

THE ROYAL INSCRIPTIONS OF ASHURBANIPAL  
(668–631 BC), AŠŠUR-ETEL-ILĀNI (630–627 BC),  
AND SÎN-ŠARRA-IŠKUN (626–612 BC),  
KINGS OF ASSYRIA, PART 1

# THE ROYAL INSCRIPTIONS OF THE NEO-ASSYRIAN PERIOD

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VOLUME 5/1

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Aššur-etel-ilāni (630–627 BC),  
and Sîn-šarra-iškun (626–612 BC),  
Kings of Assyria, Part 1

JAMIE NOVOTNY and JOSHUA JEFFERS

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To Erle Verdun Leichy<sup>†</sup>



# Contents

Detailed Table of Contents . . . . .	ix
List of Figures . . . . .	xi
Contents of Scores . . . . .	xiii
Foreword . . . . .	xv
Preface . . . . .	xvii
Editorial Notes . . . . .	xxi
Bibliographical Abbreviations . . . . .	xxiii
Other Abbreviations . . . . .	xxxii
Object Signatures . . . . .	xxxiii
Introduction . . . . .	1
<b>I. Assyria</b>	
Clay Prisms — Nos. 1–20 . . . . .	37
Clay Cylinders — No. 21 . . . . .	290
Undecorated Stone Slabs — Nos. 22–23 . . . . .	292
Epigraphs on Stone Slabs — Nos. 24–58 . . . . .	311
Paving Stones — Nos. 59–60 . . . . .	349
Stone Tablet — No. 61 . . . . .	354
Lapis Lazuli Tablet — No. 62 . . . . .	356
Statue — No. 63 . . . . .	358
Bull Colossus and Slab — No. 64 . . . . .	359
Seal Impressions — Nos. 65–67 . . . . .	360
Stone Vessels — Nos. 68–70 . . . . .	362
Glazed Brick — No. 71 . . . . .	366
Minor Variants and Comments . . . . .	369
Index of Museum Numbers . . . . .	395
Index of Excavation Numbers . . . . .	407
Index of Names . . . . .	409
Concordances of Selected Publications . . . . .	419
Concordances of RINAP 5-BIWA Line Numbers . . . . .	425
Scores of Inscriptions (on Oracc) . . . . .	1–876
(the pdf of the scores is available at <a href="http://oracc.museum.upenn.edu/rinap/scores/">http://oracc.museum.upenn.edu/rinap/scores/</a> )	





# Detailed Table of Contents

Introduction . . . . .	1
<b>I. Assyria</b>	
Clay Prisms	
Nos. 1–2 Introduction . . . . .	37
No. 1 — Prism E <sub>1</sub> . . . . .	37
No. 2 — Prism E <sub>2</sub> . . . . .	42
No. 3 — Prism B . . . . .	51
No. 4 — Prism D . . . . .	80
No. 5 — Prism I . . . . .	101
No. 6 — Prism C . . . . .	107
No. 7 — Prism Kh . . . . .	136
No. 8 — Prism G . . . . .	165
No. 9 — Prism F . . . . .	179
No. 10 — Prism T . . . . .	209
No. 11 — Prism A . . . . .	222
No. 12 — Prism H . . . . .	265
No. 13 — Prism J . . . . .	271
No. 14 — 82-5-22,2 . . . . .	278
No. 15 — 82-5-22,21//BM 128302 + BM 128311 . . . . .	280
No. 16 — 66-5-19,1 . . . . .	282
No. 17 — BM 127994 . . . . .	284
No. 18 — BM 121080 + BM 121108 . . . . .	286
No. 19 — BM 128244 . . . . .	287
No. 20 — DT 145//BM 134609 . . . . .	288
Clay Cylinders	
No. 21 — BM 122616 + BM 127966 (+) BM 128073 . . . . .	290
Undecorated Stone Slabs	
No. 22 — HMA 9-1773 (+) VA 4332 (+) MMA 86.11.413 (+) HMA 9-1774 . . . . .	292
No. 23 — Inscription from the Ištar Temple . . . . .	296
Epigraphs on Stone Slabs	
Nos. 24–58 Introduction . . . . .	311
No. 24 — R 1 pl. 8 no. 1 . . . . .	312
No. 25 — BM 124801a–c (Til-Tūba) . . . . .	314
No. 26 — BM 124801a–c (Til-Tūba) . . . . .	316
No. 27 — BM 124801a–c (Til-Tūba) . . . . .	317
No. 28 — BM 124801a–c (Til-Tūba) . . . . .	318
No. 29 — BM 124941 . . . . .	319
No. 30 — Add. MS 38981 . . . . .	320
No. 31 — EŞ 6332 . . . . .	321

No. 32 — BM 135122 . . . . .	322
No. 33 — BM 124801a-c (Til-Tūba) . . . . .	323
No. 34 — BM 124801a-c (Til-Tūba) . . . . .	324
No. 35 — BM 124801a-c (Til-Tūba) . . . . .	325
No. 36 — BM 124801a-c (Til-Tūba) . . . . .	326
No. 37 — AO 19914 . . . . .	327
No. 38 — BM 124945-6 . . . . .	328
No. 39 — BM 124924 . . . . .	330
No. 40 — BM 124931 . . . . .	331
No. 41 — BM 124919 + BM 134386 . . . . .	331
No. 42 — VAT 14985 + VAT 14996 . . . . .	333
No. 43 — Or. Dr. 5 no. 31 . . . . .	334
No. 44 — AO 19905 . . . . .	334
No. 45 — Garstang Museum fragment . . . . .	335
No. 46 — AO 19905 . . . . .	336
No. 47 — AO 19904 . . . . .	337
No. 48 — Or. Dr. 7 no. 6 . . . . .	338
No. 49 — BM 124793 . . . . .	338
No. 50 — BM 124794 . . . . .	340
No. 51 — Loftus Notebook A . . . . .	341
No. 52 — Loftus Notebook B . . . . .	342
No. 53 — Civico Museo fragment . . . . .	343
No. 54 — Or. Dr. 5 no. 3 (lion hunt) . . . . .	344
No. 55 — Or. Dr. 5 no. 4 (lion hunt) . . . . .	345
No. 56 — AO 19903 (lion hunt) . . . . .	346
No. 57 — BM 124886 (lion hunt) . . . . .	347
No. 58 — BM 124886 (lion hunt) . . . . .	348
<b>Paving Stones</b>	
No. 59 — Nabû Inscription . . . . .	349
No. 60 — Mullissu Inscription . . . . .	352
<b>Stone Tablet</b>	
No. 61 — EŞ 6699 . . . . .	354
<b>Lapis Lazuli Tablet</b>	
No. 62 — BM 98865 . . . . .	356
<b>Statue</b>	
No. 63 — BM 136973 . . . . .	358
<b>Bull Colossus and Slab</b>	
No. 64 — Nebi Yunus Bull and Slab . . . . .	359
<b>Seal Impressions</b>	
No. 65 — Seals 1-2 . . . . .	360
No. 66 — Seal 3 . . . . .	361
No. 67 — Seal 4 . . . . .	362
<b>Stone Vessels</b>	
No. 68 — 81-7-27,177 // Ass 189 . . . . .	362
No. 69 — BM 135453 . . . . .	364
No. 70 — BM 118766 . . . . .	366
<b>Glazed Brick</b>	
No. 71 — BM 122095 . . . . .	366

# List of Figures

Figure 1. A 7920 + A 8138 (text no. 1 ex. 2), a fragment of Ashurbanipal Prism E <sub>1</sub> that preserves part of a report recording the voluntary submission of the Lydian king Gyges . . . . .	40
Figure 2. K 1828 (text no. 2 ex. 1*), a fragment of Ashurbanipal Prism E <sub>1</sub> or Prism E <sub>2</sub> that records Ashurbanipal's first Egyptian campaign . . . . .	45
Figure 3. BM 127923 + BM 128324 (text no. 2 ex. 2), a fragment of Ashurbanipal Prism E <sub>2</sub> containing part of one of the earliest reports of how the Lydian ruler Gyges became Ashurbanipal's vassal . . . . .	46
Figure 4. Rm 3 (text no. 6 ex. 2a), a fragment of a ten-sided prism containing a version of Ashurbanipal's annals written in 647, the year following the fall of Babylon . . . . .	112
Figure 5. K 1705 (text no. 6 ex. 2b), a fragment of a ten-sided prism. This inscription is the earliest of Ashurbanipal's annals to record the capture of Babylon after a siege of just over two years . . . . .	113
Figure 6. Cols. vi and i–ii of AO 19939 (text no. 9 ex. 1), a six-sided prism inscribed with an annalistic text of Ashurbanipal recording his victories on the battlefield, including the sack of the Elamite city Susa in 646 . . . . .	180
Figure 7. Cols. iii–v of AO 19939 (text no. 9 ex. 1). This face (col. iv) of the prism records some details about Ashurbanipal's campaign against the Elamite king Ummanaldašu (Ḫuban-haltaš III) . . . . .	181
Figure 8. A 8087 (text no. 9 ex. 49a), a fragment of a vertical cylinder inscribed with a copy of Ashurbanipal Prism F . . . . .	191
Figure 9. Cols. ii–iv of BM 121006 + 127889 (text no. 10 ex. 1), a six-sided prism of Ashurbanipal that describes numerous building activities of his in Assyria and Babylonia, as well as his second war against the Elamite king Ummanaldašu . . . . .	213
Figure 10. Cols. iv–vi of BM 121006 + 127889 (text no. 10 ex. 1). This face (col. v) of the so-called Thompson Prism (Prism T) describes the rebuilding of one of the <i>akītu</i> -house of the goddess Ištar at Nineveh . . . . .	214
Figure 11. Cols. v–vi and i of BM 121006 + 127889 (text no. 10 ex. 1). This face (col. vi) of the so-called Thompson Prism (Prism T) is inscribed with the concluding formulae and date of the inscription . . . . .	215
Figure 12. Rm 1 (text no. 11 ex. 1), the so-called Rassam Prism which records numerous military victories of Ashurbanipal and a description of the construction of an elaborately decorated palace at Nineveh . . . . .	230
Figure 13. BM 139999a (text no. 23, part of ex. 14), a small fragment from an inscribed wall slab that once decorated one of the interior walls of the Ištar temple at Nineveh . . . . .	299
Figure 14. Detail of BM 124801a–c (text nos. 25–26), a series of sculpted wall slabs from Room XXXIII of the South-West Palace at Nineveh which depict the battle at Tīl-Tūba . . . . .	315
Figure 15. Detail of BM 124801a–c (text no. 27) showing Assyrian soldiers on a chariot taking the decapitated head of the Elamite king Teumman to Ashurbanipal . . . . .	318
Figure 16. Detail of BM 124802a–c (text no. 34), a wall relief from Room XXXIII of the South-West Palace at Nineveh. The royal Elamite city Madaktu is identified by an epigraph . . . . .	325
Figure 17. Detail of BM 124946 (text no. 38), a wall relief from Room M of the North Palace at Nineveh. The image shows Ashurbanipal reviewing items belonging to Šamaš-šuma-ukīn that had been taken after the capture of Babylon in 648 . . . . .	329

Figure 18. Detail of BM 124919 (+) BM 134386 (text no. 41), a wall relief from Room S <sup>1</sup> of the North Palace at Nineveh. The image shows Assyrian soldiers demolishing the Elamite city Ḫamanu . . . . .	332
Figure 19. BM 124794 (text no. 50), a wall relief from Room S <sup>1</sup> of the North Palace at Nineveh. The image shows two captured former Elamite kings bringing items to Ashurbanipal's banquet . . . . .	341
Figure 20. Detail of BM 124886 (text no. 58), a wall relief from Room S <sup>1</sup> of the North Palace at Nineveh. The image shows Ashurbanipal pouring a libation over several lions that he had killed during a staged hunt . . . . .	349
Figure 21. Obverse of BM 98865 (text no. 62), a lapis-lazuli tablet inscribed with a text addressed to the god Marduk . . . . .	357
Figure 22. Reverse of BM 98865 (text no. 62), a stone tablet of Ashurbanipal found by R. Campbell Thompson at Nineveh . . . . .	358
Figure 23. BM 122095 (text no. 71), a glazed brick from Nineveh recording an Assyrian defeat over Elam	367

# Contents of Scores

(the pdf is available at <http://oracc.museum.upenn.edu/rinap/scores/>)

## I. Assyria

### Prisms

No. 1 — Prism E <sub>1</sub> . . . . .	1
No. 2 — Prism E <sub>2</sub> . . . . .	6
No. 3 — Prism B . . . . .	21
No. 4 — Prism D . . . . .	149
No. 5 — Prism I . . . . .	204
No. 6 — Prism C . . . . .	214
No. 7 — Prism Kh . . . . .	271
No. 8 — Prism G . . . . .	335
No. 9 — Prism F . . . . .	340
No. 10 — Prism T . . . . .	573
No. 11 — Prism A . . . . .	600
No. 13 — Prism J . . . . .	825
No. 15 — 82-5-22,21//BM 128302 + BM 128311 . . . . .	834
No. 20 — DT 145//BM 134609 . . . . .	837

### Stone Slabs

No. 23 — Inscription from the Ištar Temple . . . . .	839
--	-----

### Paving Stones

No. 59 — Nabû Inscription . . . . .	860
No. 60 — Mullissu Inscription . . . . .	869

### Stone Vessels

No. 68 — 81-7-27,177 // Ass 189 . . . . .	875
No. 69 — BM 135453 . . . . .	876



# Foreword

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 carries on where the 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 modern, scholarly editions. While the volumes in the new series resemble the format of the RIM volumes in most matters, the RINAP volumes include indices of proper names, and editions of the texts are also available online, in connection with the Cuneiform Digital Library Initiative (CDLI) and the Open Richly Annotated Cuneiform Corpus Initiative (Oracc).

Four 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 Shigeo Yamada); RINAP 3/1–2, comprising the inscriptions of Sennacherib (begun by A. Kirk Grayson and completed by his collaborator Jamie Novotny); and RINAP 4, comprising the inscriptions of Esarhaddon (by Erle Leichty, with a contribution by Grant Frame). The complete corpus of the royal inscriptions of Ashurbanipal and his successors Aššur-etel-ilāni and Sîn-šarra-iškun is presented in two parts, with the present volume being the first part (RINAP 5/1, by Jamie Novotny and Joshua Jeffers). With the collaboration of Andreas Fuchs for two texts, I am preparing RINAP 2, the inscriptions of Sargon II.

The National Endowment for the Humanities awarded the RINAP Project research grants in 2008, 2010, 2012, 2015, and 2017 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 and to the University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, where the project is based, for their support. Additional funding for the preparation of RINAP 5/1 was provided by the Alexander von Humboldt Foundation (through the establishment of the Alexander von Humboldt Professorship for Ancient History of the Near and Middle East) and Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München (Historisches Seminar – Abteilung Alte Geschichte). I am grateful to Karen Radner for providing additional financial support for the project.

Philadelphia  
May 2018

Grant Frame  
Editor-in-Chief





# Preface

As has been said about all of the volumes in this series, the preparation of the book has taken far longer than expected, partly because of the high number of inscriptions of Ashurbanipal; for Part 1 alone, over 700 objects (including a few with approximately 1,300 lines of text each) had to be collated. 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 Ashurbanipal 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. There were further delays between 2008 and 2014, when Jamie Novotny assisted Grayson, Leichty, and Yamada in completing RINAP 3/1–2, RINAP 4, and RINAP 1. Thus, renewed work on RINAP 5 only began again in late 2014, with a minor pause in August–September 2015 when Novotny moved to Munich and Jeffers joined the project.

New editions of the complete corpus of inscriptions of Ashurbanipal and his successors had been planned from the inception of the RIM Project in 1981. In 1988, Laurence Shiff was assigned the task of preparing RIMA 8, *Ashurbanipal and His Successors* (668–612 BC). The publication was envisioned as a four-volume work: Part 1 was to include the early annals (665–648), Part 2 the later annals (647–643), Part 3 the summary inscriptions, and Part 4 the miscellaneous texts. The books were to be published between 1993 and 2000. In 1989, Shiff collated all of the pieces in the British Museum (London) that were to appear in Part 1. By the end of June 1990, significant progress had been made on Parts 1 and 3, little progress on Part 2 had been undertaken, and only a cursory review of the Part 4 texts had been made. In the early 1990s, Shiff left Assyriology to run the family business and Pamela Gerardi, a recent Ph.D. from the University of Pennsylvania, replaced him. Shiff's notes and computer files were handed over to her to continue the task of editing the inscriptions. In January 1995, Gerardi made a short collation trip to the British Museum.

Work on RIMA 8 was completely rebooted in late 1996, shortly after Borger's *BIWA* appeared. That scholar's significant contributions to the corpus were intended to serve as the foundation for the books. Around that time, Grayson asked Grant Frame, Douglas Frayne, Erle Leichty, Simo Parpola, and Ron Sweet to assist Gerardi. Sweet (then the editor-in-chief of RIM) took over the day-to-day management of the volume. Frame and Frayne, as well as Grayson himself, were to work on the texts once they had finished their then-current tasks, the completion of the Sargon II corpus, the Presargonic inscriptions, and the Sennacherib texts respectively. Parpola (the Director of the Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus Project) was to prepare the translations. In 1997, Karljürgen Feuerherm was hired as a part-time student assistant to begin entering Borger's handwritten transliterations of the numerous Prism F and A exemplars into a digital format. In 1998, Sweet spent six weeks in the British Museum collating the principal exemplars of Prism F, as well as a few other inscriptions. In 1999, Jamie Novotny took over the task of entering transliterations of Ashurbanipal's inscriptions; he started with Prisms B, D, C, Kh, and T, before moving on to the numerous tablets published by T. Bauer in his two-volume *Asb*. Between 1999 and 2003, approximately 95% of the complete corpus of Ashurbanipal's inscriptions had been entered into Microsoft Word files.

In late 2000, Novotny started a dissertation on Ashurbanipal's building projects at Ḥarrān and, as part of that study, he examined, collated, and edited numerous inscriptions of that Assyrian king. Several collation trips to the British Museum (London) and the Oriental Institute (Chicago) were made in 2001 and 2002. After finishing his dissertation in 2003, Novotny continued working on RIMA 8 part-time; much of his time was spent helping Leichty with the then RIMA 7 (*Esarhaddon*) volume. In 2004, Novotny left the field of Assyriology, but continued working on Ashurbanipal's inscriptions in his spare time. Living in Chicago afforded him the

opportunity to collate texts in the Oriental Institute. In 2007, when he returned to Assyriology by taking a term post at Brown University, Novotny set his sights on finishing RIMA 8. From August 2007 to June 2009, significant progress was made; first drafts of the translations of all of the prisms were prepared. In collaboration with Greta Van Buylaere, editions of numerous texts written on tablets were completed; Van Buylaere kindly collated many pieces in the British Museum. The preparation of the material, however, was put on hold when Novotny started work at the RINAP Project in 2009; priority was given to completing the volumes of inscriptions of Tiglath-pileser III, Shalmaneser V, Sennacherib, and Esarhaddon. Work on RINAP 5 (formerly RIMA 8) resumed in mid-2014. The project was initially funded by the University of Pennsylvania in 2014–15 and then by the National Endowment for the Humanities (2015 onwards). Beginning in August 2015, Novotny's work on Ashurbanipal's inscriptions has also been supported by LMU Munich and the Alexander von Humboldt Foundation through the establishment of the Alexander von Humboldt Professorship for Ancient History of the Near and Middle East (Karen Radner). In August 2015, Joshua Jeffers took over Novotny's duties as the Research Specialist for the RINAP Project. The present volume is the result of the collaboration of Novotny and Jeffers.

As for the division of labor, Novotny collated the exemplars of text nos. 1–8, 10, and 12–58 in the British Museum, as well as all of the Ashurbanipal material in the Oriental Institute (Chicago) and Vorderasiatisches Museum (Berlin); prepared the master texts of text nos. 1–57 and 61–71 and the scores of text nos. 1–8, 10, 13, 15, 20, 23, and 68–69; translated all of the inscriptions into English; wrote the book's introduction, all of the text introductions, most of the commentaries, and the bulk of the on-page notes to text nos. 1–8, 10, and 12–58; prepared the catalogues, the preliminary bibliographies, and some of the front and back material. Jeffers collated most of the exemplars of text no. 9 and all of the copies of text nos. 11, 59–60, and 65–70 in the British Museum; prepared the scores of text nos. 9, 11, and 59–60 and updated the master texts of those five inscriptions; wrote almost all of the on-page notes of text nos. 9 and 11 and several of the notes for the other inscriptions; added most of the bibliography entries for publications appearing after 1994; and prepared some of the back material, especially the minor variants.

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), the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago (Chicago), the British Museum (London), and the Louvre Museum (Paris). Specifically, the authors express their gratitude to John Brinkman, John Curtis, Walter Farber, Irving Finkel, Joachim Marzahn, Jonathan Taylor, and Christopher Walker. These colleagues, and their staff, have been extremely helpful and have extended to us every courtesy and assistance. Secondly, they would like to thank the Oriental Institute (specifically Susanne Paulus) and the Trustees of the British Museum for allowing the RINAP Project to publish photographs of objects bearing Ashurbanipal inscriptions.

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 5/1 and thus any omissions are 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 Israel Eph'al, Jeanette Fincke, Grant Frame, Pamela Gerardi, Kirk Grayson, Enrique Jiménez, Mikko Luukko, Karen Radner, Micheal Roaf, Laurence Shiff, Ronald Sweet, Jonathan Taylor, Greta Van Buylaere, and Christopher Walker.

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Erle Leichty<sup>†</sup>, to whom this book is dedicated, sadly passed away prior to the completion of this manuscript.

Leichty served as a member of the RINAP Editorial Board from 2011 (after the publication of his RINAP 4 volume) until his death in 2016. His critical feedback, which stemmed from his vast knowledge of Mesopotamian history and secondary literature, always improved the quality of the books reviewed by him. The authors would like to acknowledge here their gratitude to Erle not only for his time, service, and generosity discussing all matters Neo-Assyrian, but also for his contributions to Assyriology.

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Munich  
Philadelphia  
May 2018

Jamie Novotny  
Joshua Jeffers



# 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, lines preserved, and indication of whether or not the inscription has been collated (c = collated with the original, (c) = partially 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 bibliographic entry. These notes indicate the exemplars with which the item is concerned and the nature of the publication, using the following key words: photo, copy, edition, translation, study, and provenance. 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 transliterations of all exemplars in the style of musical scores are found in the pdf on Oracc at <http://oracc.museum.upenn.edu/rinap/scores/> and thus any reader who finds the notes on variants insufficient for his/her needs may check the full reading of any exemplar (the pdfs of the

scores for previous RINAP volumes are also now available on Oracc). 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, K 1716+ is regarded as text no. 3 (Prism B) ex. 2\*, since it is uncertain that it is an exemplar of that text or text no. 4 (Prism D). Moreover, these exemplars are listed in separate catalogues (Catalogue of Uncertain Exemplars), beneath the main catalogue.

Several photographs are included in this volume. The selection includes some of the best preserved inscriptions on clay prisms, as well as several fragments of clay prisms and a fragment of a clay vertical cylinder. There are several photographs of the king's inscriptions written on the wall slabs of the palaces at Nineveh, and there are images of a lapis-lazuli tablet, a stone tablet, and a glazed brick. These are intended to show a few of the object types upon which Ashurbanipal's inscriptions were written and to aid the reader in understanding the current state of preservation of some of the inscriptions.

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 and those of Egyptian rulers are based on Borger, *BIWA* (who follows Onasch, *ÄAT* 27).

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, [DINGI]R and LUGA[L KU]R 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 5 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' (= [DINGI]R) and 'LUGAL KUR' (= LUGA[L KU]R) are translated as “[the go]d” and “king [of the lan]d,” and not “the god” and “king of the land.”

For RINAP 5, there is a small departure from previous volumes in the information provided in the catalogues: the dimensions are excluded. This decision was made primarily because a large number of objects were collated from high resolution images. Because these pieces were not examined directly from the original, the authors were not in a position to record the heights, widths, and thicknesses of many of the prism and tablet fragments edited here.

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). Searchable online versions of the manuscripts are maintained on Oracc by MOCCI (Munich Open-access Cuneiform Corpus Initiative). Web versions of the editions are also hosted on CDLI (Cuneiform Digital Library Initiative).

# Bibliographical Abbreviations

AAA	Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology. Liverpool, 1908–48
AfK	Archiv für Keilschriftforschung, vols. 1–2. Berlin, 1923–25
AfO	Archiv für Orientforschung, vol. 3– (vols. 1–2 = AfK). Berlin, Graz, and Horn, 1926–
Ahmed, Southern Mesopotamia	S.S. Ahmed, Southern Mesopotamia in the Time of Ashurbanipal. Paris, 1968
AHw	W. von Soden, Akkadisches Handwörterbuch, 3 vols. Wiesbaden, 1965–81
Akkadica	Akkadica. Brussels, 1977–
Amiet, Kunst	P. Amiet, Die Kunst des alten Orient. Freiburg and Vienna, 1977
André-Leicknam, Naissance de l'écriture	B. André-Leicknam, Naissance de l'écriture: cunéiformes et hiéroglyphes. Paris, 1982
ANET <sup>3</sup>	J.B. Pritchard (ed.), Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament, 3rd edition. Princeton, 1969
AOAT	Alter Orient und Altes Testament. Neukirchen-Vluyn, Kevelaer, and Münster, 1968–
Arch.	Archaeologia, or, Miscellaneous Tracts Relating to Antiquity. London, 1770–1992
Arnaud, Assurbanipal	D. Arnaud, Assurbanipal Roi d'Assyrie. Paris, 2007
Art History	Art History: Journal of the Association for Art History. London, 1978–
Aynard, Prisme	J.-M. Aynard, Le prisme du Louvre AO 19.939. Paris, 1957
Bagh. Mitt.	Baghdader Mitteilungen. Berlin, 1960–
Barnett, Sculptures from the North Palace	R.D. Barnett, Sculptures from the North Palace of Ashurbanipal at Nineveh (668–627 B.C.). London, 1976
Barnett and Lorenzini, Assyrian Sculpture	R.D. Barnett and A. Lorenzini, Assyrian Sculpture in the British Museum. Toronto, 1975
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Bauer, Asb.	T. Bauer, Das Inschriftenwerk Assurbanipals (=Assyriologische Bibliothek, Neue Folge 1–2). Leipzig, 1933
Belleten	Türk Tarih Kurumu, Belleten. Ankara, 1937–
Bezold, Cat.	C. Bezold, Catalogue of the Cuneiform Tablets in the Kouyunjik Collection of the British Museum, 5 vols. London, 1889–1899
BiOr	Bibliotheca Orientalis. Leiden, 1943–
BM Guide	British Museum. A Guide to the Babylonian and Assyrian Antiquities, 3rd edition. London, 1922
BMQ	British Museum Quarterly. London, 1926–73
Böhl, Chrestomathy 1	F.M.T. Böhl, Akkadian Chrestomathy, Volume 1: Selected Cuneiform Texts. Leiden, 1947
Böhl, MLVS	F.M.T. Böhl, Mededeelingen uit de Leidsche verzameling van spijkerschrift-inscripties, 3 vols. Amsterdam, 1933–36
Borger, Asarh.	R. Borger, Die Inschriften Asarhaddons, Königs von Assyrien (=AfO Beiheft 9). Graz, 1956
Borger, BAL <sup>2</sup>	R. Borger, Babylonisch-assyrische Lesestücke, 2nd edition, 2 vols (=AnOr 54). Rome, 1979
Borger, BIWA	R. Borger, Beiträge zum Inschriftenwerk Assurbanipals: Die Prismenklassen A, B, C = K, D, E, F, G, H, J und T sowie andere Inschriften. Wiesbaden, 1996
Borger, HKL	R. Borger, Handbuch der Keilschriftliteratur, 3 vols. Berlin, 1967–75
Borger, MZ	R. Borger, Mesopotamisches Zeichenlexikon (=AOAT 305). Münster, 2004
Botta, Monument de Ninive	P.E. Botta, Monument de Ninive, 5 vols. Paris, 1849–50; new impression, Osnabrück, 1972
Brinkman, Prelude	J.A. Brinkman, Prelude to Empire: Babylonian Society and Politics, 747–626 BC (=Occasional Publications of the Babylonian Fund 7). Philadelphia, 1984
Butler, Dreams	S. Butler, Mesopotamian Conceptions of Dreams and Dream Rituals (=AOAT 258). Münster, 1998

- CAD The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 21 vols. Chicago, 1956–2011
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- COS 4 W.W. Hallo (ed.), *The Context of Scripture, Volume 4: Supplements*. Leiden, 2017
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- CRRA 30 K.R. Veenhof (ed.), *Cuneiform Archives and Libraries. Papers Read at the 30<sup>e</sup> Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale Leiden, 4–8 July 1983 (=Publications de l'Institut historique-archéologique néerlandais de Stamboul 62)*. Leiden, 1986
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- OMROL Oudheidkundige Mededelingen uit het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden. Leiden, 1907–
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- 2 R H.C. Rawlinson and E. Norris, The Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia, vol. 2: A Selection from the Miscellaneous Inscriptions of Assyria. London, 1866
- 3 R H.C. Rawlinson and G. Smith, The Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia, vol. 3: A Selection from the Miscellaneous Inscriptions of Assyria. London, 1870
- 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 Revue d'assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale. Paris, 1886–
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- RIMA The Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia, Assyrian Periods, 3 vols. Toronto, 1987–1996
- RIMB The Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia, Babylonian Periods, 1 vol. Toronto, 1995

RINAP	The Royal Inscriptions of the Neo-Assyrian Period. Winona Lake, IN, 2011–
RLA	Reallexikon der Assyriologie. Berlin, 1932–
Rochberg-Halton, Babylonian Celestial Divination	F. Rochberg-Halton, Aspects of Babylonian Celestial Divination: The Lunar Eclipse Tablets of Enūma Anu Enlil (AfO Beiheft 22). Horn, 1988
RSO	Rivista degli studi orientali. Rome, 1907–
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Rutten, Encyclopédie photographique de l'art	R. Rutten (ed.), Encyclopédie photographique de l'art, 2 vols. Paris, 1935–36
SAA	State Archives of Assyria. Helsinki, 1987–
SAAB	State Archives of Assyria Bulletin. Padua, 1987–
SAACT	State Archives of Assyria Cuneiform Texts. Helsinki and Winona Lake, IN, 1997–
SAAS	State Archives of Assyria Studies. Helsinki, 1992–
Saggs, Assyria	H.W.F. Saggs, The Might That Was Assyria. London, 1984
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Schroeder, KAV	O. Schroeder, Keilschrifttexte aus Assur verschiedenen Inhalts (=WVDOG 35). Leipzig, 1920
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G. Smith, Assyrian Discoveries	G. Smith, Assyrian Discoveries: An Account of Explorations and Discoveries on the Site of Nineveh, During 1873 and 1874. New York, 1875
G. Smith, Senn.	G. Smith, History of Sennacherib Translated from the Cuneiform Inscriptions. London, 1878
S.A. Smith, Keilschrifttexte	S.A. Smith, Die Keilschrifttexte Asurbanipals, Königs von Assyrien (668–626 v. Chr.) nach dem selbst in London copierten Grundtext mit Transscription, Übersetzung, Kommentar und vollständigem Glossar. Leipzig, 1887–89
Spar and Jursa, CTMMA 4	I. Spar and M. Jursa, Cuneiform Texts in the Metropolitan Museum of Art 4: Temple Archive and Other Texts From the First and Second Millennium B.C. New York, 2014
SPAW	Sitzungsberichte der königlich Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin. Berlin, 1882–1918
Speleers, RIAA	L. Speleers, Recueil des Inscriptions de l'Asie Antérieure des Musées Royaux du cinquantenaire à Bruxelles. Texts sumériens, babyloniens et assyriens. Brussels, 1925
Starr, SAA 4	I. Starr, Queries to the Sungod: Divination and Politics in Sargonid Assyria (=SAA 4). Helsinki, 1990
Stephens, YOS 9	F.J. Stephens, Votive and Historical Texts from Babylonia and Assyria (=YOS 9). New Haven, 1937
Strabo, Geo.	Strabo, <i>Geographica</i> .
Streck, Asb.	M. Streck, Assurbanipal und die letzten assyrischen Könige bis zum Untergange Niniveh's, 3 vols (=Vorderasiatische Bibliothek 7). Leipzig, 1916
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Studies Adams	E. Stone (ed.), Settlement and Society: Essays Dedicated to Robert McCormick Adams. Los Angeles, 2007
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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

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TSBA	Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology. London, 1872–1893
Tsukimoto, Totenpflege	A. Tsukimoto, Untersuchungen zur Totenpflege (kispum) im alten Mesopotamien (=AOAT 216). Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1985
TUAT	O. Kaiser (ed.), Texte aus der Umwelt des Alten Testaments. Gütersloh, 1982–
TUAT <sup>2</sup>	B. Janowski and G. Wilhelm (eds.), Texte aus der Umwelt des Alten Testaments, Neue Folge. Munich, 2004–
UF	Ugarit-Forschungen. Internationales Jahrbuch für die Altertumskunde Syrien-Palästinas. Münster, 1969–
UVB	Vorläufiger Bericht über die von (dem Deutschen Archäologischen Institut und der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft aus Mitteln) der Deutschen Forschungsgemeinschaft unternommenen Ausgrabungen in Uruk-Warka. Berlin, 1930–
de Vaan, Sprache des Bēl-ibni	J.M.C.T. de Vaan, »Ich bin eine Schwertklinge des Königs«: Die Sprache des Bēl-ibni (=AOAT 242). Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1995
VAS	Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler der Königlichen Museen zu Berlin. Leipzig and Berlin, 1907–
Wachsmuth, Alten Geschichte	C. Wachsmuth, Einleitung in das Studium der Alten Geschichte. Leipzig, 1895
Walker, CBI	C.B.F. Walker, Cuneiform Brick Inscriptions in the British Museum, the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, the City of Birmingham Museums and Art Gallery, the City of Bristol Museum and Art Gallery. London, 1981
Waters, SAAS 12	M.W. Waters, A Survey of Neo-Elamite History (=SAAS 12). Helsinki, 2000
Weidner, Reliefs	E. Weidner, Die Reliefs der assyrischen Könige, 1: Die Reliefs in England, in der Vatikan-Stadt und in Italien (=AfO Beiheft 4). Berlin, 1939
Weippert, Edom	M. Weippert, Edom: Studien und Materialien zur Geschichte der Edomiter auf Grund schriftlicher und archäologischer Quellen, Theol. Diss. Tübingen, 1971
Wetzel and Weissbach, Hauptheiligtum	F. Wetzel and F.H. Weissbach, Das Hauptheiligtum des Marduk in Babylon, Esagila und Etemenanki (=WVDOG 59). Leipzig, 1938
Winckler, Sammlung	H. Winckler, Sammlung von Keilschrifttexten, 3 vols. Leipzig, 1893–95
Winnett and Reed, Ancient Records	F.V. Winnett and W.L. Reed, Ancient Records from North Arabia (=Near and Middle East Series 6). Toronto, 1970
WO	Die Welt des Orients. Wuppertal, Stuttgart, and Göttingen, 1947–
Worthington, Textual Criticism	M. Worthington, Principles of Akkadian Textual Criticism. Berlin and Boston, 2012
WVDOG	Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft. Leipzig and Berlin, 1901–
YOS	Yale Oriental Studies, Babylonian Texts. New Haven, 1915–
ZA	Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und Vorderasiatische Archäologie. Berlin, 1886–
Zawadzki, Fall of Assyria	S. Zawadzki, The Fall of Assyria and Median-Babylonian Relations in Light of the Nabopolassar Chronicle. Delft, The Netherlands, 1988
Zgusta, Kleinasiatische Personennamen	L. Zgusta, Kleinasiatische Personennamen (=Monografie Orientálního ústavu ČSAV 19). Prague, 1964

# Other Abbreviations

Akk.	Akkadian
Asn.	Ashurnasirpal
Ass	Aššur
bibl.	biblical
c	collated
ca.	circa
cf.	<i>confer</i> (lit. “compare”)
cm	centimeter(s)
col(s).	column(s)
dia.	diameter
DN	divine name
ed(s).	editor(s)
esp.	especially
et al.	<i>et alii</i> (lit. “and others”)
ex(s).	exemplar(s)
fig(s).	figure(s)
fol(s).	folio(s)
frgm(s).	fragment(s)
gen.	gentilic
GN	geographical name
K	Konstantinopel
m	meter(s)
MA	Middle Assyrian
MS	manuscript
n	not collated
n(n).	note(s)
NA	Neo-Assyrian
no(s).	number(s)
NS	Nova Series/New Series
NT	Nabû Temple (Kalḫu)
obv.	obverse
p	collated from photo
p(p).	page(s)
ph(s)	photo(s)
pl(s).	plate(s)
PN	personal name
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





# 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
AO	Collection of Antiquités Orientales of the Musée du Louvre, Paris
Ass	Prefix of excavation numbers from the German excavations at Aššur
BE	Prefix of excavation numbers from the German excavations at Babylon
BM	British Museum, London
Bu	E.A.W. Budge collection of the British Museum, London
DT	Daily Telegraph collection of the British Museum, London
ÉB	École Biblique et Archéologique Française, Jerusalem
EŞ	Eski Şark Eserleri Müzesi of the Arkeoloji Müzeleri, Istanbul
HMA	Signature of objects in Hearst Museum of Anthropology of the University of California at Berkeley
HSM	Harvard Semitic Museum, Cambridge, Massachusetts
IM	Iraq Museum, Baghdad
K	Kuyunjik collection of the British Museum, London
Ki	L.W. King collection of the British Museum, London
LB	A.F.M.Th. de Liagre Böhl Collection, Leiden
MMA	Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York
MS	Schøyen Collection, Oslo
ND	Prefix of excavation numbers from the British excavations at Nimrud
O	Musées royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, Brussels
Rm	H. Rassam collection of the British Museum, London
RMO	Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Leiden
Sm	G. Smith collection of the British Museum, London
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
VA Bab	Babylon collection of the Vorderasiatisches Museum, Berlin
VAT	1) Tablets in the collection of the Vorderasiatisches Museum, Berlin 2) Prefix of objects in the Musei Vaticani, Museo Gregoriano Egizio, Rome
YBC	Babylonian Collection of the Yale University Library, New Haven



# Introduction

In 669, on the tenth of Araḥsamna (VIII), Esarhaddon died en route to invade Egypt.<sup>1</sup> Unlike in 681, Assyria and Babylonia were prepared for a smooth transition of power.<sup>2</sup> The queen mother, Naqī'a (Zakūtu), ensured that her son's succession plans were carried out exactly as he had planned in Ayyāru (II) 672: Ashurbanipal, Esarhaddon's fourth eldest son, was to sit on the throne of Assyria, while Šamaš-šuma-ukīn, his eldest living son, was to become king of Babylon.<sup>3</sup> Having already had several years of on-the-job training, not only in the House of Succession but also in the royal court itself, Ashurbanipal was sufficiently trained when he ascended the Assyrian throne in Kislīmu (IX) 669.<sup>4</sup> During his long reign,<sup>5</sup> the man who would be Assyria's last great king regularly sent his armies on military expeditions, commanding them to travel farther afield than his predecessors (including his father and grandfather), and undertook large-scale building projects in numerous Assyrian and Babylonian cities, Nineveh and Babylon in particular. His fame and notoriety were remembered long after Assyria ceased to exist as a political entity (ca. 610). Ashurbanipal's name and deeds were brought to light shortly after nineteenth-century European explorers began uncovering the ruins of Nineveh. Since the mid-nineteenth century, the texts and life of this late Neo-Assyrian king who is mentioned in the Bible (Asnappar) and classical sources (Sardanapalus) have been the subject of many scholarly publications.

Sources for Ashurbanipal's long reign are not only abundant, but informative; however, there are very few extant sources for the final decade of his reign (ca. 642–631). His royal inscriptions provide many details about his victories on the battlefield, the (unusual) fates of his contemporaries, and the construction and renovation of city walls, palaces, and temples. These self-aggrandizing compositions, which present biased accounts that do not always accurately record "historical reality," are supplemented by laconic chronographic texts (the so-called Babylonian Chronicle), (scholarly, priestly, and administrative) letters, astrological reports, queries to the sun-god, legal and administrative documents, and grants, as well as by numerous bas reliefs sculpted on orthostats that lined the walls of his and his grandfather's palaces at Nineveh. The Bible, some classical sources, and an Aramaic tale written in Demotic script also provide insight into his reign.

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<sup>1</sup> Grayson, *Chronicles* p. 86 no. 1 iv 30–31 and p. 127 no. 14 lines 28'–30'.

<sup>2</sup> See below for details about the succession.

<sup>3</sup> For information on Ashurbanipal's name, his family background, and his responsibilities during his father's reign (including the relevant source material), see in particular Grayson, *CAH*<sup>2</sup> 3/2 pp. 139–140 and 159; Novotny and Singletary, *Studies Parpola* pp. 167–177; Weissert, *PNA* 1/1 pp. 159–163 sub Aššūr-bāni-apli I (with references to earlier bibliography). It is now generally believed that Aššūr-bāni-apli was not Ashurbanipal's birth name, but rather his throne name, and that he was Esarhaddon's fourth eldest son. It is commonly thought that Ešarra-ḥammat was his mother, despite the complete lack of direct evidence; the Assyrian queen is also believed to be the mother of Ashurbanipal's older brother Šamaš-šuma-ukīn.

Ashurbanipal's name appears as *'snpr* (Asnappar) in the Bible (Erza 4:10), *srbnl* (Sarbanabal) in an Aramaic tale written in Demotic script, and *Σαρδαναπαλ(λ)ος* (Sardanapal(l)us) in Greek and Latin sources. A document from Nineveh written ca. 670 (83-1-18,231) seems to imply that giving the name of the reigning king Ashurbanipal (or the former king Sennacherib) to a commoner was considered taboo, a sacrilege punishable by the river ordeal; see Kataja, *SAAB* 1 (1987) pp. 65–68.

<sup>4</sup> Grayson, *Chronicles* p. 86 no. 1 iv 33 and p. 127 no. 14 line 34'.

<sup>5</sup> The exact length of Ashurbanipal's reign is problematic. Scholars generally believe that he ruled over Assyria until 631, 630, or 627. Based on contemporary evidence, he was king up to at least Simānu (III) 631, but, according to an inscription of Nabonidus' mother Adda-guppī (Schaudig, *Inschriften Nabonids* p. 503 no. 3.2 ex. 1 i 30), he reigned until 627. The issue has received a great deal of attention, but no scholarly consensus has yet been reached. See, for example, Na'aman, *ZA* 81 (1991) pp. 243–267; Zawadzki, *ZA* 85 (1995) pp. 67–73; Beaulieu, *Bagh. Mitt.* 28 (1997) pp. 367–394; Gerber, *ZA* 88 (1998) pp. 72–93; Reade, *Orientalia* NS 67 (1998) pp. 255–265; Oelsner, *Studies Renger* pp. 643–666; Liebig, *ZA* 90 (2000) pp. 281–284; and Fuchs, *Studies Oelsner* pp. 25–28 and 35. It is assumed in this publication that he died, abdicated, or was deposed in 631. The matter will be addressed in the introduction of Part 2.

### Texts Included in Part 1

Numerous royal inscriptions of Ashurbanipal have been recovered and most of these are housed in museum collections and private collections around the world; the British Museum (London) and the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago contain the bulk of these texts. Some stone objects of his that were discovered by R. Campbell Thompson in the 1920s and 30s were left in the field and reburied after being copied; some of these were duplicates of better preserved inscriptions, while others were deemed unsuitable for transport back to London (presumably because they were heavy and/or badly damaged). Clay and stone objects bearing Ashurbanipal's name originate from a broad geographic area, with most coming from the Assyrian heartland (Nineveh and Kalḫu) and northern Babylonia (Babylon and Nippur). The present corpus comprises excavated objects and objects purchased from local dealers.

Because of the huge number of texts and the sheer length of some of the compositions (a few of which are over 1,300 lines long), the inscriptions of Ashurbanipal are edited in two volumes. The division of the corpus is somewhat arbitrary as the authors have tried to maintain, to the best of their ability, a balance between Part 1 and Part 2 by including major, well-preserved inscriptions in both volumes. The present publication includes all historical inscriptions on clay prisms, clay cylinders, and wall slabs and other stone objects from Nineveh, Aššur, and Kalḫu, while the second part will include the texts of Ashurbanipal preserved on clay tablets and all of his Babylonian inscriptions, as well as the royal compositions of Aššur-etel-ilāni and Sîn-šarra-iškun. A major portion of Part 1 (nos. 1–23) corresponds to Borger, *Beiträge zum Inschriftenwerk Assurbanipals: die Prismenklassen A, B, C = K, D, E, F, G, H, J und T sowie andere Inschriften* pp. 1–296; the historical texts written on tablets, however, are excluded here, as they will be included in Part 2. The inscriptions are arranged by object type (prisms, cylinders, then stone slabs, etc.) and, when possible, chronologically from earliest to latest. This generally follows the presentation of texts in Grayson and Novotny, *RINAP 3/1–2* and Leichty, *RINAP 4*.

Most of the inscriptions included in Part 1 originate from Nineveh; text nos. 7 (Prism Kh), 12 (Prism H), and 13 (Prism J) are from Kalḫu (Biblical Calah) and Babylon. A few prism fragments were discovered at Aššur and all of these are inscribed with copies of text no. 9 (Prism F), a well-known inscription from Nineveh recording work on the House of Succession.<sup>6</sup> There is also a stone tablet (text no. 61) that comes from Aššur.

### Survey of the Inscribed Objects Included in Part 1

#### *Clay Prisms*

Early in Ashurbanipal's reign, at least by 666 or 665 (his 3rd or 4th regnal year), the king's *res gestae* were inscribed on clay prisms.<sup>7</sup> This versatile medium, which was perfect for composing lengthy texts, was without a doubt this king's preferred choice of foundation document in Assyria, just as it was for his father and grandfather; in Babylonia, however, clay (barrel) cylinders were the desired medium. Ashurbanipal's scribes tailored the shapes and sizes of prisms to match the length of the texts written on them. Shorter texts were often inscribed on pentagonal and hexagonal prisms, with each column accommodating 40–75 lines; medium-length inscriptions were generally written on octagonal prisms, with approximately 90–100 lines per column; and long compositions were frequently written on decagonal prisms, with columns containing around 130 lines each. Heptagonal and nonagonal prisms were also used.

At present, prisms bearing inscriptions of Ashurbanipal are attested for ca. 666–664, 649–644/643/642, and 639–ca. 638.<sup>8</sup> It is assumed here that texts of his were also written on prisms in the years 663–650 and 643–640, as well as after 638.<sup>9</sup> Most of the known pieces were discovered at Nineveh, but a few were found at Aššur,

<sup>6</sup> These are text no. 9 (Prism F) exs. 206–210.

<sup>7</sup> Due to a significant gap in the textual record in Assyria from 669 to ca. 666, it is not known whether this Assyrian king had his annalistic texts first inscribed on clay (barrel) cylinders and then later on prisms, like his grandfather Sennacherib (and his father Esarhaddon), or whether he first used clay tablets and then transitioned to clay prisms.

<sup>8</sup> The dates for text nos. 1 (Prism E<sub>1</sub>), 2 (Prism E<sub>2</sub>), 11 (Prism A), and 13 (Prism J) are uncertain. Text no. 1 (Prism E<sub>1</sub>) may have been written ca. 666–665; text no. 2 (Prism E<sub>2</sub>) was likely composed ca. 665–664; text no. 11 (Prism A) was either written in 644, 643, or 642; and text no. 13 (Prism J) was written no earlier than 638. For the date of text no. 11 (Prism A), which was inscribed on prisms during the eponymy of Šamaš-da'inanni, see the Dating and Chronology section below.

<sup>9</sup> For example, text no. 15 is probably an inscription written between 663 and 649; it may have been written before 655. For details, see the commentary to that text; Weissert and Onasch, *Orientalia NS 61* (1992) p. 73 n. 46; and Novotny, *Orientalia NS 72* (2003) pp. 211–214. The dates of text nos. 14 and 18 are unknown and it is possible that one of those two inscriptions may have been written between 644 (643 or 642) and 639. Moreover, there is a slight possibility that text no. 16 was composed ca. 652–650; see Novotny, *ibid.* It is unclear how long after Ashurbanipal's 31st regnal year (638) inscriptions continued to be written. It is likely, although it cannot be proven, that official texts were written in his name until the end of his reign, 631 at the earliest and 627 at the latest.

Babylon, and Kalḫu. Based on their building reports, as well as their find spots, these foundation documents were deposited (or displayed) in Ashurbanipal's palace (the House of Succession, the North Palace), the armory, the citadel wall, the Sîn-Šamaš temple, and one of the two *akītu*-houses of Ištar at Nineveh; in the Nabû temple (Ezida) at Kalḫu; and in temples of Lugaldimmeranki (Duku) and Gula (Esabad) at Babylon.<sup>10</sup> Many of the pieces from Nineveh were not found in situ, but were discovered in Area SH ("Sennacherib's House") — which is near the city wall, about 500 m north of Kuyunjik — or were purchased from a dealer in Mosul.<sup>11</sup>

The contents of Ashurbanipal's prism inscriptions provide us with a wealth of information about many of his accomplishments. These royal compositions, as A.K. Grayson has noted, "are commonly called 'annals' but which are really a curious combination of the annalistic form and the 'display' form" and these texts "are rather like small historical novels and have behind them a complex textual history."<sup>12</sup> For the modern historian, these texts are somewhat problematic since they present the narrative of events geographically, rather than chronologically, regularly give the campaigns different numbers,<sup>13</sup> depending on their position within the narrative, and provide neither eponyms nor regnal years for the events recorded. Furthermore, one "campaign" (Akk. *gerru*) could include descriptions of several military expeditions and/or could provide conflicting pieces of information,<sup>14</sup> as well as later supplements that included details about the fates of the king's rivals. The geographical arrangement of the "military narration" in Ashurbanipal's annalistic texts, which follows the model established by his father Esarhaddon, was established very early in his reign.<sup>15</sup> Scribes described this king's accomplishments generally in a clockwise direction, beginning with Egypt, and then continuing with the Levant and Anatolia, Qirbit, Mannea, Media, and Elam, Babylonia, and Gambulu, and concluding with Arabia.

Ashurbanipal's prism inscriptions fall into three broad categories: (1) building inscriptions; (2) annalistic texts; and (3) summary inscriptions. As far as the corpus is preserved, annalistic texts are the most common; text nos. 1–4, 6–11, 14–17, and probably 18–19 fall into this category. Building inscriptions and summary inscriptions, on the other hand, are far less common; text no. 5 falls into the former group, while text nos. 12–13, and probably text nos. 16 and 20, belong to the latter. There is a great deal of diversity within each category of text, at least for the annalistic texts.

Annalistic texts, which are often referred to in scholarly literature (including this volume) as 'annals' (which is not the case in the strictest sense) or *res gestae* (lit. "[royal] deeds," as labeled by the Roman emperor Augustus), are the most common type of royal composition written on prisms<sup>16</sup> and, therefore, the best known texts.<sup>17</sup> The style and contents of Ashurbanipal's annals vary, depending on when they were written and where they were intended to be deposited (or displayed). Early annalistic texts — for example, text nos. 1 (Prism E<sub>1</sub>) and 2 (Prism E<sub>2</sub>) — contain lengthy prologues, a detailed résumé of accomplishments (including both victories on the battlefield and the voluntary sending of gifts by foreign rulers),<sup>18</sup> a building report, concluding formulae, and a date. The introductions of these early annals, unlike those in later inscriptions, record some of the details of Ashurbanipal's education, including his ability to recognize and discuss celestial and terrestrial portents, to solve mathematical calculations, and to read ancient and obscure texts written in both Akkadian and Sumerian.<sup>19</sup> Moreover, these same inscriptions do not assign numbers to the king's campaigns; this feature

<sup>10</sup> Few prisms of Ashurbanipal have been found in situ. Text no. 3 (Prism B) ex. 1 is reported to have been discovered in the North Palace at Nineveh by H. Rassam; this purported find spot is doubtful if its now-missing building report recorded work on the armory since one would expect that this prism had come from Nebi Yunus instead. Many of the exemplars of text no. 7 (Prism Kh) were found in the debris of the collapsed walls of the Nabû temple at Kalḫu. Text no. 10 (Prism T) ex. 1 was used as fill in the Ezida temple at Nineveh; this prism, which appears to have been broken in antiquity, should have been deposited in one of Ištar's *akītu*-houses at Nineveh. Text no. 11 (Prism A) exs. 1–2 were found in the structure of the North Palace; the former came from one of the walls of Room H.

<sup>11</sup> For details about the cache of texts from Area SH and the prism fragments purchased by E. Chiera in 1928, see in particular Thompson and Hutchinson, CEN p. 83; Piepkorn, *Asb.* pp. 2–3 and n. 12; Reade, *CRRA* 30 p. 216; Cogan and Tadmor, *JCS* 40 (1988) pp. 84–85; and Reade, *RLA* 9/5–6 (2000) p. 420 §15.4.

<sup>12</sup> Grayson, *CAH*<sup>2</sup> 3/2 p. 142.

