGISSU-EN LUGAL URU.ḥa-zi-ti
payment (of gifts (in recognition) of my overlordship
18) ad-dīn-ma ū-sa-ah-ji-ir KUR-šú
and imposed (it) upon them.
19) e-li GUN mah-ri-ti na-dan šat-ti-šú-un
iv 22–37) As for him, Hezekiah, fear of my lordly
20) man-da-at-tū kâd-re-e be-lu-ti-ia
brilliance overwhelmed him and, after my (departure),
21) ū-ru-dā-ti-ma ū-kin še-ru-uš-šú-un
he had the auxiliary forces and his elite troops
22) ū-ū ū-ba-la-qi-a-ū šu-ši me-lam-me
(iv 25) whom he had brought inside to strengthen
23) be-lu-ti-ia ī-su-šu-pu-šu-ma
the city Jerusalem, [his] roy[al] city, and who had
24) LŪ.ū-ṣī-bī ū LŪ.ERIM.MEŠ-šú SIG.,MEŠ
provided [support], along with 30 talents of gold, [800]
25) ša a-na ḏun-na-ur URU.ur-sa-li-im-mu
talents of silver, choice antimony, large [blocks of]
26) 1URU LUGAL.Š[r]-šú û-šē-ri-bu-ma ir-šu-ū
..., (iv 30) [ivory beds], armchairs of ivory, elephant
27) [tī-l-a-a-te] ī-tī 30 GUN KŪ.GI
hide(s), elephant ivory, ebony, boxwood, every kind of
28) [8 ME GUN KŪ].BABAB nī-sī-iq-ti qu-ūh-li
valuable treasure, as well as his daughters, his palace
29) [tāk-kās-sī] ūNA.AN.ZA.GUL.ME.GAL.MEŠ
women, [male] singers, and (female) singers brought
30) [gīš.NA.MEŠ zū] GĪŠ.GU.ZA.MEŠ né-me-di zū
into Nineveh, my capital city, and he sent a mounted
31) KUŠ AM.SI ZŪ AM.SI GĪŠ.EI GĪŠ.TŪG
messenger of his to me to deliver (this) payment and
to do obeisance.
32) mim-ma šum-šū ni-sīr-tu ka-bit-tu
iv 38–48) (O)n my fourth campaign, the god Aššur,
33) ū-u DUMU.MUNUS.MEŠ-šú MUNUS.UN.MEŠ
my lord, encouraged me (iv 40) so that I mustered my
34) É.GAL.Š[u-]
numerous troops and ordered the march to the land
35) 1URU be-lu-ti-ia EGI-IA ū-šē-bi-lam-ma
Bīt-Yakin. In the course of my campaign, I defeated
36) [a]-na na-dan man-da-at-ti ū e-peš
Šūzubu (Mušēzib-Marduk), a Chaldean who lives in
37) 1ARAD-DI-Š[t]-i īs-pu-ra rak-bu-šú
the marshes, at the city Bittītu. (iv 45) As for him, terror

iv 49–61) I turned [ar]ound (lit. “I turned the front of
our yoke”) and took the road [to] the land Bīt-Yakin.
[H]ē — Marduk-apla-iddina (II) (Merodach-baladan),
[w]h[j]om [I had defeated and] whose forces [I had
scatter]ed during my first campaign — (iv 55) [became
frightened by the clanger of my mighty] [weapons
and] my fierce [battle array]. He flew away [like a
bird to the city Nagîte]-raqqi, [which is in the midst of
the sea]. I brought [his] brothers, [the seed of his father’s
house], whom he had abandoned at the shore of the
sea, together with the people of the rest of his land, (iv
60) out of the land Bīt-Yakin, which is in the swamps
(and) marshes, and I counted (them) as booty.
ap-pa-ra-a-ti ú-še-ša-am-ma šal-la-tīš am-nu
ú-ter-ma URU.MEŠ-sū ap-pul aq-qur
ú-še-me kar-meš UGU EN sa-ši-me-sū
LUGAL KUR.ELAM.MA.KI na-mur-ra-tum at-bu-uk
i-na ta-a-ar-ti-ia ʷaš-sur-na-din-MU
DUMU reš-tu-ū tar-bit bir-ki-ia
i-na GIŠ.GU.ZA be-lu-ti-sū ú-še-sīb-ma
dAGAL-tum KUR.EME.GI. ū URU.KI
ú-šad-gil pa-nu-uš-sū

i-na 5 ger-ri-ia ba-ţu-la-te
URU.tu-mur-ri URU.Ša-ri-im
URU.še-za-MA URU.Kib-sū URU.ḥal-bu-da
URU.ţu-ţa-MA URU.qa-na
ša GIM qin-ri Ti₄,MUŠEN a-ša-red MUŠEN.H.LA
še-er szu-ţi KUR.ni-pur KUR.i-mar-ši
šu-bat-su-un šīt-ka-na-at-ma
la kīt-nu-šu a-na ni-ri
i-na GI.R.IL KUR.ni-pur ka-ra-ši ú-ša-aš-ši-en-ma
it-ti LŪ.qur-bu-te GI.R.IL-ia
na-as-ţu-ṭi ū LŪ.ERIM.MEŠ
ta-ţa-zi-ia la ga-me-le-tu
a-na-ka GIM AM ek-di pa-nu-uš-sū-un
aš-bat jurr-ri na-ḥal-li na-at-ba-ki
KUR.i me-le-e mar-šu-ti

Col. v
1) i-na GIŠ.GU.ZA aš-ta-am-dī-iḥ
2) a-šar a-na GIŠ.GU.ZA ūp-šu-qua
3) i-na GI.R.IL-ia aš-ta-hi-ta GI.R.IL-ar-me
4) a-na zuq-ti ša-ţu-ţi še-ra-uš-sū-un e-li
5) a-šar bir-ka-a-a ma-na-a-ha-tu i-ša-a
6) še-er NA₄ KUR.i-ū Šišmu A.MEŠ KUŠ.NA-a-di
7) ka-šu-ti a-na šu-um-me-ia lu ēš-ti
8) i-na ŠU.SI.MEŠ ēr-ša-a-ni ar-dē-ša-nu-ti-ma
9) aš-ta-kan ūa-ta-ši-un URU.MEŠ-sū-nu KUR.UD-ma
aš-lu-la šal-la-su-un ap-pu-ul aq-qur
i-na ³GIŠ.BAR aq-mu pa-an ni-ri-ia ú-ter-ma
še-er ²ma-ni-ia-e LUGAL URU.uk-ki šad-da-a-a-e
la kan-ša aš-sa-bat ḫar-ra-nu ur-ḫi la pe-tu-ti
ţu-di pa-aš-qu-ti šā la-pa-an KUR.MEŠ<><ia>
mar-su-ti ul-la-na-u-š₂ qe-reb-sū-un
ma-am-ma la li-li-ku LUGAL.MEŠ pa-ni ma-hu-ri-ti

iv 62–64) Once again I destroyed (and) devastated his cities, (and) turned (them) into ruins. I poured out awe-inspiring brilliancy upon his ally, the king of the land Elam.

iv 65–69) On my return march, I placed Aṣṣur-nādin-šumi, my first-born son (whom I) raised on my (own) knee, on his lordly throne and entrusted him with the wide land of Sumer and Akkad.

iv 70–78) On my fifth campaign: The population of the cities Tumurrrum, Šarum, Ezāma, Kišu, Ḫalbuda, Qūa, (and) Qana, whose dwellings are situated like the nests of eagles, the foremost of birds, (iv 75) on the peak of Mount Nipur, a rugged mountain, and who had not bowed down to the yoke — I had my camp pitched at the foot of Mount Nipur.

iv 79–v 7) Like a fierce wild bull, with my select bodyguard and my merciless combat troops, I took the head of them (the soldiers in my camp). (v 1) I proceeded through the gorges of the streams, the outflows of the mountains, (and) rugged slopes in my chair. Where it was too difficult for (my) chair, I leapt forward on my (own) two feet like a mountain goat. I ascended the highest peaks against them. (v 5) Where my knees became tired, I sat down upon the mountain rock and drank cold water from a water skin to (quench) my thirst.

v 8–11a) I pursued them on the peaks of the mountains and defeated them. I conquered, (v 10) plundered, destroyed, devastated, (and) burned with fire their cities.

v 11b–22) I turned around (lit. “I turned the front of my yoke”) and took the road against Maniye, the king of the city Ukkū (and) an insubmissive mountain-dweller. (v 15) Before my time, none of the former kings of the past had marched through the untrodden paths (and) difficult trails on account of the rugged mountains. I had my camp pitched at the foot of
Mount Anara and Mount Uppa, mighty mountains, and
myself, in an armchair, with my crack combat troops,
(v 20) entered their narrow passes with great difficulty
and ascended with a struggle the steep mountain
peaks.

v 23–28) He, Maniye, saw the dust cloud (stirred up)
by the feet of my troops, then [he abandoned] the
city Uk[ku], his royal [city, and] (v 25) fled afar.
I surrounded, conquered, (and) plundered the city
Ukku. I brought out of it every kind of possession (and)
property, the treasures of his palace, and I counted (it)
[as booty].

v 29–32) Moreover, I conquered thirty-three cities on
the borders of his [district] and (v 30) carried off [from]
them people, donkeys, oxen, and sheep and goats.
(Then) I destroyed (them), devastated (them), (and)
burned (them) with fire.

v 33–40) From the booty of those lands that I had
plundered, I conscripted 20,000 archers (and) 15,000
shield bearers and added (them) to my royal contin-
ting. I divided up the rest of the substantial enemy
booby like sheep and goats among my entire camp
and my governors, and (the people) of my great cult
centers.

v 41–50) At [that time], Nineveh, the exálted[t] cult
center, [the city] loved by the goddess ššār in which all
of the rit[u]als for gods and god[desses] are present;
(v 45) the en[n] ding [foundation] (and) eternal [ba]se
whose plan had been designed [by] the stars (lit. “writ-
ing”) of the firmam[ent and whose] arrangement [was]
made manifest since time immemorial; a sophisti-
cated place (and) site of s[ec]ret lore in which every
kind of [skilled] craftsmanship, all [of the rituals], (v
50) (and) the secret(s) of the lag[gar] (cosmic subter-
aneous water) [are apprehended];

v 51–61) in which since time immemorial [earlier
kings], my ancestors, before me exercised [dominion
over Assyria] and ru[led the subjects of the god En][il];
(but) not one among them had conceived of and put
his mind towards [increasing the site of] the city,
(v 55) building wall(s), straightening the st[ree]ts, or
dredging the river (and) planting or[ch]ards; nor had
any (of them) paid heed to (or) shown interest in the
palace inside it, the seat of lordly dwelling whose site
had become too small (and) whose construction was

v 18) Gis.Guz.Za ne-mei-di “armchair”: The interpretation of kussi nēmedī follows CAD N/2 p. 156 sub nēmedu 2, “chair with armrest or footstool.”
Alternatively, following the CDA (p. 249), one could translate “chair with back.”

v 41–viii 78 The building report of this inscription is very similar to that of text no. 15; see the on-page notes of that text for comments. For
some of the differences between the two texts, see the on-page notes below.
59) ri-mi-ti be-lu-ti ša šu-úḫ-ḫu-ru šu-bat-su
60) e-pī-tuš la nak-lat-ma le-e-su
61) ul id-da-a líb-ú-suš ul ẖ ś-su-us
62) ia-a-ti "mi-nu-ZU-ŠE-MEŠ-eri-ba
63) LUGAL kiš-ša-ti LUGAL KUR aš-šur.ḪI
64) e-pēš ší-ru šu-a-tu kı-i tē-em DINGIR.ḪEŠ
65) i-na uz-ni-zi iš-bi-mar aš-šu lam-mar-
66) te-ne-šet KUR.kal-di lū-ša-ra-me KUR.man-na-a-a-
67) Kur.QE.E KUR.ḪI-lak-ku KUR.pi-liš-ti
68) û UURU-uri ša a-na nī-ri-a
69) la ik-nu-šu as-su-ḫa-ḫa-am ma tup-šiḫ-ku
70) u-ša-ša-šu-nu-ši-ti ma il-bi-nu SĪG₃
71) ḪE.GAL maḫ-ri-tu ša 3 ME 60 ina 1.KŪŠ UŠ
72) 80 i-na 1.KŪŠ DAGAL i-na tar-ši za-me-e
73) É ziq-qr-qrat 1 ME 34 i-na 1.KŪŠ DAGAL
74) i-na Šar-ši na-mar-a É Ḫir-tar
75) 95 i-na 1.KŪŠ DAGAL i-na tar-ši na-mar-a
76) É-ki₅-dru₄-ri ša LUGAL.MEŠ-ni a-li-kut maḫ-ri
77) AD.MEŠ-ia a-na ri-mi it-ḫu-ti-SI₃-
78) û-še-pi-ša-ma la ū-nak-ki-li ū-ši-pīr-ša
79) UDUM.EŠ ša-šad-dī ḪA/MMMA ša Na₃-pi-šiš-
80) pe-še-e i-na ḪUURU.ta-as-ti-ti-
81) ša e-ber-tan ŪD.IDIGA
82) ib-ta-qu a-na mu-ši-KĀ.MEŠ-ši-in
83) a-na šu-ṣu-ṣu GISH.MAŠ.MEŠ qē-reb GISH.TIR.MEŠ

Col. vi
1) GISH.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ u-qi-re i-na nap-har
2) KUR-šu-un
3) i-na ITI.GI₅ u₄₃-mu a-dan-ni e-de-e pa-an šēt-ti
4) i-na GISH.MEŠ-ŠE-ŠE-ŠE-ni a-na a-ha-an-na-a
5) u-šeb-bi-rum-ni mar-ši-ši
6) i-na nē-ber ka-a-rī GISH.MAŠ.GI₅.LA.MEŠ
7) u-te-eb-ŠE-ŠE-bu ū-=ši-ša-ša
8) u-si₅-nu₅ ū=lam-me₅-ku ra₅-si₅-in
9) i-na da-nu-a-ni ū šu₅-qi₅
10) mar-ši₅-iš ū-bi₅-nim-ma
11) u-ša-as-bi-tu KĀ.MEŠ-ši-in
12) ĦD.TE-bi₅-bi₃ a-gu₃ ū₃-ŠE₃-mu-
13) ša ul₂-tu GAL.MEŠ SŪ.MEŠ ŠE-ŠE-ŠE-ŠE GAL
14) i-ba₂-ŠE₅ ma ina İL.Le₂-ši-gq₅-ši
15) i-na uš₅-ši₅-šab₂-abu₂ ū-shab₂-šu₂-šu₂
16) ŪR-Ib₂-butem-en₃-ša
17) GAŠ.TUR.RA ša₉-a-tu a-na si₃-hir-ti₅-ša
18) aq-qur₃-ma ša ḪD.TE-bi₃-ma la₅-kak₅-ša
19) uṣ₅-te-ŠE₅-nu₂-abu₂ ū₅-ši₃-tub₂-ma ū₅-ši₃-šer
20) mu₃-ša₃ qē-reb ka₃-tam-ti a-nur-rak-ki₅-ša
21) Šap₅-la₂-nu GI₅.MEŠ e₅-la₅-ni₅ NA₅ KUR.i₂-dan-nu
22) it₅-ti EŠ.RU.DA ak₂-si₂-ma 3 ME 40 ina 1.KŪŠ UŠ
23) 2 ME 8₅ ina 1.KŪŠ SAG.KI qaq qa-ra

v 62–70) (But) as for me, Sennacherib, king of the world, king of Assyria, the performing of this work came to my attention by the will of the gods and I put my mind to it. I forcibly removed the people of Chaldea, Aramean (tribes), the land of the Manneans, the lands Que, Ḫilakku, (and) Philistia, and the city Tyre, who had not submitted to my yoke, then I made them carry baskets (of earth) and they made bricks.

v 71–78) The former palace, which was 360 cubits long, 80 cubits wide opposite the zamū-wall of the ziggurat, 134 cubits wide opposite the tower of the temple of the goddess Ištar, (v 75) (and) 95 cubits wide opposite the tower of the Bit-Kidmuri; which earlier kings, my ancestors, had had constructed for their lordly halls; but whose construction they had carried out inexpertly:

v 79–vi 10) They quarried mountain sheep colossi of white limestone in the city Tastiate, which is across the Tigris River, to be their (the palatial halls’) gatekeepers. (vi 1) Throughout their entire land they depleted forests of large trees to have boats built. In the month Ayārū (II), the time of spring floods, they brought (the colossi) across to this side (of the river) with difficulty in magnificent boats. (vi 5) They sank large boats at the quay dock (and then) made their crews struggle (and) strain. With might and main, they struggled to transport (the colossi) and install (them) in their gates.

vi 11–15) The Tebilti River, a tempestuous flood (of water) which had flowed from distant days by the side of the palace and which had caused erosion in its foundation when its flood was in full spate (vi 15) (and) had shaken its base:

vi 16–19a) I tore down that small palace in its entirety, then I changed the course of the Tebilti River, repaired (the effects of) the erosion, and directed its outflow.

vi 19b–38) In the hidden depths of its subterranean waters I bonded together, with bitumen, reeds below (and) strong mountain stone above, then [I raised] a plot of land that was 348 cubits long (and) 288 cubits
23) ul-tu qe-[reb 1D hu-su-wa² ú-še-lam-ma]
na-ba-liš
24) ú-ter se-[er] 'meši-ih-ti² tam-le-e
25) maḫ-re-e 'lu[ [u-rad-di]-ma
26) a-na 7 ME i-na AS₄,LUM GAL-ti UŠ
27) 1 ME 76 i-na AS₄,LUM GAL-ti SAG,KI AN.TA IM,SL,SÁ
28) 2 ME 68 i-na AS₄,LUM GAL-ti
29) SAG,KI MURUB₂,'tum² mé-eh-ı-ret
30) za-me-e at-man-ni ku-tal [w²]š³-tar
31) 4 ME 43 ina AS₄,LUM GAL-ti SAG,KI MURUB₂,'tum
32) sá-nım-tum mu-uh-hur-ti ša-a-ri a-mur-ri
33) ku-tal é ziq-qur-rat [w²]š³ diš-tar
34) 3 ME 86 i-na AS₄,LUM GAL-ti
35) SAG,KI KLTA IM,U,LU
36) ÚSS,ADU 1D IDIGNA
37) tam-la-a uš-ma-al-li
38) i-na 1 ME 90 ti-ib-ki ul-la-a re-ši-šu
39) dš-ši šip-ri É,GAL-la šu-te-šu-ri
40) ú li-pit ŚU.I-ia šul-šul-me
41) i-na u₄-me-šu-ma 'ašš-šur ú diš-tar
42) ša NA₄,pi-i-li pe-še-e
43) [ina] 'URU,bal-la-ta-a-a
44) [ù-šap]-tu-u-ni pa-ni-šu
45) [UDU,MEŠ šad]²,š³ diš1 'LAMMA,MEŠ² dan-nu-ti
46) [MUNUS,ÁB,ZA,ža-a-te ú NA₄,KUN₁,MEŠ GAL,MEŠ
47) [a-na] šip-ri É,GAL be-lu-ti-ia
48) i-na 'qer-bi-šu ab-tu-aq
49) la-ba-riš [u₄,m-i] na Illu kiš-ši-ti
50) tem-me-en tam²-le²-e la ene-šē
51) NA₄,pi-i-li GAL,MEŠ ki-su-ušu
52) úš-da²,š³ [hi]²-ra ú-dan²-niš šu-pu-uk-šu
53) É,GAL [NA₄,DÜR],MI,NA,BAN,DA³
54) NA₄,GIS,NU,ülü,GAL
55) ZU 'AM,ŠI² GİŞ,EŠI GİŞ,TÜG,GIŠ,mu-suk-kan-ni
56) GİŞ,EREN GIŠ,ŠUR,Mın SIM,LI ú
57) GIŠ,e-[lam-ma-ku]
58) é-gal-zag-di-nu-tuka-a a-na mu²šab³
59) LUGAL-ti-iša ú-ši-paša qe-reb-šu
60) GIŠ,ÜR,MEŠ GIŠ,EREN GIŠ,ŠUR,Mın ša i-ri-su-un
61) t[a-a] bi-nu-ut KUR,HA-nam
62) t[a-bi] KUR,SHI-ra-ra KUR,MEš KU,MEš
63) ú-šat-ri-aš e-li-šin
64) GIŠ,ĬG,MEŠ GIŠ,EREN GIŠ,ŠUR,Mın SIM,LI
65) ši-ra-a-ti me-sér KISAG eb-bi URUDU nam-ri
66) ú-rak-kis ma ú-rat-ta-a ba-bi-šin

vi 23 1D hu-su-wa² “the Hūsūr River”; Or possibly restore ma-a-me “water.” The conjectural restoration is based on text no. 17 vi 2.
vi 26 Ex. 8, like text no. 15 vi 10, has na-pa-hur “in total” for a-na “to.” Exx. 2 and 7 both add [\. . .] ú-ši-šin” “[ . . .] I firmly established [ . . .]” between Uš “longer side” at the end of vi 26 and 1 ME 76 “176” at the beginning of vi 27.
vi 38 Ex. 8, like text no. 15 vi 19, has am-šu-uh meši-ih-ta “I measured (its) dimensions.”
vi 47 Text no. 15 vi 27 has na KAM,MEŠ É,GAL be-lu-ti-ia “for the gates of my lordly palace.”

vi 52–53 Unlike the previous text, this inscription does not include a passage recording the depositing of foundation documents and the expansion of the terrace; see text no. 15 vi 32–41. The inclusion or omission of this passage can be used to determine whether a fragment belongs to this text or to the previous text.
silvér and copper knobbled nails. I adorned the arches, 
frizees, and all of the copings with baked bricks (glazed 
in the color of) obsidian (and) lapis lazuli.

vi 69–73) For my lordly pleasure, I had a portico, 
a replica of a Hittite palace, (vi 70) which is called bit- 
ḫilānī in the language of the land Amurru, constructed 
inside them.

vi 74–82) Twelve striding lions of shining copper 
(and) fierce demeanor, (which were) standing opposite 
one another, which were skillfully cast through the 
craftsmanship of the god Ninagal, and which were 
filled with radiance — upon (those) lion colossi I 
installed two identical columns that were cast from 
bronze, (vi 80) together with four large cedar columns, 
and I positioned cross-beams (upon them) as a cornice 
for their gates.

vi 83–vii 3) I covered ten sphinxes of cast bright 
uruḏū-copper with shining zahālī-silver and (over 
them), over ten sphinxes of alabaster, (and) over 
twelve sphinxes of cast ...metal I erected two magni-
cificent ebony columns, whose inlays are pašallū-gold, 
and columns of cedar, cypress, (and) dapramu-juniper 
with esmarā-silver and bronze inlays, and I positioned 
the architraves of my lordly palatial halls (on those 
columns).

vii 4–11) Moreover, I [made] twelve mountain sheep 
colossi of cast bright urudū-copper, which are splendid 
in form (and) perfect in shape, two mountain sheep 
colossi of alabaster, (and) seventy-two mountain sheep 
colossi and sphinxes of white limestone suitable for 
holding the door bolt(s) for leaving and entering.

vii 12–16) [I engraved] on slabs of br[e]cia (and) 
alabaster, and on large limestone slabs (images of) 
the enemy settlements that I had conquered. I surro-[unded] (the palace rooms?) lower courses 
(with them and) made (them) an object of wonder.

vii 17–21) I planted alongside it (the palace) a botan-
cical garden, a replica of Mount Amusan, which has all 
of kinds of aromatic plants (and) fruit trees, trees that 
are the mainstay of the mountains and Chaldea, to-
gether with cotton trees (lit. “trees bearing wool”), 
collected inside it.

vii 22–29a) Nineveh, the site of whose circumference
had been 9,300 cubits since former times (and) for which no earlier ruler had had an inner or outer wall built — I added 12,515 (cubits) in the plain around the city to (its) previous measurement and (thus) established its dimensions as 21,815 large cubits.

vii 29b–33) I laid the foundation of its great wall, Badnigalbilukuraššu, (which means) “Wall Whose Brilliance Overwhelms Enemies,” upon limestone and made (it) 40 bricks thick. I raised its superstructure 180 courses of brick high.

vii 34–37) I had fourteen gates opened up in it in four directions, in front and behind, (and) along both sides, for entering and leaving.

vii 38–54) “The God Šarur Is the One Who Cuts Down the King’s Enemy”: (this is) the Ḥandūru Gate. (vii 40) “May the Vice-Regent of the God Aššur Endure”: (this is) the Aššur Gate, which (leads to) the Inner City (Aššur). “The One Who Flattens All Enemies”: (this is) the Sennacherib Gate, which (leads to) the land Ḥalzi. “The God Enil Is the One Who Makes My Reign Firm”: (vii 45) (this is) the Šamaš Gate, which (leads to) the land Galgal. “O Ištar Bless the One Who Provides for You!”: (this is) the Mullissu Gate, which (leads to) the city Kār-Mullissi. “The One Who Exorcises the ‘Flesh’ of the Asakku-demon”: (this is) the Step Gate. “The Choicest of Grain and Flocks (vii 50) Are Constantly Inside It”: (this is) the gate (that leads to) the city Sība[n], “The Bearer of the Produce of the Mountains”: (this is) the gate (that leads to) [the land Ḥalaḫ]. In total, eight gate[s] (facing) the rising sun, [to]wards [the south] and east, (and) I gave them (these) names.

vii 55–62) “The God Adad Is the Provider of Prosperity to the Land”: (this is) the Adad Gate, which (leads to) the city Kār-Mullissi. “The God Erra Is the One Who Cuts Down Enemies”: (this is) the Nergal Gate, which (leads to) the city Tarbišu. “The God Igisigisig Is the One Who Makes Orchards Flourish”: (vii 60) (this is) the Gate of the Gardens. In total, three gates (facing) towards the nor[th] (and) I gave them (these) names.

vii 63–69) “The God Ea Is the One Who Properly Directs (Water Flow into) My Cisterns”: (this is) the Mašqū Gate. (vii 65) “The One Who Brings in Income from the Settlements”: (this is) the Quay Gate. “The One Who Regulates Everything”: (this is) the Armory Gate. In total, three gates (facing) towards the west (and) I gave them (these) names.

vii 70–76a) I opened up a foundation pit for the outer wall, Badnigerimḫuluḫa, (which means) “Terrorizer of Enemies,” then I dug down forty-five ninda[nu] and made (it) reach the water table. I bound together strong mountain stone in the water below and above I expertly carried out its construction with large
76) ú-nak-kil ši-pir-sú ša NINA.KI URU be-lu-ti-ia
77) šu-bat-su uš-rab-bi re-ba-te-šu
78) ú-šá-an-díl-ma u-nam-mir GIM u-mi
79) ŠBAD šal-hu-ú ú-še-piš-ma
80) ú-zaq-qi4 húr-ša-niš
81) áš-šá mu-se-e 1D.hu-su-ur
82) qe-reb URU ma-lák A.MES e-liš šaš-paš-líš
83) i-na SIG,4 AL.UR,RA KI-i-ri ma-ši-i
84) ti-tu-rí ab-ta-ní ša-pal-šá
85) i-na me-š-e-ret KÁ.GAL MURUB4 URU
Col. viii
1) i-na a-qur-ri NA.pi-i-li pe-se-e
2) a-na me-ti-qi4 GIš.GIGIR be-lu-ti-ia
3) ú-še-piš-ti-tur-ra i-te-e URU
4) 1 GIš.KIRI1.MAḪ-ḫi1 1 GIš.KIRI7 am4-ba4-si
5) kul-lat ŠIM.HI.A KUR,ḫat-ti
6) mut-hum-ma4 ma4[-ti4-ti]
7) GIš.MES tuł-kat KUR.i-i4 KUR.kal-dí
8) ú-ḥar-ri ša-ša-qe-reb-ša-un
9) e-le-en URU EDIN ša-ab4-bur4[-tí]
10) GIš.ĠESTIN gi-mír GURUN ʿGIš.se4-er4[-dí]
11) az-qu-up še-ru-uš[šš]
12) áš-šá šur-pu-šá šip-pa-a-ti A.ŠÁ ta-mír-ti
13) e-le-en URU NIGADIM.AN.TA.ÁM a-na DUMU.MES
NINA.KI
14) pił-ku uš-pal-lik ma šaš-gi-la
15) pa-nu-uš-šu-un a-na miš-ra-a-ti šum-mu-ḫi
16) ul-tu pa-a-ti URU.KI-si-ri
17) a-di ta-mír-ti NINA.KI KUR-a ū bi-rú-tá
18) i-na ak-kul-la-te AN.BAR
19) ú-šat-ti4-ša1 ʿuš-še-šir 1D.ḫar-ru
20) 1 1/2 KASKAL GI4 qaq qa-ra ul-tu qe-reb
21) ÍD.hu-su-ur ma-a-me da-ru-u-ti
22) a-šar-šá uš-šar-da-a qe-reb šip-pa-a-ti
23) ša-ti-na ʿuš-šaḫ3-bi4 ba-pat-ti šiš
24) i-na qa-ti4-ba-a-té NINA.KI si-ra-a-ti
25) 5 ME ŠE4.NUMUN1[MES]7 ma4-me
26) 2 ša-an-ki-ra
27) še-er x [x] x ū ši-ir4-ši
28) ša-qis [uš-sah]-ni-BA
29) 1 1/2 QADUD I.D.ŠAPA1-aš-laš-ti A.MES
30) ša GIš.KIRI7.MES 4-gam4-mu úš-šáb-ši-ma
31) šu-šu-šu4 Šuš-ŠA-as-ti-il
32) IGIRA.MUSÍN.MES 4-SAḪ3.MES GIš.GI
33) a-lap qī-ši i4-na lub4-bi ū-maš-šir
34) i-na te-em DINGIR-ma qe-reb GIš.KIRI7.MES

limestone (blocks) up to its coping.

viı 76b–80) I enlarged the site of Nineveh, my capital city. I broadened its squares, making (them) as bright as day. I had an inner (and) outer wall built and I raised (them) as high as mountain(s).

viı 81–84) So that there would be outflow from the Ḥusur River in the city (and) the passage of water upstream and downstream, I built aqueducts beneath it (the city wall) with baked bricks, ...

viı 85–viıı 3a) I had a bridge constructed opposite the Citadel Gate with paving stones of white limestone for the passage of my lordly chariot.

viı 3b–11) Beside the city, in a botanical garden (one) pānu (in size and) a garden (one) pānu (in size) for a game preserve, (viı 5) I gathered every type of aromatic tree of the land Ḥatti, fruit trees of [all lands], (and) trees that are the mainstay of the mountains and Chaldea. Upstream of the city, on newly tilled soil, (viı 10) I planted vines, every type of fruit tree, and olive tre[es].

viı 12–23) For the expansion of orchards, I subdivided the meadowland upstream of the city into plots of two pānu each for the citizens of Nineveh and I handed (them) over (viı 15) to them. To make (those) planted areas luxuriant, I cut with iron picks a canal straight through mountain and valley, from the border of the city Kisiru to the plain of Nineveh. (viı 20) I caused an inexhaustible supply of water to flow there for a distance of one and a half leagues from the Ḥusur River (and) made (it) gush through feeder canals into those gardens.

viı 24–28) I provided irrigation for 500 seeded field[s] in the high fields of Nineveh with (that) water (and thereby) [I made] grain and cereals grow high and luxuriantly on ... and in furrows.

viı 29–44) I created [a m]arsh to moderate the flow of water for (those) gardens and had a canebrake planted (in it). I let loose in it herons, wild boars (lit. “pigs of the reeds”), (and) roe deer. By divine will, (viıı 35) vines, all kinds of fruit trees, olive trees, and aromatic trees flourished greatly in (those)
35) EDIN ša-ab-bur-ti šIS.GESTIN gi-mir GURUN
36) GIŠ.se-er-du šIŠ.H.LA ma-gal
37) šIŠ-šu GIŠ,ŠUR.MIN GIŠ.MES,MĀ.KAN,NA
38) na-pašš GIŠ,MEŠ 1šIš-hu-ma
39) ša-našša ša-pašša-pa-lam
40) aš-pašša-ašša ma-[gal] šIš-ši-ra
41) MUŠEN AN-e šIŠ.GIŠ,MŪŠEN[ša ašša]-šu
42) ra-šuš maššum-na[ši-šum]-šu
43) šAš.MEŠ GIŠ.GI [ša-lap qambil]-šIš
44) ū-ša-ši-pašš šIš-eššum-tu
45) GIŠ,MEŠ.MĀ.KAN,NA [GIŠ,ŠUR].MIN
46) tar-bit šip-pašš-šIš-šu[ši-šum]-šu
47) ša qe-reb šIš-ša-gam-[šiš]-ša
48) ašša šiš-[ša]-ša [ša]-ša
49) šIš-šum-tu šIš-ša-ašša
50) ša šIš-ša-gam-[šiš]-ša
51) šIš-šum-tu šIš-ša-ašša
52) šIš-šum-tu šIš-ša-ašša
53) šIš-šum-tu šIš-ša-ašša
54) šIš-šum-tu šIš-ša-ašša
55) šIš-šum-tu šIš-ša-ašša
56) šIš-šum-tu šIš-ša-ašša
57) šIš-šum-tu šIš-ša-ašša
58) šIš-šum-tu šIš-ša-ašša
59) šIš-šum-tu šIš-ša-ašša
60) šIš-šum-tu šIš-ša-ašša
61) šIš-šum-tu šIš-ša-ašša
62) šIš-šum-tu šIš-ša-ašša
63) šIš-šum-tu šIš-ša-ašša
64) šIš-šum-tu šIš-ša-ašša
65) šIš-šum-tu šIš-ša-ašša
66) šIš-šum-tu šIš-ša-ašša
67) šIš-šum-tu šIš-ša-ašša
68) šIš-šum-tu šIš-ša-ašša
69) šIš-šum-tu šIš-ša-ašša
70) šIš-šum-tu šIš-ša-ašša
71) šIš-šum-tu šIš-ša-ašša
72) šIš-šum-tu šIš-ša-ašša
73) šIš-šum-tu šIš-ša-ašša
74) šIš-šum-tu šIš-ša-ašša
75) šIš-šum-tu šIš-ša-ašša
gardens (planted) on newly tilled soil. Cypress trees, musukkannu-trees, (and) all kinds of trees grew tall and sent out shoots. (vii 40) The marshes thrived gre[atre].
Birds of the heavens, heron(s) whose [home(s)] are far away, [made] nest(s) and wild boars (and) roed[er ga’ve birth] in abundance.

vii 45–51) I cut down musukkannu-trees (and) cy-pr[ess] trees grown in the orchards (and) marsh [reed]s from the swamp[ps] and I used (them) in the work required (to build) my lordly palatial halls. (vii 50) [They picked cot]ton (lit. “[trees] bearing wool”) (and) wove (it) into [clo]thing.

vii 52–63) [After] I had finished [the work on] my palace, [I invited] inside it [the god Aššur, the] great [lord], (and) the gods and goddesses [living in As-syria, (vii 55) then I made] splendid [offerings and presented] my gift(s). [I made fine] oil [from olives and ar]omatics [from the orchards (planted) on newly] tilled soil. (vii 60) At the inauguration [of] the pa[lace], I had the heads of the subjects of my land drenched (and) I watered their insides with sweet wine.

vii 64–73) In the future, may one of the kings, my de-scendants, whom the god Aššur names for shepherding the land and people, renovate its dilapidated section(s) when that wall becomes old and dilapidated. May he find an inscribed object bearing my name, (vii 70) anoint (it) with oil, make an offering, (and) return (it) to its place. The god Aššur and the goddess Ištar will then (hear) his prayers.

Date ex. 1

74A) ITLI.NE.GAR UD.3.KAM
75A) li-mu šIš-šur-EN-ša-lam
76A) LŪ.GAR.KUR URU.šašša-šu-up-pa

Date ex. 2

74B) ITLI.APIN.DU,g.UD.[x](x).KAM
75B) li-mu šIš-šur-EN-ša-lam
76B) LŪ.GAR.KUR URU.talša-lam

vii 34–35 GIŠ.KIR,L MEŠ EDIN ša-ab-bur-ti “gardens (planted) on newly tilled soil”: Text no. 8 line 5’ probably has GIŠ.KIR,L MEŠ “gardens.”

vii 40–44 The restorations are based on text no. 17 vii 56–59.

vii 50–51 Cf. text no. 15 vii 7’–8’ (with the on-page note).
Two nearly complete octagonal clay prisms and a few prism fragments from Nineveh are inscribed with a text describing seven military campaigns, the formation of a military contingent of 30,000 archers and 20,000 shield bearers from prisoners deported from conquered lands, the rebuilding and decoration of the “Palace Without a Rival” (the South-West Palace), the construction of Badnigalbilukurasušu and Badnigerimhuluša (Nineveh’s inner and outer walls) with their fifteen gates, and other public works at Nineveh, including the digging of several canals. The prologue, the reports of the first five campaigns, and numerous passages in the building report duplicate those same passages in earlier versions of Sennacherib’s annals, especially text no. 16. The accounts of the events of the king’s 9th and 10th regnal years included in this text are presently not known from other extant inscriptions, presumably because Sennacherib remained at home, in Nineveh. In the eponymy of Šulmu-Bēl (696), Sennacherib reports that Kiru, the city ruler of Illibru, a man who had been a loyal Assyrian vassal, incited rebellion in Ḫilakkû (Cilicia) and that the Assyrian army was sent to deal with the hostilities. The city Illibru was captured and plundered, and Kiru and his supporters were defeated and brought back to Nineveh, where they were flayed alive. Afterwards, Illibru was reorganized as an Assyrian center. In the following year, in the eponymy of Aššur-bēlu-uṣur (695), Sennacherib records that he sent his army to the city Tīl-Garimme, where Gurdi, the king of the city Urdutu (a man who may have been responsible for Sargon II’s death on the battlefield in 705), had incited rebellion. Urdutu is reported to have been taken and looted, but nothing is said about Gurdi, perhaps because he managed to escape. As for the building report, it is the longest and most detailed account of construction in and around Nineveh preserved in the Sennacherib corpus. It borrows material from earlier inscriptions and contains material composed anew for this text and other inscriptions written in 694 (Sennacherib’s 11th regnal year). In connection with work on the “Palace Without a Rival,” the king notes that the god Aššur and the goddess Ištar revealed to him the existence of cedar at Mount Sīrāra, alabaster at Mount Ammanānā (the northern Anti-Lebanon), breccia at Kapridargilâ (“Dargilâ Village”), and limestone at the city Balāṭūya. He also takes credit for making significant advances in metalworking. In contrast to his predecessors, who are said to have ineffectually manufactured metal statues of themselves, Sennacherib boasts that he was able to efficiently and successfully cast tall columns and lion colossi from metal. In connection with supplying the huge number of gardens and orchards around Nineveh with water, Sennacherib reports that he had to look for new sources, as the waters of the Ḫusur River (mod. Khosr) were no longer sufficient. The king had three canals dug from the cities Dūr-Ištar, Šibaniba, and Sulu, all of which are located in the vicinity of Mount Muṣri (mod. Jebel Bašiqâ). Two exemplars preserve a date and these were inscribed in the first half of the eponymy of Ilu-issiya, governor of the city Damascus (694). The inscription is commonly referred to as the “King Prism” or “Heidel Prism.” Ex. 1 is named after L.W. King, who first published a copy and photographs of it in 1909, and ex. 2 is named after A. Heidel, who published an edition and photographs in 1953.
CATALOGUE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ex. Number</th>
<th>Registration Number</th>
<th>Provenance</th>
<th>Dimensions (cm)</th>
<th>Lines Preserved</th>
<th>cpn</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>BM 103000</td>
<td>Purchased from I. Géjou</td>
<td>Cols. 6 wide; 36 high</td>
<td>i 1–viii 87, date</td>
<td>c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>IM 56578</td>
<td>Nineveh, western wall</td>
<td>Cols. 6.8 wide; 35.5 high</td>
<td>i 2–viii 87, date</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>BM 102996</td>
<td>Purchased from I. Géjou</td>
<td>Cols. 6.5 wide; 7.5 high</td>
<td>v 7–23, vi 9–28, vii 7–23</td>
<td>c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Rm 26</td>
<td>Probably Nineveh</td>
<td>Cols. 2.3 and 5 wide; 8 high</td>
<td>v 68–86, vii 30–50</td>
<td>c</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

CATALOGUE OF UNCERTAIN EXEMPLARS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ex. Number</th>
<th>Registration Number</th>
<th>Provenance</th>
<th>Dimensions (cm)</th>
<th>Lines Preserved</th>
<th>cpn</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1*</td>
<td>I2b 1502</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>v 53–75</td>
<td>n</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

COMMENTARY

The inscription written on the “King Prism” (ex. 1) and the “Heidel Prism” (ex. 2) is the longest preserved text of Sennacherib (ca. 740 lines). The following text (text no. 18), written a few years after this inscription (691), may have been one of the longest texts written during his reign (800+ lines), but it is very fragmentarily preserved. Text no. 17 includes a short prologue, accounts of Sennacherib’s first five campaigns, reports of campaigns undertaken in the eponyms of Sulmu-Bal (696) and Ashur-belu-usur (695), a passage stating that the king formed a large military contingent with prisoners from conquered lands, and a lengthy and detailed account of construction and around Nineveh. The prologue and most of the military narration (reports of the first five campaigns) duplicate those same passages in text no. 15 and text no. 16. The accounts of the events of the king’s 9th and 10th regnal years are known only from this inscription; these passages may have been composed anew for this edition. As for the building report, it also contains material composed anew for this inscription and passages borrowed (with changes) from the building reports of text no. 15 and text no. 16. Additional information is provided in the on-page notes.

Only the certain exemplars of this inscription are edited here. Ex. 1* (I2b 1502), however, is an exception. Although it duplicates (with some omission and variation) a passage of the building account presently known only from this inscription, the fragment is not sufficiently preserved to be certain it is an exemplar of this text. I2b 1502 is provisionally edited here, rather than on its own. The omissions and major variants are cited in the on-page notes. Since we were unable to study this fragment from the original, the transliteration of ex. 1* in the score is based on E. Frahm’s transliteration (Sanherib p. 88), which is based on an unpublished copy of V.K. Šilejko sent to him by S. Hodjash.

Of the identified Sennacherib prism fragments in museum collections around the world there are four other fragments that could belong to this inscription rather than to one of the other texts written on octagonal prisms. These are edited with text no. 16 as exs. 24*–27*. See the catalogue and commentary of that inscription for further details.

The provenance of ex. 1 is uncertain. E.A.W. Budge (By Nile and Tigris 2 p. 23) states that BM 103000 “was found in a chamber built in the wall (or perhaps it was sunk in the actual wall), close to one of the human-headed bulls of one of the gates of Nineveh, and the bull near which it was placed must have been removed before it could be extracted from the wall. ... It is probable that cylinder No. 103,000 was
discovered by the natives when they were breaking this bull into pieces, and we must be thankful that they had the sense enough to realize that it would fetch more money complete than when broken into pieces.” J. Reade (JCS 27 [1975] p. 192), following Budge’s account, tentatively suggests that ex. 1 came from the Nergal Gate. Frahm, drawing attention to a statement made by R.C. Thompson (Iraq 7 [1940] p. 85), points out that BM 103000 could have been discovered in Area SH (or similar provenance). According to records in the British Museum, this prism was purchased from I. Géjou. Thus, it is not impossible that ex. 1 was discovered as Budge describes and then purchased by Géjou, who in turn sold it to the British Museum.

A precise provenance for ex. 2 (IM 56578) is given by N. al Asil apud Heidel, Sumer 9 (1953) p. 117: “the prism was found embedded between the sun-dried bricks of the western wall of Nineveh, about three meters below the top of the wall, at a point about thirty meters north of where the present Mosul-Erbil road crosses the western city wall. He adds that there is no indication of a city gate at this point.”

Frahm (Sanherib pp. 87–88) suggests that Rm 26 (ex. 4) could have come from Area SH since Borger has proposed international joins between Rm 15, Rm 17, and Rm 18 and fragments in the Oriental Institute (Chicago). For the proposed provenance of the Chicago fragments purchased by E. Chiera, see for example Thompson, Iraq 7 (1940) p. 85.

While one might prefer to use IM 56578 (ex. 2) as exemplar 1 because it is the best preserved copy of the inscription, BM 103000 (ex. 1) has been used instead to conform with older editions, all of which follow the line numbering of that prism. The master text is based upon both exs. 1 and 2. A score of the inscription is presented on the CD-ROM.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1896 Bezold, Cat. 4 p. 1573 (ex. 4, study)
1909 King, CT pp. 7–31, pls. 1–38 and A–E (ex. 1, photo, copy, edition; ex. 3, copy)
1912 Delitzsch, AL2 pp. 76–78 (ex. 1 iv 61–90, vii 65–vii 5, copy)
1914 King, Cat. pp. xix–xxiv no. 3330 (ex. 1, vii 70–vii 5, study)
1916 Olmstead, Historiography pp. 44–45 (ex. 1, study)
1920 Budge, By Nile and Tigris 2 p. 23 (ex. 1, provenance)
1922 BM Guide pp. 225 no. 20 (ex. 1, study)
1935 Jacobsen and Lloyd, OIP 24 pp. 34–36 (ex. 1 vii 31–64, translation, study)
1951 Laessee, JCS 5 p. 24 (ex. 1 vii 36–38, edition; ex. 1 v 85–87, transliteration, study)
1955 Laessee, JCS 7 pp. 19–20 (ex. 1 vi 64–78, edition, study)
1957 Grollenberg, Bildatlas zur Bibel fig. 249 (ex. 2, photo)
1962 Mann and Heuss, Propyläen-Weltgeschichte 2 pl. after p. 300 (ex. 2, photo)
1965 Houwink ten Cate, Luwan Population Groups p. 25 (iv 61–91, study)
1970 Oppenheim, Fifth International Congress of Economic History pp. 32–33 n. 55 (vii 18, study)
1970 Turner, Iraq 32 p. 74 (vii 18–20a, edition, study)
1975 Reade, JCS 27 p. 192 and 196 (exs. 1–4, study)
1979 Borger, BAL3 pp. 65, 77–79 and 87–88 (exs. 1–4, study)
1979 Lipiński, State and Temple Economy 2 p. 565 (vii 18, study)
1984 Saggs, Assyria p. 171 (vii 18, translation, study)
1987 Parise, Dialoghi di Archeologia 3 pp. 37–38 (vii 18, study)
1988 Dalley in Curtis, Bronzeworking pp. 103–104 (vi 80–88, vii 7–12, 16–19, translation, study)
1993 Pečírková, ArOr 61 p. 8 (vii 45–49a, vii 64, translation; vii 18, study)
1994 Dalley, Iraq 56 pp. 52–53 (vii 7–9, 16–17, 45–49a, translation, study)
1995 Howgego, Coins p. 13 (vii 18, study)
1995 Renger in Schekelie and Nitsch, Rätsel Geld pp. 307 and 309 (vii 18, study)
1995 Snell, CANE 3 p. 1491 (vi 89–vii 19, translation, study)
1996 Powell, JESHO 39 pp. 231–232 (vii 18, study)
1997 Frahm, Sanherib pp. 87–89 T 12 (exs. 1–1A, study)
1999 Dalley, AnSt 49 p. 74 (iv 61–v 14, study)
1999 Gallagher, Sennacherib’s Third Campaign passim (vi 89–vii 3, vii 16–21, translation; ii 58–61, study)
1999 Radner in Dercks, Trade and Finance p. 127 n. 2 (vii 18–19, translation, study)
2000 Lanfranchi, Melamni 1 pp. 22–31 (iv 61–v 22, study)
2002 Holloway, Aššur is King p. 84 (vi 89–vii 8, translation)
2002 Mitchell and Middleton, JCS 54 p. 94 (v 64–66, study)
2002 Novák, Sex and Gender pp. 447–451 (vii 16–21, translation, study)
2002 Vargyas, JNES 61 pp. 111–115 (vii 18, study)
2003 Becking, ‘Like a Bird in a Cage’ pp. 65–67 (ii 58–ii 81, study)
1 1–10) Sennacherib, great king, strong king, king of the world, king of Assyria, king of the four quarters (of the world), capable shepherd, favorite of the great gods, (i 5) guardian of truth who loves justice, renders assistance, goes to the aid of the weak, (and) strives after good deeds, perfect man, virile warrior, foremost of all rulers, the bridle that controls (i 10) the insubmissive, (and) the one who strikes enemies with lightning:

i 11–21) The god Aššur, the great mountain, granted to me unrivalled sovereignty and made my weapons greater than (those of) all who sit on (royal) daises. He made all of the black-headed (people) from the Upper Sea (i 15) of the Setting Sun to the Lower Sea of the Rising Sun bow down at my feet. Thus did recalcitrant rulers come to fear battle with me. While they were abandoning their settlements, (i 20) they flew away alone like bats (living) in crevices to inaccessible place(s).

i 22–31) On my first campaign, I brought about the defeat of Marduk-apla-iddina (II) (Merodach-baladan), king of Karduniash (Babylonia), together with the troops of (the land) Elam, his allies, (i 25) in the plain of Kish. In the midst of that battle he abandoned his camp, fled alone, and (thereby) saved his life. I seized the chariots, horses, wagons, (and) mules (i 30) that he had abandoned in the thick of battle.

i 32–40) I joyfully entered his palace, which is in Babylon, then I opened his treasury and brought out gold, silver, gold (and) silver utensils, precious stones, (i 35) all kinds of possessions (and) property without number, a substantial tribute, (together with) his palace women, courtiers, attendants, male singers, female singers, all of the craftsmen, as many as there were, (and) his palace attendants, (i 40) and I counted (them) as booty.
With the strength of the god Aššur, my lord, I surrounded, conquered, (and) plundered 75 of his fortified cities, fortresses of Chaldea, and 420 small(er) settlements in their environs. (i 45) I brought out the auxiliary forces of the Arameans (and) Chaldeans who were in Uruk, Nippur, Kish, Hūrsagkalamā, Cutha, (and) Sippar, together with the guilty citizens, and I counted (them) as booty.

On my return march, I defeated all together the Tuʾumuna, Rīḫiḫu, Yadaqqū, Ubudu, Gibrē, Malāḫu, Gurumu, Ubullu, (i 55) Damunu, Gambulu, Ḥindaru, Ruʾa, Puqdu, Ḥamranu, Ḥagarānu, Nebatu, (and) Liʾtaʾu, (i 60) insubmissive Arameans. I carried off into Assyria a substantial booty (consisting of) 208,000 people, young (and) old, male and female, horses, mules, donkeys, camels, oxen, and sheep and goats, which were without number.

In the course of my campaign, I received a substantial audience gift from Nabu-bēl-šumāti, the official in charge of the city Ḥaráratu: gold, silver, large muskannu-trees, donkeys, camels, oxen, and sheep and goats.

I put to the sword the population of the city Ḥirimmu, a dangerous enemy, and I did not spare a single one. I hung their corpses on poles and placed (them) around the city. I reorganized that district (i 75) (and) imposed for eternity one ox, ten sheep, ten homers of wine, (and) twenty homers of dates as his first-fruits offerings to the gods of Assyria, my lords.

On my second campaign, the god Aššur, my lord, encouraged me and I marched to the land of the Kassites and the land of the Yasubigallians, (i 80) who since time immemorial had not submitted to the kings, my ancestors. In the high mountains, difficult terrain, I rode on horseback and had my personal chariot carried on (men’s) necks. (i 85) In very rugged terrain I roamed about on foot like a wild bull.
85) áš-ru šup-šu-qu i-na GÎR.II-ia ri-ma-niš
at-taq-giš
86) URU.É.-ki-lam-za-āh URU.ḥa-ar-dīš-pi
87) URU.É.-ku-bat-ti URU.MEŠ-šu-nu
88) Ė BÂD.MEŠ-ni dan-nu-ti al-me KUR-ud
89) UN.MEŠ ANŠE.KUR,RA.MEŠ ANŠE,KUNGA.MEŠ
90) ANŠE.MEŠ GÎ,MEŠ ú US.,UDU.HÎ.A

Col. ii
1) ul-tu qer-bi-šu-ūn ú-še-ša-ām-⌈ma šal-la-tiš
   ⌈am-⌈nu
2) ú URU.MEŠ-šu-ūn TUR.MEŠ ša ni-la ba
   ⌈t⌉[⌈šu⌉]-uū
3) ap-pul aq-qur ú-še-me ⌈kar-meš⌉
4) É EDIN kul-ta-ʁi mu-šá-bi-[⌈šu⌉]-nu
5) ina GÎ.ŠAR aq-mu-ma di-tal-liš ú-[⌈še⌉]-⌈mi⌉
6) ú-ter-⌈ma URU.É.-ki-lam-za-āh šu-⌈a-tu⌉
7) a-na bit-tu-ti aš-bat ḫgu ša u₃,me pa-ni
8) BÂD.MEŠ-šu ú-dan-nu-ma
9) UN.MEŠ KUR,KUR ki-ši-ti ŠU.II-ia
10) i-na li-bi ú-še-šib
11) UN.MEŠ KUR LŰ,kaš-ši-i
12) ú KUR LŪ,ia-su-bi-gal-la-a-a
13) ša la-pa-an GÎ,ŠUKUL,MEŠ-ia ip-par-šid-du
14) ul-tu qe-reb KUR-i ú-še-⌈ri-dam-ma
15) i-na URU.ḥar-dīš-pi URU.É.-ku-bat-ti ú-šar-me
16) i-na ŠU.II LÛ,šu-ut SÂG-ľa
17) LÛ.EN,NAM URU.arp-ḥa am-nu-šu-nu-ti
18) NA,NA.RÛ,A ú-še-piš-ma
19) li-i-tum ki-ši-ti ŠU.II ša UGU-šu-ūn
   Ɨš-tak-ka-nu
20) şe-ru-uš-šu ú-ša-Ɨš-tiɾ-ma i-na qer-bi URU ul-zîz
21) pa-an ni-ri-ia ú-ter-ma
22) a-na KUR.el-li-pi aš-ša-bat ḫar-ra-nu
23) el-la-mu-⌈a⌉-is-pa-ba-a-ra LUGAL-ša-un
24) URU.MEŠ-šu dan-nu-ti Ė ni-šir-tiš-ša
25) ú-mailbox ma a-na ru-⌈qe-e-te in-na-bit
26) gim-ri KUR-šu DAGAL-tim GÎM MERRU, as-ḫu-up
27) URU.mar-â-biš-ti URU.ak-ku-ad-du
28) URU.MEŠ-ni Ė LUGAL-ti-ša a-di 34 URU.MEŠ
   TUR.MEŠ
29) ša li-me-ti-šu-ūn al-me KUR-ud
30) ap-pul aq-qur ina GÎ.ŠAR aq-mu
31) UN.MEŠ TUR GAL NÎTA ü MUNUS
   ANŠE.KUR,RA,MES
32) ANŠE.KUNGA,MES ANŠE.MEŠ ANŠE,GAM,MAL,MES
   GÎ,MEŠ
33) ú US.,UDU.HÎ,A a-na la mi-nam šu-la-lam-ma
34) a-di la ba-šî-i ú-ša-liš-ša-ma
35) ú-șa-âh-ḫi IR KUR-su
36) URU..Xr-ši-ši-tu URU.ku-un-ma-aḫ-lum
37) URU.MEŠ dan-nu-ti a-di URU.MEŠ TUR.MEŠ
38) ša li-me-ti-šu-ūn KUR.É,-mba-ar-ru
39) na-țu a-na gi-mir-ti-ša
40) ul-tu qe-reb KUR-šu ab-tuq-ma
41) UGU mi-šir KUR aš-šur.KI ú-rad-di

ii 86–ii 5) I surrounded (and) conquered the cities Bit-
Kilamzaḥ, ḫardišpu, (and) Bit-Kubatti, their fortified
walled cities. I brought out of them people, horses,
mules, donkeys, oxen, and sheep and goats, (ii 1) and
I counted (them) as booty. Moreover, I destroyed,
devastated, (and) turned into ruins their small(er)
settlements, which [w]er[e] without number. I burned
with fire pavilions (and) tents, [the]ir abodes, and re[duc]ed (them) to ashes.

ii 6–20) I made that city Bit-Kilamzaḥ a fortress again
(and) I strengthened its walls more than before, then
(ii 10) I settled therein the people of the lands that I
had conquered. I brought down from the mountains
the people of the land of the Kasstes and the land
of the Yasubiggalians who had fled from my weapons
and (ii 15) I made (them) dwell in the cities ḫardišpu
(and) Bit-Kubatti. I placed them under the authority of
a eunuch of mine, the governor of the city Arrapha.
I had a stele made, had all the victorious conquests
that I achieved over them (ii 20) written on it, and I
erected (it) in (that) city.

ii 21–30) I turned around (lit. “I turned the front of
my yoke”) and took the road to the land Ellipi. Before
my arrival, ḫispāra, their king, (ii 25) abandoned
his fortified cities (and) his treasury and fled far
away. I overwhelmed all of his wide land like a fog.
I surrounded, conquered, destroyed, devastated, (and)
burned with fire the cities Mar’ubištu (and) Akkuddu,
cities of his royal house, together with thirty-four
small(er) settlements in their environs.

ii 31–41) I carried off people, young (and) old, male
and female, horses, mules, donkeys, camels, oxen,
and sheep and goats without number. Then I brought
him (Ispābāra) to nought and (ii 35) made his land
smaller. I detached from his land the cities ši(š)ṣirtu
(and) Kummaḫšum, fortified cities, together with the
small(er) settlements in their environs (and) the dis-
trict of the land Bit-Barrū in its entirety, and I added
(this area) to the territory of Assyria.
ii 42–50) I took the city Elanəš as a royal city and a fortress for that district, then I changed its former name and (ii 45) called it Kăr-Sennacherib. I settled therein the people of the lands that I had conquered. I placed (it) under the authority of a eunuch of mine, the governor of the city Ḥarḥar, and (thus) enlarged my land.

ii 51–57) On my return march, I received a substantial payment from the distant Medes, of whose land none of the kings, my ancestors, had heard mention. (Thus) I made them bow down to the yoke of my lordship.

ii 58–69) On my third campaign, I marched to the land Ḥatti. (ii 60) Fear of my lordly brilliance overwhelmed Luli, the king of the city Sidon, and he fled afar into the midst of the sea and disappeared. The awesome terror of the weapon of the god Aššur, my lord, overwhelmed the cities Great Sidon, Lesser Sidon, Bit-Zitti, Šarepta, Maḥallība, Uṣū, (ii 65) Akīzū, (and) Acco, his fortified cities (and) fortresses, an area of pasture(s) and water-place(s), resources upon which he relied, and they bowed down at my feet.

ii 70–74) I placed Tu-Ba’lu on the royal throne over them and imposed upon him tribute (and) payment (in recognition) of my overlordship (to be delivered) yearly (and) without interruption.

ii 75–86) As for Min(u)ḫimmu of the city Samsimuruna, Tu-Ba’lu of the city Sidon, Abdî-Li’ti of the city Arwaq, Ūru-Milk-i of the city Byblos, Mitinti of the city Ashdod, (ii 80) Būdi-il of the city Bīt-Ammon, Kambilu-na-di of the land Moab, Aya-rāmu of the land Edom, all of the kings of the land Amurrū, they brought extensive gifts, four times (the normal amount), as their substantial audience gift before me and kissed my feet.

ii 87–91) Moreover, (as for) Šidqā, the king of the city Ashkelon who had not bowed down to my yoke, I forcibly removed the gods of his father’s house, himself, his wife, his sons, (ii 90) his daughters, his brothers, (and other) offspring of his father’s house.
and took him to Assyria.

ii 92–95) I set Šarru-lû-dârî, son of Rûkibtu, their former king, over the people of the city Ashkelon and imposed upon him the payment of tribute (and) gifts (in recognition) of my overlordship so that he (now) pulls my yoke.

ii 96–iii 4) In the course of my campaign, I surrounded, conquered, (and) plundered the cities Bit-Daganna, (iii 1) Joppa, Banayabarga, (and) Azuru, the cities of Šiqqâ that had not submitted to me quickly.

iii 5–13) (As for) the governors, the nobles, and the people of the city Ekron who had thrown Pâdî, their king who was bound by treaty and oaths to Assyria, into iron fetters and who had handed him over to Hezekiah of the land Judah in a hostile manner, (iii 10) they became frightened on account of the villainous acts they had committed. They formed a confederation with the kings of Egypt (and) the archers, chariots, (and) horses of the king of the land Melûchâ, forces without number, and they came to their aid.

iii 14–21a) In the plain of the city Eltekeh, they sharpened their weapons while drawing up in battle line before me. With the support of the god Aššur, my lord, I fought with them and defeated them. In the thick of battle, I captured alive the Egyptian charioteers and princes (lit. “the sons of the king”), together with the charioteers of the king of the land Melûchâ.

iii 21b–32) I surrounded, conquered, (and) plundered the cities Eltekeh (and) Tamâ. I approached the city Ekron and I killed the governors (and) nobles who had committed crime(s) (iii 25) and hung their corpses on towers around the city; I counted the citizens who had committed the criminal acts as booty; (and) I commanded that the rest of them, (those) who were not guilty of crimes or wrongdoing, (iii 30) (to) whom no penalty was due, be allowed to go free.

iii 33–37) I brought out Pâdî, their king, from the city Jerusalem and placed (him) on the lordly throne over them, then I imposed upon him payment (in recognition) of my overlordship.
ii 52–65) As for him (Hezekiah), I confined him inside the city Jerusalem, his royal city, like a bird in a cage. I set up blockades against him and (ii 55) made him dread exiting his city gate. I detached from his land the cities of his that I had plundered and I gave (them) to Mitinti, the king of the city Ashdod, (ii 60) Padl, the king of the city Ekron, and Šiši-Bēl, the king of the city Gaza, and (thereby) made his land smaller. To the former tribute, their annual giving, I added the payment (of) gifts (in recognition) of my overlordship and imposed (it) upon them.

iii 66–81) As for him, Hezekiah, fear of my lordly brilliance overwhelmed him and, after my (departure), he had the auxiliary forces and his elite troops whom he had brought inside to strengthen the city Jerusalem, (iii 70) his royal city, and who had provided support, along with 30 talents of gold, 800 talents of silver, choice antimony, large blocks of ..., ivory beds, armchairs of ivory, elephant hide(s), elephant ivory, ebony, boxwood, (iii 75) every kind of valuable treasure, as well as his daughters, his palace women, male singers, (and) female singers brought into Nineveh, my capital city, and he sent a mounted messenger of his to me to deliver (this) payment and to do obeisance.

iii 82–91) On my fourth campaign, the god Aššur, my lord, encouraged me so that I mustered my numerous troops and ordered the march to the land Bit-Yakin. (iii 85) In the course of my campaign, I defeated Šīzu (Mušēzib-Marduk), a Chaldean who lives in the marshes, at the city Bitidūtu. As for him, terror of doing battle with me fell upon him and (iii 90) his heart pounded. He fled alone like a lynx and his (hiding)
iii 92–iv 9) I turned around (lit. “I turned the front of my yoke”) and took the road to the land Bit-Yakin.