<sup>13</sup> For example, in some inscriptions, the second campaign to Egypt is not assigned a campaign number, while in others it is either referred to as the first or second campaign; compare text nos. 3–4 and 6–8 to text nos. 9 and 11.

<sup>14</sup> It is sometimes unclear who actually led the Assyrian army into battle, the king or one of his generals.

<sup>15</sup> This is in contrast to the annalistic texts of other Assyrian kings, especially Tiglath-pileser III, Sargon II, and Sennacherib, all of whose annals narrate events chronologically.

<sup>16</sup> The same can be said for the inscriptions of Sargon II, Sennacherib, and Esarhaddon.

<sup>17</sup> The modern designations of most of Ashurbanipal's annals follow those used by R. Borger in *BIWA*, but with one exception: Borger's Prism CKalach/CND has been renamed Prism Kh (following Novotny, *SAOC* 62 p. 129). Text nos. 1–4 and 6–11 are Prism E<sub>1</sub>, E<sub>2</sub>, B, D, C, Kh, G, F, T, and A respectively.

<sup>18</sup> One inscription even included a report about the hunting of a pride of lions in the vicinity of Arbela. See text no. 14.

<sup>19</sup> Little of the prologues of text nos. 1 (Prism E<sub>1</sub>) and 2 (Prism E<sub>2</sub>) is preserved, but the bulk of their contents can be reconstructed with some degree of certainty from the prologue of the so-called Ashurbanipal's School Days Inscription (also known as the L[ondon]<sup>4</sup>

was first used sometime between 663 and 649.<sup>20</sup> This style of annals — but without information on Ashurbanipal's "school days" and with more details about the restoration and decoration of temples and the sequential numbering of campaigns — is also known for inscriptions composed during Ashurbanipal's 22nd (647) and 23rd (646) years on the throne; these are text nos. 6 (Prism C), 7 (Prism Kh), and 8 (Prism G).<sup>21</sup> For example, text no. 7 (Prism Kh) contains: (1) a prologue that records work undertaken in five Assyrian cities (Aššur, Arbela, Ḥarrān, Nineveh, and Tarbiṣu) and two Babylonian cities (Babylon and Borsippa); (2) reports of campaigns against Egypt, Tyre, Qirbit, Mannea, Media, Elam, Babylonia, the Gambulu, and various Arab tribes; (3) an account of the renovation of the Nabû temple (Ezida) in Kalḫu; (4) concluding formulae; and (5) a date. Other versions of Ashurbanipal's annals — text nos. 3 (Prism B), 4 (Prism D), 9 (Prism F), and 11 (Prism A) — were less interested in the king's off-the-battlefield accomplishments, especially his building activities, and those inscriptions had short prologues. For example, the introduction to text no. 11 (Prism A) records a few pieces of information about his nomination as heir designate of Assyria and training in the House of Succession and states that Assyria had agricultural prosperity during his reign. With regard to the building reports, they describe work on city walls, palaces (royal residences and armories), and temples; for example, text nos. 1 (Prism E<sub>1</sub>), 9 (Prism F), and 11 (Prism A) contained accounts of the construction of the House of Succession (the North Palace at Nineveh), while text no. 10 (Prism T) included a description of the rebuilding of one of the *akītu*-houses at Nineveh.

Only one building inscription of Ashurbanipal written on prisms is known today: this is text no. 5 (Prism I).<sup>22</sup> That inscription consists of a lengthy prologue, which records several building projects in Assyria and Babylonia,<sup>23</sup> an account of the rebuilding of the Sîn-Šamaš temple at Nineveh, concluding formulae, and a date. Presumably, similar inscriptions must have existed in Assyria in antiquity.

Summary inscriptions are attested for the first time in Ashurbanipal's 30th regnal year (638), beginning with text no. 12 (Prism H). It is uncertain exactly when this king's scribes shifted from writing annalistic texts to summary inscriptions since there is a break in the textual record between 644 (643 or 642) and 639. The few texts of this sub-genre of royal composition that we do have are unfortunately badly damaged. Nevertheless, text nos. 12 (Prism H) and 13 (Prism J) are sufficiently preserved to be able to get a sense of what information these types of texts included. Ashurbanipal's summary inscriptions contain a lengthy prologue that records the renovation and decoration of temples and shrines, a long résumé of successes on the battlefield, passages stating that various foreign rulers (voluntarily) sent gifts and messengers bearing messages of goodwill, a building report, concluding formulae, and a date. The military narration abandons the numbering of campaigns and records the events one after another; the episodes are occasionally separated by a horizontal ruling. The arrangement of the episodes, at least for the events that took place before 644 (or 643), follows that of the earlier annalistic texts. Events that happened after the composition of text no. 11 (Prism A) — for example, the receipt of audience gifts from Cyrus I of Parsumaš (Persia) and Pislumê of Ḥudimiri, and Tugdammî the Cimmerian's failed attempts to invade Assyria and the tragedies that befell him — are placed at the end of the military narration. As for the building reports, those of the two known summary inscriptions on prisms are different from those of annalistic texts in that they describe building activities in Babylonia, rather than in Assyria; this is not unexpected since text no. 12 (Prism H) exs. 1–2 and text no. 13 (Prism J) ex. 5 were found at Babylon.<sup>24</sup> This type of text was also written on clay cylinders and undecorated stone wall slabs.

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Inscription); see Novotny, SACT 10 pp. 77–78 no. 18 i 1–ii 25'. This volume assumes that the prologues of these two prism inscriptions more or less contained the same information as Ashurbanipal's School Days Inscription.

<sup>20</sup> Text no. 3 (Prism B) is the earliest extant annalistic inscription of Ashurbanipal in which campaigns are assigned numbers. Copies of that text were written during the eponymies of Aḫu-ilā'i (649) and Bēlšunu (648). It is assumed here that scribes began assigning campaign numbers in the king's annals long before Ashurbanipal's 20th regnal year. Given the long gap in the textual record between text no. 2 (Prism E<sub>2</sub>) and text no. 3 (Prism B), it is not possible to be certain when this change took place. Few Assyrian inscriptions of Ashurbanipal from 663 to 650 have been positively identified. It is possible that some of the uncertain exemplars edited with text no. 3 (Prism B), exs. 1\*–147\*, preserve parts of inscriptions written after 664 and before 649. Text no. 15 was most likely written during this time, perhaps before 655.

<sup>21</sup> Text no. 10 (Prism T) is a variation of this type of inscription. Instead of having lengthy military narration, this text includes an abbreviated report of a single campaign.

<sup>22</sup> This inscription is referred to as "Prism TVar" in Borger, BIWA (pp. 134–136). The designation "Prism I" follows Novotny, Studies Walker p. 192 n. 6.

<sup>23</sup> The prologue is identical to those of text nos. 6 (Prism C), 7 (Prism Kh), and 8 (Prism G).

<sup>24</sup> As is fairly certain from the concluding formulae, the building report of text no. 12 (Prism H) would have recorded the restoration of the Gula temple Esabad at Babylon. The building account of text no. 13 (Prism J) ex. 5 describes the renovation of Marduk's *akītu*-house at Babylon. However, the Nineveh version of text no. 13 (Prism J), which is known from exs. 1–4, likely contained a description of some project at Nineveh.

### *Clay Vertical Cylinders*

This medium, which is the perfect blend of a prism and a cylinder, as far as the textual record is preserved, was used only once — namely, to write out some copies of text no. 9 (Prism F). Vertical cylinders use both the smooth, rounded surface of cylinders and the long, multi-column format of prisms. Much like Tiglath-pileser I's attempt to introduce clay prisms as a medium for writing out long annalistic texts, Ashurbanipal's attempt to introduce vertical cylinders seems to have been a short-lived experiment, which was apparently limited to a single inscription.<sup>25</sup>

### *Clay Cylinders*

Unlike in Babylonia, the clay cylinder appears not to have been a commonly used medium for royal inscriptions in Assyria during the reign of Ashurbanipal.<sup>26</sup> Presently, fragments of only one cylinder bearing a text of this king from Nineveh have survived: this is text no. 21.<sup>27</sup> Apart from the fact that text no. 21 is a summary inscription that provides a very cursory résumé of the accomplishments of the first thirty years of his reign (668–ca. 639), very little can be said about the use of this medium in Assyria. It is certain from this text that Ashurbanipal's scribes sometimes chose to use cylinders to write out royal inscriptions towards the end of his reign.

### *Wall Slabs (with and without Reliefs)*

Ashurbanipal had his scribes write out long narrative texts for undecorated wall slabs; inscriptions of the ninth-century ruler Ashurnasirpal II (883–859) in the Ištar temple at Nineveh (Emašmaš) may have served as a model. This medium, as far as we know, was not used for annals and summary inscriptions during the reigns of Sennacherib and Esarhaddon, but it was used by Ashurbanipal on at least one occasion: when he when he had Emašmaš rebuilt and enlarged late in his reign (ca. 643–638). Two lengthy narrative inscriptions are preserved on a series of wall slabs: text nos. 22 and 23 (Inscription from the Ištar temple; hereafter IIT). Both, unfortunately, are badly damaged. The earlier of the two, text no. 22, which may have been composed ca. 640, appears to be an abbreviated version of the king's annals; the composition was written in no less than four columns.<sup>28</sup> The later inscription, text no. 23 (IIT), which was written no earlier than 638, is a summary inscription; the complete text was written in two columns.<sup>29</sup> Both inscriptions have long prologues that commemorate the renovation and decoration of numerous Assyrian and Babylonian temples and building reports that describe work on the Ištar temple at Nineveh.<sup>30</sup>

Numerous sculpted limestone slabs that once lined the walls of the North Palace and South-West Palace at Nineveh contained epigraphs, short inscriptions and labels that accompanied images of war and hunting. Thirty-five of these have survived; eight come from Room XXXIII of Sennacherib's "Palace Without a Rival" and twenty-five were discovered in various rooms of Ashurbanipal's own palace (North Palace Rooms F, I, M, S<sup>1</sup>,

<sup>25</sup> The known vertical cylinders are text no. 9 (Prism F) exs. 7, 29, 32, 35–36, 57, 96, 146–147, 154, 160–161, 164, 172, and 204. Prior to the reign of Sargon II (721–705), only one Assyrian royal inscription was written on clay prisms: this is the now-famous annals of Tiglath-pileser I (Grayson, RIMA 2 pp. 7–31 A.0.87.1). Sargon's scribes appear to have reintroduced this medium during the second half of his reign. Between 1076 and 721, clay tablets were the primary choice of foundation document used by Assyrian kings.

<sup>26</sup> For his Babylonian inscriptions on cylinders, see Frame, RIMB 2 pp. 196–198, 202–208, 212–216, 219–221, and 224–228 B.6.32.1, 3–6, 12–13, 15, and 19–20. These will be included in Part 2. It is unknown if cylinders were used as foundation documents in Assyria from 668 to early 666 since few texts of Ashurbanipal are extant from his first decade on the throne. It is possible that some of his early inscriptions were written on this medium, just as it was during the early reigns of Sennacherib and Esarhaddon. Alternatively, as suggested by multiple copies of the so-called Large Egyptian Tablets Inscription (Novotny, SAACT 10 no. 20), early annalistic texts and summary inscriptions may have been written on clay tablets.

<sup>27</sup> A.R. Millard (Iraq 30 [1968] p. 111) suggested that BM 122613 belongs to Ashurbanipal. Following E. Weissert (*apud* Borger, BIWA p. 356), the authors believe that that piece actually contains an inscription of Šin-šarra-iškun.

<sup>28</sup> Only a small portion of text no. 22 survives today and pieces of it are housed in the Hearst Museum of Anthropology of University of California at Berkeley, the Metropolitan Museum of Art, and the Vorderasiatisches Museum. The prologue, as far as it is preserved, most closely duplicates text no. 12 (Prism H) and the military narration, what little of it survives, abbreviates material included in text no. 11 (Prism A).

<sup>29</sup> The inscription is known from approximately one hundred limestone fragments that were discovered during the 1930–31 British Museum excavations of the Kuyunjik mound under the direction of R. Campbell Thompson. All but one of these pieces are known only from Campbell Thompson's copies. Despite earlier claims that the IIT was set up in triplicate, there were at least four copies of this monumental inscription lining the walls of Ištar's temple; for details, see Fuchs in Borger, BIWA p. 259 and see the introduction and commentary of text no. 23 (IIT).

<sup>30</sup> The building report of text no. 22 is not preserved, but based on the inscription's concluding formulae it is conjectured that the slabs with this text once lined the walls of Emašmaš at Nineveh and recorded that temple's renovation in its building account. See Frame in Spar and Jursa, CTMMA 4 p. 274.

and V<sup>1</sup>/T<sup>1</sup>), while two could come from either palace.<sup>31</sup> These epigraphs provide information about: (1) the war against Aḥšēri of Mannea; (2) the defeat of Teumman at Tīl-Tūba; (3) the flaying of two high profile Gambulian rebels; (4) the capture of Babylon after the death of Šamaš-šuma-ukīn; (4) the defeat of Ummanigaš; (5) the capture and looting of Elamite cities during Ashurbanipal's wars with Ummanaldašu (Ḫumban-ḫaltaš III); (6) the capture of Ummanaldašu; (7) the looting of the city Bīt-Luppi; and (8) two successful lion hunts, one that took place out in the open steppe and one that was staged on the outskirts of Nineveh. In addition, there are drafts of approximately seventy-five other epigraphs that are known only from clay tablets. Most of those deal with the campaigns of 653 (Teumman and Dunānu) and the Šamaš-šuma-ukīn rebellion. These will be included in RINAP 5/2 and further details on these epigraph collections will be provided in the introduction of that volume.

The back, wall-facing surface of a stone slab discovered in the ruins of the armory at Nebi Yunus by Iraqi archeologists in the early 1990s is inscribed with a proprietary label of Ashurbanipal.<sup>32</sup> This text is similar in style to the Palace Inscriptions of Sennacherib and Esarhaddon.<sup>33</sup> Presumably, many of the slabs lining the walls of the armory renovated by Ashurbanipal were inscribed with the same short, four-line text.

#### *Paving Stones*

Sometime around the years 643–640, Ashurbanipal had the courtyards of Ezida and Emašmaš, the temples of Nabû and Ištar at Nineveh, enlarged. Their floors were paved with inscribed square-shaped stone slabs; the texts were laid face down so that the uninscribed surface faced upwards.<sup>34</sup> The stones used in Ezida were dedicated to Nabû, while those placed in Emašmaš were dedicated to Ištar/Mullissu.<sup>35</sup> Apart from stating that the Assyrian king had the courtyards of those two temples enlarged, the inscriptions record that Ashurbanipal had the head of the Elamite king Teumman cut off and that he had other deposed and captured Elamite kings (including Tammarītu and Ummanaldašu) hitched to his chariot as if they were horses. Both texts conclude with petitions to allow Ashurbanipal to reach extreme old age.

#### *Stone Tablet*

One stone tablet of Ashurbanipal survives today.<sup>36</sup> It was found at Aššur, in a secondary context (being used as a door socket), and it commemorates renovations made to the wall of that city, as well as records the restoration of Esagil at Babylon, the return of Marduk's statue from Baltil (Aššur) to Babylon, and the dedication of a ceremonial chariot and a bed to Marduk and his consort Zarpanītu.<sup>37</sup> The tablet — which had probably been deposited in the structure of the wall of Aššur — is dated to the eponymy of Awiānu, governor of the land Que (655).

#### *Lapis Lazuli Tablet*

A small lapis lazuli tablet, which may have been used as an amulet, was discovered by Campbell Thompson at Nineveh (1905).<sup>38</sup> Its apotropaic function is inferred from the dedicatory inscription written on it; based on the preserved epithets, the text appears to have been dedicated to Marduk.

<sup>31</sup> Text nos. 25–28 and 33–36 come from the South-West Palace, text nos. 24, 29–30, and 37–58 come from the North Palace, and text nos. 31–32 could belong to either palace. See Gerardi, JCS 40 (1988) pp. 1–35; Borger, BIWA pp. 297–319; and J.M. Russell, *Writing on the Wall* pp. 154–209.

<sup>32</sup> Text no. 64 ex. 2.

<sup>33</sup> Compare Grayson and Novotny, RINAP 3/2 pp. 123–125 no. 80; and Leichty, RINAP 4 pp. 67–69 nos. 20–22. The scribes of Sargon II also carved inscriptions on the back of most (if not all) of the king's palace wall slabs, but these inscriptions are much longer (and more poorly written) than those of his successors (see J.M. Russell, *Writing on the Wall* pp. 101–103).

<sup>34</sup> Text nos. 59 (Nabû Inscription) and 60 (Mullissu Inscription).

<sup>35</sup> The goddess Mullissu, Aššur's consort, had a cult at Nineveh in the Ištar temple (Emašmaš) during the second half of Ashurbanipal's reign. Starting around 645, at least according to a few of Ashurbanipal's inscriptions, Mullissu appears to have supplanted Ištar as the main occupant of Emašmaš. This is evident from text no. 10 (Prism T) v 33–vi 51; text no. 11 (Prism A) x 17–39; text no. 23 (IIT) lines 1–13a, 30–37a, and 162–183; and text no. 60 (Mullissu Inscription). Ištar does not seem to have been entirely booted out of her seat in Nineveh. For example, text no. 60 (Mullissu Inscription) line 12 still refers to the Emašmaš as “the temple of the goddess Ištar.”

<sup>36</sup> Text no. 61.

<sup>37</sup> According to the subscript on K 2411 (Grayson and Novotny, RINAP 3/2 p. 231 no. 162 iii 36'–40'), the bed was returned to Babylon on the 27th of Simānu (III) of the eponymy of Awiānu (655). For further details, see n. 194.

<sup>38</sup> Text no. 62.



*Anthropomorphic statues*

Several inscriptions record that Ashurbanipal had images of himself made from metal and installed before the gods in their temples.<sup>39</sup> It is certain from a small fragment of a colossal pink limestone statue that the king also had anthropomorphic statues of himself made from stone and that he had brief inscriptions engraved on them (on one of their shoulders).<sup>40</sup> The one known statue of Ashurbanipal found at Nineveh was commissioned by Ashurbanipal ca. late 653–early 652 since the text written on it mentions that the statue was made (shortly) after the Elamite king Teumman was defeated.

*Stone Bull Colossi*

The wall-facing surface of a human-headed bull colossus discovered in a wing of the armory at Nebi Yunus constructed by Esarhaddon bears a short, four-line proprietary label.<sup>41</sup> The inscription is the same one that was engraved on the back of at least one wall slab (see above) and it was presumably written on the back of other bull colossi erected in the gateways of that building. This bull colossus, which was discovered by the Iraqis in the early 1990s, is the only one known from the reign of Ashurbanipal and it, together with a single wall slab, are the only physical proof of the armory's renovation by Ashurbanipal.<sup>42</sup>

*Seals*

Four stamp seals of Ashurbanipal are known from thirty-five impressions on clay bullae found at Nineveh.<sup>43</sup> The actual seals themselves have been lost, are in private collections, or remain buried in Iraq. The proprietary label of three of the seals is engraved in a single line, while that of the fourth seal is written over four lines.

*Stone Vessels*

Numerous stone vessels are inscribed with a one-line proprietary inscription stating that the objects belonged to Ashurbanipal.<sup>44</sup> Most come from Nineveh, but one was discovered at Aššur. Some of the exemplars of text no. 68 have images of a table and a lion incised to the left of the inscription. In the repertoire of Assyrian hieroglyphs, the lion represents the king and, thus, these vessels were probably used to serve Ashurbanipal's meals, that is, objects used specifically for "the king's table" (TABLE + LION).<sup>45</sup>

*Glazed Bricks*

A single glazed brick contains a three-word inscription that states that the Assyrian king was "[the one who bro]ught about the defeat of [the land] Elam."<sup>46</sup> Presumably, this brick formed part of a much longer inscription, which no longer exists. Given the near complete lack of evidence, little can be said at this time about glazed-brick inscriptions of Ashurbanipal.

**Overview of Previous Editions**

Just like many of the other late Neo-Assyrian rulers, Ashurbanipal has been a popular subject of study from the early days of Assyriology and, therefore, it is little surprise that there are numerous books, dissertations, and articles devoted to him, his inscriptions, and his reign.<sup>47</sup> From the 1860s and 70s to the present, numerous works, large and small, have been devoted to Assyria's last great king. Because this is not the place to present a complete and detailed historical survey of the publication of the Ashurbanipal 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.

<sup>39</sup> See, for example, text no. 10 (Prism T) iii 49b–iv 3.

<sup>40</sup> Text no. 63.

<sup>41</sup> Text no. 64 ex. 1. Sargon II's scribes also carved inscriptions on the wall-facing side of his bull colossi (see J.M. Russell, *Writing on the Wall* pp. 101–103).

<sup>42</sup> The building reports of text no. 3 (Prism B), and probably that of text no. 6 (Prism C), provide the textual evidence.

<sup>43</sup> Text nos. 65–67.

<sup>44</sup> Text nos. 68–70.

<sup>45</sup> For further details and bibliography on Assyrian hieroglyphs, see Leichty, *RINAP* 4 pp. 238–243 no. 115; Nadali, *Iraq* 70 (2008) pp. 87–104; and Niederreiter, *Iraq* 70 (2008) pp. 51–86.

<sup>46</sup> Text no. 71. For some information on glazed bricks, see in particular Nadali, *Iraq* 70 (2008) pp. 87–104; and Nadali in *Encyclopaedia of the History of Science*<sup>3</sup> pp. 978–981.

<sup>47</sup> For a good historical survey of previous work on the Ashurbanipal corpus (1866–1996), see Borger, *BIWA* pp. xii–xiii, xv–xvi, 1–3, 7–9, 86–87, 122–123, 126–128, 130–133, 173–175, 188, 258–259, and 297–299.

Treatments of Ashurbanipal and his reign are to be found in every general history of Assyria or Mesopotamia. Particularly useful are the biographical sketches by Grayson in *CAH*<sup>2</sup> 3/2; Radner, Ruby, and Weissert in *PNA* 1/1 pp. 159–171 sub *Aššūr-bāni-apli*; and Arnaud, *Assurbanipal*. Translations of selected inscriptions of his often appear in collected works of Mesopotamian texts in translation, for example, Oppenheim in *ANET*<sup>3</sup> and Borger in *TUAT* 1/4.

Before discussing previous editions and major studies of this text corpus, we would like to cite here other works in which Ashurbanipal texts have been published. For copies, typeset Neo-Assyrian or hand-drawn facsimiles, see in particular: Layard, *ICC*; 1 R; 2 R; 3 R; 5 R; Lehmann-Haupt, *Šamaššumukīn*; Winckler, *Sammlung* 3; Ungnad, *VAS* 1; Scheil, *Prisme*; King, *CT* 34; Leeper, *CT* 35; Thompson, *Arch.* 79 (1929); Bauer, *Asb.*; Thompson, *Iraq* 7 (1940); Wiseman, *Iraq* 13 (1951); Knudsen, *Iraq* 29 (1967); Millard, *Iraq* 30 (1968); Mahmud and Black, *Sumer* 44 (1985–86); and Marzahn, *FuB* 27 (1989). For editions/transliterations of a single text, or a very small group of texts, often accompanied by a copy and/or a photograph, see especially: Weidner, *AfO* 7 (1931–32); Thompson, *AAA* 20 (1933); Thompson, *Esar.*; Aynard, *Prisme*; Borger, *JCS* 19 (1965); Weippert, *Edom*; Freedman, *St. Louis*; Cogan and Tadmor, *Orientalia NS* 46 (1977); Borger, *BAL*<sup>2</sup>; Walker, *CBI*; Gerardi, *JCS* 40 (1988); Weissert and Onasch, *Orientalia NS* 61 (1992); Onasch, *ÄAT* 27; J.M. Russell, *Writing on the Wall*; Novotny, *Eḫulḫul*; Novotny, *Orientalia NS* 74 (2005); Novotny, *SAAB* 15 (2006); Searight, *Assyrian Stone Vessels*; and Novotny, *SAACT* 10. Information on objects containing inscriptions of Ashurbanipal is provided in a few museum and excavation catalogues. The most useful of these are: Bezold, *Cat.* 1–4; King, *Cat.*; Lambert and Millard, *Cat.*; and Lambert, *Cat.*; and Cogan and Tadmor, *JCS* 40 (1988) pp. 87–96. The catalogue of texts provided in Borger, *BIWA* pp. 320–388 is also very useful.

In 1871, G. Smith's *History of Assurbanipal*, Translated from the Cuneiform Inscriptions was the first book dedicated entirely to Ashurbanipal's life and texts. Work on the volume began in 1866 and, to some extent, was prepared in conjunction with *The Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia*, vol. 3: *A Selection from the Miscellaneous Inscriptions of Assyria* (= 3 R), a volume published by Sir H. Rawlinson with the assistance of Smith. The cost of publishing this 384-page tome was generously covered by J. W. Bosanquet, a well-known chronologist, and H. Fox Talbot, one of the early pioneers whose efforts greatly advanced the decipherment of Akkadian cuneiform. The original Ashurbanipal cuneiform sources used by Smith included editions (and very general studies) of the prisms (which he calls "cylinders"), tablets, and epigraphs published by him in 3 R, as well as a few other royal inscriptions and Neo-Assyrian letters. Although thirty-six inscriptions were used, the editions of Prisms A, B, C, D, and E (text nos. 11, 3, 6, 4, and 1–2 respectively) formed the backbone of Smith's "history."<sup>48</sup> The texts themselves 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.<sup>49</sup>

J. Ménéant, in 1874, published French translations of the Ashurbanipal inscriptions published by G. Smith, as well as a short brick inscription of *Aššūr-etel-ilāni*.<sup>50</sup>

In 1887 and 1889, S.A. Smith took it upon himself to publish a collection of texts dating to Ashurbanipal's reign. The three-volume *Die Keilschrifttexte Asurbanipals, Königs von Assyrien* (668–626 c. Chr.) contained a full treatment of Rm 1 — the so-called Rassam Prism (text no. 11 [Prism A] ex. 1), a hand-drawn facsimile of which T.G. Pinches had published several years earlier in *The Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia*, vol. 5: *A Selection from the Miscellaneous Inscriptions of Assyria and Babylonia* (= 5 R) — editions (transliterations and German translations) of a few royal inscriptions and numerous (about thirty) Neo-Assyrian letters.<sup>51</sup> Typeset Neo-Assyrian copies of previously unpublished texts accompanied the editions, commentaries, and glossaries. *Die Keilschrifttexte Asurbanipals* represents the first major German publication dealing with this Assyrian king.

In 1890, in a volume of Neo-Assyrian historical texts edited by E. Schrader (*KB* 2), P. Jensen published editions of a handful of inscriptions of Ashurbanipal. These included the texts known to him, those published

<sup>48</sup> The following prisms were used with certainty by G. Smith: K 1678+ (text no. 11 [Prism A] ex. 2), K 1697+ (text no. 11 [Prism A] ex. 3), K 1700+ (text no. 4 [Prism D] ex. 3), K 1775+ (text no. 3 [Prism B] ex. 1), K 1794 (text no. 6 [Prism C] ex. 1), K 1821 (text no. 1 [Prism E<sub>1</sub>] ex. 1), and K 1828 (text no. 2 [Prism E<sub>2</sub>] ex. 1\*).

<sup>49</sup> This publication format was used, for example, for G. Smith, *Senn.*

<sup>50</sup> *Annales* pp. 250–295.

<sup>51</sup> The royal inscriptions included in that work are: K 1794 (text no. 6 [Prism C] ex. 1), K 2652 (a dedication inscription to Ištar), K 2674 (a tablet containing a collection of epigraphs), K 2675 (the Large Egyptian Tablets Inscription), K 2867 (the Large Hunting Inscription), Rm 3 (text no. 6 [Prism C] ex. 2a), the Nabû Inscription, and the Mullissu Inscription. Col i of K 1794, which contains part of the prologue, was mistakenly regarded as the building report of col. x in part 2 of that book (pp. 18–25). Part 2 (pp. 89–99) also contained comments on Rm 1 by C. Bezold, C.F. Lehmann-Haupt, T.G. Pinches, and J.N. Strassmaier.

in 2 R; 3 R; 5 R; G. Smith, Assurbanipal; and S.A. Smith, Keilschrifttexte 1–2.<sup>52</sup>

H. Winckler, in 1895, published annotated copies of thirty inscribed objects of Ashurbanipal in the third volume of his three-part *Sammlung von Keilschrifttexten*. The principal contents were a moderately revised version of Rm 1 (text no. 11 [Prism A] ex. 1),<sup>53</sup> which Pinches had published in 1880 (5 R), and more accurate copies of the principal exemplars of Prisms B (text no. 3) and D (text no. 4) than the ones given by G. Smith in 3 R; this marked a departure from the publication of composite texts.

One of the most important scholarly works on Ashurbanipal was published by M. Streck in 1916 in his impressive three-volume *Assurbanipal und die letzten assyrischen Könige bis zum Untergange Niniveh's*.<sup>54</sup> This excellent piece of scholarship brought together the then-known material and produced a high-quality study of the lives and reigns of the last kings of the Assyrian empire, as well as annotated editions of the available inscriptions of Ashurbanipal, Aššur-etel-ilāni, and Sîn-šarra-iškun. Volume 1 provided a comprehensive introduction to the extant corpus of inscriptions (with relevant bibliography), contemporary textual sources (letters, archival documents, “religious texts,” etc.) that gave insight into the reigns of Ashurbanipal and his successors, and the (political and building) history of Assyria from the death of Esarhaddon to the fall of Nineveh. Chapter 4 (*Zur Geschichte Assyriens vom Tode Assarhaddons bis zum Untergange Ninevehs*) tackled many complex issues, including the problems of internal chronology, and it was the first critical study of this important period of Assyrian history.<sup>55</sup> Volume 2 contained the editions (transliterations and German translations) of the then-known corpus of inscriptions of Assyria’s last kings, which included: five versions of the annals written on prisms (Prisms A–E); twenty-two annalistic texts written on clay tablets; fourteen “display inscriptions” written on cylinders, tablets, and steles; sixteen epigraphs written on sculpted wall slabs; drafts of epigraphs inscribed on nine clay tablets; a literary text (a dialogue between Ashurbanipal and the god Nabû); three brick inscriptions (two from Babylon and one from Nippur); a building inscription from Nippur; twenty-two colophons known from tablets found in Ashurbanipal’s libraries; an inscription of Aššur-etel-ilāni; two texts of Sîn-šarra-iškun; and a stele inscription of Ashurbanipal’s wife Libbāli-šarrat.<sup>56</sup> Volume 3 included complete glossaries of Akkadian words, logograms, and proper names, as well as supplemental information on texts that had been published in 1914.<sup>57</sup> Streck’s *magnum opus*, despite being extremely outdated, remains to this day one of the most important principal scholarly resources for the study of Ashurbanipal and his successors.

In 1927, D.D. Luckenbill included translations of the then-published Ashurbanipal texts in his *Ancient Records of Assyria and Babylonia* (vol. 2), a two-volume set that comprised English translations of the entire corpus of Assyrian royal inscriptions available at that time.<sup>58</sup> ARAB 2 included approximately seventy inscriptions written on prisms (which he calls “cylinders”), tablets, cylinders, paving stones, and steles. Luckenbill’s work was based entirely on published material, most of which appeared a decade earlier in Streck, *Asb.*; the texts were not collated against the originals.

The year 1933 was a watershed for the study of Ashurbanipal. Two important volumes publishing a wealth of new sources appeared. The earliest was T. Bauer’s two-volume *Das Inschriftenwerk Assurbanipals vervollständigt und neu bearbeitet*. The book was divided into two parts: the copies (*Keilschrifttexte*) and editions (*Bearbeitung*). Part 1 comprised 64 plates of hand-drawn facsimiles of approximately 170 (mostly previously unpublished) clay prisms and tablets housed in the British Museum (London).<sup>59</sup> This greatly

<sup>52</sup> In that same volume, H. Winckler prepared an edition of a brick inscription of Aššur-etel-ilāni and a fragment of a cylinder inscription of Sîn-šarra-iškun.

<sup>53</sup> Regarding H. Winckler’s copy of Rm 1, see the comments of R. Borger in *BIWA* (p. 1).

<sup>54</sup> The final process of preparing the book took several years, with the typesetting starting in the fall of 1908. Most of the first two volumes were completed by the fall of 1912 and the bulk of the third book was finished by the end of 1913. The final pieces were set in place in 1914 and 1915. For details, see Streck, *Asb.* pp. VII–VIII (with n. 1).

<sup>55</sup> Streck, *Asb.* pp. CCXXX–CDLXXII.

<sup>56</sup> The texts were edited primarily from published copies and photographs, rather than from the originals (in London and Berlin); see Streck, *Asb.* pp. V–VI. Moreover, many of the inscriptions in that volume were edited from a single source; for example, his no. 3.a.β (BE 8072) of section I.IV, a text now known today to have been written on twenty-seven bricks (Frame, *RIMB* 2 pp. 208–209 B.6.32.7). On one occasion, M. Streck edited an inscription in the wrong place: K 1703 (text no. 6 [Prism C] ex. 3b) was regarded as a tablet, rather than as a prism. For editions of the dialogue between Ashurbanipal and Nabû and the colophons, see respectively Livingstone, *SAA* 3 pp. 33–35 no. 13 and Hunger, *Kolophone*.

<sup>57</sup> The most important new Ashurbanipal texts for M. Streck were the three prism fragments published by V. Scheil (*Prisme* pp. 43–44 and pls. 6–7) since these pieces belonged to a new edition of this king’s annals (which he designated as Prism F); these are text no. 9 (Prism F) exs. 36, 44, and 48. L.W. King’s supplement to C. Bezold’s four-volume *Kouyunjik catalogue* (King, *Cat.*) also contained a few new pieces.

<sup>58</sup> Luckenbill, *ARAB* 2 pp. 290–407 §§762–1129. In addition, he also translated the few known inscriptions of Aššur-etel-ilāni and Sîn-šarra-iškun; see pp. 408–416 §§1130–1165 of that book.

<sup>59</sup> On the quality of T. Bauer’s copies, see the remarks of R. Borger in *BIWA* (p. xvi): “Es muss allerdings hervorgehoben werden, dass seine

expanded the available corpus of texts, especially building and dedicatory inscriptions; the two most significant/largest pieces included were the fragmentarily preserved prisms BM 105315+ (text no. 9 [Prism F] ex. 2) and K 1794+ (text no. 6 [Prism C] ex. 1).<sup>60</sup> Part 2 contained editions (transliterations and German translations) of most of the inscriptions that Bauer had copied, together with relevant bibliography and some commentary. For the texts that were not copied or edited,<sup>61</sup> Bauer often provided corrections and updated readings; these were the results of his firsthand re-examination of the originals in London. The numerous texts were grouped in three general categories: (1) building and dedication inscriptions; (2) unique texts; and (3) epigraphs. Contrary to the book's title (and its foreword), *Das Inschriftenwerk Assurbanipals* did not include the entire then-known corpus of inscriptions of this Assyrian king. Nevertheless, Bauer's work, especially Part 1 (*Keilschrifttexte*), proved itself to be a vital supplement to Streck, *Asb.* and it remains to this day the publication with the most copies of the inscribed objects of Ashurbanipal.

Shortly after Bauer, *Asb.* appeared, A.C. Piepkorn published the first part of his planned two-volume work on the texts of Assyria's last great king. *Historical Prism Inscriptions of Ashurbanipal 1: Editions E, B<sub>1-5</sub>, D, and K* (*Assyriological Studies* 5) made available many of the then-unpublished 243 prism fragments in the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, as well as a few pieces in his own possession.<sup>62</sup> This new material, which included texts in the British Museum (London), in Piepkorn's own words "increased [Prism] E by two and a half times, giving us almost the entire text of [Prism] B, provided valuable additions to [Prisms] D and C, and permitted the reconstruction of [Prism] F down to a few signs."<sup>63</sup> One hundred and forty-seven fragments were used to produce new, critical editions of the earliest four versions of Ashurbanipal's annals: Prisms E (text no. 1), B (text no. 3), D (text no. 4), and "K" (= C; text no. 6).<sup>64</sup> One motive for Piepkorn's interest in the Ashurbanipal material, seems to have been to fix the poor editorial practices of earlier scholarship, which he found "somewhat less than satisfying." He states that the purpose of his work was "(1) to provide all the available Assyrian historical prism inscriptions of Ashurbanipal in their correct, chronological sequence, as far as this sequence can be determined; (2) to assign the various published or otherwise available historical prism fragments to the proper edition in the degree to which our present knowledge makes this possible; [and] (3) to make available for historians the additional information contained in the Ashurbanipal fragments of the Oriental Institute."<sup>65</sup> The high quality of the editions was ensured by first-hand collation of the material, something that had been lacking in previous publications. Piepkorn's access to the unpublished Oriental Institute sources allowed him to make one very significant discovery: he recognized that Prism F, which was then known only from three fragments published by V. Scheil (= text no. 9 exs. 36, 44, and 48), and Bauer's Prism A<sup>a</sup> (= text no. 9 ex. 2) were one and the same inscription. A second volume — one editing Prisms C (text no. 6), F<sub>1-5</sub> (text no. 9), and A (text no. 11), as well as a few other texts — was planned, but Piepkorn left Assyriology before completing the task and, thus, over half of the Ashurbanipal pieces in the Oriental Institute purchased by E. Chiera in 1928 remained unpublished.<sup>66</sup>

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Kopien — trotz der schönen Handschrift — nicht immer voll zuverlässig sind. Die von ihm gebotenen Zeichenformen sind u.U. zu stark normalisiert nach bestimmten Drucktypen."

<sup>60</sup> Bauer, *Asb.* pls. 1–13. BM 105315+ (and duplicates) were designated as Prism A<sup>a</sup> and this edition was regarded as a separate text from M. Streck's Prism F; the equation of A<sup>a</sup> with F was first made by A.C. Piepkorn (see below). Until T. Bauer's 1933 copy, only a small portion of K 1794+ had been published; see 3 R pls. 27 and 34; G. Smith, *Assurbanipal*; and S.A. Smith in *Keilschrifttexte* 2. Earlier publications wrongly regarded the prologue, which reports of Ashurbanipal's building activities, as the main building report. This understanding was corrected when R. Campbell Thompson published an edition and copy of BM 121006+ (text no. 10 [Prism T] ex. 1) in 1931; see Thompson, *Esar.* pp. 29–36 and pls. 14–18.

<sup>61</sup> For example, T. Bauer did not re-edit Prisms A, B, F (which he regarded as a different inscription than his A<sup>a</sup>), G (K 1703), H, and Bauer's Prism G = A.C. Piepkorn's Prism K and R. Borger's Prism C. For details on Prism K = C, see the commentary of text no. 6 (Prism C) and Borger, *BIWA* p. 126.

<sup>62</sup> Deposit 809 comprises A 7919–8162. The pieces were purchased by E. Chiera from a local dealer at Mosul and they were accessioned on December 10th, 1928. A.C. Piepkorn personally acquired fifteen additional pieces in Mosul in April, 1933. These remained in his possession until his death, at which time they were bequeathed to the Oriental Institute (Chicago); these are now A 11858–A 11870. A 11848–A 11858 were also purchased by Chiera. This material is generally thought to be the result of clandestine digging at Nineveh during R. Campbell Thompson's excavations; many are believed to have come from Area SH.

<sup>63</sup> Piepkorn, *Asb.* p. 3.

<sup>64</sup> A.C. Piepkorn's Prism K was represented by a single fragment (K 1703). This corresponded to T. Bauer's Prism G. The designation K was used to avoid confusion with the designations provided for the inscriptions of Ashurbanipal by A.T.E. Olmstead in his *Historiography*; see Piepkorn, *Asb.* p. 101 n. 1.

<sup>65</sup> Piepkorn, *Asb.* pp. 3–4. Like D.D. Luckenbill, A.C. Piepkorn was highly influenced by A.T.E. Olmstead's *Historiography* and took to heart his complaints about the growing tendency to use only "the final Assyrian edition."

<sup>66</sup> Editions of A 8011–A 8163 were to have appeared in that volume. As M. Cogan and H. Tadmor (*JCS* 40 [1988] p. 85 n. 3) have stated, A.C. Piepkorn seems to have prepared a complete manuscript of the Ashurbanipal prisms. In 1957, when Tadmor visited Piepkorn, the manuscript that he had prepared in the 1930s could no longer be located.

Between 1933 and 1995, no major publications editing the inscriptions of Ashurbanipal appeared. However, the same cannot be said about the publication of new texts and/or fragments discovered at Nineveh (1927–32) and Kalḫu (1950–56 and 1985). Copies of prism fragments from Nineveh were published by Campbell Thompson in “The British Museum Excavations at Nineveh, 1931–32,” *Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology* 20 (1933) pp. 71–113 and pls. LXXX–XCVII and “A Selection from the Cuneiform Historical Texts from Nineveh (1927–32),” *Iraq* 7 (1940) pp. 85–131 and figs. 1–20; and by A.R. Millard in “Fragments of Historical Texts from Nineveh: Ashurbanipal,” *Iraq* 30 (1968) pp. 98–111 and pls. XIX–XXVII. A catalogue of prisms of Ashurbanipal (as well as those of Sennacherib and Esarhaddon) found during Campbell Thompson’s excavations was published in 1968 by W.G. Lambert and A.R. Millard in their *Catalogue of the Cuneiform Tablets in the Kouyunjik Collection of the British Museum, 2nd Supplement*. The material from Kalḫu was published by D.J. Wiseman in “Two Historical Inscriptions from Nimrud,” *Iraq* 13 (1951) pp. 21–26; E.E. Knudsen in “Fragments of Historical Texts from Nimrud: II,” *Iraq* 29 (1967) pp. 49–69 and pls. XIV–XXIX; and M. Mahmud and J. Black in “Recent Work in the Nabû Temple, Nimrud,” *Sumer* 44 (1985–86) pp. 137 and 151–152. A large prism fragment acquired by the Louvre in 1947 was published by J.-M. Aynard in 1957, in *Le prisme du Louvre AO 19.939*. In 1988, M. Cogan and H. Tadmor published a catalogue of the Ashurbanipal inscriptions in the Oriental Institute (Chicago) that were to have appeared in the follow-up volume to Piepkorn, *Asb.*; “Ashurbanipal Texts in the Collection of the Oriental Institute, University of Chicago” (*JCS* 40 [1988] pp. 84–96) contained information on approximately 175 fragments, most of which were exemplars of Prism F (text no. 9).<sup>67</sup> This new material more than doubled what had been available to Streck, Luckenbill, Bauer, and Piepkorn. However, the Oriental Institute pieces remained largely unpublished until 1996 (see below).

The influx of new sources generated some interest in improving our understanding of the Ashurbanipal corpus. R.D. Freedman, in his doctoral dissertation, *The Cuneiform Tablets in St. Louis* (Columbia University, 1975), produced a new edition of Prism C (text no. 6); that work utilized a few of the then-unpublished pieces that were in the personal collection of Piepkorn.<sup>68</sup> Cogan, sometimes in cooperation with Tadmor, produced in the 1970s and 80s a series of articles devoted to the recensional history and editorial techniques of Ashurbanipal’s scribes. The most important of these were: “Ashurbanipal Prism F: Notes on Scribal Techniques and Editorial Procedures,” *JCS* 29 (1977) pp. 97–107; “Gyges and Ashurbanipal: A Study in Literary Transmission,” *Orientalia NS* 46 (1977) pp. 65–85; and “Ashurbanipal’s Conquest of Babylon: The First Official Report - Prism K,” *Orientalia NS* 50 (1981) pp. 229–240. In her 1987 dissertation from the University of Pennsylvania (*Assurbanipal’s Elamite Campaigns: A Literary and Political Study*), P. Gerardi produced an excellent overview of this king’s annalistic texts.<sup>69</sup> In the early 1990s, H.-U. Onasch and E. Weissert devoted some attention to Ashurbanipal’s inscriptions, especially on this king’s Egyptian campaigns and his education. These two scholars produced one article on reassessing Prisms E<sub>1</sub> and E<sub>2</sub> (text nos. 1–2) (“The Prologue to Ashurbanipal’s Prism E,” *Orientalia NS* 61 [1992] pp. 58–77). In addition, Onasch’s published dissertation (*Die assyrischen Eroberungen Ägyptens [ÄAT 27], 1994*) produced new studies and editions of many texts reporting on Assyria’s activities in Egypt during the reigns of Esarhaddon and Ashurbanipal.<sup>70</sup>

G. Frame, in 1995, published editions of Ashurbanipal’s Babylonian Inscriptions in *Rulers of Babylonia: From the Second Dynasty of Isin to the End of Assyrian Domination (1157–612 BC)* (Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia, Babylonian Periods 2). This group of texts comprised twenty-three texts from Babylon, Borsippa, Dūr-Kurigalzu, Mê-Turran, Nippur, Sippar, and Uruk, as well as sixteen inscriptions written in the name of a loyal governor of Ur (Sîn-balāssu-iqbi).<sup>71</sup> Following the strict editorial principals of the Toronto-based RIM Project (directed by Grayson), the collated (composite) transliterations were accompanied by readable English translations, short introductions, detailed catalogues of sources and commentaries, and extensive bibliographies. The high quality of the transliterations was ensured by collation of the texts from the originals (or from photographs); this was a marked improvement over earlier publications, some of which relied solely on published (not always accurate) hand-drawn copies.

The most comprehensive study and edition of Ashurbanipal’s inscriptions was published by R. Borger in

<sup>67</sup> The catalogue was the result of H. Tadmor’s first-hand examination of the material in 1956–57 and 1971 and M. Cogan’s work on the texts in 1978 and 1980.

<sup>68</sup> See n. 62.

<sup>69</sup> Gerardi, *Assurbanipal’s Elamite Campaigns* pp. 49–77.

<sup>70</sup> Two important contributions of E. Weissert on the life and inscriptions of Ashurbanipal are “Royal Hunt and Royal Triumph in a Prism Fragment of Ashurbanipal (82-5-22,2),” which was published in Parpola and Whiting, *Assyria 1995* (pp. 339–358), and his treatment of this king’s rise to power in *PNA* 1/1 (pp. 160–163 sub Aššūr-bāni-apli I).

<sup>71</sup> Frame, *RIMB* 2 pp. 194–247 B.6.32.1–2016. The inscriptions of Šamaš-šuma-ukin and Aššur-etel-ilāni were also published in that volume; see pp. 248–259 B.6.33.1–2001 and pp. 261–268 B.6.35.1–5.

1996. *Beiträge zum Inschriftenwerk Assurbanipals: die Prismenklassen A, B, C = K, D, E, F, G, H, J und T sowie andere Inschriften (BIWA)* was the fruitful product of research that began in 1988, when Borger started producing a critical edition of the Rassam Prism (text no. 11 [Prism A] ex. 1). It was obvious early on that what the field of Assyriology really needed were new editions of the complete corpus of Ashurbanipal's inscriptions, something that would replace Streck's 1916 opus magnum.<sup>72</sup> The monumental task of compiling and transliterating the vast source material began in 1989. Between 1989 and 1994, Borger transliterated (almost exclusively from the originals) all the inscriptions of Ashurbanipal that he could get access to in the British Museum (London) and the Oriental Institute (Chicago). His countless hours of carefully examining hundreds of clay prisms and tablets produced over 1,100 pages of hand-written notes, collations, and transliterations, as well as over 300 new joins (including many between pieces in Chicago and London).<sup>73</sup> The heart of BIWA — the principal product of Borger's herculean efforts, which contribute significantly to the Ashurbanipal corpus — is its conflated and well-annotated editions of this king's prism inscriptions and related texts.<sup>74</sup> Chapter I was primarily devoted to Prisms A and F; Chapter II to Prisms B and D; Chapter III to Prisms C, Kh, G, and T; Chapter IV to the E Prisms; Chapter V to Prisms H, J, and miscellaneous prism inscriptions; Chapter VI to translations; Chapter VII (which was prepared by A. Fuchs) to the Inscription from the Ištar Temple; and Chapter VIII to epigraphs on clay tablets.<sup>75</sup> Chapter IX contained a catalogue of objects. Following in the footsteps of his much earlier *Die Inschriften Asarhaddons, Königs von Assyrien* (1956), Borger did not edit each inscription separately, but rather edited parallel passages of different inscriptions together. Moreover, unlike that earlier work, where the variants were listed in footnotes, the BIWA transliterations embedded every minor textual variant within the transliterations.<sup>76</sup> This complicated, yet detailed editing style produced information-packed pages with unfriendly, densely-annotated conflated texts (sometimes comprising material from as many as eight or nine different inscriptions). Despite these editions being difficult to use, even for experienced Assyriologists, Borger's many contributions have greatly furthered our understanding of the most important inscriptions of Ashurbanipal. BIWA's transliterations are without question very accurate and contain very few (minor/typographical) errors. In some ways, Borger achieved the goal that he set for himself in 1989, but in other ways he did not; BIWA produced top quality editions of Ashurbanipal's annals, but failed to produce editions of the complete corpus of texts (something that has still yet to be achieved). Moreover, it has replaced Streck, *Asb.* as the primary scholarly resource for this corpus of texts.

Since 1996, there have been many publications concerning Ashurbanipal's inscriptions, but few have made improvements to Borger's editions, or, at the very least, forwarded alternate interpretations of the extant source material. For example, J. Novotny, in 2002, reclassified text no. 5 as Prism I, rather than as Prism TVar, since that inscription should be regarded as a unique text, and he, in 2008, untangled some of the problems surrounding the compositional history of text nos. 6 (Prism C), 7 (Prism Kh), and 8 (Prism G), suggesting that the former annalistic text was written in 647 (Ashurbanipal's 22nd regnal year) and that the latter two inscriptions were composed one year later, in 646 (his 23rd year on the throne).<sup>77</sup>

In 2014, Novotny published a short monograph on a few texts of this Assyrian king. *Selected Royal Inscriptions of Assurbanipal: L<sup>3</sup>, L<sup>4</sup>, LET, Prism I, Prism T, and Related Texts (State Archives of Assyria Cuneiform Texts 10)* was intended to be a teaching aid for students interested in temple building and decoration and in reading Assyrian texts other than the ones included in Borger, *BAL<sup>2</sup>*. Twenty texts, including text nos. 5 (Prism I) and 10 (Prism T) of this volume, were presented in typeset Neo-Assyrian cuneiform, together with transliterations, English translations, and complete glossaries of Akkadian words and personal names.<sup>78</sup>

<sup>72</sup> For details, see Borger, *BIWA* pp. vii–xviii.

<sup>73</sup> These were published on thirteen microfiche, as 8<sup>o</sup>-Heft, 4<sup>o</sup>-Heft, and LoBl.

<sup>74</sup> The contents of R. Borger's *BIWA* volume — minus, of course, the inscriptions on tablets — are found in *RINAP 5/1*.

<sup>75</sup> Chapter I also contained transliterations of Prisms B, D, I, C, Kh, G, and T; and Chapter II also contained transliterations of Prisms I, C, Kh, G, and T. In addition, numerous annalistic texts written on clay tablets were included in *BIWA* Chapters I–IV; for example, the Letter to Aššur (K 2802+) is edited on pp. 76–82, the Nergal-Laš Inscription (K 2631+) on pp. 82–85, K 2652 (and duplicates) on pp. 101–103, and K 2656+ (and duplicates) on pp. 155–158.

<sup>76</sup> For details, see Borger, *BIWA* pp. xiii–xiv and 2. For example: A II 107 F II 18 B III 1 C IV 11) *ina tukul* || *tu-kul-ti an-šár u* || Ø <sup>dingir</sup>XV(auch C = CND4) || <sup>dingir</sup>amar-utu(B = B1, B9, B/D17, B/D20, D10) *dingir-meš* || Ø(F, B ; C = CND4 hiat) Ø || *gal-meš*(A26) *en-meš-ia* || *ia* (C = CND4 hiat) *ta\** || *ul-tu* || *iš-[tú]*(A14) || Ø(F, B, C) *ša* || *ša-bi* || Ø(F, B, C) <sup>lu</sup>en || Ø(F, B, C) *uru-meš* || Ø(F, B, C).

<sup>77</sup> Respectively *Studies Walker* p. 192 n. 6 and *SAOC* 62 pp. 127–135. R. Borger (*BIWA* pp. 131 and 257), for example, thought that text nos. 6 (Prism C), 7 (Prism Kh), and 8 (Prism G) were all written in the same year: 647. Further details about the dating of these inscriptions is provided in the *Dating and Chronology* section.

<sup>78</sup> Most of the editions included in that volume were prepared by J. Novotny. The edition of the Large Egyptian Tablets Inscription (*SAACT* 10 no. 20), however, was prepared by S. Parpola and reviewed by Novotny only in the final proofs.

## Family, Succession Arrangement, and Education

Ashurbanipal was a son of Esarhaddon by one of the latter's wives, very likely Ešarra-ḥammat.<sup>79</sup> His paternal grandfather and grandmother were Sennacherib and Naqī'a (Zakūtu). Esarhaddon had many sons and daughters and Ashurbanipal may have been his fourth eldest son. Sîn-nādin-apli, Šamaš-šuma-ukīn, and Šamaš-mētu-uballiṭ were his older brothers, Šērū'a-ētirat his older sister, and Aššur-taqīša-libluṭ, Aššur-mukīn-palē'a, and Aššur-etel-šamê-eršeti-muballissu were the eldest of his younger brothers.<sup>80</sup> As a younger son of the king, Ashurbanipal appears not to have been destined to be the next king of Assyria, an honor that had been originally planned for Sîn-nādin-apli, and, thus, the young prince was trained in the scribal arts.<sup>81</sup> One of his early inscriptions (the so-called School Days Inscription) describes this part of his education:

[The gods Šamaš (and) Adad] placed at my disposal the lore of the diviner, a craft that cannot be changed; [the god Mardu]k, the sage of the gods, granted me a broad mind (and) extensive knowledge as a gift; the god Nabû, the scribe of everything, bestowed on me the precepts of his craft as a present; the gods Ninurta (and) Nergal endowed my body with power, virility, (and) unrivalled strength. I learned [the c]raft of the sage Adapa, the secret (and) hidden lore of all of the scribal arts. I am able to recognize celestial and terrestrial [om]ens (and) can discuss (them) in an assembly of scholars. I am capable of arguing with expert diviners about (the series) "If the liver is a mirror image of the heavens." I can resolve complex (mathematical) divisions (and) multiplications that do not have a(n easy) solution. I have read cunningly written text(s) in obscure Sumerian (and) Akkadian that are difficult to interpret. I have carefully examined inscriptions on stone from before the Deluge that are sealed, stopped up, (and) confused.<sup>82</sup>

By late 673/early 672, the situation had changed: Sîn-nādin-apli, Esarhaddon's eldest son who is presumed to have been heir designate since 677, had died or fallen out of favor<sup>83</sup> and the king was very concerned about who would follow him on the thrones of Assyria and Babylonia. Šamaš-šuma-ukīn, now the eldest living son, was chosen to be the next king of Babylon, and Ashurbanipal, then the third eldest son, was nominated to be the next ruler of Assyria; Šamaš-mētu-uballiṭ, for whatever reason, was overlooked.<sup>84</sup> Given the circumstances of his own accession to the throne,<sup>85</sup> Esarhaddon, with the assistance of his mother Naqī'a, went to great lengths to ensure a smooth transition. In Ayyāru (II) 672, the king assembled people from every part of the empire and had them swear by the gods to respect the succession and protect his sons, before and after sitting on their respective thrones. It took days to complete all the oath swearing ceremonies and an army of scribes to prepare tablet copies of the treaty that were to accompany their oath takers home.<sup>86</sup> Ashurbanipal, and

<sup>79</sup> Despite the lack of direct evidence, most scholars generally believe that Ashurbanipal's mother was Ešarra-ḥammat, the only queen of Esarhaddon for whom we have a name. She is also usually regarded as the mother of Ashurbanipal's older brother Šamaš-šuma-ukīn. For further details and discussions of the evidence, see in particular Weissert, PNA 1/1 pp. 160–161 sub Aššūr-bāni-apli I.1.b; and Novotny and Singletary, *Studies Parpola* pp. 174–176.

<sup>80</sup> For further information on Ashurbanipal's large family, see Parpola, LAS 2 pp. 117–118; Weissert, PNA 1/1 pp. 160–163 sub Aššūr-bāni-apli I.1; and Novotny and Singletary, *Studies Parpola* pp. 167–177.

<sup>81</sup> Some of his education took place under the tutelage of astrologer and scholar Balāssî, as suggested by a letter; see Parpola, SAA 10 p. 30 no. 39.

<sup>82</sup> K 2694 + K 3030 i 14–23 (L<sup>4</sup>; Novotny, SAACT 10 p. 77 no. 18).

<sup>83</sup> The fate of this prince, who is mentioned by name in only one text (Starr, SAA 4 pp. 160–161 no. 149), is not known. Following more recent scholarship, it is assumed here that Sîn-nādin-apli and Ashurbanipal are two separate individuals; it seems unlikely that Sîn-nādin-apli was the birth name of Ashurbanipal. For details, see Weissert, PNA 1/1 p. 161 sub Aššūr-bāni-apli I.1.f-g.1'; and Weissert, PNA 3/1 pp. 1138–1139 sub Sîn-nādin-apli.

<sup>84</sup> E. Weissert (PNA 1/1 p. 162 sub Aššūr-bāni-apli I.1.h) has suggested that Esarhaddon bypassed his third eldest son because of his sickly nature, a fact that one might deduce from his name: "The god Šamaš has revived the dead."

<sup>85</sup> See, for example, Grayson, CAH<sup>2</sup> 3/2 pp. 119–121; Leichty, RINAP 4 p. 2; and Grayson and Novotny, RINAP 3/2 pp. 28–29.

<sup>86</sup> Because Esarhaddon's Succession Treaty (Parpola and Watanabe, SAA 2 pp. 28–58 no. 6) has received a great deal of attention, especially after the discovery of a new copy of it at Tell Tayinat in 2009, it will only be discussed briefly here. According to text no. 11 (Prism A) and some later copies of text no. 9 (Prism F), some of the oaths were sworn on 12-II-672; see the on-page note to text no. 9 (Prism F) i 10 for further details. According to early copies of text no. 9 (Prism F) and copies of the treaty itself, other oaths were sworn on 16-II and 18-II-672. It is certain from this evidence that the oath-swearing ceremonies took at least seven days to complete. The number of copies written out on this occasion is still a matter of speculation, but it has recently been tentatively suggested that there may have been as many as 200 copies (Fales, RA 106 [2012] p. 148). Whatever the original number may have been, only parts of ten of those tablets survive today. Eight were found in the throne room of Ezida (the Nabû temple at Kalḥu), one (comprising three fragments) was discovered at Aššur (provenance not recorded), and one was found in a temple at Tell Tayinat. For further details, see in particular Harrison and Osborne, JCS 64 (2012) pp. 125–143; Lauinger, JCS 64 (2012) pp. 87–123; Fales, RA 106 (2012) pp. 133–158; and Taylor, "The Succession Treaties of Esarhaddon," *Nimrud: Materialities of Assyrian Knowledge Production* (<http://oracc.museum.upenn.edu/nimrud/livesofobjects/successiontreaties/>).

probably also Šamaš-šuma-ukīn, took up residence in the House of Succession at Nineveh and began their training. In his School Days Inscription, Ashurbanipal states the following about this period of time:

With (carefully) selected companion(s), this is how I spent all of my days: I cantered on thoroughbreds, rode stallions that were raring to go; I [h]eld a bow (and) made arrows fly as befits a warrior; I threw quivering lances as if they were javelins; I took the reins (of a chariot) like a charioteer (and) made the rims of the wheels spin; I ... *arītu*-shields (and) *kabābu*-shields like a military specialist. I am proficient in the best technical lore of all specialists, every one of them. At the same time, I was learning proper lordly behavior, becoming familiar with the ways of kingship. I stood before the king who had engendered me, regularly giving orders to officials. N[o] governor was appointed without me, no prefect installed without my consent.<sup>87</sup>

Despite Esarhaddon's best efforts, not everyone was happy with the succession arrangement. In late 671 and early 670, high-ranking officials plotted to kill the king and his family.<sup>88</sup> The conspiracy was discovered and the instigators and their supporters were publicly executed.<sup>89</sup> In the days following the failed rebellion, the Assyrian king promoted more vigorously than before the roles of the future kings of Assyria and Babylon, especially in the western part of the empire, where images of the heir designate appeared together with representations of Esarhaddon.<sup>90</sup>

On his way to Egypt in 669, Esarhaddon fell ill and died on the tenth day of Araḥsamna (VII).<sup>91</sup> Naqī'a carried out her son's wishes and saw that her grandson Ashurbanipal became king of Assyria. In Kislīmu (IX), presumably after Esarhaddon's funeral, the queen-mother gathered together the royal family and court and made them swear once again their allegiance to Ashurbanipal, at the time of his coronation.<sup>92</sup> Shortly after becoming king, at the beginning of his first official year as king, Ashurbanipal fulfilled some of his father's wishes: he installed his younger brothers Aššur-mukīn-palē'a and Aššur-etel-šamē-erṣeti-muballissu as *šešgallu*-priests in Aššur and Ḥarrān, placed Šamaš-šuma-ukīn on the throne of Babylon, and returned Marduk and his entourage to their rightful place in Esagil ("House whose Top is High").<sup>93</sup> Ashurbanipal's reign got off to a good start.

### Military Campaigns

Although many of the events of Ashurbanipal's reign are well documented in his *res gestae*, the internal chronology of his long reign is not as certain as one would like. This vexing problem has long been known.<sup>94</sup> In 1970, Grayson succinctly described the issues at hand:

The chronology of the reign of Ashurbanipal is still one of the more uncertain areas in Neo-Assyrian history and yet one of the most crucial. ... The reason that this is such a problematic area is the fact that chronologically oriented sources for Ashurbanipal are singularly sparse. There is no eponym chronicle for the entire reign; the eponym list breaks off at 649; no Babylonian chronicles are preserved beyond 667; and the chronological confusion is compounded by Ashurbanipal's "annals." In

<sup>87</sup> K 2694 + K 3030 i 24–33 (L<sup>4</sup>; Novotny, SAACT 10 p. 77 no. 18). Numerous extant Neo-Assyrian letters to and from the heir designate of Assyria support the fact that Ashurbanipal was active in the royal court after his promotion to the rank of crown prince.

<sup>88</sup> For the details, see Nissinen, SAAS 7 pp. 108–153.

<sup>89</sup> According to two Babylonian chronicles (Grayson, Chronicles p. 86 no. 1 iv 29 and p. 127 no. 14 line 27'), "In Assyria the king put his numerous officers to the sword."

<sup>90</sup> The most famous of these are known from the steles discovered at Ziṅirli (ancient Sam'al) and Tell Aḥmar (ancient Til Barsip); see Leichty, RINAP 4 pp. 179–186 nos. 97–98 (with references to previous literature), especially p. 183 fig. 5. A letter from the chief scribe Ištar-šumu-ēreš to Esarhaddon (Parpola, SAA 10 pp. 12–13 no. 13) records that images of Ashurbanipal and Šamaš-šuma-ukīn were also placed at Ḥarrān.

<sup>91</sup> Grayson, Chronicles p. 86 no. 1 iv 30–31 and p. 127 no. 14 lines 28'–30'.

<sup>92</sup> Parpola and Watanabe, SAA 2 pp. 62–64 no. 8. Ashurbanipal's older brothers Šamaš-šuma-ukīn and Šamaš-mētu-uballiṣ are singled out in the Zakūtu Treaty. A.T.E. Olmstead (History of Assyria p. 408) suggests that the latter did not accept the new treaty and paid for it with his life. There is nothing in the textual record to suggest that Šamaš-mētu-uballiṣ sought ill will against his younger brother and was executed as a result. What happened to this prince after he swore an oath to protect Ashurbanipal in IX-669 is completely unknown. His "disappearance" from Neo-Assyrian sources is not surprising, especially since he is mentioned by name in only two texts. This is less shocking when one takes into account the fact that Naqī'a disappears from the textual record immediately after Ashurbanipal's coronation. For a hymn celebrating this king's coronation, see Livingstone, SAA 3 pp. 26–27 no. 11.

<sup>93</sup> K 891 obv. 10–13 (L<sup>3</sup>; Novotny, SAACT 10 p. 80 no. 19) and 2694 + K 3030 ii 26'–iii 29' (L<sup>4</sup>; Novotny, SAACT 10 pp. 78–79 no. 18).

<sup>94</sup> See Johns, PSBA 24 (1902) pp. 235–241; Johns, PSBA 25 (1903) pp. 82–89; Johns, PSBA 27 (1905), pp. 92–100 and 288–296; Johns, PSBA 29 (1907) pp. 74–84; Streck, *Asb.* pp. CCXXXIV–CCXXXVIII; and Weissbach, RLA 1 (1928) pp. 203–204.



the text of the annals no eponyms are quoted for events but rather the campaigns are numbered in order of their appearance in the narrative and since the order of appearance is often different in the various editions, the number of the same campaign is often different. The designation “campaign” is also misleading for several expeditions or military incidents are commonly included under what is introduced as one campaign. The sequence of events in the narrative is unreliable for campaigns are arranged primarily along geographical rather than chronological lines. In other words Ashurbanipal’s “annals” are not true Assyrian annals at all; rather they are a cross between the annals and display texts. Given these difficulties, how is one to reconstruct a chronology?<sup>95</sup>

Nearly forty years later, the situation has barely changed. Despite having a wealth of sources for Ashurbanipal’s reign, there are many gaps in our knowledge. The sketch of the military and political events given here is based to a large extent on Grayson, ZA 70 (1980) pp. 227–245; Grayson, CAH<sup>2</sup> 3/2 pp. 143–155; and Ruby, PNA 1/1 pp. 164–168 sub Aššūr-bāni-apli II.3–6.

In Appendix C of his chronological study, Grayson listed a total of thirty-one “incidents” that are recorded in the extant corpus of Ashurbanipal’s annalistic texts;<sup>96</sup> these took place between his accession year (668) and his 30th regnal year (639). Before diving into the survey of military expeditions and political events, it might be useful to present some of the information in a couple of tables, showing which “incidents” each inscription included. Table 1 arranges the information “geographically” (following the arrangement of the “campaigns” in the inscriptions) and Table 2 presents the material chronologically (generally following Grayson’s proposed chronology).

Table 1: “Incidents” Arranged by Campaign Report<sup>97</sup>

Incident(s)	Source(s)	“Campaign” Number(s)
Egypt 1	2 iii 6–iv 1’; 3 i 48–i 90; 4 i 38–75; 6 ii 4’–2’’; 7 ii 1’–18’’; 8 ii 1’–12’; 11 i 52–117	∅; 1; 1; 1; [1]; [1]; 1
Egypt 2	2 iv 2’–v 12; 3 i 91–ii 37; 4 i 76–ii 11; 6 ii 3’’–iii 57; 7 ii 19’’–iii 15; 8 ii 13’–33; 9 i 34–54; 11 i 118–ii 48; 12 ii 7’–14’a	∅; (2); (2); (2); [(2)]; [(2)]; 1; 2; ∅
Tyre, Arwad 1–2, Hīlakku, Tabal, Lydia 1–2	1 vi 11–31; 2 vi 14–vii 3; 3 ii 38–iii 4; 4 ii 12’–72’; 6 iii 58’–iv 7; 7 iii 16’–30’’; 8 iii 1’–45’; 9 i 55–ii 20; 11 ii 49–125; 12 ii 14’b–24’; 13 iii 1’–13’	∅; ∅; 3; 3; [3]; [3]; [3]; 2; 3; ∅; ∅
Qirbit	1 vi 1–10; 2 v 1’–vi 13; 3 iii 5–15; 4 ii 73’–iii 8; 6 iv 8’–19’; 7 iii 31’’–35’’	∅; ∅; 4; 4; 4; 4
Mannea, Media, Urartu 1	3 iii 16–iv 14; 4 iii 9–iv 8; 6 iv 1’–v 23; 7 iv 1’–74’’; 8 iv 1’–22’’; 9 ii 21–52; 11 ii 126–iii 26; 12 iii 1’’–9’’; 13 iii 1’’–9’’	5; 5; [5]; [5]; [5]; 3; 4; ∅; ∅
Elam 1–2	3 iv 15–79; 4 iv 9–49; 6 v 24–107; 7 iv 75’’–v 47; 12 iii 10’’–iv 12’	6; 6; 6; [6]; ∅
Elam 3	3 iv 80–vi 9; 4 iv 50’–vi 12; 6 v 1’–vii 10; 7 v 48–vi 22; 8 v 1’–vii 10; 9 ii 53–71; 11 iii 27–49; 12 v 1–5	7; [7]; [7]; 7; [7]; 4; 5; ∅
Gambulu	3 vi 10–85; 4 vi 13–95; 6 vii 11–47; 7 vi 23’–vii 35; 8 vii 11’–17’’; 9 ii 72–iii 5; 11 iii 50–69; 12 v 6–13	8; [8]; [8]; 8; [8]; (4); (5); ∅
Elam 4, Šamaš-šum-ukīn rebellion	3 vi 86–vii 76; 4 vi 96–vii 79; 6 vii 48’–ix 52’; 7 vii 36–ix 9; 8 viii 1’–ix 37; 9 iii 6–32; 11 iii 70–iv 109	(9); (9); (9); (9); [(9)]; (4); (5)–6
Elam 5	7 ix 10–63’’; 8 ix 29’’–x 16; 9 iii 33–iv 16; 11 iv 110–v 62	[11’]; 11; 5; 7
Elam 6–7	9 iv 17–vi 21; 10 iv 12–v 32; 11 v 63–vii 81	6; ∅; 8
Arabs 1	3 vii 77–viii 55; 4 vii 80–viii 57; 6 x 1’–18’’; 7 ix 64’’–x 52; 8 ix 38’–28’’; 11 vii 82–viii 64	(10); (10); (10); (10 <sup>2</sup> ); (10); 9
Arabs 2	11 viii 65–x 5	(10)
Elam 8	11 x 6–39	(11)
Urartu 2	11 x 40–50	(9)
Cyrus	12 vi 7’–13’	∅
Hudimiri	12 vi 14’–25’	∅
Tugdammī	13 viii 6–11’	∅

<sup>95</sup> Grayson, ZA 70 (1980) pp. 227–228. His comments are echoed in Grayson, CAH<sup>2</sup> 3/2 pp. 142–143; and Ruby, PNA 1/1 pp. 163–164 sub Aššūr-bāni-apli II.2.

<sup>96</sup> Grayson, ZA 70 (1980) pp. 240–244.

<sup>97</sup> The abbreviations for the “incidents” follow Grayson (with minor changes); Gambulu is treated separately from Elam 3 here. The tables include data from text nos. 1–13 only. ∅ in the “campaign” number(s) column indicates that the ancient text did not assign a number to the expedition; numbers in parentheses indicates the inferred campaign number in the text; and numbers in square brackets indicates the restored campaign number.

Table 2: Proposed Chronology of “Incidents”<sup>798</sup>

Date	Incident(s)	Source(s)
668	Qirbit	1 vi 1-10; 2 v 1'-vi 13; 3 iii 5-15; 4 ii 73'-iii 8; 6 iv 8'-19'; 7 iii 31''-35''
667	Arwad 1	3 ii 63-72; 4 ii 34'-46'; 6 iii 89'-103'; 7 iii 44'-4''; 8 iii 15'-29'; 9 i 69-74; 11 ii 63-67; 13 iii 9'-13'
667	Egypt 1	2 iii 6-iv 1'; 3 i 48-i 90; 4 i 38-75; 6 ii 4'-2''; 7 ii 1'-18''; 8 ii 1'-12'; 11 i 52-117
ca. 666-665	Lydia 1	1 vi 11-31'; 2 vi 14-vii 3'; 3 ii 86b-iii 4; 4 ii 61'-72'; 6 iv 1'-7'; 7 iii 17''-30''; 9 ii 10-20; 11 ii 95-110
ca. 666-664	Egypt 2	2 iv 2'-v 12; 3 i 91-ii 37; 4 i 76-ii 11'; 6 ii 3''-iii 57'; 7 ii 19''-iii 15'; 8 ii 13'-33'; 9 i 34-54; 11 i 118-ii 48; 12 ii 7'-14'a
ca. 664	Elam 1	3 iv 15-48; 4 iv 9-17'; 6 v 24-72; 7 iv 75''-v 16; 12 iii 10''-iv 10'
664	Elam 2	3 iv 49-79; 4 iv 18'-49'; 6 v 73-107; 7 v 17-47; 12 iv 11'-12'
ca. 662	Tyre	3 ii 38-62; 4 ii 12'-33'; 6 iii 58'-88'; 7 iii 16'-43'; 8 iii 1'-14'; 9 i 55-68; 11 ii 49-62; 12 ii 14'b-24'; 13 iii 1'-8'
ca. 662	Hilakku, Tabal	3 ii 63-74; 4 ii 34'-48'; 6 iii 89'-105'; 7 iii 44'-6''; 8 iii 15'-31'; 9 i 69-76; 11 ii 68-80
ca. 662	Arwad 2	3 ii 75-86a; 4 ii 49'-60'; 6 iii 106'-iv 1; 7 iii 7''-16''; 8 iii 32'-45'; 9 i 77-ii 9; 11 ii 81-94
ca. 660	Mannea	3 iii 16-92a; 4 iii 9-15'; 6 iv 1'-v 5; 7 iv 1'-58''; 8 iv 1'-21''; 9 ii 21-52; 11 ii 126-iii 26; 12 iii 1''-9''; 13 iii 1''-9''
ca. 658	Media	3 iii 92b-iv 5; 4 iii 16'-22'; 6 v 6-12; 7 iv 59''-65''; 8 iv 22''
ca. 657	Urartu 1	3 iv 6-14; 4 iv 1-8; 6 v 13-23; 7 iv 66''-74''
653	Elam 3	3 iv 80-vi 9; 4 iv 50'-vi 12; 6 v 1'-vii 10; 7 v 48-vi 22'; 8 v 1'-vii 10'; 9 ii 53-71; 11 iii 27-49; 12 v 1-5
653	Gambulu	3 vi 10-85; 4 vi 13-95; 6 vii 11-47'; 7 vi 23'-vii 35; 8 vii 11'-17''; 9 ii 72-iii 5; 11 iii 50-69; 12 v 6-13
before 652 and ca. 650	Arabs 1	3 vii 77-viii 55; 4 vii 80-viii 57; 6 x 1'-18''; 7 ix 64''-x 52'; 8 ix 38'-28''; 11 vii 82-viii 64
652-648	Samaš-Suma-ukin rebellion	6 viii 9''b-ix 10'; 7 viii 1'-79'; 8 viii 1''-36''''; 11 iii 70-135 and iv 41b-109
ca. 651-650	Elam 4	3 vi 86-vii 76; 4 vi 96-vii 79; 6 vii 48'-viii 9''a and ix 11''-52''; 7 vii 36-viii 12 and viii 80'-ix 9; 8 viii 1'-34'' and viii 37''-ix 37'; 9 iii 6-32; 11 iii 136-iv 41a
647	Elam 5	7 ix 10-63''; 8 ix 29''-x 16'; 9 iii 33-iv 16; 11 iv 110-v 62
646	Elam 6	9 iv 17-vi 21; 10 iv 12-v 32; 11 v 63-vii 8
ca. 645	Elam 7	11 vii 9-81
ca. 645-643	Arabs 2	11 viii 65-x 5
ca. 645-643	Elam 8	11 x 6-39
ca. 645-643	Lydia 2	11 ii 111-125
ca. 645-643	Urartu 2	11 x 40-50
ca. 642-640	Cyrus	12 vi 7-13'
ca. 642-640	Hudimiri	12 vi 14'-25'
ca. 640-639	Tugdammî	13 viii 6-11'

### Egypt and the West

Generally speaking, Ashurbanipal had few problems in the Levant and he benefitted from Assyria's strong position in the region. The bond between Assyria and the west appears to have been strengthened during the reigns of his grandfather and father; for example, Esarhaddon claims that twenty-two kings supplied him with building materials while constructing the armory at Nineveh.<sup>99</sup> During the transition of power in 669, at least as far as the textual record is preserved, Levantine and Cypriot rulers maintained good relations with Assyria. The agreements that they had with Esarhaddon were honored after Ashurbanipal ascended the throne. The new king of Arwad, Yakīn-Lû, like his predecessor Mattan-Ba'al, swore loyalty to Assyria.<sup>100</sup> If Assyrian inscriptions

<sup>98</sup> Information on the dates will be discussed below, in the notes to this section.

<sup>99</sup> Leichty, RINAP 4 pp. 23-24 no. 1 v 54-vi 1 and p. 33 no. 2 iv 54-v 12. Most of those same rulers aided Ashurbanipal in the construction of Eḫulḫul, the temple of the moon-god Sîn at Ḥarrān; see Novotny, SAACT 10 p. 84 no. 20 rev. 51-55.

<sup>100</sup> Grayson, CAH<sup>2</sup> 3/2 p. 144; Ruby, PNA 1/1 p. 164 sub Aššūr-bāni-apli II.3.a.3'; and Tenney, PNA 2/1 pp. 488-489 sub Iakīn-Lû. Text no. 3 (Prism B) ii 63-72, text no. 4 (Prism D) ii 34'-46', text no. 6 (Prism C) iii 89'-103', text no. 7 (Prism Kh) iii 44'-4'', text no. 8 (Prism G) iii 15'-29', text no. 9 (Prism F) i 69-74, text no. 11 (Prism A) ii 63-67, and text no. 13 (Prism J) iii 9'-13'. Grayson's Arwad 1 is not included in text nos. 1 (Prism E<sub>1</sub>) and 2 (Prism E<sub>2</sub>). It is not known exactly when Yakīn-Lû replaced Mattan-Ba'al (a vassal of Esarhaddon). Because Ashurbanipal reports that Yakīn-Lû had submitted to Assyria for the first time during his reign, it is possible that Yakīn-Lû became king of Arwad sometime in 669 or 668.

are to be believed, Arwad may have sent troops and boats with the Assyrian army on its campaign to Egypt in 667.<sup>101</sup> After Yakīn-Lû died, Ashurbanipal arbitrated the succession and backed Azi-Ba'al as the next ruler.<sup>102</sup>

In 669, tensions in Egypt had flared up. Esarhaddon was en route to invade the country for a third time when he fell ill and died. Because Ashurbanipal was involved in matters closer to home, Taharqa and his supporters took the opportunity to consolidate their autonomy over Egypt.<sup>103</sup> The Kushite pharaoh marched to Memphis, entered the city, and began ridding Egypt of Assyria and its influence, starting with the garrisons stationed there by Esarhaddon. Upon hearing the news,<sup>104</sup> Ashurbanipal dispatched a large army to Egypt. Along the way, numerous western vassals paid tribute and sent troops and equipment (including boats) to aid in the fight. Assyrian and Egyptian forces clashed at the city Kār-Bānītu. Assyria won the day and, when news of this reached Memphis, Taharqa and his supporters fled to Thebes and then further south, beyond the reach of Ashurbanipal's army.<sup>105</sup> The Assyrians once again occupied Memphis and dealt appropriately with anti-Assyrian conspirators.<sup>106</sup> Afterwards, some of the local rulers who had supported or conspired with Taharqa, Necho and Šarru-lū-dāri in particular, were taken to Assyria.<sup>107</sup> In the Assyrian capital, Ashurbanipal made Necho swear a new oath of fealty before he was permitted to return to his post.

When the exiled Taharqa died, his nephew Tanutamun, the son of Shabako, proclaimed himself pharaoh, secured Thebes and Heliopolis, and marched to Memphis.<sup>108</sup> When news of the attack reached Nineveh, Ashurbanipal dispatched his army to Memphis. As soon as the Assyrians set foot on Egyptian soil, Tanutamun is reported to have fled south, first to Thebes, then to Kipkipi. The former city, a bustling metropolis and major religious center, was captured and plundered; in addition to an abundance of gold and silver, two metal obelisks were sent to Nineveh as part of the vast spoils of war. Psammetichus I (Nabû-šēzibanni) was installed as ruler in Sais and Memphis; Tanutamun, however, remained the ruler of Kush and ruled from the south. After the sack of Thebes, Assyrian sources are silent on events in Egypt, apart from the fact that at some point Psammetichus had severed ties with Assyria and that the Lydian king Gyges (see below) had sent him troops.<sup>109</sup>

Tyre proved itself to be a pocket of anti-Assyrian resistance, as it had been in the time of Esarhaddon. During his first decade as king, Ashurbanipal set up outposts at every major access point to the city, including

<sup>101</sup> Numerous inscriptions record that Levantine and Cypriot rulers helped the Assyrian army. Text nos. 6 (Prism C) and 7 (Prism Kh) record the names of the twenty-two kings who provided troops and boats; Iakīn-Lû of Arwad is among them. The reliability of the list has been called into question as it copies the list of rulers in Esarhaddon's inscriptions (see n. 99), but with a few minor alterations. If there is some truth to Ashurbanipal's claim, then Yakīn-Lû may have become an Assyrian vassal in 667, as A.K. Grayson (ZA 70 [1980] p. 230) has suggested.

<sup>102</sup> Radner, PNA 1/1 p. 239 sub Azi-Ba'al 1. Text no. 3 (Prism B) ii 75–86a, text no. 4 (Prism D) ii 49'–60', text no. 6 (Prism C) iii 106'–115', text no. 7 (Prism Kh) iii 7'–16'', text no. 8 (Prism G) iii 32'–45', text no. 9 (Prism F) i 77–ii 9, and text no. 11 (Prism A) ii 81–94. A.K. Grayson (ZA 70 [1980] pp. 230–231 and 233) very tentatively proposes ca. 662 as the date of his Arwad 2. Given the lack of evidence, a precise date cannot be suggested. It is certain, however, that Yakīn-Lû died before the composition of text no. 3 (Prism B); the earliest known copy of that inscription is dated to 649.

<sup>103</sup> Baker, PNA 3/2 pp. 1317–1318 sub Tarqû; Grayson, CAH<sup>2</sup> 3/2 pp. 143–144; Lämmerhirt, RLA 13/5–6 (2012) p. 466 sub Tarqû; Onasch, ÄAT 27/1 pp. 147–154; and Ruby, PNA 1/1 p. 164 sub Aššūr-bāni-apli II.3.a.1'. Text no. 2 (Prism E<sub>2</sub>) iii 6–iv 1', text no. 3 (Prism B) i 48–i 90, text no. 4 (Prism D) i 38–75, text no. 6 (Prism C) ii 4'–2'', text no. 7 (Prism Kh) ii 1'–19'', text no. 8 (Prism G) ii 1'–32', and text no. 11 (Prism A) i 52–117. Text no. 9 (Prism F) and text no. 12 (Prism H) do not include Egypt 1. The date of the campaign is certainly 667: the event is recorded in a Babylonian chronicle for Šamaš-šuma-ukīn's 1st regnal year (= Ashurbanipal's 2nd year).

<sup>104</sup> It is possible that some of the anti-Assyrian activities of Taharqa and his allies described by Ashurbanipal may have taken place in 669 and, thus, may have been the reason why Esarhaddon launched a third campaign against Egypt. Because Ashurbanipal was otherwise engaged with affairs in Babylon (the installation of his brother and the return of the statue of Marduk) and in the region of Dēr, he might not have been in a position to organize a large-scale military expedition to Egypt until late 668/early 667. Thus, Ashurbanipal's statement about immediately sending troops against Taharqa after news had reached him that Assyria had lost control of Memphis might be a deliberate untruth.

<sup>105</sup> Early inscriptions of Ashurbanipal report that the Assyrian army marched to Thebes, which Taharqa abandoned when the Assyrian army arrived on the scene. The narrative stops abruptly and continues with a report about the treachery of several vassal rulers who were still secretly supporting Taharqa, despite the fact that they had just sworn loyalty to Ashurbanipal. Thus, it has been suggested that the Assyrians opted to deal with the oath-breakers rather than pursue Taharqa and this is the reason the Assyrians abandoned the expedition to Thebes; see Spalinger, JAOS 94 (1974) pp. 316–328. The sequence of events, as well as their timing, is problematic and requires sources other than the Assyrian annals to clarify it further.

<sup>106</sup> The inhabitants of the cities Sais, Mendes, and Tanis (or Pelusium) are said to have been executed.

<sup>107</sup> Baker, PNA 3/2 pp. 1248–1249 sub Šarru-lū-dāri 13; and Streck, PNA 2/2 p. 963 sub Nikkû.

<sup>108</sup> Frahm, PNA 2/2 p. 881 sub Nabû-šēzibanni 12; Görg, RLA 13/5–6 (2012) p. 441 sub Tandamane; Grayson, CAH<sup>2</sup> 3/2 p. 144; Kitchen, Third Intermediate Period<sup>4</sup>; Mattila, PNA 3/1 p. 997 sub Pišamelki; Mattila and Pruzsinszky, PNA 3/2 pp. 1310–1311 sub Tanut-Amani; Onasch, ÄAT 27/1 pp. 38–58, 89–90, and 154–168; Ruby, PNA 1/1 p. 164 sub Aššūr-bāni-apli II.3.a.1'; and Spalinger, Lexikon der Ägyptologie 4 pp. 1164–1170 sub Psammetichus I. Text no. 3 (Prism B) ii 5b–24, text no. 4 (Prism D) ii 1–11', text no. 6 (Prism C) iii 18'b–57', text no. 7 (Prism Kh) iii 1'–15', text no. 9 (Prism F) i 34–54, text no. 11 (Prism A) ii 22–48, and text no. 12 (Prism H) ii 7'–14'a. This campaign is also mentioned by Herodotus (*Hist.* II 152). The fall of Thebes is now generally thought to have been ca. 664.

<sup>109</sup> Text no. 11 (Prism A) ii 112a–115a.

those by sea, thus depriving the important coastal city of food and fresh water.<sup>110</sup> Ba'alu, Tyre's ruler, eventually submitted. To ensure his loyalty, one of Ba'alu's daughters and several of his nieces were taken to Nineveh. In addition, Ba'alu voluntarily sent his son Yāhi-Milki to the Assyrian capital. As a sign of good faith, Ashurbanipal dismantled the outposts and reopened the trade routes. The powerful island kingdom did not remain loyal for the duration of Ashurbanipal's reign. Sometime during his third decade on the throne, the Assyrian army was forced to return to the region. Ušû, the mainland portion of Tyre, was attacked and looted since the people of the city are said to have withheld payment.<sup>111</sup> Interestingly, the reigning king of Tyre is not mentioned so it is unclear what role he may have played in this incident.

### Anatolia

Near the start of Ashurbanipal's reign, a mounted messenger from the remote kingdom of Lydia arrived in Nineveh. This caused a bit of a stir in the Assyrian court because no one could understand a word he was saying. After an interpreter was finally found, Ashurbanipal and his advisors could relax as the envoy bore good tidings and a request for aid: Gyges, a ruler of western Anatolia, needed Assyria's help defeating Cimmerian tribes.<sup>112</sup> Apparently, the Lydian ruler was told by the god Aššur in a dream that he would be victorious in battle and that vision inspired him to seek help from Ashurbanipal. The Assyrian king claims that Gyges successfully kept the Cimmerian threat at bay and that as a sign of their friendship he sent two captive tribal leaders to Nineveh.<sup>113</sup> Cordial relations between the countries lasted for some time. Then around 645, Lydia was overrun by the Cimmerians and Gyges was killed.<sup>114</sup> Because Gyges had sent aid to Egypt, which had cut ties with Assyria, Ashurbanipal presumably did not help his onetime ally. Gyges' son (Ardys) saw the writing on the wall and resumed good relations with Ashurbanipal, who took the opportunity to use the renewed alliance to hamper future Cimmerian intrusions into Assyria.

Following Ashurbanipal's successes in Egypt (the sack of Thebes) and at Tyre, several major Anatolian rulers sent offers of friendship to Assyria: Sanda-šarme of Ḫilakku (Cilicia) and Mugallu of Tabal (and probably also Melid) sent substantial audience gifts, as well as their daughters, to Nineveh.<sup>115</sup> In response, the Assyrian

<sup>110</sup> Grayson, CAH<sup>2</sup> 3/2 pp. 144–145; Lipiński, PNA 1/2 pp. 242–243 sub Ba'alu 2; and Ruby, PNA 1/1 p. 164 sub Aššūr-bāni-apli II.3.a.3'. A.K. Grayson (ZA 70 [1980] pp. 230–231 and 233) tentatively proposes ca. 662 as the date of the Tyre incident. Since this incident does not appear in the Large Egyptian Tablets Inscription — a text that records the second Egyptian campaign and the submission of Mugallu, the king of Tabal — the submission of Ba'alu of Tyre presumably happened sometime after the events reported in that inscription. A precise date cannot be given at this time.

<sup>111</sup> Text no. 11 (Prism A) ix 115–121. This incident is embedded in the narrative of Grayson's Arabs 2. The coastal city of Acco was attacked at the same time.

<sup>112</sup> Aro-Valjus, PNA 1/2 pp. 427–428 sub Gūgu 1; Grayson, CAH<sup>2</sup> 3/2 p. 146; and Ruby, PNA 1/1 pp. 164–165 sub Aššūr-bāni-apli II.3.b.1'. Text no. 1 (Prism E<sub>1</sub>) vi 11–31', text no. 2 (Prism E<sub>2</sub>) vi 14–vii 3', text no. 3 (Prism B) ii 86b–iii 4, text no. 4 (Prism D) ii 61'–72', text no. 6 (Prism C) iv 1'–7', text no. 7 (Prism Kh) iii 17'–30'', text no. 9 (Prism F) ii 10–ii 20, and text no. 11 (Prism A) ii 95–125. Gūgu (or Guggu) of Luddu is known as Gyges (Γυγης) in classical sources, which record his ascent to the throne, some of his achievements, and his death. Herodotus (*Hist.* I 8–14) states that he became king by murdering his predecessor Candaules and marrying his widow. The date of the first contact between Lydia and Assyria is not known and it is unclear if this happened before or after the first Egyptian campaign in 667. Since the event, Grayson's Lydia 1, appears in text nos. 1 (Prism E<sub>1</sub>) and 2 (Prism E<sub>2</sub>), inscriptions thought to have been composed ca. 666–665 and 665–664 respectively, a tentative date, following A.K. Grayson (ZA 70 [1980] pp. 230 and 232), ca. 666–665 is suggested here. An earlier date, ca. 668–667 is also possible.

<sup>113</sup> As noted by S. Aro-Valjus (PNA 1/2 p. 428 sub Gūgu 1), "It remains unclear where this fight between the Lydians and the Cimmerians took place and whether Assurbanipal actually sent any help to Gyges."

<sup>114</sup> Classical sources state that it was the Cimmerian leader Lygdamis (Tugdammî) who killed Gyges. Ashurbanipal's inscriptions confirm that the Lydian ruler was killed by the Cimmerians, but claim direct responsibility: he prayed to Aššur and Ištar to have Gyges killed since he had allied himself with Egypt. The date of Gyges' death is uncertain, but it happened prior to the composition of text no. 11 (Prism A), the earliest possible date of which is 644. Thus, a general date of ca. 645–643 is assigned to Grayson's Lydia 2 incident. Further details about the date of text no. 11 (Prism A) will be addressed in the Chronology and Dating section below.

<sup>115</sup> Fuchs, PNA 2/2 pp. 761–762 sub Mugallu; Grayson, CAH<sup>2</sup> 3/2 p. 145; Pruzsinszky, PNA 3/1 p. 1088 sub Sanda-sarme; and Ruby, PNA 1/1 pp. 164–165 sub Aššūr-bāni-apli II.3.b.1'. Text no. 3 (Prism B) ii 63–74, text no. 4 (Prism D) ii 34'–48', text no. 6 (Prism C) iii 89'–105', text no. 7 (Prism Kh) iii 44'–6'', text no. 8 (Prism G) iii 15'–31', text no. 9 (Prism F) i 69–76, and text no. 11 (Prism A) ii 68–80. The statement about Mugallu not having previously submitted to Assyria in the time of Ashurbanipal's ancestors is supported by astrological reports, Babylonian chronicles, prophecies, queries to the sun-god, and royal correspondence; see Fuchs, *op. cit.* for details. Moreover, it is uncertain when and how he succeeded in taking the throne of Tabal from Išcallû. A.K. Grayson (ZA 70 [1980] pp. 231 and 233) dates the Ḫilakku and Tabal incidents to ca. 662 since these events "would naturally occur after the successful campaigns against Egypt ('Egypt 2') and Tyre." The earliest extant inscription recording receipt of payment from Mugallu is the Large Egyptian Tablets Inscription (Novotny, SAACT 10 p. 84 no. 20 rev. 28–32). Note that that text does not mention that the ruler of Tabal sent his daughter to Nineveh; A. Fuchs (*op. cit.*) suggests that this fact was later inserted by mistake or that Mugallu's daughter arrived in the Assyrian capital after the composition of that inscription.

king imposed an annual payment of horses on the latter.<sup>116</sup> Mugallu, a man who had caused problems for Esarhaddon, appears to have remained loyal to the end of his life. His son (who may have been called Mussi), however, abandoned Assyria and allied himself with the Cimmerian chieftain Tugdammî (Lygdamis of Classical sources).<sup>117</sup> Tugdammî attempted to invade Assyria twice, but calamity befell him on both occasions. On the first occasion, his camp was engulfed in fire and, on the second, he died (from a remote magical attack carried out by Ashurbanipal's inner circle); his son Sandakšatru succeeded him. Because no inscriptions are preserved for the last years of Ashurbanipal's reign, no further information is available on Ashurbanipal's dealings with Tabal and the Cimmerians.

### *The North and Northeast*

For most of his reign, Ashurbanipal appears to have had relatively little trouble north and northeast of Assyria. Nevertheless, the Assyrian army is known to have marched to the region at least three times, all perhaps between his 9th (660) and 12th (667) regnal years.

Before Ashurbanipal became king, the kingdom of Mannea had made serious inroads into territory held by the Assyrians; many cities and towns were appropriated during that time, perhaps with aid from Cimmerian tribes. Towards the end of his first decade as king, Ashurbanipal decided to reverse Assyria's fortunes on its northeastern frontier. The Assyrian army, under the guidance of the king's generals, was sent out to deal with matters.<sup>118</sup> While encamped at Dūr-Aššur, the Mannean king Aḫšēri made a daring nighttime attack on Ashurbanipal's forces. The surprise did not go as planned: the Assyrians were victorious and pursued Aḫšēri and his supporters deep into the heart of Mannea. The Mannean king fled to the remote city Atrāna (or Ištatti according to one text). From that stronghold, he heard about the capture of his cities and fortresses, as well as the deaths of his loyal supporters. The Manneans were not pleased with the havoc the Assyrian had wreaked on their country and they rebelled: Aḫšēri was killed and his body dragged through the streets. A man by the name of Uallî took control. To make amends for the actions of his predecessor, he sent a large payment to Ashurbanipal, together with his son Erisinni and one of his daughters to ensure peace between the two kingdoms. The Assyrian king accepted the gifts, but demanded an additional tribute of thirty horses. The new Mannean ruler, as far as the textual record is preserved, appears to have agreed to Ashurbanipal's terms; Uallî seems to have remained loyal to Assyrian interests.

Some of the Median rulers who had once sworn fealty cast off the yoke of Assyrian domination and became aggressive; these actions may (or may not) have been inspired by their northern neighbor Mannea (when Aḫšēri was king). Assyrian troops captured the Median city-lords Birisḫatri, Sarati, and Pariḫi and carried them off to Nineveh.<sup>119</sup> Numerous settlements under their authority are reported to have been plundered. According to Ashurbanipal, it took a single campaign to reaffirm Assyrian dominance in the region.

<sup>116</sup> The payment of horses can be confirmed from an administrative document dated to 651 (Fales and Postgate, SAA 11 p. 69 no. 112). A letter of an inspector of the Nabû temple (Cole and Machinist, SAA 13 no. 98) mentions horses from Melid.

<sup>117</sup> Fuchs, PNA 2/2 pp. 761–762 sub Mugallu; Grayson, CAH<sup>2</sup> 3/2 pp. 145–146; Ruby, PNA 1/1 pp. 164–165 sub Aššūr-bāni-apli II.3.b.1'; Pruzsinszky and Schmitt, PNA 3/1 p. 1087 sub Sandakšatru; and Schmitt and Van Buylaere, PNA 3/2 p. 1328 sub Tugdammî. Text no. 13 (Prism J) viii 6–11', text no. 21 line 19', and text no. 23 (IIT) lines 141b–159a; see also Borger, BIWA p. 202 K 120B+ lines 20–25. According to Strabo (*Geo.* I 61), it was the Cimmerian leader Lygdamis (Tugdammî) who killed Gyges of Lydia. A.K. Grayson (ZA 70 [1980] pp. 232 and 235) dates the event to ca. 640 because Tugdammî is not mentioned in Prism A (text no. 11), but in Prism H (text no. 12). This may be true, but text no. 12 (Prism H) is not sufficiently preserved to be certain if the Tugdammî incident appeared in that inscription. It is possible that it was recorded for the first time in text no. 13 (Prism J). Therefore, it is possible that these events took place in Ashurbanipal's 30th regnal year (639) and thus a date ca. 640–639 is given here.

The reading of the name of Mugallu's son is uncertain. A. Fuchs (in Borger, BIWA p. 284) suggests that the partially preserved name may be an Akkadian rendering of the East Phrygian Μουσαί; see Zgusta, *Kleinasiatische Personennamen* pp. 338–339 §988–7.

<sup>118</sup> Baker and Schmitt, PNA 3/1 p. 1030 sub Raiadišadî; Baker and Schmitt, PNA 3/2 p. 1354 sub Uallî; Fuchs and Schmitt, PNA 1/1 p. 68 sub Aḫšēri; Fuchs and Schmitt, PNA 1/2 p. 403 sub Erisinni; Grayson, CAH<sup>2</sup> 3/2 p. 146; and Ruby, PNA 1/1 p. 165 sub Aššūr-bāni-apli II.3.c.1'. Text no. 3 (Prism B) iii 16–92a, text no. 4 (Prism D) iii 9–15', text no. 6 (Prism C) iv 1'–v 5, text no. 7 (Prism Kh) iv 1'–58'', text no. 8 (Prism G) iv 1'–21'', text no. 9 (Prism F) ii 21–52, text no. 11 (Prism A) ii 126–iii 26, text no. 12 (Prism H) iii 1'–9'', and text no. 13 (Prism J) iii 1'–9''. Based on a query to the sun-god (Starr, SAA 4 p. 246 no. 269), Aḫšēri is presumed to have made an alliance with Cimmerian tribes; A. Fuchs (PNA 1/1 p. 68) suggests that this may have been the reason why this Mannean ruler was so successful and why he was able to keep Assyria out of his country for several years. A.K. Grayson (ZA 70 [1980] pp. 230 and 233) proposes a date of ca. 660 for the campaign. As correctly pointed out by Fuchs (PNA 1/1 p. 68), the Mannea incident could have taken place anytime between 663 and 649; the earliest firmly dated inscription recording the event is text no. 3 (Prism B).

<sup>119</sup> Baker and Schmitt, PNA 3/1 p. 988 sub Pariḫi; Fuchs and Schmitt, PNA 1/2 p. 346 sub Biris(i)ḫatri; Grayson, CAH<sup>2</sup> 3/2 pp. 146–147; Kessler and Schmitt, PNA 3/1 p. 1092 sub Sarati; and Ruby, PNA 1/1 p. 165 sub Aššūr-bāni-apli II.3.c.2'. Text no. 3 (Prism B) iii 92b–iv 5, text no. 4 (Prism D) iii 16'–22', text no. 6 (Prism C) v 6–12, text no. 7 (Prism Kh) iv 59'–65'', and text no. 8 (Prism G) iv 22''. Text nos. 9 (Prism F), 11 (Prism A), and 12 (Prism H) do not include Media; this may be the case also for text no. 13 (Prism J). A.K. Grayson (ZA 70 [1980] pp. 230 and

The once-powerful kingdom of Urarṭu, for the most part, was on friendly terms with Ashurbanipal and two of its kings, Rusâ (III?) and Sarduri (III?), sent envoys, messages of goodwill, and gifts.<sup>120</sup> Apart from one incident with one of its governors, Assyria and Urarṭu had no problems with each other. Andaria, a man who is referred to as a governor or field-marshal, launched an attack on the Assyrian provinces of Uppumu and Kullimmeri, both of which had been established after Esarhaddon defeated Ik-Teššup of Šubria in 673; it is unknown whether this man acted on his own initiative or on the orders of the Urarṭian king. In a night battle, Assyrian troops reportedly defeated this Urarṭian and beheaded him. No further military actions are recorded against Assyria's northern neighbor.

### *Elam, Gambulu, and Babylonia*

As it had been for his grandfather Sennacherib, Elam proved to be the biggest thorn in Ashurbanipal's side.<sup>121</sup> A great deal of time and effort was spent dealing with the troubled and troublesome kingdom of Elam. When the Assyrian army was not campaigning in the region, Ashurbanipal was meddling in Elamite affairs of state. Despite his efforts, Elam and Assyria remained adversaries; even pro-Assyrian appointees to the Elamite throne did not remain in Ashurbanipal's good graces for long. Repeated transgressions against the oaths sworn by Assyria's gods soured friendly relations and ultimately brought an end to Elam as a political rival.

When Ashurbanipal ascended the throne, Assyria and Elam were on good terms; this was in part due to Esarhaddon having established a peace treaty with Urtaku several years earlier. Shortly after Ashurbanipal became king, a severe famine struck Elam. Assyria aided them by sending much needed grain and allowed starving Elamites to take refuge in Assyria.<sup>122</sup> This, however, was not enough and Urtaku, apparently influenced by anti-Assyrian leaders and officials in Babylonia and Elam, took matters into his own hands, mustered his army, invaded Babylonia, and laid siege to Babylon.<sup>123</sup> The unprovoked attack took the Assyrians by complete surprise. At first, Ashurbanipal was not concerned, since Elamite envoys were repeatedly assuring him of the enduring peace between their two countries, but, eventually, he sent his own men south to investigate. Upon receiving reliable information, Ashurbanipal mustered his army and dispatched them to Babylonia. Urtaku caught wind of this and fled to the Babylonian-Elamite border, but not before suffering a serious defeat. The Assyrian army did not continue its pursuit. Not long after arriving home, Urtaku died unexpectedly.<sup>124</sup> Teumman, a man described by the Assyrian king as "the (very) image of a *gallû*-demon," seized power and sought to exterminate Urtaku's entire extended family. Urtaku's sons Ummanigaš, Ummanappa, and

233) proposes a date of ca. 658 for the campaign. As correctly pointed out by A. Fuchs (PNA 1/2 p. 346), the Media incident could have taken place anytime between 663 and 649; the earliest firmly dated inscription recording the event is text no. 3 (Prism B).

<sup>120</sup> Baker, PNA 2/1 p. 571 sub Issār-dūri 28; Fuchs, PNA 3/1 p. 1057 sub Rusâ 3; Grayson, CAH<sup>2</sup> 3/2 p. 147; Radner, PNA 1/1 p. 111 sub Andaria; Ruby, PNA 1/1 p. 165 sub Aššūr-bāni-apli II.3.c.3'; Salvini, RLA 11/5-6 (2007) pp. 464-466 sub Rusa I. II. III.; and Salvini, RLA 12/1-2 (2009) pp. 39-42 sub Sarduri. Text no. 3 (Prism B) iv 6-14, text no. 4 (Prism D) iv 1-8, text no. 6 (Prism C) v 13-23 and vii 20'-28', text no. 7 (Prism Kh) iv 66''-74'' and vii 11-20, and text no. 11 (Prism A) x 40-50. Text nos. 9 (Prism F), 11 (Prism A), and 12 (Prism H) do not include Grayson's Urarṭu 1; this may be the case also for text no. 13 (Prism J). Grayson's Urarṭu 2 is known only from text no. 11 (Prism A). The mention of the receipt of Rusâ's tribute is embedded in the narrative of the campaign against Gambulu and, thus, presumably took place in 653 or 652. A.K. Grayson (ZA 70 [1980] pp. 230-231 and 233-234) proposes dates of ca. 657 and ca. 643 for the Urarṭu 1 and 2 incidents, respectively. The capture of the Urarṭian governor Andaria could have occurred anytime between 663 and ca. 653; the earliest firmly dated inscription recording the event is text no. 6 (Prism C), which was likely composed in 647. As for Sarduri sending payment to Ashurbanipal, this clearly happened before the eponymy of Šamaš-da''inanni (644, 643, or 642), for which a firm date cannot yet be established, and, thus, a more general date of ca. 645-643 is tentatively suggested here.

<sup>121</sup> For a detailed study of the Neo-Elamite period, see for example Waters, SAAS 12, especially pp. 42-80 for information on Ashurbanipal's Elamite contemporaries. For a study of Ashurbanipal and Elam, see especially Gerardi, Assurbanipal's Elamite Campaigns.

<sup>122</sup> Baker and Waters, PNA 3/2 pp. 1418-1419 sub Urtaku 1; Frame, Babylonia pp. 119-121; Gerardi, Assurbanipal's Elamite Campaigns p. 123; Grayson, CAH<sup>2</sup> 3/2 p. 147; Henkelman, RLA 14/5-6 (2015) pp. 443-444 sub Urtak; Ruby, PNA 1/1 p. 165 sub Aššūr-bāni-apli II.3.d.1'; and Waters, SAAS 12 pp. 42-47. Text no. 3 (Prism B) iv 15-79, text no. 4 (Prism D) iv 9-49', text no. 6 (Prism C) v 24-107, text no. 7 (Prism Kh) iv 75''-v 47, and text no. 12 (Prism H) iii 10''-iv 12'. Text nos. 9 (Prism F) and 11 (Prism A) do not include Elam 1-2. A.K. Grayson (ZA 70 [1980] pp. 230 and 232) dates Elam 1 to 667, while Ashurbanipal was preoccupied with matters in Egypt. G. Frame (Babylonia p. 119 with n. 93) has argued in favor of a date of 664 or shortly before Urtaku's invasion of Babylonia and that proposal is followed here. The latest possible date is 664 since a Babylonian Chronicle (Grayson, Chronicles p. 128 no. 15 lines 2-3) records that an Elamite prince fled to Assyria on the twelfth day of the month Tašritu (VII) of Šamaš-šuma-ukin's 4th regnal year (= Ashurbanipal's 5th year); that prince, together with other members of the Elamite royal family, are reported in Ashurbanipal's inscriptions to have fled to Elam when Teumman seized power. It is now generally assumed that Urtaku died shortly after his failed invasion of Babylonia. Thus, Elam 1 took place ca. 664 and Elam 2 in 664 (around 12-VII-664).