— Marduk-apla-iddina (II) (Merodach-baladan), whom (iv 1) I had defeated (and) whose forces I had scattered during my first campaign — became frightened by the clangor of my mighty weapons and my fierce battle array. He flew away like a bird to the city Nagîte-raqqi, (iv 5) which is in the midst of the sea. I brought his brothers, the seed of his father’s house, whom he had abandoned at the shore of the sea, together with the rest of the people of his land, out of the land Bit-Yakin, which is in the swamps (and) marshes, and I counted (them) as booty.

iv 10–12) Once again I destroyed (and) devastated his cities, (and) turned (them) into ruins. I poured out awe-inspiring brilliancy upon his ally, the king of the land Elam.

iv 13–17) On my return march, I placed Aššur-nādin-šumi, my first-born son (whom I) raised on my (own) knee, on his lordly throne and entrusted him with the wide land of Sumer and Akkad.

iv 18–24) On my fifth campaign: The population of the cities Tumurrum, Šaru, Ezāma, Kibšu, (iv 20) Ḥalbuda, Qūa, (and) Qana, whose dwellings are situated like the nests of eagles, the foremost of birds, on the peak of Mount Nipur, a rugged mountain, and who had not bowed down to the yoke — I had my camp pitched at the foot of Mount Nipur.

iv 25–35) Like a fierce wild bull, with my select bodyguard and my merciless combat troops, I took the lead of them (the soldiers in my camp). I proceeded through the gorges of the streams, the outflows of the mountains, (and) rugged slopes in (my) chair, (iv 30) Where it was too difficult for (my) chair, I leapt forward on my (own) two feet like a mountain goat. I ascended the highest peaks against them. Where my knees became tired, I sat down upon the mountain rock and drank cold water from a water skin to (quench) my thirst.

iv 36–38) I pursued them on the peaks of the mountains and defeated them. I conquered, plundered, de-

---

**Note:**

- This edition, as well as text no. 16 and exx. 2 and 11 of text no. 15, omits DINGIR.MEŠ ma-raḫ KUR-ša i-na KU.TUŠ-ša-śu i-d-ke-ma qē-reb GES.MEŠ.ES-šar-ki-ša “he dislodged the gods of the (full) extent of his land from their abodes, and loaded (them) onto boats.”

- Cf. text no. 15 iv 33’ and text no. 22 iii 64, which have na-gi-ti-ra-aq-qi “(the city) Nagîte-raqqi” and URU.na-ĝi-te-raaq-qi “the city Nagîte-raqqi” respectively.

- These lines generally duplicate text no. 16 iv 70–v 32, apart from orthographic variants; see the on-page notes of that text for comments.

- “fifth”: Heidel’s transliteration of ex. 2 (Sumer 9 [1953] p. 144) has 4 “fourth.” This must be a mistake in the modern transliteration or else Heidel would have had a footnote about it.
KUR-ud-ma
38) ăș-lu-la šal-la-su-un ap-pu-ul aq-qur ina 4giš.BAR aq-mu
39) pa-an ni-ri-ia ū-ter-ma se-er 8ma-ni-ia-e
40) LUGAL URU.uk-ki šad-da-a-a-e la kan-še
aš-a-bat ĥar-ra-ti
41) ur-ţi la pe-tu-ti tu-di pa-ăš-qu-ti
42) ša la-pa-an KUR.MEŠ mar-șu-ti
43) ul-la-nu-ța qe-reb-ši-ua ma-am-man
44) la il-li-ka LUGAL.MEŠ pa-ni mah-ra-ti
45) i-na GİR.II KUR.a-na-ra ̀a KUR.up-pa KUR.MEŠ
46) dan-nu-ti ka-ra-șî u-șa-ăş-kin-ma
47) a-na-ka i-na Giš.GU.ZA nê-me-di it-ti Erim.Meš
48) ta-ţa-zi-ia git-ma-lu-ti
49) i-na ne-re-bi-șî-un pi-qu-ti
50) šu-nu-ți-iš e-ru-um-ma mar-si-iš e-te-el-la-a
51) ŠU.SI.MEŠ KUR.MEŠ pa-ăš-ga-a-ti
52) šu-û 9ma-îa-e tur-bu-‘u
53) GİR.II Erim.HI.A-ia e-mur-ma URU.uk-ku URU
LUGAL-ți-șu
54) e-zib-ma a-na ru-țe-e ti in-na-bit
55) URU.uk-ku al-me KUR-ud ăș-lu-la šal-la-su
56) mim-ma șum-șa NîG.ȘU NîG.GA ni-sîr-ti
E.GAL-țu
57) ul-tu qer-ți-șu șa-șe-șa-am ma șal-la-tîs am-nu
58) ța 35 URU.MEȘ ša pa-a-ti li-me-ti-șu
59) ak-șu-ță 9ma URU.MEȘ GU.MEȘ șe-e-ni
60) ANŠ.E MEȘ ăș-lu-la ap-pu-ul aq-qur ina 4giš.BAR aq-mu

61) i-na li-mu 9Șul-mu-EN LŪ.GAR.KUR
URU.tal-mu-si
62) 9Ki-ța LŪ.EN.URU ša URU.IŁ-lu-ub-ri
63) LŪ.ARAD da-gil pa-ni-ia șa iz-zu-bu-șu
DINGIR.MEȘ-șu
64) ba-țu-la-te URU.hi-lak-ki
65) uș-bal-ki-ta ma șu-ru ta-ța-zu
66) UN.MEȘ a-șî-bu-ut URU.in-ți-ra-a u URU.tar-ți
67) i-da-șu is-țu-șu-ma ger-ri KUR.qu-e
68) îș-ba-tu ip-țu-șu a-lak-țu
69) LŪ.ER.MEȘ GiŠ.PAN na-ști tuk-și ă az-ța-re-e
Giš.GiR.MEȘ ANȘ.E KU.RA.MEȘ Ki-sîr
LUGAL-ți-ia
71) ľa-ța-’e-er še-țu-șu-șu-un
72) ša ba-țu-la-te URU.hi-lak-ki
73) șa i-da-șa șîs-țu-ru
74) i-na qe-reb KUR-i mar-șî iș-ku-nu ta-h-ta-șu-un

stroayed, devastated, (and) burned with fire their cities.

iv 39–51) I turned around (lit. “I turned the front
of my yoke”) and took the road against Maniye, the
king of the city Ukku (and) an insubmissive mountain-
dweller. Before my time, none of the former kings
of the past had marched through the untrodden
paths (and) difficult trails on account of the rugged
mountains. (iv 45) I had my camp pitched at the foot
of Mount Anara and Mount Uppa, mighty mountains,
and I myself, in an armchair, with my crack combat troops,
entered their narrow passes with great difficulty and
ascended with a struggle the steep mountain peaks.

iv 52–57) He, Maniye, saw the dust cloud (stirred up)
by the feet of my troops, then he abandoned the city
Ukku, his royal city, and fled afar. (iv 55) I surrounded,
conquered, (and) plundered the city Ukku. I brought
out of it every kind of possession (and) property, the
treasures of his palace, and I counted (it) as booty.

iv 58–60) Moreover, I conquered thirty-five cities on
the borders of its outskirts and carried off people,
oxen, and sheep and goats, (and) donkeys. (Then)
I destroyed (them), devastated (them), (and) burned
(them) with fire.

iv 61–68) In the eponymy of Šulmu-Bēl, governor of
the city Talmus (696), Kirūa — the city ruler of
Illubru, a servant who belonged to me, whom his gods
had abandoned — (iv 65) incited the population of
Hilakku to rebel and prepare for battle. The people
living in the cities Inigar and Tarzu aligned themselves
with him, then seized the road through the land Que
(and) blocked (its) passage.

iv 69–76) I sent against them archers, shield and
lance bearers, chariots, (and) horses of my royal
contingent. In rugged mountain terrain, they defeated
the population of Hilakku, who had aligned themselves
with him. (iv 75) They conquered and plundered the
cities Inigar (and) Tarzu.
75) URU.in-gi-ra-a URU.ta-ar-zu ik-šu-du-ma
76) iš-lu-lu šal-la-su-un
77) ša-a-šá qē-reb URU.iš-lu-ušri URU dan-nu-ti-Šú
78) ni-tum il-mu-šu-Šú iš-ba-tu mu-ša-šu
79) i-na qur-ru-ub Šu-pe-e nim-gal-li BÁD
80) Ši kal-ba-na-te mit-šu-su zu-uk GÎR.II
81) dab-da-a-šú iš-ku-nu-ma iš-ba-tu URU

iv 77–81) As for him (Kirūa), they besieged him in the city Iššubru, his fortified city, and cut off his escape route. They defeated him by means of bringing up battering rams, siege machines (lit. “nimgallus of the wall”), (iv 80) and siege engines, (and) the assault of foot soldiers, and they took possession of the city.

iv 82–86) They brought Kirūa, the city ruler, together with booty from his cities and the inhabitants of Ḥilakku who had aligned themselves with him, as well as donkeys, oxen, and sheep and goats to Nineveh, before me. I flayed Kirūa.

iv 87–91) Once again, I reorganized the city Iššubru (and) settled therein the people of the lands that I had conquered. I installed the weapon of the god Aššur, my lord, inside itself. (iv 90) I had a stele of alabaster made and I erected (it) in front of it.

Col. v
1) i-na li-mu maš-šur-EN-PAP LÜ.GAR.KUR KUR.kat-mu-hi
2) a-na URU.DU₁-ga-ri-im-me
3) a-lum ša pa-a-ti KUR.ta-ba-li
4) ša mašū-dī-i LUGAL URU.ur-du-ti
5) ir-ku-su GÎS.TUKUL.MEŠ-Šú
6) as-su-uk-ma LÜ.ERIM.MEŠ GÎS.PAN na-ši tuš-ši
7) Ši az-ma-re-e GÎS.GĪG.R.MEŠ ANŠ.E KUR.RA.MEŠ
8) ki-šiš LUGAL-ti-ia ä-ma-e’er se-ru-uš-šú
9) URU šu-a-Šú ni-i-tum ni-i-tum il-mu-ša
10) i-na ši-pik e-pe-ri à qur-ru-ub šu-pi-i
11) mit-hu-us zu-uk GÎR.II iš-ba-tu URU
12) URU.MEŠ a-di DINIR.MEŠ a-šib li-ši ši-im-nu-ū šal-la-ti-iš
13) URU šu-a-tu ŠP-PU-lu iš-QU-ru
14) a-na DU₁ ŠU kar-me ŠU-ta-ru
15) i-na šal-lat KUR.MEŠ Ša-ti-na ša äš-lu-la
16) 30 LIM GÎS.PAN 20 LIM GÎS.a-ri-tu
17) i-na liš-bi-ši-nu ak-šur-ma
18) UGU ki-šiš LUGAL-ti-ia ŠU-ŠU-dî

v 1–8) In the eponymy of Aššur-bēlu-ūṣur, governor of the land Katmuḥu (695), I ... against the city Til-Garimme, a city on the border of the land Tabal where Gurdī, king of the city Urdutu, (v 5) had mobilized his weapons, then I sent archers, shield and lance bearers, chariots, (and) horses of my royal contingent against it.

v 9–14) They besieged that city and (v 10) took possession of the city by means of piling up earth, bringing up battering rams, (and) the assault of foot soldiers. They counted the people, as well as the gods, living inside it as booty. They destroyed (and) devastated that city. They turned (it) into a mound of ruins (lit. “a mound and ruins”).

v 15–22) From the booty of those lands that I had plundered, I conscripted 30,000 archers (and) 20,000 shield bearers and added (them) to my royal contingent. (v 20) I divided up the rest of the substantial
23) i-na u₄-me-sama-NINA.KI ma-ḥa-zi σι-ı-ru
24) URU na-ram ḫiš-tar
25) ša nap-ḥar ki-du-de-e DINIRG.MEŠ
26) ḫiš.TAR.MEŠ ba-šu-ú qe-reb-ša
27) tem-me-enu da-ru-ú du-ru-uš sa-4-ti
28) ša ul-tu ul-la it-ši-ṣir bu-ru-un-me
29) eš-rat-su eš-ret-su šu-pu-ú ši-in-dušá
30) aš-ru nak-lu šu-bat πi-riš-ti
31) ša mim-ма šum-ša ši-pir ni-kil-ti
32) gi-mir pel-lu-de-e ni-ṣir-ti šal-gar
33) šu-ta-bu-lu qe-reb-ša
34) ša ul-tu ul-la LUGAL.MEŠ-ni
35) a-li-kut mah-ri AD.MEŠ-ıa
36) ul-la-nu-ú-a be-lu-ut KUR aš-šur.KI e-pu-ša-ša
37) úma-’e-ru ba’-u-lat αNÆL
38) a-a-am-ı-ı na lı-bi-ši-nu a-na šum-dul₄ šu-bat uru
39) e-peš BAD šu-te-šu su-qa-4-nı
40) û ḫa-re-e ìd za-qa-ap ši-pa-a-ti
41) û-zu-un-šu ul ib-ši-ma
42) ul uš-ta-biš ka-ras-su
43) a-na E.GAL qer-bi-ša küm-mu ri-mi be-lu-te
44) ša su-uh-ḥu-rat šu-bat-sa
45) e-piš-taš la nak-lat₄
46) le-su-e su il-da-a
47) lıb-bu-uš ul iḥ-su-us
48) ıa-a-ti ḫin.N.KU-Š.E.MEŠ-erı-ba
49) LUGAL kiš-ša-ti LUGAL KUR aš-šur.KI
50) e-peš šip-ri šu-a-tu ki-i tê-em DINIRG.MEŠ
51) i-na uz-ni-ıa ib-ši-ma ka-bat-ti ub-lam-ma
52) te-ne-šet KUR kal-di LÜ.4-ra-me KUR.man-na-a-a
53) KUR.qa-4 u KUR ḫi-lak-ku KUR.pi-liš-ti û KUR.sur-rı
54) ša a-na ni-ri-ıa la ık-nu-šu
55) as-su-ḥa-am ma tup-šik-ku
ú-ša-dši ša-nu-ti-pa
56) il-bu-nu SIG₄ E.GAL mah-ri-tu
57) ša 3 ME 60 ina 1.KUŠ UŠ
58) 95 ina 1.KUŠ SAG.KI
59) ma-r₄-ka ši-šu-na-at-ma
60) su-uḥ-ḥu-rat šu-bat-sa
61) ša LUGAL.MEŠ-ni a-li-kut mah-ri AD.MEŠ-ıa

enemy booty like sheep and goats among my entire camp and my governors, (and) the people of my great cult centers.

v 23–33) At that time, Nineveh, the exalted cult center, the city loved by the goddess Ištar (v 25) in which all of the rituals for gods and goddesses are present; the enduring foundation (and) eternal base whose plan had been designed by the stars (lit. “writing”) of the firmament and whose arrangement was made manifest since time immemorial; (v 30) a sophisticated place (and) site of secret lore in which every kind of skilled craftsmanship, all of the rituals, (and) the secret(s) of the lāğar (cosmic subterranean water) are apprehended;

v 34–47) in which since time immemorial earlier kings, (v 35) my ancestors, before me exercised dominion over Assria and ruled the subjects of the god Enlil; (but) not one among them had conceived of and put his mind towards increasing the size of the city, building wall(s), straightening the streets, (v 40) or dredging the river (and) planting orchards; nor had any (of them) paid heed to (or) shown interest in the palace inside it, the seat of lordly dwelling whose site had become too small (and) whose construction was inexpert:

v 48–56a) (But) as for me, Sennacherib, king of the world, king of Assria, (v 50) the performing of this work came to my attention by the will of the gods and I put my mind to it. I forcibly removed the people of Chaldea, Aramean (tribes), the land of the Mannans, the lands Que and Ḫilaku, (and) Philistia, and the land (of the city) Tyre, who had not submitted to my yoke, then I made them carry baskets (of earth) and they made bricks.

v 56b–63) The former palace, whose extent was 360 cubits on (its) longer side (and) 95 cubits on (its) shorter side, and (v 60) whose site was too small; which earlier kings, my ancestors, had had constructed for their lordly dwelling, but whose construction had carried out inexpertly:

v 57 3 ME 60 “360”: According to the copy seen by E. Frahm (Sanherib p. 88), ex. 1* has 3\(^{2}\) (over erasure) ME 40 “340,” or less likely 6 ME 40 “640.”

v 58–60 According to the copy seen by E. Frahm (Sanherib p. 88), ex. 1* omits this passage altogether.
a-na ri-mit be-lu-ti-šá-un ú-še-pi-šu-ma
la ú-nak-ki-šu ši-pir-šá
4\ALAD.\LAMMA.MEŠ ša NAŠ-pi-i-li pe-se-e
i-na URU.ta-as-ti-a-te ša e-b-e-r-tan ÍDJIGNA
ib-tu-qu a-na mu-kil KA.MEŠ-šić-i-n
a-na šu-pu-uš GIŠ.MÁ.MEŠ
qé-reb GIŠ.TIR.MEŠ GIŠ.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ
ú-gé-ru i-na nap-šar KUR-šú-un
i-na ITL.GU₂, u₂-mu a-dan-ni e-de-e pa-an šat-ti
i-na GIŠ.MÁ.MEŠ ši-ra-a-te
a-na a-ša-an-na-a ú-šeb-bi-ra-ni mar-ši-iš
i-na né-še-ri ka-a-ŠI GIŠ.MÁ.GU.LA.MEŠ
ú-te-eb-bu-ú ba-šu-la-te-šá-un
ú-šá-ni-šu ú-lam-me-nu ka-ras-si-i-n
i-na da-na-ni ú Šup-šu-qi
mar-si-iš ú-bi-lu-nim-ma
ú-šá-as-bi-tu kA.MEŠ-šić-i-n
ÍD.te-bil-ti a-gu-ú šit-mu-ru
ša ul-tu UD.MEŠ SÚ.MEŠ
te-eš E.GAL. i-ba₃-u₃-ú-ma
i-na ILLU-šá gap-ši i-na uš-ši-šá
ab-bu u-šab-šu-ú ú-ri-ib-šu tem-me-en-šá
É.GAL.TUR.RA šá-a-tu a-na si-ḫi-ri-ti-šá aq-qur
šá ÍD.te-bil-ti ma-lak-šá
ul-tu qa-bal-ti URU ap-ru-us-ma
i-na ta-mir-ti ku-tal URU ú-še-šir mu-su-šá
i-na 1/2 IKU ma-lak A.MEŠ 4 NAŠ-pi-i-li GAL.MEŠ
it-ti ESIR.UDA.a-ki-sa-šu GLMEŠ a-pe
ù ku-pe-e ú-šat-ri-ša UGU-šú-un
190 3 ME 40 ina 1KUŠ UŠ
Col. vi
1 2 ME 89 ina 1KUŠ SAG.KI
2 qa₃-qa-ru ul-tu qé-reb ÍD.JU-su-ur
3 ú ta-mir-ti URU
4 ki-ma a-tar-tim-ma lu aš-ba₃-ta₃ se-er me-ši-ih-ti
tam-li-i mah-re-e lu ú-rad-di₃-ma
5 a-na si-ḫi-ri-ti-šá ina 1 ME 90 ti-ib-ki ul-la₃-a re-ši-šá
6 la-ba-ri₃ UD.MEŠ i-na ILLU ki₃-ši₃-ti
tem-me-en tam-li-i la e-nē-ši
7 NAŠ-pi-i-li GAL.MEŠ ki-su-šu-šu
8 ú-sha-as-ḫi-ra ú-dan-nin šu-pu-u₃-šu
9
10

v 64 4ALAD.4LAMMA.MEŠ “bull colossi.” Cf. text no. 16 v 79, which has UDU.MEŠ šad-dil 4LAMMA “mountain sheep colossi.”
v 72b–73 Ex. 1a appears to abbreviate mar-si-i₃ i-na né-še-ri ka-a-ŠI GIŠ.MÁ.GU.LA.MEŠ “with difficulty ... large boats at the quay dock.”
v 85–87 Cf. text no. 16 vi 17b–19a, which has ša ÍD.te-bil-ti ma-lak-šá ú-te-ši₃-na a-ab bu-ši₃-šu ma₂-ši₃-ši₃ mu-su-šá “I changed the course of the Tigris River, repaired (the effects of) the erosion, and regulated its flow.”
v 88–90 Text no. 16 vi 19b–21a has qé-reb ka-tam-ti a-sar-rak-ki₃-šá šap-la-a₂-nu GLMEŠ e-la-ŠI₂ ŠA, KUR-i dan-nu it-ti ESIR.UDA a-ki-sa-šu “in the hidden depths of its subterranean waters I bonded together with bitumen reeds below (and) strong mountain stone above.”
v 1 2 ME 89 “289”: Text no. 16 v 22 has 2 ME 88 “288.”
v 2–4a qé-reb ... lu as-la₃-ta “I took ... from”: Cf. text no. 16 vi 23–24a, which has ul-tu qé-reb ÍD.JU-su-us₃-ur₃ ú-še-šir ma₂-šu₃-mi₃ “I raised (it) out of the [ŠUR River] and (converted it) to dry land.”
v 6 Unlike text no. 16, this inscription does not include the measurements of the newly constructed terrace. Instead, it adds the dimensions of the palace after the passage recording the reinforcement of the terrace’s foundations with large limestone slabs (vi 7–14a). See text no. 16 vi 26–38.
v 7 Text no. 16 adds a passage here about the god Aššur and the goddess Ištara revealing white limestone in the city Bālaštāya (vi 39–48). That passage appears below in this inscription, but in a greatly expanded fashion. See the on-page note to vi 45–79.
I enlarged the structure of the palace to 700 large cubits along (its) longer side and 440 large cubits along (its) shorter side and (thus) I made its site bigger.

vi 14b–22 I built palatial halls of gold, silver, (vi 15) bronze, ...stone, breccia, alabaster, elephant ivory, ebony, boxwood, musukkanu—wood, cedar, cypress, juniper, elamaku—wood, (and) Indian wood, for my lordly residence, (vi 20) then I had a house with double doors, a replica of a Hittite palace, opposite (its) gates, constructed.

vi 23–29 I roofed them (the palatial halls) with beams of cedar (and) cypress, whose scent is sweet, product(s) of Mount Amanus (vi 25) and Mount Sirāra, the holy mountains. I fastened bands of silver (and) copper on doors of cedar, cypress, juniper, (and) Indian wood and I installed (them) in their gates.

vi 30–36 In the corridors that are within the papāḫu—chambers, I made openings for latticed windows. At their gates, I stationed apotropaic figures of alabaster (and) elephant ivory, whose folded hands hold poppies, who are laden with pride (and) allure, (vi 35) (and) who are filled with exuberance, and (thus) I made (them) an object of wonder.

vi 37–44 The covering of the roof that (hangs) over the corridors — I made their somber atmosphere cheerful, making (them) as bright as day. (vi 40) I decorated them with silver and copper knobbled nails. I adorned the arches, friezes, and all of the copings with baked bricks (glazed in the color of) obsidian (and) lapis lazuli.

vi 45–53a So that the construction of my palace might be carried out correctly and that my handiwork be completed, at that time, the god Aššur and the goddess Ištar, who love my priestly service (and) who selected me (lit. "who called my name"), revealed to...
ša ul-tu UD.MEŠ SÛ.MEŠ i-ši-ňu-ma
ik-bi-ru ma-gal i-na qé-reb KUR.SI-ra-ra
KUR.MEŠ ina pu-uz-ri na-an-zu-zu
ú-Šak-li-mu-in-ši i-su-un
ša NA₄.GIŞ.NU₁₁,GAL ša i-na tar-ši LUGAL.MEŠ-ni
AD.MEŠ-ia a-na kar-ri nam-ša-ri šu-qu-ru
i-na sa-pa-an KUR.am-ma-na-na ú-šap-tu-ni
na-pa-ši
ša NA₄.DÜR.MI.NA.BÀN.DA ma-la
DUG.bur-zî-gal-li
ša la in-nam-ru ma-ti-ma
ina URU.kap-ri-da-ár-gî-la-à
ša pa-a-ti URU.DU₄.bar-sî-ip
ú-kal-lim ra-ma-nu-úš
i-te-e NINA.KI ina er-se-ti URU.ba-la-ta-a-a
ki-i tê-êm DINGIR.ma NA₄.pi-i-ku pe-šu-u
a-na mu-šu-de e in-na-mir-ma
4ALAD.¹LAMMA.MEŠ ú ša-lam meš-re-ši
NA₄.GIŞ.NU₁₁,GAL
ša i-na 1-en NA₄ ib-ba-nu-ú mi-na-a-te šak-lat-šu-lu
i-na ki-gal-li ram-ni-šá-nu
šá-gisši na-an-zu-šu
MUNUS.ÁB.ZA.ZA-a-te NA₄.GIŞ.NU₁₁,GAL
ša zi-me nu-us-su-qa
GIM u₄-me na-par-di-i nu-un-mu-ru zu-mur-šîn
KUN.MEŠ NA₄.DÜR.MI.NA.BÀN.DA MAH.MEŠ
ab-ni ki-lal-la-an i-na šad-di-šû-un ab-tuq-ma
a-na šip-ri ĝ.GAL-i-a
ú-šal-di-da qé-reb URU.mi-na-a
4ALAD.¹LAMMA.MEŠ ú MUNUS.ÁB.ZA.ZA-a-te
NA₄.pi-i-li pe-še-e i-na lip-ta-at šin-kur-ra
i-na er-se-et URU.ba-la-ta-a-a
ú-šá-a'-lîd ma ú-šak-li-la gat-ta-šû-un
ša ul-tu ul-la LUGAL.MEŠ-ni AD.MEŠ-ia
ša-lam URUDU tam-šîl gat-ti-šû-un
a-na šu-zu-zî qé-reb ĝ.EKUR.MEŠ
ib-nu-ma i-na e-piš-ti-šû-nu
ú-ša-ni-šu gi-mir DUMU um-ma-a-ni
i-na la bi-šîl uz-ni la ha-sa-as a-ša-me-te
a-na šip-ri hi-ših-ti-šû-nu
l.GIŞ iš-ku-ru na-al-ba-dás še-e-ni
ú-qa-re qé-reb KUR.MEŠ-šû-un
la-a-ti mi₄.EZU-ŠES.MES-eri-ba
a-ša-red kal ma-ki mu-de-e šip-ri
ka-la-ma tim-me URUDU GAL.MEŠ
ur-mah-ši pe-tan bi-kî ša ma-nam-ma
la ip-ti-qu LUGAL pa-ni maħ-rí-ia
Col. vii
1 i-na uz-ni ni-kil-ti

me a source of long trunks of cedar, (vi 50) since distant days grew tall and very thick as they stood in seclusion in the Sirâra mountain range. vi 53b–56) In the uplands of Mount Ammanāna (northern Anti-Lebanon), they (Aššûr and Ištâr) disclosed to me the location of alabaster, which in the time of the kings, (vi 55) my ancestors, was too expensive (even) for the pommel of a sword. vi 57–61) Moreover, breccia, as much as is needed (for making) buruzgalû-bowls, (a stone) that had never been seen before, (vi 60) revealed itself at Kaprîdargîlî (“Dargilâ Village”), which is on the border of the city Til-Barsip.

vi 62–75) Near Nineveh, in the territory of the city Balâtyâ, by divine will, white limestone was discovered in abundance, then I created bull colossi and (other) statues with limbs of alabaster that are sculpted from a single stone, (whose) proportions are perfect, and who stand high on their own pedestals; sphinxes of alabaster (vi 70) whose features are exquisite (and) whose bodies shine like a brilliant day; and (and) magnificent slabs of breccia. I cut (them) free on both sides from their mountains, then, for the construction of my palace, I had (them) dragged into Nineveh.

vi 76–79) I had bull colossi and sphinxes of white limestone created and their forms perfected through the craft of the deity Ninkura, in the territory of the city Balâtyâ.

vi 80–88) Since time immemorial, the kings, my ancestors, created copper statues, replicas of their (own) forms, to be erected in temples, and through their manufacture they had exhausted all of the craftsmen. (vi 85) Through ignorance (and) failure to give thought on the matter, they depleted the oil, wax, (and) wool in their lands for the work they desired.

vi 89–vii 8) (But) as for me, Sennacherib, the foremost of all rulers, expert in every type of work, regarding large columns of copper (and) striving lion colossi, which none of the kings of the past (who came) before me had cast: (vii 1) with the ingenious mind that the prince, the god Ninîšîku, had granted to me (and) taking counsel with myself, I intensively pondered...
vi 9–19 See Dalley in Curtis, Bronzeworking p. 104. This passage is a total reworking of text no. 16 vi 74–77. For giš-mah-ḫi ʿa l-a-mit-ta “tree trunks and date palm(s),” see the on-page note to vii 48.

vii 10 giš mes-re-ee “the tree of abundance”: Cf. Lambert, BWL p. 74 line 56 and the note to that line on p. 305.

vii 18 D.D. Luckenbill (Senn. p. 109), the CAD (2 p. 87 sub ʿer πα 3), G.L. Russell (Senn. p. 140), M.A. Powell (Studies Matouš p. 226), S. Parpola (Baigam and Parpola, SAA 6 p. XXXIX n. 26), and others believe that 1/2 giš.ta.ām is a reference to a half-shekel piece. To our knowledge none of these “half-shekel pieces” have ever been identified in the archaeological record. For archaeological and textual evidence for the use of “money” in Mesopotamia prior to the invention of coinage, see Powell, Studies Matouš pp. 211–243. In the late third millennium and early second millennium, Powell suggests that silver was exchanged primarily in the form of “rings” (Sum. ṣar, Akk. šēreum), or more precisely, “coins,” but also in the form of scrap silver (Akk. širūtu). If 1/2 giš.ta.ām was ever a reference to a piece of money, it is uncertain what shape it took and whether or not these “half-shekel pieces” were regulated by the palace in the same manner as weights, that is, royal-issue “money.” Greek coins are mentioned in a late Babylonian text; see CAD Z p. 87 sub ʿer πα 4. J. Reiger (in Scheilke and Nitsch, Rätzel Geld pp. 307 and 309), M.A. Powell (JESHO 39 [1996] pp. 231–232), K. Radner (in Bercksen, Trade and Finance p. 127 n. 2) and P. Vargyas (JNES 61 [2002] pp. 111–115) suggest that this statement was intended to illustrate how simple and effective Sennacherib’s new casting was, and not to refer to the minting of coins. Radner notes that the smallest amount of copper referred to in legal documents is half a mina. Vargyas suggests reading 1/2 giš.ta.ām as ina 1 giš.ta.ām; this proposal is not supported by our collation of ex. 1, as the sign is clearly 1/2, not the signs ina 1. Moreover, E. Frahm (NABU 2005 p. 51 no. 45) points out that 1/2 giš in this context equals ʿēzīu “half unit (of a shekel);” Sīg.+alam = Nahibu Tablet XVII line 236 (Finkel and Civil, MSL 16 p. 162) reads: 1/2 giš = ʿēzīu.

vii 20–25 Cf. text no. 16 vii 4–11, which served as the model for this passage. That inscription refers to the colossi as udūmeš šad-di šamāmaš “mountain sheep colossi,” rather than as šalad šamāmaš “bull colossi,” and records the number of colossi: twelve copper colossi, two colossi of alabaster, and seventy-two colossi of white limestone.

vii 26–30 This passage, which may have been composed anew for this text (and other inscriptions written in 694), is a reworking of text no. 16 vi 83–vi 3.

vii 31–40 This passage was probably composed anew for this text and other inscriptions written in 694. Cf. text no. 16 vi 83–vii 3. In particular, note that that passage records the number of colossi (ten copper sphinxes, ten alabaster sphinxes, and twelve sphinxes cast from giš.lan.na- metal) and that it differentiates the (two) cedar columns from the other wooden columns. In this inscription, the columns are made from ebony, cypress, cedar, dadrânu-unipuer, juniper, and Indian wood and their inlays are made from pašallu-gold and silver, whereas in text no. 16 the columns are copper, and dadrânu-unipuer and their inlays are pašallu-gold, ešmarû- silver, and bronze.
features were brilliant: I erected over them columns of ebony, cypress, cedar, *dąprpnju*n-Juniper, juniper, and Indian wood, with *pašallu*-gold and silver inlays, then (vii 40) I positioned the architraves of the inner rooms of my lordly residence (on those columns).

(vii 41–44) I surrounded their (the palace rooms’) lower courses with slabs of breccia (and) alabaster, and large limestone slabs (and) made (them) an object of wonder.

(vii 45–49a) In order to be able to draw water by bucket every day, I had bronze wire chains and bronze cables made and, instead of poles, I had tree trunks and date palm(s) of bronze placed over wells.

(vii 49b–52) I made those palatial halls beautiful. To be an object of wonder for all of the people, I raised the superstructure of the entire palace. I called it “The Palace Without a Rival.”

(vii 53–57) I planted alongside it (the palace) a botanical garden, a replica of Mount Amanus, which has all kinds of aromatic plants (and) fruit trees, trees that are the mainstay of the mountains and Chaldea, together with cotton trees (lit. “trees bearing wool”), collected inside it.

(vii 58–64) Nineveh, the site of whose circumference had been 9,300 cubits since former times (vii 60) (and) for which no earlier ruler had had an inner or outer wall built — I added 12,515 (cubits) in the plain around the city to (its) previous measurement and (thus) established its dimensions as 21,815 large cubits.
ša Bād-šū GAL-i bād-nī-gal-bī-lū-kūr-ra-šū-šū

du-ū-su ša nam-ri-ru-šu na-ki-ri saḥ-pu
še-er NA-pi-li tem-me-en-šu ad-di-ma
40 SIG, ū-kāb-bīr
i-na 1 ME 80 ti-ib-ki ul-la-a re-ši-šu
a-na er-bet-ti ša-a-ri 15 KĀ.GAL.MEŠ
pa-nu ū ar-ka i-na ši-li ki-lal-la-an
a-na e-re-bi ū a-še-e
ū-Saš-ta qē-reb-šū
li-būr ĖNSI ַaš-šur KĀ.GAL ַaš-šur ša
URU.SA.URU
sa-pi-in gi-mīr na-ki-ri
KĀ.GAL ַmEN.ZU-ŠEŠ.MEŠ-eri-ba ša KUR,ḥal-zi
ַmEN.LĪL ma-kiṇ BALA-ia KĀ.GAL ַUTU ša
KUR,GA-gal
ša ַmEN.ZU-ŠEŠ.MEŠ-er-bi it-ti ma-nal-ti e-req-qi
kin-ni BALA-šū KĀ.GAL ַNIN.LĪL ša
URU,kAR-ַNIN.LĪL
ma-še-sa-at UZU ַāzig KĀ.GAL muš-la-lum
du-muq ַāš-na-an u ַlāhar qē-reb-šā ka-a-an
KĀ.GAL URU,ši-ba-ni-ba
ba-bi-lat ḫi-ṣib ḫur-ša-a-ni KĀ.GAL
KUR,ḥa-lāḥ-ḥi
ŠU,NIGIN 7 KĀ.GAL,MEŠ ַUTU,Ē
mē-ēḥ-ret IM,šu-u-ṭi ū IM,šā-di-i
az-kai-ra ni-bit-si-in
ַšIKUR šā-rī-iK ḫE.GAL a-na KUR
KĀ.GAL ַšIKUR ša am-ba-si
ַb-er-ra ša-a-ḡis za-ma-ni-ia
KĀ.GAL ַUGUR ša URU,τar-bi-ši
ַšIKER-RI na-sir AGA be-lu-ṭi-ia KĀ.GAL ַEN.ZU
ŠU,NIGIN 3 KĀ.GAL,MEŠ ša mē-ēḥ-ret IM,il-ta-ni
at-ta-bi is-qir-si-in
ַš-a mu-še-šir kūp-pi-ia KĀ.GAL ma-qē-e
mu-še-ri-bat mi-šir-ti ā-ād-me KĀ.GAL ka-a-ri
kād-re-e LŪSU-mu-’e-ēl ū LŪ.te-e-me
Col. viii
1 qē-reb-šā ir-ru-ub KĀ.GAL mad-ba-ri
2 pa-qī-da-at ka-la-la KĀ.GAL Ė.GAL ma-šar-ti
3 ָšār-ur mu-šam-qit a-a-ab LUGAL KĀ.GAL
ḥa-an-du-ū-ri
vi 5165–69) I laid the foundation of its great wall, Badnigalbilukaraššu, (which means “Wall Whose Brilliance Overwhelms Enemies,” upon limestone and made (it) 40 bricks thick. I raised its superstructure 180 courses of brick high.
vi 77–73) I had fifteen gates opened up in it in four directions, in front and behind, (and) along both sides, for entering and leaving.
vi 74–86) “May the Vice-Regent of the God Aššur Stay in Good Health”: (this is) the Aššur Gate, which (leads to) the Inner City (Aššur). (vi 75) “The One Who Flattens All Enemies”: (this is) the Sennacherib Gate, which (leads to) the land Ḥalizi. “The God Enil Is the One Who Makes My Reign Firm”: (this is) the Šamaš Gate, which (leads to) the land Gagal. “Make Sennacherib’s Dynasty as Firm as the Position of the Wagon Constellation!”: (this is) the Mullissu Gate, which (leads to) the city Kār-Mullissi. (vi 80) “The One Who Exorcises the ‘Flesh’ of the Assakku-demon”: (this is) the Step Gate. “The Choicest of Grain and Flocks Are Constantly Inside It”: (this is) the gate (leads to) the city Šišaniba. “The Bearer of the Produce of the Mountains”: (this is) the gate (that leads to) the land Ḥalaḥḫu. In total, seven gates (facing) the rising sun, (vi 85) towards the south and east, (and) I gave them (these) names.
vi 87–93) “The God Adad Is the Provider of Prosperity to the Land”: (this is) the Adad Gate, which (leads to) the game preserve. “The God Erra Is the One Who Slaughters Those Hostile to Me”: (vi 90) (this is) the Nergal Gate, which (leads to) the city Tarbišu. “The Divine Namnāru Is the One Who Protects My Lordly Crown”: (this is) the Śin Gate. In total, three gates (facing) towards the north (and) I gave them (these) names.
vi 94–viii 5 “The God Ea Is the One Who Properly Directs (Water Flow into) My Cisterns”: (this is) the Mašqū Gate. (vi 95) “The One Who Brings in Income from the Settlements”: (this is) the Quay Gate. “The Presents of the People of Sumu’el and Tēma (viii 1) Enter Through It”: (this is) the Desert Gate. “The One Who Regulates Everything”: (this is) the Armory Gate. “The God Šarur Is the One Who Cuts Down the King’s
4) ŠU.NIGIN 5 KĂ.GAL.MEŠ ša mé-eh-ret
IM.a.mur-ri
5) at-tas-qā-ra šu-me-šin
6) ša šal-ḫi-i bād-nig-ērim-ḫu-luḫ-ḫa
7) mu-gal-lit za-ma-a-ni uš-šuš-ša ap-te-e-ma
8) 45 NINDA uš-šap-pil-ma
9) ú-ša-ak-šīd A.MEŠ na-ag-bi
10) qē-reb ma-a-me šap-la-a-nu NA₄ KUR-i dan-ni
    ak-sī-ma
11) e-la-ništ a-di pa-ās-qī-šā i-na NA₃,i-pi-li GAL.MEŠ
12) ú-nak-kī ši-pīr-ša
13) ša NINA.KI URU be-lu-tī-ia šu-bãt-su uš-rab-bi
14) re-ba-tī-sā uš-ša-an-dīl-ma ū-nam-mir GIM u₄-me
15) BĀD šal-ḫu-u uš-šu-piš-ma u-zaq-qir ḫur-ša-ništ

viii 15–13) I enlarged the site of Nineveh, my capital city. I broadened its squares, making (them) as bright as day. I had an inner (and) outer wall built and I raised (them) as high as mountain(s).

viιı 16–21) I had gardens cultivated upstream and downstream of the city. I gathered in them fruit trees of the mountains and of all lands (and) every type of aromatic tree of the land ḫatti. On newly tilled soil, which is beside the game preserve, (viii 20) I planted in great number all (types) of mountain vine, every type of fruit tree from all over the world, (including) spice and olive trees.

viιı 22–24) The ḫusur River, whose waters since time immemorial had been deep and which none of the kings, my ancestors, had confined (i.e., made its water flow through a canal) so that they (the waters of the ḫusur) poured into the Tigris River:

viιı 25–30) To make (those) planted areas luxuriant, I dug with picks a canal straight through high ground (and) low ground, from the border of the city Kisoru. (Thus) I provided a regular supply of those waters to the plain of Nineveh and (viii 30) I made (them) gush through small canals into those gardens.

viiι 31–35) I mounted an expedition to search for water at the foot of Mount Muṣri, then I climbed high and marched with difficulty to the city Elmunaqinnū. I found sources of water in front of the cities Dūr-Iṣṭar, Šibaniba, and Sulu, then (viii 35) I made their narrow
34) û URU, su-li nam-ba'-i a-mur-ma
35) IGI.II-šu-nu pi-qa-a-te ú-rab-bi-ma ú-ter a-na
36) kup-pi
37) viii 36–42 For a course for those waters, I cut through
38) rugged mountains, confined areas, with picks and
directed their outflow into the plain of Nineveh.
39) I strengthened their channels like the base of a
mountain. (viii 40) I provided a regular supply of those
40) in them. (Thus) I forever added (them) as an
41) addition to the waters of the Ḫusur River.
42) viii 43–45 In summer, I enabled all of the orchards to
be irrigated. In winter, I annually had water provided to
43) 1,000 seeded fields in the plains upstream and
downstream of the city.
44) viii 46–59 I created a marsh to moderate the flow of
45) those waters and planted a canebrake in it. I let
46) loose in it herons, wild boars (lit. “pigs of the reeds”),
and (ro) deer. (viii 50) By divine will, vines, all kinds of
47) fruit trees, olive trees, (and) aromatic trees flourished
greatly in (those) gardens (planted) on newly tilled
48) soil. Cypress trees, musukkanu-trees, (and) all kinds of
49) trees grew tall and (vii 55) sent out shoots. The
50) marshes thrived greatly. Birds of the heavens, heron(s)
whose home(s) are far away, nest(s) and wild
51) boars (and) roe deer gave birth in abundance.
52) viii 60–64) I cut down musukkanu-trees (and) cypress
trees grown in the orchards (and) marsh reeds from the
53) swamps and I used (them) in the work required (to
54) build) my lordly palatial halls. They picked cotton (lit.
55) “trees bearing wool”) (and) wave (it) into clothing.
56) viii 65–76) After I had finished the work on my palace,

57) I invited inside it the god Aššur, the great lord,
and (the gods and goddesses living in Assyria, then
I made splendid offerings and (vii 70) presented my
gift(s). I made fine oil from olives and aromatics from
the orchards (planted) on newly tilled soil. At the
inauguration of the palace, (vii 75) I had the heads
of the subjects of my land drenched (and) I watered
their insides with sweet wine.
58) viii 77–87) In the future, may one of the kings,
my descendants, whom the god Aššur names for
shepherding the land and people, (viii 80) renovate its

59) openings bigger and turned (them) into springs.
79) i-nam-bu-ú zi-kir-šù
80) e-nu-ma BÁD śa-a-tu
81) i-lab-bi-ru-ma en-na-ḫu
82) an-ḫu-us-su lu-ud-diš
83) MUSAR-e ši-tir šu-me-ia
84) li-mur-ma 1.iš lip-šu-uš
85) UDU.SISKUR liq-qi a-na áš-ri-šù li-ter
86) 4ššur ù 4šš-tar
87) ik-ri-bi-šú i-šem-mu-ú

dilapidated section(s) when that wall becomes old and dilapidated. May he find an inscribed object bearing my name, anoint (it) with oil, (viii 85) make an offering, (and) return (it) to its place. The god Aššur and the goddess ʾistar will (then) hear his prayers.

Date
88) ITILNE li-mu ḫu-us-DINGIR-KI-ia LŪ.GAR.KUR URU.di-maš-qa

Date
viii 88) Abu (V), eponym of Ilu-issiya, governor of the city Damascus (694).

18

A poorly preserved octagonal clay prism from Nineveh, and probably a small fragment of another prism, are inscribed with a text describing eight of Sennacherib’s military campaigns and numerous building activities in and around Nineveh, including the rebuilding of the “Palace Without a Rival” (the South-West Palace), the construction of Nineveh’s inner and outer walls (Badnigalbilukurašušu and Badnigerimḫuluḫa) with their eighteen gates, the creation of a fifty-two-cubit-wide royal road, and the digging and widening of a moat around the city. This inscription contains material from texts written earlier in the king’s reign (especially from those written in 694–692) and material composed anew for this text and other inscriptions written in 691 (Sennacherib’s 14th regnal year). Like the better preserved and known text nos. 22 and 23, the military narration of this edition of Sennacherib’s res gestae includes accounts of eight campaigns: (1) against Marduk-apla-iddina II (biblical Merodach-baladan) and his Chaldean and Elamite allies in Babylonia; (2) against the Kassites and Yasubigallians, and the land Ellip; (3) to the Levant, against an Egyptian-led coalition that had been organized by the nobles and citizens of the city Ekron, and against the Judean king Hezekiah; (4) against Bit-Yakin; (5) to Mount Nipur and against Maniye, king of the city Ukku; (6) against the Chaldeans living in Elam and against Nergal-ušēzib, the king of Babylon; (7) against Elam; and (8) the battle of Ḥaluḫē, where Assyrian forces fought Babylonian and Elamite forces led by Mušēzib-Marduk, the king of Babylon, and Umman-menanu (Ḫumban-menanu), the king of Elam. Accounts of the events of the king’s 9th and 10th regnal years (696 and 695), those undertaken by his officials to Ṭilakkû (Cilicia) and the city Til-Garimme, however, are not included among the king’s victories on the battlefield. In connection with his work at Nineveh, Sennacherib records that he built the citadel wall (or some other structure in the citadel) as high as a mountain, created a wide road through the center of the city for triumphal processions, widened the moat that he had dug around the city earlier in his reign, and dug numerous canals in order to bring abundant water to Nineveh. One exemplar preserves date lines and that prism was inscribed in the eponymy of Bēl-ēmuranni, governor of the city Carchemish (691).
CATALOGUE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ex. Number</th>
<th>Registration Number</th>
<th>Provenance</th>
<th>Dimensions (cm)</th>
<th>Lines Preserved</th>
<th>cpn</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>BM 127845 +</td>
<td>Nineveh; BM 134432,</td>
<td>Cols. 6.7–7</td>
<td>1&lt;sup&gt;‘&lt;/sup&gt;–8&lt;sup&gt;‘&lt;/sup&gt;, ii</td>
<td>c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>BM 127996 +</td>
<td>BM 134475, BM 134476,</td>
<td>Width:</td>
<td>1&lt;sup&gt;‘&lt;/sup&gt;–38&lt;sup&gt;‘&lt;/sup&gt;, ii</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>BM 128228 +</td>
<td>BM 134490: Nineveh,</td>
<td>Height:</td>
<td>1&lt;sup&gt;‘&lt;/sup&gt;–28&lt;sup&gt;‘&lt;/sup&gt;,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>BM 128265 (+)</td>
<td>Area SH</td>
<td>BM 127845:</td>
<td>1&lt;sup&gt;‘&lt;/sup&gt;–16&lt;sup&gt;‘&lt;/sup&gt;,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A 8134 ± A 16918</td>
<td>BM 127903 +</td>
<td>BM 127903:</td>
<td>1&lt;sup&gt;‘&lt;/sup&gt;–3, 1&lt;sup&gt;‘&lt;/sup&gt;–30&lt;sup&gt;‘&lt;/sup&gt;,</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(+)</td>
<td>BM 128297 (+)</td>
<td>BM 127903:</td>
<td>1&lt;sup&gt;‘&lt;/sup&gt;–31, 1&lt;sup&gt;‘&lt;/sup&gt;–30&lt;sup&gt;‘&lt;/sup&gt;,</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>BM 127914 (+)</td>
<td>BM 127914:</td>
<td>1&lt;sup&gt;‘&lt;/sup&gt;–36&lt;sup&gt;‘&lt;/sup&gt;, v</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>BM 127932 +</td>
<td>BM 127932:</td>
<td>2&lt;sup&gt;‘&lt;/sup&gt;;</td>
<td>1&lt;sup&gt;‘&lt;/sup&gt;–15&lt;sup&gt;‘&lt;/sup&gt;,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>BM 128076 +</td>
<td>BM 127932:</td>
<td>1&lt;sup&gt;‘&lt;/sup&gt;–48&lt;sup&gt;‘&lt;/sup&gt;,</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>BM 128292 +</td>
<td>BM 128229:</td>
<td>1&lt;sup&gt;‘&lt;/sup&gt;–48&lt;sup&gt;‘&lt;/sup&gt;,</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>BM 128333 +</td>
<td>BM 134432:</td>
<td>1&lt;sup&gt;‘&lt;/sup&gt;–11&lt;sup&gt;‘&lt;/sup&gt;, vii</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>BM 134432 +</td>
<td>BM 134475:</td>
<td>1&lt;sup&gt;‘&lt;/sup&gt;–12&lt;sup&gt;‘&lt;/sup&gt;,</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K 11406 (+)</td>
<td>BM 1321–1427 (TM)</td>
<td>BM 134475:</td>
<td>1&lt;sup&gt;‘&lt;/sup&gt;–52&lt;sup&gt;‘&lt;/sup&gt;,</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>BM 1321–14274 (+)</td>
<td>BM 134476:</td>
<td>1&lt;sup&gt;‘&lt;/sup&gt;–32&lt;sup&gt;‘&lt;/sup&gt;,</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BM 134475 (+)</td>
<td>BM 1321–14474 (+)</td>
<td>BM 134490:</td>
<td>1&lt;sup&gt;‘&lt;/sup&gt;–22&lt;sup&gt;‘&lt;/sup&gt;, date</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BM 13440 (+)</td>
<td>BM 1321–14471 (+)</td>
<td>BM 134490:</td>
<td>5.5;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BM 134490 +</td>
<td>BM 1321–14485 (TM)</td>
<td>BM 134490:</td>
<td>4.5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

CATALOGUE OF UNCERTAIN EXEMPLARS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ex. Number</th>
<th>Registration Number</th>
<th>Provenance</th>
<th>Dimensions (cm)</th>
<th>Lines Preserved</th>
<th>cpn</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1&lt;sup&gt;‘&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>83–1-18,605</td>
<td>Probably Nineveh</td>
<td>Cols. 2.8 and 3 wide; 4.5 high</td>
<td>1&lt;sup&gt;‘&lt;/sup&gt;–9&lt;sup&gt;‘&lt;/sup&gt;, iv</td>
<td>c</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

COMMENTARY

This inscription, which would have been one of the longest texts written under the auspices of Sennacherib (800<sup>‘</sup> lines), was composed in the eponymy of Bēl-ēmûranni (691; the king’s 14th regnal year), three years after text no. 17; text no. 22 ex. 2 and text no. 23 ex. 1 were inscribed in the same year as ex. 1 (see below). The text, which was intended for octagonal clay prisms deposited in Nineveh’s wall (just like text nos. 15–17), includes a short prologue, accounts of eight of Sennacherib’s campaigns, and a lengthy and detailed account of construction in and around Nineveh. The prologue, most of the military narration (reports of the first seven campaigns), and much of the building report duplicate those same passages in text no. 17 and res gestae inscribed on (six- and eight-sided) prisms in 693 (the king’s 12th regnal year) and 692 (his 13th regnal year); reports of the sixth campaign (against the Chaldeans living in Elam and against Nergal-uṣezib) were first recorded in texts written in the eponymy of Iddin-ahhê (693) and those of the seventh campaign (against Elam) were first described in res gestae written in the eponymy of Zazêa (692). Accounts of the eighth campaign (the battle of Halûlê), as well as sections of the building report, were composed anew for this text (and possibly other inscriptions written in 691). Because no intermediary editions of Sennacherib’s res gestae between text no. 17 and this text are known, it is difficult to trace the editorial history of the various passages of the building report — that is, how the building report of text no. 17 evolved into that of this foundation inscription. Some additional information is provided in the on-page notes.

Ex. 1 presently comprises eight fragments, several of which are composed of many smaller fragments. For details on the (physical and non-physical)
joins and the suggestion that the fragments belong to a single exemplar, see Frahm, Sanherib p. 90; cf. also Reade, JCS 27 (1975) pp. 193–194. In general, we agree with E. Frahm’s assessment of the pieces. The various fragments of ex. 1 could very well belong to one and the same prism and thus we see no reason why all of the fragments of ex. 1 should not be edited together. Note, however, that BM 127914 may be part of another prism; the vertical ruling line between the columns does not appear to match that of the other fragments. As for the date of composition, collation reveals that the prism was inscribed in the eponymy of Bêl-êmuranni (691). The date lines (viii 23’’’–25’’’) now read: [...] x / [li-mu *EN-IGI-
\[WVIRUFRPPHQWV\]al]-mišt / [LU.Î.+\[WVIRUFRPPHQWV\]garam]-miš7 “The month ...
(2) day) eponymy of Bêl-êmuranni], [governor of the city Carchemish].” The traces of the Ni and MES
signs match exactly those in the date written on text
no. 22 ex. 2. Cf. Frahm, Sanherib p. 94 and pl. III.

Ex. 1*, a fragment of an octagonal clay prism, is
inscribed with either a copy of this inscription or another text whose military narration contained at least eight of Sennacherib’s campaigns (up to the battle of Ḫalulê). Since the building report is
not preserved, 83–11–18,605 is regarded here as a
fragment of uncertain attribution.

E. Frahm (Sanherib p. 89) regarded 80–7–19,317
as a duplicate of this text, but it is more likely a
duplicate of text no. 22 or text no. 23 since it appears
to be from a hexagonal, not an octagonal, prism;
that piece is edited as text no. 22 ex. 6*. A prism
fragment published by V. Schell (Prisme p. 45) could
be a duplicate of this inscription, text no. 22, or text
no. 23, but because we were unable to examine that
piece, it is not known if it is part of a six- or eight-
sided prism, and thus it is arbitrarily edited as

Ex. 1 is the master text, but ex. 1* is the master
text for col. iii 1’’’–9’’’ and col. iv 1’’’–11’’’. Since exs. 1
and 1* do not overlap, no score is provided on the
CD-ROM. Restorations are based on text no. 17, text
no. 22, and text no. 23; preference is generally given
to text no. 22 (ex. 2) and text no. 23.

The tiny fragment K 19861 (Frahm, Sanherib p. 96)
haves traces of a line that duplicates vi 28’ of
this text (see the note to the line), but otherwise the
scant traces do not seem to match this portion of
the text.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1893</td>
<td>Bezdõ, Cat. 3 p. 1161</td>
<td>(ex. 1 [K 11406], study)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1896</td>
<td>Bezdõ, Cat. 4 p. 1904</td>
<td>(ex. 1*, study)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1940</td>
<td>Thompson, Iraq 7 pp. 89–94 and figs. 3–4 nos. 2–4</td>
<td>(ex. 1 [BM 134432; BM 134490], copy, edition)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1967</td>
<td>G.L. Russell, Senn. pp. 90, 93–94 and 122–125</td>
<td>(ex. 1 [BM 134432; BM 134490], study; variants of text no. 17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td>Turner, Iraq 32 p. 75 n. 51</td>
<td>(vii 4’’’–9’a, edition, study)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1975</td>
<td>Reade, JCS 27 pp. 193–194</td>
<td>(exs. 1–1*, study)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1979</td>
<td>Borger, BAL 2</td>
<td>p. 65–66 (exs. 1–1*, study)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1996</td>
<td>Borger, BIWA 4° Heft</td>
<td>(microfiche) 118 and 216 (ex. 1 [A 8134 and A 16918], transliteration)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1997</td>
<td>Frahm, Sanherib, title page</td>
<td>pp. 89–101 T 13 and pls. II–IV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2009</td>
<td>Frahm, RLA 12/1–2 p. 15</td>
<td>(study)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TEXT

Col. i

Lacuna

1)  *mi²-[gir DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ na-šir kit-ti]*

2)  *ra-[i-im mi-sā-ri e-piš ù-sa-a-ti]*

3)  *a-li²k-[tap-pu-ut a-kî-i]*

4)  *sa-ḫi-[ru dam-qa-a-ti]*

5)  *et-lum  gi³t-[ma-lum zi-ka-ru qar-du]*

6)  *a-sā-red [kal mal-kî]*

7)  *rap-pu la²-i³- [it la ma-gi-ri]*

8)  *mu-šab-ri³-[qu za-ma-a-ni]*

Lacuna

1’’’ x [... ša *mu* MUATI-EN-MU.MEŠ]

Lacuna

1’’’’ x [... 1’’’’ 5’a) ... [...] I received [a sub]stantial [audience gift...