<sup>123</sup> These men were the Gambulian leader Bēl-iqīša, the *šandabakku* (governor) of Nippur Nabû-šuma-ēreš, and the Babylonian official Marduk-šuma-ibni. See Baker, PNA 1/2 pp. 315-316 sub Bēl-iqīša 7; Baker, PNA 2/2 pp. 731-732 sub Marduk-šuma-ibni 3; and Brinkman, PNA 2/2 p. 883 sub Nabû-šuma-ēreš 2.

<sup>124</sup> Bēl-iqīša and Nabû-šuma-ēreš, according to Ashurbanipal's inscriptions, both died in the same year as Urtaku. The former is reported to have died after being bitten by a mouse, while the later died from dropsy.

Tammarītu, together with their families and entourages, fled to Nineveh, where Ashurbanipal granted them asylum, much to the displeasure of the new Elamite king.<sup>125</sup>

Over the course of the next decade, relations between Assyria and Elam remained tense. Teumman (Tepti-Ḫumban-Inšušinak?) sent hostile messages to Assyria demanding the extradition of the fugitive members of the former Elamite royal family, while Ashurbanipal refused to comply; he even detained two of his messengers (Umbadarā and Nabû-damiq).<sup>126</sup> In 653 (Ashurbanipal's 16th regnal year), tensions came to a head and the Elamite king mustered his troops and marched towards Nineveh. Ashurbanipal was in Arbela, one of Iṣtar's principal cult centers, when he received word of the impending attack. The Assyrian army marched south to Dēr as quickly as it could. Teumman and his troops, who were preparing to invade Assyria via the east Tigris region at the stronghold Bīt-Imbī,<sup>127</sup> heard about the approach of their foe and started heading back to Susa. The Assyrians pursued them and met them in open battle at Tīl-Tūba, which was situated on the Ulāya river. The battle was bloody and Teumman fought to the bitter end, when a common soldier unceremoniously cut off his head.<sup>128</sup> The fugitive Elamite princes Ummanigaš and Tammarītu, who had accompanied the Assyrians, were installed as rulers: Ummanigaš (Ḫumban-nikaš II) was made king of Elam and his younger brother Tammarītu was installed as the ruler of the city Ḫidalu.<sup>129</sup>

On the march home, Ashurbanipal launched a full-scale assault on Gambulu.<sup>130</sup> Its capital Ša-pī-Bēl, whose fortifications Esarhaddon had improved to defend against Elam, was taken, looted, and destroyed, and its leader Dunānu (the son of Bēl-iqīša), together with his family and supporters, were captured alive and taken to Nineveh. Ashurbanipal returned home, entered his capital via the Aššur Gate in the midst of a joyous celebration, showing off the vast spoils of war and humiliating his defeated foes.<sup>131</sup> During triumphal processions held at Arbela, Aššur, and Nineveh, Dunānu and his brother Samgunu were paraded through the streets with the decapitated Elamite heads hung around their necks.<sup>132</sup> When they returned to Nineveh, Ashurbanipal had the Gambulian leaders publicly executed.<sup>133</sup> The head of Teumman, which had been

<sup>125</sup> Baker and Waters, PNA 3/2 p. 1306 sub Tammarītu 1; Baker and Waters, PNA 3/2 pp. 1383–1384 sub Ummanigaš 3; and Waters, PNA 3/2 p. 1382 sub Ummanappa 2. They were accompanied by Kudurru and Parrū, sons of their uncle Ummanaldašu (Ḫumban-ḫaltaš II), and sixty other members of the royal family.

<sup>126</sup> Baker, PNA 2/2 p. 821 sub Nabû-de'iq 5; Baker and Waters, PNA 3/2 pp. 1323–1325 sub Teumman 1; Frame, Babylonia pp. 121–124; Gerardi, Assurbanipal's Elamite Campaigns pp. 135–136; Grayson, CAH<sup>2</sup> 3/2 p. 148; Henkelman, RLA 13/ (2013) pp. 616–617 sub Te-Umman; Ruby, PNA 1/1 pp. 165–166 sub Aššūr-bāni-apli II.3.d.2'; and Waters, PNA 3/2 p. 1378 sub Umbadarā. The identification of Teumman with Tepti-Ḫumban-Inšušinak is not certain; for details, see Waters, SAAS 12 pp. 47–50. Text no. 3 (Prism B) iv 80–vi 9, text no. 4 (Prism D) iv 50'–vi 12, text no. 6 (Prism C) v 1'–vii 10, text no. 7 (Prism Kh) v 48–vi 22', text no. 8 (Prism G) v 1'–vii 10', text no. 9 (Prism F) ii 53–71, text no. 11 (Prism A) iii 27–49, text 12 (Prism H) v 1–5, and text nos. 25–35. Text nos. 9 (Prism F) and 11 (Prism A) combine the Elam 3, Gambulu, and Elam 4 incidents. See also Borger, BIWA pp. 299–307 and Livingstone, SAA 3 pp. 67–68 no. 31. The campaign can be dated with certainty thanks to the mention of an eclipse in Ashurbanipal's inscriptions, which took place on July 13th 653 (=Du'ūzu); see Mayr in Piepkorn, *Asb.* pp. 105–109. F.R. Stephenson (in Reade and Walker, *Afo* 28 [1981–82] p. 122), however, believes that the eclipse occurred in August 663. For evidence refuting that proposal, see Frame, Babylonia pp. 122–123 n. 112. The 653 date is followed here for the Elam 3 incident.

<sup>127</sup> A.K. Grayson (CAH<sup>2</sup> 3/2 p. 148) suggests that Teumman's assault was prompted by Šamaš-šuma-ukīn and that the Elamite army set foot on Babylonian soil. G. Frame (Babylonia p. 122) points out that it is unclear if Teumman's army moved beyond the borders of Elam.

<sup>128</sup> The battle is depicted in a series of reliefs (with accompanying epigraphs) on the walls of Room XXXIII of the South-West Palace at Nineveh. See Barnett et al, *Sculptures from the Southwest Palace* 1 pp. 94–100 and 2 pls. 286–320. For studies of the visual narrative, see Watanabe, *Iraq* 66 (2004) pp. 103–114.

<sup>129</sup> Tammarītu appears to have been installed in place of a certain Iṣtar-nandi (Šutur-Naḫūndi), who was also beheaded by the Assyrians; see text no. 6 (Prism C) vii 49–50 and text no. 7 (Prism Kh) vi 7'–8', as well as Borger, BIWA p. 306 B line 11'//C line 6'. On Iṣtar-nandi's identity, see Waters, SAAS 12 pp. 54–55 and PNA 3/2 p. 1297 sub Šutur-Naḫūndi 2.

<sup>130</sup> Baker, PNA 1/2 p. 388 sub Duānu; Baker, PNA 2/2 p. 854 sub Nabû-na'id 22; Frame, Babylonia pp. 124–125; Grayson, CAH<sup>2</sup> 3/2 p. 148; Jas, PNA 2/2 p. 684 sub Mannu-kī-aḫḫē 29; Luppert-Barnard, PNA 1/2 p. 299 sub Bēl-ēṭir 15; Luppert-Barnard, PNA 2/2 p. 900 sub Nabû-ušalli 5; Radner, PNA 1/1 p. 117 sub Aplāia 27; Ruby, PNA 1/1 pp. 165–166 sub Aššūr-bāni-apli II.3.d.2'; and Waters, PNA 2/2 p. 743 sub Massirā. Text no. 3 (Prism B) vi 10–vi 85, text no. 4 (Prism D) vi 13–95, text no. 6 (Prism C) vii 11–47', text no. 7 (Prism Kh) vi 23'–vii 35, text no. 8 (Prism G) vii 11'–17'', text no. 9 (Prism F) ii 72–iii 5, text no. 11 (Prism A) iii 50–69, and text no. 12 (Prism H) v 6–13. The Gambulu incident is combined with Elam 3–4 in text nos. 9 (Prism F) and 11 (Prism A). See also Borger, BIWA pp. 299–307. The date of the campaign can be established as late 653 (after Ulūlu [VI]) since Gambulu was attacked on the return home after the defeat of Teumman.

<sup>131</sup> For the king's entrance into Nineveh via the Lilbur-iššak-Aššur Gate ("May the Vice-Regent of the God Aššur Endure"), see Borger, BIWA p. 301 nos. 10–11. See also Fuchs, *MSAW* 5 pp. 97–98.

<sup>132</sup> The head of Teumman was hung around Dunānu's neck, while that of Iṣtar-nandi (Šutur-Naḫūndi) was hung around Samgunu's. For further information on this three-city procession, see Weissert in Parpola and Whiting, *Assyria* 1995 pp. 347–350. A relief from Room XXXIII of the South-West Palace likely depicts Dunānu and Samgunu (Barnett et al, *Sculptures from the Southwest Palace* 2 pls. 286, 304–305, and 312). The sight of Teumman's head apparently upset the two Elamite envoys who had been detained at Nineveh: Umbadarā is said to have tried to pull out his own beard and Nabû-damiq stabbed himself with his own dagger.

<sup>133</sup> Dunānu's deputy Mannu-kī-aḫḫē and the overseer of Gambulu Nabû-ušalli were executed earlier, in Arbela; they had their tongues ripped out and were then flayed. Nabû-na'id and Bēl-ēṭir, sons of the former *šandabakku* (governor) of Nippur Nabû-šuma-ēreš, were forced to publicly grind up the bones of their father; this reportedly took place at the Citadel Gate of Nineveh.

preserved in salt, was hung at the Citadel Gate, to be a spectacle for all who entered that part of the capital.<sup>134</sup>

Although Ashurbanipal had kept Ummanigaš (Ḫumban-nikaš II) and his brother Tammarītu safe while Teumman was king and had appointed those sons of Urtaku to their positions of authority after the death of their adversary, good relations between Assyria and Elam did not last long. Shortly after becoming king, Ummanigaš allied himself with Šamaš-šuma-ukīn, who was thoroughly exasperated with his younger brother's constant meddling. After fifteen years of tolerating the king of Assyria's interference in internal religious and political affairs in Babylonia, the king of Babylon began secretly putting together a diverse and widespread anti-Assyrian coalition. Šamaš-šuma-ukīn incited the people of Akkad, Chaldea, Aram, and the Sealand to rebel against Assyrian control and won the support of the kings of Elam, Gutium, Amurru, Meluhḫa (Ethiopia), and Arabia (through bribes and their distrust of Assyria). Ashurbanipal discovered his brother's intentions and made attempts to garner support in Babylonia, in Babylon in particular.<sup>135</sup> By late 652, hostilities broke out and the sibling monarchs went to war.<sup>136</sup>

Šamaš-šuma-ukīn's rebellion lasted nearly four years (from 19-X-652 to after 30-V-648).<sup>137</sup> Shortly after war was declared, the king of Babylon withdrew to his capital and prepared for the enemy. During the first part of the conflict (12-XII-652 to 11-IV-650), battles were fought all over Babylonia, from cities in the north to the Sealand in the south. Some victories went to the Assyrians, others to the Babylonians and their allies.<sup>138</sup> Key cities occasionally changed hands.<sup>139</sup> Given the number of armies on the move, it is no surprise that there was a considerable amount of chaos not only in Babylonia, but also in Assyria. To make matters worse, some major players secretly worked for the enemy,<sup>140</sup> while others were unexpectedly removed from power by their own people and replaced.<sup>141</sup> This made it very difficult to keep track of one's allies and enemies. Both kings did all

<sup>134</sup> For the famous garden scene of Ashurbanipal, with the head of Teumman hanging from a branch of a tree, see Barnett, *Sculptures from the North Palace* pl. LXIV.

<sup>135</sup> For example, see Harper, ABL no. 301, a letter of Ashurbanipal addressed to the citizens of Babylon, in which the Assyrian king appeals to the people of that city not to join with his brother and in return they would continue to enjoy their special privileged status. The letter is dated to the twenty-third of the month Ayyāru (II), presumably in the year 652. For further details, see Moran, *Studies Tadmor* pp. 320–321; Frame, *Babylonia* pp. 138–139; and Parpola, *Studies Grayson* pp. 227–234. For other letters of this type see Ito, *Letters of Assurbanipal*.

<sup>136</sup> Ahmed, *Southern Mesopotamia* pp. 62–103; Baker, PNA 3/2 pp. 1214–1219 sub Šamaš-šumu-ukīn; Baker and Waters, PNA 2/1 pp. 542–543 sub Indabibi; Baker and Waters, PNA 3/2 pp. 1306–1308 sub Tammarītu 2; Baker and Waters, PNA 3/2 pp. 1383–1384 sub Ummanigaš 3; Brinkman, *CAH<sup>2</sup> 3/2* pp. 47–60; Frame, *Babylonia* pp. 102–190; Frame, *RLA 11/7–8* (2008) pp. 618–621 sub Šamaš-šuma-ukīn; Grayson, *CAH<sup>2</sup> 3/2* pp. 149–151; Gerardi, *Assurbanipal's Elamite Campaigns* pp. 162–164; Henkelman, *RLA 13/5–6* (2012) pp. 432–433 sub Tammarītu; Ruby, PNA 1/1 p. 166 sub Aššūr-bāni-apli II.3.d.3'; and Waters, *SAAS 12* pp. 56–67. Text no. 3 (Prism B) vi 86–vii 76, text no. 4 (Prism D) vi 96–vii 79, text no. 6 (Prism C) vii 48'–ix 52'', text no. 7 (Prism Kh) vii 36–ix 9, text no. 8 (Prism G) viii 1'–ix 37', text no. 9 (Prism F) iii 6–32, and text no. 11 (Prism A) iii 70–iv 109; see also Borger, *BIWA* pp. 307–319 and Livingstone, *SAA 3* pp. 110–112 no. 44. Text nos. 3 (Prism B), 4 (Prism D), and 9 (Prism F) do not contain the Šamaš-šuma-ukīn rebellion. Text nos. 6 (Prism C), 7 (Prism Kh), and 8 (Prism G) insert the Šamaš-šuma-ukīn rebellion within the narrative of Elam 4. In text no. 11 (Prism A) Elam 4 and Šamaš-šuma-ukīn are split over two military reports: campaign 5 (which also includes Elam 3 and Gambulu) and campaign 6. Details about the war are also known from numerous letters, queries to the sun-god, astronomical diaries, Babylonian chronicles, economic documents, and an Aramaic tale written in Demotic script.

<sup>137</sup> According to a Babylonian chronicle (Grayson, *Chronicles* p. 131 no. 16 line 11) hostilities began on 19-X-652. Babylon fell sometime after 30-V-648; BM 40577 is the last economic document from Babylon dated by Šamaš-šuma-ukīn's regnal years. For a chronological outline of the revolt, see Frame, *Babylonia* pp. 188–190. Uruk was pro-Assyrian and it does not appear to have been held or captured by the Babylonians or their allies. Ur was also pro-Assyrian, although its governor may have offered some type of submission to Šamaš-šuma-ukīn out of desperation; there is no evidence, however, that this city was ever occupied by Babylonian forces or its allies during the rebellion.

<sup>138</sup> For example, the Assyrians were victorious at Ḫirītu (27-XII-652) and Babylonian forces captured Cutha in 9-VI-651.

<sup>139</sup> For example, Nippur, which joined Šamaš-šuma-ukīn at the outset of the rebellion but fell to the Assyrians at the end of 651, and Cutha, which the Assyrians held at the outbreak of the war but lost to the Babylonians in mid-651. At Mangisu, the Assyrians defeated the Elamite troops sent to Babylonia by Ummanigaš.

<sup>140</sup> The most notable case being the Sealand governor Nabû-bēl-šumāti, a son of Marduk-apla-iddina II (Merodach-baladan). Despite reports that the governor of the Sealand had sided with the king of Babylon and was conscripting troops in Elam, Ashurbanipal had faith that Nabû-bēl-šumāti remained loyal and sent troops to support him on the southern front. By the time Ashurbanipal had learned the truth about this Chaldean leader's feigned loyalty, it was too late: the men he had sent him were taken captive during the night and imprisoned in Elam. The vilification of Nabû-bēl-šumāti in Ashurbanipal's inscriptions is a testament to the intense rage felt by the Assyrian king toward this man who deceitfully and cunningly betrayed him. For details about this important ally of Šamaš-šuma-ukīn, see Baker, PNA 2/2 pp. 811–814 sub Nabû-bēl-šumāti 10; Brinkman, *CAH<sup>2</sup> 3/2* pp. 56–57; and Frame, *Babylonia* pp. 175–182.

The loyalty of Sîn-šarra-ušur, the governor of Ur, appears to have been questioned and doubts about whether or not he would defect may have prompted Ashurbanipal to replace him with Sîn-tabni-ušur. On these two men, see Frame, *Babylonia* pp. 162–167; Frame, *NABU 2004* p. 71 no. 69; Novotny, PNA 3/1 pp. 1148–1150 sub Sîn-tabni-ušur 2; and Radner, PNA 3/1 pp. 1145–1146 sub Sîn-šarra-ušur 9.

<sup>141</sup> The Elamite king Ummanigaš (Ḫumban-nikaš II), whom Ashurbanipal had appointed king, was an important ally of Šamaš-šuma-ukīn at the outset of the rebellion, but he was replaced by a certain Tammarītu, who in turn was deposed by Indabibi, who was murdered by Ummanaldašu (Ḫumban-ḫaltaš III). The instability in Elam undoubtedly played a role in hurting Babylonia's effectiveness to hold off the Assyrians. The dates and lengths of reigns of these rulers are uncertain. M. Waters (*SAAS 12* pp. 56–67) assigns the following dates: 653–652<sup>7</sup> to Ummanigaš, 652<sup>7</sup>–649<sup>7</sup> to Tammarītu, and 649<sup>7</sup>–648<sup>7</sup> to Indabibi. From a query to Šamaš (Starr, *SAA 4* p. 270 no. 289), it is certain that Tammarītu was king of Elam by XI-651 and, from one of Ashurbanipal's dateable inscriptions (text no. 3 [Prism B]), it is known that



they could to discover the other's plans and movements.<sup>142</sup>

Despite military support from foreign rulers — the Elamite kings Ummanigaš (Ḫumban-nikaš II) and Tammarītu, and the Arabian tribal leader Abī-Iate' in particular — and crafty allies (especially the slippery governor of the Sealand Nabû-bēl-šumāti), the tide turned against Šamaš-šuma-ukīn early in the year 650. With the help of the loyal and capable Bēl-ibni,<sup>143</sup> the military commander of the Sealand, Ashurbanipal took control of the south, gained significant ground in the north, and cut off major urban centers' access to food, water, and military aid. On the eleventh of Du'ūzu (IV), the Assyrians laid siege to Babylon; Borsippa, Cutha, and Sippar were also besieged.<sup>144</sup> For two long years, the Babylonians endured the intense Assyrian blockade and suffered horribly from dehydration, malnutrition, and diseases. Documents from Babylon dated during the siege lend support to Ashurbanipal's grim descriptions in his inscriptions of the misery, despair, and death witnessed by the beleaguered citizens; to survive the ordeal, some people are said to have resorted to cannibalism.<sup>145</sup>

The siege, as well as the revolt, ended with the death of Šamaš-šuma-ukīn. Inscriptions of Ashurbanipal state that the gods threw the king of Babylon into a raging conflagration. It is uncertain from this cryptic remark whether Šamaš-šuma-ukīn took his own life or was murdered by his once-loyal supporters.<sup>146</sup> Sometime after Abu (V) 648 (and probably before the end of that year), Babylon and Borsippa opened their gates to the Assyrians.<sup>147</sup> The king of Babylon's principal supporters were severely punished, some on the spot and others later on, back in Nineveh.<sup>148</sup> Šamaš-šuma-ukīn's prized possessions — including his crown, scepter, and seal — were taken to Nineveh as spoils of war.<sup>149</sup> Once all of Babylonia was firmly in Assyrian control, new officials were appointed, including a new king of Babylon (Kandalānu).<sup>150</sup> Since there is no record of anti-Assyrian activities in Babylonia between 647 and 627, Ashurbanipal must have selected loyal appointees.

With the rebellion successfully suppressed in Babylonia, the Assyrian king was again able to direct his attention elsewhere. Elam, under its new ruler Ummanaldašu (Ḫumban-ḫaltaš III), was Ashurbanipal's next target. In the month Simānu (III), the Assyrian army, accompanied by the deposed Elamite Tammarītu (who had taken refuge in Nineveh), marched south to Dēr, headed east into Elam, and attacked Bīt-Imbī, the fortress

Indabibi deposed his predecessor sometime before V-649. Because Tammarītu sought asylum with Ashurbanipal and not Šamaš-šuma-ukīn, to whom he sent aid, this might suggest that Babylon was under siege at the time he was removed from the throne; thus, Indabibi may have seized power sometime after 11-IV-650 (but before V-649). As for when he became king, this could conceivably have happened as early as the beginning of 651 since the first recorded battle took place on 12-XII-652 and since his predecessor is reported to have sent troops to Babylonia; as G. Frame (Babylonia p. 292 n. 19) points out, the battle at Mangisu must have taken place prior to his death. Given the lack of clear evidence, it is not known if Indabibi was deposed by Ummanaldašu before or after the fall of Babylon; however, it is now generally thought that Indabibi's tenure as king ended in 648. For details on Elam's participation in the Babylonian revolt, see Frame, Babylonia pp. 182–186.

<sup>142</sup> See the comments of G. Frame (Babylonia p. 145): "Ashurbanipal frequently turned to the gods for advice on what to do and on what the enemy was planning. Extispicies were performed to determine the truth of reports which had reached him and the potential for success of various planned military movements." The texts of these extispicies are published in Starr, SAA 4.

<sup>143</sup> Baker, PNA 1/2 pp. 306–310 sub Bēl-ibni 18; and de Vaan, *Sprache des Bēl-ibni*.

<sup>144</sup> Note the comments of G. Frame (Babylonia p. 150): "The goal of the Assyrians was to force the city into surrendering by cutting off its access to supplies of food and military aid .... Probably the Assyrians did not set up a continuous encirclement about the city but rather established a number of camps in the area in order to keep a close eye on it."

<sup>145</sup> Accounts of Babylon's dire straits are known from text no. 6 (Prism C) ix 1'–20', text no. 7 (Prism Kh) viii 1'–54', text no. 8 (Prism G) viii 1'–16''a, and text no. 11 (Prism A) iv 41b–46. At least six economic documents from Babylon date to the siege; these were written between 13-VIII-650 and 29-II-648. For details on these texts, see Frame, Babylonia p. 150 n. 81 and p. 153, and JCS 51 (1999) pp. 101–106.

<sup>146</sup> W. von Soden, (ZA 62 [1972] pp. 84–85) suggests that an official by the name of Nabû-qātē-šabat threw Šamaš-šuma-ukīn into the fire; for evidence against that proposal, see Frame, Babylonia p. 154 n. 101. Ctesias' account of the death of Ashurbanipal may have mistaken the death of the Assyrian king at Nineveh with that of the king of Babylon; that story states that the Assyrian king had himself burned alive in his palace. If that description of Ashurbanipal's death was based on the death of Šamaš-šuma-ukīn, then the king of Babylon may have committed suicide. For this opinion, see Frahm, *Studies H. and M. Tadmor* p. 39\* and MacGinnis, *Sumer* 45 (1987–88) pp. 40–43. Another possibility is that Ctesias confused Ashurbanipal (Sardanapallos) with Sîn-šarra-iškun (Sarakos), who according to Berossos burnt down his palace around him when the Babylonian king (Bupalassaros = Nabopolassar) besieged him. Because nothing about Ashurbanipal's death is recorded in cuneiform sources, it has been sometimes suggested that Ashurbanipal also died by fire; see Frame, Babylonia p. 155.

<sup>147</sup> Babylonian chronicles do not record the date of the end of the siege. G. Frame (Babylonia pp. 155–156 nn. 106–107) suggests that Babylon was captured by 1-XI-648 since large numbers of literary tablets were taken from Babylonia to Assyria after that time; see Parpola, *JNES* 42 (1983) pp. 7 and 11.

<sup>148</sup> The rebels taken back to Assyria may have been executed on the very spot where Sennacherib had been murdered. For details on the murder of Sennacherib and where it might have happened (with references to earlier literature), see Grayson and Novotny, *RINAP* 3/2 pp. 28–29.

<sup>149</sup> A relief showing the aftermath of the siege adorned part of Room M (the so-called Throne Room) of Ashurbanipal's palace at Nineveh. See Novotny and Watanabe, *Iraq* 70 (2008) pp. 105–125.

<sup>150</sup> Ahmed, *Southern Mesopotamia* pp. 104–120; Baker, PNA 2/1 p. 601 sub Kandalānu 11; Brinkman, *Prelude* pp. 105–106; Brinkman, *RLA* 5/5–6 (1980) pp. 368–369 sub Kandalānu; Brinkman, *CAH*<sup>2</sup> 3/2 pp. 60–62; and Frame, Babylonia pp. 191–213 and 296–306 (for information regarding who this king of Babylon might have been). Some scholars (especially S. Zawadzki [Fall of Assyria pp. 57–62]) have suggested that Ashurbanipal and Kandalānu were one and the same person, but this seems unlikely, as already pointed out by J.A. Brinkman and G. Frame.

from which the Elamites launched many of their campaigns into Babylonia.<sup>151</sup> After successfully capturing and plundering Bīt-Imbî, the Assyrians set foot in Elam proper and marched east.<sup>152</sup> Ummanaldašu abandoned his capital Madaktu and fled to the mountains. A certain UmbaḥABua (Ḥumban-ḥabua) seized the throne, but fled shortly thereafter as the Assyrians continued to march east. Tammarîtu was reinstated as king in Susa, rather than at Madaktu or Ḥidālu. His second tenure as king, however, did not last long: he was removed for failing to keep his word to Ashurbanipal and taken to Nineveh to live out the rest of his days there.<sup>153</sup> Ummanaldašu returned from hiding and reclaimed the Elamite throne.

In Šabātu (XI) of that same year, Ashurbanipal, at the request of Bēl-ibni, sent a letter to the elders of Elam, warning them that failure to hand over Nabû-bēl-šumāti, the high-profile fugitive governor of the Sealand who had wronged him, would result in him laying waste to Elam.<sup>154</sup> The threat did not work. Nabû-bēl-šumāti remained at large and Ashurbanipal had no choice but to send his troops back to Elam. The Assyrians entered the country, retook the western part of Elam (the region around Bīt-Imbî, Rāši, and Ḥamānu), and then proceeded east.<sup>155</sup> Ummanaldašu mustered his troops and set up camp on the banks of the Idide river. The Elamite fled back to the safety of the mountains when the Assyrians arrived. Ashurbanipal, frustrated and fed up, decided to crush Elam once and for all: not only does he claim to have destroyed that country's most important cities and fortresses, but he also asserts that he had strewn salt and cress on its arable land. The religious capital Susa bore the brunt of the Assyrian king's wrath: its palaces and temples were emptied of their possessions; statues of its gods, goddesses, and former rulers were taken away; the trees of its sacred groves were cut down; and the tombs of Elam's kings were unceremoniously opened and had their bones removed and carried off to Assyria. Countless members of the Elamite royal family and nobility were exiled to Nineveh. While Susa was being robbed of all its glory, the Assyrians made an amazing discovery: a statue of the Urukian goddess Nanāya was found. This image, which had apparently been there for 1,635 years (since the Old Akkadian period), was returned to its rightful place in Uruk on the way home.<sup>156</sup>

<sup>151</sup> Baker and Waters, PNA 3/2 pp. 1380–1382 sub Ummanaldašu 3; Frame, Babylonia pp. 186, 204–206, and 293–295; Grayson, CAH<sup>2</sup> 3/2 pp. 151–153; Gerardi, Assurbanipal's Elamite Campaigns pp. 181–194; Ruby, PNA 1/1 p. 166 sub Aššūr-bāni-apli II.3.d.4'; Waters, SAAS 12 pp. 58–75 and 117–118; and Waters, PNA 3/2 pp. 1378–1379 sub UmbaḥABua. Text no. 7 (Prism Kh) ix 10–63', text no. 8 (Prism G) ix 29'–x 16', text no. 9 (Prism F) iii 33–iv 16, and text no. 11 (Prism A) iv 110–v 62. Although it is not known when Ummanaldašu came to the throne, it is generally thought that he gained power in 648. G. Frame points out that there is no clear evidence that Indabibi's deposition took place before or after the fall of Babylon. M. Waters suggests that this may have happened sometime after Babylon was captured, following Frame's conjecture that that city's fall might have played a part in that king's removal from the throne. One plausible scenario is that relations between Ashurbanipal and Indabibi quickly deteriorated when the latter refused to extradite the villainous Nabû-bēl-šumāti. The Assyrian king threatened war, something he was able to do since the Babylonian rebellion had been quelled, and the Elamites fearing Ashurbanipal's wrath deposed Indabibi, and installed Ummanaldašu. This bold move bought them some time. The date of the Elam 5 incident has been a matter of debate. A.K. Grayson (ZA 70 [1980] p. 235), following H. Tadmor's proposed chronological arrangement of Ashurbanipal's annals, suggests a date of 648. P. Gerardi (Assurbanipal's Elamite Campaigns pp. 194 and 207–208) suggests that the wars against Ummanaldašu happened in 647. Frame (Babylonia pp. 293–295) suggests three possible dates (III-648, III-647, and III-646), but prefers the III-647 date. Waters (SAAS 12 pp. 68–70) prefers a date of 647, but does not rule out that the expedition was launched in 648. Because text nos. 7 (Prism Kh) and 8 (Prism G) are now thought to have been composed in 646 (and not in 647), the Elam 5 incident probably took place in 647; thus, the dates of Elam 6–8 differ from Grayson's proposed chronology. For discussions on the matter, see in particular Gerardi, Assurbanipal's Elamite Campaigns pp. 185–199; Frame, Babylonia pp. 293–295; and Waters, SAAS 12 pp. 68–70. The motive for the campaign is uncertain. Grayson (CAH<sup>2</sup> 3/2 p. 152) and Frame (Babylonia p. 204) suggest the expedition was to win back the buffer states, to seek revenge for Elam's participation in the Babylonian rebellion, and to replace Ummanaldašu with Tammarîtu.

<sup>152</sup> The chief archer of Elam, Imbappa, and members of Teumman's family were among the people taken prisoner. According to text no. 11 (Prism A), the Bīt-Imbî conquered by Ashurbanipal was a different city than the one conquered by Sennacherib. Apparently, the Elamites constructed a new Bīt-Imbî opposite the one destroyed by Ashurbanipal's grandfather.

<sup>153</sup> The duration of Tammarîtu's second tenure is unknown, but as M. Waters suggests (SAAS 12 pp. 72–74), it may have lasted for several months rather than that king being removed from the throne immediately after his installation, as Ashurbanipal's inscriptions insinuate. It is unclear exactly who removed Tammarîtu from power. Bēl-ibni may have been involved since he was probably in Elam at the time hunting down Nabû-bēl-šumāti, who was still being protected by the Elamites.

<sup>154</sup> The letter is dated by the eponymy of Nabû-nādin-aḥḥē (probably 647), the same year that text nos. 7 (Prism Kh) and 8 (Prism G) were inscribed on ten-sided prisms. For a proposed historical background of BM 132980, see Frame, Babylonia pp. 206–207.

<sup>155</sup> Baker, PNA 2/2 pp. 811–814 sub Nabû-bēl-šumāti 10; Baker and Waters, PNA 3/2 pp. 1380–1382 sub Ummanaldašu 3; Frame, Babylonia pp. 206–208 and 293–295; Grayson, CAH<sup>2</sup> 3/2 pp. 151–153; Gerardi, Assurbanipal's Elamite Campaigns pp. 195–207; Ruby, PNA 1/1 pp. 166–167 sub Aššūr-bāni-apli II.3.d.5'; Waters, SAAS 12 pp. 75–79 and 117–118; and Waters, PNA 3/2 pp. 1378–1379 sub UmbaḥABua. Text no. 9 (Prism F) iv 17–vi 21, text no. 10 (Prism T) iv 12–v 32, and text no. 11 (Prism A) v 63–vii 8. The Elam 6 incident is regarded here as having taken place in 646; A.K. Grayson (ZA 70 [1980] pp. 231 and 235) and P. Gerardi (Assurbanipal's Elamite Campaigns p. 208) suggest that it took place one year earlier (647). Most scholars believe that the campaigns against Ummanaldašu took place during two consecutive years; Gerardi, however, argues that both wars took place in the same year. Close studies of the available sources by G. Frame (op. cit.) and M. Waters (op. cit.) strongly argue against such a scenario.

<sup>156</sup> According to text no. 11 (Prism A) vi 116–124, Nanāya was returned to her sanctuary Eḫiliana ("House, Luxuriance of Heaven") in the Eanna ("House of Heaven") complex at Uruk on the first of Kislimu (IX).

Ashurbanipal's campaigns severely destabilized Elam and greatly weakened Ummanaldašu's authority. When Ummanaldašu returned from hiding, his bid for the throne was challenged by Pa'ê.<sup>157</sup> The Assyrian king once again wrote to Ummanaldašu about extraditing Nabû-bêl-šumāti. The former governor of the Sealand found out and had his attendant kill him with his own sword. Ummanaldašu preserved Nabû-bêl-šumāti's corpse in salt and sent it, together with the head of his attendant, to Nineveh.<sup>158</sup> This did not go over well with the Elamites and they rebelled. Ummanaldašu, as he had done several times before, hid in the mountains.<sup>159</sup> A group of Assyrian soldiers tracked him down, captured him, and took him to Nineveh, where he lived out the rest of his days serving Ashurbanipal.<sup>160</sup> Elam appears not to have been a problem for the Assyrians again.

### The Arabs

Arab tribal groups were a mild nuisance to Ashurbanipal, just as they had been since the mid-eighth century.<sup>161</sup> Prior to the outbreak of the Šamaš-šuma-ukīn rebellion (652–648), Ashurbanipal dealt with a few rulers who had not kept their oaths and who were disrupting Assyrian interests in the west. The Assyrian army marched against the Qedarite leaders Iauta' and Ammu-ladīn. The latter was captured with the assistance of the Moabite king Kamās-ḫaltā. The former ruler, however, eluded capture after his tribesmen were defeated;<sup>162</sup> his region, on the other hand, if Ashurbanipal's inscriptions are to be believed, was thoroughly plundered. Iauta', the son and successor of Hazael, fled first to the ruler of the Nabayatean king Natnu and then, after being refused asylum by the Nabayateans, into the Arabian peninsula, where he hid for many years, before being taken captive to Nineveh.<sup>163</sup>

In place of Iauta', Ashurbanipal made Abī-Yate', son of Te'ri, ruler.<sup>164</sup> Sometime after Ashurbanipal had declared war on Šamaš-šuma-ukīn, perhaps in 651 or at the very beginning of 650, the recently appointed Abī-

<sup>157</sup> Baker and Waters, PNA 3/1 p. 979 sub Pa'ê; and Waters, SAAS 12 pp. 77–80. Text no. 11 (Prism A) vii 9–81. The date of some of the events of the Elam 7 incident (ca. 645) can be confirmed from a Neo-Assyrian letter (see the following note).

<sup>158</sup> Harper, ABL no. 879 is dated to the twenty-sixth day of Du'ūzu (IV) of the eponymy of Nabû-šar-aḫḫēšu (probably 645) and, as G. Frame (Babylonia p. 207) has suggested, that letter was either to accompany the corpse or was to be sent shortly after the body had been dispatched. The Elamite king blames a tribal group called the Martenaya for protecting Nabû-bêl-šumāti in Elam and says that he will punish them for their actions. Ashurbanipal did not bury the body of Nabû-bêl-šumāti, but made it "more dead than before" by cutting off its head and hanging it around the neck of Nabû-qātī-šabat, the *simmagir*-official of Šamaš-šuma-ukīn.

<sup>159</sup> Text no. 11 (Prism A) x 6–39. A.K. Grayson (ZA 70 [1980] pp. 231 and 235) dates the Elam 8 incident to ca. 643. This may be true, but since it is uncertain when text no. 11 (Prism A) was written (644, 643, or 642), it is best to give a more general date of ca. 645–643. Ummanaldašu may have been deposed as early as late 645, as M. Waters (SAAS 12 p. 109) suggests, but he may have been captured one or two years later. A firm dating for the eponymy of Šamaš-da''inanni, the year in which text no. 11 (Prism A) was written, might clarify matters. In any event, both Pa'ê and Ummanaldašu had been taken into custody before the composition of the aforementioned inscription. The latter's capture is depicted on a relief from Ashurbanipal's palace; see Barnett, Sculptures from the North Palace pl. XXXIV.

<sup>160</sup> A relief from the North Palace (Room S') depicts a group of Elamite kings serving Ashurbanipal; see Barnett, Sculptures from the North Palace pls. LXIII–LXIV. Several inscriptions record that Tammarītu, Pa'ê, and Ummanaldašu, together with the Arabian king Uaite', were hitched up to Ashurbanipal's processional carriage and pulled him on it to the gates of the *akītu*-house on the citadel at Nineveh during a New Year's celebration (held in the month Ṭebētu [X]); see, for example, text no. 11 (Prism A) x 17–39 and text no. 23 (IIT) lines 118–121a.

<sup>161</sup> Baker, PNA 2/1 pp. 497–498 sub Iauta'; Baker, PNA 2/2 p. 966 sub Nuḫūru 1; Baker, PNA 3/2 p. 1353 sub Uaite'; Berlejung, PNA 2/1 p. 600 sub Kamās-ḫaltā; Brinkman, PNA 1/1 p. 11 sub Abī-Iate'; Brinkman, PNA 1/1 pp. 89–90 sub Aia-ammu 2; Gerardi, SAAB 6/2 (1992) pp. 67–103; Grayson, CAH<sup>2</sup> 3/2 pp. 154–155; Ruby, PNA 1/1 p. 167 sub Aššūr-bāni-apli II.3.e; Tenney, PNA 2/2 pp. 938–939 sub Natnu 2; Weippert, WO 7/1 (1973) pp. 39–85; and Villard, PNA 1/1 pp. 104–105 sub Ammi-ladīn. For studies on the Arabs in cuneiform sources, see in particular Eph'al, Arabs. Text no. 3 (Prism B) vii 77–viii 55, text no. 4 (Prism D) vii 80–viii 57, text no. 6 (Prism C) x 1'–18'', text no. 7 (Prism Kh) ix 64''–x 52', text no. 8 (Prism G) ix 38'–28'', and text no. 11 (Prism A) vii 82–x 5; see also Borger, BIWA pp. 69–70 K 3087 (and duplicates) and pp. 77–81 K 2802+ i 1–v 2. Text no. 9 (Prism F) does not include a report about the Arab campaigns. A.K. Grayson (ZA 70 [1980] pp. 231–232 and 234–235) dates the Arabs 1 and 2 incidents to ca. 650 and ca. 644 respectively. Thanks to the efforts of I. Eph'al, P. Gerardi, and M. Weippert, it is now fairly certain that some of the events mentioned in Grayson's Arab 1 occurred before 652, while others took place ca. 650 (during the Šamaš-šuma-ukīn rebellion). Thus, a more general date (before 652 and ca. 650) is suggested here. As for Grayson's Arab 2 incident, it is clear that this took place before the composition of text no. 11 (Prism A), in the eponymy of Šamaš-da''inanni. Because the date of that eponym is uncertain (644, 643, or 642), a range of ca. 645–643 is given here. For further information, see the Dating and Chronology section.

<sup>162</sup> According to text no. 11 (Prism A), Adiya, the wife of Iauta', was captured at this time. The earliest inscription to record her defeat is text no. 8 (Prism G). It is uncertain if the inclusion of the Adiya incident in that inscription records new information (an event that had taken place prior to the composition of that text) or if it recorded old information (an event that had taken place years earlier but not immediately incorporated into the military narrative). Thus, Adiya was either caught by the Assyrians before 652 or in early 646.

<sup>163</sup> In later inscriptions, text no. 11 (Prism A) and K 2802+ (Letter to Aššūr), the Assyrian scribes sometimes confused Iauta' with the similarly named Uaite' (son of Bir-Dāda). Both men were in custody ca. 645–643. For details about the confusion between these Arab rulers, see in particular the on-page note to text no. 11 (Prism A) vii 82–x 39; Gerardi, SAAB 6/2 (1992) pp. 67–71; and Lämmerhirt, RLA 14/3–4 (2014) pp. 255–256 sub Uaite'.

<sup>164</sup> The earliest dateable inscription mentioning Abī-Yate''s installation as ruler is text no. 3 (Prism B). It can be inferred from text no. 11 (Prism A) that Abī-Yate' and his brother Aya-ammu were in Babylon while it was under siege (after IV-650) and, therefore, he had to have

Yate', together with his brother Aya-ammu, broke the oaths they had sworn to Assyria, and formed an alliance with Babylon and sent fighting men to help Šamaš-šuma-ukīn. The Qedarite ruler and his supporters fought their way to Babylon and appear to have entered the city just before it closed its gates to the Assyrian army (IV-11-650).<sup>165</sup> The fear of dying of starvation motivated Šamaš-šuma-ukīn's Arab allies enough to try to escape. While fleeing Babylon, Abī-Yate' and his supporters were captured and brought before Ashurbanipal. Despite the treachery of Abī-Yate', the Assyrian king had compassion on the Qedarite ruler and reinstated him. Ashurbanipal would come to regret this decision a few years later. Sometime after the fall of Babylon, Abī-Yate', his brother Aya-ammu, Natnu the Nabayatean, and Uaite' (a son of Bir-Dāda) carried out raids on border towns and disrupted trade. A major campaign was undertaken by Ashurbanipal's generals.<sup>166</sup> With much effort, the various Arab groups were defeated, and the instigators were brought to Nineveh to be severely punished for their crimes, oath breaking being the most grievous offense; Aya-ammu was flayed, while Uaite' was publicly humiliated by making him guard the Citadel Gate like a dog and by hitching him up to the king's processional chariot and making him pull it like a horse during an *akītu*-festival.<sup>167</sup> Due to the lack of sources, it is unclear if the war against Abī-Yate', Natnu, and Uaite' marked the end of Ashurbanipal's problems with the Arabs or if further military action was required to pacify them.

#### Other Political Events

At the start of Ashurbanipal's reign, in 668, the inhabitants of the east Tigris city Qirbit, under the leadership of Tandāya, regularly raided the area around the city Dēr.<sup>168</sup> The harassed citizens of that city appealed to the newly enthroned Assyrian king for assistance. Several local governors were ordered to deal with the problem. Qirbit, together with other cities in the region, was captured, Tandāya was killed, and Akkudāya (one of the chief conspirators) was arrested and taken to Assyria. Sometime after the first campaign to Egypt (667), Ashurbanipal had the inhabitants of this troublesome region deported to Egypt; presumably, people from other parts of the empire were settled in Qirbit.

Several inscriptions written around his 30th regnal year (639–ca. 638) record that Ashurbanipal received messengers bearing messages of goodwill and audience gifts from distant foreign rulers.<sup>169</sup> Cyrus I of Parsumaš (Persia), Pislumê of the remote land Ĥudimiri, Ĥundāru of the island kingdom Dilmun, Padê of the land Qadê, Šilum of the land Ĥazmāni, and the ruler of the land Luppi are all said to have sent envoys and payment to Assyria; several reportedly did so after hearing about Ashurbanipal's victories in Elam.

#### Lion Hunts

Early in his reign, Ashurbanipal had to deal with a different type of problem than his immediate predecessors: lions, a fierce mountain breed that were reportedly killing shepherds, herdsmen, and their livestock. Dealing with such ferocious beasts had long been the prerogative of the king and it was Ashurbanipal's responsibility to help the rural inhabitants in the Arbela region.<sup>170</sup> The Assyrian king appears to have laid an ambush near one of

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been made ruler of the Qedarite tribes by Ashurbanipal before aiding Babylon. Thus, following more recent studies, the appointment of Abī-Yate' likely took place prior to 652.

<sup>165</sup> The date is recorded in a Babylonian chronicle (Grayson, *Chronicles* p. 130 no. 15 line 19); see the Dating and Chronology section for a translation of the passage.

<sup>166</sup> A.K. Grayson (ZA 70 [1980] pp. 231 and 235) dates the Arab 2 incident to ca. 644. See the comments in n. 161.

<sup>167</sup> The punishments of Abī-Yate' and Natnu are not recorded in extant inscriptions. Ashurbanipal installed Natnu's son Nuḥūru as ruler of the Nabayateans.

<sup>168</sup> Alhadeff and Jean, PNA 3/2 pp. 1309–1310 sub Tandāiu; Grayson, CAH<sup>2</sup> 3/2 p. 155; Lämmerhirt, RLA 13/5–6 (2012) p. 441 sub Tandāja; Lapinkivi, PNA 1/1 p. 95 sub Akkudāiu; Ruby, PNA 1/1 p. 167 sub Aššūr-bāni-apli II.3.f. Text no. 1 (Prism E<sub>1</sub>) vi 1–10, text no. 2 (Prism E<sub>2</sub>) v 1'–vi 13, text no. 3 (Prism B) iii 5–15, text no. 4 (Prism D) ii 73'–iii 8, text no. 6 (Prism C) iv 8'–18', and text no. 7 (Prism Kh) iii 31'–35'. Text nos. 9 (Prism F) and 11 (Prism A) do not include reports about Qirbit. The Babylonian Chronicle (see below) also records this event; that text states that that city was captured in Šamaš-šuma-ukīn's accession year (=Ashurbanipal's 1st regnal year; 668).

<sup>169</sup> Ambos and Zadok, PNA 3/1 p. 977 sub Pādê; Baker and Schmitt, PNA 2/1 p. 639 sub Kuraš; Brinkman, PNA 2/1 p. 479 sub Ĥundāru 2; Grayson, CAH<sup>2</sup> 3/2 p. 155; Luukko, PNA 3/2 p. 1266 sub Šilum; Ruby, PNA 1/1 p. 167 sub Aššūr-bāni-apli II.3.f.; and Waters, PNA 3/1 p. 997 sub Pislumê. Text no. 12 (Prism H) vi 1'–25', text no. 13 (Prism J) viii 1–5; text no. 21 lines 20'–21'; text no. 23 (IIT) lines 114–117 and 131b–139a. The reading of the names Šilum and Luppi are not entirely certain. The name of the ruler of Luppi, as far as it is preserved, is [...]raBADte. A.K. Grayson (ZA 70 [1980] pp. 232 and 235) dates the Cyrus and Ĥudimiri episodes to ca. 641 since "these incidents are not found in Edition A but the motive for sending the gifts is said to be an Assyrian victory over Elam, presumably Elam 8." A more general date of ca. 642–640 is tentatively suggested here since it is not known when Grayson's Elam 8 took place, apart from that it occurred before the eponymy of Šamaš-da''inanni (644, 643, or 642).

<sup>170</sup> Text no. 14. For a study of the topos of the lion hunt in Ashurbanipal's inscriptions, see Weissert in Parpola and Whiting, *Assyria* 1995 pp. 349–358 (with references to earlier literature in nn. 2–3); see also Grayson, CAH<sup>2</sup> 3/2 pp. 158–159. For the hunting reliefs in

the lions' water sources. Just after daybreak,<sup>171</sup> Ashurbanipal, in his chariot, sprang into action and killed the lions with arrows; inscriptions boast of the king's deadly accuracy with the bow, stating that each member of the pride was slain with only a single arrow.

The Assyrian king appears to have immensely enjoyed the experience since a few years later (sometime after 664) he went on a hunting expedition with several Elamite princes who had taken refuge in Nineveh. Ashurbanipal claims to have rescued Ummanappa when a lion jumped on him.<sup>172</sup> In addition, Ashurbanipal had an arena set up in Nineveh to "hunt" and kill lions in a controlled setting and with spectators.<sup>173</sup> In an area consecrated to the city's tutelary goddess, Ištar, Ashurbanipal, from his chariot, shot at lions as they were released from cages. Wounded lions that attempted to pounce on the king and his chariot team were repelled and slain with spears and swords. During a single event, eighteen lions, one for each of Nineveh's city gates, are reported to have been killed. In a religious ceremony held immediately afterwards, Ashurbanipal consecrated his victims to Ištar by pouring libations over their corpses. The Assyrian king likely staged other hunts during his long reign, as sculpted wall reliefs seem to suggest.

### Building Activities in Assyria and Babylonia

Numerous texts describe Ashurbanipal's many building activities in Assyria and Babylonia. From the textual and archaeological records, this Assyrian king sponsored building programs in seven Assyrian and ten Babylonian cities: Agade, Arbela, Aššur, Babylon, Borsippa, Cutha, Dēr, Dūr-Kurigalzu, Ḥarrān, Mē-Turran, Milq'ia, Nineveh, Nippur, Sippar, Tarbišu, and Uruk. Full details about these building activities, as well as those carried out by Aššur-etel-ilāni and Sîn-šarra-iškun, will be given in the introduction of Part 2.<sup>174</sup> For general studies, see in particular Frame, RIMB 2 pp. 194–195 and 261; Grayson, CAH<sup>2</sup> 3/2 pp. 155–158; Novotny, *Eḫulḫul*; and Novotny and Van Buylaere, *Studies Oded* pp. 215–219.

### Dating and Chronology

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 1st regnal year of Ashurbanipal (the eponymy of Mār-larīm) is indicated to be 668, although it actually ended in early 667 and, thus, events which took place late in the ancient year "668" actually took place early in the Julian year 667.

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.

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Ashurbanipal's palace, see Barnett, *Sculptures from the North Palace* pp. 12–14, 19, 37–38, and 49–54 and pls. V–XIII and XLVI–LIX.

<sup>171</sup> According to E. Weissert (in Parpola and Whiting, *Assyria* 1995 p. 346), "a well-known practice among hunters is to lay an ambush near water sources where the animals gather to drink, and since animals drink in the early hours of the day, it seems logical that Ashurbanipal tracked down the lions a short time after daybreak."

<sup>172</sup> A record of this hunt is known from both textual and visual sources (Room S<sup>1</sup> of the North Palace). See text no. 54; Bauer, *Asb.* pp. 87–88 and pls. 31–32 K 2867+ (the Large Hunting Inscription) lines 24–61; and Barnett, *Sculptures from the North Palace* pls. LVI–LIX. For the identification of the prince as Urtaku's son Ummanappa, see Weissert in Parpola and Whiting, *Assyria* 1995 p. 341 n. 7. The injuries sustained during this hunt may have prevented him later from becoming one of the rulers of Elam appointed by Ashurbanipal. Based on statements about Tammaritu, Ummanappa may have been a younger brother of Ummanigaš (Ḥumban-nikaš II) and an older brother of Tammaritu. For another hunt in the wild, see Frame and Grayson, *SAAB* 8/1 (1994) p. 5 K 6232 obv. 5'–7'.

<sup>173</sup> The event may have been recorded on a stele erected on the hill overlooking the hunting area, just like the one shown on the reliefs from Ashurbanipal's palace (Room C) depicting the same "hunt" (Barnett, *Sculptures from the North Palace* pp. 12–13 and pls. VI–IX); the small stele-shaped hole in the wall opposite the hill of spectators may have held a small, inscribed stele that also commemorated the event (compare, for example, the size and shape of BM 90864 [Novotny, *SACT* 10 cover]). A draft of that inscription is likely found on K 6085, as argued by E. Weissert (in Parpola and Whiting, *Assyria* 1995 p. 351). As for the significance of the number eighteen, Weissert (ibid. p. 355) states: "The number of lions must therefore have a meaning, since it had been decided in advance to bring the spectacle to an end with the death of the eighteenth lion. This is no accident, surely, for the number of gates in the wall surrounding greater Nineveh was also eighteen. In order to trace the possible link between the number of gates in the Nineveh wall and the number of lions shot in the area, we will have to remember that when describing the plague of lions which had supposedly befallen Assyria, the author of the Great Hunting Text specifically noted that frightening lions were obstructing the roads. The conclusion is therefore unavoidable: by killing eighteen lions in the Nineveh arena, Ashurbanipal symbolically secured each exit from the capital city, every gate and road leading out of it being secured by the killing of one lion." For a study of the narrative style of the Room C reliefs, see Watanabe, *Critical Approaches* pp. 352–359.

<sup>174</sup> Unlike Grayson and Novotny, RINAP 3/1–2, where the discussion of Sennacherib's building activities was split between two volumes, the study of the construction projects of Ashurbanipal and his successors will be treated in a single place.

The Mesopotamian month names and their modern equivalents are:

I	Nisannu	March–April	VII	Tašrītu	September–October
II	Ayyāru	April–May	VIII	Araḥsamna	October–November
III	Simānu	May–June	IX	Kislīmu	November–December
IV	Du'ūzu	June–July	X	Ṭebētu, Kanūnu	December–January
V	Abu	July–August	XI	Šabātu	January–February
VI	Ulūlu	August–September	XII	Addaru	February–March
VI <sub>2</sub>	Intercalary Ulūlu		XII <sub>2</sub>	Intercalary Addaru	

The table below for the first twenty-one years of Ashurbanipal's reign, reprinted with permission from Parpola, LAS 2 pp. 382–383, attempts to precisely convert Assyrian dates to Julian ones. Although the table is styled similarly to the conversions of R. Parker and W. Dubberstein (*Babylonian Chronology* pp. 25–47), there is one major difference: if the new moon is visible for the first time at 7 PM on the 3rd of March, then the chart tells you that the first day of the month is the 3rd of March, not the 4th of March, as indicated by Parker and Dubberstein's charts.<sup>175</sup> The dates are given as civil days, from midnight to midnight, and the dates (month/day) provided in the chart are those of the first day of each month. Based upon statements in contemporary texts and inference, S. Parpola (LAS 2 pp. 381–383) believes that in Assyria there were intercalary months in Ashurbanipal's first (XII<sub>2</sub>), fourth (XII<sub>2</sub>), seventh (XII<sub>2</sub>), tenth (VI<sub>2</sub>), twelfth (XII<sub>2</sub>), fifteenth (XII<sub>2</sub>), eighteenth (VI<sub>2</sub>), and twentieth (XII<sub>2</sub>) years on the throne.

Year BC	Nis	Aja	Sim	Duz	Abu	Ulu	U II	Taš	Ara	Kis	Kan	Šab	Add	A II
Ac 669										11/22	12/21	1/20	2/18	
1 668	3/19	4/17	5/16	6/15	7/16	8/14		9/13	10/13	11/11	12/10	1/9	2/7	3/9
2 667	4/7	5/6	6/5	7/5	8/3	9/2		10/2	10/31	11/30	12/29	1/28	2/26	
3 666	3/28	4/26	5/25	6/24	7/23	8/22		9/21	10/20	11/19	12/19	1/17	2/16	
4 665	3/16	4/15	5/14	6/12	7/12	8/10		9/9	10/8	11/7	12/7	1/6	2/4	3/6
5 664	4/4	5/4	6/2	7/2	7/31	8/29		9/28	10/27	11/26	12/26	1/24	2/23	
6 663	3/25	4/23	5/23	6/21	7/20	8/19		9/17	10/16	11/15	12/15	1/13	2/12	
7 662	3/14	4/12	5/12	6/10	7/10	8/8		9/7	10/6	11/5	12/4	1/3	2/1	3/2
8 661	3/31	4/30	5/30	6/28	7/28	8/26		9/25	10/24	11/23	12/22	1/21	2/19	
9 660	3/21	4/19	5/19	6/17	7/17	8/16		9/14	10/14	11/12	12/12	1/10	2/9	
10 659	3/10	4/8	5/8	6/6	7/6	8/4	9/3	10/3	11/2	12/1	12/31	1/29	2/28	
11 658	3/29	4/27	5/27	6/25	7/25	8/23		9/22	10/22	11/21	12/20	1/19	2/17	
12 657	3/18	4/16	5/15	6/14	7/13	8/11		9/10	10/10	11/9	12/9	1/7	2/6	3/7
13 656	4/6	5/5	6/3	7/3	8/1	8/30		9/29	10/29	11/27	12/27	1/26	2/25	
14 655	3/26	4/25	5/24	6/22	7/22	8/20		9/18	10/18	11/17	12/16	1/15	2/14	
15 654	3/16	4/14	5/12	6/12	7/11	8/10		9/8	10/7	11/6	12/5	1/4	2/3	3/4
16 653	4/2	5/2	5/31	6/30	7/29	8/28		9/26	10/26	11/24	12/24	1/22	2/21	
17 652	3/22	4/21	5/20	6/19	7/19	8/17		9/16	10/15	11/14	12/13	1/11	2/10	
18 651	3/11	4/10	5/10	6/8	7/8	8/6	9/5	10/5	11/3	12/3	1/1	1/31	3/1	
19 650	3/30	4/29	5/28	6/27	7/26	8/25		9/24	10/23	11/22	12/22	1/20	2/19	
20 649	3/19	4/17	5/17	6/15	7/15	8/13		9/12	10/12	11/10	12/10	1/9	2/7	3/9
21 648	4/7	5/6	6/5	7/4	8/2	9/1		9/31	10/30	11/29	12/29			

In his study of Babylonian observations of Saturn, C.B.F. Walker published a similar chart of the first day of each month for the second (646) to fourteenth (634) years of Kandalānu's nineteen-year reign.<sup>176</sup> Although Walker's chart covers the period of Ashurbanipal's twenty-third to thirty-fifth regnal years, it is not reproduced here because it is based on the Babylonian calendar, rather than the Assyrian one. According to that table, there would have been intercalary months in Babylonia in Ashurbanipal's twenty-third (XII<sub>2</sub>), twenty-sixth (VI<sub>2</sub>), twenty-ninth (VI<sub>2</sub>), thirty-first (XII<sub>2</sub>), and thirty-fourth (XII<sub>2</sub>) years on the throne.<sup>177</sup>

#### King Lists

Several king lists (including Babylonian King List A) record that Ashurbanipal, Aššur-etel-ilāni, Sîn-šumu-lišir, and Sîn-šarra-iškun were kings of Assyria and/or Babylonia. For the convenience of the user of this volume, it

<sup>175</sup> This observation was made by C.B.F. Walker, who drew this matter to S. Parpola's attention in a series of letters (September, 1984).

<sup>176</sup> Walker in Swerdlow, *Ancient Astronomy* pp. 69–71.

<sup>177</sup> According to C.B.F. Walker (in Swerdlow, *Ancient Astronomy* p. 70), an intercalary month is also expected for Kandalānu's sixteenth regnal year (632 = Ashurbanipal's thirty-seventh regnal year). Intercalary Ulūlu (VI<sub>2</sub>) is also attested in Kandalānu's nineteenth regnal year (629).

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.

### 1. *Babylonian King List A*

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

iv 20)	[N] (years)	Esarha(ddon)
iv 21)	[N] (years)	Šamaš-šuma-(ukīn)
iv 22)	[N] (years)	Kandal(ānu)
iv 23)	[N] (years)	Sîn-šumu-līšir

Lacuna

### 2. *Uruk King List*

(van Dijk, UVB 18 pl. 28; Grayson, RLA 6/1–2 [1980] pp. 97–98 §3.5)

Lacuna

Obv. 1')	21 year(s)	[...]
Obv. 2')		at the same time [...]
Obv. 3')	21 year(s)	K[anda]lān(u)
Obv. 4')	1 year	Sîn-šumu-līšir
Obv. 5')		and Sîn-šarra-iškun
Obv. 6')	21 year(s)	Nabopolassar

### 3. *Synchronistic King List*

(Weidner, AfO 3 [1926] pp. 70–71; Grayson, RLA 6/1–2 [1980] pp. 116–121 §3.12)

iv 12)	Esarhaddon, son of Sennacherib, king of Assyria and Babylon	
iv 13)	Nabû-zēru-līšer (and)	Ištar-šumu-ēreš (were) his scholars
iv 14)	Ashurbanipal ditto	Šamaš-šuma-ukīn ditto
iv 15)	Ashurbanipal ditto	Kandalānu ditto
iv 16)	Ištar-šumu-ēreš (was) his scholar	
iv 17)	Eighty-two kings of Assyria from Erišu(m) (I), son of Ilu-šumma	
iv 18)	to Ashurbanipal, son of Esarhaddon.	
iv 19)	Ninety-eight kings of Akkad	
iv 20)	from Sumu-la-el to Kandalānu.	
iv 21)	... of Nabû-tuklassu.	

### 4. *A Fragment of a Synchronistic King List*

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

iv 5')	[...]	Esar[haddon]
iv 6')	[...]	Ashur[banipal]

Lacuna

### 5. *A Fragment of a Synchronistic King List*

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

iv 4')	[Esarhaddon], king of Assyria and Babylon	Nabû-zēru-līšer
iv 5')	[...] Ashurbanipal	Ištar-šumu-ēreš
iv 6')	[...] ditto	ditto
iv 7')	[...] Aššur-etel-ilāni	
iv 8')	[...] collated.	
iv 9')	[...] the god Nabû, his helper,	
iv 10')	[...] Baltil (Aššur)	

iv 11') [...]
   
Lacuna

#### 6. Ptolemaic Canon

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

Ἀσαραδίνου	ιγ	Asaradinos (Esarhaddon)	13 (years)
Σαοσδοουχίνου	κ	Saosdoukhinos (Šamaš-šuma-ukīn)	20 (years)
Κινηλαδάνου	κβ	Kineladanos (Kandalānu)	22 (years)
Ναβοπολασσρου	κα	Nabopolassaros (Nabopolassar)	21 (years)

#### Eponym Dates

In Assyria, each eponym-year, called a *limmu* or *limu* in Akkadian, was named after a high state official and lists of these officials (eponyms) were compiled by Assyrian scribes. The eponym list for Ashurbanipal breaks off after his 20th regnal year and, thus, the exact sequence from 648 to the end of the Assyrian empire (ca. 610) is unknown (see below for details). The following list of the eponym officials from 669–649 is based upon Millard, *SAAS* 2 pp. 61–62. 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.

Year	Regnal Year	Eponym	Dated Texts
669	Accession year	Šamaš-kāšid-ayābi, governor of Asdu[...]	
668	1	Mār-larīm, field marshal of Kummuhu	
667	2	Gabbāru, governor of Dūr-Sennacherib	
666	3	Kanūnāyu, governor of the New Palace	<b>1</b>
665	4	Mannu-kī-šarri, palace herald	<b>1–2</b>
664	5	Šarru-lū-dāri, governor of Dūr-Šarrukīn	<b>2</b>
663	6	Bēl-na'di, field marshal	
662	7	Ṭāb-šār-Sîn, governor of Rašappa	
661	8	Arbailāyu, chief chamberlain	
660	9	Gir-Šapūnu (unknown rank)	
659	10	Silim-Aššur, second vizier	
658	11	Ša-Nabû-šû, (chief) eunuch	
657	12	Lâbâši, chief of trade	
656	13	Milki-rāmu, chief tailor	
655	14	Awiānu, governor of Que	61
654	15	Aššur-nāšir (unknown rank)	
653	16	Aššur-ilā'i, chief vizier	<b>63</b>
652	17	Aššur-dūru-ušur, governor of Barḫalzi	<b>63</b>
651	18	Sagab(bu), governor of Ḫarrān	
650	19	Bēl-(Ḫarrān-)šaddū'a, governor of Tyre	
649	20	Aḫu-ilā'i, governor of Carchemish	3

As mentioned above, the Assyrian eponym list breaks off after 649 (Ashurbanipal's 20th year). The reconstruction of this sequence has received a number of scholarly treatments over the years. As to be expected, every person who has attempted to order the eponyms after 648 has his/her own sequence. Therefore, the chart below presents the post-canonical eponyms in alphabetical order, with the proposed dates of M. Falkner (*AFO* 17 [1954–56] pp. 100–120), S. Parpola (*PNA* 1/1 pp. XVIII–XIX), and J.E. Reade (*Orientalia NS* 67 [1998] pp. 255–265) given in the second, third, and fourth columns; a near identical chart appears in Baker, *PNA* 4/1 pp. 265–266. The inscriptions of Ashurbanipal edited in Part 1 dated by these eponyms are provided in the last column. Additional comments are provided in footnotes or after the chart.



<i>Eponym</i>	<i>Falkner</i>	<i>Parpola</i>	<i>Reade</i>	<i>Dated Texts</i>
Adad-rēmāni (unknown rank)	630	631	632	
Ashurbanipal, king	633	—	—	
Aššur-gārū' a-nēre, chief cupbearer	635	641	640	
Aššur-gimillu-tēre, chief fuller	641	638	636	
Aššur-mātu-taqqin, governor of (U)pummu	624	623	626	
Aššur-rēmāni, chief eunuch of the crown prince	621	617	625	
Aššur-šarru-ušur, governor of Maraš	643	643	641	
Bēl-aḥu-ušur, palace overseer	619	616	621	
Bēl-iqbi, governor of Tušḥan	616	621	619	
Bēl-šaddū' a (unknown rank) <sup>178</sup>	—	—	630	
Bēl-šarru-na' id (unknown rank)	629	(see Dādī)	(see Dādī)	
Bēlšunu, governor of Ḥindānu	648	648	648	3–5
Bēlu-lū-dāri (unknown rank)	638	635	633	
Bulluṭu, chief singer	632	634	639	
Dādī, (chief) treasurer	620	622	622	
Gargamisāyu (unknown rank)	—	609	—	
Ilu-šumu-ušur (unknown rank)	—	—	—	
Iqbi-ilāni (unknown rank)	615A	626	618	
Kanūnāyu, governor of Dūr-Šarrukīn	—	624	627	
Mannu-kī-aḥḥē, governor of Šimirra (hapax Nineveh)	627A	619	688 <sup>?</sup>	
Marduk-rēmāni, governor of Kilīzu	644A	626	613	
Marduk-šarru-ušur, governor of Que	636B	627	631	
Mušallim-Aššur, governor of Aliḥi	642	639	637	
Nabū-da' inanni, governor of Que	647	642	645	
Nabū-mār-šarri-ušur, field marshal	612	611	612	
Nabū-nādin-aḥi, governor of Kār-Shalmaneser	634	647	647	7–8
Nabū-sagībi, governor of Laḥīru <sup>179</sup>	628	618	629	
Nabū-šar-aḥḥēšu, governor of Samaria	646	646	646	9–10
Nabū-šarru-ušur, chief eunuch	645	644	643	
Nabū-šarru-ušur, chief judge	—	610	—	
Nabū-šarru-ušur “the later,” palace scribe	626	629	624	
after Nabū-šarru-ušur, palace scribe	625	628	—	
Nabū-tappūtī-alik, chief eunuch <sup>180</sup>	617	613	616	
Nūr-šalam-šarpi (unknown rank)	—	—	628 (XII)	
Pašī (unknown rank)	—	614	616	
Sa' ilu, chief cook <sup>181</sup>	618	620	620	
Sîn-ālik-pāni, chamberlain	615B	615	617	
Sîn-kēnu-īdi	614	—	—	
Sîn-šarru-ušur, governor of Ḥindānu <sup>182</sup>	639	636	634	
Sîn-šarru-ušur, governor of Nineveh	639 <sup>?</sup>	—	614	

<sup>178</sup> J.E. Reade (*Orientalia* NS 67 [1998] p. 258), following a suggestion by R. Whiting, believes that Bēl-šaddū' a is not the same man as Bēl-Ḥarrān-šaddū' a, who was eponym in 650.

<sup>179</sup> K. Kessler (*Studies Parpola* p. 109) and R. Mattila (*Studies Parpola* p. 159 n. 3) argue against J.E. Reade's proposed dating.

<sup>180</sup> J.E. Reade (*Orientalia* NS 67 [1998] p. 259) proposes that Pašī was an alternate name used for Nabū-tappūtī-alik at Aššur.

<sup>181</sup> J. Novotny (*Kaskal* 11 [2014] p. 164 n. 11) suggests that the eponymy of Sa' ilu must come before that of Bēl-aḥu-ušur since it is unlikely that Sîn-šarra-iškun's Cylinder A Inscription was written on cylinders several years after that king's clay cone inscription. This arrangement of the eponyms follows those of Falkner and Reade.

<sup>182</sup> This eponym date appears on BM 122613, a fragment of a clay cylinder. J.E. Reade (*Orientalia* NS 67 [1998] p. 257), following the proposal of A.R. Millard (*Iraq* 30 [1968] p. 111), believes this piece belongs to the same cylinder as BM 122616+ (text no. 21) and, thus, dates it near the end of Ashurbanipal's reign (634). Following E. Weissert (*apud* Borger, *BIWA* p. 356), this fragment more likely dates to the reign of Sîn-šarra-iškun and, therefore, Sîn-šarru-ušur, governor of Ḥindānu, is presumed here to have been eponym while Sîn-šarra-iškun was on the throne.

<i>Eponym</i>	<i>Falkner</i>	<i>Parpola</i>	<i>Reade</i>	<i>Dated Texts</i>
Šîn-šarru-ušur, palace scribe <sup>183</sup>	622	625	628 (I–VII)	
Šîn-šarru-ušur, “the later” (unknown rank)	627B	—	628 (IX–XI)	
Šîn-šumu-ibni (unknown rank; hapax Nineveh)	—	625	—	
Šalam-šarri-iqbi, field marshal of Kummuhu	623	630	623	
Ša-ili-tadammeq, governor of Dēr	—	—	—	
Šamaš-da’’inanni, governor of Babylon	636A	645	644	11
Šamaš-šarru-ibni, field marshal	613	612	615	
Šarru-mētu-uballiṭ, governor of Mazamua	637	640	642	
Ṭāb-šil-Sîn (unknown rank)	662	632	—	
Upāqa-ana-Arbail (unknown rank)	631	633	638	
Zababa-erība (unknown rank)	640	637	635	

There is general scholarly consensus that Bēlšunu (governor of Ḥindānu) was eponym in 648, the year immediately after Aḥu-ilā’i (governor of Carchemish). This is suggested by the fact that at least two exemplars of text no. 3 (Prism B; exs. 5–6) were inscribed while Aḥu-ilā’i held the post of eponym and one copy of that inscription (ex. 1) was written when Bēlšunu was eponym, and by the fact that three exemplars of text no. 4 (Prism D; exs. 1, 5, and 9), an inscription whose military narration is identical to text no. 3 (Prism B), were inscribed in the eponymy of Bēlšunu. Because inscriptions dated by Bēlšunu record neither the fall of Babylon nor the death of Šamaš-šuma-ukīn (after Abu [V] 648), those texts were presumably composed in the same year as those events.

It is clear from the contents of Ashurbanipal’s inscriptions that Nabû-nādin-aḥi (governor of Kār-Shalmaneser) was eponym before Nabû-šar-aḥḥēšu (governor of Samaria) and that Nabû-šar-aḥḥēšu held that post prior to Šamaš-da’’inanni (governor of Babylon). Based on K 4773 (Fales and Postgate, SAA 7 pp. 77–78 no. 59), it is certain that six years separated the eponymies of the canonical Sagabbu (governor of Ḥarrān) and the post-canonical Nabû-šar-aḥḥēšu. Scholars are divided on whether the six-year count is inclusive or exclusive, that is, whether the eponymy of Nabû-šar-aḥḥēšu is five or six years after Sagabbu. This would mean that Nabû-šar-aḥḥēšu was eponym in either 646 or 645. Based on careful studies of Neo-Elamite history and a closer examination of the editorial history of text nos. 6 (Prism C), 7 (Prism Kh), and 8 (Prism G), the eponymy of Nabû-šar-aḥḥēšu appears to have been in 645, and not in 646, otherwise there would not be sufficient time for Ashurbanipal to wrap up affairs in Babylonia in 648 and to launch two major campaigns against Elam.<sup>184</sup> Because it is unlikely that text no. 6 (Prism C) was written in the same year as text nos. 7 (Prism Kh) and 8 (Prism G),<sup>185</sup> it is fairly certain that the eponymy of Nabû-nādin-aḥi is separated from that of Bēlšunu by one year. The name of the official who was eponym in 647, the year when text no. 6 (Prism C) was inscribed on prisms, is not known.<sup>186</sup> Thus, text no. 6 (Prism C) dates to 647, text nos. 7 (Prism Kh) and 8 (Prism G) to 646, and text nos. 9 (Prism F) and 10 (Prism T) to 645.

Based on Ashurbanipal’s annalistic texts, there is little doubt that Šamaš-da’’inanni (governor of Babylon) held the office of eponym shortly after Nabû-šar-aḥḥēšu. The earliest and latest possible dates are 644 and 640 respectively since text no. 11 (Prism A) was composed after text no. 9 (Prism F), which is dated by the eponymy of Nabû-šar-aḥḥēšu (dated here to 645), and before text no. 12 (Prism H), which is dated in the Babylonian fashion to Ashurbanipal’s 30th regnal year (639). It is generally assumed that text no. 11 (Prism A) was not written more than one, two, or three years after text no. 9 (Prism F) and, thus, Šamaš-da’’inanni may have been eponym in 644, 643, or even 642.<sup>187</sup> Although it cannot be proven with certainty, the eponymy of this

<sup>183</sup> J.E. Reade (*Orientalia NS 67* [1998] p. 258) suggests that the palace scribe Šîn-šarru-ušur died during the year that he was eponym and that Nūr-šalam-šarpi replaced him; Reade reads the name as Nūr-šalam-kaspi. Moreover, he postulates that the hapax Šîn-šarrūssu-ukīn is Šîn-šarru-ušur.

<sup>184</sup> See Frame, *Babylonia pp. 293–295*; Novotny, *SAOC 62 p. 128*; and Waters, *SAAS 12 pp. 117–118*.

<sup>185</sup> For details, see Novotny, *SAOC 62 p. 128* and the commentary to text no. 6 (Prism C).

<sup>186</sup> J. Novotny (*SAOC 62 p. 128*), following M. Falkner (*Afo 17* [1954–56] p. 118), tentatively suggests that Nabû-da’’inanni (governor of Que) was eponym for the year 647. Of course, there are numerous other possibilities, apart from Nabû-šar-aḥḥēšu and presumably Nabû-nādin-aḥi.

<sup>187</sup> The year 643 is the most commonly assigned date for Šamaš-da’’inanni’s tenure as eponym. See, for example, Gerardi, *Assurbanipal’s Elamite Campaigns p. 72*; Tadmor, *Proceedings of the 25th International Congress p. 240*; and Waters, *SAAS 12 p. 79 n. 58*. A.K. Grayson (*ZA 70* [1980] p. 245) and G. Frame (*Babylonia pp. 222 and 271*) tentatively give a date of ca. 643–642. J.E. Reade (*Orientalia NS 67* [1998] p. 256) prefers the year 644. Earlier and later dates have been proposed. For example, S. Parpola (*PNA 1/1 p. XVIII*) dates the eponymy of Šamaš-da’’inanni to 645, while S. Melville (*Chavalas, ANE p. 360*) suggests 639, and M. Falkner (*Afo 17* [1954–56] p. 118) places it in 636.

governor of Babylon may have been separated from that of Nabû-šar-aḥḥēšu by at least one year (643), rather than following it immediately. The scant evidence is as follows:

- Ummanaldašu (Ḫumban-ḫaltaš III) sent the corpse of Nabû-bēl-šumāti to Nineveh towards the end of Du'ūzu (IV) of the eponymy of Nabû-šar-aḥḥēšu (645). Because Ashurbanipal claims to have hitched up that Elamite king, together with other rulers, to his chariot during an *akītu*-festival held at Nineveh (in the month Ṭebētu [X]), it seems unlikely that there was sufficient time (five months) for (1) the Elamites to rebel against him and (2) for Assyrian troops to locate Ummanaldašu, who reportedly was hiding in the mountains in eastern Iran, capture him, and bring him all the way back to Nineveh, especially since the Assyrians had been unable to capture that fugitive Elamite king on two previous occasions.<sup>188</sup>
- Ashurbanipal appears to have been rebuilding Ištar's *akītu*-house at Nineveh in the middle of the eponymy of Nabû-šar-aḥḥēšu (645); the two known dated copies of text no. 10 (Prism T) were inscribed on the sixth of Abu (V) and the twenty-fourth of Ulūlu (VI). Assuming prisms inscribed with copies of this text were deposited in the structure of that temple, then Ashurbanipal would have had only three months to wrap up construction before performing an *akītu*-festival in Ṭebētu (X). It is unlikely that the king's workmen could have finished building the superstructure, roofing the temple, hanging doors in its principal gateways, and lavishly decorating its interior in such a short time.<sup>189</sup>
- According to text no. 11 (Prism A), Ashurbanipal's troops departed the city Damascus only in the month Abu (V) on their long journey into the Arabian desert to pursue rulers who had instigated anti-Assyrian behavior among their people. Presumably it took some time to capture the fugitive rulers and bring them back to Nineveh. If Ashurbanipal's claims to have hitched up Uaitē' to his processional carriage during an *akītu*-festival held at Nineveh, then that campaign would have had to have been completely wrapped up by the month Kislimu (IX) since New Year's festivals at Nineveh were held in Ṭebētu (X).<sup>190</sup>
- Text no. 11 (Prism A), assuming it provides accurate information, states that the Assyrians conquered Ušū (mainland Tyre) and Akko on their return march from Arabia. If that proves true, then those military actions would have had to have been concluded well before scribes started writing text no. 11 (Prism A) on prisms at the very beginning of the eponymy of Šamaš-da''inanni; one copy, assuming it does not involve a ceremonial ante-dating, was inscribed on the first of Nisannu (I).

Thus, it seems likely that Šamaš-da''inanni was eponym in the year 643 at the earliest. However, because it cannot be proven with absolute certainty that the eponymy of Šamaš-da''inanni did not immediately follow that of Nabû-šar-aḥḥēšu, 644 cannot be entirely ruled out of consideration. Since other events are included in text no. 11 (Prism A) — for example, the death of Gyges of Lydia and the receipt of an audience gift from Sarduri III of Urarṭu — a later date (642 or even 641 or 640) is also possible for this governor of Babylon's tenure as eponym. The eponymy of Šamaš-da''inanni is tentatively dated here between 644 and 642, with preference given to 643 (or 642).

### Chronicles

Four Mesopotamian chronicles provide useful information both on events of the reign of Ashurbanipal (and of his brother Šamaš-šuma-ukīn) and on the order of those events. The standard edition of Mesopotamian chronicles is the edition of Grayson (Grayson, *Chronicles*), but note also the recent edition by J.-J. Glassner (Glassner, *Chronicles*) and the ongoing work by I. Finkel and R.J. van der Spek (see [www.livius.org/cg-cm/chronicles/chron00.html](http://www.livius.org/cg-cm/chronicles/chron00.html) [2018]). For the convenience of the user of this volume, it has been thought useful

<sup>188</sup> The quick succession of events may have been possible only (1) if the Elamites rebelled immediately after learning that Ummanaldašu sent Nabû-bēl-šumāti's corpse to Nineveh to appease Ashurbanipal and (2) if Assyrian troops (perhaps under the direction of Bēl-ibni) were already in the region and pursued the deposed Elamite king as soon as he fled his capital.

<sup>189</sup> There were two *akītu*-houses at Nineveh: one in the citadel and one north of the Nergal Gate. The older of the two, and the one that Ashurbanipal was rebuilding, was in the citadel, probably near Emašmaš, the temple of Ištar/Mullissu. The newer temple (Ešaḥulezenzagmukam; "House of Joy and Gladness for the Festival of the Beginning of the Year") was built anew by Sennacherib (ca. 690) outside the city wall, a little north of the Nergal Gate. It is probable that Sennacherib never finished work on that building and this may be the reason why Ashurbanipal decided to renovate the original *akītu*-house at Nineveh. For details, see Frahm, NABU 2000 pp. 75–79 no. 66; and Grayson and Novotny, RINAP 3/1 p. 22. Further information on this building will be provided in the introduction of Part 2.

<sup>190</sup> It is not impossible for everything to have been wrapped up by the beginning of Ṭebētu (X). The impression given by Ashurbanipal's inscriptions, however, is that the campaign took some time to complete and, therefore, it is plausible that this military expedition concluded after the month Ṭebētu (X).

to present translations of the relevant passages here; these translations are adapted from the aforementioned works.<sup>191</sup>

1. *Chronicle Concerning the Period from Nabû-nāšir to Šamaš-šuma-ukīn*

(Grayson, *Chronicles* pp. 69–87 no. 1; Glassner, *Chronicles* pp. 193–203 no. 16; note also Brinkman, *Studies Moran* pp. 73–104, especially pp. 102–104; and Weissert, *CRRA* 38 pp. 273–282)<sup>192</sup>

iv 30–33) The twelfth year (669): The king of Assyria marched to Egypt (but) became ill on the way and died on the tenth day of the month Araḥsamna (VIII). Esarhaddon ruled Assyria for twelve years. Šamaš-šuma-ukīn (and) Ashurbanipal, his two sons, ascended the throne in Babylon and Assyria respectively.

iv 34–36) The accession year of Šamaš-šuma-ukīn (668): In the month Ayyāru (II), the god Bēl and the gods of Akkad departed from Libbi-āli (Aššur) and entered Babylon on the *fourteenth* (or *twenty-fourth*) day of the month Ayyāru (II).

iv 37) In that (same) year, the city Qirbit was t[aken] (and) its king was captured.

iv 38) On the twentieth day of the month Ṭebētu (X), Bēl-ēṭir, a judge of Babylon, was seized and executed.

2. *Esarhaddon Chronicle*

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

28'–30') The twelfth year (669): The king of Assyria marched to Egypt (but) became ill on the way and died on the [tenth] day of the month Araḥsamna (VIII). Esarhaddon ruled Assyria for twelve years.

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 B]altil (Aššur) and the *akītu*-festival did not take place. The god Nabû did not go from Borsippa for the procession of the god Bēl. In the month Kislimu (IX), Ashurbanipal, [his (Esarhaddon's)] so[n], ascended the throne in Assyria.

35'–37') The accession year of Šamaš-šuma-ukīn (668): In the month Ayyāru (II), the god Bēl and the gods o[f Akkad] de[par]ted from Baltil (Aššur) [an]d [entered] Babyl[on] on the *twenty-fifth* day of the month Ayyāru (II). The god Nabû and the gods of Borsippa c[ame] to Babylon.<sup>193</sup>

38') In that (same) year, the city Qirbit was t[aken] (and) its king was ca[ptured].

39') On the twentieth day of the month Ṭebētu (X), <Bēl-ēṭir>, a judge of Babylon, was seize[d and executed].

40'–44') The first year of Šamaš-šuma-ukīn (667): [...] to [...] Taharqa, king of E[gypt, ...] Eg[ypt ...] Necho, [king of] Eg[ypt, ...].

45') [The *second* yea]r [of Šamaš-šuma-ukīn (666): ...]

Lacuna

3. *Šamaš-šuma-ukīn Chronicle*

(Grayson, *Chronicles* pp. 128–130 no. 15; Glassner, *Chronicles* pp. 210–213 no. 19)

2–3) The fourth [ye]ar of Šamaš-šuma-ukīn (664): On the twelfth day of the month Tašritu (VII), a prince of the land Elam fled [to] Assyria.

<sup>191</sup> The chronicles recording the rise of Nabopolassar and the end of Assyria under Sîn-šarra-iškun (Grayson, *Chronicles* pp. 87–96 nos. 2–3) will be translated in the introduction of Part 2 since those texts provide information of Ashurbanipal's successors, who have not been treated in the introduction of Part 1.

<sup>192</sup> 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 (*Chronicles* pp. 193–203 no. 16 and pp. 202–207 no. 17) similarly prefers to treat this text as two separate recensions.

<sup>193</sup> Or possibly “*twenty-fourth* day.” See Brinkman, *Studies Moran* p. 90 n. 90.

- 4) The fourteenth year (654):<sup>194</sup> The former bed of the god Bēl came from [Baltil (Aššur)]<sup>195</sup> to Babylon.  
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- 5) The fifteenth [ye]ar (653):<sup>196</sup> He (Ashurbanipal) sent the new chariot of the god Bēl [...] to Babylon.  
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- 6) The sixteenth year (652): On the eighth day of the month Šabātu (XI), the king (of Babylon) entered Babylon b[efore the enemy].  
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- 7–10) The seventeenth year (651): On the ninth day of the intercalary month Ulūlu (VI<sub>2</sub>), Šamaš-šuma-u[kīn ...]<sup>197</sup> mustered his army and (then) marched to Cutha, [and t]ook [the city. He inflicted a defeat on the army of Assyria and the C[utheans]. He seized [the ... of]<sup>198</sup> the god Nergal and [to]ok (it) to B[abylon].
- 11–18) [On] the twenty-seventh day of [the month ...], the officials of A[ssyria ...]<sup>199</sup> a horseman [...] went [...] and [Nabû-bē]l-šumāti,<sup>201</sup> governor of [the Sealand, ...] them and like [...] he allowed his ... to enter ... He brought about [t]heir [defeat] and did not leave anyone (behind).<sup>202</sup> He seized [...] of Assyria and he brought (him/them) to the king of Babylon after he had overwhelmed (him/them).  
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- 19) The eighteenth [year] (650): On the eleventh day of the month Du'ūzu (IV), the enemy reached Babylon.  
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#### 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[nnacherib], for twelve years (during the reign of) Esar[haddon] – twenty years (altogether) – the god Bēl s[tayed] in Baltil (Aššur) [and] the akītu-festival did not take pla[ce].
- 5–8) The accession year of Šamaš-šuma-ukīn (668): In the month Ayyāru (II), [the god Bēl] and the gods of Akkad dep[arted] from Baltil (Aššur) [and] they entered Babylon on the twenty-fourth day of the month Ayyāru (II). The god Nabû and the gods of Borsippa came to Babylon.  
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- 9–12) The sixteenth year of Šamaš-šuma-ukīn (652): From the month Ayyāru (II) to the month Ṭebētu (X), the rab-bīti-official raised a levy in Akkad. On the nineteenth day of the month Ṭebētu (X), Assyria and Akkad became hostile. The king (of Babylon) entered Babylon before the enemy.
- 13–16) On the twenty-seventh day of Addaru (XII), the troops of Assyria and the troops of Akkad did battle in (the region of the city) Ḫīrītu and the troops of Akkad retreated from the battlefield and a major defeat was inflicted upon them. (Afterwards), there were hostilities (and) warfare was constant.  
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- 17–19) The seventeenth year (651): The[re we]re [insurr]ections in Assyria and Akkad [an]d the god Nabû did not go from [Borsippa] for the procession of the god Bēl. The god Bēl did not come out.  
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<sup>194</sup> The date conflicts with the scribal note written on K 2411 (Grayson and Novotny, RINAP 3/2 p. 231 no. 162 rev. iii 39'–40'), which states that the bed was returned on the twenty-seventh day of Simānu (III) of the eponymy of Awiānu (655). Therefore, the 14th year mentioned in the Šamaš-šuma-ukīn Chronicle appears to be a mistake for the king of Babylon's 13th regnal year; note, however, that Marduk's bed was returned during Ashurbanipal's 14th year as king (= the eponymy of Awiānu).

<sup>195</sup> As A.K. Grayson (Chronicles p. 129) points out, some form of the city Aššur is to be restored in the break. Baltil, written (URU.)bal-til.KI, seems the most likely option since Aššur is always written KUR aš-šur (without KI). This reading of the line follows Millard, Iraq 26 (1964) p. 15.

<sup>196</sup> The date seems to conflict with one inscription of Ashurbanipal: Text no. 61 (EŠ 6699), which is dated to Tašrītu (VII) of the eponymy of Awiānu (655), records the decoration of this new chariot. Thus, it is possible that the 15th year mentioned here refers to Ashurbanipal's 15th regnal year, rather than Šamaš-šuma-ukīn's, and, therefore, a mistake for the king of Babylon's 14th regnal year.

<sup>197</sup> A.R. Millard (Iraq 26 [1964] p. 15) restores [LUGAL TIN.TIR].KI (“[the king of Babylon]”) after Šamaš-šuma-ukīn's name. As correctly pointed by A.K. Grayson (Chronicles p. 129), this is very unlikely since the use of a title after a royal name is rare in late Babylonian chronicles.

<sup>198</sup> J.-J. Glassner (Chronicles pp. 212–213) restores [ALAN] (“[the statue of]”); this follows the suggestion of A.R. Millard (Iraq 26 [1964] p. 15).

<sup>199</sup> After “the officials of A[ssyria],” A.K. Grayson (Chronicles p. 129) suggests the restoration [BAL.MEŠ-ma] (“[rebelled]”); J.-J. Glassner (Chronicles pp. 212–213), following his suggestion, restores [is-ḫu] (“[revolted]”).

<sup>200</sup> A.R. Millard (Iraq 26 [1964] p. 15) restores a[na URU.šá-pi-i-á]EN “t[o the city Ša-pi]-Bēl.”

<sup>201</sup> The conjectural restorations in line 13 follow Grayson, Chronicles p. 129; A.K. Grayson's readings follow Millard, Iraq 26 (1964) p. 15.

<sup>202</sup> The reading ma-na-ma (“anyone”) at the end of line 16 is uncertain. See the comments of A.K. Grayson (Chronicles p. 130).

<sup>203</sup> Possibly read “troops of Assyria.” A.K. Grayson (Chronicles p. 130) suggests that the sign before KUR aš-šur could be ERIM.

20–21) The eighteenth year (650): The god N[abû] did not go from Borsippa for the procession of the god Bēl. The god Bēl did not come out.

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22) The nineteenth year (649): The god Nabû did not go (and) the god Bēl did not come out.

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23) The twentieth year (648): The god Nabû did not go (and) the god Bēl did not come out.

## 1–2

Relatively few inscriptions from Ashurbanipal's first decade as king are known today. Sixteen clay prism fragments, all of which are presumed to have come from Nineveh, are among the inscribed objects bearing early official texts of Assyria's last great king. These pieces are exemplars of three or four different inscriptions. Two of these fragmentary texts are generally referred to as "Prism E<sub>1</sub>" and "Prism E<sub>2</sub>" in scholarly literature and they are often assumed to have been composed ca. 666–665 and ca. 665–664 respectively. Despite their poor state of preservation, both texts likely recorded Ashurbanipal's nomination as heir designate of Assyria and his subsequent education in the House of Succession, his first campaign to Egypt, the conquest of the city Qirbit, and the voluntary submission of the Lydian king Gyges; reports of the latter event differ significantly in the "Prism E" recensions. In addition to the variant versions of how Gyges became an Assyrian vassal, it is certain that the building reports of the two "Prism E" texts were different: one recorded the rebuilding of the House of Succession at Nineveh, while the other described the reconstruction of (parts of) the citadel wall. All of the identifiable early prism fragments of Ashurbanipal are tentatively edited here as text nos. 1 (Prism E<sub>1</sub>), 2 (Prism E<sub>2</sub>), 14, and 15; for further details, see the commentaries of these inscriptions.

### 1

Fragments of at least three different clay prisms preserve parts of one of the earliest versions of Ashurbanipal's annals. This text included descriptions of Assyrian troops (with the aid of twenty-two Cypriot and Levantine rulers) defeating the Pharaoh Taharqa and his supporters, the capture of the city Qirbit, and the receipt of payment from Gyges of Lydia (on the instructions of the god Aššur that he had received in a dream). The prologue likely included an account of the nomination of Ashurbanipal as heir designate and a statement about his training in the House of Succession. The building report, at least in one exemplar, records that Ashurbanipal rebuilt the House of Succession at Nineveh, which his grandfather had (re)built; later inscriptions (text nos. 9 [Prism F] and 11 [Prism A]) record that his father Esarhaddon was born in that palace and that Ashurbanipal grew up there. Although none of the certain exemplars preserves a complete date, scholars generally think that this text, which they designate as "Prism E<sub>1</sub>," dates to around Ashurbanipal's third or fourth regnal year (ca. 666–665); the *terminus ante quem* is the second Egyptian campaign, which took place after Tanutamun succeeded Taharqa as pharaoh in Egypt.

## CATALOGUE

Ex.	Museum Number	Registration Number	Provenance	Lines Preserved	cpn
1	K 1821	—	Probably Nineveh	vi 1-15, vi 3'-15'	c
2	A 7920 + A 8138	—	Purchased by E. Chiera in Mosul	vi 1'-23', vii 1'-23'	c
3	A 8130	—	As ex. 2	vi 23'-31', vii 20'-25', date	c

## COMMENTARY

Ashurbanipal appears to have had his scribes write out the earliest versions of his annals (text nos. 1-2 and 14-15) on clay prisms with six, seven, or eight sides. With regard to this text (Prism E<sub>1</sub>), ex. 1 is a hexagon, while exs. 2-3 are heptagons.

The 'annals' edition known as "Prism E" was first identified by G. Smith (Assurbanipal p. 78) in 1871. However, it was not until over a century later that M. Cogan and H. Tadmor correctly pointed out that that inscription was actually two different texts, which they labelled as E<sub>1</sub> and E<sub>2</sub>. For further details on the relationship between the two Prism E inscriptions, see Cogan and Tadmor, *Orientalia NS 46* (1977) pp. 65-85; and Weissert and Onasch, *Orientalia NS 61* (1992) pp. 58-73. K 1821, A 7920+, and A 8130 are generally regarded as the main E<sub>1</sub> exemplars, and BM 121018+, BM 127923+, BM 127940+, BM 128306+, and BM 134454 are usually considered as the principal E<sub>2</sub> exemplars. These pieces are edited respectively as text no. 1 exs. 1-3 and text no. 2 exs. 1-5. Given the poor state of preservation of these two versions of the annals, it is uncertain if the five fragments K 1828, Bu 89-4-26,151, BM 121029+, A 8140, and 81-7-27,263 are exemplars of text no. 1 (Prism E<sub>1</sub>) or text no. 2 (Prism E<sub>2</sub>). These pieces are tentatively edited in this volume as text no. 2 exs. 1\*-5\*. Furthermore, three additional fragments sometimes assigned to Prism E — 82-5-22,21, BM 99326, and BM 128302+ — are edited separately as text no. 15, a hitherto unclassified edition of Ashurbanipal's annals that was composed between 663 and 649, rather than as exemplars of one of the E Prisms; for this opinion, see Weissert and Onasch, *Orientalia NS 61* (1992) p. 73 n. 46; and Novotny, *Orientalia NS 72* (2003) pp. 211-214. E. Weissert (in Parpola and Whiting, *Assyria 1995* pp. 357-358) proposed that K 1821 (ex. 1) and 82-5-22,2 likely belonged to one and the same six-sided clay prism. Based on the reconstruction of Prism E<sub>1</sub> in this volume, that non-physical join has been rejected and, therefore, 82-5-22,2 has been edited separately as text no. 14 (see below).

As far as the Prism E inscriptions are preserved, the prologues, the accounts of the first campaign to Egypt, and the reports of the conquest of the city Qir-bit appear to have been identical in text nos. 1 (Prism E<sub>1</sub>) and 2 (Prism E<sub>2</sub>); at this time, there is no evidence to suggest otherwise. The description of the voluntary submission of the Lydian king Gyges and the building reports, however, differ significantly. Because the accounts of how Gyges became an Assyrian vassal are very poorly preserved in both Prism E<sub>1</sub> and Prism E<sub>2</sub> and because reports of this event differs significantly from later, better preserved inscriptions, there are major complexities in reconstructing the Gyges narrative in text nos. 1 and 2. In 1977, Cogan and Tadmor (*Orientalia NS 46* [1977] pp. 65-85) reconstructed both inscriptions as six-sided prisms and provided schematic drawings showing the proposed distribution of the known fragments. According to their reconstruction of Prism E<sub>1</sub> (this text), the extant parts of the Gyges narrative are preserved at the tops of cols. iv (= K 1821 i') and v (= K 1821 ii' and A 7920 i'); the end of the building report and the beginning of the concluding formulae appeared at the top of col. vi (= A 7920 ii'). The distribution of the contents of this part of the inscription was based solely on K 1821 (ex. 1) since the top of that hexagonal prism is preserved. Following the proposed reconstruction of Cogan and Tadmor, the lower four-fifths of cols. iv, v, and vi are completely missing and, therefore, there are very long lacunae (1) between the opening lines of the Gyges report (top of col. iv) and the description of problems that the Assyrian royal court had with translating the Lydian ruler's message when his envoy arrived in Nineveh (top of col. v); and (2) between the passage recording the arrival of the Gyges' messenger in the Assyrian capital (top of col. v) and the building report (which would have begun at the bottom of col. v). In 1995, Weissert (in Parpola and Whiting, *Assyria 1995* p. 340 n. 6) proposed that K 1821 (ex. 1) and 82-5-22,2 (text no. 14) could belong to one and the



same six-sided clay prism because the width of the columns, the substance of the clay, and the spacing of the signs appear to have been the same on both pieces and because from “the historiographical point of view, the hunting episode in 82-5-22,2 fits remarkably well into an intermezzo-like passage following the military narrative [of K 1821], since this is exactly the place where the motif of the royal hunt had normally been integrated into the ‘annals’ of the Assyrian kings during the 11th-9th centuries BCE.” Thus, the contents of 82-5-22,2 (lion hunt and *akitu*-festival near Arbela) would have appeared in col. v, between the end of the Gyges narrative and the beginning of the building report. According to the 1977 reconstruction of Cogan and Tadmor, there would be enough room for the contents of 82-5-22,2 in Prism E<sub>1</sub> (this text) col. v.

Given the fact that many of the positively identified E prisms are seven-sided, rather than six-sided (for example, exs. 2-3 of this text and text no. 2 [Prism E<sub>2</sub>] exs. 1 and 4), Cogan and Tadmor’s proposed reconstruction of the distribution of the contents of Prism E<sub>1</sub> (this text) and Weissert’s proposed non-physical join between K 1821 (ex. 1) and 82-5-22,2 (text no. 14) are not as secure as one would like. It is certain that the narrative recording the arrival of Gyges’ envoy at Nineveh appeared in the penultimate column (=col. vi) of both A 7920+ (ex. 2) and A 8130 (ex. 3). Because a date is partially preserved on A 8130, it is likely that that fragment comes from near the bottom of the prism, and since the contents of A 7920+ ii’ and A 8130 ii’ partially overlap, A 7920+ may also originate from near the lower half of a prism. Therefore, given that the contents of A 7920+ i’ partially duplicate the six-sided K 1821 ii’ (ex. 1), K 1821 should probably be regarded as preserving the first lines of cols. v and vi of a hexagonal prism, rather than those of cols. iv and v as Cogan and Tadmor suggest. Assuming that exs. 1-3 are all exemplars of one and the same inscription and that both A 7920+ (ex. 2) and A 8130 (ex. 3) come from the lower halves of the prisms to which they belong, then Weissert’s proposed non-physical join between K 1821 (ex. 1) and 82-5-22,2 (text no. 14) seems less likely since there might not have been enough space

for a report about a lion hunt and an *akitu*-festival between the Gyges narrative and the building report. It is impossible to know with absolute certainty because it is unclear how many lines were inscribed in each column of this inscription, depending on whether it was written in six or seven columns; it is assumed here that each prism had roughly 60-70 lines per column. Therefore, it is best to edit 82-5-22,2 separately, and it is assigned as text no. 14 in this volume.

Based on J. Novotny’s understanding of the known pieces of this text and text no. 2 (Prism E<sub>2</sub>), the contents of the seven-sided version of Prism E<sub>1</sub> may have been roughly distributed as follows: i-iii (top) = prologue; iii (upper half)-v (middle) = first Egyptian campaign; v (middle)-vi (top) = expedition against Qirbit; vi (upper half)-vii (upper half) = Gyges narrative; vii (middle) = building report; vii (lower half) = concluding formulae; and vii (bottom) = date. The six-sided version would have differed from this, perhaps: i-ii (upper three-quarters) = prologue; ii (bottom)-iv (upper half) = first Egyptian campaign; iv (lower half)-v (top) = expedition against Qirbit; v (upper half)-vi (upper half) = Gyges narrative; vi (middle) = building report; vi (lower half) = concluding formulae; and vi (bottom) = date. Following exs. 2 and 3, this text is tentatively reconstructed here as a heptagon, rather than a hexagon.

None of the three positively identified exemplars is complete and the master line is a conflation of the various exemplars. The line count of this edition is based on the following exemplars: ex. 1 in vi 1-15 and 3’-10’; ex. 2 in vi 1’-2’, 11’-23’, and vii 1’-23’; and ex. 3 in vi 24’-31’ and vii 24’-25’. The numerous restorations are as follows: the expedition against Qirbit (vi 1-10) is restored from text no. 2 (Prism E<sub>2</sub>) and the so-called “Large Egyptian Tablets” Inscription (Novotny, SAACT 10 pp. 81-83 no. 20); and the building report and concluding formulae (vii 1’-25’) are restored from text nos. 3 (Prism B), 4 (Prism D), and 11 (Prism A). A complete score of this badly damaged inscription is provided on Oracc. The attested minor (orthographic) variants are given in the critical apparatus at the back of the book.

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- 2010 Fuchs, *Interkulturalität* pp. 410-415 and 419-421 (vi 11-31', study)
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Figure 1. A 7920 + A 8138 (text no. 1 ex. 2), a fragment of Ashurbanipal Prism E<sub>1</sub> that preserves part of a report recording the voluntary submission of the Lydian king Gyges. Reproduced with the permission of the Oriental Institute and CDLI.

## TEXT

Cols. i-v completely missing

Col. vi

- 1) [LÚ.qu-ra]-<sup>r</sup>di-šú<sup>1</sup> ú-ra-si-bu ina GIŠ.TUKUL
- 2) [UN].MEŠ GU<sub>4</sub>.MEŠ še-e-ni
- 3) [šal]-<sup>r</sup>la<sup>1</sup>-su ka-bit-tu iš-lu-lu-u-ni
- 4) [a-na qé]-reb KUR aš-šur.KI
- 5) [<sup>m</sup>a-ku]-<sup>r</sup>da<sup>1</sup>-a-a LÚ.NÍMGIR-šú-nu bal-ṭu-su ina qa-ti
- 6) [iš-ba]-tu-ni ub-lu-u-ni a-di maḥ-ri-ia

Cols. i-v completely missing

vi 1-4) they struck down his [warri]ors with the sword. They carried off [in]to Assyria [peopl]e, oxen, (and) sheep and goats, his substantial [boot]y.

vi 5-10) They [captu]red alive [Akkud]āya, their herald, (and) brought (him) before me. I forcibly removed [the people li]ving in those cities, [took (them) and]

**Lacuna before vi 1** For the extant portions of the prologue, the report of the first Egyptian campaign, and the beginning of the account of the expedition against Qirbit, see text no. 2 (Prism E<sub>2</sub>) i 1-v 33'.

**vi 1-10** The end of the Qirbit campaign is also preserved in text no. 2 (Prism E<sub>2</sub>) v 34'-vi 13.

7)	[UN.MEŠ a]- <sup>r</sup> šib <sup>1</sup> -ut URU.MEŠ-ni šú-nu-ti as-suḫ	settled (them) in Egypt. I made [the people, whom]
8)	[ú-bil-ma] qé-reb KUR.mu-šur ú-šá-aš-bit	my bow [plundered] in another land, live [in the city
9)	[UN.MEŠ ḫu-bu-ut] <sup>r</sup> GIS <sup>1</sup> .PAN-ia ša KUR šá-ni-tim-ma	Q]irbit and its villages.
10)	[qé-reb URU]. <sup>r</sup> qir <sup>1</sup> -bi-it ù URU.MEŠ-šú ú-še-šib	
11)	[...] x a-na-ku	vi 11–15) [...] I [...] ... [...] sun [...] they [kiss]ed my feet
12)	[...] x-tim	[...] ...
13)	[... <sup>d</sup> ]UTU-ši	
14)	[... ú-na-áš-ši]- <sup>r</sup> qu <sup>1</sup> GÌR.II-ia	
15)	[...] x x	
Lacuna		Lacuna
1')	[... LÚ.A] <sup>r</sup> KIN-šú ID <sup>1</sup> [...]	vi 1'–13') [...] his [mes]senger [...] to inquire about
2')	<sup>r</sup> a-na šá <sup>1</sup> - <sup>r</sup> a-al šul- <sup>r</sup> mi <sup>1</sup> -ia <sup>r</sup> iṭ <sup>1</sup> -ḫa-a	my well-being a[pp]roached the border of my land.
3')	a-na mi-šir KUR-ia UN.MEŠ KUR-ia i-mu-ru-šu-ma	The people of my land saw him and said to him:
4')	man-nu-me-e at-ta a-ḫu-u iq-bu-šú	“Who are you, stranger? A mounted messenger of
5')	ša ma-ti-ma LÚ.RA.GABA-ú-ku-un	yours has never taken the road to our territory.”
6')	da-rag-gu la iš-ku-na a-na ki-sur-ri-ni	They brought him to Nineveh, my capital city, [...],
7')	a-na NINA.KI URU be-lu-ti-ia [x x (x)]	before me. (Among all) the languages (from) sunrise
8')	ú-bi-lu-ni-šú ina maḫ-ri-ia	(to) sunset, (vi 10') which (the god) Aššur had placed
9')	EME.MEŠ ši-it <sup>d</sup> UTU-ši e-reb <sup>d</sup> UTU-ši	at my disposal, there was not a master of his language.
10')	ša AN.ŠÁR ú-ma-al-lu-u qa-tu-u-a	[H]is language was different and his speech could not
11)	be-el EME-šú ul ib-ši-ma	be understood.
12)	<sup>r</sup> EME-šú <sup>1</sup> na-ak-rat-ma	
13)	la i-šem-mu-ú at-mu-šú	
14)	ul-tu mi-šir KUR-šú	vi 14'–31') He brought [a ...] with him from the border
15)	[...] <sup>r</sup> iṭ <sup>1</sup> -ti-šú ú-bi- <sup>r</sup> lam-ma <sup>1</sup>	of his land, and [...] <i>he reported</i> ] his spe[e]ch to me, [...,
16)	[... ú-šá-an-na <sup>2</sup> ]- <sup>r</sup> a <sup>1</sup> da- <sup>r</sup> bab <sup>1</sup> -šú	<i>he said</i> ]d [the following]: “The servant who rev[e]res you,
17)	[... ki-a-am <sup>2</sup> iq]- <sup>r</sup> bi <sup>2</sup> ARAD pa- <sup>r</sup> liḫ <sup>1</sup> -ka	[...] laid down and saw [...] ... [...] <i>was es</i> ]tablished and
18)	[...] <sup>r</sup> ú-tul <sup>5</sup> <sup>1</sup> -ma	[...] ... [...] rose and [...] li]ght appeared. [...] its king [...]
19)	[... i]- <sup>r</sup> na <sup>1</sup> -ṭa-al	bright [...] inside it [...] ( <i>The god</i> ) Aššur], the lord of the
20)	[...] x-ta-a-te	lands, my god, [...] stood and [...] he said to me: [...]
21)	[...] <sup>r</sup> šak <sup>2</sup> <sup>1</sup> -na-at-ma	
22)	[...]-ḫu-ú	
23)	[...] x na-pi-iḫ-ma	
24)	[... na]- <sup>r</sup> mir <sup>1</sup> -tú šak-na-at	
25)	[...]- <sup>r</sup> UŠ <sup>1</sup> LUGAL-šá	
26)	[...]- <sup>r</sup> ri <sup>2</sup> <sup>1</sup> nam-ri	
27)	[...] x qé-reb-šá	
28)	[...] EN KUR.KUR DINGIR-u-a	
29)	[...] <sup>r</sup> i <sup>1</sup> -zi-za-am-ma	
30)	[...] <sup>r</sup> iq <sup>2</sup> <sup>1</sup> -ba-a	
31)	[...] x	
Lacuna		Lacuna
Col. vii		
Lacuna		Lacuna
1')	ina muḫ- <sup>r</sup> ḫi <sup>1</sup> x [...]	vii 1'–8') Upon [...] its (the House of Succession's) em-
2')	maš-kán-šú [...]	placement [...]. I [made] its structure [larger] than the

vi 11–31' The report about Gyges of Lydia in this inscription differs significantly from those of other inscriptions, including text no. 2 (Prism E<sub>2</sub>); compare vi 14–vii 3' of that inscription. Compare also, for example, the significantly shorter accounts in text no. 3 (Prism B) ii 86b–iii 4 and text no. 11 (Prism A) ii 95–125.

vi 3' *i-mu-ru-šu-ma* “saw him and”: The wedges after UN.MEŠ KUR-<sup>r</sup>ia<sup>1</sup> and before the break in ex. 1 can either be interpreted as <sup>r</sup>e<sup>1</sup>-[*mu-ru-šu-ma*] or *ina* <sup>r</sup>a<sup>1</sup>-[*ma-ri-šú*] “When (they) s[aw him].” These wedges appear to be two horizontals abutting a single vertical, which is on the edge of the break. However, as R. Borger points out (BIWA p. 182), if there are two horizontal wedges, they are too close together and too long to be a well-written *e*, making them look like a single horizontal wedge.