11–iv 10 These lines generally duplicate text no. 16 i 1–v 16 and text no. 17 i 1–iv 44, apart from orthographic variants; see the on-page notes of those texts for comments.
i 5b–13) [I put to the sword [the population of the city Tihrimmu], a dangerous enemy, [and] I did not spare a single one. I hung [their] corpses on poles [and] placed (them) around the city. (i 10) I reorganized that district (and) imposed for eternity one ox, ten sheep, ten homers of dates as his first-fruits offerings to the gods of Assyria, my lords.

i 14–23a) On my second campaign, the god Aššur, my lord, (i 15) encouraged and I marched to the land of the Kasites and the land of the Yashubigallians, who since time immemorial had not submitted to the kings, my ancestors. In the high mountains, difficult terrain, (i 20) I rode on horseback and had my personal chariot carried on (men’s) necks. In very rugged terrain I roamed about on foot like a wild bull.

i 23b–33a) I surrounded (and) conquered the cities Bit-Kilmaža, Ḫardišpu, (and) Bit-Kubatti, (i 25) their fortified walled cities. I brought [out] of them people, horses, mules, [donkeys], oxen, and sheep and [goats, and] I counted (them) [as booty]. Moreover, (i 30) I destroyed, [devastated, and] tu[rned into ruins [their small]er settlements, which] were without [num]ber. I bu[rned with fire pavilions and te[nts, their] [ab]odes, [and] reduced (them) [to] ashes.

i 33b–38) I made [that city] Bit-Kilmaža a fortress a[gain] (and) I strengthened its walls more than [before], then (i settled) there[in the people of the lands] that I had conquered. (I brought down from the mountains) the people of the land of the Kas[ites]

Col. ii

Lacuna

1) [Ē ni-šir-ti]-šú ú-[maš-šir-ma]
2) [a-na ru-q₂-er]-ti in-na-bi 'qim-rî]
3) [KUR-ŠÚ DAGAL-tim ki]-ma² MURU₃ as-ḫu-up
4) [URU.mar-₁]-bû₃₃-ši URU.ak-ku-ud-du
5) [URU.MEŠ-ni E LUGAL]-tii ša-ṭi a-di 34 URU.MEŠ TUR.MEŠ
6) [šà li-me-ti]-šà-nu al-me ak-šudw

Lacuna after i 38” Based on parallels, the translation assumes that a now-missing line, probably i 40” or i 41”, contained al-tu qē-reb kur-i ú-še-ri-dam-ma “I brought down from the mountains.”

Lacuna before ii 1” Based on parallels, the translation assumes that the now-missing line immediately before ii 1 contained URU.MEŠ-SÚ dan-nu-ti “his fortified cities.”

from Nabû-bēl-šumālti], the official in charge of [the city Ḥararaṭi: gold, silver, large] musukkannu-trees, [donkeys, camels], oxen, and sheep [and goats].
ii 8’–18’) I carried off people, young (and) old, male and female, horses, [mules], donkeys, camels, oxen, [and sheep] and goats without number, then I brought him [Isapārā] to nought and made his land smaller. I detached [from] his land [the cities Șišišir]tu (and) Kumaḫlum, [fortified] [cities], together with the small(er) settlements (ii 15’) [in their environs (and) the district of the land Bit-Barrū in its entirety, and I added this area to the territory of] Assyria.

ii 19’–26’) I took [the city Elenaš] as a royal city (ii 20’) [and a fortress for] that [district], then I changed its former name and called it Kār-Sennacherib. [I settled] [therein the people of] the lands that [I] had conquered. (ii 25’) I placed (it) under the authority of [a eunuch of mine, the governor of the city Ḥarḥar, [and (thus) enlarged] [my] land(δ).

ii 27’–28’) [On my return] ma[rch, ...] ...

Lacuna

Lacuna

ii 1’–5’a) [Moreover, (as for) Ṣidqā], the king of the city Ashke[lon who had not bowed down] to my yoke, I forcibly removed [the gods of his father’s house, himself], his wife, his sons, [his daughter[s, his brothers], (and other) offspring of his father’s house [and] took him [to Assyria].

ii 5’b–9’) [I set] Šarru-lū-dārī, [son of Rūkibtu], their forme[r] king, [over the people of] the city Ashkelon and imposed upon him [the tribute] (and) gift[s in recognition] of my lordship so that he (now) pull[led my yoke].

ii 10’–14’) In the course of [my] cam[paign], I surr[rounded, conquered, (and)] [plundered the cities Bit-Daganna], Joppa, [Banayabarqa], (and) Azuru, [the cities of Șidqā] that [had not submitted] to me [quickly],

ii 15’–16’) (As for) the governor[s, the nobles, and the people of the city Ekrɔn] ... ...

Lacuna

Lacuna

ii 1’–3’) [In the thick of battle, I captured [alive] the Egypt[ian charioteers and pri]nce[s (lit. “the sons of the king’),] [together with the charioteer]s of the king of the land Melu[h]a].
i 1–10a) [I surrounded, conquered, (and) plundered [the cities Eltekeh (and) Tamnā]. I approached [the city Ekeron] and [I killed the governors (and) nobles] who [had committed] crime(s) [and (iii 5) hung] their corpses on towers [around the city; I counted the citizens who had committed the criminal acts [as booty; (and) I commanded that] the rest of them, [(those) who were not guilty of crimes] or wrongdoing, [(to) whom no penalty] was due, [be allowed to go free].

iii 10b–14) [I brought out Padj], their king, [from the city Jerusalem [and placed (him) on the] lordly [throne over them, then I imposed upon him] payment (in recognition) of [my] lordship.

iii 15–27a) Moreover, (as for) Hezekiah of the land Judah, who had not sub[mitted to my] yoke, I surrounded (and) conquered forty-six of his [fortified] cities, [fortresses], and [small(er)] settlements [in their environs], which [were] without number, [by hav[ing] (iii 20) ramps [trodden down and battering rams brought up], the assault of [foot soldiers, sapping, breaching], and siege [engines]. I brought out [of them] 200,150 people, young (and) old, male and female, horse[s, mules, donkeys, camels], (iii 25) oxen, [and sheep and goats, which were without number, and I counted] (them) as too[ty].

iii 27b–31) [As for him (Hezekiah)], I [confined him inside [the city Jerusalem, his royal city, like a bird in a cage]. I set up blockades against him and (iii 30) made him dread] exit[ing his city gate. I detached from his land] the cit[ies of his that I had plundered]

Lacuna

iii 1a–10a) [On] my [fourth] campaign, the god Aššur, my lord, [encouraged me] so that [I mustered] my [numerous] troops and [ordered the march] to the land Bit-Yakín. In the course of my campaign, (iii 5') I defeated [Šuzzubu] (Mušēzīb-Marduk), a Chaldean who lives in the marshes, [at the city Bi]ttūtū. [As for him], terror of doing battle with me [fell] upon him and his heart pounded. He fled alone [like a] lynx and his (hiding) place could [not be] found.

iii 10b–24') [I turned around (lit. “[I turned the front of my yoke”) and took the road to the land Bit-Yakín. — Marduk-apla-iddina (II) (Merodach-baladan), [whom] I had [defeated] and whose forces I had scattered during my first campaign — (iii 15') [be] came frightened by [the] anger of my mighty weapons and my fierce battle array, then [dis]lodged the gods of the (full) extent of his land from their
abodes, and loaded (them) onto boats. He flew away
[like a] bird [to the city] Nagte-raqiq, which is in
the midst of the sea. (iii 20') I brought] his brothers, the
seed of his father’s house, [whom he had aban]doned
at the shore of the sea, together with the rest of the [the
people of] his [land, out] of the land Bit-Yakin, [which
is in] the] swamps and marshes, and I counted (them)
as booty.

iii 25’-27’] [Once again] I destroyed (and) devastated
his [cit]ies, (and) [turned (them) into] ruins. I poured
out [awe-inspiring] brilliance upon his ally, [the king
of the land Elam].

iii 28’-30’] [On my return march, I] placed Aššur-
nādim-šumi, [my first-born son (whom I) raised on]
my (own) knee, [on his lordly throne] and

Lacuna

iii 1’-5’] [On my fifth campaign: The population of the
cities Tumurrum, Šarum, Eza’m, Kibšu, [Halbuda,
Qia, (and) Qana, whose dwellings are situated] like the
nests of [eagles, the foremost of birds, on the peak of
Mount] Nipur, a rugged mountain, [and who had not]
bowed down to the yoke — (iii 5’) I had [my camp]
pitched [at the foot of Mount Nipur].

Lacuna

iii 1’') ... [...]

iv 1-4a] I pursued them] on the peaks of the moun-
tains [and] defeated them. [I conquered], plundered,
destroyed, (and),] burned with fire [their
cities].

iv 4b-10] I turned [around] (lit. “I turned [the front
of my yoke]”) and took the road against [Maniye],
the king of the city Ukku (and) an [insubmissive
mountain-[weller]. Before [my] time, none of [the
former kings of the past] had mar[ched through the
untrodden paths] (and] difficult trails [in account of the]
rugged [mountains].

Lacuna

Lacuna

iii 17’-18’] Text no. 15 exs. 2 and 11, text no. 16, and text no. 17 omit DINGIR.MEŠ ma-rak KUR-Sšù i-na KILTUŠ-Sšù-nù id-ke-ma qe-reb GİŞ.MA.MEŠ ū-šar-kib-ma “he dislodged the gods of the (full) extent of his land from their abodes, and loaded (them) onto boats.”

Lacuna before iii 1’’] Based on parallels, the translation assumes that the now-missing line immediately before iii 1’’ contained i-na 5 qer-ri-ia ba-šu-la-te UUR.TU MUR-RU “On my fifth campaign: The population of the cities Tumurrum.”
1') [...] x [...] 
2') šum-man-nu iši [bi-re-tu AN.BAR ad-di-šu-ma] 
3') a-na KUR aššūr.KI [u-ra-aššū LUGAL KUR.Elam.MA.KI] 
4') ša Ābšū is-šu-ra-[ma il-li-ku] 
5') re-šu-su BAD.BAD-šū [dš[kun ILLAT.MEš-šū] 
6') uš-ap-ša-i-ša-ša [ri-pu-šušū] 

7) i-na 7-e ger-ri-a [aššur be-li] 
8) uḫ-tak-il-an-mi a-li-na [KUR.e-lam-ti] 
9) lu al-li URU.É=-maš-ı-i-ri [URU.ša-a] 
10) URU.MEŠ-ni ša mi-sir [KUR aššūr.KI] 
11) ša i-na tar-ši AD-ia-e [la-mu-ù] 
12) e-ki-mu da-na-nis i-na [me-ti-iq] 
13) ger-ri-a KUR-ud-ma āš-lu-ša āš-lā-sān 
14) LUA.Erim.MEŠ šu-lu-tia ū-šē-ri-b 
15) qed-reb-šū-un a-na [dš-kir KUR aššūr.KI] 
16) ū-ter-ram-ma āš-li-gal.GUL URU.HAL.ŠU 
17) BĀD.DINGIR.KI an-mu URU.bu-bē-e 
18) URU.dun-ni-du DuTU URU.É-maš-si-ia 
19) URU.É-a-šla-me e-ru URU.du-rū 
20) URU.dan-naṭ-mu-la-a-ša URU.ŠI-li-ib-tu 
21) URU.É-a-šu-si URU.ŠI-ša-NUMUN-BA-šā 
22) URU.É-gi-šu-ši URU.É-kāṭ-pa-la-šī 
23) URU.É-im-bi-a URU.ŠA-ma-nu 
24) URU.É-ar-ra-bi URU.bu-rū-tu 
25) URU.din-in-tu ša-mu-la-a-a 
26) URU.din-in-tu-shaš-mŠMU.É-KAR-ir 
27) URU.hār-ri-aš-lā-ša-ke-e URU.rab-ba-a-a 
28) URU.ra-a-su URU.ak-ša-ba-ra-ni 
29) URU.du₆-um-šu-ri URU.ŠA-am-ra-nu 
30) URU.na-di-tu a-di URU.MEŠ ša né-re-bi 
31) ša URU.É-bu-na-ši URU.ŠU-di-ŠU-um-bi 
32) URU.din-in-tu ša-ma-me-DINGIR 
33) URU.É-ū-ši-bi-ia URU.val-ti-li-šir 
34) [URU.taš]-qabšišša URU.ša-nu-qi-da-ti 
35) [URU.ma-su-ti]-šapšuš-ti URU.sa-ar-šu-de-ri 
36) URU.a-lum-ša-GAŠAN-É 

Lacuna 

1') [x] x [...]
2') iš-me-ma [ki-ši-ti URU.MEŠ-šu]
3') LÚ.ŠE-lal [mu-ši in-šu-hat-tum]
4') ši-it-ti [URU.MEŠ-šu a-na dan-na-ati ū-šē-ri-b]
5') šu-ši URU.ma₆-[dak-ti URU.LUGAL-ši-šu]
6') a-na URU.ŠA-i-da [la ša qe-reb šad-di-i šU.MEŠ]
7') šiš-ṣa-bat har-ru-nu a-na URU.mar-dak-ti URU.LUGAL-ši-šu]
8') a₆-la-ku aq-bi ITI.tam₆ [hi-ši EN.TE.NA dan-nu]
9') e₆-ru-ba-am₆ ma ša-šu₆ [tum ma-at-tum]

iv 1'-6') [...] ... [I bound him (Nergal-uṣūzib) with] tethering ropes and [iron fetters, and brought him] to Assyria. I defea[ted the king of the land Elam], who had aligned himself with him [and come to] (iv 5') his aid. I dispersed [his forces] and scat[ted his assembled host].

iv 7'-17a) On my seventh campaign, [the god Aššur, my lord], encouraged me and I marched to [the land Elam]. In [the course of] my campaign, I conquered and plundered the cities Bit-Ḫa’ırī (and) [Raṣā], (iv 10') cities on the border of [Assyria] that the Elamites had taken away by force in the time of my ancestors. I had my garrisons stationed (iv 15') inside them. I brought (those cities) back inside the border of Assyria and placed (them) under the authority of the garrison commander of Dēr.

iv 17'-30a) The cities Bubē, Dunni-Šamāš, Bit-Risiya, Bit-Ḫašāšmā, Bit-Dūr, (iv 20') Dannat-Sulāy, Šiblītu, Bit-Ḫassu, Kār-Šēa-riqṣa, Bit-Gissī, Bit-Katpalāni, Bit-Imbiya, Ḥamānū, Bit-Årrib, Burutu, (iv 25') Dimtu-ša-Sulāy, Dimtu-ša-Mār-bīt-ēṭīr, Ḥarī-āšlākē, Rabbāya, Šāsu, Akbararina, Til-Ūluri, Ḥamrānū, Nāditū, ...
ú-šá-az-ni-na]

10’ [SEG.MEŠ]-šá [SEG. MEŠ ü šal-gu ...]

11’ [...] x [...] x [...]

Lacuna

Col. v

Lacuna

1] Ša [dun-ni e-ri-ia-ti pa-an AN-e]
2] rap-su-ti [ka-ti-im el-la-mu-ú-a]
3] i-na URU.[ha-[lu-le-e ša ki-šad ID.IGNA]
4] šit-ku-nu ši-[dir-ta pa-an maš-qí-iš]

6] a-na-[ku a-na] Šaš-[šur 30 d[UTU 4 ENG MUTATI]

Lacuna

Col. vi

1] [...] x [...] x [...] x [...]

Lacuna

1’] [...] x x x (x)

Lacuna

vi 1’–3’ I cut off (their) lips [and thus] destroyed

[...] v 1’–5’ [The dust of their feet covered the] wide
[heavens like a heavy cloud] in [the deep of winter].
While drawing up a bat[eline before me] at the
city Ha[u]l[ê], which is [on the bank of the Tigris]
River] (and) keeping [me from the water source, they
sharpened their weapons].

v 6’–11’a I myse[if] prayed [to] the deities Aššur, Sīn,
[Samaš, Bēl, Nabû], Ne[ragal], Ištar of Nineveh, (and)
Ištar of [Arbela], the gods who support me, for victory
[over] (my] strong enemy and (v 10’) they immediately
heeded my prayers (and] came to my aid.

v 11’b–19’ I raged up like a lion, then put on armor
(and) placed a helmet suitable for combat on my head.
(v 15’) In my anger, I [rode quickly] in [my] exalted
battle chariot, which lays enem[ies] low. I took in my
hand the mighty bow that [the god Aššur had granted
to me] (and I grasped [in my hand] an ar[row that
cuts off] life.

v 20’–31’a I roa[red loudly] like a storm (and) thun-
dered like the god Adad against all of the troop[s of the]
wicked [enemies]. By the command of the god
[Aššur], the great lord, [my lord, I blew like the on-
set of a] severe [stor]m against the enemy [on] (their)
flanks and front lines. (v 25’) [With] the weapons of
the god Aššur, my lord, [and] my fierce battle [array,]
I turned [them] back and [made] them retreat. I shot
[the troops of the en]emy with ušu-arrows (and) [mul-
mul]lu-[arrows], and pierc[ed all of their corpses like...]

v 31’b) [I quickly slaughtered and defeated] Ḫumban-
un[daša, (...)]

Lacuna

vi 1–3) [... I made [their blood] flow [over the br]oad
[earth ...]...
vi 1’–vii 14’ “b” The building report of this inscription contains material borrowed from earlier inscriptions, especially text no. 16 and text no. 17, and material that was composed anew for inscriptions written in 693, 692, and 691. Because no intermediary editions of Sennacherib’s res gestae between text no. 17 and this inscription are known, it is difficult to trace the editorial history of the various passages of the building report; some of the differences between this inscription and text no. 17, see the on-page notes below. Col. vi 1’–48’ are presently known only from this inscription.

vi 4’–7’ I received gold (and) shining silver [sling straps as their wrist-trappings] (and) slashed off [their belts with] [sharp] swords. I took away [gold (and) silver (decorated) belt-daggers as] [their [waist-trappings].

vi 8’–11’ [(As for) the rest of his magnates, in]cluding Nabû-šuma-iskun, [a son of Marduk-apla-iddina (II) (Merodach-baladan), (vi 10’) who had raised the[ir [arms be]cause [they were terrified] of doing battle with me, I [capt]ured them alive [in the thick of battle].

vi 12’–15’ I brought ba[ck [all together the chariots along with their horses, whose drivers had been killed [i]n the thick of (that) mighty battle [and which had themselves been released so that they galloped about on] their [own].

Lacuna
vi 1’–6’) [...] the city Nine[veh ... which] from [distant] days [...], whose site [was too small [... its extent was] 330 cubits (vi 5’) [on (its) longer side (and) ... cubits on (its) shorter side, [and] whose construction was [in]expert.

vi 7’–20’a) [...] that went out [through] the city [...] its foundation [...] to its rear (vi 10’) [...] ... when its flood (the Tebitli’s) was in full spate [...] ... the people living in [...] ... annually, the city, the gods [...] where[in] the kings, my ancestors, received [the [tribute of the rulers of the (four) quarters of the world]; (vi 15’) [...] ... of the entire world [...] ... the strength of gods [...] very frightening, annually, [...] they brought their [substantial] payment [i]nto Nineveh, [my capital city].

vi 17’ “b” The building report of this inscription contains material borrowed from earlier inscriptions, especially text no. 16 and text no. 17, and material that was composed anew for inscriptions written in 693, 692, and 691. Because no intermediary editions of Sennacherib’s res gestae between text no. 17 and this inscription are known, it is difficult to trace the editorial history of the various passages of the building report; some of the differences between this inscription and text no. 17, see the on-page notes below. Col. vi 1’–48’ are presently known only from this inscription.

vi 2’–6’ Sennacherib complains in this passage about the small size of the former palace and the inferior workmanship of its structure. Cf. the earlier descriptions in text no. 16 v 71–78 and text no. 17 v 56b–63. The restorations in vi 5’–6’ are based on text no. 17 v 57–59.

vi 4’–5’ The longer side and shorter side of former the city are 360 cubits and 95 cubits respectively in text no. 17 v 57–58.

vi 7’ This line probably refers to the destructive waters of the Tebitli River. Cf. text no. 16 vi 11–19a and text no. 17 v 79–87, both of which describe the damaged cause by the Tebitli River immediately after the passage describing the former palace.

vi 10’ “b” [...] “...; R.C. Thompson restores [ibu-ti]-u” “had flowed” on analogy with [Luckenbill, Senn. p. 99 line 47 (= text no. 3 line 47).

vi 15’ “b” “wherein”: The restoration is based on text no. 4 line 65. [...] x “[...]: E. Frahm (Sanherib p. 96) tentatively suggests [... LUGAL-da-da]-me “king of the settlement[es of; “

vi 19’ Following E. Frahm (Sanherib p. 92), URU3 be-lu-ti-ša “my capital city” is tentatively restored at the beginning of the line.
man-da-ta-šá-nu

vi 20"b–30") [...] small settlement [...] [...] of the city was filled [...] [...] were set [...] was not suitable [for]

plassage (vi 25") [...] [...] borders of the city [...] [...] and

vegetation [...] which] had been turned into wastelands [without] water [...] we]re woven over with spider webs

[...] were bound [with] ropes (vi 30") [...] standing at its sides;

vi 31"–38") [...] are not [...] newly tilled soil before

the city [...] cold and thirst [...] seeds, thorns (vi 35") [...] [...] the young man [...] rose up above it [...] f]or his

drink allowance [...] his desire

vi 39"–48") (No translation possible)

Lacuna

1") (traces) [...] 

2") [...] "AD [...] 

3") [x x]-ti-šú-un [...] LUGAL.MEŠ-ni]

4") a-li-kut mah-[ri' [... AD.MEŠ-ta ša ul-tu u_e-me]

5") ul-ul-ti ul-la-[num-ú-a be-ul-ut KUR aššur,x]l]

6") e-pu-šu-ma ú-[ma'-e-ru ba'-lu-lat 4EN,LI]

7") a-a-a-ma i-na [lib-bi-šá-mu a-na e-peš]

8") É.GAL šir-i-ti' [...] 

9") ù ūm-f[u]lu[...] [šu-bat URU [...] 

10") ù x [...] 

11") (traces) [...] 

Lacuna 

Lacuna

Col. vii

vi 20" Possibly restore ka-bit-tu "valuable" at the beginning of the line, as suggested by E. Frahm (Sanherib p. 92).

vi 23" A.MEŠ ... A.MEŠ "water" is possible.

vi 27"–28" Cf. the Bavian Inscription lines 6–7 (Luckenbill, Sennacherib, p. 79).

vi 28" An inscription preserved on K 19861, a small fragment of a clay tablet, has [...] Ša-ta-ša [qē et]-tu-tú [...] "we] are woven over with spider webs [...]"

For a transliteration of that fragment, see Frahm, Sanherib p. 96.

vi 29" Cf. at-ta e'-bi-[i']-ka ina lib-bi-šá-na ta-rak-kas "you will tie with your rope on them" in Parpola, SAA 1 p. 6 no. 1 lines 50–51. This appears to be an idiom.

vi 3"–11"" This passage is an expanded and reworked version of text no. 16 v 51–61 and text no. 17 v 34–47.

vi 9"–10" E. Frahm (Sanherib p. 97) tentatively suggests [...] šu-pu-ul-ul-[bi] [...] ša-[bi-i [...] "[... to have an inner wall] and outer[ wall built, ...]"

vi 11" Based on similar passages in text nos. 15, 16, and 17, the translation assumes that a-nu-un-šu ul ib-šá-ma ul ul-ta-bil ka-ras-su "(not one

among them)" had conceived of and put his mind towards" appeared in vi 11" or in the now-missing vi 12" or 13"."
1) qaq-qa-ru at-ru3 [...]
2) i-na UGU 3 ME [x x ina 1.KUS US]
3) [x] 1.ME 80 i-na 1.1.KUS [SAG.KI ...]
4) [lu u]-l-rad-a di-ana 9 ME3 [x x i-na 1.KUS]
5) [u x] ME 60 i-na 1.1.KUS [GAL-ti?]...
6) [SAG.KI] ši-kit-ti ė.[GAL ú-ter-ma šu-bat-sa uš-rab-bi]
7) [1 ME] '90 ti-ib-ki a-na 'e3[-na-lam-ta-la']
8) uš3-mal-li še-ru-uš-sù [...]
9) ša i-na kib-rat ar-ba'[i ...]
10) a-na mu-šab be-lu-ti[ša ina2 MURUB,2 URU?]
11) ša NINA.KI eš-šiš ab-ni [...]
12) UGU ša u-um pa-ni uš-rab'[bi ...]
13) ú-še-piš-ša ú-zaq-[qir ĥur-ša-niš]
14) še-hi-ni-ša a-gar-[ri [...]
15) i-na ši-pir LUŠTIM.GAL-še[-e en-qu-ti]
16) ú-še-piš nak-liš aš-sùti'[na ]ŠE.G.MEš]
17) ú šal-gi uš-še-sù [la? e-né-šiš?]
18) ki-su-ša i-na NA,pi-š[i-li [MEš GAL.MEš ú-še-piš-šà]
19) ú-dan-nin šu-pu-uk-[šu 1 ME ina 1.KUS]
20) GAL-tim]
21) ma-da-3x [...]
22) x [...]

Lacuna

1') x x x x x 3a BÁD3[-šú GAL bád-ní-gal-bi]
2') lu-šú-kár-ra-šú-sú du-u-ruša nam šú-[ri-ru-šú]
3') na-kiš suh-pu še-er NA,pi-[i-li]
4') tem-me-en-ša ad-di-ma 40 SIG_i, i-na
5') na'-al-ba3[-ši]
6') GAL-i ū-kab-bir-šú a-na e-liš a-di šap-la-[niš]
7') na-bur-ri-šú a-na 39 SIG; šú-ter-[íma]

vii 1–8a) [I took ...] as an additional plot of land. [I added it] to the three hundred [and ... cubits long (and] ...] hundred and eighty cubits [wide ... I enlarged] the structure of the pal[ace] to nine hundred [and ... large cubits along (its) longer side (vii 5) and ...] hundred and sixty [large] cubits [along (its) shorter side and (thus) I made its site bigger]. Upon it, I filled [in a terrace 1]90 courses of brick h[igh].


vii 11b–16a) I made [...] larger than before, had [...] built, and raised(ed) it as high as a mountain. (As for its ... which [...] baked bricks, (vii 15) I had ... reinforced [its base].

vii 16b–19a) In order to [prevent] its foundations fr[om being weakened by rain] and snow, [I had] its base [built] with [large] limest[one] (blocks and thereby) reinforced [its base].

vii 19b–22) I widened its moat [100 large cubits. ...] [... [... [...]

Lacuna

vii 1–9') [...] [... I laid the foundation of [its] great [wall, Badnigalби]lukuraššu, (which means) “Wall Whose Brill[iance] Overwhelms Enemies,” upon lime[stone] and (vii 5') made (it) 40 bricks thick, measured by [my] large brick mold. Upwards (to the north) and downw[ards] (to the south), I enlarged its battle-w[omen to (a width of) 39 bricks, [then] I raised its su-
vi 7’ Text no. 16 vii 33 and text no. 17 vii 69 record that the height of the wall was 180 (1 ME 80) layers of brick. Moreover, nothing is said about the thickness of the brick layers in those inscriptions.

vi 10–13a I had eighteen gates opened up in it in four directions, in front and behind, (and) along both sides, for entering and leaving.

vi 13b–25a “The God Šarur Is the One Who Cuts Down the King’s Enemy”; (this is) the Ḥabdūrū Gate. “May the Vice-Regent of the God Aššur Endure”; (vi 15’) (this is) the Aššur Gate, which (leads to) the Inner City (Aššur). “The One Who Flattens All Enemies”; (this is) the Sennacherib Gate, which (leads to) the land Ḥalzu. “The God Enlil Is the One Who Makes My Reign Firm”; (this is) the Šamaš Gate, which (leads to) the land Galal. “May Sennacherib’s Dynasty Be as Firm as the Position of the Wagon Constellation!” (this is) the Mullissu Gate, which (leads to) the city Kār-Mullissi. (vii 20”) “The One Who Exorceses the ‘Flesh’ of the Asakku-demon”; (this is) the Step Gate. “The Choicest of Grain and Flocks Are Constantly Inside It”; (this is) the gate that (leads to) the city Šibanība. “The Bearer of the Produce of the Mountains”; (this is) the gate (that leads to) the land Ḥalḫahū. In total, eight gates (facing) the rising sun, towards the south and east, (and) I gave them (these) names.

vi 25’–40” “The God Adad Is the Provider of Prosperity to the Land”; (this is) the Adad Gate, which (leads to) the game preserve. “The God Erra Is the One Who Cuts Down My Enemies”; (this is) the Nerghal Gate, which (leads to) the city [Tar]biṣu. “The Divine Namnāru Is the One Who Makes Firm My Lo[r]dy Crown”; (this is) the Šin Gate. “The God Ea Is the One

perstructure up high, to its copings, to (a height of) 200 courses of brick, (each of) whose thickness was one-third of a cubit, and (thus) raised (it) as high as a mountain.

vi 77’ Text no. 16 vii 33 and text no. 17 vii 69 record that the height of the wall was 180 (1 ME 80) layers of brick. Moreover, nothing is said about the thickness of the brick layers in those inscriptions.

vi 10–13a I had eighteen gates opened up in it in four directions, in front and behind, (and) along both sides, for entering and leaving.

vi 13b–25a “The God Šarur Is the One Who Cuts Down the King’s Enemy”; (this is) the Ḥabdūrū Gate. “May the Vice-Regent of the God Aššur Endure”; (vi 15’) (this is) the Aššur Gate, which (leads to) the Inner City (Aššur). “The One Who Flattens All Enemies”; (this is) the Sennacherib Gate, which (leads to) the land Ḥalzu. “The God Enlil Is the One Who Makes My Reign Firm”; (this is) the Šamaš Gate, which (leads to) the land Galal. “May Sennacherib’s Dynasty Be as Firm as the Position of the Wagon Constellation!” (this is) the Mullissu Gate, which (leads to) the city Kār-Mullissi. (vii 20”) “The One Who Exorceses the ‘Flesh’ of the Asakku-demon”; (this is) the Step Gate. “The Choicest of Grain and Flocks Are Constantly Inside It”; (this is) the gate that (leads to) the city Šibanība. “The Bearer of the Produce of the Mountains”; (this is) the gate (that leads to) the land Ḥalḫahū. In total, eight gates (facing) the rising sun, towards the south and east, (and) I gave them (these) names.

vi 25’–40” “The God Adad Is the Provider of Prosperity to the Land”; (this is) the Adad Gate, which (leads to) the game preserve. “The God Erra Is the One Who Cuts Down My Enemies”; (this is) the Nerghal Gate, which (leads to) the city [Tar]biṣu. “The Divine Namnāru Is the One Who Makes Firm My Lo[r]dy Crown”; (this is) the Šin Gate. “The God Ea Is the One

perstructure up high, to its copings, to (a height of) 200 courses of brick, (each of) whose thickness was one-third of a cubit, and (thus) raised (it) as high as a mountain.
32') mu-šam-me-ēḫ sip-pa-ti mu-ša-la-lum ša GİŞ.KIRI₄
33') mu-še-ri-bat mi-šir-ti da-ād-me
34') KĀ.GAL ka-a-ri lu da-ri ba-nu-šā
35') mu-ša-la-lum Ḡ.GAL ma-šar-ti  qed-nu-um
36') na-šir na-ši-pi-ti-ia KĀ.GAL pil-ku KUR.bar-ouched-zi
37') kād-ē-ri Lū-te-e-me u Lū-su-mu-ê-e-êl
38') qē-reb-šā īr-ru-ub KĀ.GAL mad-ba-ri
39') ŠU.NIGIN 10 KĀ.GAL.MES ša me-ēḫ-ret il-ta-ni
40') ū a-mur-ri at-ta-bi zī-kīr-šīn

Who Properly Directs (Water Flow into) My Cist[erns]':
(vii 30') (this is) the Maṣṣūtū Gate. “May Its Builder Ever Dure’: (this is) the Step Gate of the Palace. “The God Igisigis Is the One Who Makes Orichards Flourish’: (this is) the Step Gate of the Gardens. “The One Who Brings in Income from the Settlements’: (this is) the Quay Gate. “May Its Builder Live Forever’: (vii 35') (this is) the Step Gate of the Armory. “The God Anu Is the Protector of My Life’: (this is) the gate of the section assigned to the land Barḫalzi. “The Presents of the People of Tēma and Sumu’el Enter Through It’: (this is) the Desert Gate. In total, ten gates (facing) towards the north (vii 40') and west (and) I gave them (these names).

41') ša šal-ḥi-bā bād-nūg-ērim-ḫu-luḫ-ḫa
42') mu-gal-li-[tā] ma-a-ni uš-šē-fi-sūt [ap-te-e]-ma
43') [.x x] x le ʻe u’i i x [...] 
44') ma-da-ti ku x [...] 
45') a-dī ugu a.MES ū-šā-ak-ši-dū 45? NINDA? qē-reb’!
46') ma-a-me ū-šap-pil-[ma šap-la-a-nu]
47') NA, KUR-i dan-nu ak-si [ma e-la-niš a-di pa-ās-qt-šū]
48') i-na NA, pi-li-li ‘GAL [MEŠ ú-nak-kil ši-pir-šū]
49') ša NIN.NI.KU.URU [be-lu-ti-ia ūšu-bat-su]
50') uš-rab-bi 52 [-na 1.KŪS GAL-tim su-qī-šū]
51') me-ti-ţi-er [ri LUGAL ū-šā-an-dil-ša]
52') ū’š-nam-mir GIM [u₄me ...]

Lacuna
Col. viii

Lacuna
1') [URU.ki-si-ri a-di] ‘ta-[mir]-ti NIN.A [KUR-a’]
2') ū bi-ra-ū-wa? ina] ‘ak₃-kul-la-te AN.BAR ū-šat-tir-ma
3') [ū-šē-šir ḫi-ḫar]-ra³ A.MES ȗd.ȗ-ṣu-ur da-raṅī
4') [se-[er ta]-mir-ti NIN.KI ū’]-kînⁿ-na-ma qē-reb GİŞ.KIRI,MES
5') [EDIN šā-šap-ba a-tap-piš]

Lacuna

vi 34' ì-35' The gate associated with the armory in text no. 17 vii 2 is pa- queryString da-at ka-la-ma “The One Who Regulates Everything.” Note that the Armory Gate is mentioned after the Desert Gate in that inscription; it is mentioned before it in this text.

vi 35' ì-36' This inscription is the earliest known text mentioning the gate leading to the land Barḫalzi; it may have been first incorporated into the building report of inscriptions in either 693, 692, or 691.

vi 37' ì-38' The name of the Desert Gate in text no. 17 vii 96–vii 1 is kād-ē-ri Lū-te-e-êl ū Lū-te-e-êl qē-reb-šā īr-ru-ub “The Presents of the People of Sumu’el and Tēma Enter Through It.” Note also that it is mentioned before the Armory Gate in that text; it is the southernmost gate on the western wall in this inscription.

vi 41' ì-52' Cf. text no. 16 vii 70–76a and text no. 17 vii 6–12. The contents of vii 43' ì-44' are not attested elsewhere in the Sennacherib corpus, and those of vii 45' ì-46' rework material known from other inscriptions. The restorations in those lines follow Frahm, Sanherib p. 93.

vi 49' ì-52' This passage is similar to text no. 38 lines 15–19a; cf. text no. 16 vii 76b–80 and text no. 17 vii 13–15. Sennacherib had inscribed steles placed on both sides of the royal road, which probably ran from the Aššur Gate in the south wall, east past the armory and the citadel, to the Sin Gate (formerly the Gate of the Gardens) at the western end of the north wall. Three of those steles are preserved today and their inscriptions also record that the width of the road was fifty-two cubits. For further details, including information on the royal road, see text no. 38.

Lacuna before vii 1’ Based on similar passages in text nos. 15, 16, and 17, the translation assumes that the now-missing line immediately before vii 1’ ended with ul-tu pa-a-ti “from the border of.”

vi 1’ ì-5’ This passage is based on text no. 16 vii 36–23 and text no. 17 vii 26–30. KUR-a’ ū bi-ru-ti? “mountain and valley”; The conjectural restoration is based on text no. 16 vii 17; cf. text no. 17 vii 27, which has mu-la-a muš-pa-lum “high ground (and) low ground.”
viili 6’–12’) [...], the city Girmua, [...], the city Ālum-labir [...] which since time immemorial [...] took water (viili 10’) [...] took water [...] review [...] like a gallâ-demon

Lacuna

viili 1”–4’) [...] the people living in [...] distant [...] constantly [...].

viili 5’–6’) I [annually provided irrigation for] 600 fields seeded with grain [and cereals (located) upstream] and downstream of the city. viili 7’–17’a) I created [a marsh] to moderate the flow [of those waters] and [planted] a can[ebrate in it]. (viili 10’) I [let loose] in it herons, [wild boars (lit. “pigs of the reeds”),] (and) roe deer. By divine will, vines, all kinds of fruit trees], olive trees, (and) aromatic [trees flourished greatly] in (those) gardens (planted) [on newly tilled soil]. (Cypress trees, musukkanu-trees, and]) all kinds of trees [grew tall and sent out] shoots. The ma[rshes]ered greatly. (viili 15’) Birds of the heavens, her[ons whose home(s) are far away], made nest(s) and [wild boars (and] roe deer) ga[ve birth] in abundance.

viili 17’b–20’a) I cut down [musukkanu-trees (and] cypress trees] grown in the orchards (and] [marsh reeds from the swamps] and [I used (them) in the work] required (to build) my lordly [palatial halls].

viili 20’b–23’) I [...] both [...] flourished, [...] within [...] set, gra[in [...].

viili 24’–32’a) After [I had finished] the work on [my palace, (viili 25’) I invited inside it] the god Aššûr, the great[k] lord, (and) [the gods and goddesses] living in [Assyria], then I made splendid offerings [and] presented [my gift(s). I made fine oil from olives] and aroma[tics]. (viili 30’) At the inauguration [of the palace], I had [the heads of the subjects of my land] dren[ched (and] I watered their) insides [with sweet wine].

viili 32’b’) [...]
A small fragment of a hexagonal clay prism, presumably from Nineveh, is inscribed with a text recording Sennacherib’s first five campaigns, the creation of a large military contingent of archers and shield bearers, and presumably construction at Nineveh. The accounts of the third, fourth, and fifth campaigns, as far as they are preserved, duplicate those same reports of military narration in Smith Buls 4, an inscription written on a bull colossus stationed in Court H, Door a of Sennacherib’s palace (the South-West Palace). This edition of the king’s res gestae was probably written on prisms in 695, as suggested by the fact that the military narration ends with a report of the fifth campaign (to Mount Nipur and against Maniye, king of the city Uku) and by the number of prisoners said to be conscripted into Sennacherib’s army (20,400 archers and 20,200 shield bearers).

---

18 viii 23[–25]” It is unclear if x is the last sign of the month name or the KAM following the day that the prism was inscribed. Thus one could read this line as [itil.x x] “[The month... ... day]” or [itil.x (x) itil.x] “KAM.””[The month... ... day].” Note that text no. 17 (both exs. 1 and 2) and text no. 22 ex. 2 have only the month name recorded; the day the objects were inscribed is not mentioned.
CATALOGUE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Museum Number</th>
<th>Registration Number</th>
<th>Provenance</th>
<th>Dimensions (cm)</th>
<th>cpm</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>—</td>
<td>83-1-18,599</td>
<td>Probably Nineveh</td>
<td>6.7 x 6.7</td>
<td>c</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

COMMENTARY

Unlike most of the other known inscriptions written on octagonal and hexagonal clay prisms (text nos. 15–18 and 22–23), the military narration of this text, as well as those of the next two inscriptions, follows that of Smith Bull 4 (3 R pls. 12–13). 83-1-18,599, a fragment preserving parts of two columns (cols. iii and iv, or possibly cols. iv and v), is the earliest known six-sided prism of Sennacherib, although this particular medium for foundation inscriptions with annalistic narration may have been in use since 698 (see the commentary of text no. 14). With regard to the year during which the prism from which this piece originates was inscribed, E. Frahm (Sanherib pp. 101–102) suggests 695 (rather than 696) not only because the military narration ends with an account of the fifth campaign (just like text no. 16), but because the number of prisoners conscripted into Sennacherib’s army is greater than that of text no. 16; this inscription states that 20,400 archers and 20,200 shield bearers were added to the king’s army, while text no. 16 records that Sennacherib formed a military contingent of only 20,000 archers (and) 15,000 shield bearers.

Following the style of text no. 22 and text no. 23, the building report of this inscription (which is completely missing) probably also described work on a single project at Nineveh; compare the building reports of texts inscribed on eight-sided prisms (text nos. 15–18), which record work on numerous projects in and around that same city. Therefore, the building report of 83-1-18,599 may have described the construction and decoration of the “Palace Without a Rival” (for which no foundation record written after 700 is known with certainty) or the armory (for which the earliest known accounts of its construction come from texts written in 691). Should it commemorate work on Egalzagaditu, as suggested by the fact that its military narration closely follows that of Smith Bull 4, then the description may have been similar or identical to: (1) text no. 16 v 41–vii 21 and viii 3b–41; (2) text no. 17 v 23–vii 57 and viii 16–64; or (3) Smith Bull 4 lines 106b–161a.

The extant text duplicates Smith Bull 4 (3 R pls. 12–13) lines 30–33 and 43–47. Restorations are generally based on that inscription.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1896  Bezdé, Cat. 4 p. 1903 (study)
1975  Reade, JCS 27 p. 195 (study)
1979  Borger, BAH 2 pp. 66 and 77 (study)

1997  Frahm, Sanherib pp. 101–102 T 14 (study)
1999  Frahm, RLA 12/1–2 p. 15 (study)

TEXT

Col. i’

Lacuna

1) [... man]-że-at-tu3
2) [u-rad-di-ma] u-ki3
3) [se-ru-us-si-an us-ú =ha]-ža3-qi-a-a-ú
4) [pul-hi me-lam-mel] te₃-lu-ti-ia
5) [is-ḫu-pu-ša-ma] l3-[ur-bi]

Lacuna

i’ 1–3a) [I added ... pay]ment [and] imposed (it) [upon them].
i’ 3’b–14’) [As for him, He]zekiah, [fear of] my lordly [brilliance (i’ 5’) overwhelmed him and he had] the auxiliary forces [and his] elite [troops whom he] had

URU LUGAL-ti-ša ṣe-ri-bi-na ir-sum-a til-la-a-te “the auxiliary forces and his elite troops whom he had brought inside to strengthen the city Jerusalem, his royal city, and who had provided support.”
brought [inside the city Jerusalem, [his royal city, along with 30 talents of gold], 800 talents of silver, (i.e. 10') [every kind of treasure] of his palace, [as well as his daughters], his palace [women, male singers, (and) female singers brought in]to Nineveh and he sent a
mourned messenger of his to me to [deliver (this) payment].

i' 15'-16') [On my fourth campaign, I marched to the land Bit-Yakin. [In the course of my campaign],

i' ii 1'-6') ... [no] king of the past (who came) before me [...] I had [my camp pitched] [at the spot of Mount Anara] and Mount Upass, mighty mountains, and I myself, in an armchair, with [my] fighting troops, [ascended] with a struggle the steep mountain peaks.

i' ii 12'-13') A destroyed, devastated, (and) buried [with fire his cities, (and) made (them) like ruin hill(s) (created) by the Deluge.

i' ii 13' b-16') From the booty of those [lands], I conscripted] 20,400 archers (and) 20,200 shield bearers and [added (them) to] my royal [contingent].

i' 7'-11') He, [Ma]niye, heard about the advance of my expeditionary force, then he abandoned the city Ukk, his royal city, and fled afar. I entered his palace and, (ii' 10') as his substantial audience gift, I carried off every kind of possession (and) property, (which) were without number.

iii 12'-13') A destroyed, devastated, (and) buried [with fire his cities, (and) made (them) like ruin hill(s) (created) by the Deluge.

ii' 5') This inscription omits bit-ma-lu-ti-i ne-re-[bi-sh] an pi-qu-ti su-ni-il-e ru-um-ma "[my] (craft) (combat troops), I entered their narrow passes with great difficulty and" between 'L'U'ERIM.MEŠ MÉ-a "my fighting troops and mar-gi-il" with a struggle." Cf. text no. 16 v 19b-21a and text no. 22 iv 20b-22.

i' 7'-8') a-lak-ti ger-ri-ia iš-meš ma "he heard about the advance of my expeditionary force"; Text no. 16 v 23b-24a and text no. 22 iv 23b-24a have tu-re-u' a-GER.LH.I.A-a e-mur ma "he saw the dust cloud (stirred up) by the feet of my troops."

i' 9'-10') This appearance occurs in lieu of URRUK.KU al-me KUR-ud du-lu-la šal-la-su mī-ma ša-mu ši-N.ŠU NIG.GA ni-sir-ti E-GER.LH.I.A al-tu ger-riši ša-še-a-am ma ša-lu-šam-an-[mu "I surrounded, captured, (and) plundered the city Ukk. I brought out of it every kind of possession (and) property, the treasures of his palace, and I counted (it) as booty." Cf. text no. 16 v 26b-28b and text no. 22 iv 25b-28a.

i' 12'-13') This text no. 16 v 29-32 and text no. 22 iv 28b-31 have šu 33 URUK.MEŠ ša pa-a-ti ni-giš ŠA-ŠUL-PA.UM ANMEŠ MEŠ.GU.ŠEŠ UŠ.ŠEŠ UDU.LH.A ul-tu qu-riši-an du-lu-la ap-pa-ul ap-qar ita 'GIŠ.BAR.ŠUQ MU "Moreover, I conquered thirty-three cities on the borders of his district, and carried off from them people, oxen, and sheep and goats. (Then) I destroyed (them), devastated (them), (and) burned (them) with fire."

i' 14') This text omits šu du-lu-la "that I had plundered" after KURMEŠ ša-ti-ni "those lands." 20 LM 4 ME "20,400": Text no. 4 line 59 has 10 LM "10,000," "10,000," text no. 15 v 11 and text no. 16 v 34 have LM "20,000," and text no. 17 v 16 has 30 "30,000." 20 LM 2 ME "20,200": Text no. 4 line 59 has 10 LM "10,000," "10,000," text no. 15 v 11 and text no. 16 v 34 have 15 LM "15,000," and text no. 17 v 16 has 20 LM "20,000."
GIŠ.₃[a¹-[ri-tu]
15') ₃i-na li6[b-i-šū-nu ak-[sur-ma]
16') [UGU ki-šir] ₃LUGAL-₃[i-a ti₁-[rad-dî]
Lacuna

20

A small fragment of a (hexagonal?) clay prism, presumably from Nineveh, is inscribed with a foundation inscription with annalistic narration. Only part of the report of the sixth campaign is extant and that passage, as far as it is preserved, duplicates the contents of Smith Bull 4, an inscription written on a bull colossus stationed in Court H, Door a of Sennacherib’s South-West Palace. The *terminus post quem* for this edition of Sennacherib’s *res gestae* is the sixth campaign (against Elam) and thus the earliest date that the prism from which this fragment originates could have been inscribed is 693.

**CATALOGUE**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Museum Number</th>
<th>Registration Number</th>
<th>Provenance</th>
<th>Dimensions (cm)</th>
<th>cpn</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sm 2093</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>Probably Nineveh</td>
<td>4×5.5</td>
<td>c</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**COMMENTARY**

Sm 2093 is not sufficiently preserved to be able to determine with certainty whether it is from an octagonal or hexagonal prism. Because the extant text duplicates text known from Smith Bull 4 (3 R pls. 12–13) and since inscriptions duplicating reports of military narration on that same bull were written on six-sided prisms (text nos. 19 and 21), E. Frahm (Sanherib p. 102) has suggested that this small fragment may have been from a hexagonal prism. Following Frahm, Sm 2093 is tentatively regarded as part of a six-sided prism.

Given that only parts of sixteen lines are preserved, it is not possible to determine if the military narration of this edition of Sennacherib’s *res gestae* ended with the report of the sixth campaign (just like Smith Bull 4) or with an account of the seventh (or even the eighth) campaign. Moreover, it is not known what project its building report commemorated; see the commentary of text no. 19 for some possibilities (assuming that Sm 2093 is from a hexagonal prism).

The extant text duplicates Smith Bull 4 (3 R pl. 12) lines 56–63. Restorations are based on that inscription.

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

1896 Bezold, Cat. 4 p. 1531 (study)  
1979 Borger, BAL ² pp. 65 and 81 (study)  
1997 Frahm, Sanherib p. 102 T 15 and pl. V (copy, transliteration, study)  
2000 Lanfranchi, Melammu 1 pp. 28–29 n. 94 (line 7, study)  
2001 Rollinger, Melammu 2 p. 242 nn. 56 and 61 (line 7, study)  
2009 Frahm, RLA 12/1–2 p. 15 (study)
TEXT

Col. i'

1) [... ]šē-ru²-uš²-šā-un³
2) [a-na KUR.na-gi-ti a]-la-ku aq-bi
3) [LÚ.ERIM.MEŠ KUR.Ḫa-at-ti ḫu]²-bu⁴-ut GĪ.S.PAN.MEŠ=ia³
4) [i-na NINA.KI ú-šē-šiḫ-ma] GĪŠ.MĀ.MEŠ ši=ra²-[a]-te³
5) [e-piš-ti KUR-šu-un ipp]-nu-ú 'nak³-liš
6) [LŪ.MĀ.LAH₃,MEŠ] URU.shur²-[ra]²-a⁴-a
7) [URU.sš-du-un-na-a-a KUR.iš-am?]⁻na³-a⁻a
8) [kšš-tš-ši ŠU.Ḫa-a šā-ḫi-su-nul]⁻ti¹ ur-tu
9) [qē-reb IDIDIGNA iš-ti] ši-na-ti
10) [a-na qid-da-ti a-ši URU],[ši-pi-a
11) [ú-šē-qel-pu-ú ŠŠ URU.ši-pi-na]⁻ba³-liš
12) [ú-šē-ši-na]⁻ti¹-ma
13) [šē-er GĪŠ.gūr-gu-ge a-na] GĪŠ.MĀ.MEŠ ši-na-ti

Lacuna

i' 1–11a) [...] I ordered [the] march against them [to the land Nagitu. I settled in Nineveh the people of the land Ḫatti plundered by my bows [and they] skillfully built magnificent ships, (i' 5') [a product characteristic to their land(s). I gave] orders [to sailors of] the cities Ty[r]e (and) [Sidon, (and) the land] lo[nia, [whom I had captured. They (my troops) let (them) sail down the Tigris River with] them [downstream to the city] Opis.

i' 11b–13) [Then, from the city Opis, they lifted th]em (the boats) [up onto] dry land and [dragged them on rollers to Sī][par.

Lacuna

21

A small fragment of a hexagonal clay prism, presumably from Nineveh, is inscribed with a foundation inscription with annalistic narration. Only parts of the accounts of the third and fourth campaigns are extant and those passages, as far as they are preserved, duplicate (with minor variation) the contents of Smith Bull 4, an inscription written on a bull colossus stationed in Court H, Door a of Sennacherib’s palace (the South-West Palace). The piece is inscribed with either text no. 19, text no. 20, or another inscription. Because of similarities with the previous two inscriptions, it has been suggested that the prism from which this fragment originates was inscribed in 695 or 693; too little of the text is preserved to be certain of the date.

CATALOGUE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Museum Number</th>
<th>Registration Number</th>
<th>Provenance</th>
<th>Dimensions (cm)</th>
<th>cpn</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>—</td>
<td>Ki 1902-5-10,2</td>
<td>Probably Nineveh</td>
<td>Cols. 3.2 and 5.5 wide; 4 high</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

20 i’ 7 [KUR.iš-am?]⁻na³⁻a⁻a “[of the land] lo[nia; Or possibly [KUR.iš-af?]⁻na³⁻a⁻a “[of the land] Cypr[as] (Yadna).” Our reading follows Salonen, Wasserfahrzeuge p. 181; Frahm, Sanherib p. 117; Lanfranchi, Melammu 1 pp. 28–29 n. 94; Rollinger, Melammu 2 p. 242; and Rollinger, SAAB 16 (2007) p. 82 n. 63. Apart from Smith Bull 4 line 60, this is the only known reference to Ionians in the Sennacherib corpus.

20 Lacuna after i’ 13 The translation assumes that il-da-da-ši-na-ti “they dragged them” appeared in the now-missing i’ 14.
COMMENTARY

Like the previous two inscriptions, the military narration of this text follows that of Smith Bull 4 (3 R pls. 12–13), rather than that of texts inscribed on other octagonal and hexagonal clay prisms (text nos. 15–18 and 22–23). Since only a small portion of the original is preserved (the base and the lower parts of cols. ii and iii), it is no longer possible to determine if the prism is inscribed with a copy of text no. 19 (695; five campaigns and a building report), or another inscription. Therefore, it is edited on its own. Cf. J. Reade (JCS 27 [1975] p. 193), who tentatively suggests that Ki 1902–5,10,2 is inscribed with a 693 edition of Sennacherib’s res gestae that described work on the armory. See also the commentaries of text nos. 19 and 20.

The extant text duplicates (with minor variation) Smith Bull 4 (3 R pl. 12) lines 23–24 and 34–36. Restorations are based on that inscription.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1914 King, Cat. p. 2 (study)
1975 Reade, JCS 27 p. 193 (study)
1979 Borger, BAL 2, p. 65 (study)

TEXT

Col. i’

Lacuna

1) [na’ an-zi[l – [i-pu-šu]

2) [ip-lāḫ šā-šā-šu-nu] LUGAL MEŠ-ni KUR [mu-su-rī]

3) [ERIM MEŠ GIŠ PAN GIŠ] GIGIR. MEŠ ANŠE KUR [RA MEŠ]

4) [ša LUGAL KUR me-lu-ha] e-mu-qā la ni-bī

5) [ik-te-ru-ni] i-na ta-mir-ti

6) [URU al-ta-qu-[u] it-ti-šu-un

7) [am-da-hi-is-ma] dāš-ta-kan BADD.BADD. šu-un

Col. ii’

Lacuna

1) [...] x [...]

2) [šu-ū =] AMAR. UTO IBILA [SUM NA]

3) ša in a-lak ger-ri-ia maḫ-[re-e]

4) dāš-ku-nu BAD.BADD. šu-gīm

5) dan-ku-ti e-dur-ma a-nu na-zi[te]

6) ra-aq-qī ša MURUB tam-tin in-[na-bit]

7) ŠEŠ. MEŠ-šu NUMUN ŠE ADŠU ša u₂[maš₂]-ši-ru]

Lacuna

i’ 1’–5’a’ [...] they became frightened on account of the villainous acts they had committed. They formed a congregation with the kings of Egypt (and) the archers, chariots, (and) horses of the king of the land Meluḫḫa, forces without number.

i’ 5’b–7’) In the plain of [the city Eltekel], [I fought] with them [and defeated them].

Lacuna

ii’ 1’–8’) [...] [...] He — Marduk-apla-iddina (II) (Merodach-baladan), whom I had defeated during my first campaign — (ii’ 5’) became frightened by the clangor of [my] mighty weapon[s] and [ironed to] the city Nagi-[te]-aqqā, which is in the midst of the sea. [I brought] his brothers, the seed of his father’s house, whom he had aband[oned] at the shore of the sea, together with the rest of the people [of his land, out

i’ 5’ This edition omits il-li-ku re-šu-us-su-un “they came to their aid” after ik-te-ru-n“they formed a congregation.” Cf. text no. 16 iv 49 and text no. 22 ii 81.

i’ 6’ This inscription omits el-la-mu-ū-a si-īd-ru šit-ku-nu ú-ša-‘a-li GIŠ TUKUL MEŠ-šu-un i-na tukul-ti duš-šur EN-ia “they sharpened their weapons while drawing up in battleline before me. With the support of the god Aššur, my lord” after URU al-ta-qa-[u] “the city Eltekel.” Cf. text no. 16 iii 51–53 and text no. 22 ii 83–ii 2.

ii’ 4’ This text has dāš-ku-nu BAD BAD.BADD. šu-nu-šu “whom I defeated” in lieu of BAD BAD.BADD. dāš-ku-nu-ša-“whom I defeated and.” It also omits u₂-par-ri-ru el-lar-šu “whose forces I had scattered.” Cf. text no. 16 iv 53 and text no. 22 iii 60–61.

ii’ 5’–6’ This text omits ti-ib bit-[e] e-zar-[i] “and my fierce battle array” and DINIG MEŠ-šu-qa-[ku]-ša i-na KI LUŠ-ša-šu-in-ša ke-ma qē-reb GIŠ MÁ MEŠ ú-šar-kīl-ma “he dislodged the gods of the (full) extent of his land from their abodes, and loaded them (onto boats).” Text no. 15 exs. 2 and 11 and text no. 16 also omit this passage. Cf. text no. 15 iv 30–32’ and text no. 22 iii 62–64. na-ši₂-[te]-ra-aq-qī “the city Nagi[te]-qaqqā”: Smith Bull 4 (3 R pl. 12) has URU.na-ši₂-ti “the city Nagi[te]-in-[na-bit] he [ironed to]”: Other inscriptions on prisms have iš-šu-riš iš-pa-riš “he flew away like a bird”; see, for example, text no. 22 iii 65.

ii’ 8’ a-di si-it-ti “together with the rest of”: Smith Bull 4 (3 R pl. 12) omits a-di before si-it-ti.
8') a-hi tam-tim a-di si-it-ti UN. mãSH [KUR-šú] of the land Bit-Yakin],
Rest of the inscription is missing

22

Two complete hexagonal clay prisms and several fragments of prisms from Nineveh are inscribed with a text describing eight of Sennacherib’s military campaigns and the construction of a new armory. This inscription contains material from texts written earlier in the king’s reign (especially those written in 694–692) and material composed anew for this text and other inscriptions written in 691 (Sennacherib’s 14th regnal year). Like text no. 18 and text no. 23, the military narration of this edition of Sennacherib’s res gestae includes accounts of eight campaigns: (1) against Marduk-apla-iddina II (biblical Merodach-baladan) and his Chaldean and Elamite allies in Babylonia; (2) against the Kassites and Yatabugallians, and the land Ellip; (3) to the Levant, against an Egyptian-led coalition that had been organized by the nobles and citizens of the city Ekron, and against the Judean king Hezekiah; (4) against Bit-Yakin; (5) to Mount Nipur and against Maniye, the king of the city Ukku; (6) against the Chaldeans living in Elam and against Šuzzub (Nergal-ušēzib), the king of Babylon; (7) against Elam; and (8) the battle of Ḥalulē, where Assyrian forces battled Babylonian and Elamite forces led by Šuzzub (Mūšēzib-Marduk), the king of Babylon, and Umman-menana (ṯūmman-menana), the king of Elam. Accounts of the events of the king’s 9th and 10th regnal years (696 and 695), the campaigns undertaken by his officials to Ḥilakku (Cilicia) and the city Til-Garrison, however, are not included among the king’s victories on the battlefield. In the building report, Sennacherib says that after he had completed the “Palace Without a Rival” (the South-West Palace) he started work on an armory, which he refers to as the ekaḫ kutalli (the “Rear Palace”). He tore down the former palace, which he complains was too small, poorly constructed, and dilapidated. On a high terrace built upon a new plot of land (the Nineveh mound now called Nebi Yunus), Sennacherib constructed a new palace consisting of two wings, one in the Syrian style and one in the Assyrian style, and a large outer courtyard. He decorated the building in a fitting fashion, which included large limestone bull colossi stationed in its gateways. The two complete exemplars preserve a date. One (ex. 2) was inscribed in the eponymy of Bēl-ēmuranni, governor of the city Carchemish (691), and the other (ex. 1) was inscribed in the eponymy of Gaḫilu, governor of the city Ḥatarikka (689). The inscription is commonly referred to as the “Chicago Prism” or “Taylor Prism” (or “Taylor Cylinder” in earlier literature). Ex. 1 is named after the city in which it now resides (Chicago, in the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago); ex. 2 is named after Col. J. Taylor, who first acquired the object. The text has also been wrongly called by D.D. Luckenbill (and other scholars) the “Final Edition of the Annals.”