- 3') *e-li šá* <sup>u</sup><sub>4</sub><sup>1</sup> [*mi pa-ni*]  
 4') *šu-bat-su* <sup>u</sup><sub>1</sub><sup>1</sup> [*rap-piš*]  
 5') *ina* ITI *šal-me* [UD ŠE.GA]  
 6') UŠ<sub>8</sub>-šú *ad-di-ma* <sup>u</sup><sub>1</sub><sup>1</sup> [*kin* SIG<sub>4</sub>-su]  
 7') *ul-tú* UŠ<sub>8</sub>-šú *a-di*<sup>1</sup> [*gaba-dib-bi-šú*]  
 8') *ar-šip* <sup>u</sup><sub>1</sub><sup>1</sup> [*šak-lil*]  
 9') *a-na* EGIR *u<sub>4</sub>-me ina* <sup>u</sup><sub>1</sub><sup>1</sup> LUGAL<sup>1</sup>. [MEŠ DUMU.MEŠ-ia]  
 10') *šá* <sup>a</sup><sub>1</sub>-šur *u* [<sup>d</sup>15<sup>2</sup>]  
 11') *a-na be-lut* KUR <sup>u</sup><sub>1</sub><sup>1</sup> [UN.MEŠ]  
 12') *i-nam-bu*-[*u zi-kir-šú*]  
 13') *e-nu-ma* <sup>é</sup> UŠ<sup>1</sup>-[*u-ti šu-a-tu*]  
 14') <sup>i</sup>-lab<sup>1</sup>-bi-ru-<sup>u</sup><sub>1</sub><sup>1</sup> [*in-na-ḫu*]  
 15') *an-ḫu-us*-<sup>u</sup><sub>1</sub><sup>1</sup> [*lu-ud-diš*]  
 16') *ki-i šá a-na*-[*ku* MU.SAR-*u*]  
 17') *ši-ṭir šu-me* <sup>u</sup><sub>1</sub><sup>1</sup> LUGAL<sup>1</sup> [*pa-ni*?]  
 18') *it-ti* [MU.SAR-*e*]  
 19') *ši-ṭir* MU-<sup>u</sup><sub>1</sub><sup>1</sup> [*áš-ku-nu*]  
 20') *at-ta ki-i* <sup>u</sup><sub>1</sub><sup>1</sup> [*a-ti-ma*]  
 21') MU.SAR-<sup>u</sup><sub>1</sub><sup>1</sup> *ši-ṭir* [MU-*ia a-mur-ma*]  
 22') Ì.GIŠ *pu-šu-uš* <sup>u</sup><sub>1</sub><sup>1</sup> UDU<sup>1</sup>. [SISKUR BAL-*qí*]  
 23') *it-ti*<sup>1</sup> [MU.SAR-*e ši-ṭir* MU-*ka*]  
 24') *šu-<sup>u</sup><sub>1</sub><sup>1</sup> kun*<sup>1</sup> [<sup>d</sup>a-šur *u* <sup>d</sup>15<sup>2</sup>]  
 25') *ik*-[*ri-bi-ka i-šem-mu-ú*]

one in the da[ys of the past]. In a favorable month, [(on) an auspicious day], I (re)laid its foundation(s) and (thereby) [secured its brickwork]. I built (and) [completed] (it) from its foundation(s) t[o its crenellations].

vii 9'-15') In the future, [may] one of the k[ings, my descendants], whom the god Aššur and [*the goddess Ištar*] nomi[nate] for ruling over the land and [people, renovate] it[s] dilapidated section(s) when [this] House of Succe[ssion] becomes old an[d dilapidated].

vii 16'-25') Just as I [placed an inscribed object] bearing the name of a kin[g of *the past*] with [an inscribed object] bearing my name, you should be just like m[e, find] an inscribed object bearing [my name and] (then) anoint (it) with oil, [make] an off[ering] (and) pla[ce] (it) with [an inscribed object bearing your name. The god Aššur and *the goddess Ištar* will (then) hear your] pr[ayers].

#### Date ex. 3

- 26') <sup>u</sup><sub>1</sub><sup>1</sup> ITI<sup>1</sup>. [...]  
 27') <sup>u</sup><sub>1</sub><sup>1</sup> <sup>i</sup><sub>1</sub><sup>1</sup> [*na*<sup>2</sup> ...]  
 28') <sup>u</sup><sub>1</sub><sup>1</sup> LÚ<sup>1</sup>. [...]

#### Date ex. 3

vii 26'-28') [..., ... day], i[n the eponymy of ...], the [... of the city/land ...].

## 2

It is generally assumed that Ashurbanipal had his scribes write out a new version of his annals shortly after the composition and issuing of text no. 1 (Prism E<sub>1</sub>), perhaps in the following year (ca. 665-664). This inscription, which is commonly referred to as "Prism E<sub>2</sub>," also includes reports of the defeat of Taharqa and his supporters in Egypt, the conquest of the recalcitrant city Qirbit, and the voluntary submission of Lydia's ruler Gyges. The account of how Gyges became Ashurbanipal's vassal in this text is significantly different from the version found in text no. 1 (Prism E<sub>1</sub>). Moreover, the building report describes a different construction project at Nineveh: repairs made to (a section of) the citadel wall, for which Sennacherib is cited as a previous builder.

1 vii 3'-15' The restorations are generally based on text no. 11 (Prism A) x 81-82, 96b-97a, and 108b-111.

1 vii 16'-24' a The restorations are generally based on text no. 3 (Prism B) viii 78b-84 and text no. 4 (Prism D) viii 81-85. Advice to future rulers written in the second person also appears in texts nos. 3 (Prism B), 4 (Prism D), and 5 (Prism I).

1 vii 17' The restoration at the end of the line is conjectural. R. Borger (BIWA p. 184), based on text no. 11 (Prism A) x 53, proposes reading the end of the line as AD AD DÙ-ia "the father of the father who engendered me."

## CATALOGUE

Ex.	Museum Number	Excavation/ Registration No.	Provenance	Lines Preserved	cpn
1	BM 121018 (+) BM 128305 + BM 134481	1929-10-12,14 (+) 1932-12-10,562 + 1932-12-12,476	Nineveh, Area SH	iv 1-12, 30'-v 12, 22'-vi 14, 7'-15'	c
2	BM 127923 + BM 128324	1929-10-12,579 + 1932-12-10,581	Nineveh	vi 1''-vii 9	c
3	BM 127940 + BM 134455	1929-10-12,596 + 1932-12-12,450 (TM 1931-2,14)	As ex. 1	i 1-14, 1'-5', vii 1-15	c
4	BM 128306 + BM 134445	1932-12-10,563 + 1932-12-12,440 (TM 1931-2,11)	As ex. 1	iv 4'-20', v 1'-28', vi 1'-15'	c
5	BM 134454	1932-12-12,449	As ex. 2	vi 7-25, vii 1'-8'	c

## CATALOGUE OF UNCERTAIN EXEMPLARS

Ex.	Museum Number	Excavation/ Registration No.	Provenance	Lines Preserved	cpn
1*	K 1828	—	Probably Nineveh	iii 2-23, iv 1'-33'	c
2*	—	Bu 89-4-26,151	As ex. 1*	iii 1'-9'	c
3*	BM 121029 + BM 128230 + BM 128298 (+) A 7919	1929-10-12,25 + 1932-12-10,487 + 1932-12-10,555	Nineveh; purchased by E. Chiera in Mosul	ii 1-9, iii 1-20, 1''-iv 17, 35'-v 3	c
4*	A 8140	—	Purchased by E. Chiera in Mosul	ii 1'-7', iii 15-20	c
5*	—	81-7-27,263	As ex. 1*	v 23'-28'	c

## COMMENTARY

For details about this early version of Ashurbanipal's annals, see the commentary to text no. 1 (Prism E<sub>1</sub>). Exs. 1, 4, and 4\* may have all been seven-sided clay prisms; ex. 1\* is either a hexagonal or heptagonal prism; ex. 2\* is probably a six-sided prism; and exs. 2 and 3\* may have been heptagonal or octagonal prisms.

In 1977, M. Cogan and H. Tadmor (*Orientalia* NS 46 [1977] pp. 69-74) reconstructed Prism E<sub>2</sub> as a six-sided prism and provided a schematic drawing showing the proposed distribution of the known fragments. According to their reconstruction of this text, the extant parts of the Gyges narrative are preserved in the lower half of col. v (= BM 134454 i', BM 128306+ iii', BM 121018 iii', and BM 127923+ i') and in the upper part of col. vi (BM 134455 i'). That proposed reconstruction more or less still stands today. However, the lacuna between BM 134454 i' (ex. 5) and BM 128306+ iii' (ex. 4) and BM 121018 iii' (ex. 1) is much larger than it is shown in Cogan and Tadmor's schematic reconstruction (*ibid.* p. 69 fig. 2). Moreover, BM 121018 iii' (ex. 1) and BM 127923+ i' (ex. 2) do not hold the same position in the narrative: the contents of BM 121018 iii' (ex. 1) come before those of BM 127923+ i' (ex. 2). It is unclear

given the current state of preservation of Prism E<sub>2</sub> (this text), whether the contents of BM 121018 iii' (ex. 1) and BM 128306+ iii' (ex. 4) slightly overlap those of BM 127923+ i' (ex. 2) or if there is a very short gap between them. Given the distribution of the Gyges narrative on the identified pieces, a marginal overlap, rather than a lacuna of just a few lines, seems more plausible, although this cannot be proven with certainty. The same may have been the case for BM 134455 i' (ex. 3) and BM 134454 ii' (ex. 5).

Following exs. 1, 4, and 4\*, this text is tentatively reconstructed here as a heptagon, rather than a hexagon. Based on the J. Novotny's understanding of the known pieces of this text and text no. 1 (Prism E<sub>1</sub>), the contents of the seven-sided version of Prism E<sub>2</sub> may have been roughly distributed as follows: i-iii (top) = prologue; iii (upper half)-v (middle) = first Egyptian campaign; v (middle)-vi (top) = expedition against Qirbit; vi (upper half)-vii (upper half) = Gyges narrative; vii (middle) = building report; vii (lower half) = concluding formulae; and vii (bottom) = date. The six-sided version would have differed from this, perhaps: i-ii (upper three-quarters) = prologue; ii (bottom)-iv (upper half) = first Egyptian campaign; iv (lower half)-v (top) = expedition against Qirbit;

v (upper half)–vi (upper half) = Gyges narrative; vi (middle) = building report; vi (lower half) = concluding formulae; and vi (bottom) = date.

No exemplar is complete and the master line is a conflation of the various exemplars. The line count of this edition is based on the following exemplars: ex. 1 in iv 1–12, 30′–v 12, 29′–vi 13, and 7′–15′; ex. 2 in vi 1′–vii 6; ex. 3 in i 1–14, 1′–5′, and vii 7–15; ex. 4 in iv 5′–19′, v 1′–28′, and vi 1′–6′; ex. 5 in vi 14–25 and vii 1′–8′; ex. 1\* in iii 6–23, iv 1′–4′, and 20′–29′; ex. 2\* in iii 1′–9′; ex. 3\* in ii 1–9, iii 1–5, 1′–6′, and iv 13–17; and ex. 4\* in ii 1′–7′. The

numerous restorations are as follows: the prologue is restored from text nos. 9 (Prism F) and 11 (Prism A); the reports of the first Egyptian campaign and the expedition against Qirbit are restored from text no. 1 (Prism E<sub>1</sub>) and the so-called “Large Egyptian Tablets” Inscription (Novotny, SAACT 10 pp. 81–83 no. 20); and the building report is restored from text no. 4 (Prism D). A full score of this poorly preserved inscription is provided on Oracc. The few attested orthographic variants are listed at the back of the book.

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## TEXT

### Col. i

- 1) [a-na-ku<sup>m</sup> AN.ŠĀR-DÙ]-[IBILA<sup>1</sup> LUGAL GAL
- 2) [LUGAL dan-nu] [LUGAL<sup>1</sup> ŠÚ LUGAL KUR  
aš-šur.KI
- 3) [LUGAL kib-rat<sup>1</sup> LÍMMU-tim
- 4) [bi<sup>1</sup>-nu-ut AN.ŠĀR u<sup>1</sup> dNIN.LÍL
- 5) [ti<sup>1</sup>-ri-iš ŠU.II dÉ-a u DINGIR.MAḪ
- 6) ni-bit<sup>d30</sup> dUTU [d]ŠKUR
- 7) na-ram<sup>dAMAR.UTU</sup> dzar-pa-[ni-tum<sup>1</sup>

i 1–14) [I, Ashurbanip]al, great king, [strong king, k]ing of the world, king of Assyria, [kin]g of the four qu[art]ers (of the world), [the cr]eation of (the god) Aššur and the goddess Mullissu, the one to whom the god Ea and the goddess Bēlet-ilī have stretched out (their) hands, one who was chosen by the gods Sîn, Šamaš, (and) Adad, beloved of the god Marduk (and) the goddess Zarpanītu, the one required by the deities



Figure 2. K 1828 (text no. 2 ex. 1\*), a fragment of Ashurbanipal Prism E<sub>1</sub> or Prism E<sub>2</sub> that records Ashurbanipal's first Egyptian campaign. © Trustees of the British Museum.

8)	<i>ḥi-ši-iḥ-ti</i> <sup>d</sup> AG <sup>d</sup> PAPNUN <sup>d</sup> r <sup>na</sup> ? <sup>1</sup> .[ <i>na-a</i> ?]	Nabû, Tašmētu, (and) N[anāya], wise (and) capa[ble], (i
9)	<i>ḥa-as-su le-<sup>r</sup>u<sup>1</sup></i> .[u]	10) true shepherd, favorite of the [great] g[ods]; son
10)	SIPA <i>ke-e-nu mi-gir</i> <sup>r</sup> DINGIR <sup>1</sup> .[MEŠ GAL.MEŠ <sup>2</sup> ]	of Esarhaddon, [great king], strong king, kin[g of the
11)	DUMU <sup>m</sup> aš-šur-PAP-SUM. <sup>r</sup> NA <sup>1</sup> [LUGAL GAL]	world, king of Assyria], governor of Ba[bylon], king of
12)	LUGAL <i>dan-nu</i> <sup>r</sup> LUGAL <sup>1</sup> [ŠÚ LUGAL KUR <i>aš-šur.KI</i> ]	the land of Sum[er and Akkad],
13)	<sup>r</sup> GÌR <sup>1</sup> .NÍTA <sup>r</sup> KÁ <sup>1</sup> .[DINGIR.RA.KI]	
14)	<sup>r</sup> LUGAL KUR EME <sup>1</sup> .[GI, ù URI.KI]	
Lacuna		Lacuna
1')	<i>iq-bu-<sup>r</sup>ú<sup>1</sup></i> [...]	i 1'-6') they (the gods) commanded [...]. In order
2')	<i>aš-šú na-<sup>r</sup>šir</i> DUMU LUGAL- <i>ti-ia</i> ]	to pro[tect my (position as) heir designate] and
3')	ù <sup>r</sup> EGIR <sup>2</sup> 1- <i>[nu LUGAL-ut KUR aš-šur.KI e-pe-še]</i>	af[terwards (my) exercising the kingship of Assyria], he
4')	ù- <sup>r</sup> pa <sup>2</sup> 1- <i>[ḥir UN.MEŠ KUR aš-šur.KI]</i>	(Esarhaddon) ass[embled the people of Assyria] (and
5')	<sup>r</sup> KUR EME <sup>1</sup> .[GI, ù KUR URI.KI]	the land of Sum[er and Akkad, ...].
6')	[...]	
Col. ii		

**Lacuna after i 14** For the (conjectured) now-missing contents of this gap, see K 2694 + K 3050 i 7-41 (L<sup>4</sup>; Novotny, SAACT 10 pp. 77-78 no. 18). i 1'-5' Compare text no. 9 (Prism F) i 11-16a and text no. 11 (Prism A) i 13-22.

i 2' *aš-šú na-<sup>r</sup>šir* "In order to pro[tect]": For the writing of the infinitive construct as *paris*, see GAG p. 114 §87k. Other examples of this writing are *na-šir* in text no. 3 (Prism B) v 31, text no. 9 (Prism F) i 13, and text no. 11 (Prism A) i 20; and the variant *a-lik* for *a-lak* in text no. 9 (Prism F) iii 28 and text. no. 11 (Prism A) iv 32.

i 6' Following E. Weissert and H.-U. Onasch (Orientalia NS 61 [1992] p. 68) an estimated gap of one line is tentatively assumed here between i 5' and ii 1.



Figure 3. BM 127923 + BM 128324 (text no. 2 ex. 2), a fragment of Ashurbanipal Prism E<sub>2</sub> containing part of one of the earliest reports of how the Lydian ruler Gyges became Ashurbanipal's vassal. © Trustees of the British Museum.

- 1) [ina IGI DINGIR].<sup>1</sup>MEŠ<sup>1</sup> GAL.MEŠ šá AN-e u  
KI-tim
- 2) [šá la in]-<sup>1</sup>nen<sup>1</sup>-nu-u qi-bi-su-un
- 3) [ú]-<sup>1</sup>dan-nin<sup>1</sup> iš-tur iš-kun
- 4) [a]-<sup>1</sup>de<sup>1</sup>-e a-na u<sub>4</sub>-me ša-a-ti
- 5) [ina ITI.GU<sub>4</sub>] <sup>1</sup>ITI <sup>d1</sup>é-a EN te-né-še-e-te
- 6) [pa-ti-qu nab]-<sup>1</sup>nit<sup>1</sup> LUGAL-ti-ia
- 7) [e-ru-um-ma ina] <sup>1</sup>É<sup>1</sup> ri-du-u-ti
- 8) [áš-ru nak-lu<sup>2</sup> mar]-<sup>1</sup>kás<sup>2</sup> LUGAL<sup>1</sup>-u-<sup>1</sup>ti<sup>1</sup>
- 9) [...] x [(x)]

Lacuna

- 1') [ina qí-bi-ti-šú]-<sup>1</sup>nu ši-ir-ti<sup>1</sup>
- 2') [ú-šib ta-a-biš ina] <sup>1</sup>GIŠ<sup>1</sup>.GU.ZA <sup>1</sup>AD<sup>1</sup> DÙ-<sup>1</sup>ia<sup>1</sup>
- 3') [ru-bé-e LÚ].<sup>1</sup>šú<sup>1</sup>-ut <sup>1</sup>SAG<sup>1</sup>.MEŠ
- 4') [EN-u-ti] <sup>1</sup>iḫ<sup>1</sup>-šu-ḫu
- 5') [i-ra-mu e-peš LUGAL]-<sup>1</sup>ti<sup>1</sup>-ia
- 6') [ina zi-kir MU-ia kab]-<sup>1</sup>ti<sup>1</sup>
- 7') [ḫa-du-ú i-ri-šú kib-rat LÍMMU]-tim

Lacuna

Col. iii

- 1) <sup>1</sup>ma-ḫar<sup>1</sup>-šú-un <sup>1</sup>aq<sup>1</sup>-qi-ma
- 2) <sup>1</sup>ú-šam<sup>1</sup>-ḫi-ra kàd-<sup>1</sup>ra<sup>1</sup>-[a]-a
- 3) <sup>1</sup>DINGIR.MEŠ<sup>1</sup> šá-tu-nu ni-iš <sup>1</sup>ŠU.II-ía<sup>1</sup>

ii 1–9) [In front of the] great [god]s of heaven and netherworld, [wh]ose command(s) [cannot be ch]anged, [he] reinforced, wrote out, (and) established [trea]ties for future days. [In the month Ayyāru (II), the mon]th of the god Ea – the lord of humankind, [the one who fashioned the physi]que of my royal majesty – [I entered] the House of Succession, [a so-]phisticated place, the bo]nd of kingshi[p. ...]

Lacuna

ii 1'–7') [By the]ir (the great gods') exalted [command, I sat gladly on] the throne of the father who had engendered me. [Nobles (and) e]unuchs required [my lordship; they loved] my [exercising the kingshi]p. [Being happy at the mention of my vener]ated [name, the fou]r [quarters (of the world) rejoiced].

Lacuna

iii 1–5) [I] made [offerings] before them (the gods) and presented (them) with [m]y gift[s]. Those gods accepted my prayers and (then) flattened my e[n]emies

ii 8 The conjectured restoration at the beginning of the line is based on text no. 9 (Prism F) i 17 and text no. 11 (Prism A) i 24. Compare K 2694 + K 3050 ii 4' (L<sup>4</sup>; Novotny, SAACT 10 p. 78 no. 18), which has a-šar ṭè-e-me u mil-[ki] “a place of instruction and coun[sel].”

ii 9 and lacuna For the (conjectured) now-missing contents of this lacuna, see K 2694 + K 3050 ii 5'–10' (L<sup>4</sup>; Novotny, SAACT 10 p. 78 no. 18).

Lacuna after ii 7' The beginning of the lacuna likely duplicated K 2694 + K 3050 ii 14'–25' (L<sup>4</sup>; Novotny, SAACT 10 p. 78 no. 18).

Lacuna before iii 1 The translation assumes that the now-missing line immediately before iii 1 contained UDU.SISKUR.MEŠ “offerings.”



- im-ḥur-u-ma*  
 4) <sup>1</sup>na<sup>1</sup>-ki-ri-ia is-pu-nu  
 5) [ú-ḥal]-<sup>1</sup>li-qu<sup>1</sup> ga-re-ia
- 
- 6) [... áš]-<sup>1</sup>ru<sup>1</sup> ru-u-qu  
 7) [...] a-lak-tuš  
 8) [šá<sup>2</sup>? mAN.ŠĀR]-<sup>1</sup>ŠEŠ<sup>1</sup>-SUM.NA LUGAL KUR  
 aš-šur.KI AD ba-nu-u-a  
 9) [x x]-<sup>1</sup>du-ma il-li-ku qé-reb-šá  
 10) [BAD<sub>2</sub>].BAD<sub>5</sub> m<sup>1</sup>tar-qu-u LUGAL KUR.ku-ú-si  
 iš-ku-nu-ma  
 11) <sup>1</sup>ú<sup>1</sup>-par-ri-ru el-lat-su  
 12) [KUR].<sup>1</sup>mu<sup>1</sup>-šur KUR.ku-ú-su ik-šu-du-ma  
 13) [ina] <sup>1</sup>la<sup>1</sup> mi-ni iš-lu-la šal-la-as-su  
 14) [KUR<sup>2</sup>] <sup>1</sup>šu<sup>1</sup>-a-tu ina si-ḥir-ti-šá i-be-el-ma  
 15) a-<sup>1</sup>na<sup>1</sup> mi-šir KUR aš-šur.KI ú-ter  
 16) MU.MEŠ URU.MEŠ-ni maḥ-ru-ú-ti ú-nak-kir-ma  
 17) a-<sup>1</sup>na<sup>1</sup> eš-šu-ú-te iš-ku-na ni-bi-is-su-un  
 18) [LÚ].ARAD.MEŠ-šú a-na LUGAL-ti LÚ.NAM-ú-ti  
 19) <sup>1</sup>LÚ.GAR<sup>1</sup>-nu-ú-te ú-pa-qi-da ina lib-bi  
 20) <sup>1</sup>GUN<sup>2</sup> [man]-<sup>1</sup>da-at<sup>1</sup>-tu be-lu-ti-šú  
 21) [šat-ti-šam-ma] <sup>1</sup>ú<sup>1</sup>-kin še-ru-uš-šú-un  
 22) [...] x <sup>1</sup>áš<sup>1</sup>-li qa-q-qu-ru  
 23) [...] x <sup>1</sup>URU<sup>1</sup>.mé-em-pi

## Lacuna

- 1') [...] x x [...]  
 2') [e-ru]-<sup>1</sup>ub<sup>1</sup> URU šu-[a-tu]  
 3') [ú]-<sup>1</sup>ter<sup>1</sup> ra-ma-[nu-uš]  
 4') [e-li] <sup>1</sup>UN<sup>1</sup>.MEŠ KUR aš-šur šá qé-<sup>1</sup>reb<sup>1</sup>  
 [KUR.mu-šur]  
 5') [ARAD].MEŠ da-gíl pa-[ni-ia]  
 6') [ša m<sup>1</sup>aš]-<sup>1</sup>šur<sup>1</sup>-PAP-AŠ MAN KUR aš-šur [AD  
 DÜ-u-a]  
 7') [a]-<sup>1</sup>na<sup>1</sup> LUGAL-<sup>1</sup>ti<sup>1</sup> [ip-qi-du ina lib-bi]  
 8') [a-na] <sup>1</sup>da-a-ki<sup>1</sup> [...]  
 9') [...] x [...]

## Lacuna

- 1'') šá-a-šú ḥat-tum u pu-luḥ-tú im-qut-su-<sup>1</sup>ma<sup>1</sup>  
 2'') il-li-ka <sup>1</sup>maḥ-ḥu<sup>1</sup>-tíš  
 3'') ul-tu URU.<sup>1</sup>me<sup>1</sup>-[em]-pi  
 4'') URU a-šar [tu-kul]-<sup>1</sup>ti<sup>1</sup>-šú  
 5'') <sup>1</sup>uš-ši-ma a<sup>1</sup>-[na šu-zu-ub] <sup>1</sup>na<sup>1</sup>-piš-te-šú  
 6'') qé-reb <sup>1</sup>GIŠ.MÁ<sup>1</sup> [ir]-<sup>1</sup>kab<sup>1</sup>-ma

## Col. iv

- 1) KARAŠ-su ú-maš-šir-<sup>1</sup>ma<sup>1</sup> [e-diš ip]-<sup>1</sup>par<sup>1</sup>-šid-ma  
 2) qé-reb URU.ni-<sup>1</sup>i<sup>1</sup> [e-ru]-ub  
 3) GIŠ.MÁ.MEŠ qa-ra-<sup>1</sup>bi<sup>1</sup> [ma-la it]-<sup>1</sup>ti<sup>1</sup>-šú  
 4) ù ERIM.MEŠ MÈ-šú <sup>1</sup>ú<sup>1</sup>-[šab-bi-tú ina] ŠU.II  
 5) LÚ.A KIN pu-su-<sup>1</sup>rat<sup>1</sup> [ḥa]-<sup>1</sup>de<sup>1</sup>-e  
 6) ša a-tam-ra iq-[ba-a ia]-<sup>1</sup>a<sup>1</sup>-ši

(and) [destr]oyed my foes.

iii 6–21) [...] a] remote [plac]e, [...] its way, [wherein Esar]haddon, king of Assyria, the father who had engendered me, [went do]wn and marched inside it. He brought about [the de]feat of Taharqa, the king of Kush, and scattered his forces. He conquered [E]gypt (and) Kush and (then) carried off its booty [with]out number. He ruled over [t]hat [land] in its entirety and (iii 15) made (it) part of the territory of Assyria. He changed the former names of the cities and gave them new names. He appointed his servants therein as king(s), governor(s), (and) official(s). He imposed upon them [annual tribu]te [pay]ment (in recognition) of his overlordship.

iii 22–23) [...] ... territory [...] the city Memphis

## Lacuna

iii 1'–9') [...] he (Taharqa) entere]d [the city Memphis. He tu]rned th[at] city over to [him]sel[f. Against the A]ssyrians who were insid[e Egypt, servant]s who belong[ed to me, whom Es]arhaddon — king of Assyria, [the father who had engendered me — had appointed a]s king(s) [there, to] kill (them) [...]

## Lacuna

iii 1''–iv 2) (As for) him (Taharqa), terror and fear fell upon him and he went into a frenzy. He escaped from the city M[em]phis, the city (and) place upon which he [relie]d and, in ord[er to save] his (own) [l]ife, [he boar]ded a shi[p], abandoned his camp, [f]led [alone], and [enter]ed the city Theb[es].

iv 3–17) Th[ey (my army) captur]ed [as many] war-ships [as there were wit]h him, as well as his combat troops. A messenger to[ld m]e the [goo]d new[s] that I had been waiting for. To banish Tahar[qa f]rom

iii 6 Compare the comments of R. Borger (BIWA p. 177).

iii 9 Following R. Borger (BIWA p. 177), possibly restore [ú<sup>2</sup>-ri<sup>2</sup>]-du-ma (“[went do]wn and”).iii 17 iš-ku-na “gave”: Ex. 3\* has instead <sup>1</sup>iz-ku<sup>1</sup>-ra “named.”

Lacuna before iii 1' and line 1' Probably restore the Large Egyptian Tablets Inscription obv. 6'–9'a (Novotny, SAACT 10 p. 81 no. 20) immediately before iii 2'. The translation assumes that the badly damaged line iii 1' contained URU.me-em-pi “the city Memphis.”

iii 8'b–9' and lacuna For the now-missing contents, see the Large Egyptian Tablets Inscription obv. 12'b–22' (Novotny, SAACT 10 p. 81 no. 20).

- 7) LÚ.GAL SAG ᵀLÚ¹.[NAM].MEŠ  
 8) ù LUGAL.MEŠ e-ber ᵀID¹ [ka]-ᵀli¹-šú-un  
 9) a-di e-mu-qi-šú-nu ᵀGIŠ¹.[MÁ.MEŠ]-ᵀšú¹-nu  
 10) LUGAL.MEŠ-ni KUR.mu-[uṣ]-ri  
 11) [ARAD.MEŠ da-gíl pa-ni]-ia  
 12) a-di GIŠ.MÁ.MEŠ-šú-nu e-ᵀmu¹-[qi-šú]-ᵀun¹  
 13) a-na ḥul-lu-uq ᵀtar-ᵀqu¹-[ú]  
 14) ᵀul-tu¹ qé-reb KUR.mu-ṣur KUR.ᵀku¹-[u-si]  
 15) [UGU e]-ᵀmu¹-qi-ia maḥ-ᵀra¹-[a-ti]  
 16) [ú-rad-di-ma] ᵀáš-pur¹ a-ᵀna¹ [URU.ni-i¹]  
 17) [...] x [...]

## Lacuna

- 1') ᵀša¹ a-tam-ᵀra¹ [...]  
 2') ar-ka-a-nu ᵀni-ku-ᵀú¹ [ᵀLUGAL-lu-dà-ri]  
 3') ᵀpa-aq-ru-ru LUGAL.MEŠ ᵀša¹ [qé-reb  
 KUR.mu-ṣur]  
 4) iš-ku-nu [AD ba-nu-u]-ᵀa¹  
 5) a-de-e AN.ŠÁR ù DINGIR.MEŠ ᵀGAL¹.[MEŠ  
 EN].MEŠ-ia  
 6) e-ti-qu-ú-ma ip-ru-ᵀṣu¹ ma-mit-sún  
 7) ṭa-ab-ti AD ba-ni-ia im-ṣu-ma  
 8) lib-ba-šú-nu ik-pu-du le-mut-tú  
 9) da-bab-ti sur-ra-a-te id-bu-bu-ma  
 10) mi-lik la ku-širi₄ im-li-ku ra-man-šú-un  
 11) um-ma ᵀtar-qu-ú ul-tu qé-reb KUR.mu-ṣur  
 12) i-na-sāḥ-ú-ma at-tu-ni  
 13) a-ᵀšá¹-[ba-ni] ᵀmi¹-i-nu  
 14) e-li ᵀtar-qu-u ᵀLUGAL KUR.ku-ú-si  
 15) a-na šá-kan a-de-e u [sa]-ᵀli-me¹  
 16) iš-pu-ru LÚ.[rak-bé-e]-šú-un  
 17) um-ma su-lum-mu-ú [ina bi-ri]-ᵀni¹  
 liš-šá-kin-ma  
 18) ni-ᵀin¹-[dag-ga-ra a]-ᵀḥa¹-meš  
 19) KUR a-ḥe-en-na-a [ni-zu-uz]-ma  
 20) a-a ib-ba-ši ina bi-ᵀri-ni¹ [šá-nu-um-ma be-lum]  
 21) ša um-ma-nat AN.ŠÁR ᵀgap¹-[šá-a-ti e-muq  
 EN-ti-ia]  
 22) iš-te-né-'u-ú [a-mat ḤUL-tim]  
 23) a-na na-kas na-piš-[ti ik-pu-du iṣ-ri-mu]  
 24) ḥul-lu-qu [a-di la ba-še-e]  
 25) LÚ.šú-ut SAG-ᵀia¹ [a-ma-a-ti an-na-a-ti]  
 26) iš-mé-e-ma x [...]  
 27) LÚ.rak-bé-e-šú-[un ...]  
 28) ša e-li [ᵀtar-qu-u LUGAL KUR.ku-ú-si]  
 29) a-na šá-kan a-[de-e u sa-li-me]  
 30) iṣ-ba-ta-am-ᵀma e-mu-ur¹  
 31) [ep-šet sur-ra-a¹]-te-šú-un  
 32) [ᵀLUGAL-lu-dà]-ᵀri¹ ᵀni-ku-ú  
 33) [iṣ-ba-tu-ma¹ ina bi]-ᵀre¹-te iš-qa-te

Egypt (and) K[ush, I added to] my form[er fo]rces the chief eunuch, the [governor]s, and [al]l of the kings of Across the River (Syria-Palestine), together with their forces (and) their [boats], (as well as) the kings of Eg[y]pt, [servants who belonged to] me, together with their boats (and) [the]ir fo[r]ces, and] I sent (them) to [the city Thebes, ...]

## Lacuna

iv 1') [th]at I had been waiting for, [...].  
 iv 2'-24') Afterwards, Necho, [Šarru-lū-dāri], (and) Paqruru, kings wh[om the father who had engendered] me had installed [in Egypt], (iv 5') transgressed the treaty (sworn) by (the god) Aššur and the great gods, my [lord]s, and (then) bro[k]e their oath(s). They forgot the kindness of the father who had engendered me, and their heart(s) plotted evil (deeds). They spoke word(s) of treachery and (iv 10') decided (among) themselves on a profitless decision, saying: "If they remove Taharqa from Egypt, how then [can] we (ourselves) st[ay]?" (iv 15') To establish treaties and [pe]ace, they dispatched their [mounted messenger(s)] to Taharqa, the kin[g of] Kush, saying: "Let peace be established [between u]s so that we can c[ome to a mu]tual [agreement. (Let) us divide] the land among ourselves so that (iv 20') no [other lord] comes betwe[en u]s." With regard to the n[umerous] troops of (the god) Aššur, [the might of my lordly majesty], they constantly sought out [evil plan(s); they plotted] to cut (their) throa[t(s and) strove to completely] destroy (them).

iv 25'-38') A eunuch of mi[ne] heard [these words; ...]. He seized the[ir] mounted messenger(s) [along with their messages] that (they had sent) to [Taharqa, the king of Kush], to establish tre[aties and peace], and he saw their [deceit]ful [acts. They seized Šarru-lū-dār]i (and) Necho [and clamped] (their) hands and feet [in fe]tters (and) handcuffs. (iv 35') The oath (sworn) by the god Aššur, the king of the gods, defeated them and my kindness, which I had done for them as a favor,

**iv 17 and lacuna** This now-missing section of the text is partially duplicated by the Large Egyptian Tablets Inscription obv. 34'b-36' (Novotny, SAACT 10 p. 82 no. 20). Note that iv 1'-2' a do not appear in the Large Egyptian Tablets Inscription.

**iv 26'-31'** This inscription deviates from the Large Egyptian Tablets Inscription; compare obv. 47'b-48' of that text (Novotny, SAACT 10 p. 82 no. 20).

**iv 28'-29'** The restorations, following R. Borger (BIWA p. 179), are based on iv 14'-15'.

**iv 32'** The order of the names is the same as the Large Egyptian Tablets Inscription; see obv. 49' of that text. Ex. 1\* places Šarru-lū-dāri after Necho.

- 34) [ú-tam-me-ḥu<sup>2</sup>] ṚŠU<sup>1</sup>.II u ĠİR.II  
 35) ma-mit ḏaš-šur MAN DINGIR.MEŠ  
 ik-šu-su-nu-ti-ma  
 36) ša iḥ-ṭu-ú ina lib-bi  
 37) [a-de-e GAL.MEŠ] MUN qa-tu-uš-šú-un  
 ú-ba-<sup>2</sup>i-i-ma  
 38) ša e-pu-us-su-nu-ti du-un-qu  
 39) ù UN.MEŠ URU.ṚMEŠ<sup>1</sup> ma-al it-ti-šú-nu  
 40) Ṛiš<sup>1</sup>-[šak-nu] ik-pu-du a-mat ḤUL-tim

Col. v

- 1) TUR u GAL ina ĠIŠ.TUKUL Ṛú<sup>1</sup>-šam-qit-Ṛú-ma<sup>1</sup>  
 2) e-du LÚ la e-zi-bu ina lib-bi  
 3) ù šá-a-šú-un a-di NINA.ṚKI<sup>1</sup>  
 4) URU EN-ti-ia ina maḥ-ri-ia ub-lu-u-ni  
 5) ù a-na-ku maš-šur-DÛ-A MAN KUR aš-šur.KI  
 6) Ṛlib<sup>1</sup>-bu rap-šú e-piš ṭa-ab-te  
 7) Ṛsa-ḥi-ru<sup>1</sup> dam-qa-a-te  
 8) Ṛa<sup>1</sup>-na mni-ku-ú ARAD da-ġl IGI-ia  
 9) re-e-mu ar-ši-Ṛšu-ma<sup>1</sup>  
 10) Ṛú<sup>1</sup>-kab-bi-sa Ṛḥi-ṭi-is<sup>1</sup>-su  
 11) [a-de-e ni]-Ṛiš DINGIR.MEŠ UGU<sup>1</sup> šá maḥ-ri  
 12) [ú-šá-tir-ma it-ti]-Ṛšú aš-kun<sup>1</sup>

Lacuna

- 1) ṚUN<sup>1</sup>.[MEŠ a-šib ŠA-šú UGU KUR.MEŠ-šú-nu]  
 2) Ṛmar<sup>1</sup>-[šu-ú-ti tak-lu-ma]  
 3) la [pit-lu-ḥu be-lut KUR aš-šur]  
 4) m<sup>mf</sup>ta-an<sup>1</sup>-[da-a-a LÚ.EN.URU-šú-nu šá]  
 5) a-na LUGAL.ṚMEŠ<sup>1</sup> [AD.MEŠ-ia la kit-nu-šú a-na  
 ni-i-ri]  
 6) ŠÀ ig-pu-Ṛuš<sup>1</sup> [...]  
 7) Ṛid<sup>2</sup>-bu<sup>2</sup>-bu<sup>2</sup>-ú<sup>1</sup>-[ma ...]  
 8) ṚANŠE.NÍTA<sup>2</sup>.MEŠ GU<sup>4</sup>.ṚMEŠ<sup>1</sup> [...]  
 9) i-na še-e-Ṛri iḥ<sup>1</sup>-[ta-nab-ba-tu]  
 10) ú-šaḥ-ri-ru Ṛna<sup>1</sup>-[me-e-šú]  
 11) na-gu-u KUR.ia-mut-ba-la Ṛú<sup>2</sup>-[...]  
 12) is-pu-nu ġi-mir da-Ṛád<sup>1</sup>-[me-šú]  
 13) UGU ep-še-e-te an-na-a-Ṛti<sup>1</sup>  
 14) DUMU.MEŠ BÂD.AN.KI im-ḥur-ú-in-Ṛni<sup>1</sup>  
 15) ú-šal-lu-ú be-lu-ti  
 16) ṚLÚ<sup>1</sup>.šú-ut SAG.MEŠ-ia LÚ.NAM.MEŠ  
 17) Ṛša<sup>1</sup> pa-a-Ṛṭi<sup>1</sup> KUR-šú-un  
 18) ú-ma-<sup>2</sup>e-er še-ru-uš-šú-un  
 19) ṚKUR<sup>1</sup>.ḥa-le-e-ḥa-as-ta KUR-ú mar-šu e-lu-ma  
 20) Ṛil<sup>1</sup>-mu-u URU.ġir-bi-it URU dan-nu-ti-šú  
 21) [ina šuk]-bu-us a-ram-me mi-ḥi-iš ĠIŠ.šú-pe-e  
 22) URU šú-Ṛa<sup>1</sup>-tú ik-šu-du-ma is-pu-nu a-bu-biš  
 23) URU.x-meš URU.za-ar-za-a-ta  
 24) URU.šá-an-ḥa-Ṛra<sup>1</sup> URU.si-is-sil  
 25) URU.a-du-ma-nu URU.ḥal-la-a-a  
 26) URU.še-li-iḥ-i-ra-am URU.šá-ḥa-ra-si-i<sup>2</sup>

called to account those who had sinned against [the great treaties].

iv 39'-v 4) Moreover, they (my troops) cut down with the sword the people of the cities, as many as h[ad sided] with them (and) plotted evil plan(s), young and old, and they did not spare a single person among them. Furthermore, they brought them (Necho and Šarru-lū-dāri) to Nineveh, my capital city, before me.

v 5-12) Moreover, I, Ashurbanipal, king of Assyria, the magnanimous one who performs acts of kindness (and) repays good deeds, had mercy on Necho, a servant who belonged to me, and forgave his crime(s). [I made the treaty swor]n by the gods [more stringent] than the previous one [and] I established (it) [with] him.

Lacuna

v 1'-15') The peo[ple living in it (the city Qirbit) trusted in their] rug[ged mountains and did] not [respect the dominion of Assyria]. (As for) Tan[dāya — their city ruler who], to the kings, [my ancestors, had never bowed down to (their) yoke] — (his) heart was prou[d, ...]. *They spoke [... and] th[ey were constantly] pl[undering ...] donkeys, oxen, [...] in the steppe.* (v 10') They laid waste to [its] pa[sture land]. *Th[ey ...] the district of Yamutbal (and) flattened all of [its] settlem[ents].* With regard to thes[e] deeds, the citizens of Dēr appealed to me (and) beseeched my lordly majesty.

v 16'-22') I sent my eunuchs (and) governors [w]ho(se provinces are) on the borders of their land(s) against them. They ascended Ḥalēḥasta, a rugged mountain, and surrounded the city Qirbit, his fortified city. [By having] (siege) ramps [trod]den down (and) the assault of battering rams, they conquered that city and flattened (it) like the Deluge.

v 23'-vi 3) (As for) the cities ...meš, Zarzāta, Šanḥara, Sissil, Adumānu, Ḥallāya, Šeliḥiram, Šaḥarasi', Gub-BAD, Matuḥanzaḥ, Tazi', Lušanda, LULbasta, (and) Babsaḥ, they covered those cities like a fog and over-

v 12 Ṛaš-kun<sup>1</sup> "I established": The Large Egyptian Tablets Inscription (obv. 58') has *aš-pur* "I ordered"; text no. 11 (Prism A) ii 9 also has *aš-kun*. **Lacuna after v 12** For the (conjectured) now-missing contents of this lacuna, see the Large Egyptian Tablets Inscription obv. 59'-69' and rev. 12 (Novotny, SAACT 10 pp. 82-83 no. 20). It is possible that only two lines are missing from the beginning of the account of the Qirbit campaign. Based on the Large Egyptian Tablets Inscription rev. 12, this passage may have begun with URU.ġir-bit ša qé-reb URU.ḥa-le-e-ḥa-as-ta na-da-ta šu-bat-su " (As for) the city Qirbit, whose location is situated inside (Mount) Ḥarê-ḥasta (lit. "the city Ḥarê-ḥasta")."

v 6'-9' These lines are not included in the Large Egyptian Tablets Inscription (Novotny, SAACT 10 p. 83 no. 20); compare rev. 15 of that text.

- 27') URU.gu-ub-BAD URU.ma-tú-ḥa-an-za-aḥ  
 28') URU.ta-zi-i' URU.lu-šá-an-da  
 29') URU.LUL-ba-as-ta URU.ba-ab-sa-aḥ  
 30') URU.MEŠ šú-nu-ti  
 31') im-ba-riš ik-tu-mu-ma  
 32') is-ḥu-pu ḥu-ḥa-riš  
 33') <sup>m</sup>ta-an-da-a-a LÚ.EN.URU i-du-ku-ma  
 34') <sup>r</sup>LÚ<sup>1</sup>.qu-ra-di-šú ú-ra-si-bu ina GIŠ.TUKUL

Col. vi

- 1) UN.<sup>r</sup>MEŠ<sup>1</sup> [(...) GU<sub>4</sub>.MEŠ]  
 2) še-<sup>r</sup>e<sup>1</sup>-[ni šal-la-su ka-bit-tu]  
 3) iš-lu-[lu-u-ni a-na qé-reb KUR aš-šur.KI]  
 4) <sup>m</sup>a-ku-<sup>r</sup>da<sup>1</sup>-[a-a LÚ.NÍMGIR-šú-nu]  
 5) bal-ṭu-us-<sup>r</sup>su<sup>1</sup> [ina qa-ti iš-ba-tu-ni]  
 6) ub-lu-u-ni <sup>r</sup>a<sup>1</sup>-[di maḥ-ri-ia]  
 7) <sup>r</sup>UN.MEŠ a-ši-bu<sup>1</sup>-[ut URU.MEŠ-ni šú-nu-ti]  
 8) as-su-<sup>r</sup>uḥ<sup>1</sup> [ú-bil-ma]  
 9) qé-reb KUR.mu-<sup>r</sup>sur<sup>1</sup> [ú-šá-aš-bit UN.MEŠ]  
 10) ḥu-bu-ut [GIŠ.PAN-ia]  
 11) ša KUR <sup>r</sup>šá<sup>1</sup>-[ni-tim-ma]  
 12) qé-reb <sup>r</sup>URU<sup>1</sup>.[qir-bi-it]  
 13) <sup>r</sup>ú<sup>1</sup> URU.MEŠ-<sup>r</sup>šú<sup>1</sup> [ú-še-šib]

- 14) [<sup>m</sup>gu-ug<sup>1</sup>-[gu] MAN KUR.lu-ud-[di]  
 15) [áš-ru] ru-ú-qu  
 16) [šá? ...]-pa-an KUR aš-šur.KI  
 17) [... la] <sup>r</sup>pe<sup>1</sup>-tu-ú né-su-u <sup>r</sup>URU<sup>1</sup>-šú  
 18) [ša LUGAL.MEŠ a]-<sup>r</sup>li<sup>1</sup>-kut maḥ-ri AD.MEŠ-ia  
 19) [la iš-mu-ú] <sup>r</sup>zi<sup>1</sup>-kir MU-šú  
 20) [...] ME<sup>2</sup> rap-šá-tu-ma  
 21) [...] x šuk-lu-lu  
 22) [...] x e-mu-qi  
 23) [šá? LÚ.gi]-<sup>r</sup>mir<sup>1</sup>-ra-a-a LÚ.KÚR ak-šu  
 24) [...] <sup>r</sup>ú<sup>2?</sup> ina tam-ḥa-ri  
 25) [...] <sup>r</sup>ú<sup>1</sup>-šam-<sup>r</sup>qi<sup>1</sup>-[tu-šú?]

Lacuna

- 1') x [...]  
 2') x [...]  
 3') KA x [...]  
 4') še-er x [...]  
 5') a-na paṭ gim-[ri-...]  
 6') <sup>m</sup>dáš-šur-DÛ-[A ...]  
 7') ki-ma nu-<sup>r</sup>ú<sup>1</sup>-[ri ...]  
 8') šu-pu-ma KU-x-[...]  
 9') ú-šá-an-ni-ma x [...]  
 10') ina šat mu-ši [...]  
 11') ki-a-am x [...]  
 12') um-ma šá <sup>m</sup>aš-šur-<sup>r</sup>DÛ<sup>1</sup>-[A ...]  
 13') ḥi-ši-iḥ-te aš-<sup>r</sup>šur<sup>1</sup> [...]  
 14') GÌR.II x x x [...]  
 15') <sup>r</sup>a-na<sup>1</sup> x x [...]

Slight overlap?

- 1'') [...] x [...]

whelmed (them) like a *bird snare*. They killed Tandāya, (their) city lord, and struck down his warriors with the sword. Th[ey] carr[ied off into Assyria] people, [(...) oxen], (and) sheep an[d goats, his substantial booty].

vi 4-13) [They captured] alive Akkud[āya, their herald], (and) brought (him) b[efore me]. I forcibly remov[ed] the people livin[g in those cities, took (them) and settled (them)] in Egypt. I made the people], whom [my bow] plundered in a[nother] land, [live] in the cit[y Qirbit] and its villages.

vi 14-25) Gyg[es], the king of the land Lyd[ia — a] remote [place that ...] ... Assyria, [whose ... are not o]pen, whose ci[tly is far away, (and) [the m]ention of whose name [none of the kings who ca]me before, my ancestors, [had (ever) heard — ...] was wide and [...] was complete, [...] forces, [which the Cimme]rians, a dangerous enemy, [...] in battle [...] th[ey] cu[t him down].

Lacuna

vi 1'-3') (No translation possible)

vi 4'-15') against [...] to [its/their] ful[l] extent. [...] Ashurbani[pal ...] was brilliant like lig[ht ...] and ... [...] He reported [...] and [...]. During the night [...] thus [...] saying: "As for Ashurba[nipal, ...], the one who is required by (the god) Aššur, [...] feet ... [...] to ... [...]"

Slight overlap?

vi 1''-4'') (No translation possible)

vi 14-vii 3' The report about Gyges of Lydia in this inscription differs significantly from text no. 1 (Prism E<sub>1</sub>); compare vi 11-31' of that inscription. Compare also, for example, the later and significantly shorter accounts concerning Lydia in text no. 3 (Prism B) ii 86b-iii 4 and text no. 11 (Prism A) ii 95-125.