21 Lacuna after ii’ 8’ Based on parallels, the translation assumes that the now-missing lines after ii’ 8’ (ii’ 9’–10’) contained al-tu KUR. mãSH LUK-kin, ... ū-še-ša-am-ya “I brought ... out of the land Bit-Yakin and...”
CATALOGUE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ex.</th>
<th>Museum Number/ Source</th>
<th>Registration Number</th>
<th>Provenance</th>
<th>Dimensions (cm)</th>
<th>Lines Preserved</th>
<th>cpn</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>A 2793</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>Purchased, but certainly from Nineveh, possibly from Nebi Yunus or Area SH</td>
<td>Cols. 7.3–8 wide; 38 high</td>
<td>i 1–vi 83, date p</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>BM 91032</td>
<td>55-10-3,1</td>
<td>Purchased, but certainly from Nineveh, probably Nebi Yunus</td>
<td>Cols. 9 wide; 36.8 high</td>
<td>i 1–vi 83, date c</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>BM 103218</td>
<td>1910-10-8,146</td>
<td>Purchased from I. Géjou</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>i 26–36, vi 24–42</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>SM 409</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>Probably Nineveh</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>v 41–54, vi 26–45</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>79-7-8,7</td>
<td>Nineveh, probably Nebi Yunus</td>
<td>Cols. 7 wide; 4 high</td>
<td>v 47–56, vi 46–51</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

CATALOGUE OF UNCERTAIN EXEMPLARS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ex.</th>
<th>Museum Number/ Source</th>
<th>Registration Number</th>
<th>Provenance</th>
<th>Dimensions (cm)</th>
<th>Lines Preserved</th>
<th>cpn</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1*</td>
<td>BM 33019</td>
<td>78-8-28,1</td>
<td>From Miss Erskine (London)</td>
<td>Cols. 2.5 and 3.5 wide; 5.3 high</td>
<td>i 1–9, 68–76</td>
<td>c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2*</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>79-7-8,307</td>
<td>Nineveh, probably Nebi Yunus</td>
<td>Cols. 8 wide; 5.5 high</td>
<td>i 1–5, v 17–27</td>
<td>c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3*</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>79-7-8,6</td>
<td>Nineveh, probably Nebi Yunus</td>
<td>Cols. 3.5 wide; 5 high</td>
<td>i 20–27, ii 21–30</td>
<td>c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4*</td>
<td>BM 138185</td>
<td>1932-12-12,912</td>
<td>Nineveh</td>
<td>Cols. 5 wide; 8 high</td>
<td>i 41–59, ii 21–37</td>
<td>c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5*</td>
<td>Sm 1026</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>Probably Nineveh</td>
<td>Cols. 3 and 8 wide; 12 high</td>
<td>i 81–ii 29, 83–iii 30</td>
<td>c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6*</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>80-7-19,317</td>
<td>Probably Nineveh</td>
<td>Cols. 1 and 2.4 wide; 3.2 high</td>
<td>iv 16–23, v 197–217</td>
<td>c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7*</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>80-7-19,4</td>
<td>Probably Nineveh</td>
<td>Cols. 5.5 and 2.2 wide; 5 high</td>
<td>iv 30–41, v 33–42</td>
<td>c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8*</td>
<td>Boston Museum of Fine Arts, unnumbered</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>Cols. 6.4 wide; 6 high</td>
<td>v 10–19, vi 16–25</td>
<td>c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9*</td>
<td>Scheil, Prisme p. 45</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>v 17–32</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10*</td>
<td>BM 99327</td>
<td>Ki 1904-10-9,360</td>
<td>Nineveh</td>
<td>Cols. 3.3 and 3.2 wide; 4.5 high</td>
<td>v 36–45, vi 26–30</td>
<td>c</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

COMMENTARY

This inscription, like text no. 18 ex. 1 and text no. 23, was composed in the eponymy of Bēl-ēmuranni (691; the king’s 14th regnal year); we know from ex. 1 that this edition of Sennacherib’s res gestae was inscribed on six-sided clay prisms at least until the month Du’uzu (IV) in the eponymy of Gaḥilu (689;
the king’s 16th regnal year). Although the month and day that text no. 18 ex. 1 and text no. 23 ex. 1 were inscribed are missing, both of those prisms were probably inscribed earlier in the year than ex. 1 of this text, which is dated to the 20th day of the month Addaru (XII). Because the building account of text no. 23 is shorter than that of this inscription, it is possible that that text was written before this one and that the building report of this edition is an expanded version of that passage. Of course, it is not impossible that text no. 23 is the later of the two inscriptions; cf. the commentary of that text and Frahm, Sanherib p. 106.

The text was intended for hexagonal clay prisms deposited in the armory (just like text no. 23) and it includes a short prologue, accounts of eight of Sennacherib’s campaigns, and a lengthy and detailed account of the building and decoration of the ekal kutalli (the “Rear Palace”). The prologue and most of the military narration (reports of the first seven campaigns) duplicate those same passages in text no. 17 and res gestae inscribed on (six- and eight-sided) prisms in 693 (the king’s 12th regnal year) and 692 (his 13th regnal year); reports of the sixth campaign (against the Chaldeans living in Elam and against Nergal-uṣėzib) were first recorded in texts written in the eponymy of Iddin-aḫḫē (693) and those of the seventh campaign (against Elam) were first described in res gestae written in the eponymy of Zazâya (692). Accounts of the eighth campaign (the battle of Ḥalulē) were composed anew for this text and other inscriptions written in 691; for literary allusions to Enûma elîš in the account of the battle of Halulē, see Weissert, HSAO 6 pp. 191–202. The building report may be an expanded version of that of text no. 23, or possibly an earlier, longer version of it. Additional information on the differences between the two editions is provided in the on-page notes.

Exs. 3–5 are regarded as certain exemplars of this inscription because they all come from hexagonal clay prisms and since they all preserve part of the same building report as exs. 1–2. However, exs. 1*–10* are regarded as of uncertain attribution since they do not preserve the building account and therefore could be duplicates of text no. 23. E. Frahm (Sanherib p. 89) assigned 80–7–19,317 as a duplicate of text no. 18, but it is more likely a duplicate of this text or text no. 23 since it appears to be from a hexagonal, not an octagonal, prism; that piece is edited here as ex. 6*. A prism fragment published by V. Scheil (Prisme p. 45) could be a duplicate of text no. 18, this text, or text no. 23. Because we were unable to examine that piece, it is not known if it is part of a six- or eight-sided prism and thus it is arbitrarily edited here as ex. 9*. Moreover, its contents have not been included in the score; the variants noted by Scheil, however, are included in the minor variants. Should exs. 1*–10* be exemplars of text no. 23, then those fragments would preserve the following lines of that inscription: ex. 1* contains i 1–9 and 62–69; ex. 2* has i 1–4, v 9–19, and vi 8–16; ex. 3* preserves i 18–25 and ii 19–26; ex. 4* is inscribed with i 36–53 and ii 19–35; ex. 5* has i 75–ii 25 and ii 77–iii 27 written on it; ex. 6* contains iv 11–17 and v 11?–13?; ex. 7* has iv 24–35 and v 25–34; ex. 8* preserves v 3–11 and vi 13–16; ex. 9* is inscribed with v 9–24; and ex. 10* has v 27–37 and vi 22–26 written on it. Exs. 2* and 8* may be exemplars of this text rather than text no. 23 since they both include a reference to Nabû-šuma-iškun, a son of Marduk-apla-iddina II (Merodach-baladan), in the report of the eighth campaign, a detail omitted in text no. 23. However, one variant cannot be used to determine the attribution of these pieces with certainty.

J.H. Breasted recorded the purchase of the “Chicago Prism” (ex. 1) in a journal entry (April, 1920). He records: “I have come upon very important antiquities among the native dealers in Baghdad — especially a large six-sided baked clay prism, eighteen inches high, bearing the Royal Annals of Sennacherib. But many obstacles lie in the way of its purchase — the owner’s exorbitant price, an export permit from the government, etc.” (C. Breasted, Pioneer to the Past p. 275). R.C. Thompson (Iraq 7 [1940] p. 85) suggests that ex. 1 may have come from Area SH, rather than Nebi Yunus, since a considerable number of prisms and fragments were discovered just a few feet below the surface and thus many of the prisms and fragments sold on the market may have come from this area or a similar provenance. E. Frahm (Sanherib p. 103) has already correctly pointed out that Thompson’s suggested provenance for ex. 1 is not based on concrete evidence.

With regard to the discovery of ex. 2, there is no firm evidence for when and where Col. J. Taylor acquired it; see Pallis, Antiquity of Iraq pp. 69–70. A.H. Layard (Nineveh 2 p. 186; and Discoveries p. 345) suggests the object was found at Nebi Yunus; he says nothing about when or how it came into the possession of Col. Taylor. L.W. King (CT 26 p. 8) states that Col. J.E. Taylor (error for Col. J. Taylor) discovered the hexagonal prism at Nebi Yunus in 1830 and that it was purchased by the British Museum some 25 years later; according to Budge, Sir H. Rawlinson purchased the six-sided clay object on behalf of the Trustees of the British Museum from Mrs. Taylor in July 1855. E.A.W. Budge (By Nile and Tigris 2 pp. 25–26) proposes that the object may have been purchased when Col. J. Taylor visited Nebi Yunus in 1830; he refutes F. Talbot’s claim (JRAS 19 [1887] p. 135) that this prism was found at Kuyunjik. Budge also records that Rawlinson had a paper “rubbing”
made of all six sides in 1840 and that R. Ready made a plaster facsimile for the British Museum from those "rubbings."

K. Radner (personal communication) has recently identified a prism fragment in the Sulaimaniya Museum (SM 409) as a duplicate of this inscription and that piece is included here as ex. 4 courtesy of her. She will publish photographs and an edition of SM 409 in AFO 52 (forthcoming).

While one might prefer to use the "Taylor Prism" (ex. 2) as exemplar 1 and the master text because it is the earliest in date, the "Chicago Prism" (ex. 1) has been used instead since its line numbering, as given in Luckenbill's edition, has become the standard. The variants that Luckenbill gives for ex. 2 are from the copy in 1 R pls. 37–42. Many of those "variants" are in fact mistakes in the copy and not on the original prism; for example, see the numeral in i 36 and the on-page note to vi 67. A score of the inscription is presented on the CD-ROM.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1849 Layard, Nineveh 2 p. 186 (ex. 2, provenance)
1853 Layard, Discoveries p. 345 (ex. 2, provenance)
1861 1 R pls. 37–42 (ex. 2, copy)
1880 Ménant, Manuel pp. 327–334 (ex. 2 ii 65–iii 41, edition)
1890 Abel and Winckler, Keilinschriften texte pp. 17–21 (ex. 2, copy)
1890 Bezdol in Schrader, KB 2 pp. 80–113 (ex. 2, edition; ex. 5*, variants)
1893 Meissner and Rost, BiS pp. 49–61 (ex. 2 study; vi 36–73a, edition)
1895 Meissner, Chrestomathie pp. 16–20 (i 63–65, v 5–vi 24, copy)
1896 Bezdol, Cat. 4 pp. 1455, 1690, 1698–1699, 1724, 1728 and 1751 (ex. 2, 5–3*, 5*–7*, study)
1901 Harper, Assyrian and Babylonian Literature pp. 68–80 (ex. 2, translation)
1909 Gressmann, ATBAT pp. 119–121 no. 16 (ii 37–iii 49, translation)
1909 Winckler, Textbuch 3 pp. 43–46 (ii 37–iii 49, translation)
1912 Delitzsch, AL 3 pp. 62–76 (ex. 2, copy)
1914 King, Cat. p. 46 no. .375 (ex. 10, study)
1914 Schel, Prisme p. 45 (ex. 9*, partial edition)
1928 Olmstead, Historiography pp. 43 and 46 (ex. 2, study)
1922 BM Guide pp. 225–227 and pl. XXVII (ex. 2, photo, study; iii 7b–49, translation)
1924 Luckenbill, Senn. frontispiece, pp. 21, 23–47, 128–131, 163–187 H1–2 and pls. after p. 187 (ex. 1, copy, photo, edition; ex. 2, variants [of ex. 1])
1926 Gressmann, ATAT 2 pp. 352–354 (ii 37–iii 49, translation)
1929 Ungnad, ZA 38 pp. 191–200 (study)
1937 Weidner, Studies Dussaud p. 927 (ii 53, study)
1940 Thompson, Iraq 7 p. 85 (ex. 1, provenance)
1941 Naster, Chrestomathie pp. 38–51 (ex. 1, copy)
1943 C. Breastad, Pioneer to the Past p. 275 (ex. 1, provenance)
1947 Böhl, Chrestomathy 1 pp. 25–26 nos. 15–16 (ii 18–49, vi 36–58, copy)
1950 C. Breastad, Vom Tal der Könige p. 249 (ex. 1, provenance)
1953 Bauer, Lesestücke pp. 88–96 (ex. 2, copy)
1954 DOTT pl. 4 (ex. 2, photo)
1956 Pallis, Antiquity of Iraq pp. 69–70 (ex. 2, provenance)
1975 Reade, JCS 27 pp. 193–195 (exs. 1–3, 9* study)
1979 Borger in Gallling, Textbuch 3 pp. 67–69 (ii 37–iii 49, translation)
1979 Borger, BAL 3 pp. 65–66, 68–88, 132–140 and 327–335 (ex. 1, copy, translation; ex. 2, variants [of ex. 1]; ex. 3, study)
1984 Cogan, AFO 31 p. 72 n. 2 (ex. 4*, study)
1986 Engel, Dämmen p. 172 (vi 62–65, translation)
1990 Hooker, Reading the Past p. 41 (ex. 2, photo)
1990 Lackenbacher, Le palais sans rival p. 107 and 123 (vi 53b–55a, translation)
1990 Scott and MacCinnis, Iraq 52 pp. 66–67 (vi 36–73a, study)
1992 Lambert, Cat. p. 79 (ex. 4*)
1993 Pečírková, ArOr 61 p. 9 n. 32 (iv 2–9a, translation)
1997 Frahm, Sannarib pp. 103–105 T 16 (study)
1997 Weissert, HSAO 6 pp. 191–202 (v 17–vi 35, study)
1999 Gallagher, Sennacherib's Third Campaign passim (i 27–35, 71, ii 26–27a, iii 75–79, 81–iv 2, translation; ii 37–iii 49, study)
2000 Na'amana, JAOS 120 p. 621 (iii 37b–41, translation, study)
2002 Vera Chamaza, Omnipotenz pp. 305 no. 61, 311–312 nos. 70–71, 329 no. 83 (iii 71b–74, v 17–24a, 28b–37a, edition)
2002–05 Nadali, SAAB 14 p. 116 n. 17 (i 73–74, iii 18–23, translation, study)
2003 Becking, 'Like a Bird in a Cage' pp. 65–67 (ii 37–iii 49, study)
2003 Kreger, Studies Wilcke pp. 234–235 (study)
2004 Liverani, Myth and Politics p. 175 (iii 27b–29, 37b–38, 41b–42a, 46a, 47b–48a, translation)
2004 Mitchell, Bible in the British Museum p. 66 Document 30 (ex. 2, photo; ii 37–iii 49, study)
Figure 5. BM 91032 (text no. 22 ex. 2), the Taylor Prism of Sennacherib, which records eight military campaigns and the rebuilding of two wings of the armory. © Trustees of the British Museum.
i 1–9) Sennacherib, great king, strong king, king of the world, king of Assyria, king of the four quarters (of the world), capable shepherd, favorite of the great gods, guardian of truth (i 5) who loves justice, renders assistance, goes to the aid of the weak, (and) strives after good deeds, perfect man, virile warrior, foremost of all rulers, the bridle that controls the insubmissive, (and) the one who strikes enemies with lightning:

i 10–19) The god Aššur, the great mountain, granted to me unrivalled sovereignty and made my weapons greater than (those of) all who sit on (royal) daises. (i 15) He made all of the black-headed (people) from the Upper Sea of the Setting Sun to the Lower Sea of the Rising Sun bow down at my feet. Thus did-recalcitrant eaders come to fear battle with me. While they were abandoning their settlements, they flew away alone like bats (living in) crevices to inaccessible place(s).

i 20–27a) On my first campaign, I brought about the defeat of Marduk-apa-iddina (II) (Merodach-badan), king of Karduniaš (Babylonia), together with the troops of (the land) Elam, his allies, in the plain of Kish. In the midst of that battle he abandoned his camp, fled alone, and (thereby) saved his life. (i 25) I seized the chariots, horses, wagons, (and) mules that he had abandoned in the thick of battle.

i 27b–35a) I joyfully entered his palace, which is in Babylon, then I opened his treasury and brought out gold, silver, gold (and) silver utensils, (i 30) precious stones, all kinds of possessions (and) property without number, a substantial tribute, (together with) his palace women, courtiers, attendants, male singers, female singers, all of the craftsmen, as many as there were, (and) his palace attendants, and I counted (them) as booty.

i 35b–42) With the strength of the god Aššur, my lord, I surrounded, conquered, (and) plundered 75 of his fortified cities, fortresses of Chaldea, and 420 smaller settlements in their environs. I brought out the auxiliary forces of the Arameans (and) Chaldeans (i 40) who were in Uruk, Nippur, Kish, Êurasagkalam, Cutha, (and) Sippar, together with the guilty citizens,
ša qé-reb UNUG.KI NIBRU.KI kiš.KI  
URU.hur-sag-kalam-ma

EN hi-it-ti ú-še-sa-am-ma šal-la-tiš am-nu

i-na ta-a-ar-ti-ia LU.tu-'u-mu-na

LÚ.ri-ḫi-ğu LÚ.ia-da-qu LÚ.ú-bu-du

LÚ,gi-re-e LU.mà-la-ḫu LU,gu-ru-mu

LÚ.ú-bu-lum LU,da-mu-nu LU,gam-bu-lum

LÚ,hi-in-da-ru LÚ,ru-'u-u-a LÚ,pu-qa-du

LÚ,ḫa-am-ru-nu LÚ,ḫa-ga-ra-nu LÚ,na-ba-ru

LÚ,li-ta-a-a LÚ,ra-mu la kan-šu-ti

mit-ḫa-riš ak-šadad 2 ME 8 LIM UN,MEŠ TUR GAL

NITA  ú MUNUS ANŠE,KUR,RA,MEŠ  
ANŠE,Kunga,MEŠ ANŠE,MEŠ

šal-la-tu ka-bit-tu dššu-lu-la a-na qé-reb KUR aššu.KI

i-na me-ti-iq ger-ri-ia ša mašMUATi-EN-MU,MEŠ

LÚ,qi-pi URU,ḫa-ra-ra-te KU,GI KU,BABBAR
GIŠ.mu-suk-kan-ki

GAL,MEŠ ANŠE,MEŠ GUN,MEŠ ú şe-e-ni ša la ni-bi

GAL,MEŠ ANŠE,MEŠ ANŠE,GAL,MEŠ  
GUN,MEŠ ú şe-e-ni

LÚ,hi-rim-me LÚ,KUR ašši-ta i-na
GIŠ.TUKUL,MEŠ ú š-šam-qit-ma

e-du ul e-zib pag-ri-šu-un i-na ga-ši-ši

a-lul-ma si-ḫir-ti URU ú-šal-me na-gu-ú

šu-a-tu a-na eš-šu-ti aš-bat 1-en GU

10 UDU,NITA,MEŠ 10 ANŠE GIŠ,GEŠTIN 20 ANšE ŽU,LU,MA

re-še-ti-ši a-na DINGIR,MEŠ-ni KUR aššu.KI

EN,MEŠ-ia ú-kiš dá-ši-šam

i-na 2-e ger-ri-ia aššu be-li
ú-tak-kiš-an-ni-ma

a-na KUR LÚ,kaš-ši-ši ú KUR
LÚ,ia-su-bi-gal-la-a-a

ša ul-tu ul-la a-na LUGAL,MEŠ AD,MEŠ-ia la
kit-nu-sú

lu al-liq qé-reb ū-ḫa-sa-ni qaq-ru-ti

A,SÁ nam-ra-ši i-na ANŠE,KUR,RA ar-kab-ma
GIŠ,GIGIR GIŠ,II-ia i-na ti-ik-ka-te šu-ša-ša-ši

aššu šu-šu-qu i-na GIŠ,II-ia ri-me-niš
at-taq-giš

URU,E,-ki-lam-za-aḫ URU,ḫa-ar-diš-pi

URU,E,-kù-bat-ti URU,MEŠ-šu-šu É BAD,MEŠ-ni

dan-nu-ti al-me KUR,UD UN,MEŠ
ANŠE,KUR,RA,MEŠ

GAL,MEŠ ANŠE,MEŠ GUN,MEŠ ú še-e-ni

ul-tu qer-ri-ši-un ú-še-sa-am-ma šal-la-tiš
am-nu

i 43–53) On my return march, I defeated all together the Tu’umuma, Riḫišu, Yadaqqu, Ubudu, (i 45) Gibrê, Malaḫu, Gurumu, Ubulu, Damunu, Gambulu, Ḥindaru, Ruʾa, Puqudu, Ḥamrānu, Ḥagarānu, Nabatu, (and) Li’taʾu, insubmissive Arameans. (i 50) I carried off into Assyria a substantial booty (consisting of) 208,000 people, young (and) old, male and female, horses, mules, donkeys, camels, oxen, and sheep and goats, which were without number. I burned

i 54–57a) In the course of my campaign, I received a substantial audience gift from Nabû-bēl-Šumāti, the official in charge of the city Ḥararatu: gold, silver, large musukkamu-trees, donkeys, camels, oxen, and sheep and goats.

i 57b–64) I put to the sword the population of the city Ḥirimmu, a dangerous enemy, and I did not spare a single one. (i 60) I hung their corpses on poles and placed (them) around the city. I reorganized that district (and) imposed for eternity one ox, ten sheep, ten homers of wine, (and) twenty homers of dates as his first-fruits offerings to the gods of Assyria, my lords.

i 65–71) On my second campaign, the god Aššur, my lord, encouraged me and I marched to the land of the Kassites and the land of the Yassubigallians, who since time immemorial had not submitted to the kings, my ancestors. In the high mountains, difficult terrain, I rode on horseback and (i 70) had my personal chariot carried on (men’s) necks. In very rugged terrain I roamed about on foot like a wild bull.

i 72–80a) I surrounded (and) conquered the cities Bit-Ḳilmanzlḫu, Ḫardišpu, (and) Bit-Kubatti, their fortified walled cities. I brought out of them people, horses, (i 75) mules, donkeys, oxen, and sheep and goats, and I counted (them) as booty. Moreover, I destroyed, devastated, (and) turned into ruins their small(er) settlements, which were without number. I burned
with fire pavilions (and) tents, their abodes, and reduced (them) to ashes.

ii 80b–ii 10a) I made that city Bit-Kilamzah a fortress again (and) I strengthened its walls more than before, then (ii 1) I settled therein the people of the lands that I had conquered. I brought down from the mountains the people of the land of the Kasites and the land of the Yashubillians who had fled from my weapons and (ii 5) I made (them) dwell in the cities Ṣḥardišpu (and) Bit-Kubatti. I placed them under the authority of a eunuch of mine, the governor of the city Arrapha. I had a stele made, had all the victorious conquests that I achieved over them written on it, and I erected (it) in (that) city.

ii 10b–19a) I turned around (lit. “I turned the front of my yoke”) and took the road to the land Ellipi. Before my arrival, Ispabāra, their king, abandoned his fortified cities (and) his treasury and fled far away. (ii 15) I overwhelmed all of his wide land like a fog. I surrounded, conquered, destroyed, devastated, and burned with fire the cities Marʾūbīšū (and) Akkuddu, cities of his royal house, together with thirty-four small(er) settlements in their environs.

ii 19b–27a) I carried off people, young (and) old, male and female, horses, mules, donkeys, camels, oxen, and sheep and goats without number, then I brought him (Ispabāra) to nought and made his land smaller. I detached from his land the cities Șīš(š)īrtu (and) Kummahli, fortified cities, together with the small(er) settlements in their environs (ii 25) (and) the district of the land Bit-Barrū in its entirety, and I added (this area) to the territory of Assyria.

ii 27b–32) I took the city Elenzaš as a royal city and a fortress for that district, then I changed its former name and (ii 30) called it Kār-Sennacherib. I settled therein the people of the lands that I had conquered. I placed (it) under the authority of a eunuch of mine, the governor of the city Ṣḥarḥar, and (thus) enlarged my land.

ii 33–36) On my return march, I received a substantial payment from the distant Medes, (ii 35) of whose land none of the kings, my ancestors, had heard mention. (Thus) I made them bow down to the yoke of my
ii 37–46) On my third campaign, I marched to the land Ḫatti. Fear of my lordly brilliance overwhelmed Lulf, the king of the city Sidon, and (ii 40) he fled afar into the midst of the sea and disappeared. The awesome terror of the weapon of the god Aššur, my lord, overwhelmed the cities Great Sidon, Lesser Sidon, Bit-Zittī, Šarepta, Maḥallība, Uṣīk, Akīzību, (and) Acco, his fortified cities (and) fortresses, an area of pasture(s) (ii 45) and water-place(s), resources upon which he relied, and they bowed down at my feet.

ii 47–49) I placed Tu-Ba’lū on the royal throne over them and imposed upon him tribute (and) payment (in recognition) of my overlordship (to be delivered) yearly (and) without interruption. 

ii 50–60a) As for Min[u]himmu of the city Samsimu-runu, Tu-Ba’lū of the city Sidon, Abdi-Lī’ti of the city Arward, Ūru-Miliki of the city Byblos, Mītinti of the city Ashdod, (ii 55) Būdi-il of the land Bit-Ămon, Kammūsu-nadbi of the land Moab, Āya-rāmu of the land Edom, all of the kings of the land Amurrū, they brought extensive gifts, four times (the normal amount), as their substantial audience gift before me and kissed my feet.

ii 60b–64) Moreover, (as for) Śidqā, the king of the city Ashkelon who had not bowed down to my yoke, I forcibly removed the gods of his father’s house, himself, his wife, his sons, his daughters, his brothers, (and other) offspring of his father’s house and took him to Assyria.

ii 65–68a) I set Šarrū-lū-dārī, son of Rūktītu, their former king, over the people of the city Ashkelon and imposed upon him the payment of tribute (and) gifts (in recognition) of my overlordship so that he (now) pulls my yoke.

ii 68b–72) In the course of my campaign, I surrounded, conquered, (and) plundered the cities Bit-Daganna, Joppa, (ii 70) Banayabarqa, (and) Azuru, the cities of Śidqā that had not submitted to me quickly.

ii 73–81) (As for) the governors, the nobles, and the people of the city Ekron who had thrown Pādī, their king who was bound by treaty and oaths (ii 75) to Assyria, into iron fetters and who had handed him over to Hezekiah of the land Judah in a hostile manner, they became frightened on account of the villainous

ii 76 Ṣ̄a-qa-ia-u “Hezekiah”: Ex. 2 has Ṣ̄a-qa-ia-u.
acts they had committed. They formed a confederation with the kings of Egypt (and) the archers, chariots, (and) horses (ii 80) of the king of the land Meluḫḫa, forces without number, and they came to their aid.

ii 82–iii 6a) In the plain of the city El-teke, they sharpened their weapons while drawing up in battle-line before me. (iii 1) With the support of the god Aššur, my lord, I fought with them and defeated them. In the thick of battle, I captured alive the Egyptian charioteers and princes (lit. “the sons of the king”), together with the charioteers of the king of the land Meluḫḫa.

iii 6b–14a) I surrounded, conquered, (and) plundered the cities El-teke (and) Tamâ. I approached the city Ekron and I killed the governors (and) nobles who had committed crime(s) and (iii 10) hung their corpses on towers around the city; I counted the citizens who had committed the criminal acts as booty; (and) I commanded that the rest of them, (those) who were not guilty of crimes or wrongdoing, (to) whom no penalty was due, be allowed to go free.

iii 14b–17) I brought out Padi, their king, from the city Jerusalem and placed (him) on the lordly throne over them, then I imposed upon him payment (in recognition) of my overlordship.

iii 18–27a) Moreover, (as for) Hezekiah of the land Judah, who had not submitted to my yoke, I surrounded (and) conquered forty-six of his fortified cities, (iii 20) fortresses, and small(er) settlements in their environs, which were without number, by having ramps trodden down and battering rams brought up, the assault of foot soldiers, sapping, breaching, and siege engines. I brought out of them 200,150 people, young (and) old, male and female, (iii 25) horses, mules, donkeys, camels, oxen, and sheep and goats, which were without number, and I counted (them) as booty.

iii 27b–37a) As for him (Hezekiah), I confined him inside the city Jerusalem, his royal city, like a bird in a cage. I set up blockades against him and (iii 30) made him dread exiting his city gate. I detached from his land the cities of his that I had plundered and I gave (them) to Mittini, the king of the city Ashdod, Padi, the king of the city Ekron, and Silli-Bēl, the king of the city Gaza, and (thereby) made his land smaller. (iii 35) To the former tribute, their annual giving, I added the payment (of) gifts (in recognition) of my overlordship and imposed (it) upon them (text: “him”).
36) man-da-at-tu kād-re-e be-lu-ti-ia ú-rad-di-ma
37) ú-kin še-ra-uš-sa šu-šu ma-za-qi-á
38) pul-hi me-lam-me be-lu-ti-ia is-hu-pu-ša-ma
39) LÚ.úr-bi ú LÚ.É.RÍ.MEŠ-šu SIG,MEŠ ša a-na
dan-nun
40) URU.UR-SA-li-im-mu URU LUGAL-ti-ša
ú-se-ri-bu-ma
41) iš-šu-ú til-lá-a-ti it-ti 30 GUN KÚ.GÍ
8 ME GUN KÚ.BABBAR ni-siq-ti gu-úlh-li
42) ták-kás-sí NA,AN.ZA,GUL.ME GAL,MEŠ
GIŠ.NÁ.MEŠ ZÚ
43) GIŠ.GU.ZA,MEŠ né-me-di ZÚ KUŠ AM.SI ZÚ AM.SI
44) GIŠ.EŠI GIŠ.TÚG mim-ma šum-ša-ni-sîr-tu
ka-bit-tu
45) ú DUMU,MUNUS,MEŠ-ša MUNUS,UN,MEŠ
É,GAL-šu LÚ.NAR,MEŠ
46) MUNUS,NAR,MEŠ a-na qé-reb NINA.KI URU
be-lu-ti-ia
47) EGR-ia ú-se-bi-lam-ma a-na na-dan
man-da-at-te
48) ú e-peš ARAD-ú-ti is-pu-ra rak-bu-šú

49) i-na 4-e ger-ri-ia 4aš-šur be-li
ú-tak-kil-an-ri-ma
50) um-ma-na-te-ia gap-ša-te ad-ke-ma a-na
KUR.É.ša-ša-ki-n, a-na
51) a-la-ku aq-bi i-na me-ti-iq ger-ri-ia
52) ša ša-šu-bi LÚ.kal-dá-a a Šib qé-reb
í,D.a-gam-me
53) i-na URU.bi-it-tu-ú-tu aš-ta-kan BAD,ŠAD,Šú
54) šu-ú Šu-ra-Šu ME-ia UGU-šu im-qut-ma
55) it-tu-ku li-bu-šú ki-ma az-za-ri e-diš
ip-par-šid-ma
56) ul in-na-mir a-šar-ša pa-an ni-ri-ia ú-ter-ma
a-na KUR.É.sh-aš-a, a-na
57) ša-ú ÚMAR,UTU-IBILA-SUM.NA ša i-na a-lak
ger-ri-ia
58) mah-re-e BAD.BAD,Šú aš-ku-nu ma-ú-par-ri-ru
59) el-lat-su ri-gim GIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ-ia dan-nu-ti
60) ú ti-iš ME-ia ez-i-e-di-rár
61) DINGIR.MEŠ ma-rak KUR-šú i-na KI.TÚŠ-šú-nu
id-ke-ma
62) qé-reb GIŠ.MÁ,MES ú-šar-ki-ba ma-a-na
URU na-šé-raq-qí
63) ša qa-bal tam-tim is-su-riš ip-pa-riš ŠEŠ.MEŠ-šú
NUMUN É AD-sha ú-ša-ša-ša-ri a-li tam-tim
64) a-di si-it-ti UN.MES KUR-šú u-lu KUR.É.ša-ša-ki-n,
qé-reb D.a-gam-me u ap-pa-ra-a-te
ú-še-ša-am-ma

iii 37b-49) As for him, Hezekiah, fear of my lordly
brilliance overwhelmed him and, after my (departure),
he had the auxiliary forces and his elite troops whom
(iii 40) he had brought inside to strengthen the city
Jerusalem, his royal city, and who had provided sup-
port, along with 30 talents of gold, 800 talents of sil-
er, choice antimony, large blocks of ..., ivory beds,
armchairs of ivory, elephant hide(s), elephant ivory,
(iii 45) ebony, boxwood, every kind of valuable trea-
sure, as well as his daughters, his palace women, male
singers, (and) female singers brought into Nineveh, my
capital city, and he sent a mounted messenger of his
to me to deliver (this) payment and to do obeisance.

iii 50–57a) On my fourth campaign, the god Aššur,
my lord, encouraged me so that I mustered my
numerous troops and ordered the march to the land
Bit-Yakin. In the course of my campaign, I defeated
Šizubu (Mušezib-Marduk), a Chaldean who lives in the
marshes, at the city Bittitātu. (iii 55) As for him, terror
of doing battle with me fell upon him and his heart
pounded. He fled alone like a lynx and his (hiding)
place could not be found.

iii 57b–69a) I turned around (lit. “I turned the front of
my yoke”) and took the road to the land Bit-Yakin. He
— Marduk-apla-iddina (II) (Merodach-baladan), whom
(iii 60) I had defeated and whose forces I had scattered
during my first campaign — became frightened by the
clangor of my mighty weapons and my fierce battle
array, then dislodged the gods of the (full) extent of his
land from their abodes, and loaded (them) onto boats.
(iii 65) He flew away like a bird to the city Nagîte-
çaqqi, which is in the midst of the sea. I brought his
brothers, the seed of his father’s house, whom he had
abandoned at the shore of the sea, together with the
rest of the people of his land, out of the land Bit-Yakin,
which is in the swamps and marshes, and I counted
(them) as booty.
iii 69b–71a) Once again I destroyed (and) devastated his cities, (and) turned (them) into ruins. I poured out awe-inspiring brilliance upon his ally, the king of the land Elam.

iii 71b–74) On my return march, I placed Aššur-nādin-šumī, my first-born son (whom I) raised on my (own) knee, on his lordly throne and entrusted him with the wide land of Sumer and Akkad.

iii 75–80) On my fifth campaign: The population of the cities Tumurrum, Šarum, Ezāma, Kibšū, Ḥalbuda, Qūa, (and) Qana, whose dwellings are situated like the nests of eagles, the foremost of birds, on the peak of Mount Nipur, a rugged mountain, and who had not bowed down to the yoke — (iii 80) I had my camp pitched at the foot of Mount Nipur.

iii 81–iv 9a) Like a fierce wild bull, with my select bodyguard and my merciless combat troops, I took the lead of them (the soldiers in my camp). I proceeded through the gorges of the streams, the outflows of the mountains, (and) rugged slopes in (my) chair. (iv 5) Where it was too difficult for (my) chair, I leapt forward on my (own) two feet like a mountain goat. I ascended the highest peaks against them. Where my knees became tired, I sat down upon the mountain rock and drank cold water from a water skin to (quench) my thirst.

iv 9b–12a) I pursued them on the peaks of the mountains and defeated them. I conquered, plundered, destroyed, devastated, (and) burned with fire their cities.

iv 12b–23a) I turned around (lit. “I turned the front of my yoke”) and took the road against Maniye, the king of the city Uku (and) an insubmissive mountain-dweller. (iv 15) Before my time, none of the former kings of the past had marched through the untrdden paths (and) difficult trails on account of the rugged mountains. I had my camp pitched at the foot of Mount Anara and Mount Uppa, mighty mountains, and I myself, in an armchair, (iv 20) with my crack combat troops, entered their narrow passes with great difficulty and ascended with a struggle the steep mountain peaks.

iv 20b–22a Text no. 19 ii’ 5’–6’ omits gūš-ma-lu-ti i-na ne-re-bi-dāš-un pi-qi-ti šu-nu-ḫi-ši e-ru-um-ma “(my) crack (combat troops), I entered their narrow passes with great difficulty and” between LÜ.ERIM.MEŠ ME-ia “my fighting troops” and mar-ši-ši “with a struggle.”
23) pa-āš-qa-a-te šu-u ma-ni-ia-e tur-bu-u'

iv 23b–28a) He, Maniye, saw the dust cloud (stirred up) by the feet of my troops, then he abandoned the city Ukk, his royal city, and fled afar. I surrounded, conquered, (and) plundered the city Ukk. I brought out of it every kind of possession (and) property, the treasures of his palace, and I counted (it) as booty.

iv 28b–31) Moreover, I conquered thirty-three cities on the borders of his district and carried off from them people, donkeys, oxen, and sheep and goats. (Then) I destroyed (them), devastated (them), (and) burned (them) with fire.

iv 32–39) On my sixth campaign: The rest of the people of the land Bit-Yākin, who had groveled like onagers before my mighty weapons, dislodged the gods of the (full) extent of their land from their abodes, (iv 35) then crossed the Great Sea of the Rising Sun and set up their residences in the city Nagītu of the land Elam — I crossed over the sea in boats of the land Ḥatti. I conquered the cities Nagītu (and) Nagītu-dī'bina, together with the lands Ḩilmu, Pillatu, and Ḩupapanu, districts of the land Elam.

iv 40–46a) I carried off from the people of the land Bit-Yākin, together with their gods and the people of the king of the land Elam, and I did not leave a (single) escapee. I loaded (them) onto boats and brought (them) to this side (of the sea), then I made (them) take the road to Assyria. I destroyed, devastated, (and) burned with fire the cities that are in those districts. I turned (them) into a mound of ruins (lit. “a mound and ruins”).

iv 46b–53) On my return march, in a pitched battle, I defeated Sūzubu (Nergal-uṣēzib), a citizen of Babylon who had taken the lordship of the land of Sumer and Akkad for himself during the confusion in the land.
(iv 50) I captured him alive, bound him with tethering ropes and iron fetters, and brought him to Assyria. I defeated the king of the land Elam, who had aligned himself with him and came to his aid. I dispersed his forces and scattered his assembled host.

(iv 54–61a) On my seventh campaign, the god Aššur, my lord, encouraged me and (iv 55) I marched to the land Elam. In the course of my campaign, I conquered (and) plundered the cities Bit-Ḫa'irī (and) Rašā, cities on the border of Assyria that the Elamites had taken away by force in the time of my ancestor(s). I had my garrisons stationed inside them. (iv 60) I brought (those cities) back inside the border of Assyria and placed (them) under the authority of the garrison commander of Dēr.

iv 61b–69a) The cities Bubē, Dūnī-Šamaš, Bit-Ｒiṣiya, Bit-Ḫalmaš, Dūru, Danat-Sulāyā, Šilibti, Bit-Ａṣusī, Kār-Zēra-iqīša, Bit-Gišṣi, Bit-Katpālānī, Bit-Ｉmīyā, (iv 65) Ḥamānū, Bit-Ａrrabi, Burūtu, Dimtu-ša-Sulāyā, Dimtu-ša-Mār-bīti-eṭīr, Ḥarri-ṣašakē, Rabbāya, Rāsu, Akkarina, Til-Uḫuri, Ḥamrānu, Nadītu,

iv 69b–81a) together with the cities of the passes, namely Bit-Ｂunakī, Til-Ḫumbi, Dimtu-ša-Dume-li, Bit-Ｕbiya, Bit-ｕbiya, Bit-lišīr, Taqab-lišīr, Sa-nāqidāte, Masṭuṣapītī, Sarḫudēri, Āluṃ-ša-Bēlet-biti, (iv 75) Bit-Ａḫḫēdīna, (and) Iteuba — I surrounded, conquered, plundered, destroyed, devastated, (and) burned with fire (those) thirty-four fort cities, together with the small(er) settlements in their environs, which were without number. I made the smoke from their conflagration cover the wide heavens like a heavy cloud.

iv 81b–v 5) Kudur-Naḥuntu (Kudur-Naḥuntu), the Elamite, heard about the conquest of his cities and fear fell upon him. He brought (the people of) the rest of his cities into fortresses. He abandoned the
city Madaktu, his royal city, and (v 5) took the road to the city Ḥaydala, which is in the distant mountains.

v 6–11a) I ordered the march to the city Madaktu, his royal city. In the month Tamḫiṯer, bitter cold set in and a severe rainstorm sent down its rain. I was afraid of the rain and snow in the gorges, the outflows of the mountains, (so) I turned around (lit. “I turned the front of my yoke”) and took the road to Nineveh.

v 11b–16) At that time, by the command of the god Aššur, my lord, Kudur-Naḫuntu (Kudur-Naḫuntu), the king of the land Elam, did not last three months and suddenly died a premature death. After him, Umman-menanu (Ḫumban-menanu), (v 15) who does not have sense or insight, his younger brother, sat on his throne.

v 17–24a) On my eighth campaign, after Šūzubu (Mušēzib-Marduḵ) had rebelled and the citizens of Babylon, evil gallū-demons, had locked the city gates, they plotted to wage war. (v 20) Arameans, fugitives, runaways, murderers, (and) robbers rallied around Šūzubu (Mušēzib-Marduḵ), a Chaldean, a person of lowly status, a coward (lit. “who has no knees”), (and) a servant who belonged to the governor of the city Lāḫuru, they went down into the marshes and incited rebellion.

v 24b–30) I besieged him and put him in dire straits. On account of fear and hunger, he fled to the land Elam. When there were conspiracy and treachery against him, he hurried out of the land Elam and entered Šuanna (Babylon). The Babylonians inappropriately placed him (back) on the throne (and) entrusted him with the lordship of the land of Sumer and Akkad.

v 31–37a) They (the Babylonians) opened the treasury of Esagil and took out the gold (and) silver of the god Bēl (Marduḵ) and the goddess Zarpanitu, the property of the temple of their gods. They sent it as a bribe to Umman-menanu (Ḫumban-menanu), the king of the land Elam, who does not have sense or insight, (saying): (v 35) “Gather your army, muster your forces, hurry to Babylon, and align yourself with us! Let us put our trust in you.”

v 17–vi 35 Reports of the eighth campaign (the battle of Ḥalulū) are first recorded in texts written in the eponymy of Bēl-Emunanni, governor of the city Carchemish (691), the year that this text, text no. 18 ex. 1, and text no. 23 ex. 1 were written. For literary allusions to Enūma ešš in this account, see Weisert, HSAO 6 pp. 191–202.
37) tu-kul-ta-ni lu at-ta šu-ú LÚ.e-la-mu-ú
38) ša i-na a-lak ger-ri-ia maḥ-ri-ti ša
KUR.ELAM.MA.KI
39) URU.MEŠ-Šú ak-šu-du-ma ú-ter-ru a-na kar-me
40) lib-ibu-uš ul ih-su-us ta’a-ta
41) im-ḫur-Šú-nu-ti-ma ERIM.ḪL.A-Šú KARAS-su
ú-pa-ḫi-ra
42) GIŠ.GIGIR.IMEŠ GIŠ.Šu-um-bi e-šu-ra
ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ
43) ANŠE.KUNGA.IMEŠ is-ni-qa ṣi-in-di-šu
KUR.par-su-āš
44) KUR.an-zah-an KUR.pa-šu-ru KUR.el-lí-pi
LÚ.ia-as-il
45) LÚ.la-kab-ra LÚ.ḫa-ar-zu-nu LÚ.du-um-mu-qu
46) LÚ.šu-la-a-a LÚ.sa-am-ú-ú DUMU
mIMES.A-SUM.NA
47) KUR.É-.ma-di-ni KUR.É-.ma-muk-ka-na
KUR.É-.mušila-na
48) KUR.É-.ma-a-la U.D.U.D.AG.KI URU.la-ḫi-ru
LÚ.pu-qi-du
49) LÚ.gam-bu-lum LÚ.ḫa-la-tum LÚ.ru-ur-ú-a
50) LÚ.ū-bu-lum LÚ.ma-la-ḫu LÚ.ra-pi-qu
51) LÚ.ḫi-in-da-ru LÚ.da-mu-nu kit-ru GAL-ū
52) ik-te-ra it-ti-ši gi-ip-šu-su-un ú-ru-uḫ
53) KUR URLIKI iš-ba-tu-nim-ma a-na
KÁ.DINGIR.RA.KI te-bu-ni
54) a-di mušu-bi LÚ.kal-da-a-a a LUGAL
KÁ.DINGIR.RA.KI
55) a-na a-ḫa-meš iq-ru-bu-ma pu-ḫur-ša-nu
ín-nen-du
56) ki-ma ti-bu-ut a-ri-bi ma-a’di ša pa-an šat-ti
57) mit-ḫa-riš a-na e-peš tuq-ma-te te-bu-ni
še-ru-u-a
58) SAḪAR.ḪL.A GIŠ.ḪL.Šú-nu ki-ma MURU, kab-ti
59) ša dun-ni e-ri-ia-ti pa-an AN-e rap-šu-te ka-tim
60) el-la-mu-ú-a ina URU.ḫa-ḫu-le-e ša ki-šad
ÍD.İDIGNA
61) šit-ku-nu si-dir-ta pa-an maš-qí-ia sab-tu-ma
62) ú-ša’a-šu GIŠ.TUKUL.IMEŠ-Šú-un a-na-ku a-na
aš-šar
63) 30 4TU 4EN 4MUATI 4U.GUR 4INANNA ša
NINA.KI
64) 4INANNA ša URU.LIMMU-DINGIR DINGIR.IMEŠ
ti-ik-li-la
65) a-na ka-ša-dí LÚ.KUR dan-ni
am-ḫur-ša-nu-ti-ma
66) su-pe-e-a ur-ru-ḫi-ši iš-mu-ú il-li-ku
67) re-su-ti la-ab-biš an-na-dir-ma at-tal-bi-ša
v 37b–43a) That Elamite, whose cities I had conquered and turned into ruins during a previous campaign to the land Elam, (v 40) accepted the bribe from them without thinking, then gathered his troops (and) his forces, inspected (his) chariots (and) wagons, (and) checked his teams (of) horses (and) mules.

v 43b–52a) The lands Parsuš, Anzan, Pašeren, (and) Ellipi, the people of Yasil, (v 45) Lackab(e)ra, Ħarzunu, Dummuq, Sulāya, (and) Sam’una, (who was) a son of Marduk-apla-iddina (II) (Merodach-baladan), the lands Bit-Adin, Bit-Amûkânî, Bit-Šilânî, Bit-Sâîlî (Bit-Sa’âli), Larak, the city Lāhiru, the people (of the tribes of the) Puqudu, Gamblu, Ḥalatu, Ru’u’a, (v 50) Ubulu, Malalū, Rapîqû, Ḥijûndaru, (and) Damunu, a large host, formed a confederation with him.

v 52b–59) In their multitude, they took the road to Akkad and, as they were advancing towards Babylon, they met up with Šûzûbu (Muṣṣēž-Barduk), a Chaldean (who is) the king of Babylon, and banded their forces together. Like a spring invasion of a swarm of locusts, they were advancing towards me as a group to do battle. The dust of their feet covered the wide heavens like a heavy cloud in the deep of winter.

v 60–62a) While drawing up in battleline before me at the city Halûlû, which is on the bank of the Tigris River, (and) keeping me from the water source, they sharpened their weapons.

v 62b–67a) I myself prayed to the deities Ašur, Šîn, Šamaš, Bēl, Naḇû, Nergal, Ištar of Nineveh, (and) Ištar of Arbela, the gods who support me, (v 65) for victory over (my) strong enemy and they immediately heeded my prayers (and) came to my aid.

v 67b–73) I raged up like a lion, then put on armor.
(and) placed a helmet suitable for combat on my head. (v 70) In my anger, I rode quickly in my exalted battle chariot, which lays enemies low. I took in my hand the mighty bow that the god Aššur had granted to me (and) I grasped in my hand an arrow that cuts off life.

v 74–82a) I roared loudly like a storm (and) thundered like the god Adad against all of the wicked enemies. By the command of the god Aššur, the great lord, my lord, I blew like the onset of a severe storm against the enemy on (their) flanks and front lines. With the weapons of the god Aššur, my lord, and my fierce battle array, I turned them back and made them retreat. (v 80) I shot the troops of the enemy with usšu-arrows (and) mulmullu-arrows, and pierced all of their corpses like...

v 82b–vi 1) I quickly slaughtered and defeated Ḫum-ban-undaša, the herald of the king of the land Elam, a trusted man who leads his arms, his main support, together with his magnates, who wear gold (decorated) belt-daggers and have reddish gold sling straps fastened to their forearms, like fattened bulls restrained with fetters.

vi 2–12) I slit their throats like sheep (and thus) cut off their precious lives like thread. Like a flood in full spate after a seasonal rainstorm, I made their blood flow (vi 5) over the broad earth. The swift thoroughbreds harnessed to my chariot plunged into floods of their blood (just) like the river Ordeal. The wheels of my war chariot, which lays criminals and villains low, were bathed in blood and gore. (vi 10) I filled the plain with the corpses of their warriors like grass. I cut off (their) lips and (thus) destroyed their pride. I cut off their hands like the stems of cucumbers in season.

vi 13–16a) I received gold (and) shining silver sling straps as their wrist-trappings (and) slashed off their belts with sharp swords. I took away gold (and) silver (decorated) belt-daggers as their waist-trappings.

vi 16b–19a) (As for) the rest of his magnates, includ-
vi 26 ki-ma-le-e “like ala-demons”; CAD A/1 p. 376 ala A and CAD L p. 228 sub lú b regard this as a sandhi writing for ki-ma a-le-e. W. von Soden (AHw p. 560 sub lá I), R. Borger (BiOr 26 [1969] p. 75b), E. Frahm (Sanherib p. 105), and P. Talon (Annales Assyriennes p. 120) disagree; they all suggest ki-ma le-e “like bulls.”

vi 36–38a This building report may be an expanded version of the account of the rebuilding of the armory in text no. 23. Because the dates of exs. 1 and 2 of that inscription are not sufficiently preserved, and the fact that ex. 2 was inscribed in intercalary Addaru (XII), it is not impossible that the building report of text no. 23 is an abbreviated version of this account of construction at Nineveh. For further details, see the commentary of text no. 23.

vi 36b–38 Text no. 23 vi 31 omits al-u-tu É.GAL ... a-ma-la-ši “after ... the palace ... I had filled it ...”

vi 39 Cf. text no. 23 vi 31, which adds ša NINA.KI “of Nineveh” after É.GAL ku-tal-li “Rear Palace.”

vi 41 Text no. 23 vi 34 places di-si-si-šu “they had had built” after AD.MEŠ-ia “my ancestors.”

vi 43 Text no. 23 vi 35 omits la nu-ku-lat e-piš-taš “its construction was inexpert.”

vi 46 ki-siš-ša-ú “falllow land”: Text no. 23 vi 38 has qa-qa-ru “land.”

vi 19b–23) I brought back all together the chariots along with their horses, whose drivers had been killed in the thick of (that) mighty battle and which had themselves been released so that they galloped about on their own. When the second double-hour of the night had passed, I stopped their slaughter.

vi 24–29a) (As for) him, Umman-menanu (Hûman-menanu), the king of the land Elam, along with the king of Babylon (and) the sheiks of Chaldea who marched at his side, terror of doing battle with me overwhelmed them like ala-demons. They abandoned their tents and, in order to save their lives, they trampled the corpses of their troops as they pushed on.

vi 29b–35) Their hearts throbbed like the pursued young of pigeons, they passed their urine hotly, (and) released their excreta inside their chariots. I ordered my chariots (and) horses to pursue them. Wherever they caught (them), they killed with the sword the runaways amongst them, who had fled for (their) lives.

vi 36–38) At that time, after I had completed the palace in the citadel of Nineveh for my royal residence (and) had filled it with luxuriousness to be an object of wonder for all of the people:

vi 39–44) The Rear Palace that earlier kings, my ancestors, had had built for the proper running of the military camp, (vi 40) the care of horses, (and) the overseeing of everything — its terrace did not exist, its site had become too small, and its construction was inexpert. With the passage of time, its base had fallen into disrepair, then its foundations had become loose (and) its superstructure had collapsed.

vi 45–51a) I tore down that palace in its entirety. I took much fallow land from the meadow and plain of
47) ù ta-mir-ți URU GIM a-tar-tim-ma lu aš-ba-ta
48) ι-na muḫ-ḥi lu u-ru-dī maš-kān Ḥ.GAL
maḥ-ri-ți
49) e-zib-ma i-na qaṣ-qa-ri u-ṣa-šal-ī ša al-tu
50) mal-di ID aš-ba-ta tam-la-a uš-mal-li 2 ME
ti-ib-ki

51) a-na e-la-ni u-ṣa-šaq-qī re-e-su ina ITI še-me-e
52) u-μ mu mit-qa-ri še-er tam-le-e ša-a-tu
53) i-na nik-lat lib-bi-ia Ḥ.otp NA₉,i-i-l
54) ù GÌS.e-re-ni nē-peš-ti KUR,hat-ti ù Ḥ.GAL
55) ši-ir-tu ep-šet KUR aš-šur.KI ša UGU maḥ-ri-ți
56) ma-a-ʼdīš šu-tu-rat ra-ba-ta ša nak-lat
57) i-na ši-pir LŪ.ŠI.TIM.GAL le-en-qu-ti

58) a-na mu-šab be-lu-ti-ia u-še-piš GÌS.UR.MEŠ
59) GÌS.e-re-ni ši-ru-ti tar-bit KUR,ha-ma-nim KUR el-li
60) u-ṣa-tat-ri-ša e-li-šin GÌS.IG.MEŠ li-ia-ri
61) me-šer URUDU nam-rim u-ru-ak-kis-ma u-ru-ta-ta-a
62) KĀ.MEŠ-šin i-na NA₉,i-i-li pe-še-e
63) ša i-na er-še-et URU.ba-la-ta-a a-in-nam-ru
64) Ḥ.LAD,LAMMA.MEŠ ši-ru-ti ʿuš-še-piša ma in-na
65) u šu-me-la u-ṣa-as-bi-ta SL.GAR-šin a-na
šu-te-šār
66) ša-mat SAG.DU pa-qa-di mur-ni-is-qī ANŠE.KUNGA.MEŠ a-ga-li-i
67) til-li GÌS.GIGIR.MEŠ GÌS.at-ta-rate e-req-qī
iš-pa-a-te
68) til-pa-na-a-te u uš-ši mim-ma šum-šā u-šu-ut
MĒ

69) na-as-ma-di ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ ANŠE.KUNGA.MEŠ
šā e-mu-qī
70) ra-ba-a-te i-šu-ū šuk-nu-šē a-na-ni-ri
ki-sa-la-šā
71) KĀ-nu-ū ma-gal uš-rab-bi Ḥ.GAL ša-a-tū ul-tū
uš-še-šā
72) a-di na-bur-ri-ša ar-sip u-ša-šal-īl MU.SAR-e
73) ši-tir MU-iā i-na qer-bi-šā dš-kun a-na ār-kāt
UD.MEŠ

the city as an addition (and) I added (it) to (the site).
I abandoned the site of the former palace and filled in
a terrace in the area of the meadow that I had taken
from the river bank. I raised its superstructure 200
courses of brick high.

vi 51b–58a) In a favorable month, on an auspicious
day, upon that terrace, with my innate expertise, I had
a palatial wing of limestone and cedar in the style of
the land Ḥattu and (vi 55) a magnificent palatial wing
of Assyrian workmanship, which greatly surpassed
the previous one in size and expertise, built through
the craft of well-trained master builders, for my lordly
residence.

vi 58b–65a) I roofed them with magnificent beams
of cedar grown on Mount Amanus, the holy moun-
tain. I fastened bands of bright copper on doors
of white cedar and I installed (them) in their gates. I had
magnificent bull colossi fashioned from white lime-
stone that was discovered in the territory of the city
Balataya and on the right and left I made (them) hold
their door bolts.

vi 65b–71a) I greatly enlarged its outer courtyard
for the proper administration of the black-headed
(people), the inspection of thoroughbred horses, mules,
aqālū-donkeys, military equipment, chariots, carts,
wagons, quivers, bows, and usṣu-arrows, every type of
implement of war, (and) the submission of teams of
horses (and) mules, which have great strength, to the
yoke.

vi 71b–73a) I built (and) completed that palace from
its foundations to its battlements. I deposited in it
inscribed objects bearing my name.

vi 73b–80a) In the future, one of the kings, my
descendants, whom the god Aššur and the goddess

vi 47 GIM a-tar-tim-ma “as an addition”: Text no. 23 vi 38 places kīma atartimma before qaṣ-qa-ru ma-[a]-du “in[u]ch land,” rather than after
ta-mir-ti URU “the plain of the city.” lu aš-ba-ta “I took”: Cf. text no. 23 vi 39, which omits lu.
vi 48 lu u-ru-dī “I added”: Ex. 2 has lu u-ru-dī “I added” and text no. 23 vi 39 has uš-ru-dī “I added.” maš-kān Ḥ.GAL “the site of the palace”: Text no. 23 vi 40 has qaṣ-qa-ru Ḥ.GAL “the site of the palace.”
vi 49b–50a i-na qaṣ-qa-ri “in the area … I had taken”: Text no. 23 vi 40b–41a has i-na qaṣ-qa-ri ša ul-tu Ḥ.GAL “in the area that I had taken from the meadow.”
vi 53–57 Cf. text no. 23 vi 44, which has Ḥ.GAL ra-bi-tum ša še-er maḫ-[r]-ti ma-a-ʼdīš šu-tu-rat “a large palatial wing, which greatly surpassed
the previous one” in lieu of i-na nik-lat lib-bi-ia ši-pir LŪ.ŠI.TIM.GAL le-en-qu-ti “with my innate expertise ... the craft of well-trained master
builders.” Text no. 23 describes the construction of only one wing of the armory, while this inscription describes that of two wings. This may
be an indication that that text is the earlier of the two inscriptions.
vi 59 Text no. 23 vi 46 omits tar-bit KUR,ha-ma-nim KUR-i el-li “grown on Mount Amanus, the holy mountain.”
vi 60, 62, and 65 e-li-šīn “over them,” KĀ.MEŠ-šīn “their gates,” and SL.GAR-šīn “their door bolts”: Cf. text no. 23 vi 46, 47, and 50, which have e-li-šīn “over it,” KĀ.MEŠ-šīn “its gates,” and ši-ga-ar-šīn “its door bolt(s).”
vi 62 Text no. 23 vi 48 omits i-na “from” before NA.pi-i-ıu “white limestone.”
vi 64 Ḥ.LAD,LAMMA.MEŠ ši-ru-ti “magnificent bull colossi”: Text no. 23 vi 49 has Ḥ.LAD,LAMMA “a bull colossus.”
vi 65b–71a Text no. 23 omits a-na ša-te-šar ... ma-gal uš-rab-bi “I greatly enlarged ... the passage recording
the enlargement and the importance of the Rear Palace’s outer courtyard. This may be an indication that that text is the earlier of the two
inscriptions.
A nearly complete hexagonal clay prism and a small fragment from another prism, both presumably from Nineveh, are inscribed with a near duplicate of text no. 22. This inscription contains the same prologue and military narration as the previous text, but its building report has a shorter description of the rebuilding of the armory, which Sennacherib refers to as the *ekal kutalli* (the “Rear Palace”). This report records the construction of only one wing of the building and its decoration, which included large limestone bull colossi stationed in its gateways; text no. 22 describes the building of two wings, one in the Syrian style and one in the Assyrian style, and a large outer courtyard. Both exemplars partially preserve dates. One prism (ex. 1) was written in an unknown month in the eponymy of Bēl-ēmranni, governor of the city Carchemish (691), and the other (ex. 2) was inscribed in Intercalary Addaru (XII) of an unknown year. The inscription is commonly referred to as the “Jerusalem Prism”; ex. 1 is named after the city in which it now resides (Jerusalem, the Israel Museum).