- 2') [...] x x [...]  
 3') [...] x x [...]  
 4') [...] <sup>r</sup>EN<sup>2</sup> NA<sup>21</sup> [...]  
 5') [... ar]-<sup>r</sup>hi<sup>2</sup>-iš šu<sup>1</sup>-ul-<sup>r</sup>li<sup>1</sup>-[x]  
 6') [...] x lil-li-ku su-<sup>r</sup>pu<sup>21</sup>-[u<sup>2</sup>]  
 7') [...] <sup>r</sup>e<sup>21</sup> te-tep-šu-<sup>r</sup>ma<sup>1</sup>  
 8') [...] <sup>r</sup>ú<sup>21</sup>-šab-ru-ka tu<sub>5</sub>-ta-<sup>r</sup>li<sup>1</sup>

Col. vii

- 1) [...] x na-ki-ri-ka  
 2) [...] <sup>r</sup>ú-šak-ma<sup>1</sup>-as-ma  
 3) [... ú]-<sup>r</sup>ra<sup>21</sup>-sa-ba ina GIŠ.TUKUL  
 4) [...] <sup>r</sup>a<sup>1</sup>-tu-la ap-làh-ma  
 5) [...] <sup>r</sup>DINGIR<sup>21</sup>-ia <sup>r</sup>ú<sup>1</sup>-šal-li-ma  
 6) [... ú-šá<sup>2</sup>]-<sup>r</sup>an<sup>1</sup>-na-a a-na LUGAL  
 7) [... u<sub>4</sub>]-me an-né-e  
 8) šat-ti-šam <sup>r</sup>la<sup>1</sup> na-par-ka-a  
 9) na-šá-ku <sup>r</sup>ka<sup>1</sup>-bit-tú GUN  
 10) [...] x <sup>r</sup>še<sup>1</sup>-er LÚ.KÚR.MEŠ-šú  
 11) [...] a-na-ku la-as-ma-ku  
 12) [... ú]-<sup>r</sup>še-bi<sup>1</sup>-la am-ḥur  
 13) [...] x-a-te  
 14) [...] x-šú<sup>1</sup>  
 15) [...] x

Slight overlap or short lacuna

- 1') <sup>r</sup>ú<sup>21</sup>-[...]  
 2') LÚ.A <sup>r</sup>KIN<sup>1</sup>-[...]  
 3') a-na a-<sup>r</sup>mar<sup>1</sup> [...]

- 4') ina u<sub>4</sub>-me-šu-ma [BÀD MURUB<sub>4</sub> URU ša NINA.KI]  
 5') ša <sup>md</sup>30-<sup>r</sup>PAP<sup>1</sup>. [MEŠ-SU MAN KUR aš-šur.KI]  
 6') AD AD ba-<sup>r</sup>ni<sup>1</sup>-[ia e-pu-šú]  
 7') BÀD šu-a-tú <sup>r</sup>la<sup>1</sup>-[ba-riš il-lik-am-ma]  
 8') tem-me-<sup>r</sup>en-šú<sup>1</sup> [ir-bu-ub-ma]

Lacuna

vi 5''-8') “[... qu]ickly [...] supplica[tion, ...] let them come, [...] pra[yer, ...] that you did and [...] ... made you see.”

vii 1-12) “[...] your enemy, [...] I will make [...] bow down and [...] wil]l strike down with the sword.” I saw [...], became frightened, and (then) *fulfilled* [the ... of] my god. [(Now) I am rep]orting [...] to the king [...] that [d]ay (onward), I carry a [su]bstantial tribute, yearly, [wit]hout ceasing. [...] against his foes [...] I myself run. I received [the ... that he h]ad sent to me.

vii 13-15) (No translation possible)

Slight overlap or short lacuna

vii 1'-3') [...] mess[enger ...] to see [...].

vii 4'-8') At that time, [the wall of the citadel of Nineveh] which Sennac[herib — king of Assyria], the father of the father who had engende[red me — had built], that wall [became] o[ld and] its foundation(s) [gave way and]

Lacuna

### 3

Very few inscriptions written on clay or stone objects during the fourteen years after the issuing of text nos. 1 (Prism E<sub>1</sub>) and 2 (Prism E<sub>2</sub>) are extant today. It is, however, not the case for Ashurbanipal's third decade as king, starting with this version of his annals, copies of which were inscribed on eight-sided clay prisms during his twentieth and twenty-first regnal years (649-648; respectively, the eponymies of Aḥu-ilā'i, governor of Carchemish, and Bēlšunu, governor of Ḥindānu). At least six prisms, and presumably many more, bore a lengthy inscription that divided its military narration into eight campaigns and recorded the rebuilding of a wing of the armory at Nineveh that his grandfather Sennacherib had constructed anew. Following the model of his earlier inscriptions (as well as those of his father Esarhad-don), this text, which is frequently referred to as “Prism B” in Assyriological publications, arranges the “campaigns” (*girrus*) geographically, and not

2 vii 4'-8' Compare text no. 4 (Prism D) viii 58-62a.

2 Lacuna after vii 8' For the conjectured end of the inscription, see text no. 1 (Prism E<sub>1</sub>) vii 9'-25' and text no. 4 (Prism D) viii 62b-67.

chronologically. Ashurbanipal boasts that he defeated Egypt twice, forced Ba'alu of Tyre into submission, captured the city Qirbit, destroyed numerous cities in Mannea, fought many successful battles against various Elamite rulers (especially the arrogant and belligerent Teumman), conquered the Gambulian capital Ša-pī-Bēl and deported its anti-Assyrian leaders (Dunānu and his brothers), and plundered Arab tribes. Numerous other details are provided, including, for example, Yakīn-Lû of Arwad, Mugallu of Tabal, and Sanda-šarme of Ḫilakku (Cilicia) voluntarily sending tribute, along with their daughters; Gyges of Lydia defeating invading Cimmerians and sending a substantial payment to Assyria; Urtaku of Elam, Bēl-iqīša of Gambulu, and Urtaku's eunuch Marduk-šuma-ibni all dying from unusual circumstances within the same year; Aḫšēri of Mannea, Ummanigaš (Ḫumban-nikas II) of Elam, and Tammarītu of Elam all being deposed; and Kamās-ḫaltâ of Moab capturing Ammu-ladīn of Qedar and handing him over to Assyria.

## CATALOGUE

Ex.	Museum Number	Registration Number	Provenance	Lines Preserved	cpn
1	K 1775 + K 1847* + K 2732 + Sm 1712 (BM 93008) + K 13764 + K 16017 + Sm 2028 + Rm 2,85 + 82-5-22,19 + BM 98556	Th 1905-4-9,62 + 82-5-22,19	Nineveh, reportedly in the North Palace by H. Rassam	i 1-31, ii 1-13, 31-66, 91-iii 21, 31-60, 81-iv 29, 42-56, 82-79, 82-v 21, 33-54, 73-83, vi 1-16, 51-64, 75-80, vii 1-16, 37-49, 80-viii 34, 86-92, date	c
2	Sm 2033	—	Probably Nineveh	i 46-48, viii 45-58	p
3	BM 121016 + BM 127861	1929-10-12,12 + 1929-10-12,517	Nineveh	i 65-87, ii 65-87, viii 63-88	c
4	BM 121020	1929-10-12,16	As ex. 4	i 34-74, viii 41-77	c
5	A 7928 + A 7930 + A 7933 + A 7938 + A 7944 + A 7996 + A 8133 + A 11855 (+) A 7961 (+) BM 134435	1932-12-12,430	Purchased by E. Chiera in Mosul; Nineveh	i 43-73, 86-94, ii 70-iii 2, 58-iv 9, 15-v 18, 21-90, vi 1-8, 21-63, vii 24-viii 16, 34-92, date	c
6	A 7935 + A 11861 (+) A 11865 (+) BM 123436 + BM 127838 + BM 128220 + BM 128248	1932-12-10,379 + 1932-12-10,494 + 1932-12-10,477 + 1932-12-10,505	Purchased by E. Chiera and A.C. Piepkorn in Mosul; Nineveh, Chol and Area SH	i 74-ii 11, 63-iii 16, 71-iv 20, 65-v 24, 80-vi 3, 58-84, vii 63-86, viii 68-92, date	c

## CATALOGUE OF UNCERTAIN EXEMPLARS

Ex.	Museum Number	Registration Number	Provenance	Lines Preserved	cpn
1*	K 1710 (+) BM 99061 + BM 98557	Ki 1904-10-9,90 + Th 1905-4-9,63	Nineveh	iv 74-65, v 76-83, vi 69-74	c
2*	K 1716 + K 15347	—	As ex. 2	iii 92-iv 2, 78-87	p
3*	K 1752 + K 2730	—	As ex. 2	vii 4-13	p
4*	K 1786	—	As ex. 2	i 58-76, ii 54-65	p
5*	K 1796	—	As ex. 2	v 16-31, vi 8-16	p
6*	K 1815 + K 2733	—	As ex. 2	vii 13-18, viii 8-14	p
7*	K 1843 + 81-7-27,18	81-7-27,18	As ex. 2	iv 70-v 1	p
8*	K 6002	—	As ex. 2	iv 8-17	p

9*	K 7572	—	As ex. 2	iii 46-50	p
10*	K 7573	—	As ex. 2	iii 34-40	p
11*	K 13736 + K 18083	—	As ex. 2	i 54-66	p
12*	K 16029	—	As ex. 2	viii 34-42	p
13*	K 18114	—	As ex. 2	ii 61-72	p
14*	K 19421	—	As ex. 2	i 94-ii 4, 90-93	p
15*	K 22110 + K 22113	—	As ex. 2	iii 92-iv 4	c
16*	Sm 344	—	As ex. 2	ii 88-89	p
17*	Sm 1890	—	As ex. 2	iii 41-53	p
18*	Sm 2041	—	As ex. 2	ii 40-47	p
19*	Sm 2094 (+) Sm 2107	—	As ex. 2	iii 19-26	p
20*	Sm 2100	—	As ex. 2	vii 59-66	p
21*	Sm 2127	—	As ex. 2	i 6-19, ii 7-16	p
22*	Rm 28	—	As ex. 2	iv 78-80, v 75-82	p
23*	—	81-7-27,10	As ex. 2	viii 25-32	p
24*	—	81-7-27,12	As ex. 2	viii 38-48	p
25*	—	81-7-27,92	As ex. 2	vii 89-viii 14	p
26*	—	82-5-22,7	As ex. 2	vi 30-51	p
27*	—	Bu 89-4-26,144	As ex. 2	vi 40-50	c
28*	BM 121015 + BM 128127	1929-10-12,11 + 1929-10-12,783	As ex. 3	vi 76-89, vii 71-81	c
29*	BM 121130	1929-10-12,126	As ex. 3	ii 9-21	c
30*	BM 123406	1932-12-10,349	As ex. 3	vi 56-62	p
31*	BM 123421	1932-12-10,364	As ex. 3	iv 81-v 7, 79-96	p
32*	BM 123438 + BM 127999	1932-12-10,381 + 1929-10-12,655	As ex. 3	v 57-68, vi 51-53	p
33*	BM 123441	1932-12-10,384	As ex. 3	iv 76-81, v 80-84	p
34*	BM 127844	1929-10-12,500	As ex. 3	vi 68-75, vii 65-75	c
35*	BM 127848	1929-10-12,504	As ex. 3	i 89-ii 20, iii 5-16	c
36*	BM 127851	1929-10-12,507	As ex. 3	vi 42-67, vii 52-78	c
37*	BM 127857	1929-10-12,513	As ex. 3	i 16-47, viii 20-35	c
38*	BM 127865	1929-10-12,521	As ex. 3	iii 53-70, iv 40-65, v 50-59	c
39*	BM 127877	1929-10-12,533	As ex. 3	i 93-ii 3, date	c
40*	BM 127886	1929-10-12,542	As ex. 3	i 85-92, date	c
41*	BM 127899 (+)	1929-10-12,555 (+)	As ex. 5	i 93-ii 2, 92-iii 3, 87-iv 5, 77-85	c
	BM 127961 + BM 128282	1929-10-12,617 + 1932-12-10,539			
	(+) A 8143				
42*	BM 127902	1929-10-12,558	As ex. 3	vi 9-20	c
43*	BM 127924	1929-10-12,580	As ex. 3	ii 76-82	c
44*	BM 127926	1929-10-12,582	As ex. 3	i 1-11	c
45*	BM 127934	1929-10-12,590	As ex. 3	vi 5-17, vii 2-20	c
46*	BM 127936	1929-10-12,592	As ex. 3	i 29-43, viii 36-52	c
47*	BM 127974	1929-10-12,630	As ex. 3	v 16-24	c
48*	BM 127997	1929-10-12,653	As ex. 3	iii 75-83, iv 67-76	c
49*	BM 127998	1929-10-12,654	As ex. 3	vi 51-56, vii 41-44	c
50*	BM 128007	1929-10-12,663	As ex. 3	i 40-48, ii 39-5	c
51*	BM 128015	1929-10-12,671	As ex. 3	vii 6-13	c
52*	BM 128043	1929-10-12,699	As ex. 3	v 10-21	c
53*	BM 128053	1929-10-12,709	As ex. 3	vii 87-viii 9	c
54*	BM 128064	1929-10-12,720	As ex. 3	ii 73-85	c
55*	BM 128085 + BM 128117	1929-10-12,741 + 1929-10-12,773	As ex. 3	iv 31-53, v 36-49	c
	+ BM 128241	+ 1932-12-10,498			
56*	BM 128086	1929-10-12,742	As ex. 3	vi 73-78	p
57*	BM 128096	1929-10-12,752	As ex. 3	vi 61-67	p
58*	BM 128151	1929-10-12,807	As ex. 3	vii 76-84	c
59*	BM 128240 + BM 128317	1932-12-10,497 + 1932-12-10,574	As ex. 3	i 84-91, ii 91-iii 7	c
60*	BM 128256	1932-12-10,513	As ex. 3	iv 88-v 15, 89-vi 9	c
61*	BM 128268	1932-12-10,525	As ex. 3	ii 38-48, iii 32-42	c
62*	BM 128273 (+)? A 7995	1932-12-10,530	As ex. 5	vii 17-30, vii 23-25	c
63*	BM 128275	1932-12-10,532	As ex. 3	i 64-72, ii 70-79	c
64*	BM 128288	1932-12-10,545	As ex. 3	i 23-33, ii 34-44	c
65*	BM 128319	1932-12-10,576	As ex. 3	vi 52-61	c
66*	BM 128329	1932-12-10,586	As ex. 3	vi 55-61, vii 46-55	c

67*	BM 128331	1932-12-10,588	As ex. 3	vi 69-74, vii 63-69	c
68*	BM 128332	1932-12-10,589	As ex. 3	iv 70-74	p
69*	BM 134439 + BM 134487	1932-12-12,434 + 1932-12-12,482	As ex. 3	i 65-78, ii 11-51, iii 34-70	c
70*	BM 134448	1932-12-12,443	As ex. 3	v 78-86, vi 68-76	c
71*	BM 134449 + BM 134477	1932-12-12,444 + 1932-12-12,472	As ex. 3	i 7-32, ii 1-42, iii 8-49	c
72*	BM 134486	1932-12-12,481	As ex. 3	i 1-11, viii 3-18	c
73*	BM 134830	1932-12-12,625	As ex. 3	viii 24-28	c
74*	BM 138189	1932-12-12,916	As ex. 3	iv 52-71, v 51-74	c
75*	BM 138191 + BM 138193 (+) BM 127873 (+) A 7964 + A 7967 + A 8002	1932-12-12,918 + 1932-12-12,920 (+) 1929-10-12,529	As ex. 5	i 1-5, iii 71-78, iv 32-34, 39-50, 54-v 3, 35-83, vi 18-66, vii 8-31, viii 7-13	c
76*	A 7921	—	Purchased by E. Chiera in Mosul	i 1-4, ii 4-8	c
77*	A 7922	—	As ex. 76*	i 1-5, viii 2-8	c
78*	A 7923	—	As ex. 76*	i 1-6	c
79*	A 7924	—	As ex. 76*	i 1-10, ii 2-8	c
80*	A 7925	—	As ex. 76*	i 1-32, viii 3-31	c
81*	A 7926	—	As ex. 76*	i 10-36, ii 15-35	c
82*	A 7927 (+) BM 127976 + BM 128321	1929-10-12,632 + 1932-12-10,578	As ex. 5	i 14-39, ii 31-43, viii 20-28	c
83*	A 7929	—	As ex. 76*	i 46-54, viii 47-56	c
84*	A 7931	—	As ex. 76*	i 51-56, ii 57-65	c
85*	A 7932	—	As ex. 76*	i 53-71, ii 37-62	c
86*	A 7934	—	As ex. 76*	i 68-81, ii 56-82, iii 66-86	c
87*	A 7936	—	As ex. 76*	i 81-ii 2, 82-iii 1	c
88*	A 7939	—	As ex. 76*	i 95-ii 11, iii 5-10	c
89*	A 7940	—	As ex. 76*	ii 23-38, iii 24-32	c
90*	A 7943	—	As ex. 76*	63-73, iii 65-68	c
91*	A 7946 + "A 7945b"	—	As ex. 76*	ii 72-86, iii 61-91, iv 56-86	c
92*	A 7947 + A 7951 (+) BM 128255	1932-12-10,512	As ex. 5	i 95-ii 10, 89-iii 16, 88-iv 16, v 2-16, 87-vi 4, 86-vii 12, viii 3-20	c
93*	A 7948	—	As ex. 76*	ii 90-iii 7, iv 8-22, v 16-21	c
94*	A 7949 + A 7965 (+) A 7972 (+) BM 127839	1929-10-12,495	As ex. 5	ii 88-iii 5, 85-iv 44, v 6-54, vi 7-9	c
95*	A 7950	—	As ex. 76*	iii 6-37, iv 5-40, v 3-41	c
96*	A 7952 (+) BM 127956 + BM 128014	1929-10-12,612 + 1929-10-12,670	As ex. 5	ii 6-14, iii 11-18, iv 20-27	c
97*	A 7953	—	As ex. 76*	iii 25-37	c
98*	A 7954	—	As ex. 76*	iii 25-47, iv 24-40, v 33-42	c
99*	A 7955	—	As ex. 76*	iii 25-50, iv 33-48	c
100*	A 7956	—	As ex. 76*	iii 31-51, iv 38-52	c
101*	A 7957	—	As ex. 76*	iii 40-45	c
102*	A 7958	—	As ex. 76*	iii 52-73, iv 53-83	c
103*	A 7959	—	As ex. 76*	iii 69-76, iv 59-82, v 64-76	c
104*	A 7962 (+)? Rm 24	—	Purchased by E. Chiera in Mosul; probably Nineveh	iv 3-14, v 2-20, vi 4-9	c
105*	A 7963	—	As ex. 76*	iv 19-26	c
106*	A 7966	—	As ex. 76*	iv 39-58, v 48-61	c
107*	A 7968 (+) BM 128009 + BM 128252	1929-10-12,665 + 1932-12-10,509	As ex. 5	iv 48-v 2, 51-vi 1, 44-78, vii 33-75, viii 30-42	c
108*	A 7969 (+) Rm 15	—	As ex. 104*	iv 76-v 4, 69-87, vi 76-vii 6, 84-viii 3	c



109*	A 7970	—	As ex. 76*	iv 84-v 8, 83-95	c
110*	A 7971 + A 7993	—	As ex. 76*	v 5-31, vi 2-23, 89-18	c
111*	A 7973 + A 7975	—	As ex. 76*	v 22-40	c
112*	A 7974 (+) BM 128260	1932-12-10,517	As ex. 5	v 19-34, vi 3-9	c
113*	A 7976 (+) Rm 18	—	As ex. 104*	iv 26-32, v 33-62, vi 25-50	c
114*	A 7977	—	As ex. 76*	v 66-75	c
115*	A 7978	—	As ex. 76*	v 71-77, vi 68-70	c
116*	A 7979	—	As ex. 76*	v 78-82, vi 62-66	c
117*	A 7980 + A 8161	—	As ex. 76*	v 88-vi 5	c
118*	A 7981	—	As ex. 76*	v 93-vi 42, vii 17-58, viii 13-51	c
119*	A 7983	—	As ex. 76*	vi 6-23, 80-vii 7	c
120*	A 7984 (+) A 7986	—	As ex. 76*	vi 23-44	c
121*	A 7987	—	As ex. 76*	vi 30-33, vii 24-34	c
122*	A 7989 + A 8142	—	As ex. 76*	vi 64-74	c
123*	A 7990	—	As ex. 76*	vi 70-80	c
124*	A 7991	—	As ex. 76*	vi 79-89, vii 80-85	c
125*	A 7992	—	As ex. 76*	vi 88-vii 17	c
126*	A 7994	—	As ex. 76*	vii 11-24	c
127*	A 7997	—	As ex. 76*	vii 89-viii 3	c
128*	A 7998	—	As ex. 76*	viii 15-33	c
129*	A 7999	—	As ex. 76*	viii 28-39	c
130*	A 8000	—	As ex. 76*	viii 35-42	c
131*	A 8127	—	As ex. 76*	vii 31-37	c
132*	A 8136	—	As ex. 76*	vi 23-30	c
133*	A 11853	—	As ex. 76*	vii 31-48	c
134*	A 11856	—	As ex. 76*	vi 45-51	c
135*	A 11858	P1	Purchased by A.C. Piepkorn in Mosul	i 77-91, ii 60-79	c
136*	A 11859	P2	As ex. 135*	ii 65-iii 1	c
137*	MAH 16513	—	As ex. 2	vii 17-32, viii 19-28	c
138*	K 16033	—	As ex. 2	ii 12-18	p
139*	K 16775	—	As ex. 2	ii 22-26	p
140*	K 21420	—	As ex. 2	ii 23-29	p
141*	K 21651	—	As ex. 2	ii 21-25	p
142*	A 7941	—	As ex. 76*	i 76-78	c
143*	K 17588	—	As ex. 2	ii 18-23	p
144*	BM 121118	1929-10-12,114	As ex. 3	ii 17-21	c
145*	80-7-19,276	—	As ex. 3	ii 85-86	p
146*	A 8146	—	As ex. 76*	ii 68-70	c
147*	A 8154	—	As ex. 76*	v 78-79	c

## COMMENTARY

This version of Ashurbanipal's annals was inscribed on eight-sided clay prisms. The main difference between this inscription and text no. 4 (Prism D) is that the building report of this text (at least in ex. 5) describes work undertaken on a wing of the armory and that of text no. 4 records repairs made to the citadel wall. It should be noted here that the building reports of ex. 1 of this text (Prism B) and ex. 1 of text no. 4 (Prism D) are not preserved. Nevertheless, K 1775+ is edited here as a certain exemplar of this inscription and K 1741+ as a certain exemplar of text no. 4. Although the building reports of exs. 2-4 and

6 are very poorly preserved, they appear to record work on the armory, just like ex. 5.

There are two different versions of the concluding formulae: One appears in ex. 5 (the basis for the master text), and the other in exs. 3 and 6; exs. 2 and 4 do not preserve enough to be able to determine which version of the inscription they follow. Full details about these significant editorial variations are provided in the on-page notes.

In addition to the six principal exemplars, numerous other prism fragments may be inscribed with copies of this text, rather than some other (earlier or

later) inscription of Ashurbanipal. These are edited here as exs. 1\*-147\*. Exs. 1\*-137\* could also be exemplars of text no. 4 (Prism D); exs. 138\*-142\* could bear copies of text nos. 4 (Prism D), 6 (Prism C), 8 (Prism G), or 11 (Prism A); exs. 143\*-144\* could actually be exemplars of text nos. 4 (Prism D), 6 (Prism C), 8 (Prism G), 9 (Prism F), or 11 (Prism A); exs. 145\*-146\* could bear copies of texts nos. 4 (Prism D) or 9 (Prism F); and ex. 147\* could be a copy of texts nos. 4 (Prism D) or 11 (Prism A). These pieces, despite their uncertain attribution to this inscription, are included in the score and their minor (orthographic) variants are noted with this text. Moreover, these fragments are used to reconstruct the master text of passages in which the principal exemplars (exs. 1-6) are not preserved; see below for details.

The arrangement of text, as well as the number of lines of each column, varies between the exemplars. No exemplar is complete and the master line is a conflation of the various exemplars. The line count of this edition is based on the following exemplars: ex. 1 in i 1-31, ii 1-13, 32-64, iii 1-21, 30-59, iii 82-iv

28, 42-52, 84-v 20, 33-52, 73-82, vi 2-16, 52-61, vii 1-15, 37-49, and 81-viii 34; ex. 4 in i 34-42; ex. 5 in i 43-73, 86-94, ii 70-93, iii 60-81, iv 29-41, 53-83, v 21-32, 53-72, 83-90, vi 21-51, vii 24-36, 50-80, and viii 35-92; ex. 6 in i 74-85, 95, ii 65-69, v 91-vi 1, and 62-84; ex. 28 in vi 85; ex. 32\* in i 32-33; ex. 71\* in ii 14-31 and iii 23-30; ex. 92\* in vi 86-90; ex. 110\* in vi 17-20; and 126\* in vii 16-23. The column and line numbering of R. Borger's edition of Prism B in BIWA generally follows that of A.C. Piepkorn (Asb.); see Borger, BIWA p. 86. There are relatively few completely damaged words and signs in the master text. When possible, these signs are restored from text no. 4 (Prism D); otherwise, the restorations come from text nos. 6 (Prism C), 7 (Prism Kh), and 10 (Prism T). A complete score, including the exemplars of uncertain attribution, is presented on Oracc. The numerous orthographic variants that appear in this text are listed at the back of the book. Also, since the lineation of the present edition differs from the one given in Borger, BIWA, a concordance of line numbers is provided at the back of the book.

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- 1999 Verreth, *JAOS* 119 p. 239–244 with n. 79 (i 80–82a, translation; i 54–55, 66b–76a, 82b–87, 91–ii 3, study)
- 1999 Waters, *JAOS* 119 pp. 473–477 (iv 80–vi 9, 61–62, 86–vii 19 study)
- 2002 Holloway, *Aššur is King* pp. 142, 282 no. 20, and 413 (ii 30–31, vii 77–81, study)
- 2002 Waters, *JCS* 54 p. 83 (vi 6a, transcription; vi 3–8, study)
- 2002 Weippert, *Orientalia NS* 71 pp. 32–33 n. 130 (v 50, study)
- 2003 Henkelman, *BiOr* 60 pp. 253–255 (v 97–vi 2, study)
- 2003 Novotny, *Ehulhul* pp. 112, 309, and 311–314 (viii 56–64, translation; study)
- 2003 Novotny, *Orientalia NS* 72 p. 215 (study)
- 2003–04 Fincke, *Afo* 50 p. 120 n. 78 (v 45–72, study)
- 2004 Bahrani, *Iraq* 66 p. 117 (v 4b–9, 11–13, 74b–76a, 78a, translation; v 16–73, study)
- 2004 Bonatz, *Iraq* 66 pp. 94–100 and n. 12 (v 34b, 40a, edition; v 93–95a, vi 42–56, translation; iv 6–14, 80–vi 85, vii 20–24, study)
- 2004 Porter, *Iraq* 66 p. 43 (i 65b–66a, translation)
- 2005 Cogan, *Textus* 22 pp. 5–6, 8, and 11–18 (i 53b, 64b–65a, 87, ii 2b, 12b, 53, iii 51a, vii 38, 79, 85, viii 4, edition; study)
- 2005 Hecker, *TUAT<sup>2</sup>* 2 pp. 81–84 no. 3.10B (iv 66–vi 9, translation, study)
- 2005 Radner, *Macht des Namens* pp. 202–203 n. 1082 (ii 30–32, study)
- 2006 Melville in Chavalas, *ANE* pp. 367–378 (vi 48–85, translation)
- 2006 Ponchia, *SAAB* 15 pp. 257–262 (iii 33b–39, 44–47, 52b–55a, 57–61a, 69b–72, partial normalization, study)
- 2006 Radner, *Bagh. Mitt.* 37 p. 187 with n. 11 (v 51b–53, edition)
- 2006 Waters, *IrAnt* 41 pp. 61–65 with nn. 8 and 16 (vi 1b, edition; iv 72–74, vii 22, 48, study)
- 2008 Cogan, *Raging Torrent* pp. 158–159 no. 37 and pp. 161–165 no. 39 (ii 38–66a, vii 77–viii 55, translation, study)
- 2008 Fuchs, *WO* 38 p. 66 n. 19 (iv 80–vi 9, study)
- 2009 Álvarez-Mon, *IrAnt* 44 pp. 136–137 with n. 9 (iv 24b–25a, 50a, 59, 68b, 72–73, 76–77, 88–v 1, translation; vi 86–vii 5, study)
- 2009 Dubovský, *Orientalia NS* 78 pp. 403–406 (vii 77–viii 55, study)
- 2009 Meinhold, *Ištar* pp. 169, 190, 201, 219, 230–231, and 236–237 with nn. 1204 and 1381–1382 (v 36, 43–45a, 51b–53, 56–57, 61b–65, viii 66b–67, edition; study)
- 2009 Nadali, *Kaskal* 6 p. 144 (ii 38–46, study)
- 2010 Fuchs, *Interkulturalität* pp. 410–415 and 419–421 (ii 86b–iii 4, study)
- 2011 Fuchs, *HSAO* 14 pp. 234 and 286–287 with n. 27 (iii 5–15, v 73–vi 9, study)
- 2012 May, *CRRA* 54 pp. 471–473 and 480–481 with nn. 18 and 35 (vi 42–47, 57–60, 71–74, edition; v 16–72, study)
- 2012 Worthington, *Textual Criticism* pp. 77, 109, 117, 132–133, 151, and 285 with nn. 456 and 501 (study)
- 2013 Ataç, *CRRA* 56 p. 606 n. 34 (v 93–vi 1a, translation)
- 2014 Cogan, *Orient* 49 pp. 69–79 (ii 66b–74, 90b–91, iii 76–79, viii 16–23, edition; study)
- 2014 Novotny, *JCS* 66 p. 111 (viii 56–59, study)
- 2015 Marriott and Radner, *JCS* 67 p. 129 n. 16 (iii 21b–22, study)
- 2016 Sano, *UF* 47 pp. 255–258 with n. 16 and p. 261 no. 7 (i 82b–89a, translation; i 48–60a, 90–ii 3, 5b–37, iii 14–15, study)
- 2017 Baruchi-Unna, *JCS* 69 pp. 207 and 211 (v 2, 28–45, study)
- 2017 Liverani, *Assyria* pp. 22, 50, 86, 141–142, 209, and 228 (i 27–36, iv 49–65, vii 77–81, translation; v 45b–67, vi 42–78, viii 43–52, partial translation)

## TEXT

## Col. i

- 1) *a-na-ku* <sup>m</sup>AN.ŠĀR-DÛ-A LUGAL GAL LUGAL *dan-nu*
- 2) LUGAL ŠÚ LUGAL KUR AN.ŠĀR.KI LUGAL *kib-rat* LÍMMU-tím
- 3) *ši-it lib-bi* <sup>m</sup>AN.ŠĀR-PAP-AŠ LUGAL KUR *aš-šur.KI*

i 1–5) I, Ashurbanipal, great king, strong king, king of the world, king of Assyria, king of the four quarters (of the world), offspring of Esarhaddon, king of Assyria, governor of Babylon, king of the land of Sumer and Akkad, descendant of Sennacherib, king of the world, king of Assyria —

i 1–viii 55 The prologue and military narration of this text and text no. 4 (Prism D) are virtually identical, apart from a handful of textual variants and numerous orthographic variants; compare i 1–viii 57 of that inscription. The scribes who later wrote out the inscriptions on prisms in the years 647 (text no. 6 [Prism C]) and 646 (text nos. 7 [Prism Kh] and 8 [Prism G]) utilized a few short passages of the prologue and most of the military narration of these two inscriptions. However, especially in the case of the account of the first Egyptian campaign, additional information was included in the reports of events that took place prior to 649. Compare text no. 3 (Prism B) i 1–viii 55 and text no. 4 (Prism D) i 1–viii 57 to text no. 6 (Prism C) i 1', 1'–8'', ii 1'–vii 47', viii 1'–1''', ix 11'–24'', and x 1'–18''; text no. 7 (Prism Kh) i 1–6, 81'–89', 101'–vii 35, 1'–55', viii 80'–94', and ix 64'–x 52'; and text no. 8 (Prism G) i 21'–34', ii 1'–viii 34'', 37''–ix 5', and 38'–28''. The major variants/alterations/additions are noted in the on-page notes. In addition, note that there is little similarity between the military reports of this inscription and the much earlier text nos. 1 (Prism E<sub>1</sub>) and 2 (Prism E<sub>2</sub>).

- 4) ĠIR.NÍTA KÁ.DINGIR.RA.KI LUGAL KUR EME.GI<sub>7</sub> u  
URI.KI
- 5) ŠĀ.BAL.BAL <sup>md</sup>30-PAP.MEŠ-SU LUGAL ŠÚ LUGAL  
KUR aš-šur.KI
- 6) DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ ina UKKIN-šú-nu ši-mat  
SIG<sub>5</sub>-tim i-šim-mu <sup>r</sup>šim<sup>1</sup>-[ti]
- 7) uz-nu ra-pa-áš-tum iš-ru-ku-u-ni
- 8) kul-lat tu-p-šar-ru-ti ú-šá-ḫi-zu ka-ra-ši
- 9) ina UKKIN lu-li-me zi-kir MU-ia ú-šar-ri-ḫu
- 10) ú-šar-bu-ú LUGAL-ú-ti
- 11) du-un-nu zik-ru-u-tu e-mu-qa-an ši-ra-a-ti
- 12) ú-šat-lim-u-ni ma-ta-a-ti la ma-gi-re-<sup>r</sup>ia<sup>1</sup>
- 13) ina ŠU.II-ia im-nu-u ú-šam-šu-in-ni ma-la  
lib-bi-ia
- 14) LÚ.šá-an-gu-ti iḫ-šu-ḫu
- 15) na-dan zi-bi-ia i-ṭib UGU DINGIR-ti-šú-un
- 16) eš-ret DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ EN.MEŠ-ia ú-šak-lil
- 17) ú-šal-bi-šá KÙ.GI KÙ.BABBAR
- 18) <sup>d</sup>lāḫ-me <sup>d</sup>IM.DUGUD.MUŠEN.MEŠ tim-me  
MAḪ.MEŠ
- 19) ina KÁ-šú-un ul-ziz é-šár-ra
- 20) é-maš-maš é-gašan-kalam-ma é-ḫul-ḫul
- 21) ki-ma ši-ṭir [šá-ma]-<sup>r</sup>me<sup>1</sup> ú-ban-ni
- 22) mim-ma si-mat É.KUR šá KÙ.GI KÙ.BABBAR  
e-pu-uš
- 23) e-li ša LUGAL.MEŠ AD.MEŠ-ia ú-rad-di
- 24) sat-tuk-ku gi-nu-ú UGU šá u<sub>4</sub>-me ul-lu-u-ti
- 25) ú-šá-tir-ma ú-kin áš-rat DINGIR.MEŠ áš-te-<sup>r</sup>a-a
- 26) at-tal-la-ka al-ka-ka-te-šú-un
- 27) <sup>d</sup>IŠKUR ŠĒG.MEŠ-šú ú-maš-še-ra
- 28) <sup>d</sup>é-a ú-paṭ-ṭi-ra IDIM.MEŠ-šú
- 29) 5 KÙŠ ŠE.AM iš-qu ina AB.SÍN-ni-šú
- 30) e-ri-ik šu-bul-tú 5/6 KÙŠ
- 31) SI.SÁ BURU<sub>14</sub> na-pa-áš <sup>d</sup>nisaba ka-a-a-an  
ú-šāḫ-na-bu
- 32) gi-pa-ru šip-pa-a-ti šu-um-mu-ḫa in-bu  
MÁŠ.ANŠE šu-te-šur
- 33) ina ta-lit-ti ina BALA-ia ḪÉ.NUN tuḫ-ḫu
- 34) ina MU.AN.NA.MEŠ-ia ku-um-mu-ru ḪÉ.GÁL-lum
- 35) 10 ANŠE ŠE.PAD.MEŠ 1 ANŠE GEŠTIN.MEŠ  
BANMIN Ì.MEŠ 1 GUN SÍG.MEŠ
- 36) ina nap-ḫar KUR-ia KILAM nap-šú i-šam-mu ina  
<sup>r</sup>1 GÍN<sup>1</sup> kas-pi
- 37) šat-ti-šam-ma ina tuḫ-di u mi-šá-ri
- 38) ar-te-<sup>r</sup>a-a [ba-<sup>r</sup>u-ú-lat <sup>d</sup>EN.LÍL]
- 39) ul-tu tam-tim e-liti a-di <sup>r</sup>tam<sup>1</sup>-[tim] <sup>r</sup>šap-liti<sup>1</sup>  
[a<sup>2</sup>-bel-ma<sup>2</sup>]
- 40) LUGAL.MEŠ ši-it <sup>d</sup>UTU-ši u <sup>r</sup>e<sup>1</sup>-[reb <sup>d</sup>UTU-ši]
- 41) iš-šú-u-ni GUN-su-<sup>r</sup>nu<sup>1</sup> [ka-bit-tú]
- 42) UN.MEŠ MURUB<sub>4</sub> tam-<sup>r</sup>tim<sup>1</sup> a-šib šad-de-e  
šá-<sup>r</sup>qu<sup>1</sup>-[te]
- 43) <sup>r</sup>ú<sup>1</sup>-šak-ni-šá <sup>r</sup>a<sup>1</sup>-[na GIŠ].<sup>r</sup>šUDUN<sup>1</sup>-ia
- 44) ina qí-bit AN.ŠĀR u <sup>r</sup>d<sup>1</sup>[15 LUGAL.MEŠ a-šib  
pa-rak-ki]

i 6–13) The great gods in their assembly determined a favorable destiny as [my] [lot] (and) they granted me a broad mind (and) allowed my mind to learn all of the scribal arts. They glorified the mention of my name in the assembly of princes (lit. “stags”) (and) made my kingship great; they generously granted me power, virility, (and) outstanding strength; (and) they placed lands that had not bowed down to me into my hands (and) allowed me to achieve my heart’s desire.

i 14–26) They required my priestly services (and) my giving (them) food offerings pleased their divinity. I completed the sanctuaries of the great gods, my lords, clad (them) with gold (and) silver, (and) had long-haired heroes, lion-headed eagles, (and) tall columns erected in their gate(s). (i 20) I made Ešarra, Emašmaš, Egašankalama, (and) Eḫulḫul shine like the stars (lit. “writing”) of [the heav]ens. I made every type of temple appurtenance from gold (and) silver, (and) I added (them) to those of the kings, my ancestors. I made regular offerings (and) contributions more plentiful than those of distant days. I was assiduous towards the sanctuaries of the gods (and) constantly followed their ways.

i 27–34) The god Adad released his rains (and) the god Ea opened up his springs. Grain was five cubits high in its furrow (and) ear(s) of corn were five-sixths of a cubits long. Successful harvest(s) and an abundance of grain enabled pasture land to continually flourish, fruit orchards to be very lush with fruit, (and) cattle to successfully give birth to (their) young. During my reign, there was plenitude (and) abundance; during my years, bountiful produce was accumulated.

i 35–38) Throughout my entire land, (on account of) abundant trade, for one [sh]ekel of silver one could purchase ten donkey-loads of grain, one homer of wine, two seahs of oil, (and) one talent of wool. Year after year, I shepherded [the subjects of the god Enlil] in prosperity and with justice.

i 39–47) [I ruled] from the Upper Sea to the Lower S[ea and] kings from the rising sun and the se[tt]ing sun] carried thei[r substantial] tribute to me. I made the people from the midst of the sea (and) those who live on high[m] mountains bow down t[o] my [yok]e. By the command of (the god) Aššur and the god[dess] Ištar, the kings who sit upon (royal) daises] kis[s] my feet (and) great rulers from (both) east [and west are anx]ious for me to be their ally.

i 21 [šá-ma]-<sup>r</sup>me<sup>1</sup> “[the heav]ens”: Only in ex. 1; exs. 37\*, 81\*, and 82\* and text no. 4 (Prism D) ex. 2 have AN-e.

- 45) *ú-na-áš-šá-qu<sup>1</sup> GÌR.II-ia*  
 46) *mal-ki GAL.MEŠ šá ši-<sup>1</sup>taš<sup>1</sup> [u ši-la-an]*  
 47) *a-na kit-ri-šú-nu<sup>1</sup> [ú-pa]-<sup>1</sup>qu<sup>1</sup>-u-ni*
- 
- 48) *i-na maḥ-re-e ger-ri-<sup>1</sup>ia<sup>1</sup>*  
 49) *a-<sup>1</sup>na<sup>1</sup> [KUR.má]-<sup>1</sup>kan<sup>1</sup> u [KUR.me-luḥ-ḥa] lu-u al-lik*  
 50) *<sup>m</sup>tar-qu-u LUGAL KUR.mu-šur u <sup>1</sup>KUR.ku<sup>1</sup>-[u-si]*  
 51) *šá <sup>m</sup>AN.ŠÁR-[PAP-AŠ] MAN KUR AN.ŠÁR.<sup>1</sup>KI<sup>1</sup> AD ba-nu-u-a BAD<sub>5</sub>.BAD<sub>5</sub>-šú [iš-ku-nu]*  
 52) *i-be-<sup>1</sup>lu<sup>1</sup> KUR-su da-na-an AN.ŠÁR <sup>d</sup>15 u DINGIR.<sup>1</sup>MEŠ GAL.<sup>1</sup>MEŠ EN.MEŠ-ia*  
 53) *im-ši-ma it-ta-kil a-na <sup>1</sup>ṭè<sup>1</sup>-[em] <sup>1</sup>ra<sup>1</sup>-ma-ni-šú*  
 54) *UGU LUGAL.MEŠ LÚ.qe-pa-a-ni šá qé-<sup>1</sup>reb<sup>1</sup> [KUR].<sup>1</sup>mu<sup>1</sup>-šur*  
 55) *ú-<sup>1</sup>pa-qí-du<sup>1</sup> AD ba-<sup>1</sup>nu<sup>1</sup>-u-a*  
 56) *a-na da-a-ki ḥa-ba-a-ti u e-kem KUR.mu-šur*  
 57) *il-li-<sup>1</sup>ka<sup>1</sup> EDIN-uš-šú-un*  
 58) *e-ru-um-ma ú-šib qé-reb URU.me-em-pi*  
 59) *URU ša AD ba-nu-<sup>1</sup>u<sup>1</sup>-a ik-šú-<sup>1</sup>du<sup>1</sup>*  
 60) *a-na mi-šir KUR-šú ú-ter-ru al-la-ku ḥa-an-ṭu*  
 61) *ina qé-reb NINA.KI il-lik-am-ma*  
 62) *ú-šá-an-na-a ia-a-ti*  
 63) *UGU ep-še-e-ti an-na-a-ti*  
 64) *lib-bi i-<sup>1</sup>gug<sup>1</sup>-ma iṣ-ša-ru-uḥ ka-bat-ti*  
 65) *ad-ke-e-ma LÚ.e-mu-qi-ia MAḤ.MEŠ ša AN.ŠÁR u <sup>d</sup>15*
- 66) *ú-mal-lu-u qa-a-tu-u-a a-na na-ra-ru-ti ḥa-mat*  
 67) *ša LUGAL.MEŠ LÚ.qe-pa-ni ša qé-reb KUR.mu-šur*  
 68) *ARAD.MEŠ da-gíl pa-ni-ia*  
 69) *ur-ru-ḥi-iš ar-de-e-ma*  
 70) *al-lik a-di URU.kar-<sup>d</sup>ba-ni-ti*  
 71) *<sup>m</sup>tar-qu-u MAN KUR.mu-šur KUR.ku-u-si*  
 72) *qé-reb URU.me-em-pi a-lak ger-ri-ia iš-me-e-ma*  
 73) *a-na e-peš MURUB<sub>4</sub> GIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ MÈ a-na maḥ-ri-ia*  
 74) *id-ka-a ERIM.MEŠ MÈ-šú ina tu-kul-ti AN.ŠÁR <sup>d</sup>EN <sup>d</sup>AG DINGIR.MEŠ*  
 75) *GAL.MEŠ EN.MEŠ-ia a-li-kut i-di-ia ina MÈ EDIN rap-ši*  
 76) *áš-ku-na BAD<sub>5</sub>.BAD<sub>5</sub> ERIM.ḪI.A-šú <sup>m</sup>tar-qu-ú ina qé-reb URU.me-em-pi*  
 77) *iš-ma-a taḥ-te-e ERIM.ḪI.A-šú nam-ri-ri AN.ŠÁR u <sup>d</sup>15*  
 78) *iš-ḥu-pu-šú-ma il-li-ka maḥ-ḥu-tiš mé-lam-me MAN-ti-ía*  
 79) *ik-tu-mu-šú-ma šá ú-za-<sup>1</sup>i-i-nu-u-ni DINGIR.MEŠ šu-ut AN KI*  
 80) *URU.me-em-pi ú-maš-šir-ma a-na šu-zu-ub ZI-ti-šú*  
 81) *in-na-bit a-na qé-reb URU.ni-i<sup>1</sup> URU šu-a-tú aṣ-bat*

i 48–66a) On m[y] first campaign, I marched to [Ma]kan (Egypt) and [Meluḥḥa (Ethiopia)]. Taharqa, the king of Egypt and K[ush], whose defeat Esar[had-don] — king of Assyria, the father who had engendered me — [had brought about] (and) whose land he ruled over, forgot the might of (the god) Aššur, the goddess Ištar, and the great gods, my lords, and trusted in his [o]wn c[ounsel]. He marched against the kings (and) officials, (i 55) whom the father who had enge[nd]ered me had ap[po]inted insi[de Eg]ypt, to kill (and) rob (them) and to take away Egypt (from them). He entered and resided in the city Memphis, a city that the father who had engendered me had conquered (i 60) (and) made part of the territory of his land. A fast messenger came to Nineveh and reported (this) to me. My heart became enraged about these deeds and my temper turned hot. I mustered my elite forces that (the god) Aššur and the goddess Ištar had placed in my hands.

i 66b–76a) I quickly advanced to support (and) aid the kings (and) officials who were in Egypt, servants who belonged to me, and (i 70) I marched as far as the city Kār-Bāniti. Taharqa, the king of Egypt (and) Kush, heard about the advance of my expeditionary force (while he was) inside the city Memphis, and mustered his battle troops before me to wage armed battle (and) war. With the support of the gods Aššur, Bēl (Marduk), (and) Nabû, the great gods, my lords who march at my side, I brought about the defeat of his troops in a widespread pitched battle.

i 76b–82a) Taharqa heard about the defeat of his troops while (he was) inside the city Memphis. The awe-inspiring radiance of (the god) Aššur and the goddess Ištar overwhelmed him and he went into a frenzy. The brilliance of my royal majesty, with which the gods of heaven and netherworld had endowed me, covered him; (i 80) he abandoned the city Memphis and, in order to save his (own) life, he fled inside the city Thebes. I seized that city (Memphis) (and then) made my troops enter (and) reside there.

i 53 <sup>1</sup>ṭè<sup>1</sup>-[em] <sup>1</sup>ra<sup>1</sup>-ma-ni-šú “his [o]wn c[ounsel]”: Text no. 6 (Prism C) ii 10’ has e-<sup>1</sup>muq<sup>1</sup>ra-[ma-ni-šú] “[his] o[w]n strength.”

i 66 Between *ú-mal-lu-u qa-a-tu-u-a* (“they had placed in my hands”) and *a-na na-ra-ru-ti ḥa-mat* (“to support (and) aid”), text no. 6 (Prism C) ii 25’–55’ and text no. 7 (Prism Kh) ii 1’–26’a add a passage stating that twenty-two kings of the sea coast and Cyrus paid tribute to Assyria and assisted the Assyrian army in Egypt.

- 82) ERIM.ĪLA.MEŠ-ia ú-še-rib ú-še-šib ina lib-bi  
LUGAL.MEŠ
- 83) LÚ.NAM.MEŠ šá qé-reb KUR.mu-šur ú-pa-qi-du  
AD ba-nu-u-a
- 84) ša la-pa-an ti-bu-ti mtar-qu-u pi-qi-ta-šú-un
- 85) ú-maš-še-ru im-lu-ú EDIN
- 86) ú-ter-ma a-šar pi-qi-ti-šú-un
- 87) ina maš-kán-i-šu-nu ul-zi-is-su-nu-ti
- 88) KUR.mu-šur KUR.ku-u-si šá AD ba-nu-u-a  
ik-šu-du
- 89) a-na eš-šu-ti aš-bat EN.NUN.MEŠ-šú UGU u<sub>4</sub>-me  
pa-ni u-da-nin
- 90) ú-rak-ki-sa rik-se-šú
- 91) URU.sa-a-a URU.bi-in-ṭi-ṭi URU.ša-a'-nu ša  
ib-bal-ki-tú
- 92) it-ti mtar-qu-u iš-ku-nu pi-i-šú-un
- 93) URU.MEŠ šá-a-tu-nu ak-šu-ud
- 94) UN.MEŠ a-šib lib-bi-šú-nu a-ni-ir
- 95) ina GIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ ADDA.MEŠ-šú-nu ina  
GIŠ.ga-ši-ši a-lul KUŠ.MEŠ-šú-nu áš-ḫu-uṭ BÂD  
URU

## Col. ii

- 1) ú-ḫal-líp m<sup>l</sup>LUGAL-lu-dà-ri šá AD-u-a ina  
KUR.mu-šur iš-ku-nu-uš
- 2) a-na LUGAL-ti šá ḫUL-tu ik-pu-du ana  
DUMU.MEŠ KUR aš-šur.KI
- 3) ina qa-ti aš-bat ú-ra-a ana KUR aš-šur.KI
- 4) mtar-qu-u a-šar in-nab-tu ra-šub-bat GIŠ.TUKUL  
AN.ŠÁR EN-ia
- 5) is-ḫu-pu-šu-ma il-lik nam-mu-ši-šú EGIR-nu  
m<sup>ur</sup>UR-da-ma-né-e
- 6) DUMU NIN<sub>9</sub>-šú ú-šib ina GIŠ.GU.ZA LUGAL-ti-šú  
URU.ni-i' URU.ú-nu
- 7) a-na dan-nu-ti-šú iš-kun ú-paḫ-ḫi-ir el-lat-su
- 8) a-na mit-ḫu-ši ERIM.ĪLA DUMU.MEŠ KUR  
aš-šur.KI šá qé-reb URU.me-em-pi
- 9) id-ka-a qa-bal-šú UN.MEŠ šá-a-tu-nu e-si-ir-ma
- 10) iš-ba-ta mu-uš-ša-šú-un LÚ.A šip-ri ḫa-an-ṭu
- 11) a-na NINA il-li-kam-ma iq-ba-a ia-a-ti
- 12) áš-ni-ma a-na KUR.mu-šur u KUR.ku-u-si  
uš-te-še-ra ḫar-ra-nu
- 13) m<sup>ur</sup>UR-da-ma-né-e a-lak ger-ri-ia iš-me-ma
- 14) ša ak-bu-su mi-šir KUR.mu-šur
- 15) URU.me-em-pi ú-maš-šir-ma a-na šu-zu-ub  
ZI-ti-šú
- 16) in-na-bit a-na qé-reb URU.ni-i'
- 17) LUGAL.MEŠ LÚ.NAM.MEŠ LÚ.qe-pa-a-ni

i 82b-90) (As for) the kings (and) governors whom the father who had engendered me had appointed in Egypt, who had abandoned their post(s) in the face of Taharqa's tactical advance, (and) had gone to (lit. "filled") the countryside, where their post(s) were, I permitted (them) to serve in their (former) positions again. I reorganized Egypt (and) Kush, which the father who had engendered me had conquered. I strengthened its guard more than previously (and) concluded (new) agreements with it.

i 91-ii 1a) (As for) the cities Sais, Mendes, (and) Tanis, which had rebelled (and) sided with Taharqa, I conquered those cities (and) I killed the people living inside them with the sword. I hung their corpses on poles, flayed them, (and) draped the city wall(s) with their skins).

ii 1b-3) (As for) Šarru-lū-dāri, whom my father had installed as a king in Egypt (and) who plotted evil (deeds) against the Assyrians, I captured (him and) brought (him) to Assyria.

ii 4-5a) (As for) Taharqa, in the place where he had fled, the awesome terror of the weapon of (the god) Aššur, my lord, overwhelmed him and he passed away. ii 5b-11) Afterwards, Tanutamon, the son of his sister, sat upon his royal throne. He made the cities Thebes (and) Heliopolis his fortresses (and) assembled his forces. To fight against the Assyrian troops who were inside the city Memphis, he mobilized his battle array, confined those people, and cut off their escape route. A fast messenger came to Nineveh and told (this) to me.

ii 12-19) For a second time, I took the direct road to Egypt and Kush. Tanutamon heard about the advance of my expeditionary force and that I had set foot on Egyptian territory, he abandoned the city Memphis and, in order to save his (own) life, he fled inside the city Thebes. The kings, governors, (and) officials whom I had stationed in Egypt came to meet me and kissed my feet.

i 82b-83a LUGAL.MEŠ LÚ.NAM.MEŠ "the kings (and) governors": Compare text no. 6 (Prism C) ii 76'-82' and text no. 7 (Prism Kh) ii 1''-7'', which provide the names of six local rulers, including Necho and Šarru-lū-dāri.

i 91-ii 3 The accounts of the first Egyptian campaign in text nos. 6-8 provide more detail about the anti-Assyrian rebellion and the fates of those involved (especially Necho and Šarru-lū-dāri) than the reports included in this text and text no. 4 (Prism D); compare text no. 6 (Prism C) ii 1''-iii 15', text no. 7 (Prism Kh) ii 17''-60'', and text no. 8 (Prism G) ii 9'-33'. Parts of these expanded passages were borrowed directly from earlier inscriptions, including text nos. 1 (Prism E<sub>1</sub>) and 2 (Prism E<sub>2</sub>).

ii 10 mu-uš-ša-šú-un "their escape route": Ex. 6 has mu-uš-ša-su-un, which is presumably an error. LÚ.A šip-ri "A messenger": Ex. 1 has LÚ<sup>1</sup>.A TUR-ri, which is an error.