---

22 vi 74 This inscription and text no. 23 vi 54 add Ištar to this part of the advice to future rulers. Cf., for example, text no. 4 line 93 and text no. 17 viii 78, where only Assur is mentioned.

22 vi 77 NUN ar-ku-û “a future ruler”: This inscription and text no. 23 vi 56 add rubû arku “a future ruler” to the advice section. Cf., for example, text no. 4 line 94 and text no. 17 viii 82.

22 vi 80b–83 Text no. 23, like most of Sennacherib’s foundation inscriptions (text nos. 1–8 and 15–18), does not include an admonition against the removal of a royal inscription. Text nos. 10 and 12 (and probably also text no. 11), however, include such advice.
CATALOGUE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ex. Number</th>
<th>Registration Number</th>
<th>Provenance</th>
<th>Dimensions (cm)</th>
<th>Lines Preserved</th>
<th>cpn</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Israel Museum 71.72.249</td>
<td>Acquired from Sotheby’s</td>
<td>Cols. 9.2 wide; 32 high</td>
<td>i 1–vi 59, date</td>
<td>p</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>BM 134449a 1932-12-12,444a</td>
<td>Nineveh</td>
<td>Cols. 3.4 and 3 wide; 8 high</td>
<td>v 48–63, vi 48–59, date</td>
<td>c</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

COMMENTARY

This inscription, like text no. 18 ex. 1 and text no. 22 ex. 2, was composed in the eponymy of Bēl-ēmūranni (691; the king’s 14th regnal year). Because neither exemplar preserves a complete date, it is uncertain if this text was written prior to or after text no. 22. P. Ling-Israel (Studies Artzi p. 214 n. 11 and p. 220) suggests that ex. 1 of this text was written before text no. 22 ex. 2, which is dated to the 20th day of the month Addaru (XII), and proposes that that copy of text no. 23 was “not accepted as an official copy” and that text no. 22 ex. 2 was inscribed immediately after it. Ling-Israel elaborated further on the proposed relationship of the two inscriptions: “The major differences between the prisms are limited to the ‘Building Inscription’ (ekal kutalli section). Here, the scribe uses a less literary style than his fellow scribes who wrote the other two texts. The brevity of his version was not caused by lack of space. It was perhaps due to his different scribal education, and his different aims and conceptions. It is quite possible that the brevity and imperfection of his ‘Building Inscription’ was the major cause for the rejection of his eight-campaign version by the official royal scribal tradition. For two years later (in 689 B.C.E.), when a new copy of the text was commissioned, it was the version of another prism (namely, that of the Taylor Prism) which was selected as a model, and not his.” S.J. Lieberman (JAOS 112 [1992] p. 689) very tentatively reads the month the prism was inscribed in as ʾITTĪ BĀR.ZAG.GAR, “the month Nisannu (I),” which, if correct, would clearly place the date of ex. 1 of this text much earlier than text no. 22 ex. 2; cf. also his remarks on the quote above. We cannot, however, confirm Lieberman’s reading from the published photographs of the object; see also Frahm, Sanherib p. 106. E. Frahm raises the possibility that ex. 1 (Israel Museum 71.72.249) may have been inscribed at the same time as ex. 2 (BM 134449a), which is dated to Intercalary Addaru (XII), of an unknown year, and therefore the prisms were inscribed one month later than text no. 22 ex. 2. Frahm rightly notes that there is no known evidence for Intercalary Addaru XII) in the eponymy of Bēl-ēmūranni (691). There is no reason, however, to assume that ex. 1 and ex. 2 were written at the same time. Comparison of the building reports of this inscription and text no. 22 suggests to us that this inscription may have been the earlier of the two prism inscriptions, namely since this inscription describes the construction of only one wing of the armory, rather than two wings and an outer courtyard. Thus, the report of the armory’s construction in text no. 22 may be a later, expanded version of the building report of ex. 1 of this text. Because we lack firm evidence, we cannot exclude the possibility that text no. 22 ex. 2 is earlier than ex. 1 of this text. Should this prove to be the case, then the building report of this text would be a later, abridged version of the building report of text no. 22.

The text, which was intended for hexagonal clay prisms deposited in the armory (just like text no. 22), includes a short prologue, accounts of eight of Sennacherib’s campaigns, and an account of the building and decoration of a wing of the ekal kutalli (the “Rear Palace”). Additional information on the differences between this inscription and text no. 22 is provided in the on-page notes.

BM 134449a (ex. 2) duplicates only a small portion of ex. 1. Although it follows very closely the building report and concluding formulae of this text, the piece is not sufficiently preserved to be absolutely certain that it preserves a copy of this text, rather than another inscription written ca. 691–689. Following Frahm (Sanherib p. 105), BM 134449a is edited here as if it were a certain exemplar.

In addition to these two exemplars, there are ten other prism fragments that may preserve copies of this text. These are edited as exs. 1*-10* of text no. 22. See the catalogue and commentary of that text for further details.
The provenance of ex. 1 is presumed to be Nineveh. It was purchased by the Israel Museum from Sotheby’s (8 December 1970; lot no. 148) at the recommendation of A. Shaffer; that purchase was made possible by the contributions of Mrs. M. Sacher (London) and Mrs. J. Ungeleider (New York). Ex. 2 was discovered at Nineveh by R.C. Thompson, but its find spot was not recorded.

Ex. 1 is the master text. Since ex. 2 preserves only a small portion of the text, a partial score (v 48–63 and vi 48–61) is provided on the CD-ROM. Restorations are based on text no. 22.

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Page Numbers</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1968</td>
<td>Lambert and Millard</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>(ex. 2, study)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1975</td>
<td>Reade</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>p. 194</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1983</td>
<td>Ussishkin</td>
<td>Conquest of Lachish</td>
<td>15–18 and fig. 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1990</td>
<td>Ling-Israel</td>
<td>Studies Artzi</td>
<td>213–248 and pls. IV–XVI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1992</td>
<td>Lieberman</td>
<td>JAOS</td>
<td>112</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1997</td>
<td>Frahm</td>
<td>Sanherib</td>
<td>pp. 105–106</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2008</td>
<td>Cogan</td>
<td>Raging Torrent</td>
<td>p. 110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2009</td>
<td>Frahm</td>
<td>RLA</td>
<td>12/1–2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2010</td>
<td>Bagg</td>
<td>WO</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2012</td>
<td>Worthington</td>
<td>Textual Criticism</td>
<td>p. 117</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**TEXT**

Col. i

1) "EN.ZU-ŠEŠ,MEŠ-erî-ba LUGAL GAL ¹LUGAL
   [dan-nu]

2) LUGAL kis-ša-ti LUGAL ¹KUR ²aš-šur.KI LUGAL
   kib-nat LIMMU-[tim]

3) RE.È.UM it-pe-šû mi-gir DINGIR,MEŠ GAL,[MEŠ]

4) ¹na-[šir kit-ti] ¹ra-[i]-[im] ²mi-šaš-[ši]

5) [e-pi-ù-sa]-a-ti a-lik tap-pu-ul a-[ki-i]

6) ²sa-[hi-ru] dam-qa-a-ti et-lum git-ma-[š]-lam

7) zi-ka-ru qar-du aš-šá-red kal ma-al-ki

8) rap-pu la-[i]-tu la ma-gi-ri

9) mu-sa-rî-qu za-ma-a-ni ¹aš-šur KUR-ú GAL-ú

10) LUGAL-ut la śá-na-an ú-šat-li-ma-an-ni-ma

11) ÚGU gi-mir a-šib pa-rak-ki ú-šar-ba-a
   GIŠ.TUKUL,MEŠ-ia

12) ul-tu A.AB.BA e-le-nî-ši śa ú-lam ²UTU-ši

13) a-di tam-tim šap-li-ši ša ši-it ³UTU-ši

14) gim-ri sal-mat SAG.DU ú-šak-niš še-pu-ú-a

15) ù ma-al-ki šep-su-ši e-du-ru ta-ša-zi

16) da-á-d-me-šá-un izi-šu-ma ki-ma
   su-tin-ni.MUŠEN

17) ni-gi-ši-ši e-diš ip-par-šu a-šar la-a-ra

18) i-na mah-re-e ger-ri-ia ša
   "AR.MAR.UTU-IBILA,SUM,NA

19) LUGAL.KUR.kar-ud-dan-is-ba a-di ERIM.ÎLA
   ELAM.ÎLA.KI [re]-ši-šu

20) i-na ta-mir-ti kis-ta-kan ¹BA,ši,BA,ši-šú

21) i-[na] ¹MURUB, tam-ša-[ši]-ši [š]-sa-a-tu e-zi-bi

22) ²KARA₂-su e-diš [ši] ³par-šiš-[ši]-ma [na]-piš-tuš
   e-ti-ir GIŠ.[GIŠ.GIR,MEŠ] ANŠE.KUR.RA,MEŠ

23) GIŠ.su-am-bi ANŠE.KUNGA,MEŠ ša i-na qit-ru-ub

24) ta-ša-zi ú-maši-li ru ik-šu-da S.U.I.I-a-a

25) a-na E.GAL-ši ša qe-reb KÂ.DINGIR.RA.KI ša-ši-diš

Col. ii

1 ¹–9a) Sennacherib, great king, [strong] king of the world, king of Assyria, king of the four quarters (of the world), capable shepherd, favorite of the great gods, guar[di]an of truth who lov[es] just[ice], (i 5) renders assistance, goes to the aid of the w[ek], and str[ives after] good deeds, perfect man, virile warrior, foremost of all rulers, the bridge that controls the insumissive, (and) (the one who) strikes enemies with lightning:

i 9b–17) The god Aššur, the great mountain, granted to me unrivalled sovereignty and made my weapons greater than (those of) all who sit on (royal) thrones. He made all of the black-headed (people) from the Upper Sea of the Setting Sun to the Lower Sea of the Rising Sun bow down at my feet. (i 15) Thus did recallcitrant rulers come to fear battle with me. While they were abandoning their settlements, they flew away alone like bats (living) in crevices to inaccessible place(s).

i 18–24) On my first campaign, I brought about the defeat of Marduk-apla-iddina (II) (Merodach-baladan), king of Karduniash (Babylonia), together with the troops of (the land) Elam, his [allies], (i 20) in the plain of Kish, [In the midst of that battle] he abandoned his camp, [fled] alone, and (thereby) saved his life. I seized the [chariots], horses, wagons, (and) mules that he had abandoned in the thick of battle.

25–31a) I joyfully entered his palace, which is in...
Figure 6. Israel Museum 71.72.249 (text no. 23 ex. 1), the Jerusalem Prism of Sennacherib, which records eight military campaigns and the rebuilding of one wing of the armory. © The Israel Museum, Jerusalem.

26)  e-ru-um-ma
27)  ap-te-ma Ė ni-šir-ti-šú KÜ.GI KÜ.BABBAR
     ú3nu-ut KÜ.GI KÜ.BABBAR
28)  [a] ni-bi
29)  ka-bit-tu GUN MUNUS.ŠÄ.É.GAL.MEŠ-šú
     LÜ.TIRUM.MEŠ
30)  LÜ.man-za-az pa-ni LÜ.NAR.MEŠ
     MUNUS.NAR.MEŠ [si-ḫīr]-ti
31)  um-ma-a-ni ma-la ba-šu-ú mut-tab-bi-lu-[tu]  È.GAL-uš
32)  ú-šē-ša-am-ma šal-la-tiš am-nu i-na e-muq 4aš [Šur] EN-ša
     75 URU.MEŠ-šú dan-nu-ti Ḫ.BAD.MEŠ-ni ša
     [KUR].kal-di

Babylon, then I opened his treasury and brought out gold, silver, gold (and) silver utensils, precious stones, all kinds of possessions (and) property with[out] number, a substantial tribute, (together with) his palace women, courtiers, attendants, male singers, female singers, [all] of (i 30) the craftsmen, as many as there were, (and) his palace attend[ants], and I counted (them) as booty.

i 31b–37) With the strength of the god Aš[šur], my lord, I surrounded, conquered, (and) plundered 75 of his fortified cities, fortresses of Chaldea, and 420 small(er) settlements in their environs. (i 35)
brought out the auxiliary forces of the Arameans (and) Chaldeans who were in [Uruk], Nippur, Kish, Ḥursagkalama, Cutha, (and) Sippar, together with the guilty citizens, and [I cou]nted (them) [as bo]joyt.

On my return march, I defeated [all to]gether the Tu’umuna, [Rīḫi]ḥu, Yadaqqu, Ubudu, Gib[rē], (i 40) Malaḫu, Gurumu, [Ubu]lu, Damunu, Gamburgul, [H]i[n]aru, Ru’u’a, Puqudu, Ḥamrānu, Ḥagarānu, Nabatu, (and) Li’ta’, insubmissive Arameans. (i 45) I carried off into Assyria a substantial booty (con- sisting of) 208,000 people, young (and) old, [male] and female, horses, mules, donkeys, camels, oxen, and sheep and goats, which were without number.

In the course of my campaign, I received a substantial audience gift from Nabū-bēl-šumāti, the official in [charge of the city] Ḥararatu: gold, silver, (i 50) large mu[sukkum]-trees, donkeys, camels, oxen, and sheep and goats.

I put[t] to the sword the pop[ulation] of the city Ḥirimmu, a dangerous enemy, (and) I did not spare a single one. I hung their [corps]es on poles and (i 55) placed (them) [aro]und the city. I reorganized that district (and) imposed for eternity [on]e ox, ten sheep, ten homens of wine, (and) twenty homens of [dat]es as his first-fruits offerings to the gods of Assyria, my lords.

On my second campaign, the god Aššur, my [lor]d, encouraged me and I marched to the land of the Kassites and the land of the Yasubigallians, who since time immemorial had not submitted to [the kin]gs, my ancestors. I[nn] the [high] mountain[s], difficult terrain, I rode on [horseback] and had my personal chariot carried on (men’s) necks. (i 65) In very rugged terrain I roamed about on foot like a wild bull.

I surrounded (and) conquered the cities Bit-Kilamaḫa, Ḥar[i]s[pu], (and) Bit-Kubatti, their fortified walled [cit]ies. I brought out of th[e]m people, horses, mule[s], donkeys, oxen, [and] sheep and goats, and (i 70) I counted (them) [as bo]joyt. Moreover, I destroyed, dev[a]stated, (and) tu[r]ned into ruins [their] small(er)
[u] še-e-ni ul-tu ger-bi-[šú]-un ú-še-ša-am-ma
[šal]-la-tiš am-nu ú URU,MEŠ-ni-[šú-nu]
[šal]-la-tiš am-nu ú URU,MEŠ-ni-[šú-nu]

TUR,MEŠ ša ni-ba

[la] i-šu-ú ap-pu-ul aq-[qur ú]-še-me kar-meš

É EDIN kal-ta-ri mu-[šá-bi]-šú-nu

i-na 4giš,BAR aq-mu-ma di-[tal-âs] ú-še-me

ú-ter-ma URU,É,miš-kam-za-[ah] šu-â-tu

a-na URU,HRU-tu-ti âš-bat UGU šâ u₃₄ um pa-ni

[ŠAD],MEŠ-šâ ú-dan-nin-na UN,MEŠ KUR,[KUR] ki-ši-ti ŠU,II-ia

i-na ib-bi ú-še-šiš UN,MEŠ KUR LÚ,kaš-ši-i

Col. ii

1) â KUR LÚ,ša-su-bi-gal-la-[a-a]

2) ša la-pa-an GIŠ.TUKUL,MEŠ-ia i-pa-[šid-du]

3) ul-tu qē-reb KUR-i û-še-ri-[dam-ma]

4) [i-na]'URU,har-âš-pi URU,É,miš-kat-ti û-šar-me

5) [i]-na ŠU,II LÚ,šu-ut SAG-ia LÚ,EN,NAM URU,ar-râ-p-â

6) am-nu-šu-ru-ù-[ú] NI,NA,AR.RÚ,Ú ú-šê-péš-ma

7) li-i-tum ki-ši-ti ŠU,II ša UGU-šu-un

8) še-ru-uš-ša ú-šê-âš-ù-roma i-na gér-bi URU ul-ziz

9) pa-an NÎ-ri-ia û-ter-ma a-na KUR,É,li-pi

10) aš-ša-bat har-ra-ru el-là-mu-ù-a 4is-pa-ba-ra ra

11) [LUGAL],šâ-un URU,MEŠ-šâ dan-nu-ti É ni-ši-ti šâ

12) [u]-maš-šir-ma a-na ru-ó-ê-ti in-na-bit

13) 'gim-ri' KUR-šâ DÂGAL-šim GI MURû

14) URU,[MAR]-ú-bišt-ti URU,AK-kU-ud-du

15) É,LUgAL-šâ a-di 34 URU,MEŠ-ši TUR,MEŠ

16) ša li-[me]-ti-šû-nu al-me KUR-ud ap-pul aq-qur

17) i-na 4giš,[BAR] aq-mu UN,MEŠ TUR GÁL NITA û MUNUS

18) ANŠE,KUR,RA,MEŠ ANŠE,KUNGA,MEŠ ANŠE,GAM,MAL,MEŠ

19) GU,MEŠ û [ša]-e-ni a-na la mi-nam

20) a-di la ba-šâ-i ú-šê-lík-šu-ma ú-ša-âh-êr

KUR,ši-su

21) URU,ši-ši-ir-tu URU,1[ku-um-ma]-la²-[šum-lam]-šu

22) a-di URU,MEŠ-ni TUR,MEŠ,šê li-me-ti-šû-nu

23) KUR,É,miš-ba-ar-ru-[ù na-gu]-ú a-na [gi-mî]-ti-šû

24) ul-tu qē-reb KUR-šû Ûb² tuqa-Ma UGU mi²-[šir

KUR aš²]-šur¹,ki

25) ú-rad-di URU,EL-en-zâ-âs a²,na URU,1[LUGAL-ú]-²,ti

26) û dan-na-at na-ge-ê šu-a-tu aš-bat-ma

27) MU,šâ mah-ra-a ú-na-ki-rma

URU,ka₃₄,EN.ZU,2[ŠEŠ,MEŠ-šu]

28) at-ta-bî ni-bit-su UN,MEŠ KUR,KUR ki-ši-ti

ŠU,II-ia

settlements, which were with[out] number. I burned
with fire pavilions (and) tents, their ab[odes], and
reduced (them) to a[shes].

ii 9–17a) I turned around (lit. “I turned the front
of my yoke”) and took the road to the land Ellipi.
Before my arrival, Išpābara, their [king, ab]andoned
his fortified cities (and) his treasury and fled far
away. I overwhelmed all of his wide land like a
fog. I surrounded, conquered, destroyed, devastated,
(and) burned with f[ire] the cities [Mar']ubûstu (and)
Akuddu, cities of (ii 15) his royal house, together
with thirty-four small(er) settlements in their en[vir-ons].

ii 17b–25a) I carried off people, young (and) old,
and female, horses, mules, donkeys, camels, oxen,
and [sheep] and goats without number, then (ii 20)
I brought him (Išpābara) to nought and made his land
smaller. I detached from his land the cities Ši(s)širtu
and (Kumma)ah[lum], fortified cities, together with
the small(er) settlement[s] in their environs (and) [the
district] of the land Bît-Barrû in its [entire]ty, and I
added (this area) to the terri[tory of As]yria.

ii 25b–30) I took] the city Elenâš as a [roy]al city
and a fortress for that district, then I changed its
former name and called it Kâ-r-Sennacherib. I settled
therein the people of the lands that [i] had conquered.
[I placed] (it) under the authority of a eunuch of mine,
the governor of the city Harḫar, and (thus) enlarged
my land.
ii 31–34) On my return march, I received a substantial payment from the distant Medes, of whose land none of the kings, my ancestors, had heard mention. (Thus) I made them bow down to the yoke of my lordship.

ii 35–44a) On my [third] campaign, I marched to the land Ḫatti. Fear of my lordly brilliance overwhelmed Luli, the king of the city Si[d]on, [and] he fled afar into the midst of the sea and disappeared. The awesome terror of the weapon of the god Aššur, my lord, [overwhelmed] the cities [of Great] Sidon[], Lesser Sidon, Bit-[Z]ittî, (ii 40) Šarepta, Maḥallîba, Ušû, Akûzî, (and) Acco, his fortified cities (and) [fort]resses, an area of pasture(s) and [wat]er-place(s), resources upon which he relied, and they bowed down at my feet.


ii 57b–61a) [Moreover, (as for) Š]idqâ, the king of the city Ashkelon who had not bowed down [to my yoke], I forcibly removed the gods of his father's house, himself, his wife, his sons, [his daughters], (ii 60) his brothers, (and other) offspring of his father's house and took him to As[šyr].

ii 61b–64) I set Šarru-lû-dârî, son of Rûkibîtu, their former king, over the people of the city Ashkelon and imposed upon him the payment of tribute (and) gifts (in recognition) of my lordship so that he (now) pulls my yoke.

ii 65–68) In the course of my campaign, I surrounded,
conquered, (and) plundered the cities Bit-Daganna, Joppa, Banayabarqa, (and) Azuru, the cities of Šidqā that had not submitted to me quickly.

ii 69–76) (As for) the governors, the nobles, and the people of the city Ekron (ii 70) who had thrown Padi, their king who was bound by treaty and oaths to Assyria, into iron fetters and who had handed him over to Hezekiah of the land Judah in a hostile manner, [t]hey became frightened on account of the villainous acts they had committed. They formed a confederation with the kings of Egypt (and) the archers, ch[ariots], (ii 75) (and) horses of the king of the land Meluḫḫa, forces [without number], and they came to their aid.

ii 77–iii 5a) In the plain of the city Eltekeh, they sharpen[ed] their weapons while drawing up in battle-line [before me. (iii 1) [With the support of the god Aššur, [my lord, I] fo[ught with them] and de[feated them]. In the thick of battle, I captured alive [the Egyptian] charioteers and princes (lit. “the sons of the king”), [to]gether with the [charioteers of] the king of [the land Meluḫḫa].

iii 5b–12a) I surrounded, conquered, (and) plundered the cities Eltekeh (and) Tannâ. I approached the city Ekron and I killed the governors (and) nobles who had committed crime(s) and hung their corpses on towers around the city; I counted the citizens who had committed (iii 10) the criminal acts as booty; (and) I com[manded] that the rest [of them], (those) who were not guilty of crimes or wrongdoing, (to) whom no penalty was due, be allowed to go free.

iii 12b–15) I brought [out] Padi, [their] king, from the city Jerusalem [and] pla[ced] (him) on the lordly throne over them, [then] I imposed up[on h]im pay-ment (in recognition) of my overlordship.

iii 16–24a) Moreover, (as for) Hezekiah of the land Judah, who had not [sub]mitted to my yoke, I sur-rounded (and) conquered forty-six of his fortified cities, fortresses, and small(er) settlements in their environments, which were without num[ber], by having ramps trodden down and battering rams brought [up], (iii 20) the assault of foot soldiers, sapping, breaching, [and sie]ge engines. I brought out [of] them 200,150 peo-ple, young (and) ol[d, male] and female, horses, mules, donkeys, [am]el[s], oxen, and sheep and goats, which
were without number, and I counted (them) as booty.

iii 24b–32) As for him (Hezekiah), I confined him inside the city Jerusalem, his royal city, [like a bird in] a cage. I set up blockades against him [and m]ade him dread exiting his city gate. I detached [from his land] the cities of his that I had plundered [and] I gave (them) to Mitinti, [the king of the city Ashdot, Pa]dï, the king of the city Ekron, (iii 30) and Šilli-[Bél, the king of the city Ga]za, and (thereby) made his land smaller. To the for[mer] tribute, their annual [g]iving, I added the payment (of) gifts (in recognition) of [my] overlord[ship] and imposed (it) upon them.

iii 33–42) As for him, Hezeki[ah, fear; of my lordly brilliance overpowered him and, after [my] departure, [he had] the [auxiliary forces] and his elite troops (iii 35) whom he had brought inside to strength[en the city Jeru]salem, his royal city, and who had provid[ed sup]port, along with 30 talents of gold, 800 talents of silver, ch[oice an]timony, large blocks of ..., ivory beds, arm[chair[s] of ivory, elephant hide(s), elephant ivory, ebony, boxwood, every kin[d of] valu[able trea]sure, as well as his daughters, (iii 40) his palace women, male singer[s], (and) female singers [brought] into Nineveh, my capital city, and he sent a mounted messenger of his to me to deliver (this) payment and to do [obedian]ce.

iii 43–49) On my fourth campaign, [the god Aššur], my lord, encouraged me so that I mus[tered] my numerous troops and (iii 45) ordered the march to the land Bitt-yakin. In the cou[rse of] my campaign, I defea[ted Š]īzuβu (Mušēzib-Marduk), a Chaldean who [lives in the] marshes, at the city Bittitū. [As for him, terror of] doing battle with me fell upon him [and] his [he]art [pounded]. He [fled] alone like a lynx [and] his (hiding) place [could not] be found.

iii 50–60a) I [turned] around (lit. “I [turned] the
51) as-ša-bat ūa-ra-nu šu-ú
52) ša i-na a-lak ger-ri-ia mah-re-e BAD, BADD, šú
aš-ku-nu-ma
53) ú-pa-ri-ru el-lat-[su] 2 rī-gim giš.TUKUL.meš-ia
dan-ni-ti
54) ți-ib ta-ḫa-zi-ia ez2-wi e-dur-ma DINGIR.meš
ma-rak KUR-šú
55) i-na KI.TUS3-šú-ri 2 id3-[ke-ma qe-reb]
giš.mA.meš ų-šar-kib-ma
56) [a-na URU-na-gii-te-raq-qí ša qa-ba] 2 tam3-tim
Iš-šu-riš
57) [ip-pa-riš ŠEŠ.meš-šú NUMUN É AD-šú ša
ú-maš-ši-ru a]-hi tam-tim
58) [a-di si-it-ti UN.meš KUR-šú ul-tu
KUR.É-ia-kín.]
59) [qe-reb] ılı a-[gam-me u ap-pa-ra-a-te
ú-še]-a-am-ma
60) [šal]-la-tiš am-nu ú-[ter-ma URU.meš-šú]
aq-pul aq-qur
61) ú-še-me kar-meš UGU EN sa-li-me-šú LUGAL
KUR.ELAM,MA.KI
62) na-mur-ra-tum at-[bu-uk i-na] ta’a-a-ar-ti-ia
63) mūaš-šar-na-din-MU DUMU [reš-tu-ú] tar-bit
bir-ki-ia
64) i-na giš.GU.ZA be-[lu-ti-šú] ú-še-šib-ma
65) DAGAL-tum KUR T’EME3.[GI, u URI],KI ú-šad-gil
pa-n-uš-šú

front of my yoke”) and took the road to the land Bit-Yakin. He — Marduk-apla-iddina (II) (Merodach-
baladan), whom I had defeated and [whose] forces I had scattered during my first campaign — became
frightened by the clanger of my mighty weapons and my fierce battle array, then (iii 55) dis[lodged] the gods
of the (full) extent of his land from their abodes, [and] loaded (them) [onto] boats. [He flew away] like a bird
[to the city Nagîte-raqqi, which is in the midst of the sea. [I br]ought [his brothers, the seed of his father’s
house, whom he had abandoned at the] shore of the sea, [together with the rest of the people of his land, out
of the land Bit-Yakin, which is in] the swamps and marshes, and I counted (them) [as] bojoly.

iii 60b–62a) On[ce again] I destroyed (and) devastated [his cities], (and) turned (them) into ruins. I po[ured
out] awe-inspiring brilliance upon his ally, the king of the land Elam.

iii 62b–65) [On] my return march, I placed Aššur-
nādin-šumi, my [first-born] son (whom I) raised on
my (own) knee, on [his] lo[rdly] throne and entrusted
him with the wide land of Su[mer and Akka].

iii 66–71) On my fifth campaign: The population of the
cities Tumurrum, Šarum, [Ezā]ma, Kīṣu, Ḥalbuda,
Qūa, (and) Qana, whose dwellings [are] situ[ated] like
the nouns of eagles, the foremost of birds, [on] the
peak of Mount [N]ipur, a rugged mountain, [and] who
had not bowed down to the yoke — I had my camp
pitched [at the foot of Mount Nirpur].

Col. iv
1) [a-šar a-na giš.GU.ZA šup-šu-qu i-na giš.II-iia
aš-tah-ši] 2 iq3
2) [giš ar-me a-na zuq-ti ša-qu-ti
šer-uš-ši]-i3.ur3
3) [e-li a-sar bir-ka-a-a ma-na-ah-tu i-ša-a še-er
na, KUR-i ū-šib]-1-3ma3
4) A.meš kUš.na-a-di [ka-šu-te a-na šu-um-me-ia
lu aš-ti]
5) i-na ŠU.SI.MEŠ hur-ša-a-ri
aš1-[de]-šú-nu-ti-ma aš-fa3-[kan]
6) taḥ-ta-fa3-šú-3.ur.UME-ŠEŠ-nu KUR-[ud]-ma

iii 72–iv 4) [Like a] fierce [wild bull, with] my select
[body]guard [and] my merciless combat [troops], I took
the lead of them (the soldiers in my camp). I proceeded
through the gorges of the str[eams], the outflows of
the mountains, (and) rugged slopes in (my) chair. (iv
1) [Where it was difficult for (my) chair, I leapt for-ward [on my own] two feet like a mountain goat.
I ascended the highest peaks against them. Where my
knees became tired, I sat down upon the mountain
rock] and [drank cold] water from a water skin [to
quench] (my) thirst.

iv 5–7a) I pu[rsued] them on the peaks of the moun-
tains and defe[ated] them. I conquer[ed], plundered,
destroyed, [devastated], (and) burned with fire their
7) ap-pul [aq-qur] i-na 4GIŠ.BAR aq-mu pa-an ni-ri-ia
8) ú-ter-[ma] še-er 3ma-ni-ia-e LUGAL URU.uk-ki
9) šad-da-a-a-e la kan-še aš-sa-bat ḫar-ra-nu
10) ur-ḫi la pe-tu-ti tu-ú-di pa-āš-qi-ū-ti
11) ša la-pa-an KUR.MEŠ mar-šu-ti ul-la-nu-ū-a
d)q-reb-sú-[un] 3ma3-am-man la il-li-ku
LUGAL.MEŠ pa-ni maḫ-ra-ti
12) i-na GĪR.II KUR.a-na-ra ḫ KUR.up-pa KUR.MEŠ-dan nu-ti
13) KARAŠ u-sá-dš-kín-ma a3-na3-ka i-na GIŠ.GU.ZA 'nē3-[me-di]
14) it-ti 3LU.ERIM,MEŠ ta-ḫa-[zi]-3ia³
[git]-3ma1-lu-ū-ti
15) i-na ne-re-bi-šú-un pi₃-tu-ti šu-nu-ḫi-iš
er-u-am-ma
16) mar-ši-iš e-te-el-la-a [šu],SIMEŠ KUR-i pa-āš-a-a-ti
17) šu-ū 3ma-[ni]-3ia1-e tur-bu-[u'] GĪR.II
ERIM.HL.Λ.i-a e-mur-ma
18) URU.uk-ku [URU LUGAL]-3ši3-šú e-zib-ma a-na
ru-qê-ti in-na-bit
19) URU.uk-ku [al-me KUR.]-ud³ aš-lu-la šal-la-su
20) mim-ma šum-šu [NIG,ŠU NIG,GA n1]-3šir3-ti
gAL-šú
21) ul-tu qer³-[bê-šu ú-še-ša]-3am3-ma šal-la-ti-iš
am-nu
22) ū 33 URU,[MEŠ-ni ša pa-a]-3tî na-gi-šu
ak-šađ-a3-lat
23) UN.MEŠ ANšE,3MEŠ³ [GU,MEŠ ū] še-e-ni ul-tu
qer-bi-sú-un
24) aš-lu-la ap₃-pu₅-ul aq-qur i-na 4GIŠ.BAR aq-mu
25) i-na 6 ger3-[rī]-3ia³-sî-it-ti UN.MEŠ
KUR.3-IA.kin
26) ša la-pa-an GIŠ.3TUKUL.3MEŠ3-3ia₁ dan-nu-ti
GIM sér-re-me ig-ru-ru
27) DINIR.MEŠ ma-rak KUR-šú-un i-na šub-ti-šú-nu
id-ka-ma
28) tam-tim GAL.tum [ša] 3šî-it 4UTU-ši e-bi-ru-ma
29) i-na URU.na-ši-ti ša KUR.ELAM.MA.KI id-du-ū
šu-bat-sún
30) i-na GIŠ.MA.MEŠ KUR.ḪAT-[ti] tam-tim lu e-bir
URU.na-ši-ti
31) URU.na-ši-ti dî-[i3-bî]-na a-di KUR.ḪI-il-mu
KUR.pi³-la-ti
32) ū KUR.ḪU-pa-pa-nu 3na-ge³-še ša
KUR.ELAM.MA.KI KUR-ud
33) UN.MEŠ KUR.3-IA.kin³ [a-di] DINIR.MEŠ-šú-nu
ū UN.MEŠ
34) ša LUGAL KUR.ELAM.MA.KI aš-[lu]-lam³-ma la
e-zi-ba mul-taḥ-tu
35) qe-reb GIŠ.MA.MEŠ ú₂šar-kib³-ma a-na
a-ḫa-an-na-a
36) ú-še-bi-ram-ma ú-sá-[aš]-bi-ta ḫar-ra-an KUR
37) áš-lu-la šal-la-sú

iv 7b–17) I turned around (lit. "I turned the front of my yoke") [and] took the road against Maniye, the king of the city Ukku (and) an insubmissive mountain-dweller. (iv 10) Before my time, none of the former kings of the past had marched through the untroudden paths (and) difficult trails on account of the rugged mountains. I had my camp pitched at the foot of Mount Anara and Mount Uppa, mighty mountains, and I myself, in an armach[ir], (iv 15) with my [crack] com[bat] troops, entered their narrow passes with great difficulty and ascended with a struggle the steep mountain [peaks].

iv 18–22) He, Ma[n]iye, saw the dust cloud (stirred up) [by] the feet of my troops, then he abandoned the city Ukku, his [royal] [city], and fled afar. (iv 20) I [surrounded, conquer]ed, (and) plundered the city Ukku. [I brought] out [of it] every kind of [possession (and) property, the] tres]asures of his palace, and I counted it (as) booty.

iv 23–25) Moreover, I conquered thirty-three cit[ies on] the borders of his district and carried off from them people, donkeys, [oxen, and] sheep and goats. (Then) I destroy[ed] (them), devastated (them), (and) burned (them) with fire.

iv 26–33) On [my] sixth campaign: The rest of the people of the land Bit-Yakin, who had groveled like onagers before my mighty weapon[s], dislodged the gods of the (full) extent of their land from their abodes, then crossed the Great Sea [of] the Rising Sun and (iv 30) set up their residences in the city Nagitu of the land Elam — I crossed over the sea in boats of the land ḫat[ti]. I conquered the cities Nagitu (and) Naģitu-di1bi]nà, together with the lands Ḫilmu, Pillatu, and Ḫupanu, districts of the land Elam.

iv 34–39) I carr[ied] of the people of the land Bit-Yakin, [together with] their gods and the people (iv 35) of the king of the land Elam, and I did not leave a (single) escapee. I loaded (them) onto boats and brought (them) to this side (of the sea), then I made (them) [ta]ke the road to Assyria. I destroyed, devastated, (and) burned with fire the cities that are
aš-šur.KI

38) URU.MEŠ-ni ša qē-reb na-[ge]-e šā-tu-nu ap-pul
aq-qur

39) i-na ˇGiš.BAR aq-mu a-na DU, ū kar-me ú-ter

40) i-na ta-[a-q]1,a-ra,i-a ˇSu-zu-bu DUMU
KĀ.DINGIR.RA.KI

41) ša i-na e-[ši-tī] KUR be-[lu]-ut KUR EME.GI, ū
UL.IKI

42) ra-ma-nu-us ú-ter-ru i-[na] ˇta-ˇha-az EDIN
BAD,BAD,šū āš-kūn

43) bal-šu-su i-na ŠU.1I qṣ-bat-[su] ˇsum-man-nu ū
bi-re-tū AN.BAR

44) ad-di-šu-ma a-na KUR aš-šur.KI [ú-ra]-dāš-šū
LUGAL KUR.ELAM.MA.KI

45) ša Ā.DI-šu is-ṣu-ru-ma i.l-ši-[ku] re-ṣu-su
BAD,BAD,šū āš-kūn

46) ILLAT.MEŠ-šū ū-sap-ši-šu-[ma] ū-par-ri-ir
pu-ṣur-šā

in those distr[ict]s, I turned (them) into a mound of
ruins (lit. “a mound and ruins”).

iv 40–46) On my re[turn ma]rch, i[n] a pitched battle,
I defeated Šūzubu (Nergal-uṣṣēzib), a citizen of Babylon
who had taken the lor[ds]hip of the land of Sumer
and Akkad for himself during the [confusion in]
the land. I captured [him] alive, bound him with tethering
ropes and iron fetters, and [brought] him to Assyria.
I defeated the king of the land Elam, (iv 45) who
had aligned himself with him and co[me] to his aid.
I dispersed his forces [and] scattered his assembled
host.

iv 47–53a) On my seventh campaign, the god Aš[šur],
my [lór], encouraged me and I marched to the land
Elam. In the course of my campaign, I conquered and
plundered the cities [Bīt]-Ḫa’iri (and) Raṣā, cities on
the border of Assyria [that] (iv 50) the Elamites had
taken away by force [in] the time of my ancestor(s).
I had my garrisons stationed inside them. I brought
(those cities) back inside the border of Assyria and
[pla]ced (them) under the authority of the garrison
commander of Dēr.

iv 53b–61) The cities Bubē, Dunni-Šamaš, Bīt-Risiya,
Bīt-Aḥlamē, (iv 55) Dūru, Dannat-Sulā[yə], Šīlibtu,
Bīt-Asusī, Kār-Zēra-iqī[ša], Bīt-Gişṣi, Bīt-[Katpa]lānī,
Bīt-Imbiya, Ḥamā[nu], Bīt-Arrabi, Burutu, Dimtu-ša-
ṣū[lāya], D jintu-ša-Mār-bīti-þīr, Ḥarrī-āšlak[ê], (iv 60)
Rabbāya, Rāsu, Akabarina, Til-Uḫuri, Ḥamrānu, Nadi-
tu,

iv 62–71) together with the cities of the passes,
namely Bīt-Buna[kī], Til-Ḫumbī, Dimtu-ša-Dume-[lli],
Bīt-UBiya, Bašt-Lišr, Taqab-Lišr, (iv 65) Ša-nāqīdāte,
Masūtu-šapli[t], Šarḥuḏerī, Ālm-ša-Bēlet-[bīti], Bīt-
Aḥḫē-iddina, (and) Ḫ[e]luva — I surrounded, con-
quered, plun[dered], destroyed, devastated, (and)
burned with fire (those) thirty-four fortified cities,

62) a-di URU.MEŠ-ni ša né-re-bi ša URU.É-bu-na-[ki]

63) URU.ĐU-ˇhum-bi
URU.di-in-tu-ša-ˇsu-mu-[la-ya]

64) URU.É-á-bi-hi URU.ta-qab-šišir
URU.Ša-na-qi-da-a-ri URU.ŠA-su-tu-šā-šu-šu-[k]

65) URU.ŠA-sa-ru-de-e-ri
URU.ŠAM-ga-ša-[l]-[k]

66) URU.É-MA.PAP.MEŠ-SUM.NA URU.IL-te-ú-[ba]

67) URU.É-MA.PAP.MEŠ-SUM.NA URU.IL-te-ú-[ba]
en[virons], which were without number. [I] made the
smoke from [their] co[nflagration cover the wide
heavens like a heavy cloud.

iv 72–76) Kudur-[Na]hundu (Kudur-Nahhunte), the
Elamite, heard about the conquest of his cities and
fear fell upon him. He brought (the people of) the rest
[of] his cities into fortresses. He abandoned the city
[Ma]daktu, his royal city, and took the road to the
city Ḥa[y]dala, which is in the distant mountains.

iv 77–v 3) I ordered the [ma]rch to the city Madaktu,
his royal city. In the month Tamḥiru, bitter cold [set]
in and (v 1) a severe rainstorm sent down its rain.
[I] was afraid of the rain and snow in the gorges,
the outflows of the mountains, (so) I turned around (lit.
"I turned the front of my yoke") and to[ok] the road to
Nineveh.

v 4–8) At that time, by [the com]mand of the god
Aššur, my lord, Kudur-Naḥundu (Kudur-Naḥhunte),
the king of the land Elam, did not last three months
and suddenly died a premature death. After him,
Ummann-menanu (Ḫumman-menanu), who does not
have sense or insight, his younger brother, sat on his
throne.

v 9–16a) On my eighth campaign, after Šűzubu
(Muṣeṣib-Marduk) had rebelled and (v 10) the citi-
zens of Babylon, evil gallū-demons, had locked the
city gates, th[e]y plotted to wage war. Arameans,
fugitives, runaways, [μr]derers, (and) robbers railed around
Šžubu (Muṣeṣib-Marduk), a Chaldean, [a per]son of
lowly status, a coward (lit. "who has no knees"), (and)
a servant [who] belonged to the governor of the city
Laḫiru, and they went down into the marshes and in-
cited rebellion.

v 16b–22) I besieged and put him in dire straits.
On account of fear and hunger, he fled to the land
Elam. When there were conspiracy [and treachery]
against him, [he hurried] out of the land Elam [and]
(v 20) entered Šunnah (Babylon). The Babylonians
inappropriately placed him (back) on the throne (and)
entrusted him with the lordship of the land of Sumer
and Akkad.
23) They (the Babylonians) opened the treasury of Esagil and took out the gold (and) silver of the god Bēl (Marduk) (and) the goddess Zarpanitu, the property of the temple of their gods. (v 25) They sent it as a bribe to Ummann-eman (Hughman-emanu), the king of the land Elam, who does not have sense or insight, (saying): “Gather your army, muster your forces, hurry to Babylon, and align yourself with us! Let us put our trust in you.”

29) That Elamite, whose cities I had conquered and turned into ruins during a previous campaign to the land Elam, accepted the bribe from them without thinking, then gathered his troops (and) his forces, inspected (his) chariots (and) wagons, (and) checked his teams (of) horses (and) mules.

35) The lands Parsuah, Anzan, Pašeru, (and) Ellipi, the people of Yasil, Lakab(era), Ḥarzunu, Dumuqi, Sulayya, (and) Sam’unna, (who was) a son of Marduk-apla-iddina (II) (Merodach-baladan), the lands Bit-Adini, Bit-Amukānā, Bit-Šilāni, Bit-Sāli (Bit-Sa’Allā), Larak, the city Lahūrī, (v 40) the people (of the tribes of) the Puqdu, Gambulu, Ḥalatu, Ru’u’a, Ubulu, Malaḫu, Rapiqu, Ḥīdaru, (and) Damunu, a large host, formed a confederation with him.

43) In their multitude, they took the road to Akkad and, as they were advancing towards Babylon, they met up with Šuṣubu (Muṣeṣib-Marduk), a Chaldean (who is) the king of Babylon, and banded their forces together. Like a spring invasion of a swarm of locusts, they were advancing towards me as a group to do battle. The dust of their feet covered the wide heavens like a heavy cloud in the deep of winter.

50) While drawing up in battletline before me at the city Halulē, (which is) on the bank of the Tigris River, (and) keeping me from the water source, they sharpened their weapons.

53) I myself prayed to the deities Aṣṣur, Šīn, Šamaš, Bēl, Nabū, Nergal, 1star of Nineveh, (and) 1star of Arbela, the gods who support me, (v 55) for victory over (my) strong enemy and they immediately heeded my prayers (and) came to my aid.
am-ḫur-šá-nu-ti-ma
56) su-pex-å’-a ur-ru-ḫi-iš iš-mu-u il-li-ku re-šu-ti
57) la-ab-biš 1-an-na’-diš-ma at-tal-bi-ša ši-ri-ia-am
58) ḫu-li-ia-am ši-ma ši-li ti a-pi-ra ra-šu-å-a
59) i-na GIS.GIGIR ta-ḫa-zi-ia 5šin-[ti] sa-pi-na-at
60) za’-i-ri
61) i-na uq-gat lib-bi-ia ar-ta-kab 1 ha-an-tišt
62) GIS.PAN dan-na-tum ša 4šaš-šur u-šat-li-ma i-na šu-li-ia aš-bat
63) GIS.šil-ta-ḫu pa-ri-i’ nap-ša-ti at-muḫ rit-tu-ú-a
64) 4še-er gi-miř um-ma-na-ti na-ki-ri lem-nu-ši
65) u₄-mi-š šar-piš al-sa-a GIM 4šKUR aš-gu-um
66) i-na qि-bit 4aš-šur EN GAL EN-ia a-na šid-di 悴 pu-ti
67) ki-ma ti-ib me-ḫe-e šam-ri a-na lűš.kūr a-zi-iq
68) ši-na’ GIS.TUKUL.MEŠ d’aš-sur 3 EN-ia 4 ti-ib
ta-ḫa-zi-ia ez-zi
69) [IRIM.HLA] ši-na’-ki-ri i-na uš-ši mul-mul-li ū-ša-qir-ma
70) gi-miř ADDA.MEŠ-šu-nu ū-pal-li-ša uď-zii-iš
71) ma-gridum-ma-an-da-ši Lű.ṭur-ta-nu-ši eṭ-la pit-qi-du
72) mu-ma’-e-er um-ma-ni-ša tu-kul-ta-ša GAL-ū
73) a-di lűš.gal.estring-ša ša GİR šiḫ-bi KÜ.GI šiḫ-ku-nu
74) ū i-na ḫa. trương as-ši KÜ.GI ru-aš-ši-i
75) ruk-ku-sa rit-ti-šu-un ki-ma šu-ú-rí ma-ru-ti
76) ša na-du-ú šum-man-nu ur-ru-ḫi-iš ū-pal-liq-šu-nu-ti-ma
77) aš-ka-na taḫ-ta-šu-un ki-ša’ te-ša-šu-nu ū-na-kis as-ši-iš
78) aq-ra-ti nap-ša-te-šu-nu ū-par-ri-i’ qū-ú-iš

Col. vi
1) GIS.IMU gap-ši ša-na-mu-tum si-ma-ni ū-mun-ni-ša-nu
2) ū-săr-da-a [še-er] er-še-ti ša-di-il-ti
3) la-as-ma-ťi [mur-ni-iš] qi si-mit-ti ru-ku-bi-ia
4) [i-na da-ma-neš-su gap-šu]-ša-iš [še]-ša-iš [še]-ša-iš
5) ša GIS.GIGIR ta-ḫa-zi-ia [ša-pi]-na’-at raq-ši 悴 se-ni
6) da-mu ū par-ša ri-it-mu-ku ma-gar-ru-uš
7) pag-ri qua-di-šu-nu ki-ma [ur-qi-ti] ū-mal-la-a EDIN
8) sa-ap-sa-pa-ši ū-na-kis ša bal-1-ta-šu-un a-bu-ut
9) ki-ma bi-ni qиш-še-e si-ma-ni ū-na-kis qa-ti-šu-un
10) ḫa. trương as-ši KÜ.GI KL.ÅG 5eb-bi’ ša rit-ti-ša-nu am-ḫur
11) i-na nam-sa-ri zaq-tu-ți ū-ša-an-ša-šu-nu ū-par-ri-i’

vi 57–62) I ragged up like a lion, then put on armor (and) placed a helmet suitable for combat on my head.
(v 60) In my anger, I rode quickly in my exalted battle chariot, which lays enemies low. I took in my hand the mighty bow that the god Aššur had granted to me (and) I grasped in my hand an arrow that cuts off life.

vi 63–70) I roared loudly like a storm (and) thundered like the god Adad against all of the troops of the wicked enemies. (v 65) By the command of the god Aššur, the great lord, my lord, I blew like the onset of a severe storm against the enemy on (their) flanks and front lines. With the weapons of the god Aššur, my lord, and my fierce battle array, I turned [them] back and made them retreat. I shot [the troops of] the enemy with uššu-arrows (and) mulmullu-arrows, and pierced all of their corpses like ...

vi 71–77a) I quickly slaughtered and defeated ḫum-
ban-undaša, his field marshal, a trusted man who leads his troops, his main support, together with his magnates, who wear gold (decorated) belt-daggers and (v 75) have reddish gold sling straps fastened to their forearms, like fettered warriors restrained with fetters.

vi 77b–vi 9) I slit their throats like sheep (and thus) cut off their precious lives like thread. (vi 1) Like a flood in full spate [after] a seasonal rainstorm, I made their blood flow [over] the broad earth. The swift [thoroughbr]eds harnessed to my chariot plunged [into] floods of [their blood] (just) like the river ordeal. (vi 5) The wheels of the war chariot, [which lays] criminals and villains low, were bathed in blood and gore. I filled the plain with the corpses of their warriors like [grass]. I cut off (their) lips and (thus) destroyed their pride. I cut off their hands like the stems of cucumbers in season.

vi 10–12) I received gold (and) shining silver sling straps as their wrist-trappings (and) slashed off their [b]elts with sharp swords. I took away gold (and) silver (decorated) belt-daggers as their waist-trappings.

v 71 Lű.tur-ta-nu-ša “his field marshal”; Text no. 22 v 82–83 has Lű.NJM.GIR ša LUGAL KUR.EI.LAM.MAKI “the herald of the king of the land Elam.”
vi 13–15a) (As for) them, the rest of his magnates, who had raised their arms because they had too much drinking, so they were terrified of doing battle with me. I captured them alive in the thick of battle.

vi 15b–19) I brought back all together the chariots and their horses, whose drivers had been killed [in] the thick of (that) mighty battle and which had themselves been released so that they galloped at [out] on their own. When the second double-hour of the night had passed, I stopped their horses.

vi 20–24) (As for) him, Umman-[manenau], the king of the land Elam, along with the king of Babylon (and) [the] sheikhs [of Chaldea who marched at] his side, terror of doing battle with me over-welmed [them like alû]-demons. They abandoned [their] tents [and, in order to save themselves] [their lives], they tra[mpled] the corpses of their troops [as they pushed on].

vi 25–30) [Their hearts throbbed] like the pursued young of pigeons, they passed their urine hot[ly], and released their excrement [inside] their chariots. I [ordered] my chariots (and) horses to pursue them. Wherever they caught (them), they [killed] them with the sword the runaways amongst them, who had fled for (their) lives.

vi 31–36) At that time, the Rear Palace of Nineveh that earlier kings, my ancestors, had had built for the proper running of the military camp, the care of horses, (and) the overseeing of everything — its [ser]vice did not exist and (vi 35) its site had become too small. With the passage of time, its base had fallen into disrepair, then its foundations had become loose (and) its superstructure had collapsed.

vi 37–42) I tore down that palace in its entirety. As an addition, I took my [u]ch land from the meadow and

vi 31–52 This building report may be an earlier, shorter account of the rebuilding of the armory in text no. 22. For further details, see the commentary of this text.
39) qē-reb ú-šal-li
39) ú ta-mir-ti URU aš-ša-ta i-na muḥ-hi uš-rad-di
40) qaqqargal mā-h-ri-ti e-zib-ma i-na qaqqagari
41) ša ul-tu qē-reb ú-šal-[li]  aš-ša-ta tam-la-a uš-mal-li
42) 2 ME ti-ib-ki a-na e-la-ni uš-saq-qi re-su
43) i-na ITI še-me-e u mu mit-ga-ri [še-er] tam-le-e šu-a-tu
44) Éガ GAL ra-bi-tum ša še-er mahu-[ri]-ti ma-a'-diš šu-tu-rat
45) a-na mušab LUGAL-iti-a ū-[še-piš] GIŠ.UR MES GIŠ.ŠE-MA
46) ši-ru-ti ū-šat-ri-ša e-liš-ša GIŠ.IG.MES GIŠ.ŠI-IA-RI
47) me-ser URUDU nam-ri ū-rak-kis-ma a'-ša-ta-a KÁ.MES-Šá
48) NA.q-i-lu pe-su-šu ša i-na er-še-et URU.ba-la-ta-a-a
49) in-nam-ru dALAD.dLAMMA šu še-piš ma in-ma
50) ū šu-me-la ū-ša-aš-ša-[ša] ti-ša-ar-ša
51) Éガ GAL ša-a-tu ul-tu iš-[ša]-ša a-di ni-bur-ri-ša
52) ar-šiš ū-šak-lil MU,SAR-e ši-šiš šu-me-i-a
53) i-na qer-bi-ša āš-kun a-na ār-l-kát UD.MES.i-na LUGAL.MES-Šá
54) DUMU.MES-IA ša daššur ši diš-tar a-na RE.ÉEM KUR-ú ši
55) UN.MES i-nam-bu-ú [zi]-kIrš-ši e-ne-ma É.GAL šá-aš-[ša]
56) i-lab-bi-ru-ma en-na-hu [NUN ar-ku-šu an]-hu su-ud-[diš]
57) MU.SAR-e ši-šiš MU-Ia [š]-šu-ša-[ša] GIŠ lispš-ul-[ša]
58) UDUSIKUR ḫq-qš a-na āšš-rí šu lu-[ter]
59) daš-sašū ši diš-[ša] ik-ri-bi-šá i-sah-[mu]-u

vi 39 aš-ša-ta “I took”: Cf. text no. 22 vi 47, which has lu aš-ša-ta “I took.” uš-rad-di “I added”: Text no. 22 exs. 1 and 2 have lu uš-rad-di “I added” respectively.
vi 40 qaqqargal “the site of”: Text no. 22 vi 48 has maš-kán “the site of.”
vi 40b-41a i-na qaqqargari ... ašš-ba-ta “in the area ... I had taken”: Cf. text no. 22 vi 49-50, which has i-na qaqqargari uš-šal-li ša uš-lat mal-dí Iš ašš-ba-ta in the area of the meadow that I had taken from the river bank.
vi 44-45 Cf. text no. 22 vi 53-54a, which has i-na ni-lat ša-ba-ša E.LAL NA, pi-la ši gašer-e ni né-epš-ti KUR.bat-tí ši É.GAL ši-šu-ši ar-si-dud KURU aššur ši ša-ša-ta ra ba-ta u nak-lit i-na ši-pir luš šIM.LG.LÉ.L-EN QU-ŠI a-na mušab be lu-ti-lu ša še-piš “with my innate expertise, I had a palatial wing of limestone and cedar in the style of the land ḫatti and a magnificent palatial wing of Assyrian craftsmanship, which greatly surpassed the previous one in size and expertise, built through the craft of well-trained master builders, for my lordly residence.” This inscription describes only one wing of the armory, while text no. 22 describes that of two wings. This may be an indication that this text is the earlier of the two inscriptions.

Date ex. 1

60A) [ITLIX x (x) (UD.X.KAM)] li-mu "Ten-IGI-an-ni"
61A) [LÜ.E.NAM] URU:gar-ga-miš

vi 60A-61A) [The month ..., (...th day,) eponym of] Bēl-Emuranni, [governor of the city Carchemish (691).]
24

A fragment of a hexagonal clay prism, and possibly a second prism fragment, presumably from Nineveh, are inscribed with a foundation inscription written after Sennacherib captured Babylon and its king Šúzubu (Mušēzib-Marduk) in late 689. Only a small portion of the complete text is extant. The prologue, parts of reports of the first campaign (against Marduk-apla-iddina II and his Chaldean and Elamite allies), second campaign (against the Kassites and Yasyubigallians, and the land Ellip), and the second conquest of Babylon, and the beginning of the building account (or a report of an expedition to Arabia) are preserved. With regard to the capture of Babylon in 689, Sennacherib records that he returned the gods of the city Ekaláštum to their rightful place after 418 years and that he utterly destroyed Babylon and its temples by diverting water from canals; the actual destruction was probably not as bad as Sennacherib describes. Although neither exemplar preserves a date, the prisms were inscribed in 688 (eponymy of Iddin-aḫḫē; the king’s 17th regnal year) or later.

CATALOGUE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ex. Number</th>
<th>Registration Number</th>
<th>Provenance</th>
<th>Dimensions (cm)</th>
<th>Lines Preserved</th>
<th>cpn</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>K 1634</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>Cols. 3.5 and 5 wide; 10 high</td>
<td>i 12–26, ii 19–18</td>
<td>c</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

CATALOGUE OF UNCERTAIN EXEMPLARS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ex. Number</th>
<th>Registration Number</th>
<th>Provenance</th>
<th>Dimensions (cm)</th>
<th>Lines Preserved</th>
<th>cpn</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1*</td>
<td>K 1665</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>Cols. 3.7 and 3 wide; 10.5 high</td>
<td>i 1–22, ii 9–9’</td>
<td>c</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

COMMENTARY

J. Reade (JCS 27 [1975] p. 194) and E. Frahm (Sanherib p. 106) tentatively assign K 1665 (ex. 1*) as a duplicate of K 1634 (ex. 1), the only certain exemplar of this inscription; Frahm notes that line lengths and line divisions of the two pieces are similar. Ex. 1* does not preserve enough text to be certain that it is inscribed with the same text as ex. 1. Following Reade and Frahm, K 1665 is tentatively edited with K 1634. Since the pieces overlap, it is certain that these fragments do not come from the same prism.
Frahm (Sanherib pp. 106–107) has raised the possibility that BM 134559 could be a duplicate of K 1634 (ex. 1); this tentative attribution is based solely on the fact that there appears to be sufficient room for a report of the destruction of Babylon in 689 between col. i’ 12’, which describes the battle of Ḥalulê, and col. ii’ 1’, which records the construction of the armory at Nineveh. Whether or not BM 134559 is a duplicate depends on the contents of K 1634 col. i’ 17–18’ (= vi 17–18’). These two lines contain the first two lines of either the building account or a report of military narration. Frahm (Sanherib p. 107) forwards the possibility that these badly damaged lines could preserve the beginning of a report describing an expedition to Arabia or the opening lines of an account recording work on the Sebetti temple at Nineveh, a project otherwise not attested in the extant Sennacherib corpus; for details, see the on-page note to vi 17–18’ and Frahm, Sanherib p. 107. Too little is preserved to confirm or reject these conjectures. Because we cannot identify the contents of K 1634 col. i’ 17–18’ with certainty and because we cannot prove that BM 134559 is inscribed with the same inscription as K 1634, it is best to edit that fragment on its own (text no. 25).

The text, we assume, included a short prologue, accounts of eight of Sennacherib’s campaigns and the conquest and destruction of Babylon in 689, and a report of building at Nineveh (the armory, the Sebetti temple, or another building); this inscription may also include a report describing an expedition to Arabia. In addition to the uncertainty about the contents of vi 17–18’ (building report or military narration), it is not known if the report of the battle of Ḥalulê (the eighth campaign) in this inscription duplicated that of the 691–689 editions of Sennacherib’s res gestae (text nos. 18 and 22–23) or that of the Bavian Inscription, as E. Weissert (HSAO 6 p. 202) has suggested. Compare text no. 22 v 17–vi 35 to the Bavian Inscription lines 34b–43a (Luckenbill, Senn. pp. 82–83).

The master text is ex. 1 in i 23–26 and vi 1–18’, and ex. 1* in i 1–11 and ii 1–9’. Col. i 12–22 is a conflation of both exemplars, but the line division follows ex. 1. Because exx. 1 and 1* overlap in only a few lines, a partial score (i 12–22) is provided on the CD-ROM. Col. i 1–26 and ii 1–9’ duplicate text no. 22 i 1–25 and ii 29–36. Col. vi 1–16’ duplicate the Bavian Inscription lines 48–54a (Luckenbill, Senn. pp. 83–84). Restorations are based on those inscriptions.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1890 Bezdol in Schrader, KB 2 pp. 80–83 and 88–89 (ex. 1*, study)
1899 Bezdol, Cat. 1 pp. 322–323 and 327–328 (exs. 1–1*, study)
1924 Luckenbill, Senn. frontispiece, pp. 21 and 29 H1c (ex. 1*, study, variants [of text no. 22])
1975 Reade, JCS 27 pp. 194–195 (exs. 1–1*, study)
1979 Borger, BAL 2 pp. 66 and 85 (exs. 1–1*, study)
1997 Frahm, Sanherib pp. 106–107 T 18 (exs. 1–1*, study)
1997 Weissert, HSAO 6 pp. 201–202 (exs. 1–1*, study)
2009 Frahm, RLA 12/1–2 p. 15 (study)

TEXT

Col. i

1) [mēn.zu-Šēš.Mēš-erī-ba ] Lugal.gal [*] lu.ugal
[dan-na]
2) [Lugal kiš-šā-ti Lugal kur aš-šur].ki Lugal
[kib-rat limumu-tim]
3) [re-eum it-pe-sū] mē1-ziorgan,miš-Šēš
[gal,meš]
4) [ningsi.kit-ti ra-i-im] mē1-Šēš-ri
5) [e-piš us.a-ti a-li] ti 1i1-pu-ut [a-ki-l]
6) [sa-hi-rum dam qa-a-ti] et-1-lum [git-ma-lum]
7) [zi-ka-rum qar-du a-šā]-red kal [mal-ki]
8) [rap-pu lā’i-it] la1[ma] [gi-r1]
9) [mu-sāš.rī-qu za-ma-a]-n1 di x-šū sur kur-[ū
gal-u]
10) [Lugal-ut la ša-na-an ū-šat]-li-ma-an-[ni-ma]
11) [ugu gim-ri a-šib pa-rak]-ki] i1 ū-šār-[ba-a]
12) [giše.tukul] Šēš-ia1 [μ[lu-tu a],] [ab1,ba
e-le-ni1-[ti] i 1–9a) [Sennacherib], great king, [strong] king, [king
of the world, king of Assyria], king of [the four
quarters (of the world), capable shepherd], favorite
of the [great] gods, [guardian of truth who lov]es
ju[stice, (i 5) renders assistance, goes to] the aid of
[the weak, (and) strives after good deeds, perfect] man,
[virile warrior, fore]most of all [rulers, the bridle that
controls] the insub[missive, (and) the one who strikes
enemies] [with lightning]:

Text

i 9b–18) The god Aššur, [the great] mounta[in, gran]ted to [me unrivalled sovereignty and made my
weapons gr[eater than (those of) all who sit on (royal
dais]es. He made [all] of the black-headed (people)
[from the] Upp[er Sea of the Setting Sun to] the
i 19–26) On my first campaign, I brought [about] the defeat of Marduk-apla-iddi[na] (II Merodach-baladan, king of Karduniās (Babylonia), [together] with the troops of (the land) Elam, his allies, in the plain(n of Kish). In the midst of that battle he abandoned his ca[mp], fled alone, and (thereby) saved his life. I seized the chariots, horses, ... (i 25) ... [...]

(Lacuna)

i 1–5’a) ... [... I called it] Kār-Sennac[herib. I settled therein] the people of the lands that [I] had con quer[ed]. I placed (it) under the authority of a eunuch of mine, the governor of the city Ḫarḥar], and (thus) en[larged my land].

(Lacuna)

ii 5’b–9’) [On my return march, I received] a [substantial] paym[ent] from the [distant] Mede[s, of whose land] no[ne of the kings], my ancestors, [had heard mention. (Thus) I made them bow down] to the yo[ke of my lordship.]

(Lacuna)

vi 1–6’) [The god Adad (and) the goddess Šala, god]’s [of the city Ekalλatum whom Marduk-nādin-ahhē, king of Akkad, [had taken and] br[ought to Babylon] during the reign of Tiglath-pil]eser (I), [king of Assyria] — I had (them) [brought out of] Babylon [after 418 years and] I returned them [to the city Ekalλatum, th]eir (proper) [place].
A fragment of a hexagonal clay prism from Nineveh is inscribed with a foundation inscription that was most likely written after Sennacherib captured Babylon and its king Šúzubu (Mušēzib-Marduk) in Kslimū (IX) 689. Although only a small portion of the report of the eighth campaign (the battle of Ḫalūlē) and the building report (the armory at Nineveh) are preserved, this edition of the king’s res gestae, like text no. 24, probably contained an account of the second conquest of Babylon, during which that city and its temples are said to have been utterly destroyed. The building report, as far as it is preserved, contains the same description of work on the armory (ēkal kutalli, the “Rear Palace”) as text no. 22. Because only small portions of the complete text are preserved, it is not impossible that this fragment is inscribed with a copy of text no. 24, rather than with that of another inscription. Although its text lines are missing, the prism to which this fragment belongs was probably inscribed in 688 (eponymy of Iddin-ahē; the king’s 17th regnal year) or later.

24 vi 11’ ḫa “a canal”; Cf. the Bavian inscription line 52 (Luckenbill, Senn. p. 84), which has ḫa-eh-ti “canals.”
24 vi 13’ na-as-pa-ta-hu “its destruction”. The Bavian inscription line 53 (Luckenbill, Senn. p. 84) has na-al-pa-ta-su; on that spelling of the word, see Frahm, Senn. p. 154.
24 vi 17’–18’ It is uncertain if these lines contain the first two lines of the building account or another report of military narration. Should these lines be part of the building report, it is very unlikely, as already discussed by E. Frahm (Sanherib p. 107), that x-ši a-liq mah-ri is to be read as a-liq mah-ri “my ancestors, who preceded (me).” Frahm, however, does provide a rather speculative alternative: [na u₂-me-ši₃-ma ḫa “at that time, the temple of the] Sebetti.” For information on the Sebetti temple at Nineveh, see Menzel, Tempel 1 p. 122; and Reade, RLA 9/5–6 (2000) p. 410 §13.4. Frahm’s conjectural restoration cannot be presently supported, as this project is not attested elsewhere in the extant Sennacherib corpus, and thus it is not followed here. Should vi 17’–18’ be part of an account of military narration, these lines may contain a report describing an expedition to Arabia. Frahm (Sanherib p. 107) has raised the possibility that the traces in vi 18’ could be read as [...] x-tu₃-[a-lu₂/i/mu₂ “[...] A[rabs]/[A[rameans].”
CATALOGUE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Museum Number</th>
<th>Registration Number</th>
<th>Provenance</th>
<th>Dimensions (cm)</th>
<th>cpn</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>BM 134559</td>
<td>1932-12-12,554</td>
<td>Nineveh</td>
<td>Cols. 2.2 and 3.8 wide; 5.1 high</td>
<td>c</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

COMMENTARY

E. Frahm (Sanherib pp. 106–107) has raised the possibility that BM 134559 could be a duplicate of K 1634 (text no. 24 ex. 1) because there appears to be sufficient room for a report of the destruction of Babylon in 689 between col. i’ 12’ and col. ii’ 1’. Because we cannot identify the contents of K 1634 col. i’ 17’–18’ (= text no. 24 vi 17’–18’) with certainty and because we cannot prove that BM 134559 is inscribed with the same inscription as K 1634, it is best to edit this fragment on its own. For details, see the commentary of text no. 24.

The text, we assume, included a short prologue, accounts of eight of Sennacherib’s campaigns and the second conquest of Babylon, and a report of work on the armory. It is possible that it also included a report describing an expedition to Arabia.

The extant text, which would have been in cols. v and vi, duplicates text no. 22 vi 16–25 and 61–70. Restorations are based on that inscription.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1968 Lambert and Millard, Cat. p. 77 (study)
1997 Frahm, Sanherib pp. 106–107 T 18 (study)
2009 Frahm, RLA 12/1–2 p. 15 (study)

TEXT

Col. i’

Lacuna

1’) [...] x x
2’) [(... si-it-ti LÚ.GAL.MEŠ-šá a-di
md-MUAT]-i-MU]-iš-kun
3’) [DUMU md-AMAR.UTU-IBILA-SUM.NA ša la-pa-an]
‘ta-ša’-zi-ia
4’) [ip-la-šu iš-ku-ù ši-sa-šu-an bal]-iš-su-un
5’) [na MURUB3 tam-ha-ri it-mu-ša] ‘šu’-[š]-a-a
6’) [GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ a-di ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ-ši-na ša
i]-š]-a] qit-ru-ub
7’) [ta-ša-zi dan-ni ra-ki-bu-šin] de-ku-ma
8’) [ši ša muš-šu-ra-ma ra-ma]-iš-su-ššin
9’) [it-ta-ni-la-la-ma mit-ša-ša] iš-šš-ra
10’) [a-di 2 KASKAL.ŠIŠ GE-n il-li-ku da-ak-ša-nu]
‘ap’-ru-us
11’) [ša-ša =um-ma-an-ne-na-nu LUGAL
KUR.ELAM]-i-MA.KI
12’) [a-di LUGAL KÁ.DINGIR.RA.KI LÚ.na-sūk-ka-ni ša
KUR.KAL]-i-di

Lacuna

Col. ii’

Lacuna

Lacuna

Lacuna

Lacuna

Lacuna

Lacuna

Lacuna

Lacuna
1) ṫ[i]-[rak-kis-ma ú-rat-ta-a KĀ MEŠ-šīn]
2) i-na i-[NA]-[pi-ši pe-ša e ša i-na er-šen-et]
3) URU.ba-[la]-[ta-a in-nam-ru]
4) ši-ru-ti [u]-[šu-ša im-na û šu-me-la]
5) ú-ša-as-[li ta šIRI-šu-n]
6) a-na šu-te-šu-[ri] [šal-mat SAG.DU pa qa-di mur-ni-šu-qî]
7) ANŠE.KUNGA,MEŠ [a]-[ga-li-ša til-li GLI.GIGIR,MEŠ]
8) GIŠ.at-ta-ra-[te] [e-req-qî iš-pa-a-te]
9) til-pa-na-a-te ẞ[û] [us-ši mim-ma šum-šū]
10) [u]-nu-[u]t ta-ha zi-[na]-[aš-ma-dî]
11) ANŠE.KUNGA,MEŠ šā i-[mu]-[qî ra-ba-a-te i-šu-û]
12) šuk-nu-še a-[na ni]-[ri] [...]
Lacuna

2) ṭ[i]-[i]-[na]-[pi-ša pe-ša e ša i-na er-ša-ša]
3) URU.ba-[la]-[ta-a in-nam-ru]
4) ši-ru-ti [u]-[šu-ša im-na û šu-me-la]
5) ú-ša-as-[li ta šIRI-šu-n]
6) a-na šu-te-šu-[ri] [šal-mat SAG.DU pa qa-di mur-ni-šu-qî]
7) ANŠE.KUNGA,MEŠ [a]-[ga-li-ša til-li GLI.GIGIR,MEŠ]
8) GIŠ.at-ta-ra-[te] [e-req-qî iš-pa-a-te]
9) til-pa-na-a-te ẞ[û] [us-ši mim-ma šum-šū]
10) [u]-nu-[u]t ta-ha zi-[na]-[aš-ma-dî]
11) ANŠE.KUNGA,MEŠ šā i-[mu]-[qî ra-ba-a-te i-šu-û]
12) šuk-nu-še a-[na ni]-[ri] [...]
Lacuna

26

A fragment from the lower part of a hexagonal clay prism from Nineveh is inscribed with a foundation inscription summarizing the many accomplishments of Sennacherib on the battlefield and describing one of his building activities at Nineveh. The text, as far as it is preserved, is similar to text no. 34, a text inscribed on a large stone tablet. The portion that remains, which comes from the bottom of cols. i and ii of the prism, contains abbreviated reports of his first five campaigns, the campaign that took place in the eponymy of Šulmu-Bēl (696; Sennacherib’s 9th regnal year), and his seventh campaign. Presumably, the missing portions of the military narration included accounts of the campaign that took place in the eponymy of Aššur-bēl-šu-uṣur (695; the king’s 10th regnal year), the eighth campaign, and possibly one or more of his post-691 campaigns (the conquest and destruction of Babylon in 689, to Arabia, etc.). As for the building report, it may have described the rebuilding and decoration of the armory, as suggested by the fact that this inscription closely parallels text no. 34. Although the date lines are completely broken away, this edition of Sennacherib’s res gestae is generally thought to have been written in 687 (eponymy of Sennacherib; the king’s 18th regnal year) or later.

25 Lacuna before ii’ 1’ Based on the parallel passage in text no. 22, the translation assumes that the now-missing line(s) before ii’ 1’ contained GIŠ,MEŠ li-lā-na me-ser URU.DU nam-ri “[doors of white cedar, bands of bright copper.”
26 ii’ 12’ and lacuna The translation assumes that ki-sal-la-ša KĀ-mu-ū ma-gal uš-ri-bi “I greatly enlarged its outer courtyard” appeared at the end of ii’ 12’ and at the beginning of the now-missing ii’ 13’.
CATALOGUE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Museum Number</th>
<th>Registration Number</th>
<th>Provenance</th>
<th>Dimensions (cm)</th>
<th>cpn</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>BM 121025</td>
<td>1929-10-12,21</td>
<td>Nineveh, Area SH</td>
<td>Cols. ca. 6 wide; 7.5 high</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

COMMENTARY

Because only a small portion of the complete text is preserved and because the extant text duplicates inscriptions written on other media, it is difficult to accurately assess the contents of this edition of Sennacherib’s res gestae; the same is true for the year during which the prism was inscribed. Thus, any statements about its content, date, and length are largely speculative. E. Frahm (Sanherib p. 108), having compared the text preserved on BM 121025 with the one inscribed on a large stone tablet, the so-called “Nebi Yunus Inscription” (text no. 34), noted that: (1) the inscription probably included reports of the campaign that took place in the eponymy of Aššur-bêlu-usur (695; against the city Til-Garimme) and the eighth campaign (the battle of Ḥalulê); (2) the prism may have been much smaller than other known octagonal and hexagonal prisms of Sennacherib, with ca. 43 lines per column, for a total of ca. 258 lines of text (1:2.3 ratio); (3) the building report may have been the same or similar to that of the “Nebi Yunus Inscription” (text no. 34); and (4), assuming no. 3 above, there appears to be sufficient room (ca. 42 lines) for report(s) of Sennacherib’s post-691 campaigns. Given the lack of evidence, we can add little to Frahm’s conjectures.

The contents are similar to text no. 34 lines 10–17 and 34–39 and K 4507 i 1’–4’ (Frahm, Sanherib pp. 202–203 T 173; to be edited in Part 2). Col. i 1’, 4’–5’, 7’, 16’–17’, ii 1’–3’, 5’–7’, and 10’ deviate from text no. 34. When possible, restorations are based on text no. 34. Many of the differences between this inscription and text no. 34 are noted in the on-page notes.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1940  Thompson, Iraq 7 pp. 94–95 and fig. 15 no. 7 (copy, edition)
1968  Lambert and Millard, Cat. p. 4 (study)
1975  Reade, JCS 27 pp. 194–195 (study)
1979  Borger, BAL2 pp. 66, 76 and 78 (study)
1997  Frahm, Sanherib pp. 107–108 T 19 (study)
2009  Frahm, RLA 12/1–2 p. 15 (study)

TEXT

Col. i

Lacuna

1’) [...] x _partition x [x x]
2’) [gi-mir KUR-šû ak-ṣudâd]7 ma3 šal-la-ti-išt
’aOm3-[nu]
3’) [URU.MEŠ-šû ap-pul aq]-7qu1 ina 4diš.bar
 aq-mi
4’) [... i-na URU.na]7gi3-ti a-šar āš-šu
5’) [pu]-lî hu me-lam-me] is-ḥu-up-šû-ma šá-da-šû
 e-[mid]

Lacuna

i 1’–5’) [... ] [... I conquered his (Marduk-apla-iddina II)’s entire land] and I coun[ted] (his people) as booty. [I destroyed, devas]tated, (and) burned with fire [his cities. ... in the city Na]gîtu, where he was residing, [fear of (my lordly) brilliance] overwhelmed him and he (Marduk-apla-iddina II) disa[peared].

[i 1’ R.C. Thompson (Iraq 7 [1940] p. 94) very tentatively suggests [at-ta]-7gi3-ib3-ma23 “I roosed about and” on the basis of text no. 22 i 71. This restoration seems unlikely since the verb naqšu does not occur in other reports of the first or fourth campaign.

i 4’ The restoration follows Borger, BAL2 p. 78. Like text no. 34, this text combines the accounts of the first and fourth campaigns.]
6) [URU.hi-rim-mu] 4u.LÚ.ia-su-bi-gal-la-a-5a
7) [...] x.2[4a-a-nU KUR.ma-da-a-4 ru-qu-[te]
8) [ú-šal-pit-ma ú-ab]-bit da-ád-me-ša-un
9) [ša 4lu-li-i LUGAL] 1'URU.sí-du-ni e-kím
   1'UGAL-su
10) [mutu-ba-[a]-lu] 1'iná GIŠ.GU.ZA-šú ú-šé-šib-ma
11) [man-da-at-tu EN-ti]-ia ú-kin še-rù-ú-ú-šú
12) [ú-šal-pit rap-ša na]-4.gU KUR.á-ú-dí
13) [ma-za-qí-a-ú LUGAL-ša] e-míd ab-šá-á-nu
14) [LÚ.ÎMEŠ URU.ta-mur-ra-a]-5a a-ši-bu-ut
   KUR.ní-púr
15) [KUR-i mar-sí i-ná] 4GIŠ.TUKUL ú-šam-qi-t
16) [URU.uk ku dí-nap]-ê-har DÚ 3 da-ád-me-šú
17) [ki-ma DU a-bu-bí] uš-bi-i'
18) [UN.ÎMEŠ KUR.hí-lak-ki] 4a-ši-bú-ti

Col. ii

Lacuna

1') x [...] 
2') ša a-na[...] 
3') ina MÈ EDIN [bal-tu-su ik-šú-da ŚU.II-šú-un]
4') a-na mah-ri [ia ub-lu-ní-šú]
5') ina KÁ MURUB, URU šá 'NI NÁ.[KI ar-ku-su]
6') it-ti a-su [...] 
7') LUGAL KUR.ELAM.MA.KI šá a-na re-[šu-tí-šú]
8') il-li-ka a-na KUR.5šú È [al-lik]
9') URU.ÎMEŠ-šú dan-mu-tí È [ni-sí-rí-šú]
10') û URU.ÎMEŠ-šú TUR.ÎMEŠ šá li3'-[me-tí-šú-nu]
11') a-dí-ne-re-fi ša È.4mu-šú-na[ak-ki al-me]
12') [ak-šúdšu-šu]-já Lu-la-šal-la-su[un ap-pul]
13') [aq-qur ina 4GIŠ,] BAR aq-mi

Rest of the inscription is missing

Rest of the inscription is missing

---

i 6'-8' Cf. text no. 34 lines 12–13, which have URU.hi-rim-mu Ú KUR.ia-su-bi-gal-la-a-5a KUR.el-šu-pit-ma Ú-šal-bit da-ád-me-šú 'I smashed the city Hirimmu, the land of the Yashubians, and I destroyed its settlements.' It is uncertain if one should restore ak-šúdšu-šu at the beginning of line 6.' Moreover, there does not appear to be sufficient space at the beginning of line 7 to restore KUR.él-ši-pi "the land Ellip.[...]'x.2'[a-a-n] [...][ lànu:] L.D. Levine (ICS 34 [1982] p. 39) suggests [KUR.É-ab-dá]-2'dá-a-nú "[the land bit-Abda]dúnu.'

i 7'–13' (As for) the king of the land Elam, who had come to [his] (Șúszubu's) [id, I marched] to his land. [I surrounded, conquered, plundered, destroyed, devastated, (and) burned with fire] his fortified cities, [his] treasuries, and small(er) settlements of his in [their] en[virons], as far as the pass of the (land) Bit-Buna[ki].

Lacuna after 1 18 Based on text no. 34 lines 17–18, the translation assumes that the now-missing line(s) after i 18' contained ḫur-šá-á-ni a-nar i-na GIŠ.TUKUL "mountains, I struck down with the sword.

ii 3' ik-šú-da SÚLI-šú-un "their hands captured." Or possibly ú-ba-tu-ni-ma "they captured and," see text no. 35 line 14'. Cf. text no. 34 lines 34–35, which add e-ř-ř-inu bi-re-tu ši-dá-šu-ma "they threw him into a neck-stock (and) fetters and.

ii 5' KÁ "gate": This may be a mistake for KÁ.GAL "city gate"; see text no. 34 line 35.

ii 6' it-tí-a-su "with a bear": Cf. text no. 34 line 36, which has da-bú-ú-šú "like a bear"; E. Frahm (Sanherib p. 108) suggests that dabúš should be translated in that text as "with a bear." Esarhaddon (Leichty, RINAP 4 p. 18 Esarhaddon 1 11 42) and Ashurbanipal (Borger, BIWA p. 62 Prism A viii 12–13) also record that they bound captive foreign rulers at the citadel gate with bears (as well as with dogs and pigs).

ii 7'–8' There is not enough room to restore KÁ.DINGIR.RA.KL.MES "Babylonians" at the end of the line. Cf. text no. 34 line 36, which has re-šu-át KÁ.DINGIR.RA.KL.MES il-li-ki "who came to the aid of the Babylonians" in lieu of a-na re-[šu-ti-šu] il-li-ku "who had come to [his] (Șúszubu's) [id.,"

ii 10' URU.ÎMEŠ-šú TUR.ÎMEŠ "small(er) settlements of his": Text no. 34 line 37 has URU.ÎMEŠ TUR.ÎMEŠ "small(er) settlements."
27

Four small, fragmentary ‘triangular’ prisms from Nineveh are inscribed with a short inscription of Sennacherib that consisted only of the king’s titles and epithets and a statement about the god Aššur supporting Sennacherib as his earthly representative. It is not known if these curious prisms had some functional purpose (foundation deposit, site marker, etc.) or if they were scribal exercises written on practice prisms. The objects were not inscribed before 698 or 697 (Sennacherib’s 7th or 8th regnal year; see the commentary).

CATALOGUE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ex.</th>
<th>Museum Number</th>
<th>Excavation/Registration No.</th>
<th>Provenance</th>
<th>Dimensions (cm)</th>
<th>Lines Preserved</th>
<th>cpn</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>Bu 89-4-26,170</td>
<td>Probably Nineveh</td>
<td>Cols. 3.3 and 4.1 wide; col. divider 2 wide; 8.4 high</td>
<td>i 1–12, ii 1–12</td>
<td>c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>K 20599</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>Probably Nineveh</td>
<td>Cols. 3.8 and 0.8 wide; col. divider 1.3 wide; 3.6 high</td>
<td>i 1–5, 26–ii 1</td>
<td>c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>BM 121030</td>
<td>1929-10-12,26</td>
<td>Nineveh</td>
<td>Cols. 2.8 and 0.8 wide; col. divider 2 wide; 3.1 high</td>
<td>i 19–22, ii 1′–5′</td>
<td>c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>NIN/89/10</td>
<td>Nineveh, Northwest Mound area</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>i 12–14, 25–ii 10</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

COMMENTARY

These relatively small (ca. 4×16 cm) objects have been referred to as hexagonal prisms with three inscribed faces in previous literature. Actually, they are ‘triangular’ prisms with wide and fairly flat column dividers (ca. 1.3–2 cm). Thus, the three inscribed faces are referred to in this edition as cols. i, ii, and iii, and not as cols. i, iii, and v (with blank cols. ii, iv, and vi). Each column had ca. 22–27 short lines of text, often with only one word per line. Since the tops of exs. 1, 2, and 4 and the base of ex. 3 are preserved, it is certain that none of the four exemplars come from the same object. Moreover, exs. 1–3 were likely written by different scribes; the script of ex. 2 is neater and smaller than that of ex. 1 and the wedges of ex. 3 are more deeply impressed than those of exs. 1–2.

The text comprises only the prologue of text nos. 15–18 and 22–23. This oddity, as well as some orthographic abnormalities (ii 6, 8, and 10), may suggest that the objects were scribal exercises written on practice prisms. However, it cannot be ruled out that these three-sided prisms had some practical application, such as a foundation deposit or a site marker.

A precise date of composition cannot be determined with certainty. However, since the text (at least in ex. 4) includes a passage stating that the god Aššur made all of the black-headed people bow down at Sennacherib’s feet, these prisms could not have been inscribed before 698 or 697, when that section was added to the prologue of the king’s res gestae. Unfortunately, the evidence needed to determine if these objects were prepared ca. 694–689 (šulmu šašši or šalām šašši) is missing; in 694, 693, 692, or 691, ultu tiānti elēnitī ša šulmu šašši (“from the Upper Sea of the Setting Sun”) was changed to ultu tiānti elēnitī ša šalām šašši.

NIN/89/10 (ex. 4) is included here courtesy of D. Stronach. A detailed study and edition of that fragment will appear in Pickworth, Nineveh 2, which is a catalogue of the small finds discovered during
UC Berkeley’s excavations at Nineveh.
The text, when complete, would have duplicated text no. 15 i 1–[26], text no. 16 i 1–26, text no. 17 i 1–21, text no. 22 i 1–19, and text no. 23 i 1–17. Because exs. 1–4 are all badly damaged, the master line is a conflation of all four exemplars. When possible, the line and column divisions follow ex. 1. A score of the inscription is presented on the CD-ROM.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1896 Bezold, Cat. 4 p. 1930 (ex. 1, study)
1898 Winckler, OLZ 1 col. 107 (ex. 1 i 1–9, transliteration, study)
1968 Lambert and Millard, Cat. p. 4 (ex. 3, study)
1975 Reade, JCS 27 p. 195 (ex. 1, study)

1979 Borger, BAL2 p. 66 (ex. 1, study)
1992 Lambert, Cat. p. 51 (ex. 2, study)
— Pickworth, Nineveh 2 (ex. 4, copy, edition)

TEXT

Col. i
1) [m^d-EN] ZU-ŠEŠ[MEŠ]-SU*
2) [LAGAL] GAL-ū
3) [LAGAL] 'dan-ru¹
4) [LAGAL] 'kiš-sa-ti¹
5) [LAGAL] KUR 'aš-šur.KI¹
6) [LAGAL] 'kib¹-rat
7) [LIMMU]-i
8) [RE] E.UM
9) [i]²-pešu
10) [mi]²-gir DINGIR³.MEŠ
11) [GAL].MEŠ
12) [na-šir] 'kitt¹-ti
13) [ra-i]-i-im
14) [mi-ša]-ri
15) [e-piš]
16) [u-sa-a-ti]
17) [a-liš]
18) [rap-pu-ut]
19) [a-kī]²-i¹
20) [sa]²-hi¹-ru
21) [dam]²-qa²-a-ti
22) 'eš¹-lum
23) [gīt-ma-lum]
24) [za-ka-ru]
25) 'qar¹-[du]
26) a-[ša-red]
27) kal ma-[al-kī]

Col. ii
1) rap-[pu]
2) la-‘i-[it]
3) la ma-[gi-ri]
4) mu-šab-[ri-qa]
5) za-ma-[a-ni]
6) 4aš-šur
7) KUR-ū [GAL-ū]
8) LUGAL-‘u²-[ur]

i 1–ii 5) [Senn.]acherib, [great] king, strong [king, king of] the world, (ii 5) [king of] Assyria, [king of] the [four] quarters of the world, [cap]able [she]pherd, (i 10) [favo]rite of the [great] gods, [guardian of] truth [who loves] [justi]cie, (i 15) [renders assistance, goes to the aid of the wea]k, (ii 20) [and] [s]trives after [good] deeds, [perfect] man, [virile] war|r[ior], [fo]remost of all rul[ers], (ii 1) the bri[dle] that con[trols] the insub[missive], (and) the one who strikes enem[ies with lightning]:

ii 6–12) The god Aššur, the [great] mountain, granted [to me] unrival[led] sovereig[nty and made my] weapons greater than (those of) a[ll] who sit on

ii 6 Ex. 1 has ‘àŠ-ú-[šur] “the god A[ššur].” One expects 4aš-šur, not 4a-šur. Cf., for example, text no. 22 i 10.
ii 8 In this context, one expects LUGAL-ut, not LUGAL-ú-at “kingship.” Cf., for example, text no. 22 i 10.
9) la šá-na[an] (royal) dais[es].
10) ū-šat-lim-[an-ni-ma]
11) UGU ṣgi- [mir]
12) ṣa-šib pa-rak-[ki]

Lacuna
1') x [...] ii 1'–5') [He made] all[ of the black-headed (people) from the Upper Sea of the Setting Sun] [to the Lo[wer Sea of the] Rising Sun bow down at my feet].
2') ṣa-[di tam-tim]
3') ṣap-[li-ti ša]
4') ṣi-li-[it ṣTU-ši]
5') ṣi-m-[ri šal-mat]

Lacuna
Col. iii Completely broken away

28

A small fragment from the top of a clay prism, presumably from Nineveh, preserves two lines of a foundation inscription of Sennacherib. The extant text contains part of the report of the fourth campaign (against the people of Bit-Yakin living in Elam) that is narrated in numerous other inscriptions written on clay prisms.

CATALOGUE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Museum Number</th>
<th>Registration Number</th>
<th>Provenance</th>
<th>Dimensions (cm)</th>
<th>cpn</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>K 18318</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>Probably Nineveh</td>
<td>2.5×1</td>
<td>c</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

COMMENTARY

Because the fragment preserves only the top of the prism and the middle part of two lines and because the piece could belong to any of the known editions of Sennacherib's *res gestae* inscribed on clay prisms, the text written on K 18318 is arbitrarily edited on its own. E. Frahm (Sanherib p. 109) has suggested that the line/column division most closely resembles that of text no. 15, which is written on octagonal prisms. The text duplicates, for example, text no. 15 v 1–3, text no. 17 iv 9–10, and text no. 22 iii 68–69.

---

27 ii 10 The standard way *ušālimannīma* “he (the god Aššur) granted to me and” is written in the Sennacherib corpus is ū-šat-li-ma-an-ni-ma, not ū-šat-lim-an-ni-ma. Cf., for example, text no. 22 i 11.
27 Lacuna between ii 12 and ii 1' Based on parallels, the translation assumes that the now-missing lines between ii 12 and ii 1' and the almost completely destroyed ii 1' contained ū-šar-ba-a GIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ-īa ū-tu A.AB.BA e-le-ni-ti ša šá-lam ṣTU-ši “he (the god Aššur) made my weapons greater than those of all who sit on royal dais(es) ... from the Upper Sea of the Setting Sun (to the Lower Sea of the Rising Sun).”
27 Lacuna after ii 5' The translation assumes that the now-missing lines after ii 5' contained šAG.DU ū-šak-nīš še-pu-ū-a “he (the god Aššur) made (all of the black)-headed (people) bow down at my feet.”
BIBLIOGRAPHY

1992 Lambert, Cat. p. 21 (study)  
1997 Frahm, Sanherib p. 109 (transliteration)

TEXT

Col. i'
1) [ú-šé-ša-am]-maššal-la-tīš šamn-[nu]  
2) [ú-ter-ma URU]-MEŠ-šu ap-ššu [aq-qur]

i’ 1) [I brought out] and I coun[ted] (them) as booty.  
i’ 2) [Once again] I destroyed (and) [devastated] his [cit]ies,

Lacuna

29

A small clay fragment, possibly from a prism and presumably from Nineveh, preserves a portion of the report of Sennacherib’s third campaign (to the Levant) that is narrated in numerous other inscriptions written on clay prisms.

CATALOGUE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Museum Number</th>
<th>Registration Number</th>
<th>Provenance</th>
<th>Dimensions (cm)</th>
<th>cpn</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sm 2029</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>Probably Nineveh</td>
<td>5.5 x 5.5</td>
<td>c</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

COMMENTARY

As E. Frahm (Sanherib p. 109) has already pointed out, Sm 2029 is too small to determine if it comes from a clay prism or a clay tablet. Because we are not certain about the type of object from which this fragment originates, this text is edited on its own. Should the piece come from a prism, then Sm 2029 may come from a hexagonal prism, as suggested by the width of the lines; Frahm (Sanherib p. 109) suggests that it may have come from a relatively late edition (691 or later). Should Sm 2029 come from a tablet, then it is possible that the fragment is part of the same object as Sm 2017 (Frahm, Sanherib pp. 238–239).

The extant text duplicates, for example, text no. 16 iii 28–40, text no. 17 ii 89–iii 5, and text no. 22 ii 62–73. Restorations are based on text no. 22.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1896 Bezold, Cat. 4 p. 1525 (study)  
1979 Borger, BAL2 pp. 67 and 88 (study)  
1997 Frahm, Sanherib p. 109 (transliteration)
A small fragment from the top of a clay prism, presumably from Nineveh, preserves two lines of a foundation inscription of Sennacherib. The extant text appears to contain part of the report of the third campaign (to the Levant) that is narrated in numerous other inscriptions written on clay prisms.

### CATALOGUE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Museum Number</th>
<th>Registration Number</th>
<th>Provenance</th>
<th>Dimensions (cm)</th>
<th>cpn</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rm 25</td>
<td></td>
<td>Probably Nineveh</td>
<td>5.2 x 1.9</td>
<td>c</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### COMMENTARY

Because the fragment preserves only the top of the prism and the middle part of two lines and because the piece could belong to any of the known editions of Sennacherib’s *res gestae* inscribed on clay prisms, the text written on Rm 25 is arbitrarily edited on its own. As far as we can tell, the text duplicates, for example, text no. 16 iii 1–2, text no. 17 ii 61, and text no. 22 ii 39–40.
BIBLIOGRAPHY

1896  Bezold, Cat. 4 p. 1573 (study)  1997  Frahm, Sanherib p. 109 (transliteration)

TEXT

Col. i
1)  [a-na] 'ru'-uq-qi MURUB, [tam-tim]
2)  [in]-na'-bit-ma 'sad-[da-šú e-mid]
Lacuna  i’ 1–2)  [He (Luli) f]led afar into the midst of [the sea] and disapp[eared].

31

A fragment of a decagonal clay prism, presumably from Nineveh, is inscribed with a late foundation inscription of Sennacherib. Only parts of the prologue and the report of the second campaign (a military expedition against the Kassites and Yassubigallians, and the land Ellipi) are preserved. Although the date lines are completely missing, the prism from which this small piece originates must have been composed relatively late in Sennacherib’s reign (post-689).

CATALOGUE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Museum Number</th>
<th>Registration Number</th>
<th>Provenance</th>
<th>Dimensions (cm)</th>
<th>cpn</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>—</td>
<td>82-5-22,22</td>
<td>Probably Nineveh</td>
<td>5×4.5</td>
<td>c</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

COMMENTARY

J. Reade (JCS 27 [1975] p. 192) has suggested that 82-5-22,22 is a fragment of an octagonal prism and a duplicate of text no. 17. E. Frahm (Sanherib p. 109), however, thought that it belonged to a ten-sided prism because the angle of the two preserved faces best fits a decagonal prism. 82-5-22,22 was re-examined and checked against BM 103000 (text no. 17 ex. 1) and we agree with Frahm: this piece was probably from a ten-sided prism, despite the fact that there are otherwise no known decagonal prisms from the reign of Sennacherib (except text no. 32, which could possibly come from the same prism as this text). Although we cannot be certain, Sennacherib’s scribes may have inscribed texts intended for Nineveh’s walls on decagonal prisms sometime after 689, thus replacing octagonal prisms (text nos. 15–18) as the principal medium for those texts.

Frahm (Sanherib p. 109), on the basis of the script, suggests that 82-5-22,22 and Rm 2,98 (text no. 32) may have come from the same prism. This may be true, but it is best to edit both fragments individually.

The extant text duplicates, for example, text no. 22 i 4–11 and 73–79. Restorations are based on that inscription.
BIBLIOGRAPHY

1896  Bezdol, Cat. 4 p. 1829 (study)
1975  Reade, JCS 27 p. 192 (study)
1979  Borger, BAL2 p. 66 (study)
1997  Frahm, Sennacherib p. 109 (study)

TEXT

Col. i

Lacuna

1) [...] x [x (x)]
2) [... ra]-i³-im mi-ša-ri
3) [e-piš ú]-ša³-a-ti
4) [a-lik tap-pu-ut a]-ki-i³
5) [sa-ši-ra]-dam qa-a-ti³
6) [eš-lum gî-ta-ma-lum zî-ka]-ru qar-du³
7) [a-sa-red kal ma]-al-ki³
8) [rap-pu la-ı-ıt la] ma-gî-ri³
9) [mu-sâb-ri-qu za]-ma-a-ni³
10) [u-aš-šûr KUR-û GAL-û] 'LUGAL³-[ut]
11) [la ša]-na-an³
12) [u-šat-li-ma-an]-ni-ma³
13) [...] x [...] 

Lacuna

Col. ii

Lacuna

1) É [BÁD.MEŠ-ni dan-nu-ti al-me KUR-ûd]
2) UN.MEŠ 'ANŠE³,[KUR.RA.MEŠ ANŠE.KUNGA.MEŠ]
3) ANŠE.MEŠ 'GU³,[MEŠ ū še-e-ni³]
4) 'üš-tu qa-r'[bi-ši-un ū-še-ša-am-ma šal-la-tiš am-nu]
5) ū URU.MEŠ-[šá-nu TUR.MEŠ ša ni-ba la i-šu-û]
6) ap-pul 'aq³-[qur ū-še-me kar-mes³]
7) É 'EDIN³ [kul-ta-ri mu-ša-bi-šá-nu]
8) i-na 4GIŠ,[BAR aq-mu-ma di-tal-liš]

Lacuna

32

A fragment of a decagonal clay prism, presumably from Nineveh, is inscribed with a late foundation inscription of Sennacherib. Only parts of the reports of the second campaign (against the Kassites and Yassubigallians, and the land Ellipi) and the third campaign (to the Levant) are preserved. Although the date lines are completely missing, the prism from which this small piece originates must have been composed relatively late in Sennacherib’s reign (post-689).

31 Lacuna after ii’ 8’ Based on parallels, the translation assumes that the now-missing ii’ 9’ would have begun with ū-še-mi or ū-še-me “I reduced (them).”
CATALOGUE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Museum Number</th>
<th>Registration Number</th>
<th>Provenance</th>
<th>Dimensions (cm)</th>
<th>cpn</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rm 2,98</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>Probably Nineveh</td>
<td>4.5x5</td>
<td>c</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

COMMENTARY

J. Reade (JCS 27 [1975] p. 192) has suggested that Rm 2,98 is a fragment of an octagonal prism and a duplicate of text no. 15 or text no. 16. E. Frahm (Sanherib p. 109), however, thought that it belonged to a ten-sided prism because the angle of the two preserved faces best fits a decagonal prism. Rm 2,98 was re-examined and checked against BM 103000 (text no. 17 ex. 1) and we agree with Frahm: this piece was probably from a ten-sided prism. Frahm (Sanherib p. 109), on the basis of the script, suggests that Rm 2,98 and 82-5-22,22 (text no. 31) may have come from the same prism. This may be true, but it is best to edit both fragments individually. The extant text duplicates, for example, text no. 22 ii 28–35 and iii 2–10. Restorations are based on that inscription.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1896 Bezold, Cat. 4 p. 1643 (study)
1975 Reade, JCS 27 p. 192 (study)
1979 Borger, BAL² p. 66 (study)
1997 Frahm, Sanherib p. 109 (study)

TEXT

Col. i'

Lacuna

1) [...] x [...]  
2) [... û dû-na-at] na-ge-t e šu-[a-tu]  
4) [ûr]-kar-[m]-PAP,MEŠ-f[t]-[ri-ba]  
5) [at]-L-ta-[a] ni-bit-su UN,MEŠ 1 [KUR,KUR]  
6) [kt]-Lit-ti SHU,II-[i]a l-na li-[b]-[Š-ešib]  
7) [l]-na šú,II l-šú-[ut SAG-ia] LÜ,E[N]AM  
8) [ûr]-[h]-här-[h]-ár-[am]-nu-[ma ú]-r-ap-ti-piš  
   ma-[a-ti]  
9) I-[n]-a ta-[a]-ar-ta-[ç]-ia  
10) ča KUR,ma-da-a-a  
11) šö-[s]-la-[l]-gala,MEŠ-ni AD,MEŠ-ia  
12) [ma-am-man] šu-[i]-šu [zi]-kIr KUR-shú-un  
13) [man-da-ta-šú-nu] ka-bit-tu am-[h]-ur  

Lacuna

Col. ii'

Lacuna

1) [am-da]-hi-is-ma [ás-ta-kan BAD,BAD,šu-un]  
2) [šú]-EN GIŠ,GIGIR,MEŠ Ša [DUMU,MEŠ LUGAL  
   KUR,šu-ra-a-a]  
3) [a]-L-[a]-L-EN GIŠ,GIGIR,MEŠ ša LUGAL  
   KUR,me-lu-ñi  
4) ša[b]-šu-su-un i-[na MURUB, tam-ša-ri ik-šu-da  

Lacuna before ii' 1' The translation assumes that it-ti-šú-un “with them” appeared at the end of the line immediately before ii’ 1’.
5) ɩurun la-ta-qu-ū ɩurun la-[am-na-a al-me kur-ud]
6) ɗāš3-la šal-la-su-3-un1 [a-na ɩurun.am-qar-ru-na]
7) ɗaq1-rib-ma ɗ1-lū1[qir.nīta.meš lū.nun.meš]
8) ša ĕi-itt-țu ɗu1-[sab-šu-ū a-duk-ma]
9) i-na di-ma-a-3ti si-ḥir3-[ti ɩurun a-lul pag-ri-šu-un]
10) x [...] Lacuna

ii’ 5’–10’ [I surrounded, conquered, (and) plundered the cities Eltekeh (and) Ta[mnā]. I approached [the city Ekon and I killed] the [governors (and nobles) who had [committed] crime(s) [and hung their corpses] on towers arou[nd the city]; ... [...]"

33

In 1974, Manhal Jabur of the Mosul Museum discovered some fragments of clay prisms inscribed with texts of Sennacherib, along with inscribed bricks, in the northern courtyard of a building complex on the east side of Nineveh, south of the Khosr River and roughly equidistant from Kuyunjik and Nebi Yunus. The fragments, probably now in the Mosul Museum, have never been published and thus their contents are not known.

CATALOGUE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Provenance</th>
<th>Dimensions (cm)</th>
<th>cpn</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Postgate, Iraq 37 p. 60</td>
<td>Nineveh, northern courtyard of a building complex on the east side of the city</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1975 Postgate, Iraq 37 p. 60 (study) 1997 Frahm, Sanherib p. 109 (study)

34

A large stone tablet found at Nebi Yunus (Nineveh) is inscribed with a text summarizing the many accomplishments of Sennacherib on the battlefield and describing in detail the rebuilding and decoration of the armory (ekal kutalli, the “Rear Palace”). In total, ten of Sennacherib’s military expeditions are included in this inscription: his first to eighth campaigns and the campaigns that took place in the eponymies of Šulmu-Bēl (696) and Aššur-bēl[u]-uṣur (695). With regard to work on the armory, Sennacherib describes its decoration in great detail. He records that he: (1) built a new palace consisting of two wings, one in the Syrian style and one in the Assyrian style, and a large outer courtyard; (2) had bull colossi made from pendū-stone, a
rare and highly coveted reddish-brown stone quarried at Mount Nipur, and white limestone from the city Balāṭāya; (3) erected tall cedar columns on sphinxes made of pendū-stone; (4) cast large and elaborate objects out of bronze and copper, including human-headed colossi; and (5) constructed an elaborate pillared podium in the outer courtyard. Although the tablet is not dated, its terminus post quem is Sennacherib’s eighth campaign, as the military narration ends with an account of the battle of Ḥalulē. Thus, the object was probably inscribed ca. 690–689. This text is sometimes referred to as the “Constantinople Inscription,” “Memorial Tablet,” or “Nebi Yunus Inscription.”

CATALOGUE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Provenance</th>
<th>Dimensions (cm)</th>
<th>cpn</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 R pls. 43-44</td>
<td>Nineveh, Nebi Yunus</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

COMMENTARY

The stone tablet was discovered, with other antiquities, at Nebi Yunus in 1852 (or 1854?) and became the possession of the governor of Mosul; for accounts of the tablet’s discovery, see Rassam, Assur pp. 4–7 and Budge, By Nile and Tigris 2 pp. 28–29. Fortunately, H. Rassam was allowed to make a copy of the inscription, which he sent to Sir H. Rawlinson; that copy was subsequently published in 1 R (pls. 43-44). Although it was stated in 1 R (pl. 43) that the tablet “is now in the Imperial Museum at Constantinople,” this does not seem to have been the case, since repeated searches in various museums in Istanbul have not uncovered the tablet. E.A.W. Budge (By Nile and Tigris 2 p. 29) also states that he never succeeded in finding the tablet. Thanks are due to V. Donbaz for undertaking yet another search recently. Thus, if it ever did go to Istanbul, and there is no certainty that it did, the tablet is presumably in private hands or simply lost. Thus, the inscription could not be collated and its dimensions remain unknown.

Previous literature (for example, 1 R pls. 43-44 and Budge, By Nile and Tigris 2 p. 28) states that the inscription was written in two columns, with fifty lines of text in col. i and fifty-four lines of text in col. ii. As noted already by E. Frahm (Sanherib p. 128), the tablet was probably inscribed with fifty lines of text on the front and fifty-four lines of text on the back. Compare text no. 35 and text no. 36, both of which are stone tablets that have a single column of text written on the front and back.

Three inscriptions similar to this one are known: (1) text no. 26, which is inscribed on a hexagonal clay prism; (2) text no. 35, which is written on two stone tablets; and (3) a text written on a double-column clay tablet, K 2655 + K 2800 + Sm 318 (+) K 4507 (+) 89-4-26,150 (Frahm, Sanherib pp. 202–206 T 173; to be edited in Part 2). Many of the differences between this inscription and those texts are noted in the on-page notes.

In the copy published in 1 R (pls. 43-44), some of the inscription is in light, rather than heavy, type. It is uncertain whether this means that the text is faintly visible or totally missing and therefore restored. In such instances, the relevant passages are placed between half brackets (in the transliteration). The inscription is given consecutive line numbers for the obverse and reverse (= lines 51–94), rather than separate line counts for the obverse and reverse.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1861 1 R pls. 43-44 (copy) 13b–19a, edition
1884 Bezold, ZK 1 p. 269 (study)
1890 Bezold in Schrader, KB 2 pp. 118-119 (lines

1893 Meisner and Rost, BiS pp. 49–61 (lines 55b–94, edition)
1897 Rassam, Assur pp. 4–7 (provenance)
1898 Hilprecht, ZA 13 pp. 322–325 (study)
1909 King, CT 26 p. 10 n. 1 (lines 16b–19, edition, study)
1909 Winckler, Textbuch1 p. 47 (lines 13b–15, translation)
1916 Olmstead, Historiography p. 46 (study)
1916 Unger, ZA 30 pp. 109–110 (study)
1920 Budge, By Nile and Tigris 2 pp. 28–29 (provenance)
1924 Luckenbill, Senn. pp. 21, 85–89 and 131–134

H4 (edition)
1927 Luckenbill, ARAB 2 pp. 153–156 §834–352 and
pp. 181–183 §842–433 (translation)
1939 Weidhaas, ZA 45 pp. 111 (lines 2b–85a, edition, study)
1969 Oppenheim, ANET5 p. 288 (lines 13b–15, translation)
1970 Turner, Iraq 32 pp. 68–85 (lines 55b–94, study; lines 75b–82a, edition)
1975 Reade, JCS 27 p. 195 (study)
1979 Borger, BAL1 pp. 67, 71, 73, 76, 78–82, 85 and 87 (study)
1987 Engel, Damonpen pp. 9–10, 38–39, 48, 52 and 170–172
(lines 72–82, 94, edition)
1988 Dalley in Curtis, Bronzeworking p. 104 (lines 84, study)

1990 Lackenbacher, Le palais sans rival pp. 49 and 86
(lines 72–73a, 90–94, translation, study)
translation; lines 13–15, 29–55, study)
1997 Frahm, Sancherib pp. 128–129 T 61 (study)
1999 Dalley, AnSt 49 p. 76 (lines 83b–84a, study)
2002 Mitchell and Middleton, JCS 54 p. 94 (lines 72–76,
study)
2003 Becking, 'Like a Bird in a Cage' pp. 65–67 (lines
13b–15, study)
2003 W. Mayer, 'Like a Bird in a Cage' p. 197 no. 9 (lines
13b–15, edition)
2009 Chan, JBL 128 p. 724 (lines 4b–6a, translation)
2009 Frahm, RLA 12/1–2 p. 15 (study)
2009 Hurowitz, Studies Oded pp. 155–163 (lines 55b–58a,
66b–68a, 91–94, translation; lines 55b–94, study)
2009 Van Buylaere, Studies Parpola p. 301 n. 36 (lines
42–44a, edition)

TEXT

1) É.GALmédiaEN.ZU-S̲E̲S̲.ME̲S̲-̲er̲i̲-̲ba̲ LUGAL GAL
   'LUGAL dām-nu LUGAL ŠU LUGAL KUR aš-šar.KI
   LUGAL kib-rat LIMMU-tim"³
2) mī-gir DINIR.GEŠ GAL.ME̲S̲ lu-li-mu er-šu
   ma2-akalu pit-qu-du RE.EUM ba-šu-la-a-ti³
3) mut-tar-ru-u UN.ME̲S̲ rap-ša-a-ti a-na-ku
   ḡaš-šur AD DINIR.GEŠ i-na kul-lat ma-li-ki³
4) ke-niš IGIL.BAR-ni-ma UGU gi-mir a-ši̲b̲ pa-rak-ki
   ú-šar-ba-a a-ši̲b̲ TUKUL.ME̲S̲ ia-id-dī-nam³
5) GĪS.GIDRÚ i-s̲a̲r-šu mu-rap-pi-s̲a̲t̲ mi-iš-ri
   ši-ši̲r̲-ru la ʻpa-du-ru a-na ʻum-qu-a-ta-‘i-ri³
6) ú-ša̲t̲-me-þ̲h̲ rit-tu-u-á a-na ta-ha-az EDIN
   mū.Adam.ITU-不方便 BILLA-SUM.NA LUGAL
   KUR.kā,-dun-á-i-ás³
7) LŪ.kul-du ū LŪ.a-ra-me a-di ERM.IH.LA
   ELAM.MA.KI re-siš-šu a-bu-biš as-pa-un ša-ù
8) a-na KUR tam-tim e-dīš ip-par-šīd-ma
   DINGIR.ME̲S̲ ma-rak KUR-šū it-ti
   GĪR.PAD.DU.ME̲S̲ AD.ME̲S̲-šū³
9) maḥ-ru-ti ul-tu qē-reb KL.MAĦ ḫi-pi-ir-ma
   UN.ME̲S̲-šū a-na qē-reb GĪS.MA.ME̲S̲
10) ú-s̲e̲-ši̲-li̲-ma a-na URU.na-gi ti ša e-be-tan
    'Id.mar-eṭ e-bir-ma i-na ḍa-šī³
11) šu-a-tu i-mid šad-da-šū gi-mir KUR-šū
    ak-šad-med ma šal-la-tiš am-nu³
   URU.ME̲S̲-šū ap-pul aq-qur
12) i-na gīs.BAR aq-mu ak-šadāl³ URU.ḫi-ri-mu ū

1–3a) Palace of Sennacherib, great king, strong king, king of the world, king of Assyria, king of the four
quartet (of the world), favorite of the god, wise prince, circumspect ruler, shepherd of people, (and)
leader of a widespread population, I:
3b–6a) The god Aššur, father of the gods, looked
steadfastly upon me among all of the rulers and made
my weapons greater than (those of) all who sit on
(royal) thrones. He gave me a just scepter that widens
(borders (and) he put me in my hand a merciless rod
to fell enemies.
6b–11a) In a pitched battle, I overwhelmed like the
Deluge Marduk-apla-iddina II (Merodach-baladan),
the king of Karduniāš (Babylonia), Chaldeans and
Arameans, together with the troops of the land Elam,
his allies. He (Marduk-apl̲a-iddina II) fled alone to the
Sealand, then he collected the gods of the (full)
extent of his land, together with his bones from his
forefathers (from) their tomb(s), (10) loaded (them and)
his people onto boats, and crossed over to the city
Nagitu, which is on the other side of the Bitte
River. In that place, he disappeared.
11b–12a) I conquered his entire land and I counted
(his people) as booty. I destroyed, devastated, burned
with fire, (and) conquered his cities.
12b–13a) I ruined the city Ḫirīmumu and the land

1-3a) Palace of Sennacherib, great king, strong king, king of the world, king of Assyria, king of the four
quarters (of the world), favorite of the god, wise prince, circumspect ruler, shepherd of people, (and)
leader of a widespread population, I:
3b–6a) The god Aššur, father of the gods, looked
steadfastly upon me among all of the rulers and made
my weapons greater than (those of) all who sit on
(royal) thrones. He gave me a just scepter that widens
(borders (and) he put me in my hand a merciless rod
to fell enemies.
6b–11a) In a pitched battle, I overwhelmed like the
Deluge Marduk-apla-iddina II (Merodach-baladan),
the king of Karduniāš (Babylonia), Chaldeans and
Arameans, together with the troops of the land Elam,
his allies. He (Marduk-apl̲a-iddina II) fled alone to the
Sealand, then he collected the gods of the (full)
extent of his land, together with his bones from his
forefathers (from) their tomb(s), (10) loaded (them and)
his people onto boats, and crossed over to the city
Nagitu, which is on the other side of the Bitte
River. In that place, he disappeared.
11b–12a) I conquered his entire land and I counted
(his people) as booty. I destroyed, devastated, burned
with fire, (and) conquered his cities.
12b–13a) I ruined the city Ḫirīmumu and the land
of the Yashubagallians, (and) the land Ellipi, and I destroyed its settlements.

13b-14) I took away the kingship of Luli, the king of the city Sidon. I placed Tu-Ba'lu on his throne and imposed upon him payment (in recognition) of my overlordship.

15) I ruined the wide district of the land Judah (and) imposed my yoke on Hezekiah, its king.

16-17a) I put to the sword the people of the city Tumrum, who live on a rugged mountain (Mount Nipur). I destroyed the city Ukk, together with every one of its settlements, (so that they looked) like a ruin hill (created by) the Deluge.

17b-18) I struck down with the sword the people of the land Hilakku, who live in the mountains. I destroyed, devastated, (and) burned with fire their cities.

19) I conquered the city Tīl-Garimme, which is on the border of the land Tabal, and turned (it) into ruins.

20-26) The cities Nagitu (and) Nagitu-di'bina, the lands Ḥilmu, Pillatu, (and) Ḫupapanu, districts of the king of the land Elam that are situated on the other shore of the sea, in which the people of the land Bit-Yakín — who because of my mighty weapons had dislodged the gods of their land from their abodes (and) had crossed over the sea — had taken up residence inside: I crossed over the sea in boats of the land Ḫatti, which I had built in Nineveh and the city Tīl-Barsip. (25) I conquered and burned with fire the cities in those districts. I carried off the people of the land Bit-Yakín and their gods, together with soldiers of the king of the land Elam, and I brought (them) to Assyria.

27–29a) Afterwards, the Babylonians, who had gone forth with Marduk-apla-iddina (II) (Merodach-baladan) (and) had fled to (the land) Elam, brought the king of the land Elam to Babylon and he (the king of Elam) placed Šüzubu (Nergal-ušēzib), son of Gaḥal (Gaḥal), on the royal throne over them.
Sennacherib 34

29) UGU-šá-nu ú-še-šib-ma ERIM,MEŠ giš.pan* giš.gir.MEŠ ANŠE,KUR,RA,MEŠ ke-sir LUGAL-tu a-na me-eh-ret
30) LUGAL KUR,ELAM,MA.KI ú-ma-e-er ERIM,HI.A ma-a-۱-du it-ti DUMU-šá i-da-ku-ma i-tur ar-ka-niš
31) šu-nu a-di UNUG.KI iš-tam-di-ḫu 4TU ŠA ARARMAKI 4GAŠAN-ša-re²-eši 4GAŠAN-ša-UNUG.KI 4na-na-a
32) ú-šur-a-mat-sa 4be-let-TI.LA 4kurun-nam 4kaš-ši-tu 4gi.DU DINGIR,MEŠ a-ši-bu-ut
33) UNUG.KI a-di NIG,ŠU-šá-nu NIG,GA-na-ša la ni-bi iš-lu-lu-ni i-na ta-a-ar-ti-šá-nu
34) 3šu-zi-u LUGAL KÁ,DINGIR,RA.KI i-na ME EDIN bal-tu-su ik-su-da ŠU,IL-šá-un e-ri-in-nu
35) bi-re-tu id-da-šá-ma a-di mah-ru-ia ub-lu-niš-šu i-na KÁ,GAL MURUB₃, URU ša NINA,KI
36) ar-ku-su da-bu-ú-iš LUGAL KUR,ELAM,MA.KI ša re-šu-ut KÁ,DINGIR,RA.KI MEŠ il-li-ku
37) a-na KUR-Šú lu al-lík URU,MEŠ dan-nu-ti ě ni-sí-ti-šá ŠÁ URU,MEŠ TUR,MEŠ ša li-me-ti-šá-nu
38) a-di ne-re-bi šA KUR,E₄-bu-na-ak-ki al-me ak-šad₅³ aš-lu-la šal-la-su-un ap-pul
39) aq-qur i-na 4GIŠ,BAR aq-mu LUGAL ELAM,MA.KI ka-šád URU,MEŠ šiš-me-ma im-qu-su hat-tum
40) si-it-ti UN,MEŠ KUR-Šú a-na dan-na-a-ti ú-še-li šu-ú URU,ma-dak-tu URU LUGAL-ši-ši
41) e-zib-ma a-na URU,ša i-da-la ša qe-reb šad-di-i iš-ta-kan pa-ni-šu
42) a-na URU,ma-dak-te URU LUGAL-ši-ti a-la-ku aq-bi IT,A.B ku-uš-su dan-nu ik-šú-dam-ma
43) šá-mu-tum la-zi-iz-tum il-lik-ma šál-gu na-ḫal-lum na-at-bak KUR-i a-du-ra ū-ter-marka
44) a-na KUR aš-šú.KI aš-ba-ta ḫar-ra-na ar-ka LUGAL KUR,e-lam-ti KUR,par-su-āš KUR,an-za-an

29b–33a) I ordered archers, chariots, (and) horses of my royal contingent to confront (30) the king of the land Elam. They killed many troops, including his son, and he (the king of Elam) retreated. They marched to Urak (and) carried off the deities Šamšu of Larsa, the Lady of the Rēš-Temple, the Lady of Urak, Nānaya, Uṣur-amāssu, Bēlet-balāṭi, Kurunam, Kaššitu, (and) Palî, the gods who live in Urak, together with their property (and) possessions, which are without number.

33b–36a) On their return march, in a pitched battle, they captured Šüzuzu (Nergal-ušeṣib), the king of Babylon, alive. (35) They threw him into a neck-stock (and) fetters and brought him before me. At the Citadel Gate of Nineveh, I bound him with a bear.

36b–39a) (As for) the king of the land Elam, who had come to the aid of the Babylonians, I marched to his land. I surrounded, conquered, plundered, destroyed, devastated, (and) burned with fire his fortified cities, his treasury, and the small(er) settlements in their environs, as far as the pass of the land Bīt-Bunaki.

39b–41) The king of the land Elam heard about the conquest of his cities and fear fell upon him. (40) He made the rest of the people of his land go up into fortresses. He abandoned the city Madaktu, his royal city, and set out for the city Ḥyḍala, which is in the mountains.

42–44a) I ordered the march to the city Madaktu, his royal city. In the month Tebêtu (X), bitter cold set in and continuous rain fell, and I was afraid of the snow in the gorges, the outflows of the mountains, (so) I turned around and took the road to Assyria.

44b–47a) Afterwards, the king of the land Elam, the lands Parsua, Anzan, (45) Pašeru, (and) Ellipi, the entirety of Chaldea, (and) all of the Arameans, a large host, formed a confederation with him. They met up...
46) ik-te-ra-it-ti-šá a-di LUGAL KÁ.DINGIR.RA.KI a-na a-ša-meš iq-ri-bu-ma a-na e-še
47) MEŠ i-na GABA-ia DU-ku-ni i-na e-muq 4aš-šur EN-ia i-na ta-mîr-ti URU.ša.šu-le-e'
48) it-ti-šá-šu am-da-hi-iš BAD.BAD.-šu-nu d š-kun 1 ME 50 LIM ERM.še MÈ-šù-nu i-na
GIŠ.TUKUL
49) û-Šam-qit GIŠ.GIGIR.MÈŠ GIŠ.ša-um-ba-a-ti GIŠ.ža-ra-ti LUGAL-ti-šú-nu e-kîm-šu-nu-ti
50) LÜ.GAL.MÈŠ-šù-nu a-di mdAG.MU-GAR-UN DUMU mdAMAR.UTU-IBILA-SUM.NA ša i-na
GIŠ.GIGIR.MÈŠ KÜ.BABBAR
51) 7u-šu-uz'-zu as-ma-a-ti KÜ.GI ĥul,-lu-ù GIŠ.MÈŠ KÜ.GI šît-ku-ù u i-na
52) ŤAR.MÈŠ KÜ.GI ru-uk-ka-sa rit-ti-šù-un bal-tu-su-un qè-reb tam-ţa-ri ik-šù-da
53) ŤU.IL-a-a LUGAL KÁ.DINGIR.RA.KI ū LUGAL KUR.ELAM.MA.KI ţur-šà ša MÈ-la is-hup-šù-nu-ti qè-reb
54) GIŠ.GIGIR.MÈŠ-šù-nu u-maš-še-ru-ni zu-ušù-un e-dî šîm-par-šîd-du-ma ma-tu-uš ma-tu-uš
55) in-nab-tu i-nu-šù ŤE.GAL ku-tal-li ša qè-reb NINA.KI ša a-na ţu-te-šur ka- rá-ši
56) pa-qad ANŠE.KUR.RA.MÈŠ ū sa-na-a-qî mim-ma šum-šù uš-e-pî-šù <LUGAL.MÈŠ-ni> a-li-kut ma-hât
57) AD.MÈŠ-e-â ša ŤE.GAL ša-a-tu tam-lu-šù-šù ul ib-šî-ma šu-ţu-fu-rat ša-ba-ta
58) a-na šu-ù-mur ANŠE.KUR.RA.MÈŠ ul ŠUM-du-la KÀ-nu-šù ki-sa-lat la-ba-rî UD.MÈŠ
59) tem-me-en-šà i-nîs-ma it-ru-ra re-šà-šà ŤE.GAL šà-a-tu a-na si-hir-ti-šà aq-qur
60) ki-ma a-tar-tim-ma ki-šub-ù-ù ma-a-du ul-tu qè-reb u-šal-li lu aš-ba-ta
61) še-ru-uššù uš-šad-di maš-kàn ŤE.GAL ma-hât-ti e-zib-ma i-na qè-reb ki-šub-bê-e
62) šà tu-ul-uššù-li aš-ba-ta tam-lu-a a-šù-m-al-li 3 UŠ

46 Text no. 35 line 42' and 89-4-26,150 I 7–8' (Frahm, Sanherib p. 204) add DUMU.MÈŠ KÁ.DINGIR.RA.KI bdî-bîpo.KI "the citizens of Babylon (and)
Borsippa" after LUGAL KÁ.DINGIR.RA.KI "the king of Babylon."
47 i-na GABA-ia "towards me (lit. "to my chest"); Text no. 35 line 43' has 'a-na GABA-ia, URU.ša.šu-le-e" "the city of Halûle": The copy in 1 R (pl. 43) has URU.ša.šu-le-na. At this point, 89-4-26,150 I 7–8' (8) K 2655+ i 1–19' (Frahm, Sanherib p. 204) deviates from this text, as well as
from text no. 35, and follows more closely the report of the battle of Halûle known from text no. 18, text no. 22, and text no. 23.
55b–90 The building report of this inscription is the most detailed account of the rebuilding and decoration in the armor of the extant
Sennacherib corpus. Sections of this part of the text are based on text no. 22 vi 36–73a and text no. 23 vi 31–53a. Like text no. 23, this inscription does not work on the text in the Palace Without a Rival" (the South-West Palace); cf. text no. 22 vi 36–38.
57 ŤE.GAL šà-a-ta tam-lu-šù "a terrace for that palace": Cf. text no. 22 vi 42 and text no. 23 vi 34, which have only tam-lu-šù "its terrace."
58 Text no. 22 vi 42–43 and text no. 23 vi 35 do not include a-na šu-ù-mur ANŠE.KUR.RA.MÈŠ ul ŠUM-du-la KÀ-nu-šù ki-sa-lat "its outer
courtyard was not wide enough to have horses show (their) mettle."
59 Text no. 23 vi 35 do not mention that the construction was not well
designed; cf. text no. 22 vi 43, which has la-nu-lat e-pî-ša-ta "its construction was inexpert."
59 tem-me-en-šà... re-šà-šà "its base... its superstructure...": Cf. text no. 22 vi 43–44 and text no. 23 vi 35–36, which have tem-me-en-šà e-nîs-ma ša-dà-a-šà ir-ma-a i-qu-pa re-šà-šà "its base had fallen into disrepair, then its foundations had become loose (and) its superstructure had collapsed."
61–62 še-ru-uššù "to it": Text no. 22 vi 48 and text no. 23 vi 39 have ina muḫḫi-šù "to (it)". ul-tu... aš-ba-ta "from... I had taken...": Text no. 22 vi 49–50 has ina qa qa-ri u šal-li šà ul-tu mal-di aš-ba-ta "in the area of the meadow that I had taken from the river bank"; and text no. 23 vi 40–41 has ina qa qa-ri šà ul-tu qè-reb u-šal-li [aš-ba-ta "in the area that I had taken from the meadow."
62–63 3 UŠ 200"; Cf. text no. 22 vi 50 and text no. 23 vi 42, which have 2 ME 200." This text adds in-na na-al-ba-ša GAL in "measured by my large brick mold" between ti-lib-ki "courses of brick" and a-na e-la-nì "upwards"; Cf. text no. 22 vi 50–51 and text no. 23 vi 42. The large brick
mold is also mentioned in text no. 18 viii 4–5′.
20 ti-ib-ki i-na na-al-ban-ia

63) GAL-a-a e-na e-la-ni ú-saq-qi re-e-su se-er tam-le-e ša-a-tu ša Ė.GAL.MEŠ-ia

64) at-ta-di tem-me-en-šin Ė.GAL NA,p-i-li GIS,ere-ni tam-šil Ė.GAL KUR,ha-at-ti

65) ū Ė.GAL śi-ir-tu e-piš-ti KUR aš-šur.KI ša ma-diš šu-tu-ra GAL-a ū šar-ša a-na mu-šab

66) LUGAL-ti-ia ú-šē-piš iš-ša mu-ni-qí-ia šuk-nu-še a-na ni-ri ū pa qa-du

67) šal-la-at na-ki-ri ka-bit-tu ša ú-šat-li-ma 4aš-šur ki-sal-la ša-KA-nú ma-gal

68) úš-rab-bi i-na e-mu-še ši-ra-a-ti ša DINGIR.MEŠ EN.MEŠ-ia LUGAL.MEŠ KUR.MAR.TU.KI DÛ-šu-un ša a-na GIRD,JI-a ú-ša-ak-ni-šu ú-ma-er-ši-ma-tu ur-tu GIŠ,UR.MEŠ GIŠ,ere-ni

69) GAL.MEŠ qē-reb KUR,ha-ma-nim ik-ši-šu a-na NINA.KI i-šu-tu-nim-ma ú-šat-ri-ša e-li-šiš

70) GIS,IG.MEŠ GIŠ,ŠUR.MIN li-ia-ri me-er USRU ü-iš-ma ú-šat-ša a-na ba-bi-šiš

71) NA４,ŠE.TIR ša GIM NUMUN qēš-e GAR-ša nu-su-qu ma-la NA４, GÚ aq-ru NA４ qa-bé-e

72) ma-ga-ri ū ri-i₄-su šu-tu-qi mu-ruš-a-na NA NU TE-e ša ul-tu GIŠ KUR,ni-pur

73) KUR-i ib-bab-la it-ti NA,p-i-li pe-še-e ša i-na URU,ba-la-ta-a in-nam-ru

74) a-na 4ALAD,4LAMMA,MEŠ ú-šē-piš-ma ú-ša-as-bi-ta SLGAR-ši-in MUNUS,ÂB.ZA.ZA-a-ti

75) NA４,ŠE.TIR tim-me GIŠ,ere-ni še-ru-ši-in ul-ziz-ša ša Ė.GAL NA, p-i-li ša-a-tu

76) e-mid GAN,DU,MEŠ-ša i-na uz-ni ni-kil-ti ša ú-šat-li-ma EN né-mé-qít 4nin-ši-kù

77) ma-la dal-la-a-ti ZABAR ša a-na hi-ši-iṭ MA-ŁE.GAL,MEŠ-ia ša NINA,KI ap-ti-qu

63b–66a) I laid the foundation of my palatial halls upon that terrace. I had a palatial hall of limestone (and) cedar, a replica of a palace of the land Ḫatti, (65) and a magnificent palatial hall of Assyrian workmanship, which greatly surpassed (the previous one) in size and splendor, built for my royal residence. (66b–68a) I greatly enlarged its outer courtyard for making my thoroughbred horses submissive to the yoke and for reviewing the substantial enemy booty that the god Aššur had given to me.

68b–71) With the exalted strength of the gods, my lords, I sent orders to all the kings of the land Amurru whom (they) the gods) had made bow down at my feet. (70) They cut down large beams of cedar on Mount Amanos. They dragged (them) to Nineveh and I roofed them (the palatial halls), I fastened bands of copper on doors of cypress (and) white cedar and I installed (them) in their gates.

72–75a) I had pendâ-stone — whose appearance is as finely granulated as cucumber seeds, considered valuable enough to be an amulet, a stone for speaking (and being accepted, as well as making storms pass by, and) keeping illness away from a man, (and) which was brought from the foot of Mount Nipur — and white limestone, which was discovered at the city Balâṭâ in (75) fashioned into bull colossi and I made (them) hold their door bolts.

75b–77a) I erected cedar columns over sphinxes of pendâ-stone and I positioned the architraves of that palatial hall of limestone (on those columns).

77b–82a) With the ingenious mind that the lord of wisdom, the god Ninšiku, had granted to me, by divine will, I created clay molds for all of the bronze works that I intended to cast in Nineveh for
Two stone tablet fragments, both presumably from Nineveh, are inscribed with a text summarizing the accomplishments of Sennacherib on the battlefield and describing a building project of his at Nineveh, possibly the rebuilding and decoration of the armory (ekal kutalli, the “Rea Palace”). Parts of seventy-four lines are preserved and these contain reports of his sixth (against the Chaldeans living in Elam and against Nergal-uṣēzib), seventh

34 line 79 Text no. 17 vii 16–17 has ki-i tē-em DINGIR zi-i’-pi ti-dī ab-ni-ma URUDU qē-reb-šā dī-pu-uk-ma i-sī-ra
34 line 80 šēp-ru qa-ta-īa u MUNUS,44 LAMMA.MEŠ URUDU ma-šā-a-ti as-kup-pu NA, NA, TIR
34 line 81 ú-uš-šā-ši-ši-na-ti bi-rīt MUNUS,ÄB.ZA.ZA,MEŠ ul-zīz na-bur-riš u-šē-me-ma u-šā-lik
34 line 82 as-mi-iš i-na ki-sa-al-li GAL-i šap-la-nu Ė.GAL NA, pi-il-ī a-ni ri-miṭ LUGAL-ti-īa
34 line 83 ša NA,45 TIR NA, DUR.MI,NA,BAN,DA ē
34 line 84 ša šē-r ŠE-šu-nu AN,NA bal-lum še-ru-uš-šā ul-zīz-ma i-na da-ap-pi GIs,ere-ni ša K.L.SAG
34 line 85 lit-bu-sū ū-šat-at-šu šu-lul-šā Ė.GAL ma-šā-ti ma-gal ú-šār-bi u-šā-ši a-ni-tab-rat kāš-šat UN,MEŠ la-la-a uš-mal-liš man-da-at-tu ʿkul-lat1 KUR,MEŠ
34 line 86 a-tar-tu ša KUR,ma-da-a-a ru-qu-ti ša i-na LUGAL,MEŠ-ni AD,MEŠ-e a-ma-am
34 line 87 la im-ḫu-ru bi-lat-su-un iti GiGš,šu-um-ba-te GiG,GiGIR,MEŠ45 r-u-ku-bi2 LUGAL,t KUR,e-la-mi-i
34 line 88 LUGAL KĀ, DINGIR,R.A.KI ē KUR, kal-di ša ik-šu-da šŪ,ii-a-a ʿtit-ti hu-lap-pi Gš,ere-ni ša ši-nam
34 line 89 ša ak-ku-4 mu-a-na-ka-nam-ki ša Ė.GAL ša-a-tu ʿu-uš-bi-lam1 ma-šē-riq qē-reb-šā
34 line 90 i-na aš-bū A.DINGIR,MEŠ ē D.NIN,LIL šar-4-ta-ti ʿkul-lat2 Ė.GAL ša-a-ti ū
34 line 91 i-na ū-ub UZU ʿhu-ud li-bi ē ū nu-um-mur pa-nīr1 U.D.MEŠ šu-ša-ši-ri2-ka2 ši-uš2-ba-a2
34 line 92 lit-tu-tu li-pa-ū-a du-ri da-ri a-na ʿu,me ru-qu-ti li-ku-nu qē-reb-šā2
34 line 93 4ALAD na-sīr na-sā-ša-at-ti DINGIR mu-šal-li-mu ur-ru ū mu-sū-a a ip-par-ku-ū i-da-a-šā
34 line 94 the requirements of my palatial halls, then I poured copper into them (text “it”) and (80) my handiwork succeeded. Furthermore, I had twin lamassu-colossi of copper bear slabs of pendā-stone. I stationed (them) between the sphinxes, made (them) like battlements, and made (the façade) beautiful.
34 line 95 82b–85a In the great courtyard below the palatial hall of limestone, I had a pedestal of pendā-stone, breccia, and sābu-stone made for my royal residence. I placed on it four bronze columns that were alloyed with one-sixth tin and I roofed it with cedar crossbeams that were plated with silver.
34 line 96 85b–90 I made (that) armory extremely large, perfect, (and) splendid. I filled it with luxuriousness to be an object of wonder for all of the people. The surplus payment of all of the lands, (including) that of the distant Medes — from whom none of the kings, my ancestors, had received tribute — together with the wagons, chariots, vehicles of the king of the Elamites, the king of Babylon, and Chaldea that I had captured, along with the countless equipment (90) that I had accumulated: I had (all of these things) carried to the treasury of that palace and brought inside it.

91–94 By the command of the god Aššur, father of the gods, and the goddess Mullissu, the queen, may I spend a long time (and) attain very old age in that palace in good health, happiness, and contentment. May my descendants be established therein forever, into the distant future. May the šedu-spirit(s) who protect life, the god(s) who preserve well-being day and night, never leave it.
(against Elam), and eighth (the battle of Halulê) campaigns, an account of a campaign to Arabia, and the beginning of the building report. The *terminus post quem* for the inscription is the expedition to Arabia, which took place after Sennacherib’s eighth campaign, and therefore the tablets were probably inscribed ca. 690–689; they are probably later in date than text no. 34. The inscription is sometimes referred to as the “Ungnad Stone Tablet Fragment Inscription” or the “Winckler Stone Tablet Fragment Inscription.” Ex. 1 is named after A. Ungnad, who published a copy of the fragment in 1907, and ex. 2 is named after H. Winckler, who published an edition of that piece in 1893–97.

**CATALOGUE**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Museum Number</th>
<th>Registration Number</th>
<th>Provenance</th>
<th>Dimensions (cm)</th>
<th>Lines Preserved</th>
<th>cpn</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 VA 3310</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>Possibly Nineveh (or Aššur)</td>
<td>25×23×5.5</td>
<td>1′−59′</td>
<td>c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 K 8544</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>Probably Nineveh</td>
<td>14×8×3.9</td>
<td>10′−30′, 1′−15′</td>
<td>c</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**COMMENTARY**

Three inscriptions similar to this one are known: (1) text no. 26, which is inscribed on a hexagonal clay prism; (2) text no. 34, which is written on a stone tablet; and (3) a text written on a double-column clay tablet, K 2655 + K 2800 + Sm 318 (+) K 4507 (+) 89-4-26,150 (Frahm, Sanherib pp. 202–206 T 173; to be edited in Part 2). Comparison with those texts suggests that this inscription probably contained a short prologue, military narration summarizing Sennacherib’s first to eighth campaigns, the campaigns that took place in the eponymous of Šulmu-Bêl (696) and Aššur-bēlu-ûṣur (695), and an expedition to Arabia, and a building report. The mention of Sennacherib reviewing enemy booty in line 14″ may indicate that the building account of this text described work on the armory; the reading of the extant text in that line is not entirely certain.

Since exs. 1 and 2 duplicate each other only in lines 10′−30′, a score of those lines is provided on the CD-ROM. Although the master text of lines 10′−30′ is a conflation of both exemplars, the line divisions follow ex. 1, which was not as wide as ex. 2. Parallel passages in text no. 34 aid in the restoration of damaged text in lines 1′−24′ and 40′b−52′, although caution must be exercised because there are major variants in those passages. Damaged text in lines 33′−40′a can be restored from text no. 22 v 31−41. For lines 25′−40′a, compare the Baltimore Inscription (Walters Art Gallery no. 41,109) lines 11b–12a, 14, and 41–43 (Grayson, AFO 20 [1963] pp. 88–91); Walters Art Gallery no. 41,109 and a duplicate of it housed at the Catholic University of America, two large stone tablets inscribed in 690 (the king’s 15th regnal year), will be edited in Part 2, since that inscription (which has been referred to as the “Sur-marrati inscription” and the “Fourteenth Year of Sennacherib Inscription”) records work on the city wall of Sur-marrati and since the tablets upon which this text is written may originate from Samarra, and not Nineveh, where both exemplars of this text are presumed to have been discovered. The inscription is given consecutive line numbers for the obverse and reverse (= lines 32′−15′), rather than separate line counts for the obverse and reverse. Many of the differences between this inscription and text no. 34 are noted in the on-page notes.
BIBLIOGRAPHY

1893  Bezold, Cat. 3 p. 938 (ex. 2, study)
1893–97 Winckler, AOF 1 pp. 532–534 no. 5 (ex. 2, edition)
1904  Scheil, OLZ 7 cols. 69–70 (lines 52’–59’, transliteration, study)
1907  Ungnad, VAS 1 no. 77 (ex. 1, copy, study)
1909  Gressmann, ATBAT p. 121 no. 18 (lines 53’–59’, translation)
1916  Olmstead, Historiography p. 50 (ex. 2, study)
1924  Luckenbill, Senn. pp. 21 and 89–93 H5 (ex. 1, edition)
1956  Borger, Asarh. pp. 117–118 §91 (ex. 2, study)
1975  Reade, JCS 27 p. 195 (study)
1979  Borger, BAL2 pp. 67 and 85 (exs. 1–2, study)
1982  Eph’al, Arabs pp. 41–43 and 118–125 (exs. 1–2, study)
1997  Frahm, Sanherib pp. 129–136 T 62 and pl. VI (exs. 1–2, edition; ex. 2, copy)
2002  Vera Chamaza, Omnipotenz p. 312 no. 72, 329–330 no. 84 (lines 33’–35’, 42’–43’, edition)
2009  Frahm, RLA 12/1–2 p. 15 (study)
2009  Van Buylaere, Studies Parpola p. 301 n. 36 (lines 23’–24’, edition)
2010  Bagg, WO 40 pp. 93 and 197–198 (lines 53’–59’, study)
2012  Worthington, Textual Criticism p. 156 (lines 48’–49’, study)
Figure 8. VA 3310 (text no. 35 ex. 1), reverse of a stone tablet of Sennacherib, probably from Nineveh. Photo taken by O.M. Tessmer. © Staatliche Museen zu Berlin.

TEXT

Obv.

1') [...] x x [...] UN.MES KUR.É-mi-ia-ki-n₂] 1'–3'a) [...] [...] I carried off the people of the land Bit-Yakin and their gods, together with soldiers of [the king of the land Elam, and I brought (them) to Assyria].

2') [ū DINGIR.MES-šú-nu a-di ba]-I₃ hu₃-la-₃ ti₃ [LUGAL KUR.ELAM.MA.KI ā-š-lu-lam-ma] 3'b–8') Afterwards, the [Babylonians — ...], who along with Mar]duk-apla-iddina (II) (Mero[dach-balad]an) [had

3') [a-na KUR aš-šur.KI u-ra-a] ar-ka

3'b–6' Cf. text no. 34 line 27, which has ar-ka KÁ.DINGIR.RA.KLI.MES šá it-ti mrdum-AMAR.UTU-IBILA-SUM.NA ā-š-su-ā in-nab-tu e-lam-tal, “afterwards, the Babylonians, who had gone forth with Marduk-apla-iddina (II) (Mero[dach-balad]an) (and) had fled to (the land) Elam.” At the end of line 3’ and the beginning of line 4’ there is room for about seven signs between lÚ.KÁ.DINGIR.RA.KLI.MES (“Babylonians”) and šá it-ti (“who along with”). E. Frahm (Sanherib p. 133) suggests that one could tentatively restore GÁL.LÁ.MES lem-nu-ti (“evil gallū-demons”) on the basis of text no. 22 v 18; but, as he notes, this is not the only possibility. At the beginning of line 7’, one could tentatively restore the name of the Elamite king (Kudur-Nal[judu]).

229
4) ... šá it-ti mدادار], tšut]3-ibila-sum-na tšil-[na al-šar-riia]

5) [mah-ri-ti la-pa-an giš], tšukul]3-meš-ia
dan-šu-ti [ig]-ru]-ru-ši-ru-ša-

6) [...] x uš-su-ma in-šu-tu e-lam-taš-

7) [...] ū-le]-ša-um-ū a-na tšá-dingir,ra-ki
il-du-ši-num-[ma]

8) [šu-šu-šu dumu ma-šal i]-na giš,gu,za
man-ši-ti ugu-ši-nu uš-ši-[šib-ma]

9) [erim]3-meš giš,pen]3-giš,giš,giš,meš
ašši]-šu,ra,meš ki-šir tšan-ti-ša tš-a-na
ta-shi-e-

10) [lugal]3.ká,dingir,ra,ki ū-ma-e-er
eriš,ša-ši ma-a-dú ši-ti dumu-ša
11) [i-tur ar-ka-niš šu-nu a-di] unung,ki
iš-tam-di-šu tšu]3-arar,ka,ki

12) [qasad]3-ša]-1-unung,ki dingir,ša-[meš a-ši-ši-ut
ger-bi-ša a-di níg,ši-ša-nu
[ašši]-ša-ši-nu ša la ni]-bí iš-šu-nu ina
ta-a-ar-ti ši-šu ma-šu-šu-ša
[14] [lugal]3.ká,dingir,ra,ki i-na me]-šiša
ta-šu-su iš-ba-tu-nim-ma a-di mah-ri-raša
[15] [ub-šu-niš šu ina] ša]3-gal]3 meru, šú
nina,ki ar-ku-su da-bu-šiš
[16] [lugal]3.kur]3,elam,ma,ki ša re]-šul]3-ut
Łu,šša,dingir,ra,ki meš il-li-šu
[17] [a-na] kuš-ša lu al-liš]3 [uru]3 mez dan-šu tši niš-ti-ša ū uku]
meš tur,meš
[18] [ša li-me-ti-ši-nu a-di]-ne,ša re-bi ša
kur,ša-šu na-ša-ša-ša a-me kur-ša-
[19] dš-[lu-la šal-la-su-un ap]-pu-ul aq-šu i-na
šiš,ša,bar aq-mu
[20] [lugal]3.elam,ma,ki kaš-ad uru,meš šu
iš]-ši-me]-ma im-šu-tu šat-tu si-it-ti ti-un mezši
kur-šu
[21] [a-na] dan-na-a ti ūše]-ši-lši uru,ma-dak-tu uru
man-ti-ša e-zib-ma
[22] [a-na] uru]-ša-ša-ša [qet]-reš kur-i
iš-ta-kan pa-ni-si
[23] [a-na] uru,ma-dak-tu uru man]-ši-šu a-la-ku
aq-bi iš,lab ku-ušu šu dan-šu
[24] ik]-šu]-ša-[dan]-šu-an-ni-ši]-ia ū-ter-ma a-na

groved [in the face of] my mighty [westerns] dur[ing the course of a previous campaign of mine, ...] ..., had gone out, and had fled to (the land) Elam — brought [..., the E]lamite, to Babylon [and he (the king of Elam) pla[ced Šúzubu (Nergal-ušēzib), son of Gašul (Gašal), on the royal throne over them.]

9'-13'a) I ordered archers, chariots, ([and] horses of my royal contingent to confront (10') [the king of the land Elam]. They killed many of his troops, including his son, and [he (the king of Elam) retreated. They] marched [to] Uruk (and) carried off the god Šamaš of Larsa (and) [the goddess the Lady of] Uruk, the god[s] living inside it, together with their property [and] possessions, which are not numbered.

13'b-15') On their return march, [in a] pitched [battle], they took Šúzubu (Nergal-ušēzib), [the king of Babylon], alive and [brought him] before me. [At the] Citadel (Γατ]e of Nineveh, I bound him with a bear.

16'-19') (As for) the king of the land [Elam, who had] come [to the ai]d of the Babylonians, [I marched to his land]. I surrounded, conquered, pl[undered, des]royed, devastated, and burned with fire (his) fortified cities, his treasury, and the small(er) settlements [in their environs, as far as] the pass of the land Bit-Bunaki.

20'-22') [The king of the land Elam hea]rd about [the conquest of his cities] and fear fell upon him. [He made] the rest of the people of his land [go up] into fortresses. He abandoned the city Madaktu, his royal city, and set out for the city Ḥaydala, which is [in] the mountains.

23'-24') I ordered the march [to the city] Madaktu, his [royal] city. In the month Ṭebētu (X), bitter cold [set in so I turned around] (lit. “I turned [the front of
KUR aš-šur.KI aš-ba-ḫa-ḫar-ra-nu
25' [ar-ki-ia šu]-l[-]u diš-šu šu-šu-ub na-gi-šu i-na UGU ti-la-ni
26' [...] sīt-ti l UN.MEŠ KUR-ši ša la-pa-an GĪ.TUKUL.MEŠ-l-a
27' ip-par-ši-du x [...] u-ši]-ri'-dam-ma u-ši-šib te-ra-a-ti
28' [...] x UN.MEŠ KUR-ši ak-šu-ud-ma šal-la-tiš am-nu
29' [URU.MEŠ-sū ap-pu-ul aq-qur i-na] diGIS.BAR ap-mu LŪ.KA.ĐINGIR.RA.KI.MEŠ
30' [...] ʼLUGAL.KUR.ELAM.MA1,KI is-ḫu]-ru-ma ik-nu-šu ša-pal-ša
31' [...] a-na] ʼšu-1-an-KI a-la-ku aq-bi
Rev.
32' [...] x-ū ni]-sa-ti-ī ḫat-tum im-gut-su-nu-tī
33' [ē Nİ.GA ša ē-saq-īl ipp-ta]'-l KŪ.GI KŪ.BABBAR ni]-šīq-ti NA-n,MES-a na MAN ELAM.MA1,KI
34' [u-ši-ē-šu lu ʼa-a]-ti iš]-p'-ra-šu ši]-a-ā-n a-na KĀ.ĐINGIR.RA.KI
35' [hi-šam-ma i-d[a]-ni i]-zi-iz-ma tu-kul-ta-ni lu at-ta šu]-ū]-di [MAN] ELAM.MA1,KI
36' [ša UN.MEŠ KUR-ši ak-šu-du]-ma dš-lu-lu šal-la-su URU.MEŠ-ŠI ap-pu-la
37' [aq-qu-ra ʼa]-na diGIS.BAR [aq'-mu-ū i-na uz-ni-ša ul ib]-ša-a
38' [tē-em-ū a][il-ku t]a]-a-tu LŪ.KA.ĐINGIR.RA.KI.MEŠ im-ḫur]-ma
39' [...] (x) uq-ba-a e-pi-su]-un
40' [ERIM.HLA]-šu KA-KAR-ŠI-su u-pa]-hi-[i]-ir-ma KUR-pa-sū]-KUR.an-Za-an KUR.pa-ši]-ru
41' [KUR.el-li-pi nap-ḥar KUR.kal-dī] LŪ.a-ra-me ka-li-ša-un kit-ru GAL]-g
42' [ik-ter-a it-ti-ši a-di LUGAL.KA]-1.ĐINGIR.RA.KI DUMU.MEŠ KĀ.ĐINGIR.RA.KI bār-sipa.KI
43' [a-na a]-ha-meš iq-ri-bu-ma a]-na e-peš ta]-ti xa]-a GABA-ia DUKU-ni
44' [i-na e-muq ʼa]-šu-en EN-i-a i-na] ta]-mır-ti URU,[I]-[ha-le]-5 e]-it-ti-ši-a
45' [am-da]-he-iš BĀD,A.BAD-ŠI]-nu aš]-k'UN 1 ME 50

25'–40'a These lines are not included in text no. 34. Unlike that text, this inscription records further details about the seventh campaign, namely what happened in Elam and Babylonia after Sennacherib departed Elam, and the eighth campaign, in particular how the Babylonians bribed the king of Elam so that he would support their cause. For lines 25'–27', cf. the Baltimore Inscription lines 41–43 (Grayson, AFO 20 [1961] p. 90).
27' E. Frahm (Sanherib p. 131) restores uš-tu la-nu-a-ti “from (his) fortresses” between ip-par-ši-du “who had fled” and u-ši]-ri]-dam-ma “[he brought down and.”
32' x-ū: E. Frahm (Sanherib p. 131) tentatively suggests [sī]-mu]-1-ā “[when they] heard about.” Cf. the Baltimore Inscription lines 11b–12a (Grayson, AFO 20 [1963] p. 88), which has DUMU.MEŠ KĀ.ĐINGIR.RA.KI ša a-lak ger-ri]-la] šu-mu ma-im-qu]-ut]-[su]-nu ti-gi-lit-tu u ḫa]-a[卤]t]-tu “(as for) the Babylonians who heard about the approach of my military force, terror and fear fell upon [them].”
34' u-ši-ē-šu lu ʼa]-a-ti “they sent it as a bribe.” The restoration is based on text no. 22 v 34. Or possibly restore u-ši-ē-bi-lu “they sent,” which is based on the Baltimore Inscription line 14 (Grayson, AFO 20 [1963] p. 88).
35' hi-šam-ma “hurry and”; The restoration is based on text no. 22 v 36. Or possibly restore ak-ka-a-ma “come here and,” which is based on the Baltimore Inscription line 14 (Grayson, AFO 20 [1963] p. 88).
36' [ak-šu-du]-ma “[I had captured] and;” Or possibly [ak-šu-dam]-ma.
37' Cf. text no. 34 line 46, which omits DUMU.MEŠ KĀ.ĐINGIR.RA.KI bār-sipa.KI “the citizens of Babylon (and) Borsippa.” 89-4-26,150 i 5′–6′ (Frahm, Sanherib p. 204) also includes “the citizens of Babylon (and) Borsippa” after LUGAL.KA.ĐINGIR.RA.KI “the king of Babylon.”
43' l-a-na GABA-ia “towards me (lit. “to my chest”):” Text no. 34 line 47 has l-na GABA-ia.
of their [combat] at [roops]. I took away from them [chariots, wagons, (and) their [royal] tents.

47’–50’a) I [captured] alive [in the midst of (that) battle their magnates, including N]abû-ṣuma-išku, a son of Marduk-apla-iddina (II) (Merodach-baladan), who [were stan]ding [in silver (decorated) chariots], bedecked with gold ..., wear gold (decorated) belt-daggers, [and] have gold rings [fastened] to their fore-arms.

50’b–52’) [Terror of doing battle with me over]-whelmed the king of Babylon and the king of the land Elam. They released [their excrement] inside their chariot(s), [fle[d] [alone], and ran away to their (own) land(s).

53’–56’) [... Te’el]ḥu]nu, queen of the Arabs, in the middle of the desert [... I took away [...] thousand camels from her. She [... with Hazael. [Terror of doing battle with me overwhelmed them. They abandoned their tents and fled for (their) lives [to the city ...] and the city Adummuat.

57’–59’) [‘As for the city ... and the city Ad]ummuat, which are located in the desert, [... a place of thirst in wh[ich] there is no pasture (or) watering-place, [...] ...

Lacuna


48’ as-ma-a]- ti] ... Text has as-ma-MIN-ti. 49’ [ra]-uk]-ka]-sa] “fa[t]tened”. Text has [ra]-uk]-LU]-sa. 53’ The name is tentatively restored from an inscription of Ashurbanipal written on three clay tablets: K 3087 / K 3405 / Rm 2,558 line 12 (Borger, BIMA p. 70). Te’elhunu is referred to as ša]-ku]-mir]-ta]-ša]-ma]-ri]-tu “its (Arabia’s) former kumiru-priestess” in that text. This event is also recorded in inscriptions of Esarhaddon (for example, Leichty, RINAP 4 p. 19 Esarhaddon 1 iv 1–5), but the name of the queen of the Arabs in those texts is Apkallatu. As R. Borger (Orientalia NS 26 [1957] pp. 9–10) has already pointed out, Apkallatu is not a proper name, but rather a title which Esarhaddon’s scribes mistook as a personal name, and thus Apkallatu is the same woman as Te’elhunu, who is mentioned here and in the aforementioned inscription of Ashurbanipal.

56’ E. Frahm (Sanherib p. 135) tentatively suggests that one could restore [a]-na] URU].ka]-pa]-a]-nu] “U” “to the city Kapānu” and” at the beginning of the line.

57’ There are probably two cities mentioned in this line, as suggested by the plural suffix on šu]-tu] “their location).
Sennacherib 36

A small, broken stone tablet discovered at Nineveh preserves the beginning and end of an inscription of Sennacherib recording his first campaign (against Marduk-apli-iddina II and his Chaldean and Elamite allies), his second campaign (against the Kassites and Yassubigallians, and the land Ellipi), and the renovation of three or more temples at Nineveh, some of which are said to have been last built by the ninth-century king Ashurnasirpal II (883–859). The text begins with an invocation of a number of gods (beginning with Aššur and ending with Ištar and the Sebetti). Although the tablet is not dated, its terminus post quem is Sennacherib’s second campaign, as the military narration ends with an account of that military expedition. Thus, the object was probably inscribed ca. 702–701.

CATALOGUE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Provenance</th>
<th>Dimensions (cm)</th>
<th>cpn</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Thompson, AAA 18 pl. XVIII no. 16</td>
<td>Nineveh, Asn. Palace, Square C</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

COMMENTARY

The tablet was discovered by R.C. Thompson during the 1929–30 excavation season at Nineveh, on the Kuyunjik mound between the Nabû and Ištar temples. J. Reade (CRRA 30 pp. 217–218) suggests that the object comes from the Ištar temple. The present location of the tablet is not known, but Thompson said that it was in Baghdad and therefore the object may be in the Iraq Museum (cf. Frame, ARRIM 2 [1984] p. 11). The object is said to be “small,” but its dimensions have not been published.

Like text no. 34 and text no. 35, this tablet is inscribed on both the front and back. Only the left parts of the first seventeen and last twenty-one lines of the inscription are preserved. The text contains a prologue (invocation of gods and Sennacherib’s titles and epithets), reports of the first two campaigns, the building account (work on some of Nineveh’s temples), and advice to future rulers. Apart from text no. 10 (and probably also text nos. 11–13) and text no. 37, this is the only text in the extant Sennacherib corpus recording work on temples at Nineveh. This text records work on the Śin-Šamaš temple, the

35 line 10’’ i-nu-šā₂ “at that time”: The restoration is based on text no. 34 line 55. E. Frahm (Sanherib pp. 135–136) proposes restoring E.GAL ku-tal-lī (“Rear Palace”), E.GAL ma-ša-šar-ti (“Review Palace”), or E.GAL si-ir-tu (“magnificent palace”) after inša; those restorations are based on text no. 34 lines 55, 85, and 65 respectively. Based on line 14’’, as well as the date of the text (ca. 690–689), the building report probably records work on the armory.

35 line 14’’ The restoration is based on text no. 34 lines 66–67.
temple of the Lady of Nineveh, and at least one other temple; the building account may have recorded the rebuilding of four, five, or even six different temples. Text no. 10 describes the construction of the shrine of the god Ḥaya and text no. 37 narrates the construction of the akitu-house Esahulezenzamukam ("House of Joy and Gladness for the Festival of the Beginning of the Year").

Restorations are based on the following texts:

1931 Thompson, AAA 18 pp. 95–98 and pl. XVIII no. 16
1931–32 Weidner, AFO 7 p. 282 (study)
1958 von Soden, Orientalia NS 27 p. 259 (obv. 13, study)
1967 Borger, HKL 1 p. 526 (study)
1975 Reade, JCS 27 pp. 189–190 (study)
1984 Frame, ARRIM 2 p. 11 (study)

1986 Read, CRRA 30 pp. 217–218 (study, provenance)
1991 Grayson, CĀH F 3/2 p. 115 (study)
1997 Frahm, Sanherib pp. 136–137 T 63 (study)
2005 Reade, Iraq 67 p. 380 (study)
2009 Frahm, RLA 12/1–2 p. 15 (study)
2010 Novotny, Studies Ellis p. 137 (rev. 13′–14′, study)

BIBLIOGRAPHY

TEXT

Obv.

1-16) [The god] Aššur, the great mountain, father of the gods, the one who decrees [fates, ... who deliberates (only) with himself; the gods Anu, Enlil, (and) E[a, ...] the designs of heaven and earth, who designates ... [...; the god Śin (....)], the one who constantly renews himself, the pure god whose signs are inscrutable, [...], (5) the one who makes decisions, the one who makes [astrological signs [known; the god Šamaš, ...], great judge of the great gods, whose [lordly] splendor [overwhelms all of] the lands everywhere; the god Adad, canal inspector of heaven (and) earth, [...], the one who brings barleys and flax into being, who makes sat[tu]-offering[s] abundant, [...]; the god Šamaš, his signs, without whom ... [...] (10) (and) no ruler is named; the god Nabû, [of heaven and] earth, controller of harmony, [...] ; the god Ninurta, heir of the god Enlil, [...] the one who breaks up mountains [...; the goddess Ištar, ...] for her grace[divinity, [...; (and) the Sebetti], (15) the supreme gods [who] stand [at the side of the king who reverts them] and [make his weapons prevail over all enemies]:

Obv. 15–16 on the Baltimore Inscription line 2 (Grayson, AfO 20 [1963] p. 88); rev. 1′–2′ on text no. 2 line 33 and text no. 3 line 33; rev. 8′ on Grayson, RIMA 2 p. 309 A.0.101.40 line 35 and Leichty, RINAP 4 p. 126 Esarhaddoon 57 v 9–12; rev. 9′ on text no. 10 line 18; rev. 16′–18′ on text no. 4 lines 91–92; and rev. 20′–21′ on text no. 3 line 63. For other possible restorations, see Frahm, Studies Borger pp. 107–121.

---

Obv. 2 [ma]-li-ku ram-ni-ša “[who deli]berates (only) with himself”; See CAD M/1 p. 156 sub malāku A 2c.
Obv. 9 It is odd that Šamaš is listed twice, in line 5 (restored) and in line 9.
Obv. 15 pa-li-šu-šu-šun “who reverts them”; Following the Judi Dagh Inscription line 3 (Luekenbill, Senn. p. 63), one could tentatively restore mi-ri-šu-šun “their favorite.”

---

1931 Thompson, AAA 18 pp. 95–98 and pl. XVIII no. 16
1931–32 Weidner, AFO 7 p. 282 (study)
1958 von Soden, Orientalia NS 27 p. 259 (obv. 13, study)
1967 Borger, HKL 1 p. 526 (study)
1975 Reade, JCS 27 pp. 189–190 (study)
1984 Frame, ARRIM 2 p. 11 (study)
1986 Read, CRRA 30 pp. 217–218 (study, provenance)
1991 Grayson, CĀH F 3/2 p. 115 (study)
1997 Frahm, Sanherib pp. 136–137 T 63 (study)
2005 Reade, Iraq 67 p. 380 (study)
2009 Frahm, RLA 12/1–2 p. 15 (study)
2010 Novotny, Studies Ellis p. 137 (rev. 13′–14′, study)
17) Sennacherib, ...

Lacuna

Rev.

Lacuna

1) LUGAL¹.[MEŠ-ni AD,MEŠ-ia ma-am-man la
iš-mu-u zi-ki-r KUR,MEŠ-šu-un]

2) man-da-ta-[šu-nu ka-bit-tū am-ḫur a-na ni-ri
be-ḫu-ti-ša ū-šak-ni-su-nu-ti]

3) e-nu-ma 딧 [ .. ]

4) ṝ (šawu) ë.[DWU NIN,gal ū-šu-tu ë.d-a-a ...]

5) ša-GAŠAN-NINA,KI GAŠAN ṭa-ta[-bi-ti ( ...) ša
šaš-šur-PAP-šA MAN KUR aš-šur.KI]

6) DUMU ṭ-tukul-ti-š-MAN KUR aš-šur.[KI ...
ep-suši ƙ.Č,MEŠ]

7) šá-ti-na la-š-bu-riš u₁₇-me [ ...]

8) aq-qur-ši-na-ti-ma dan-ta-ra-na[ši-na ak-šu-udšt
uš-ša-ši-na ( ...) it-ti[i ki-šiR]

9) KUR-i dan-ri ar-ti-ma ul-[tu uššu-ši-na a-di
gaba-dib-ši-na ar-siPG]

10) ū-šak-li DINGIR,MEŠ GAL,MEŠ [ ...]

11) EN,MEŠ-ia ina qer-bi ki-iš-ští[ši-šu-nu ...]

12) ta-biš-šar-ma-a pa-rak-ki ššú-ši[šu-nu ...]

13) le-e ma-ra-tiš-šu-e e ma-ra-ti
UDU,SISKUR,[MEŠ ...]

14) kād-ra-a[a] ū-šam-ḫu-šur-na-ti-ma
ma-ḫar-[šu-nu ...]

15) li-[šu ki-ši-ti šU,II šá i-na[šu-ti [...]

16) EN,MEŠ-ia UGU kul-lat na-ki-ri [aš-tak-ša-ku
(...)]

17) i-na MU,SAR-re-e ū-šá-šu-ti-ši-te ma-[ša-šu-nu]
UDU,SISKUR,[MEŠ ( ...)]

18) DUMU,MEŠ-ia e-zib [aš-ra-ťaš]

19) a-na EΓIR ū,me NUN EΓIR-ú e-nu-ma [šú,[MEŠ
šá-ti-na]

20) ṭI-[šI-lab-bi-ra-ma en-na-ša MU,SAR-a[-la
li-[mur-ma LIŠ šú-šu-uš UDUSISKUR]

21) liqI-qI it-tu MU,SAR-e šš-šu-me-šš liš-šI-[šaš-šur
ik-ri-bi-šu i-šem-me]

---

A small, broken white limestone tablet found at the Nergal Gate of Nineveh in 1992–93 is inscribed with a text recording the construction of Ešaḫuḷezenamkum (“House of Joy and Gladness for the Festival of the Beginning of the Year”), a new akitu-house at Nineveh. Although only the

---

36 obv. 17 For other possible restorations, cf. text no. 3 line 1, the Baltimore Inscription line 3 (Grayson, AFO 20 [1963] p. 88), and the Judi Daghi Inscription lines 6–7 (Luckenbill, Senn. p. 63).
36 Lacuna before rev. 1’ Based on parallels, the translation assumes that ša KUR,ma-da-a-a ru-qu-ti ša i-na “from the distant Medes, who among” appeared in the now-missing line that would have immediately preceded rev. 1’.
first fifteen lines and the last eleven lines of the inscription are preserved, it is clear that Sennacherib did not deem the former New Year’s temple, which was situated inside Nineveh (a fact recorded in an inscription of Sennacherib’s grandson Ashurbanipal; see Borger, BIWA p. 169 Prism T v 33–34), suitable for use so he had a new one built outside the city wall, just north of the Nergal Gate; compare also K 1356 (Pongratz-Leisten, Ina Šulmi Irub pp. 207–209), a text describing this king’s rebuilding of an akitu-house outside the walls of the city Aššur. The extant text includes Sennacherib’s titles and epithets, his commission as king by the god Aššur, the beginning and end of the building report, and a general description of the annual celebrations in the akitu-house. The tablet is dated to the eponymy of Nabû-kēnu-uṣur, governor of the city Samaria (690).

**CATALOGUE**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Provenance</th>
<th>Dimensions (cm)</th>
<th>cpn</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ahmad and Grayson, Iraq 61 pp. 187–189</td>
<td>Nineveh, Nergal Gate</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>Frahm</td>
<td>NABU pp. 75–79 no. 66 (rev. 1–11’, edition)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2005</td>
<td>Reade</td>
<td>Iraq 67 pp. 380–381 (study)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2008</td>
<td>Frahm</td>
<td>JC3MS 3 p. 17 (study)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**TEXT**

Obv. 1–4a) Palace of Sennacherib, great king, strong king, king of the world, king of Assyria, king of the four quarters (of the world), (and) favorite of the great gods:

4b–13) The god Aššur, father of the gods, looked steadfastly upon me among all of the rulers and he made my weapons greater than (those of) all who sit on (royal) daises. He gave me a just scepter that widens borders (10) (and) he put in my hand a merciless rod to fell enemies. [He] made rulers of the four quarters (of the world), from east to west, bow down at my feet and they (now) pull my yoke.

14–15) [The akitu-house which] from the very distant past [...]...

Lacuna

1’) [...] x [x] x a-a KUR a’ BE

Rev. Lacuna

Rev. 1–3’) [...] [...] [...] the Nergal [Gate], which is

rev. 1’ E. Frahm (NABU 2000 p. 76 no. 66) tentatively proposes reading this line as [ša 4hr-ra mu] 2sam’-qi[t] a-a 2bu’ mu 7 81‘(the gate), [wh]ose name is [‘The God Erra Is the One Who] Cuts Down the Enemy.” Cf. the name of the Nergal Gate in text no. 15 vii 13’, text no. 16 vii 57, text no. 17 vii 89, and text no. 18 vii 26 b–27’a.
2') [...] KÁ.GAL] di.GUR ša mé-ēḫ-ret
3') [...] mi-sá-ri pe-tu-ú ba-bu-šá
4') [ē]-šá-hul-le-ezen-zag-mu-kam
5') ē ḫu-ud líb-bi û ri-šá-a-ti
6') ša i-sín-ni re-ē šat-ti lu ab-ni
7') i-na u₃-mu i-sín-ni ē ā-ki-tim
8') a-na šu-le-e ū la-ban ap-pi-ia
9') 'maḫ-har DIN.GIR ū DIN.GIR-tim ū mul-ta'-u-ti
10') [EN]-ti-ia šat-ti-šam-ma
11') [I]-na qer-bi-šá ep-pu-šá ni-gu-tu
12') ITTAPIN UD.11.KÁ.M li-mu md.GIN-PAP

opposite [...] justice, who opens its gate.

Rev. 4’–6’ I built [E]ḫaḫulezenzagmukam, “House of Joy and Gladness for the Festival of the Beginning of the Year.”

Rev. 7’–11’ At the time of the festival of the akitu-house (New Year’s house), I celebrate annually [i]inside it with prayer and expressions of my humility (lit. “stroking my nose”) before god and goddess and for my [lord]ly pleasure.

Rev. 12’ Month Araqšamna (VIII), eleventh day, eponymy of Nabû-kēnu-uṣur (690).

38

Three rounded-topped stone steles with images of the king and various divine symbols, found at Nineveh, are engraved with a text of Sennacherib recording the creation of a royal road by means of widening existing streets and by erecting steles as boundary markers on both sides of that road. The inscription concludes with a statement that if anyone in the future should build a house that encroaches upon the royal road, that person will be impaled on a stake over his/her house. This text is sometimes referred to as the “Inscription from the Royal Road.”

CATALOGUE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ex. Number</th>
<th>Registration Number</th>
<th>Provenance</th>
<th>Dimensions (cm)</th>
<th>Lines Preserved</th>
<th>cpn</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 EŠ 1</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>Nineveh, southeast of Nebi Yunus</td>
<td>104×63</td>
<td>1–27</td>
<td>p</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 BM 124800</td>
<td>51-9-29,9</td>
<td>Nineveh, foot of Kuyunjik</td>
<td>128×63</td>
<td>1–27</td>
<td>c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 IM</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>Nineveh, southeast of Nebi Yunus</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>1–27</td>
<td>p</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

COMMENTARY

Two of the steles, which would have originally been erected along the royal road that Sennacherib claims to have widened in this text, were discovered by H.J. Ross (1848) and E.A.W. Budge (1888–89) in the nineteenth century. In a popular account of his explorations of the ruins of Assyrian cities, A.H. Layard recounts the discovery of ex. 2: “At the foot of the mound Mr. Ross has found a monument of considerable interest. It was first uncovered by a man ploughing. ... It was erect, and supported by brickwork when discovered; and near it was a sarcophagus in baked clay. Mr. Ross suggests that the whole may have been an Assyrian tomb; but I question whether there is sufficient evidence to prove that its original site was where it was found; or that it had not been used, as portions of slabs with inscriptions at Nimroud, by the people who occupied the country after the destruction of the pure Assyrian.

37 rev. 4’ In the Sumerian ceremonial name Elaḫulezenzagmukam, -ša-ḫul-le- stands for -ša-ḫul-la-.
37 rev. 9’–10’ mul-ta’-u-ti [EN]-ti-ia “my [lord]ly pleasure”: The reading follows Frahm, NABU 2000 p. 75 no. 66.
ian monuments” (Nineveh 2 pp. 140–141); see also Ross, Letters from the East p. 144 (Letter No. 6, 24 January, 1848). E.A.W. Budge, in an account of his own travels in Ottoman lands, describes the discovery of ex. 1: “The day after my return from Baibûk a native who farmed a little land between Kûyûnûk and Nabi Yûnis came and told me that at a certain spot in one of his fields there was a large flat stone with figures and writing upon it, and he asked me to buy it from him. Taking a few men with digging tools and baskets Nimrud and I went with him, and in a short time we uncovered a stele about 40 inches high and nearly 20 inches wide” (By Nile and Tigris 2 p. 77). Bezold, reportedly told by Budge, states that ex. 2 was discovered in a field just southeast of the Nebi Yunus mound.

Sennacherib states that he made steles so “there would be no diminution of the royal road” and that he erected the steles “on each side, opposite one another” (lines 19b–21). The credibility of Sennacherib’s claim is supported by the facts that the king faces opposite directions in exs. 1 and 2 (to the right in ex. 1 and to the left in ex. 2), that the farmer who had discovered ex. 1 told Budge that “he had found several such stones and that they had all been broken up and burnt into lime” (Budge, By Nile and Tigris 2 p. 78), and that a third stele was discovered in July 1999 (ex. 3). Ex. 3 was reportedly discovered by a farmer to the southeast of Nebi Yunus; like ex. 2, the image of the king faces to the left.

There is a large blank space between lines 20 and 21 in all three exemplars, but the purpose of this is not known. See the comments in Unger, ABK p. 38.

E. Frahm (Sanherib p. 138) suggests that the steles were completed ca. 690 since text no. 18 vii 50–51 records in its building report that Sennacherib widened a road of Nineveh to a width of fifty-two cubits, the same width as stated in this text. The steles may have been inscribed earlier (ca. 693–691) since we now know that text no. 18 ex. 1 (BM 127845+) was inscribed in the eponymy of Bêl-êmuranni (691). Note also that the 693 and 692 editions of Sennacherib’s res gestae that describe work in and around the city of Nineveh, texts written for the city’s walls composed between text no. 17 and text no. 18, are not presently known; those inscriptions may have shed some light on when Sennacherib was working on the royal road.

The text of exs. 1–3 is virtually identical and therefore no score is given on the CD-ROM. The master text is generally ex. 1.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1849 Layard, Nineveh 2 pp. 140–141 (ex. 2, provenance)
1861 1 R pl. 7 VII F (ex. 2, copy)
1898 Bezold, ZA 4 pp. 284–290 (ex. 1, edition, study)
1893 Meissner and Rost, BiS pp. 68–71 and 80 (exs. 1–2, edition)
1902 Ross, Letters from the East p. 144 (ex. 2, provenance, study)
1914 Scheil, RA 11 pp. 189–192 and pl. II (ex. 1, photo, edition; ex. 2, study)
1915 Paterson, Senn. pls. 3–4 (exs. 1–2, photo)
1920 Budge, By Nile and Tigris 2 pp. 77–78 (ex. 1, provenance, study)
1924 Luckenbill, Senn. pp. 22 and 152–153 130 (ex. 1, edition; ex. 2, variants)
1926 Nassouhi, Guide sommaire pl. 7 (ex. 1, photo)
1927 Luckenbill, ARAB 2 pp. 194–195 58473–476 (translation)
1927 Unger, ABK pp. 38 and 122 fig. 66 (exs. 1–2, study; ex. 1, photo)
1936 Gadd, Stones pp. 170 and 224 (study)
1938 S. Smith, Sculptures p. 15 and pl. XXXIV (ex. 2, study, photo)
1965 Genge, Stelen pp. 18, 135, 164 and 284 (ex. 1, edition, photo)
1982 Börker-Klähn, Bildstelen p. 209 nos. 203–204 (exs. 1–2, study, drawing)
1995 Kataja and Whiting, SAA 12 p. 102 fig. 18 (ex. 2, photo)
1997 Frahm, Sanherib pp. 137–138 T 64 (exs. 1–2, study)
2000 Reade, RLA 9/5–6 p. 403 (exs. 1–2, study)
2001 Turner, Iraq 63 pp. 119, 124 and 138 fig. 8 (ex. 2, provenance, photo, study)
2008 Frahm, JCSMS 3 p. 18 (study)
2009 Frahm, RLA 12/1–2 p. 19 (study)

TEXT

1) muʾEN.ZU-ŠEŠ.MEŠ-ERI-ba
2) LUGAL GAL LUGAL dan-nu LUGAL ŠÚ
3) LUGAL KUR aš-šur LUGAL KIB.rat LĂMMU-ŠI
4) me-gir DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ
5) 4aš-šur ʾā diš-tar

1–4) Sennacherib, great king, strong king, king of the world, king of Assyria, king of the four quarters (of the world), (and) favorite of the great gods:

5–13a) The god Aššur and the goddess Ištar granted

1–4 The list of titles and epithets is identical to that in text no. 37 lines 1–4a; that inscription is dated to the eponymy of Nabû-kēnu-ušur (690).
Figure 9. BM 124800 (text no. 38 ex. 2), one of the steles of Sennacherib that were erected along the fifty-cubit-wide royal road that ran through Nineveh. © Trustees of the British Museum.

6) GIŠ.TUKUL la ma-ḫar
7) ú-šat-li-mu-in-ni-ma
8) a-na ra-sa-ab nak-ru-ti KUR aš-šur.KI ip-tu-ú
9) i-da-a-a i-na tu-kul-šú-un GAL-tim
10) ul-tu ši-taš a-di šil-la-an um-ma-na-ti-ia
11) šal-meš lu at-ta-bal ma gim-ri mal-ki a-šib pa-rak-ki
12) ša kib-rat ar-ba-’i še-pu-u-a ú-šak-niš-ma
13) i-šu-tu ab-ša-a-ni i-na u₃-me-šu-ma
14) ša URU.mi-na-a URU be- lu-ti-ia šu-bat-su

me a weapon without equal and gave me the strength (lit. “opened my arms”) to destroy those hostile to Assyria. With their great support, (10) I constantly directed my troops in safety from east to west and I made all of the rulers who sit on (royal) daises throughout the four quarters of the world bow down at my feet and they (now) pull my yoke.

13b–19a) At that time, I enlarged the site of Nineveh, my capital city. I broadened its streets for the course

10 ul-tu ši-taš a-di šil-la-an “from east to west”: This expression also occurs in text no. 37 lines 11–12.
14–16a Cf. text no. 18 vii 49’–52′.
15) uš-rab-bi su-qi-šu me-ti-iq ger-ri LUGAL
16) ú-ša-an-dil-ma u-nam-mir GIM u₂-me BAD
17) úšal-šu-ú nak-liš ú-še-piš-ma ú-zaq-gir
18) ĥur-ša-niš 1 ME ina 1.KÛS GAL-tim ĥa-ri-su-uš
19) uš-rap-piš aš-ra-taš u₂-me ger-ri LUGAL a-na
20) la su-ub-ḫu-ri NA₄.NA.RU₂.A.MEŠ ú-še-piš-ma
21) ša a-ḫi ul-le-e ina me-ḫer-ti-šú i-za-zu
22) 5₂ i-na 1.KÛS GAL-tim ša ger-ri LUGAL
23) a-di KÂ.GAL GIŠ.KIR₂,MEŠ am-šu-ub ru-pu-su
24) ma-ti-ma UN°.MEŠ a-ši-bu-ut URU ša-a-ši ša
É-su
25) la-bi-ru i-naq qa-ra-ma eš-su i-ban-nu-ú
26) ša uš-še É-šu a-na ger-ri LUGAL ir-ru-ba
27) ū-šer É-šu a-na ga-ši-ši il-la-lu-šú

of a royal road and (thus) I made (the city) as bright
as day. I had an inner and outer wall skillfully built
and I raised (them) as high as mountain(s). I widened
its moat 100 large cubits.

19b–23) So that in the future there would be no
diminution of the royal road, I had steles made and
they stood on each side, opposite one another. I
measured the width of the royal road, as far as the
Gate of the Gardens, as fifty-two large cubits.

24–27) At any time, when (anyone) of the people
living in this city tears down his old house and builds
a new one — if the foundation of his house encroaches
upon the royal road, he will be hung (lit. “they will
hang him”) on a stake over his house.

16b–18a Cf. text no. 17 viii 15.
18b–19a Text no. 18 vii 19–20 also records the widening of the moat to a width of 100 large cubits. The moat is clearly visible only on the
north and east walls, about 80 m in front of the wall; it is 70 m wide and 10 m deep (after erosion). A relief from the South-West Palace (Layard,
Discoveries p. 231) may show the southwestern corner of the wall with the moat. See Reade, RLA 9/5–6 (2000) p. 390 fig. 1 and p. 400 fig. 5.
22 5₂ “fifty-two” is clear on all three exemplars; it is not 6₂ “sixty-two” (so 1 R pl. 7 VIII F and Luckenbill, Senn. p. 153).

23 Ex. 1 omits a-di KÂ.GAL GIŠ.KIR₂,MEŠ “as far as the Gate of the Gardens.” E. Frahm (Sanherib p. 138) suggests that the gate name was not
included in this exemplar since the names of some of the gates had changed and the writer of this copy of the text was not certain about the
name of the gate to which the royal road ran. The Gate of the Gardens, called “The God Igisigsig Is the One Who Makes Orchards Flourish”
(⟨GIŠ.GI₂, GI₂, mu-ša-m-me-ēḫ sip-pa-a-te⟩, was originally the westernmost gate on the north wall, but later that name was given to a gate just
south of the citadel, where the Ḥṣur River (mod. Khos) intersected the wall. The gate formerly called the Gate of the Gardens was renamed
“The Divine Nannarū Is the One Who Makes Firm My Lordly Crown” (⟨Šī₂,SI₂, ku-ša-ša-ē ge-e be-ša-ti-ša⟩, the Sin Gate. The name of the gate in
ex. 2, therefore, referred to the original name of the gate, not, if Frahm’s suggested date proves correct, the name of the gate at the time the
stele was inscribed (ca. 693–691), which was the Sin Gate. For further information on the gates, see p. 16. Frahm (Sanherib map after pl. XIII)
tentatively proposes that the royal road mentioned in this inscription ran from the Aššur Gate in the south wall, east past the armory and the
citadel, to the Sin Gate (formerly the Gate of the Gardens) at the western end of the north wall. See for example, Frahm, Sanherib pp. 273–275;
and Reade, RLA 9/5–6 (2000) pp. 402–403. However, S. Lumsden (ICAANE Proceedings 1 pp. 817–818 and p. 825 fig. 1), based on his work in the
ran north to the Nergal Gate, and not northwest to the Sin Gate. He also proposes that such a road would have entered the city from the east,
through the Šamaš Gate, Nineveh’s largest city gate.
27 il-la-lu-šú “he will be hung (lit. “they will hang him”): Exs. 2–3 have il-la-lu-šú.
This page intentionally left blank.
This page intentionally left blank.
Minor Variants and Comments

Text No. 1

2.1^[mi]-šá-ri for mišá-ri. 5.6 ba-ḫu-la-te for ba-ḫu-la-a-te. 14.7 [LÚ.][šá]-i ta-ā’-u2 for LÚ. ī-ta-ā’-u. 17.7 omits ú before 10 LÚ.GAL. 18.7 me-te-eq for me-te-eq. 23.8 BÁD-šú for BÁD-šú. 24.8 LUGAL. KUR.ELAM.MA.KI for LÚ.KUR.ELAM.MA.KI. 29.1 adds DIŠ after ANŠ.E.MEŠ. 37.9 URU.bi-ta-a-te for URU.bi-ta-a-ti. 50.11 URU.MEŠ for URU.ME-ni. 54.11 mi-ra-ā’-[mi] for mi-ri-na. 54.10 [UGU-šú-un] for UGU-šú-un. 55.10 LÚ. gam-bu-šú. 57.11 [LÚ.gi]-pi for [LÚ.gi]-pi. 57.2* ka-bi-tu2 for ka-bit-ti. 59.11 UDU.MEŠ for UDU.ME-ni. 63.11 u-mešú-ma for u-mi-šú-ma. 65.11 [ti]-šú for šú-pi-er. 67.1* [reb] for [tri]-reb. 82.2* ap-pa-ā’-t for ap-pa-ə-te. 84.3 KÁ.GAL.-[im] for KÁ-ši-in. 86.4 [rah]-bi-a-te for rah-ba-a-ti. 87.4 [ši]-pa-a-ti for šip-pa-a-te. 89.2 ú-ul-tu for ú-ul-tu. 89.5 bi-tu for bi-ru-tú. 89.3 [ak-kul]-šú-a for ak kul-la-te. 90.5 šip-pa-a-ti for šip-pa-a-te. 91.2 ú-sam-di-la for ú-saš-an-di-la. 91.3 [ui]-šú for úš-par-da-ma. 92.2 a šú-bi-ti for a-bi-bi-ut. 93.5 i-nam-bu-u for i-nam-bu-ū. 94.2 MU.SAR-re for MU.sar-e. 94.3 ik-ri-bi-šú for ik-ri-bi-šú. 95.2 BÚ.MI for MU.

Text No. 2

72.5 lim5*ma for li-ma.

Text No. 3

11.1 li-me-ti-li-šú-um for li-me-ti-šú-um. 21.3*[ša]-ra2 for ša-ra-šú. 25.11* i-na for i-na. 35.7* bu-ra-me2 for bu-ru-um-me. 36.6*[šum]-sil-šú for šum-sil-šú. 37.7* be-lu-ut for be-lu-ut. 38.6* ma-al-kì for mal-kì. 39.6* šer-bi šú for šer-bi šú. 40.7* ū-zi-ur-zi for ū-zi-ur-zi-šú. 41.6* šú-a for šú-a-tu. 42.8* ki-šú-um for ki-šú-um. 43.2*[ba]-šu-la-tē for ba-šu-la-tē. 44.6* zi-qar for zi-qar-šú. 44.6* 1 ME for 20. 44.1* ki-dú*; text has MA-S. 44.2* adds before kidú-mi-ri, 47.3 ina for i-na. 52.10* ša-pa-šú-um for ša-pa-šú-um. 53.12* [qe]-reb for qe-reb. 54.12* ma-še-e for maš-re-e. 56.2 omits GÍŠ before ŠÚR.MIN. 56.2 omits GÍŠ before bu-šú-ti. 59.1* ina for i-na. 62.2 i-nam-bu-u for i-nam-bu-u.

Text No. 4

1.9* "EN.ZU-ŠÉŠ.MEŠ-SU for "EN.ZU-ŠÉŠ.MEŠ-ERI-ba. 1.4* GAL for GAL-á. 2.11 a for a-ki. 3.3 [ma]-gi-ri for ma-gi-ri. 3 z mà-ma-ni; ex. 1 has [za]-ma-ni; and exs. 2, 5 have za-ma-ni. 5.5 maḫ-re-šé for maḫ-re-e. 5.14* šú for ša. 5.3* ta-šú-ti for ta-šú-ti. 5.1 ERIM.HI.A for ERIM.HI.A. 5.4, 5.16 BÁD, BÁD-šú, and [BÁD], BÁD-šú respectively for BÁD, BÁD-šú, 6.5* for second ina. 6.2 ū-maš-šú-um for ū-maš-šú-um; and iš-kú-šú for ik-šú-da. 7.4, 12.13* É.GAL for É.GAL-šú. 7.2 KÁ.DINGIR.RA.KI. 7.1–3, 5 i-ru-um-ma for e-ru-um-ma. 7.3, 17 ap-te-ma for ap-te-ema. 7.3 ni-ší-tu-šú for ni-ší-ti-šú. 7.3 NA, for ū-šú-ut. 7.2–3 šum-šú-um for šum-šú-um. 7.2–3 ni-ší-tu for ni-ší-tir. 8.2–5, 9 É.GAL-šú for É.GAL.MEŠ-šú. 9.4, 17–18 BÁD, BÁD-šú-ni for BÁD, BÁD-šú-ni. 9.4 URU.MEŠ-ni for URU.MEŠ. 9.1 li-me-ti-li-šú-um for li-me-
Text No. 17

i 56.2 LÚ.ru.-u’a for LÚ.ru.-u’a-i. 66.2 [URU], ha-ra-ra-tu for URU ha-rA-ra-te. i 69.2 tu-mar-ta-su for ta-mar-ta-sa. i 75.2 ZÚ.LUM.MA.ME for ZÚ.LUM.MA. i 184.2 [tri]-i-ik-a-tu for ti-ik-ka-te. i 185.2 ina for i-ni.

ii 3.2 [ša]-ša for i-da-me-si. i 8.2 ša-bi ša-bi for ša-bi ša-bi. vii 2.2 ša-bi ša-bi for ša-bi ša-bi.

iii 3.2 ša-bi ša-bi for i-da-me-si. i 8.2 ša-bi ša-bi for ša-bi ša-bi. vii 2.2 ša-bi ša-bi for ša-bi ša-bi.

Text No. 22

i 1.2 GAL-i for GAL. i 3.1* LÍMMU-tim for LÍMMU-t. i 3.2* it-pe-tu for it-pe-tu. i 8.2 mal-ki for mal-ki. i 11.2 gi-mir for gim-ri. i 17.2 da-ad-me-su-en for da-ad-me-su-en. i 21.2* 3*MÁMAR.UTU. IBILA-SUM-na for 3*MÁMAR.UTU. IBILA-SUM-na. i 26.2 u-maš-si-te for um-maš-si-te. i 28.2 ap-te-e for ap-te-e. i 35.2 ša-la-ti-si for ša-la-taš. i 36.2 BAD.ME-i for BAD.ME. i 37.2 URU.ME-i for URU.ME. i 38.2 ak-šu-bi for KUR-ud; and ša-la-su-un for ša-la-siš-bi. i 40.2 ša-hur-saš-kalam-ma.KI for URU ša-hur-saš-kalam-ma. i 46.4* [LÚ]-bu-lu for LÚ.ru-bu-lum. i 47.2 LÚ.ru.-u’a for LÚ.ru.-u’a-u-a. i 49.2 5.LÚ.ŠI-ta-a-tu for ŠI-ta-a-tu; and kan-su-ti for kan-su-ti. i 51.4* ša for ša. i 55.2 4*URU ha-ra-ra-ti and [URU] ha-ra-ra-ti respectively for URU ha-ra-ra-te. i 57.2 ba-ša-te-te for ba-ša-te-te. i 59.2 pa-ši-aš-si for pa-ša-ti-aš-si. i 63.2 re-se-te-te for re-se-te-te. i 67.2 LUGAL.ME-i for LUGAL.ME. i 70.2 ša-ša-te for ti-ka-te. i 71.2 URU ša-ra-ra-tu for URU ša-ra-ra-tu. i 73.2 URU.ME-i for URU.ME-i.
Minor Variants and Comments

Text No. 35

18.2 [KUR.É·bu-na]-ak-ku for KUR.É·bu·na-ak·ki. 20.2 im-qut-su for im-qut-su. 28.2 KUR.É·šu for KUR-šú; and KUR-ud-ma for ak-šu-ud-ma.

Text No. 38

5.2 dINANNA for Íš-tar. 6.2 ka-ak for GÎŠ.TUKUL. 9.2 ša-da-a-a for i-da-a-a. 13.2 u·mi-sú-ma for u·me-sú-ma. 16.2 ki-ma u·mi for GIM u·me. 17.2 ú-zaq-qir for ú-zaq-qir. 19.2 UD.MEŠ for u·me. 21.2 ša·... mé-šer-ti for ša·... me-šer-ti-šú. 23.2–3 ru-pu-us-su for ru-pu-su. 24.3 ša-a-šú for ša-a-šú. 25.2–3 i-naq-qa-rum-a for i-naq-qa-rum-a. 26.2–3 É·šu for É·šú. 27.2–3 il-la-šu for il-la-šú.
# Index of Museum Numbers

## Baghdad, Iraq Museum

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>RINAP 3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>IM 56578</td>
<td>17.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IM —</td>
<td>16.14*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IM —</td>
<td>16.27*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IM —</td>
<td>38.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## Berlin, Vorderasiatisches Museum

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>RINAP 3</th>
<th>No.</th>
<th>RINAP 3</th>
<th>No.</th>
<th>RINAP 3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>VA 3310</td>
<td>35.1</td>
<td>VA 8427</td>
<td>15.6</td>
<td>VA Ass 4364</td>
<td>4.69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VA 5061+</td>
<td>16 commentary</td>
<td>VA 8436</td>
<td>15.14</td>
<td>VA Ass 4365</td>
<td>4.82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VA 5632a+</td>
<td>16 commentary</td>
<td>VA 8437</td>
<td>16.28*</td>
<td>VA Ass 4366</td>
<td>4.84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VA 5632b</td>
<td>16 commentary</td>
<td>VA 8442</td>
<td>16.30*</td>
<td>VA Ass 4367</td>
<td>3.12*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VA 5634</td>
<td>16 commentary</td>
<td>VA 8985</td>
<td>1.11</td>
<td>VA Ass 4368</td>
<td>4.56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VA 7502</td>
<td>4.85</td>
<td>VA 15467</td>
<td>3.7*</td>
<td>VA Ass 4369</td>
<td>4.86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VA 7508</td>
<td>4.25</td>
<td>VA 15468</td>
<td>4.67</td>
<td>VA Ass 4720</td>
<td>16.31*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VA 7509</td>
<td>4.74</td>
<td>VA 15470</td>
<td>3.11*</td>
<td>VAT 9621</td>
<td>16.23*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VA 7512</td>
<td>16 commentary</td>
<td>VA 15472</td>
<td>4.87</td>
<td>VAT 11955</td>
<td>4.60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VA 7516</td>
<td>4.9</td>
<td>VA 15473</td>
<td>4.83</td>
<td>VA 8421a–h</td>
<td>4.69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VA 8414</td>
<td>16.29*</td>
<td>VA Ass 4363</td>
<td>4.70</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## Boston, Boston Museum of Fine Arts

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>RINAP 3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>—</td>
<td>22.8*</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## Chicago, Oriental Institute

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>RINAP 3</th>
<th>No.</th>
<th>RINAP 3</th>
<th>No.</th>
<th>RINAP 3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A 2793</td>
<td>22.1</td>
<td>A 16918+</td>
<td>18.1</td>
<td>A 16923+</td>
<td>15.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A 3515</td>
<td>4.41</td>
<td>A 16919+</td>
<td>16.13*</td>
<td>A 16924+</td>
<td>15.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A 8134+</td>
<td>18.1</td>
<td>A 16920</td>
<td>16.26*</td>
<td>A 16929+</td>
<td>16.2*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A 8153+</td>
<td>16.13*</td>
<td>A 16921</td>
<td>16.5*</td>
<td>A 16931</td>
<td>10.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A 16916+</td>
<td>15.2</td>
<td>A 16922+</td>
<td>15.2</td>
<td>A 16933</td>
<td>4.33</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Istanbul, Archaeological Museum

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>RINAP 3</th>
<th>No.</th>
<th>RINAP 3</th>
<th>No.</th>
<th>RINAP 3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A 61</td>
<td>16 commentary</td>
<td>A 3596</td>
<td>4.48</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>4.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A 2039</td>
<td>16.32*</td>
<td>E§ 1</td>
<td>38.1</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>4.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Jerusalem, Israel Museum

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>RINAP 3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>71.72.249</td>
<td>23.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Leiden, Böhl Archive

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>RINAP 3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3239</td>
<td>16.10*</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### London, British Museum

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>RINAP 3</th>
<th>No.</th>
<th>RINAP 3</th>
<th>No.</th>
<th>RINAP 3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>BM 22500</td>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>BM 103218</td>
<td>22.3</td>
<td>BM 127845+</td>
<td>18.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BM 22501</td>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>BM 103219+</td>
<td>16.2</td>
<td>BM 127888</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BM 22502</td>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>BM 103220+</td>
<td>16.2</td>
<td>BM 127903+</td>
<td>18.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BM 22503</td>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>BM 113203</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>BM 127914+</td>
<td>18.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BM 22504</td>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>BM 121011+</td>
<td>15.2</td>
<td>BM 127919</td>
<td>16.19*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BM 22508</td>
<td>15.1</td>
<td>BM 121019+</td>
<td>16.2*</td>
<td>BM 127929</td>
<td>16.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BM 33019</td>
<td>22.1*</td>
<td>BM 121022+</td>
<td>16.1*</td>
<td>BM 127932+</td>
<td>18.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BM 91032</td>
<td>22.2</td>
<td>BM 121025</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>BM 127939</td>
<td>1.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BM 98558</td>
<td>4.13</td>
<td>BM 121028</td>
<td>16.16*</td>
<td>BM 127950</td>
<td>16.17*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BM 98559</td>
<td>4.30</td>
<td>BM 121030</td>
<td>27.3</td>
<td>BM 127952+</td>
<td>15.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BM 98560</td>
<td>3.8*</td>
<td>BM 122612</td>
<td>15.10</td>
<td>BM 127953+</td>
<td>16.1*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BM 99046</td>
<td>1.9</td>
<td>BM 122620+</td>
<td>16.13*</td>
<td>BM 127969+</td>
<td>16.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BM 99047</td>
<td>4.27</td>
<td>BM 123412+</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>BM 127970+</td>
<td>15.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BM 99048</td>
<td>4.80</td>
<td>BM 123415</td>
<td>4.26</td>
<td>BM 127972+</td>
<td>4.58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BM 99050</td>
<td>4.63</td>
<td>BM 123417</td>
<td>4.51</td>
<td>BM 127985+</td>
<td>15.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BM 99080</td>
<td>16.25*</td>
<td>BM 123418</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>BM 127996+</td>
<td>18.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BM 99325</td>
<td>4.49</td>
<td>BM 123427</td>
<td>16.6*</td>
<td>BM 128001+</td>
<td>16.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BM 99327</td>
<td>22.10*</td>
<td>BM 123428</td>
<td>3.5*</td>
<td>BM 128010+</td>
<td>16.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BM 102996</td>
<td>17.3</td>
<td>BM 123430</td>
<td>4.47</td>
<td>BM 128076+</td>
<td>18.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BM 103000</td>
<td>17.1</td>
<td>BM 123431+</td>
<td>4.58</td>
<td>BM 128090+</td>
<td>16.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BM 103214+</td>
<td>16.2</td>
<td>BM 123432</td>
<td>4.64</td>
<td>BM 128219+</td>
<td>16.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BM 103216+</td>
<td>16.2</td>
<td>BM 124800</td>
<td>38.2</td>
<td>BM 128223+</td>
<td>16.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BM 103217+</td>
<td>16.2</td>
<td>BM 127837+</td>
<td>16.1</td>
<td>BM 128225+</td>
<td>16.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Index of Museum Numbers

251

No.

RINAP 3

No.

RINAP 3

No.

RINAP 3

BM 128228+
BM 128229+
BM 128237+
BM 128242
BM 128245+
BM 128265+
BM 128271
BM 128280+
BM 128290+
BM 128292+
BM 128295+
BM 128297+
BM 128314+
BM 128316+
BM 128318+
BM 128327
BM 128333+
BM 128411+
BM 134432+
BM 134449a
BM 134451
BM 134452
BM 134456
BM 134457
BM 134458+
BM 134461
BM 134469
BM 134475+
BM 134476+
BM 134482+
BM 134490+
BM 134492
BM 134510
BM 134515
BM 134559
BM 134584
BM 134603
BM 134606
BM 138185
BM 138188+

18.1
18.1
18.1
13
15.2
18.1
16.9*
16.1
16.1
18.1
16.1
18.1
16.1
16.1
16.1
16.24*
18.1
16.1
18.1
23.2
4.32
16.7*
4.14
3.6*
2.1
16.18*
3.2
18.1
18.1
2.1
18.1
4.54
16.9
4.73
25
1.1*
16.20*
4.78
22.4*
16.1

81-2-4,42
81-2-4,44+
81-2-4,45
81-2-4,46
81-2-4,47
81-2-4,168
81-2-4,169+
81-2-4,170
81-2-4,171
81-2-4,175
81-2-4,478
81-7-27,1+
81-7-27,2+
81-7-27,4+
81-7-27,5
81-7-27,6+
81-7-27,7
81-7-27,9
81-7-27,17
81-7-27,21
81-7-27,264+
82-5-22,12+
82-5-22,22
82-5-22,23
82-5-22,24
82-5-22,25
83-1-18,598+
83-1-18,599
83-1-18,605
83-1-18,766

4.2
15.1
4.52
8
4.7
4.10
15.1
4.29
4.34
3.10*
3.4*
4.6
4.37
4.37
4.18
4.20
3.9*
16.11*
4.36
1.4
4.6
15.1
31
4.62
6
4.75
15.1
19
18.1*
15.15

48-11-4,281
51-9-29,9
55-10-3,1
78-8-28,1
79-7-8,2+
79-7-8,3
79-7-8,6
79-7-8,7
79-7-8,15
79-7-8,16
79-7-8,17
79-7-8,220+
79-7-8,288
79-7-8,302
79-7-8,305+
79-7-8,307
80-7-19,1
80-7-19,2
80-7-19,3
80-7-19,4
80-7-19,10
80-7-19,11
80-7-19,14
80-7-19,101
80-7-19,317

4.79
38.2
22.2
22.1*
15.7
15.16
22.3*
22.5
4.21
4.22
4.76
4.17
3.3
4.3
15.4
22.2*
4.1
4.4
4.5
22.7*
4.16
4.28
4.81
15.12
22.6*

Bu 89-4-26,39
Bu 89-4-26,41
Bu 89-4-26,74
Bu 89-4-26,137
Bu 89-4-26,138
Bu 89-4-26,139
Bu 89-4-26,140
Bu 89-4-26,141
Bu 89-4-26,142
Bu 89-4-26,145
Bu 89-4-26,149
Bu 89-4-26,170
Bu 89-4-26,175
Bu 89-4-26,177
Bu 91-5-9,32

1.6
16.7
4.77
4.53
4.61
4.59
1.8
4.44
16.22*
15.9
1.10
27.1
1.3
15.3
7

Ki 1902-5-10,1
Ki 1902-5-10,2
Ki 1904-10-9,75
Ki 1904-10-9,76
Ki 1904-10-9,77
Ki 1904-10-9,79
Ki 1904-10-9,109
Ki 1904-10-9,358
Ki 1904-10-9,360

1.2
21
1.9
4.27
4.80
4.63
16.25*
4.49
22.10*

Th 1905-4-9,64
Th 1905-4-9,65
Th 1905-4-9,66

4.13
4.30
3.8*

1909-2-13,1
1909-3-13,1
1910-10-8,142+
1910-10-8,144+
1910-10-8,145+

17.3
17.1
16.2
16.2
16.2

1910-10-8,146
1910-10-8,147+
1910-10-8,148+
1913-4-16,160a+
1915-4-10,1
1929-10-12,7+
1929-10-12,15+
1929-10-12,18+
1929-10-12,21
1929-10-12,24
1929-10-12,26
1929-10-12,493+
1929-10-12,501+
1929-10-12,544
1929-10-12,559+
1929-10-12,570+
1929-10-12,575
1929-10-12,585
1929-10-12,588+
1929-10-12,595
1929-10-12,606
1929-10-12,608+
1929-10-12,609+
1929-10-12,625+
1929-10-12,626+
1929-10-12,628+
1929-10-12,641+
1929-10-12,652+
1929-10-12,657+
1929-10-12,666+
1929-10-12,732+
1929-10-12,746+
1930-5-8,1
1930-5-8,9+
1932-12-10,355+
1932-12-10,358
1932-12-10,360
1932-12-10,361
1932-12-10,370
1932-12-10,371
1932-12-10,373
1932-12-10,374+
1932-12-10,375
1932-12-10,476+
1932-12-10,480+
1932-12-10,482+
1932-12-10,485+
1932-12-10,486+
1932-12-10,494+
1932-12-10,499
1932-12-10,502+
1932-12-10,522+
1932-12-10,528
1932-12-10,537+
1932-12-10,547+
1932-12-10,549+
1932-12-10,552+
1932-12-10,554+
1932-12-10,571+
1932-12-10,573+
1932-12-10,575+
1932-12-10,584
1932-12-10,590+
1932-12-10,668+
1932-12-12,427+
1932-12-12,444a

22.3
16.2
16.2
16.2
1.1
15.2
16.2*
16.1*
26
16.16*
27.3
16.1
18.1
12
18.1
18.1
16.19*
16.10
18.1
1.5
16.17*
15.7
16.1*
16.1
15.4
4.58
15.2
18.1
16.1
16.1
18.1
16.1
15.10
16.13*
2.1
4.26
4.51
11
16.6*
3.5*
4.47
4.58
4.64
16.1
16.1
16.1
18.1
18.1
18.1
13
15.2
18.1
16.9*
16.1
16.1
18.1
16.1
18.1
16.1
16.1
16.1
16.24*
18.1
16.1
18.1
23.2


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>RINAP 3</th>
<th>No.</th>
<th>RINAP 3</th>
<th>No.</th>
<th>RINAP 3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1932-12-12,446</td>
<td>4.32</td>
<td>K 1639</td>
<td>4.55</td>
<td>R 102</td>
<td>3.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1932-12-12,447</td>
<td>16.7*</td>
<td>K 1640</td>
<td>4.35</td>
<td>R 104</td>
<td>3.1*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1932-12-12,451</td>
<td>4.14</td>
<td>K 1641</td>
<td>4.15</td>
<td>R 105</td>
<td>16.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1932-12-12,452</td>
<td>3.6*</td>
<td>K 1642+</td>
<td>4.20</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1932-12-12,453+</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>K 1644+</td>
<td>4.17</td>
<td>Rm 25</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1932-12-12,464</td>
<td>16.18*</td>
<td>K 1645</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Rm 26</td>
<td>17.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1932-12-12,471+</td>
<td>18.1</td>
<td>K 1647</td>
<td>4.68</td>
<td>Rm 38</td>
<td>15.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1932-12-12,477+</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>K 1649</td>
<td>3.1*</td>
<td>Rm 952</td>
<td>4.31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1932-12-12,485+</td>
<td>18.1</td>
<td>K 1650</td>
<td>4.72</td>
<td>Rm 1003</td>
<td>16.4*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1932-12-12,487</td>
<td>4.54</td>
<td>K 1651</td>
<td>16.15*</td>
<td>Rm 1029</td>
<td>4.46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1932-12-12,505</td>
<td>16.9</td>
<td>K 1665</td>
<td>24.1*</td>
<td>Rm 1030</td>
<td>4.38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1932-12-12,510</td>
<td>4.73</td>
<td>K 1666</td>
<td>16.3</td>
<td>Rm 2,56</td>
<td>16.12*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1932-12-12,554</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>K 1674+</td>
<td>15.1</td>
<td>Rm 2,91</td>
<td>16.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1932-12-12,579</td>
<td>1.1*</td>
<td>K 1675</td>
<td>16.5</td>
<td>Rm 2,94+</td>
<td>16.33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1932-12-12,598</td>
<td>16.20*</td>
<td>K 1680</td>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>Rm 2,95+</td>
<td>2.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1932-12-12,601</td>
<td>4.78</td>
<td>K 1751</td>
<td>15.11</td>
<td>Rm 2,98</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1932-12-12,912</td>
<td>22.4*</td>
<td>K 1838</td>
<td>15.13</td>
<td>Rm 2,185</td>
<td>3.3*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1932-12-12,915+</td>
<td>16.1</td>
<td>K 8544</td>
<td>35.2</td>
<td>Rm 2,186</td>
<td>1.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DT 69</td>
<td>4.23</td>
<td>K 14959</td>
<td>1.2*</td>
<td>Sm 1026</td>
<td>22.5*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K 1634</td>
<td>24.1</td>
<td>K 15312</td>
<td>4.42</td>
<td>Sm 1894+</td>
<td>4.65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K 1635</td>
<td>10.1</td>
<td>K 19428</td>
<td>4.50</td>
<td>Sm 2029</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K 1636a</td>
<td>4.11</td>
<td>K 19861</td>
<td>18 commentary</td>
<td>Sm 2083</td>
<td>16.3*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K 1636b</td>
<td>4.39</td>
<td>K 20599</td>
<td>27.2</td>
<td>Sm 2093</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K 1637</td>
<td>4.12</td>
<td>K 20864</td>
<td>4.57</td>
<td>Sm 2123+</td>
<td>4.19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K 1638</td>
<td>4.71</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Moscow, Pushkin Museum**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>RINAP 3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I2b 837</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I2b 1502</td>
<td>17.1*</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**New Haven, Yale Babylonian Collection**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>RINAP 3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NBC 6057</td>
<td>3.2*</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>RINAP 3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>MMA 86.11.197</td>
<td>4.40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Location</td>
<td>Details</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------------------</td>
<td>------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Paris, École Pratique des Hautes Études, IVe Section</strong></td>
<td>No. RINAP 3 EHE 322 4.24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Rome, Vatican</strong></td>
<td>No. RINAP 3 — 16.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Sulaimaniya, Sulaimaniya Museum</strong></td>
<td>No. RINAP 3 SM 409 22.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>PRIVATE COLLECTIONS</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>New York (L.H. Seelye)</strong></td>
<td>16.8&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Unknown (name of owner not known)</strong></td>
<td>4.43 4.45 14</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
This page intentionally left blank.
# Index of Excavation Numbers

## Aššur

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>RINAP 3</th>
<th>No.</th>
<th>RINAP 3</th>
<th>No.</th>
<th>RINAP 3</th>
<th>No.</th>
<th>RINAP 3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ass 1248</td>
<td>4.25</td>
<td>Ass 6673</td>
<td>16.29*</td>
<td>Ass 9858</td>
<td>4.83</td>
<td>Ass 15773</td>
<td>3.7*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ass 1261</td>
<td>4.74</td>
<td>Ass 6694</td>
<td>16.28*</td>
<td>Ass 11398</td>
<td>4.84</td>
<td>Ass 15806</td>
<td>3.12*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ass 2448</td>
<td>4.85</td>
<td>Ass 6724</td>
<td>16.32*</td>
<td>Ass 11594</td>
<td>3.11*</td>
<td>Ass 17180</td>
<td>4.48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ass 5040</td>
<td>4.9</td>
<td>Ass 7157</td>
<td>4.56</td>
<td>Ass 14561a–h</td>
<td>15.17</td>
<td>Ass 19923</td>
<td>16.23*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ass 5405</td>
<td>4.82</td>
<td>Ass 8532</td>
<td>4.70</td>
<td>Ass 15211</td>
<td>16.30*</td>
<td>Ass 20635</td>
<td>15.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ass 5456</td>
<td>4.86</td>
<td>Ass 8578+</td>
<td>4.69</td>
<td>Ass 15222</td>
<td>4.67</td>
<td>Ass 22079a</td>
<td>16.31*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ass 6643</td>
<td>15.14</td>
<td>Ass 8722+</td>
<td>4.69</td>
<td>Ass 15625</td>
<td>4.87</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## Nimrud

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>RINAP 3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ND 5414</td>
<td>16.14*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ND 5416</td>
<td>16.27*</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## Nineveh

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>RINAP 3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NIN/89/10</td>
<td>27.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TM 1931-2,1+</td>
<td>18.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TM 1931-2,2+</td>
<td>18.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TM 1931-2,3</td>
<td>18.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TM 1931-2,8</td>
<td>2.1a</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
This page intentionally left blank.
Index of Names

Personal Names

Abdi-Lī’ti: 4 36, 16 iii 17; 17 ii 77; 22 ii 52; 23 ii 49.
Adinu: 1 28.
Ashurnasirpal II: 36 rev. 5’.
Aššur-bēl-uṣur: 16 viii 75A; 17 v 1.
Aššur-nādin-šumi: 15 v 5; 16 iv 65; 17 iv 13; 18 iii 28’; 22
ii 72; 23 iii 63.
Aya-rammu: 4 37; 16 iii 22; 17 ii 82; 22 ii 57; 23 ii 54.
Bēsaqānu: 1 28.
Bēl-ēmranni: 18 viii 24”’; 22 vi 84B; 23 vi 60A.
Bēl-ibni: 1 54; 2 13; 3 13; 4 11; 8 11.
Bēl-štarrāni: 5 3”; 8 21”.
Būdī-īl: 4 37; 16 iii 20; 17 ii 80; 22 ii 55; 23 ii 52.
Gaḥal: See Gaḥul.
Gaḥīlu: 22 vi 84A.
Gaḥul (Gaḥal): 34 28; 35 obv. 8”.
Gurdī: 17 v 4.
Hazel: 35 rev. 54”.
Hezekiah: 4 42, 49, 55; 15 iii 11’; iv 6; 16 iii 43, 74, iv 22;
17 iii 8, 38, 66; 18 iii 15; 19 i’ 3”; 22 ii 76, 18 ii, 37; 23 iii
71, iii 16, 33; 26 i 13”; 34 15.
Ḫūman-menanu: See Umman-menanu.
Ḫūman-undaša: 18 v 31”; 22 v 82; 23 v 71.
Iati’e: 1 28.
Ilu-issiyā: 17 vii 88.
Imbappa: 1 8.
Išpaḇāra: 2 27; 3 27; 4 25; 15 ii 6”; 16 ii 41; 17 ii 23; 22 ii
12; 23 ii 10.
Kammūsu-nadbi: 4 37; 16 iii 21; 17 ii 81; 22 ii 56; 23 ii 53.
Kīrua: 17 iv 62, 82, 86.
Kudur-Ḫuḫuntu (Kudur-Ḫuḫhunte): 18 iv 2””; 22 v 1, v
12; 23 iv 72, v 4.
Lullī: 4 32; 15 iii 2; 16 ii 78; 17 ii 59; 22 ii 38; 23 iii 36; 26 i
9”; 34 13.
Maniye: 16 v 12, v 23; 17 iv 39, iv 52; 18 iv 5; 19 ii’ 7”; 22
iv 13, 23; 23 iv 8, 18.
Marduk-apla-iddina II (Merodach-baladan): 1 6, 20, 25,
28, 30; 2 5; 3 5; 4 5; 8 5; 9 5; 15 iv 26’; 16 ii 28, iv 51; 17 i
23, iii 94; 18 iii 12’, vi 9’; 21 ii’ 2”; 22 i 20, iii 59, iv 46, vi
17; 23 i 18, iii 51, v 38; 24 i 19; 25 i’ 3’; 34 6, 27, 50; 35
obv. 4’; 35 rev. 47”.
Marduk-nādin-aḫḫē: 24 vi 2”.
Merodach-baladan: See Marduk-apla-iddina II.
Min(u)ḥimmu: 4 36; 16 iii 15; 17 ii 75; 22 ii 50; 23 ii 47.
Mitinti: 4 37, 53; 15 iv 23; 16 iii 19, iv 15; 17 ii 79, iii 59; 22
ii 54, iii 32; 23 ii 51, iii 28.
Mitūnu: 4 95.
Mušēzib-Marduk: See Šūzubu (Mušēzib-Marduk).
Nabū-bēl-šumāti: 1 57; 2 17; 3 17; 4 15; 5 15; 15 i 36’; 16 i
76; 17 i 65; 18 i 1’”; 22 i 54; 23 i 48.
Nabū-dūri-uṣur: 15 vii 30A”’; 30B”’; 29C”; 30D’”.
Nabū-kēnu-uṣur: 37 rev. 12”.
Nabū-lē’i: 2 72; 3 64.
Nabū-šuma-išku: 18 vi 8”; 22 vi 16; 25 i’ 2”; 34 50; 35
rev. 47”.
Nergal-nāšir: 1 8, 17, 24.
Nergal-ušēzib: See Šūzubu (Nergal-ušēzib).
Padi: 4 42, 48, 53; 15 iii 9”; iv 1, 24; 16 iii 41, 69, iv 16; 17 iii
6, 33, 60; 18 iii 10; 22 ii 74, iii 14, 33; 23 ii 70, iii 12, 29.
Rūkībutu: 4 40; 16 iii 31; 17 ii 92; 18 ii 5”; 22 ii 65; 23 ii 61;
29 i’ 3’.
Sennacherib: 1 1, 16, 70; 2 1, 41; 3 1, 41; 4 1, 68; 5 1; 8 1; 8
1; 9 1; 10 1, 29; 11 1; 12 1; 13 1; 15 1 i, v 39; 16 i 1, v 62;
17 i 1, v 48, vi 89, vii 76, 78; 18 vii 18”; 22 i 1; 23 i 1; 24 i
1; 27 i 1; 34 1; 36 obv. 17; 37 rev. 1; 38 1.
Ṣiddāq: 4 39, 41; 15 iii 5”; 16 iii 26, 37; 17 ii 87, iii 2; 18 ii 0”’;
12”; 22 ii 60, 71, iii 57, 67; 29 i’ 9’.
Ṣillī-Bēl: 4 53; 15 iv 25; 16 iv 17; 17 iii 61; 22 iii 33; 23 iii
30.
Šarru-lū-dāri: 4 40; 16 iii 31; 17 ii 92; 18 ii 5”; 22 ii 65; 23 ii
61; 29 i’ 3’.
Šulmu-Bēl: 16 viii 75B, 17 iv 61.
Šutur-Ḫuḫunu (Šutruk-Ḫuḫhunte) II: 1 7.
Šūzubu (Mušēzib-Marduk): 15 iv 19’; 16 iv 42; 17 iii 86;
18 iii 5”; 22 iii 53, v 17, 20, 54; 23 iii 45, v 9, 12, 45;
Šūzubu (Nergal-ušēzib): 22 iv 46; 23 iv 40; 34 28, 34; 35
obv. 8”, 13”.
Tannānu: 1 8, 27.
T’elḫunu: 35 rev. 53”, 5”’.
Tiglath-pileser I: 24 vi 3’.
Tu-Ba’lu: 4 35, 36; 15 iii 15; 16 iii 12, 16; 17 ii 70, 76; 22 ii
47, 51; 23 ii 44, 48; 26 i 10”; 34 14.
Tukulti-Ninurta II: 36 rev. 6’.
Umman-menanu (Ḫūman-menanu): 22 v 14, v 33, vi
24; 23 v 7, v 25, vi 20; 25 i’ 11’.
Ūru-Milkī: 4 36; 16 iii 18; 17 ii 78; 22 ii 53; 23 ii 50.9”.
[...]: 23 608.
Geographic, Ethnic, and Tribal Names

Acco: 4 33; 15 iii 10; 16 iii 7; 17 ii 65; 22 ii 43; 23 ii 41.
Adummatu: 35 rev. 56’, 57’.
Aḥuḍu: 1 42.
Akkabaranā: 18 iv 28’; 22 iv 68; 23 iv 60.
Akkad: 1 9, 54; 2 13; 3 13; 4 11; 8 11; 15 v 8; 16 iv 68; 17 iv 16; 22 iii 74, iv 48, v 30, 53; 23 iii 65, iv 41, v 22, 43; 24 vi 2’.
Akkuddu: 2 28; 23 3; 4 26; 15 ii 9’; 16 ii 46; 17 ii 27; 18 ii 4’; 22 ii 16; 23 ii 14.
Akzibu: 1 33; 15 iii 10; 16 iii 7; 17 ii 65; 22 ii 43; 23 ii 41.
Allallu: 1 38.
Ālum-labīr: 18 viii 7’.
Ālum-ša-Bēlet-bītī: 18 iv 36’; 22 iv 74; 23 iv 66.
Amanu: 1 80, 87; 2 57, 64; 3 57; 4 85; 15 vi 48, vii 10; 16 vi 59, vii 17; 17 vi 24, vii 27, 53; 22 vi 59; 34 70.
Amatu: 1 56.
Amunanā: 17 vi 56.
Ammonite (Bit-Ammon): 4 37; 16 iii 20; 17 ii 80; 22 ii 55; 23 ii 52.
Amurrū: 1 82; 2 59; 4 38; 15 vi 58; 16 iii 23, vii 70; 17 ii 83; 22 ii 58; 23 ii 55; 34 68.
Anara: 16 vi 17; 17 iv 45; 19 ii 2’; 22 iv 18; 23 iv 13.
Anzan: 22 v 44; 23 v 35; 34 44; 35 rev. 40’.
Aquqar-ša-kina: 1 46.
Arabs: 1 28; 35 rev. 53’, 5’.
Araḫtu: 24 vi 10’.
Aramean(s): 1 14, 17, 24, 25, 52, 56, 71; 2 12, 15, 42; 3 12, 15, 42; 4 10, 13, 69; 8 10, 13; 9 11, 13; 15 i 16’, 30’, 43; 16 i 54, 68, v 66; 17 i 45, 59, v 52; 22 i 39, 49, v 22; 23 i 35, 44, v 14; 34 7, 45; 35 rev. 41’.
Arbeqa: 2 72; 3 64.
Arrapha: 2 26; 3 26; 4 24; 16 ii 34; 17 ii 17; 22 ii 6; 23 ii 5.
Arwed, gen.: 4 36; 16 iii 17; 17 ii 77; 22 ii 52; 23 ii 49.
Ashdod: 4 53; 15 iv 23; 16 iv 15; 17 iii 59; 22 iii 32; 23 iii 29.
Ashdod, gen.: 4 37; 16 iii 19; 17 ii 79; 22 ii 54; 23 ii 51.
Ashkelon: 4 39, 40; 16 iii 27, 32; 17 ii 87, 93; 18 ii 1’’, 7’’; 22 ii 61, 66; 23 ii 58, 62; 29 i 4’.
Assyria: 1 1, 5, 59, 60, 66, 70, 92; 2 1, 16, 19, 31, 37, 41, 69; 3 1, 16, 19, 31, 37, 41; 4 1, 14, 17, 28, 39, 42, 64, 68; 5 1; 8 1, 14; 9 1; 10 1, 20; 11 1, 5, 6; 12 1, 5, 6; 13 1, 5, 6; 15 ii 2, 35’’, ii 9, 23’, iii 10’, v 29, 40, vii 10’’; 16 i 3, 74, ii 4, 59, iii 30, 42, v 52, 63, viii 54; 17 i 3, 64, 76, vii 41, 91, iii 7, v 36, 49, vii 67; 18 i 13’’, ii 18’, 4’, iv 3’, 10’, 15’, vi 5’’, viii 26’’; 22 i 2, 53, 63, ii 26, 64, 75, iv 44, 51, 56, 60, vi 55; 23 ii 1, 47, 58, ii 24, 60, 70, iv 37, 44, 49, 52; 24 ii 3, ii 27 i 5; 29 i 3’; 34 i 26, 44, 65; 35 obv. 3’, 24’; 36 rev. 5’, 6’; 37 obv. 23; 38 3, 8.
Aššur: See Baltīd and Inner City.
Azuru: 4 41; 15 iii 4’; 16 iii 37; 17 iii 2; 18 ii 12’’; 22 ii 70; 23 ii 66; 29 i 9’.
Babylon: 1 15, 16, 30; 2 8; 3 8; 4 7; 8 7; 9 7; 15 i 1’; 16 i 38; 17 i 32; 22 i 28, iv 47, v 18, 36, 53, 54, vi 25; 23 i 25, iv 40, v 10, 27, 44, 45, vi 20; 24 vi 4’, 5’; 25 i 12’; 34 28, 34, 46, 53, 89; 35 obv. 7’, 14’, rev. 34’, 42’, 50’.
Babylonia: See Karduniššā.
Divine, Planet, and Star Names

Adad: 10 3; 11 3; 12 3; 13 3; 15 vii 11’; 16 vii 55; 17 vii 87; 18 v 22’, vii 25’; 22 v 75; 23 v 64; 24 vi 1’; 36 obv. 7. See also Adad Gate.

Amurriqānu: See Igisigisig.

Anu: 10 3; 11 3; 12 3; 13 3; 18 vii 35’; 36 obv. 2.


Aya: 36 rev. 4’.

Bēl (Marduk): 18 v 6’; 22 v 32, v 63; 23 v 24, v 53.

Bēlet-balāti: 34 32.

Bēlet-lī: 11 4; 12 4, 13 3.

Ea: 15 vii 19’; 16 vii 63; 17 vii 94; 18 vii 29’; 36 obv. 2.

Enlil: 1 66; 2 37; 3 37; 4 64; 15 v 30; 16 v 53, vii 44; 17 v 37, vii 77; 18 vi 6’’; vii 17’; 36 obv. 2, 12.

Erra: 15 vii 13’; 16 vii 57; 17 vii 89; 18 vii 26’.

Ḥaya: 10 11, 16, 19.

Igisigisg (Amurriqānu): 15 vii 15’; 16 vii 59; 18 vii 31’.

Ištar: 1 63; 2 34, 44; 3 34, 44; 4 61, 71, 77, 78; 5 2’; 7 8’; 10 3, 26; 11 3; 12 3; 13 3; 15 v 19, 50, vi 13, 16, 22, vii 2’, vii 27’; 16 v 42, 74, vi 30, 33, 41, vii 46, vii 72; 17 v 24, vi 47, vii 86; 18 vii 22’’; 22 vi 74, 79; 23 vi 54, 59; 36 obv. 13; 38 5.

Ištar of Arbela: 18 v 7’; 22 v 64; 23 v 54.

Ištar of Nineveh: 18 v 7’; 22 v 64; 23 v 54.

Kaššitu: 34 32.

Kurunnam: 34 32.

Lady of Nineveh: 36 rev. 5’.

Lady of the Rēš-Temple: 34 31.

Lady of Uruk: 34 31; 35 obv. 12’.

Mullissu: 34 91. See also Mullissu Gate.

Nabū: 18 v 6’; 22 v 63; 23 v 53; 36 obv. 10.

Nanāya: 34 31.

Nannāru: See “The Divine Nannāru Is the One Who Protects My Lordly Crown” (gate name).

Nergal: 10 3; 11 3; 12 3; 13 3; 17 vii 90; 18 v 7’; 22 v 63; 23 v 53.

Ninagal: 1 83; 2 60; 15 vi 63; 16 vi 76.

Ningal: 36 rev. 4’.

Ninkura: 17 vi 77.

Niššiku: 17 vii 2; 34 77.

Ninurta: 36 obv. 12.

Paili: 34 32.


Sīn: 10 3; 11 3; 12 3; 13 3; 18 v 6’; 22 v 63; 23 v 53; 36 obv. 3, rev. 4’. See also Sīn Gate.

Ṣala: 24 vi 1’.

Šamaš: 10 3; 11 3; 12 3; 13 3; 18 v 6’; 22 v 63; 23 v 53; 35 obv. 11’; 36 obv. 5, 9, rev. 4’. See also Šamaš Gate.

Šamaš of Larsa: 34 31.

Šarur: See “The God Šarur Is the One Who Cuts Down the King’s Enemy” (gate name).

Usur-amāssa: 34 32.

Wagon Constellation: See “Make Sennacherib’s Reign as Firm as the Position of the Wagon Constellation” (gate name).

Zababa: See Zababa Gate.

Zarpanitu: 22 v 32; 23 v 24.

Gate, Palace, and Temple Names

Adad Gate: See “The God Adad Is the Provider of Prosperity to the Land.”

Armory Gate: See “The One Who Regulates Everything.”

Aššur Gate: See “May the Vice-Regent of the God Aššur Endure” and “May the Vice-Regent of the God Aššur Stay in Good Health.”


Badnigermühulヌ (“Wall, Terrorizer of Enemies”): 8 12’; 15 vii 24’; 16 vii 70; 17 vii 6–7’; 18 vii 41’.

“The Bearer of the Produce of the Mountains”: 15 vii 7’; 16 vii 51; 17 vii 83; 18 vii 22’.

Bit-Kidmuri: 2 44; 3 44; 4 71; 10 4; 11 3; 12 3; 13 3; 15 v 51; 16 v 76.

“The Chieftain of Grain and Flocks Are Constantly Inside It”: 15 vii 5–6’; 16 vii 49–50; 17 vii 81; 18 vii 21’.

Citadel Gate: 4 90; 7 4’; 8 16’; 15 vii 0’; 16 vii 85; 35 obv. 15.

Desert Gate: See “The Presents of the People of Sumu’el and Têma Enter Through It” and “The Presents of the People of Têma and Sumu’el Enter Through It.”


“The Divine Nannāru Is the One Who Protects My Lordly Crown” (Sīn Gate): 17 vii 91.

Egalzagadnutukua (Egalzagdunutukua; “Palace Without a Rival”): 1 79; 2 56, 3 56; 4 84; 15 vi 45; 16 vi 56; 17 vii 51.

Emašmaš: 11 5; 12 5; 13 4.

Esagil: 22 v 31; 23 v 23; 35 rev. 33’.

Elahulezamgukam (“The House of Joy and Gladness for the Festival of the Beginning of the Year”): 37 rev. 4’.

Ešarrā (more accurately Ešara): 11 4; 12 4; 13 4.

Gate of the Gardens: 38 23. See also “The God Igisigisg Is the One Who Makes Orchards Flourish.”

“The God Anu is the Protector of My Life”: 18 vii 35–36.


“The God Erra Is the One Who Cuts Down (My) Enemies” (Nergal Gate): 15 vii 13–14; 16 vii 57–58; 18 vii 26–27. See also Nergal Gate.

“The God Erra Is the One Who Slaughters Those Hostile to Me” (Nergal Gate): 17 vii 89. See also Nergal Gate.


“House of Joy and Gladness for the Festival of the Beginning of the Year”: See Eṣaḫulezenzagmukam.

“Make Sennacherib’s Reign as Firm as the Position of the Wagon Constellation” (Mullissu Gate): 17 vii 79; 18 vii 31–32.

Mašqû Gate: See “The God Ea Is the One Who Properly Regulates (Water Flow into) My Cisterns.”

“May Its Builder Endure” (Step Gate of the Palace): 18 vii 31.

“May Its Builder Live Forever” (Step Gate of the Armory): 18 vii 34–35.


“May the Vice-Regent of the God Aššur Stay in Good Health” (Aššur Gate): 17 vii 74.

Mullissu Gate: See “Make Sennacherib’s Reign as Firm as the Position of the Wagon Constellation” and “O Ištar Bless Your Provider.”

Nergal Gate: 37 rev. 2. See also “The God Erra Is the One Who Slaughters Those Hostile to Me” and “The God Erra Is the One Who Cuts Down (My) Enemies.”

“O Ištar Bless Your Provider” (Mullissu Gate): 15 vii 2–3; 16 vii 46–47.

“The One Who Brings in Income from the Settlements” (Quay Gate): 15 vii 20; 16 vii 65–66; 17 vii 95; 18 vii 33–34.

“The One Who Exorcises Asakku-Demon(s)” (Step Gate): 15 vii 4; 16 vii 48; 17 vii 80; 18 vii 20.

“The One Who Flattens All Enemies” (Sennacherib Gate): 16 vii 42–43; 17 vii 75–76; 18 vii 15–16.


“Palace Without a Rival”: See Egalzagdinutukua.

“The Presents of the People of Sumu-el and Tēma Enter Through It” (Desert Gate): 17 vii 96–viii 1.

“The Presents of the People of Tēma and Sumu’el Enter Through It” (Desert Gate): 18 vii 37–38.

Quay Gate: See “The One Who Brings in Income from the Settlements.”

Rear Palace: 22 vii 39; 23 vii 31; 34 55; 35 rev. 10.

Sennacherib Gate: See “The One Who Flattens All Enemies.”


Step Gate: See “The One Who Exorcises Asakku-Demon(s).”

Step Gate of the Armory: See “May Its Builder Live Forever.”

Step Gate of the Gardens: See “The God Igisigsig Is the One Who Makes Orchards Flourish.”

Step Gate of the Palace: See “May Its Builder Endure.”

Šama Gate: See “The God Enlil Is the One Who Makes My Reign Firm.”

“Wall, Terrorizer of Enemies”: See Badnigerimḫuluḫa.

“Wall Whose Brilliance Overwhelms Enemies”: See Badnigalblukurāšu.

Zababa Gate: 1 21.
This page intentionally left blank.
## Concordances of Selected Publications

### Cogan, COS 2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>P.</th>
<th>RINAP 3</th>
<th>P.</th>
<th>RINAP 3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>300–302</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>302–303</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Cogan, Raging Torrent

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>P.</th>
<th>No.</th>
<th>RINAP 3</th>
<th>P.</th>
<th>No.</th>
<th>RINAP 3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>111–123</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>127–129</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>15, 16</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Frahm, KAL 3

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>P.</th>
<th>No.</th>
<th>RINAP 3</th>
<th>P.</th>
<th>No.</th>
<th>RINAP 3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>76–78</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>1.11</td>
<td>221</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>1.11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>79</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>3.7*</td>
<td>222</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>3.7*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>79–80</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>4.60</td>
<td>223</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>4.60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>80</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>4.67</td>
<td>223</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>4.67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>81</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>16.23*</td>
<td>224</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>16.23*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>81–82</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>15.6</td>
<td>224</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>15.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>82–84</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>16.30*</td>
<td>225</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>16.30*</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Frahm, Sanherib

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>P.</th>
<th>No.</th>
<th>RINAP 3</th>
<th>P.</th>
<th>No.</th>
<th>RINAP 3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>42–45</td>
<td>T 1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>102</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45–46</td>
<td>T 2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>102–105</td>
<td>T 16</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46–47</td>
<td>T 3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>105–106</td>
<td>T 17</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>47–61</td>
<td>T 4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>106–107</td>
<td>T 18</td>
<td>24–25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>61</td>
<td>T 5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>107–108</td>
<td>T 19</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>61–62</td>
<td>T 6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>108–109</td>
<td>T 20</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>61–62</td>
<td>T 7</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>109</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>28–33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>61–64</td>
<td>T 8</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>110–111</td>
<td>T 21</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>64–65</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>111</td>
<td>T 22</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65–66</td>
<td>T 9</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>111</td>
<td>T 23</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>66–87</td>
<td>T 10</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>111</td>
<td>T 24</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>68–87</td>
<td>T 11</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>128–129</td>
<td>T 61</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>87–89</td>
<td>T 12</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>129–136</td>
<td>T 62</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>89–101</td>
<td>T 13</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>136–137</td>
<td>T 63</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>101–102</td>
<td>T 14</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>137–138</td>
<td>T 64</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>102</td>
<td>T 15</td>
<td>20</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

265
### Concordance of Selected Publications

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pl.</th>
<th>RINAP 3</th>
<th>Pl.</th>
<th>RINAP 3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I 7–8</td>
<td></td>
<td>V 20</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II–III 18.1b, d, e, h</td>
<td>VI 35.2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Luckenbill, ARAB 2**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>P.</th>
<th>RINAP 3</th>
<th>P.</th>
<th>RINAP 3</th>
<th>P.</th>
<th>RINAP 3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>136–137 §§283–284a</td>
<td>4.1–4</td>
<td>165 §§379–381</td>
<td>4.1–4</td>
<td>222–223 §§569–570</td>
<td>35.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Luckenbill, Senn.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>P.</th>
<th>No.</th>
<th>RINAP 3</th>
<th>P.</th>
<th>No.</th>
<th>RINAP 3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>20–21</td>
<td>A1–C5, D2–E1, H1–H2, H4–H5, I8, I30</td>
<td>1.1; 3.1; 4.1–4, 9; 16.3, 5; 17.1; 22.1–2; 24.1*; 34; 35.1; 38.1–22</td>
<td>94–98</td>
<td>A1 (B1, C1–4)</td>
<td>1.1 (2.1; 4.1–4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>48–55</td>
<td>A1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>111 n. 1</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>16.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55–60</td>
<td>B1</td>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>128–131</td>
<td>H1–2</td>
<td>22.1–2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60–61</td>
<td>C1 (C2–4)</td>
<td>4.1 (4.2–4)</td>
<td>131–134</td>
<td>H4</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>61–63</td>
<td>E1</td>
<td>17.1</td>
<td>147–148</td>
<td>B1</td>
<td>10.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>85–89</td>
<td>H4</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>152–153</td>
<td>I30</td>
<td>38.1–2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>89–93</td>
<td>H5</td>
<td>35.1</td>
<td>163–187</td>
<td>H2</td>
<td>22.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Oppenheim, ANET³**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>P.</th>
<th>RINAP 3</th>
<th>P.</th>
<th>RINAP 3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>287–288</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>288</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Thompson, Iraq 7 (1940)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>P.</th>
<th>No.</th>
<th>RINAP 3</th>
<th>P.</th>
<th>No.</th>
<th>RINAP 3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>89–93</td>
<td>2–3</td>
<td>18.1d</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2.1a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>93–94</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>18.1h</td>
<td>94–95</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>94</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Vera Chamaza, Omnipotenz

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>P.</th>
<th>No.</th>
<th>RINAP 3</th>
<th>P.</th>
<th>No.</th>
<th>RINAP 3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>298–300</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>312</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>300</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>329</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>305</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>329–330</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>311–312</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>354–356</td>
<td>105</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>312</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>22</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>