- 18) *ša qé-reb* KUR.mu-*ṣur áš-ku-nu*  
 19) *ina ir-ti-ia il-lik-u-nim-ma ú-na-áš-ši-qu*  
 GİR.II-ia  
 20) <sup>1</sup>EGIR<sup>1</sup> <sup>m</sup>UR-da-ma-né-e *ḥar-ra-nu aṣ-bat*  
 21) *al-lik a-di* URU.ni-i' URU *dan-nu-ti-šú*  
 22) *ti-ib* <sup>1</sup>ME<sup>1</sup>-ia *e-mur-ma* URU.ni-i' *ú-maš-šir*  
 23) *in-na-bit a-<sup>1</sup>na* URU<sup>1</sup>.ki-*ip-ki-pi*  
 24) URU *šú-a-tu ana si-ḥir-ti-šú*  
 25) [*ina*] *tu-kul-ti* AN.ŠÁR u <sup>d</sup>15 *ik-šu-da* ŠU.II-a-a  
 26) [KÛ].BABBAR KÛ.GI *ni-siq-ti* NA<sub>4</sub>.MEŠ  
 27) NÍG.ŠU É.GAL-šú *ma-la ba-šu-u*  
 28) *lu-bul-tu bir-me* GADA.MEŠ <sup>1</sup>ANŠE<sup>1</sup>.KUR.RA.MEŠ  
 GAL.MEŠ  
 29) UN.MEŠ *zik-ra* <sup>1</sup>ú<sup>1</sup> *sin-niš*  
 30) 2 *tím-me* MAḤ.MEŠ *pi-tiq* <sup>1</sup>za-ḥa-le-e<sup>1</sup> *eb-<sup>1</sup>bi<sup>1</sup>*  
 31) *ša* 2 LIM 5 ME GUN <sup>1</sup>KI<sup>1</sup>.LÁ-šú-nu *man-za-<sup>1</sup>az*  
 KÁ<sup>1</sup> É.KUR  
 32) *ul-tu man-zal-ti-šú-nu as-suh-ma al-qa-a ana*  
 KUR <sup>1</sup>aš-šur.KI<sup>1</sup>  
 33) *šal-la-tu ka-bit-tú a-na la mi-ni áš-lu-la*  
 34) *ul-tu qé-reb* URU.ni-i' UGU KUR.mu-*ṣur u*  
 KUR.ku-u-si  
 35) GIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ-ia *ú-šam-ri-<sup>1</sup>ir<sup>1</sup>-ma*  
 36) *áš-ta-kan li-i-tú it-ti* ŠU.<sup>1</sup>II<sup>1</sup> *ma-li-te*  
 37) *šal-meš a-tu-ra a-na* NINA.KI URU EN-ti-<sup>1</sup>ia<sup>1</sup>
- 
- 38) *ina šal-ši ger-ri-ia* UGU <sup>m</sup>ba-'a-li MAN  
 KUR.ṣur-ri  
 39) *a-šib* MURUB<sub>4</sub> *tam-tím lu-u al-lik áš-šú a-mat*  
 LUGAL-ti-ia  
 40) *la iṣ-šu-ru la iš-mu-u zi-kir* NUNDUM-ia  
 41) URU.ḤAL.ŠU.MEŠ UGU-šú *ú-rak-kis*  
 42) *a-na la a-še-e* UN.MEŠ-šú *ú-dan-nin ma-šar-tu*  
 43) *ina tam-tím u na-ba-li ger-re-ti-šú ú-šab-bit*  
 44) *a-lak-ta-šú ap-ru-us*  
 45) <sup>1</sup>A<sup>1</sup>.MEŠ *te-'u-ú-ta ba-laṭ* ZI-ti-šú-nu  
 46) *a-na pi-i-šu-nu ú-šá-qí-ir*  
 47) *ina me-se-ri dan-ni ša la na-par-šu-di*  
*e-si-ir-šú-nu-tú*  
 48) *nap-šat-su-nu ú-si-iq ú-kar-ri*  
 49) *a-<sup>1</sup>na<sup>1</sup>* GIŠ.ŠUDUN-ia *ú-šak-ni-is-su-nu-ti*  
 50) <sup>1</sup>DUMU.MUNUS<sup>1</sup>-su *ši-it lib-bi-šú ù*  
 DUMU.MUNUS ŠEŠ.MEŠ-šú  
 51) <sup>1</sup>a<sup>1</sup>-na *e-peš* MUNUS.AGRIG-ú-ti [*ú-bi*]-<sup>1</sup>la *a<sup>1</sup>-di*  
 IGI-ía  
 52) DUMU-šú *šá ma-ti-ma* A.AB.<sup>1</sup>BA *la<sup>1</sup> e-bi-ra*  
 53) <sup>1</sup>iš<sup>1</sup>-šá-a *a-na e-peš* ARAD-ti-ia  
 54) <sup>1</sup>DUMU<sup>1</sup>.<sup>1</sup>[MUNUS-su] <sup>1</sup>ú DUMU.MUNUS.MEŠ<sup>1</sup>  
 ŠEŠ.MEŠ-šú  
 55) <sup>1</sup>it<sup>1</sup>-ti <sup>1</sup>ter<sup>1</sup>-ḥa-ti *ma-a'-as-si am-ḥur-šú*  
 56) *re-e-mu ar-ši-šú-ma* DUMU *ši-it lib-bi-šú*  
 57) *ú-ter-ma a-ri-im-šú* URU.ḤAL.ŠU.MEŠ

ii 20–25) I took the road [in purs]uit of Tanutamón (and) I marched as far as the city Thebes, his fortified city. He saw the assault of my battle array and abandoned the city Thebes; he fled to the city Kipki. [With] the support of (the god) Aššur and the goddess Ištar, I conquered that city (Thebes) in its entirety.  
 ii 26–37) [Si]lver, gold, precious stones, as much property of his palace as there was, garment(s) with multi-colored trim, linen garments, large horses, people – male and female – (ii 30) two tall obelisks cast with shiny *zaḥalû*-metal, whose weight was 2,500 talents (and which) stood at a temple gate, I ripped (them) from where they were erected and took (them) to Assyria. I carried off substantial booty, (which was) without number, from inside the city Thebes. (ii 35) I made my weapons prevail over Egypt and Kush and (thus) achieved victory. With full hand(s), I returned safely to Nineveh, my capital city.

ii 38–49) On my third campaign, I marched against Ba'alu, the king of the land Tyre who resides in the middle of the sea. Because he did not honor my royal command(s) and did not obey the pronouncement(s) from my lip(s), I set up outposts against him. To prevent his people from leaving, I reinforced (its) garrison. By sea and dry land, I took control of (all of) his routes (and thus) cut off (all) access to him. (ii 45) I made water (and) food for the preservation of their lives scarce for their mouths. I confined them in a harsh imprisonment from which there was no escape. I constricted (and) cut short their lives. I made them (the people of Tyre) bow down to my yoke.

ii 50–57a) [He brou]ght before me his daughter, his own offspring, and the daughter(s) of his brothers to serve as housekeepers. He b[ro]ught his son, who had [nev]er crossed the se[a], to do obeisance to me. (ii 55) I received from him [his] dau[ghter a]nd the daughters of his brothers, together with a large marriage gift. I had mercy on him and (then) I gave (his) son, his offspring, back to him.

ii 57b–62) I dismantled the outposts that I had con-

ii 37 Ex. 69\* omits URU EN-ti-<sup>1</sup>ia<sup>1</sup> “my capital city.”

ii 50 <sup>1</sup>DUMU.MUNUS<sup>1</sup>-su “his daughter”: So ex. 85\*. Compare text no. 4 (Prism D) ii 23' (ex. 4), which has DUMU.MUNUS (without su). Note that text nos. 6 (Prism C), 7 (Prism Kh), and 8 (Prism G) are damaged here.

ii 57 *a-ri-im-šú* “I gave to him”: Text no. 6 (Prism C) iii 81', text no. 7 (Prism Kh) iii 37', and text no. 8 (Prism G) iii 7' have *a-din-šú* “I gave to him.”

- 58) šá<sup>1</sup> UGU<sup>1</sup> <sup>m</sup>ba-’a-li LUGAL KUR.šur-ri  
 59) ú-<sup>r</sup>rak<sup>1</sup>-ki-su ap-<sup>tur</sup> ina tam-tim u na-ba-li  
 60) ger-re-<sup>r</sup>ti<sup>1</sup>-šú ma-la ú-šab-bi-tu ap-ti  
 61) ma-da-at-ta-šú ka-bit-tú am-<sup>hur</sup>-šú  
 62) šal-meš a-tu-ra a-na NINA.KI URU EN-ti-ia  
 63) ma-al-ki<sup>1</sup> MURUB<sub>4</sub><sup>1</sup> tam-tim ù LUGAL.MEŠ  
 64) a-ši-bu-ti šá-de-e šá-qu-u-ti  
 65) da-na-an ep-še-ti-ia an-na-a-<sup>r</sup>ti<sup>1</sup>  
 66) e-mu-ru-ma ip-la-<sup>hu</sup> EN-u-ti <sup>m</sup>ia-ki-in-lu-u  
 67) MAN KUR.a-ru-ad-da <sup>m</sup>mu-gal-lu LUGAL  
 KUR.tab-URU-a-a  
 68) <sup>m</sup>sa-an-di-šar-me KUR.ḫi-lak-ka-a-a ša a-na  
 LUGAL.MEŠ  
 69) AD.MEŠ-ia la kan-šú ik-nu-šú a-na GIŠ.šUDUN-ia  
 70) DUMU.MUNUS.MEŠ ši-it lib-bi-šú-nu it-ti  
 nu-dun-né-e [ma]-a’-di  
 71) ù ter-<sup>ha</sup>-ti ma-a’-as-si a-na e-peš  
 MUNUS.AGRIG-u-ti  
 72) a-na NINA.KI ú-bi-lu-nim-ma ú-na-áš-ši-qu  
 GÌR.II-ia  
 73) UGU <sup>m</sup>mu-gal-li ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ  
 74) ma-da-at-tú šat-ti-šam ú-kin EDIN-uš-šú  
 75) ul-tu <sup>r</sup>mia-ki<sup>1</sup>-in-lu-u LUGAL KUR.a-ru-ad-da  
 76) il-li-ku ana šim-ti  
 77) <sup>m</sup>a-zi-ba-al <sup>m</sup>a-bi-ba-al <sup>m</sup>a-du-ni-ba-al  
 78) DUMU.MEŠ <sup>m</sup>ia-ki-in-lu-u a-šib MURUB<sub>4</sub> tam-tim  
 79) ul-tu MURUB<sub>4</sub> tam-tim e-lu-nim-ma  
 80) it-ti ta-mar-ti-šú-nu ka-bit-ti il-lik-u-nim-ma  
 81) ú-na-áš-ši-qu GÌR.II-ia  
 82) <sup>m</sup>a-zi-ba-a’-al ḫa-diš ap-pa-lis-ma  
 83) a-na LUGAL-ti KUR.a-ru-ad-da áš-kun  
 84) <sup>m</sup>a-bi-ba-a’-al <sup>m</sup>a-du-ni-ba-a’-al lu-bul-ti bir-me  
 85) ú-lab-biš ḪAR.MEŠ KÙ.GI áš-kun ina maḫ-ri-ia  
 86) ul-zis-su-nu-ti <sup>m</sup>gu-ug-gu MAN KUR.lu-ud-di  
 87) na-gu-ú šá né-ber-ti A.AB.BA áš-ru ru-u-qu  
 88) šá LUGAL.MEŠ AD.MEŠ-ia la iš-mu-u zi-kir  
 MU-šú  
 89) ni-bit LUGAL-ti-ia ina MÁŠ.GI<sub>6</sub> ú-šab-ri-šú-ma  
 90) AN.ŠÁR ba-nu-u-a u<sub>4</sub>-mu MÁŠ.GI<sub>6</sub> an-ni-tu  
 e-mu-ru  
 91) LÚ.rak-bu-šú iš-pu-ra a-na šá-’a-al šul-mi-ia  
 92) LÚ.gi-mir-a-a LÚ.KÚR ek-šú šá la ip-tal-la-<sup>hu</sup>  
 93) AD.MEŠ-ia ù ia-a-ši la iš-ba-tú GÌR.II LUGAL-ti-ia  
 Col. iii  
 1) ina tukul-ti AN.ŠÁR u <sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU EN.MEŠ-ia  
 2) ina GIŠ.ši-iš-<sup>r</sup>ti<sup>1</sup> GIŠ.šat qa-ti GIŠ.ši-ga-ri  
 ú-tam-me-eḫ-ma

structed [agai]nst Ba’alu, the king of the land Tyre. By sea and dry land, I opened (all of) his routes, as many as I had seized. I received from him his substantial payment. I returned safely to Nineveh, my capital city.

ii 63–74) Rulers (who reside in) the middle of the sea and kings who reside in the high mountains saw the might of these deeds of mine and became frightened of my lordly majesty. (As for) Yakīn-Lû, the king of the land Arwad, Mugallu, the king of the land Tabal, (and) Sanda-šarme of the land Ḫilakku (Cilicia), who had not bowed down to the kings, my ancestors, they bowed down to my yoke. (ii 70) They brought (their) daughters, their own offspring, to Nineveh to serve as housekeepers, together with a [sub]stantial dowry and a large marriage gift, and they kissed my feet. I imposed upon Mugallu an annual payment of large horses.

ii 75–86a) After Yakīn-Lû, the king of the land Arwad, had gone to (his) fate, Azi-Ba’al, Abī-Ba’al, (and) Adūnī-Ba’al, the sons of Yakīn-Lû who reside in the middle of the sea, came up from the middle of the sea, (ii 80) came with their substantial audience gift(s), and kissed my feet. I looked upon Azi-Ba’al with pleasure and installed (him) as king of the land Arwad. I clothed Abī-Ba’al (and) Adūnī-Ba’al in garment(s) with multi-colored trim (and) placed gold bracelets (around their wrists). I made them stand before me.

ii 86b–91) (As for) Gyges, the king of the land Lydia — a region on the opposite shore of the sea, a remote place, the mention of whose name none of the kings, my ancestors, had (ever) heard — (the god) Aššur, (the god) who created me, made him see in a dream my royal name. On the (very) day he saw this dream, he sent his mounted messenger to inquire about my well-being.

ii 92–iii 4) (As for) the Cimmerians, a dangerous enemy who had never feared my ancestors, and, with regard to me, had not grasped the feet of my royal majesty, (iii 1) with the support of the gods Aššur and Marduk, my lords, he (Gyges) clamped (them) in manacles, handcuffs, (and) neck-stocks and

ii 61 After this line, text no. 6 (Prism C) iii 87’, text no. 7 (Prism Kh) iii 43’a (restored), and text no. 8 (Prism G) iii 13’ add pa-an GIŠ.šUDUN-ia ú-ter-ram-ma “I turned around (lit. “I turned the front of my yoke”) and.”

ii 70 [ma]-a’-di “[sub]stantial”: Ex. 135\* omits this word.

ii 90 Exs. 87\*, 92\*, 94\*, and possibly 14\* add DINGIR (“the god”) before ba-nu-u-a (“the one who created me”). See also text no. 4 (Prism D) ii 65’ and text no. 7 (Prism Kh) iii 21’.

ii 92 Ex. 41\* omits -a-a in LÚ.gi-mir-a-a “Cimmerians,” and also erroneously omits the negative particle la in la ip-tal-la-<sup>hu</sup> “who never feared.” Also, ex. 5 has ip-la-<sup>hu</sup>, thus placing the verb in the simple G stem.

ii 93 ia-a-ši “with regard to me”: Text no. 6 (Prism C) iv 3’ and text no. 7 (Prism Kh) iii 26’ have ia-a-ti.

iii 1 <sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU “the god Marduk”: Text no. 6 (Prism C) iv 4’ and text no. 7 (Prism Kh) iii 27’ have <sup>d</sup>15 “the goddess Ištar.”



- 3) *it-ti ta-mar-ti-šú ka-bit-ti ú-še-bi-la*  
 4) *a-di maḥ-ri-ia a-tam-ma-ru da-na-an* AN.ŠÁR u<sup>r</sup>dšú<sup>1</sup>
- 
- 5) *ina 4-e ger-ri-ia a-na* URU.qir-bít  
 6) *šá qé-reb* URU.ḥa-re-e-ḥa-as-ta lu-u al-lik  
 7) *ša<sup>m</sup>ta-an-<sup>r</sup>da<sup>1</sup>* LÚ.EN.URU-šú-nu ana LUGAL.MEŠ AD.MEŠ-ia  
 8) *la ik-nu-šú a-na* GIŠ.ŠUDUN u UN.MEŠ a-ši-bu-ti URU.qir-bít  
 9) *ka-a-a-an iḥ-ta-nab-ba-tu ḥu-bu-ut* KUR.ia-mut-ba-li  
 10) URU šu-a-tu ina<sup>r</sup> tu<sup>1</sup>-kul-ti AN.ŠÁR<sup>d</sup>EN u<sup>d</sup>AG<sup>d</sup>  
 11) <sup>r</sup>DINGIR.MEŠ EN<sup>1</sup>.MEŠ-ia ak-šu-ud áš-lu-la šal-lat-su  
 12) <sup>m</sup>ta-an-<sup>r</sup>da LÚ.EN<sup>1</sup>.URU-šú-nu  
 13) *it-ti šal-lat* URU-šú al-qa-a a-na KUR aš-šur.KI  
 14) UN.MEŠ URU.qir-bít ma-la áš-lu-lu  
 15) *ú-<sup>r</sup>bil<sup>1</sup>-ma qé-reb* KUR.mu-šur ú-šá-aš-bit
- 
- 16) *ina 5-ši ger-ri-ia* UGU<sup>m</sup>ah-še-e-ri  
 17) LUGAL KUR.man-na-a-a lu-u al-lik  
 18) *ša a-na* LUGAL.MEŠ AD.MEŠ-ia la kit-nu-šú  
 19) *i-tap-pa-lu* <sup>r</sup>da<sup>1</sup>-[ša]-a-ti  
 20) *ad-ke* ERIM.MEŠ MÈ-ia a-na ka-šá-<sup>r</sup>ad<sup>1</sup> KUR.man-na-a-a  
 21) *uš-te-še-ra* <sup>r</sup>ḥar-ra<sup>1</sup>-nu al-lik-ma qé-reb URU.BÀD-aš-šur  
 22) <sup>r</sup>uš-man-nu<sup>1</sup> ad-di-ma áš-ku-na ka-ra-ši  
 23) <sup>m</sup>ah-še-e-ri a-lak ger-ri-ia iš-me-ma  
 24) *ú-ma-’e-e-ra* <sup>r</sup>um<sup>1</sup>-man-<sup>r</sup>šú<sup>1</sup>  
 25) *ina šat mu-ši ina ši-pir ni-kil-ti a-na e-peš* MÈ it-bu-u-ni  
 26) *a-na mit-ḥu-ši* ERIM.ḪI.A-ia  
 27) ERIM.MEŠ MÈ-ia it-ti-šú-un im-<sup>r</sup>da<sup>1</sup>-ḥa-šu  
 28) *iš-ku-nu* BAD<sub>5</sub>.BAD<sub>5</sub>-šú-un  
 29) *ma-lak* 3 KASKAL.GÍD A.ŠÁ šal-ma-ti-šú-nu  
 30) *ú-ma-al-lu-ú* EDIN rap-šú  
 31) *ina qí-bit* AN.ŠÁR<sup>d</sup>30<sup>d</sup>UTU DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ EN.MEŠ-[ia]  
 32) *šá ú-tak-ki-lu-in-ni qé-reb* KUR.man-na-a-a e-ru-ub-ma  
 33) *at-tal-lak šal-ṭiš ina me-ti-iq ger-ri-ia* URU.a-a-ú-si-áš  
 34) URU.ḪAL.ŠU URU.áš-šá-áš dan-na-su URU.bu-su-UD URU.áš-di-áš  
 35) URU.ur-ki-ia-mu-un URU.up-pi-iš URU.si-ḥu-u-a  
 36) URU.na-zi-ni-ri 8 URU.MEŠ dan-nu-ti

sent (them) before me, together with his substantial audience gift(s). I constantly saw the might of the gods Aššur and Marduk.

iii 5–15) On my fourth campaign, I marched to the city Qirbit, which is inside (Mount) Ḥarēḥasta (lit. “the city Ḥarēḥasta”), since Tand[āya], their city ruler, had never bowed down to the yoke of the kings, my ancestors, and the people living in the city Qirbit were constantly plundering the land Yamutbal. With the support of the gods Aššur, Bēl (Marduk), and Nabû, the gods, my lords, I conquered (and) plundered that city. (As for) Tandāya, their city ruler, I took (him) to Assyria together with captives from his city. I took the people of the city Qirbit, as many as I had carried off, and settled (them) in Egypt.

iii 16–21a) On my fifth campaign, I marched against Aḥšēri, the king of the land Mannea, who had never bowed down to the kings, my ancestors, (and) who always answered (them) with disr[es]pect. I mustered my battle troops. I made (them) take the direct road to conqu[er] the land Mannea.

iii 21b–30) I went and (then) set up camp in the city Dūr-Aššur and pitched my camp (there). Aḥšēri heard about the advance of my expeditionary force and dispatched his army. During the night, in a crafty maneuver, they approached to do battle, to fight with my troops. My battle troops fought with them (and) brought about their defeat. (Over) an area (the distance of) three leagues march, they filled the wide steppe with their corpses.

iii 31–42) By the command of the gods Aššur, Sîn, (and) Šamaš, the great gods, [my] lords who had encouraged me, I entered the land Mannea and marched about triumphantly. In the course of my campaign, I conquered, destroyed, demolished, (and) burned with fire the cities Ayusiaš — a fortress (of his) — Aššaš — a stronghold of his — BusuD, Ašdiyaš, Urkiyamun, Uppiš, Siḫūa, (and) Naziniri — eight fortified cities — together with small(er settlements), which were without number, as far as the city Izirtu. (iii 40) I brought people,

iii 4 *a-tam-ma-ru da-na-an* AN.ŠÁR u<sup>r</sup>dšú<sup>1</sup> “I constantly saw the might of the gods Aššur and Marduk”: This sentence is not included in text nos. 6 (Prism C) and 7 (Prism Kh); compare respectively iv 7’ and iii 30’’ of those inscriptions.

iii 10–11 Exs. 6 and 92\* apparently have <sup>d</sup>EN.ZU (“the god Sîn”) for <sup>d</sup>AG (“the god Nabû”); see also text no. 4 (Prism D) iii 4. Moreover, text no. 6 (Prism C) has a longer list of deities; iv 15’–16’ of that inscription have <sup>r</sup>AN<sup>1</sup>.ŠÁR<sup>d</sup>30<sup>d</sup>UTU<sup>d</sup>EN<sup>d</sup>AG<sup>d</sup>15<sup>d</sup>ša NINA.KI<sup>r</sup>d<sup>1</sup>15<sup>d</sup>ša<sup>r</sup>URU<sup>1</sup>.LÍMMU-DINGIR “the deities A[š]šur, Sîn, Šamaš, Bēl (Marduk), Nabû, Ištar of Nineveh, (and) Ištar of Arbela.” <sup>r</sup>DINGIR.MEŠ EN<sup>1</sup>.MEŠ-ia “the gods, my lords”: So ex. 92\* (and possibly 96\*); these words are not included in text no. 6 (Prism C) (compare iv 17’).

iii 16–19 Text no. 7 (Prism Kh), and presumably also text nos. 6 (Prism C) and 8 (Prism G), have a longer description of the anti-Assyrian activities of the land Mannea; compare text 7 (Prism Kh) iv 1’–13’.

iii 30 *ú-ma-al-lu-ú* “they filled”: Text no. 6 (Prism C) iv 9’’ has *ú-mal-li* “he filled.”

iii 34 URU.áš-šá-áš dan-na-su “the city Aššaš, a stronghold of his”: Or possibly URU.áš-šá-áš dan-na-su “the city Aššašdannasu.”

- 37) *ù a-di še-eḫ-ru-ti šá ni-ba la i-šu-u*  
 38) *a-di qé-reb URU.i-zir-ti ak-šu-ud*  
 39) *ap-pul aq-qur ina <sup>d</sup>GIŠ.BAR ṽaq<sup>1</sup>-mu*  
 40) UN.MEŠ ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ ANŠE.MEŠ GU<sub>4</sub>.MEŠ  
 ṽše<sup>1</sup>-e-ni  
 41) ṽul<sup>1</sup>-tu qé-reb URU.MEŠ šá-a-ṽtu<sup>1</sup>-nu  
 42) *ú-še-ša-am-ma šal-la-tiš am-nu*  
 43) <sup>m</sup>aḫ-še-e-ri a-lak ger-ri-ia ṽiṣ<sup>1</sup>-me-ma  
 44) *ú-maš-šir URU.i-zir-tú URU LUGAL-ti-šú*  
 45) *a-na URU.at-ra-a-na URU tukul-ṽti-šú in<sup>1</sup>-na-bit*  
 46) *e-ḫu-uz mar-qí-tú URU.i-zir-tú URU.ur-me-e-te*  
 47) URU.uz-bi-a URU.MEŠ dan-nu-ti-šú al-me  
 48) UN.MEŠ a-ši-bu-ti URU.MEŠ šá-a-tu-nu  
 49) *e-si-ir-ma nap-šat-su-nu ú-si-iq ú-kar-ri*  
 50) *na-gu-u šu-a-tu ak-šu-ud ap-pul aq-qur ina*  
<sup>d</sup>GIŠ.BAR aq-mu  
 51) *ma-lak 10 u<sub>4</sub>-me 5 u<sub>4</sub>-me [ú-šah]-ṽrib<sup>1</sup>-ma*  
 šá-qu-um-ma-tú  
 52) *at-bu-uk ina me-ti-iq ger-ri-ia URU.MEŠ šá*  
 li-me-et URU.pad-di-ri  
 53) *šá ina ter-ši LUGAL.ṽMEŠ<sup>1</sup> [AD].ṽMEŠ<sup>1</sup>-ia*  
 KUR.man-na-a-a e-ki-mu  
 54) *a-na i-di ra-ma-ni-šú-nu ṽú<sup>1</sup>-ter-ru*  
 55) *ak-šu-ud ina <sup>d</sup>GIŠ.BAR aq-ṽmu<sup>1</sup> áš-lu-la*  
 šal-lat-sún  
 56) URU.MEŠ šá-a-tu-nu a-na mi-šir KUR  
 ṽAN.ŠÁR<sup>1</sup>.KI ú-ter  
 57) *na-gu-u šá URU.ṽar<sup>1</sup>-si-ia-ni-iš*  
 58) *ša bi-rit URU.a-za-qa-ṽna<sup>1</sup>-ni*  
 59) *ša KUR.ḫa-ar-si šá-di-i*  
 60) *ša SAG KUR.ku-mu-ṽur-da<sup>1</sup>-a-a šá qé-reb*  
 KUR.man-na-a-a  
 61) *as-pu-un ina <sup>d</sup>GIŠ.BAR ṽaq<sup>1</sup>-mu*  
 62) <sup>m</sup>ra-a-a-<<da>>-di-šá-di-i LÚ.GAL  
 URU.ḪAL.ŠU-šú-ṽnu a-duk<sup>1</sup>  
 63) *áš-lu-la šal-lat-su*  
 64) *na-gu-u šá URU.e-ri-is-te-ia-na ak-šu-ud*  
 65) URU.MEŠ-ṽšú<sup>1</sup> as-ṽpu<sup>1</sup>-un ina <sup>d</sup>GIŠ.BAR aq-mu  
 áš-lu-la šal-lat-sún  
 66) *ina ti-ib MÈ-ia na-gu-šú ú-šah-rib*  
 67) *ú-ša-aḫ-ṽḫir<sup>1</sup> nap-ḫar KUR-šú*  
 68) *it-ti ḫu-ub-ti ma-a<sup>2</sup>-di šal-la-ti ka-bit-te*

horses, donkeys, oxen, (and) [she]ep and goats out of those cities and I counted (them) as booty.

iii 43–52a) Aḫšēri heard about the advance of my expeditionary force and abandoned the city Izirtu, his royal city. He fled to the city Atrāna, a city upon which he relied, (and) took refuge (there). I surrounded the cities Izirtu, Urmēte, (and) Uzbia, his fortified cities. I confined the people living in those cities and (thus) constricted (and) cut short their lives. (iii 50) I conquered, destroyed, demolished, (and) burned that district with fire. [I laid wast]e to (an area of) fifteen days march and poured out (over it) the silence (of desolation).

iii 52b–56) In the course of my campaign, I conquered, burn[ed] with fire, (and) plundered the cities in the environs of the city Paddirī, which the Manneans had taken away (and) appropriated for themselves in the time of the kings, [my ancestor]s. I returned those cities to the territory of Assyria.

iii 57–63) I leveled (and) burned with fire the district of the city Arsiyaniš, which is between the city Azaqa[n]ani and (lit. “of”) Mount Ḫarsi, which is before the land of the Kumu[r]dians, who are in the land Mannea. I killed Rayadišadī, their fortress commander, (and) I plundered it (Arsiyaniš).

iii 64–69a) I conquered the district of the city Eristeyana, flat[te]ned i[ts] villages, burned (them) with fire, (and) plundered them. With the assault of my battle array, I laid waste to his district (and) made his entire land smaller. I returned safely with much plunder (and) substantial booty (and) set foot in Assyrian territory.

iii 51 [ú-šah]-ṽrib<sup>1</sup>-ma “[I laid wast]e”: Exs. 17\*, 100\*, and text no. 4 (Prism D) iii 40 (ex. 4) have *ú-šah-ri-ir-ma* “I laid waste.”

iii 54 *i-di* “side”: So ex. 1 and text no. 4 (Prism D) ex. 4. This word does not appear in ex. 69\*, text no. 6 (Prism C) iv 39”, and text no. 7 (Prism Kh) iv 12”.

iii 57–61 *na-gu-u šá URU.ṽar<sup>1</sup>-si-ia-ni-iš ša bi-rit URU.a-za-qa-ṽna<sup>1</sup>-ni ša KUR.ḫa-ar-si šá-di-i* “the district of the city Arsiyaniš, which is between the city Azaqa[n]ani and (lit. “of”) Mount Ḫarsi”: As pointed out by A. Fuchs (personal communication), it is possible that an entire toponym has been omitted. Therefore, three alternate interpretations of this passage are: (1) “I leveled (and) burned with fire the district of the city Arsiyaniš, which is between the city Azaqa[n]ani (and GN) of Mount Ḫarsi, which is before the land of the Kumu[r]dians, who are in the land Mannea”; (2) “I leveled (and) burned with fire the district of the city Arsiyaniš, which is between the city Azaqa[n]ani of Mount Ḫarsi (and GN), which is before the land of the Kumu[r]dians, who are in the land Mannea”; and (3) “I leveled (and) burned with fire the district of the city Arsiyaniš, which is between the city Azaqa[n]ani of Mount Ḫarsi, which is before the land of the Kumu[r]dians, (and GN) which belongs to the land Mannea.”

iii 58 URU.a-za-qa-ṽna<sup>1</sup>-ni “the city Azaqa[n]ani”: Ex. 102\* has [URU.a-za-qa]-ṽia<sup>1</sup>-ni (contra R. Borger’s reading [BIWA p. 34] of [...]-a-ni), which is the same orthography for this city as found in text no. 4 (Prism D) iii 48.

iii 68 After this line, ex. 69\* adds *pa-an GIŠ.ŠUDUN-ia ú-ṽter<sup>1</sup>-[ram-ma]* “I t[urned] around (lit. “I t[urned] the front of my yoke”) [and],” which is a phrase that appears in Ashurbanipal’s inscriptions after Prisms B and D (see the on-page note to ii 61).

- 69) *šal-meš a-tu-ra ak-bu-sa mi-šir* KUR aš-šur.KI  
URU.bi-ir-ru-a
- 70) <sup>1</sup>URU<sup>1</sup>.LUGAL-iq-bi URU.gu-si-né-e URU.MEŠ  
*maḥ-ru-u-te šá mi-šir* KUR aš-šur.KI
- 71) *ša ina ter-ši* <sup>1</sup>LUGAL<sup>1</sup>.MEŠ AD.MEŠ-ia e-<sup>1</sup>ki<sup>1</sup>-mu  
KUR.man-na-a-a da-ád-me
- 72) *šá-a-tu-nu* <sup>1</sup>ak<sup>1</sup>-šu-ud KUR.man-<sup>1</sup>na-a-a<sup>1</sup> TA  
lib-bi as-suh
- 73) ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ *tíl-li ú-nu-ut MÈ-šú-nu*  
*áš-lu-la ana* KUR aš-šur.KI
- 74) URU.MEŠ *šá-a-tu-nu a-na eš-šu-ti aš-bat*
- 75) *ú-ter-ra a-na mi-šir* KUR aš-šur.KI
- 76) <sup>m</sup>aḥ-še-e-ri la pa-liḥ EN-ti-ia
- 77) AN.ŠÁR u <sup>d</sup>15 im-nu-šú ina ŠU.II ARAD.MEŠ-šú
- 78) UN.MEŠ KUR-šú si-ḥu UGU-šú ú-šab-šú-u
- 79) ina SILA URU-šu <sup>1</sup>id<sup>1</sup>-du-u pa-gar-šú
- 80) EGIR-nu <sup>m</sup>ú-al-li-i DUMU-šú ú-šib ina  
GIŠ.GU.ZA-šú
- 81) *da-na-an* AN.ŠÁR <sup>d</sup>EN <sup>d</sup>AG <sup>d</sup>15 šá URU.NINA.KI
- 82) <sup>d</sup>15 šá URU.LÍMMU-DINGIR DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ  
EN.MEŠ-ia
- 83) *e-mur-ma ik-nu-šá a-na* GIŠ.ŠUDUN-ia
- 84) *áš-šú ba-laṭ ZI-ti-šú up-na-a-šú ip-ta-a*
- 85) *ú-šal-la-a be-lu-u-ti* <sup>m</sup>e-ri-si-in-ni
- 86) DUMU UŠ-ti-šú a-na NINA.KI *iš-pur-am-ma*  
*ú-na-šiq* ĞIR.II-ia
- 87) ARḤUŠ *ar-ši-šú LÚ.A KIN-ia šá šul-me*  
*ú-ma-’e-er* EDIN-uš-šú
- 88) DUMU.MUNUS *ši-it lib-bi-šú ú-še-bi-la ana e-peš*  
MUNUS.AGRIG-u-ti
- 89) *ma-da-at-ta-šú maḥ-ri-tú šá ina tar-ši*  
LUGAL.MEŠ AD.MEŠ-ia
- 90) *ú-šab-ṭi-lu iš-šu-u-ni a-di maḥ-ri-ia*
- 91) 30 ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ UGU *ma-da-at-ti-šú*  
*maḥ-ri-<sup>1</sup>te<sup>1</sup> ú-rad-di-ma*
- 92) *e-mid-su ina u<sub>4</sub>-me-šú-ma* <sup>m</sup>bi-ri-is-ḥa-at-ri  
LÚ.EN.URU *ša mad-a-a*
- Col. iv
- 1) <sup>m</sup>sar-a-ti <sup>m</sup>pa-ri-ḥi 2 DUMU.MEŠ <sup>m</sup>ga-gi
- 2) LÚ.EN.URU KUR.sa-ḥi *ša iš-lu-u* GIŠ.ŠUDUN  
EN-ti-ia
- 3) 75 URU.MEŠ-šú-nu *dan-nu-ti ak-šu-ud áš-lu-la*  
*šal-la-sún*
- 4) *šá-a-šu-nu bal-ṭu-su-nu ina* ŠU.II *aš-bat*
- 5) *ú-bi-la ana* URU.NINA.KI URU EN-u-ti-ia
- 6) <sup>m</sup>an-da-ri-a LÚ.EN.NAM KUR.ur-ár-ṭi
- 7) *šá a-na ka-šá-ad* KUR.up-pu-um-me u

iii 69b–75) (As for) the cities Birrūa, Šarru-iqbi, (and) Gusinê, cities that were formerly *within* the territory of Assyria which the Manneans had taken away in the time of [the k]ings, my ancestors, I conquered those settlements. I tore the land Mannea apart from within. I carried off to Assyria (their) horses, (their) equipment, (and) their implements of war. I reorganized those cities (and) returned (them) to the territory of Assyria.

iii 76–79) (As for) Aḥšēri, who did not fear my lordly majesty, (the god) Aššur and the goddess Ištar placed him in the hands of his servants. The people of his land incited a rebellion against him (and) they cast his corpse into a street of his city.

iii 80–92a) Afterwards, Uallī, his son, sat on his throne. He saw the might of the deities Aššur, Bēl (Marduk), Nabû, Ištar of Nineveh, (and) Ištar of Arbela, the great gods, my lords, and bowed down to my yoke. For the preservation of his (own) life, he opened up his hands to me (and) (iii 85) made an appeal to my lordly majesty. He sent Erisinni, his heir designate, to Nineveh and he kissed my feet. I had mercy on him. I dispatched my messenger with (a message of) goodwill to him. He sent me (his) daughter, his own offspring, to serve as a housekeeper. (As for) his former payment, (iii 90) which they had discontinued in the time of the kings, my ancestors, they carried (it) before me. I added thirty horses to his former payment and imposed (it) upon him.

iii 92b–iv 5) At that time, (as for) Birišatri, a city ruler of the Medes, (and) Sarati (and) Pariḥi, two sons of Gagī, a city ruler of the land Saḥi, who had cast off the yoke of my lordship, I conquered (and) plundered seventy-five of their fortified cities. I captured them alive (and) brought (them) to Nineveh, my capital city.

iv 6–14) (As for) Andaria, the governor of the land Urarṭu, who had advanced (and) marched during the

iii 81–82 Ex. 1 adds [<sup>d</sup>MAŠ <sup>d</sup>U.GUR <sup>d</sup>]nusk<sup>1</sup>u<sup>1</sup>, “[the gods Ninurta, Nergal, (and) Nusku]” to the end of the list. Text no. 6 (Prism C) iv 75’–76’, text no. 7 (Prism Kh) iv 43’–45’, text no. 8 (Prism G) iv 2’–3’ have AN.ŠÁR <sup>d</sup>30 <sup>d</sup>UTU <sup>d</sup>EN u <sup>d</sup>AG <sup>d</sup>15 šá NINA.KI <sup>d</sup>15 šá LÍMMU-DINGIR.KI <sup>d</sup>MAŠ <sup>d</sup>nusk<sup>1</sup>u <sup>d</sup>U.GUR “the deities Aššur, Šin, Šamaš, Bēl (Marduk) and Nabû, Ištar of Nineveh, Ištar of Arbela, Ninurta, Nusku, (and) Nergal.”

iii 85 <sup>m</sup>e-ri-si-in-ni “Erisinni”: The scribe of ex. 1 has written the name as <sup>m</sup>e-ri-si-ia-ni, and ex. 91\* has [<sup>m</sup>e]-<sup>1</sup>ri<sup>1</sup>-si-in. The master text follows exs. 5 and 6, which have the usual orthography for this name.

iv 6 LÚ.EN.NAM “governor”: Text no. 6 (Prism C) v 13 has LÚ.tur-ta-<sup>1</sup>an<sup>1</sup> “field marsh[al].”

iv 7 The Assyrian provinces of Uppummu and Kullimmeri were established by Esarhaddon after his conquest of Šubria in 673; see Leichty, RINAP 4 p. 85 no. 33 Tablet 2 iv 1’–10’ and p. 87 no. 34 obv. 1’–5’. For further information on these two provinces, see Radner, RLA 11/1–2 (2006) pp. 63–64 nos. 64 and 66.

- KUR.kul-li-im-me-ri  
 8) *ir-da-a il-li-ka qé-reb mu-ši-ti*  
 9) UN.MEŠ *a-ši-bu-ti URU.kul-li-im-me-ri*  
 10) ARAD.MEŠ *da-gíl pa-ni-ia*  
 11) *ina šat mu-ši di-ik-ta-šú ma-as-su i-du-ku*  
 12) *la iz-zi-bu a-a-um-ma*  
 13) SAG.DU <sup>m</sup>*an-da-re-e ik-ki-su-nim-ma*  
 14) *a-na URU.NINA.KI ina maḥ-ri-ia ú-bil-u-ni*
- 
- 15) *ina 6-ši ger-ri-ia UGU <sup>m</sup>ur-ta-ki MAN*  
 KUR.ELAM.MA.KI  
 16) *lu-u al-lik ša MUN AD DÛ-ia la ḥa-as-su*  
 17) *la iṣ-šu-ru ib-ru-ti ul-tú ina KUR.ELAM.MA.KI*  
 18) *su-un-qu iṣ-ku-nu ib-ba-šú-u né-eb-re-tu*  
 19) <sup>d</sup>*nisaba ba-laṭ ZI-tim UN.MEŠ ú-še-bil-šú-ma*  
 20) *aṣ-bat ŠU.II-<sup>r</sup>su<sup>1</sup> UN.MEŠ-šú šá la-pa-an su-un-qí*  
 21) *in-nab-tu-u-nim-ma ú-ši-bu qé-reb KUR*  
*aš-šur.KI*  
 22) *a-di zu-un-nu ina KUR-šú iz-nu-nu ib-ba-šu-u*  
 BURU<sub>14</sub>  
 23) UN.MEŠ *šá-a-tu-nu šá ina KUR-ia ib-lu-ṭu*  
*ú-še-bil-šú-ma*  
 24) LÚ.ELAM.MA-a-a *šá ti-bu-us-su it-ti lib-bi-ia la*  
*da-ba-ku*  
 25) *la ḥa-as-sa-ku še-let-su <sup>m</sup>EN-BA-šá*  
 KUR.gam-bu-la-a-a  
 26) <sup>md</sup>MUATI-MU-KAM-eš LÚ.GÚ.EN.NA ARAD.MEŠ  
*da-gíl pa-ni-ia*  
 27) <sup>md</sup>AMAR.UTU-MU-DÛ LÚ.šu-ut SAG.MEŠ *šá*  
<sup>m</sup>*ur-ta-ki šá it-ti-šú-nu*  
 28) *iṣ-ku-nu pi-i-šu ana mit-ḥu-ši KUR EME.GI<sub>7</sub> u*  
 URI.KI  
 29) *ina pi-ir-ša-a-ti id-ku-u-ni <sup>m</sup>ur-ta-ki MAN*  
 KUR.ELAM.MA.KI  
 30) <sup>m</sup>*ur-ta-ki šá la ag-ru-šú qa-bal-šú id-ka-a*  
 31) *a-na KUR.kár-<sup>d</sup>dun-ia-āš ur-ri-ḥa ta-ḥa-zu*  
 32) *āš-šú <sup>r</sup>ZI<sup>2</sup>-ut<sup>1</sup> LÚ.e-la-me-e LÚ.A KIN*  
 33) *a-na NINA.KI il-li-kam-ma iq-ba-a ia-a-te*  
 34) *a-ma-ti šá-a-ti-na ša ti-bu-ti <sup>m</sup>ur-ta-ki*  
 35) *ul <sup>r</sup>āš-du<sup>1</sup>-ud ina lib-bi-ia*  
 36) *šu-ut LÚ.MAḤ.MEŠ-šú šá su-lum-me-e*  
 37) *iš-ta-<sup>r</sup>nap<sup>1</sup>-[pa]<sup>1</sup>-<sup>r</sup>ra<sup>1</sup> ina maḥ-ri-ia*  
 38) *a-na a-mar MAN KUR.ELAM.MA.KI LÚ.A KIN-ia*  
*ú-ma-’e-er*  
 39) *ḥa-an-ṭiš il-lik i-tu-ram-ma*  
 40) *a-ma-a-te ka-a-a-<sup>r</sup>ma<sup>1</sup>-na-ti ú-šá-an-na-a ia-a-te*  
 41) *um-ma LÚ.e-la-mu-u GIM ZI-ut BURU<sub>5</sub>.ḪI.A*  
 42) *ka-tim KUR URI.KI ka-li-šá še-er*  
 KÁ.DINGIR.RA.KI  
 43) *uš-man-nu šá-kin-ma na-di ma-dak-tú ana*  
*na-ra-ru-ti*  
 44) <sup>d</sup>EN u <sup>d</sup>AG DINGIR.MEŠ-ia *šá ap-tal-la-ḥu*  
 DINGIR-us-su-un

night to conquer the lands (of the cities) Uppumu and Kullimmeri, the people living in the city Kullimmeri, servants who belonged to me, inflicted a heavy defeat on him during the night. They did not spare anyone. They cut off the head of Andaria and they brought (it) to Nineveh, before me.

iv 15–29) On my sixth campaign, I marched against Urtaku, the king of the land Elam who did not remember the kindness of the father who had engendered me (nor) did he respect my friendship. After famine occurred in the land Elam (and) hunger had set in, I sent to him grain, (which) sustains the live(s) of people, and (thus) (iv 20) held him by the hand. (As for) his people, who had fled on account of the famine and settled in Assyria until it rained (again) in his land (and) harvests grew – I sent those people who had stayed alive in my land (back) to him. But (as for) the Elamite whose aggression I had not thought possible (lit. “I did not speak with my heart”) (and) (iv 25) a fight with whom I had not contemplated – Bēl-iqīša, the Gambulian, Nabû-šuma-ēreš, the *šandabakku* (governor of Nippur), servants who belonged to me, (and) Marduk-šuma-ibni, a eunuch (lit. “eunuchs”) of Urtaku who had sided with them, incited Urtaku, the king of the land Elam, with lies to fight with the land of Sumer and Akkad.

iv 30–43a) Urtaku, whom I had not antagonized, set his attack in motion (and) hastily brought war to Karduniaš (Babylonia). On account of the assault of the Elamite, a messenger came to Nineveh and told me (the news). (iv 35) I was not concerned about this news of Urtaku’s assault. (Because) he had regularly s[en]t his envoys (with messages) of peace before me, I dispatched my messenger to see the king of the land Elam. He went quickly, returned, and (iv 40) reported to me an accurate report, saying: “The Elamites cover the land Akkad, all of it, like a swarm of locusts. Against Babylon, (his) camp is pitched and (his) military camp is laid.”

iv 43b–48) To aid the gods Bēl (Marduk) and Nabû, gods of mine whose divinity I constantly revered, I mustered my battle troops and set out on the road. He heard about the advance of my expeditionary force

iv 32 <sup>r</sup>ZI<sup>2</sup>-ut<sup>1</sup> “the assault of”: The master text follows ex. 5, the only certain Prism B exemplar attesting to this line. Although it is uncertain how to construe the traces of this word, the translation is not in question. Exs. 95\* and 98\* have *ti-bu-ut* and *ti-bu-ti* respectively.

- 45) ERIM.MEŠ MÈ-ia ad-ke-e-ma aš-ba-ta ḥar-ra-nu and (then) fear overwhelmed him and he returned to  
 46) a-lak ger-ri-ia iš-me-ma ḥat-tu is-ḥúp-šú-ma his (own) land. I went after him (and) brought about  
 47) i-tur ana KUR-šú EGIR-šú aš-bat a-bi-ik-ta-šú his defeat. I drove him away as far as the border of  
 áš-kun his land.
- 48) aṭ-ru-us-su a-di mi-šir KUR-šú  
 49) <sup>m</sup>ur-ta-ki LUGAL KUR.ELAM.MA.KI šá la iṣ-šu-ru iv 49–54a) (As for) Urtaku, the king of the land Elam  
 ib-ru-ti who had not respected my friendship, whom death  
 50) ina u<sub>4</sub>-me la šim-ti-šú mu-ú-tu ú-ga-ru-u called on a day (that was) not his fate, who came to  
 51) ina ta-né-ḥi iq-tu-u i-zu-bu an end (and) withered away while wailing — he no  
 52) ina qaḡ-qa-ri ba-la-ti GÌR.II-šú ul iš-kun (longer) set foot upon the land of the living. In that  
 53) ina MU.AN.NA-šú na-piš-ta-šú iq-ti year, his life came to an end (and) he passed away.  
 54) il-lik nam-mu-ši-šú <sup>m</sup>EN-BA-šá LÚ.gam-bu-la-a- iv 54b–55) (As for) Bēl-iqīša, a Gambulian who had  
 55) ša iṣ-lu-ú GIŠ.ŠUDUN EN-u-ti-ia ina ni-šik PĒŠ cast off the yoke of my lordship, he laid down (his)  
 iš-ta-kan na-piš-tú life through the bite of a mouse.  
 56) <sup>md</sup>MUATI-MU-KAM-eŠ LÚ.GÚ.EN.NA la na-šir iv 56–57) (As for) Nabû-šuma-ēreš, the šandabakku  
 a-de-e (governor of Nippur) who did not honor (my) treaty,  
 57) iš-ši a-ga-nu-til-la-a A.MEŠ SA<sub>5</sub>.MEŠ he suffered from dropsy, (that is) “full water.”  
 58) <sup>md</sup>AMAR.UTU-MU-DŪ LÚ.šu-ut SAG-šú iv 58–60) (As for) Marduk-šuma-ibni, his (Urtaku’s)  
 mu-šad-bi-ib-šú eunuch, the instigator who had incited Urtaku to plot  
 59) ša MUNUS.ḪUL ú-šak-pi-du a-na <sup>m</sup>ur-ta-ki evil (deeds), the god Marduk, the king of the gods,  
 60) e-mid-su <sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU MAN DINGIR.MEŠ imposed his grievous punishment upon him.  
 še-er-ta-šú GAL-tú  
 61) ina 1-et MU.AN.NA mé-eḥ-ret a-ḥa-meš iv 61–67) Within one year, they (all) laid down (their)  
 62) iš-ku-nu na-piš-tú lib-bi AN.ŠÁR ag-gu live(s) at the same time. The angry heart of (the god)  
 63) ul i-nu-uḥ-šu-nu-ti Aššur had not relented against them, nor had the  
 64) ul ip-šaḥ-šu-nu-ti ka-bit-ti <sup>d</sup>iš-tar mood of the goddess Ištar, (iv 65) who had encouraged  
 65) ša ú-tak-kil-an-ni me, become tranquil towards them. They overthrew  
 66) BALA-e LUGAL-ti-šú iš-ki-pu his royal dynasty. They made somebody else assume  
 67) be-lut KUR.e-lam-ti ú-šal-qu-u šá-nam-ma dominion over the land Elam.  
 68) ar-ka <sup>m</sup>te-um-man tam-šil GAL<sub>5</sub>.LÁ ú-šib ina iv 68–79) Afterwards, Teumman, the (very) image of  
 GIŠ.GU.ZA a gallû-demon, sat on the throne of Urtaku. He con-  
 69) <sup>m</sup>ur-ta-ki a-na da-a-ki DUMU.MEŠ <sup>m</sup>ur-ta-ki stantly sought out evil (ways) to kill the children of  
 70) a-na DUMU.MEŠ <sup>m</sup>um-man-al-da-še ŠEŠ Urtaku (and) the children of Ummanaldašu (Ḫumban-  
<sup>m</sup>ur-ta-ki ḫaltaš II), the brother of Urtaku. Ummanigaš, Um-  
 71) iš-te-né-’a-a MUNUS.ḪUL manappa, (and) Tammarītu — the sons of Urtaku, the  
 72) <sup>m</sup>um-man-i-gaš <sup>m</sup>um-man-ap-pa <sup>m</sup>tam-ma-ri-tu king of the land Elam — Kudurru (and) Parrû — the  
 73) DUMU.MEŠ <sup>m</sup>ur-ta-ki LUGAL KUR.ELAM.MA.KI sons of Ummanaldašu (Ḫumban-ḫaltaš II), (iv 75) the  
 74) <sup>m</sup>ku-dúr-ru <sup>m</sup>pa-ru-ú DUMU.MEŠ king who came before Urtaku — together with sixty  
<sup>m</sup>um-man-al-da-še members of the royal (family), countless archers, (and)  
 75) LUGAL a-lik pa-ni <sup>m</sup>ur-ta-ki nobles of the land Elam fled to me before Teumman’s  
 76) ù 60 NUMUN LUGAL ina la mî-ni ERIM.MEŠ slaughtering and grasped the feet of my royal majesty.

iv 50 mu-ú-tu ú-ga-ru-u “whom death called”: CAD G p. 62 sub *gerû* 2 provides a meaning of “to open up hostilities; to start a lawsuit” for this verb in the D stem (although it does not cite this passage). Thus, R. Borger (BIWA p. 223) tentatively translates the phrase: “der den Tod vorzeitig ge...t (etwa: provoziert??) hatte.” Note also that the verb *gerû* has a meaning “to invite; take away,” which includes an OB euphemism for dying (CAD Q pp. 242–243), although the verb is not presently attested in the D stem.

iv 70 a-na DUMU.MEŠ “(and) the children of”: Exs. 75\*, 91\*, and 102\* instead have the conjunction ù for a-na, “and the children of.” Also, ex. 103\* originally had ù, but the scribe erased that sign and wrote a-na over it. The reading with ù is adopted in the later text no. 6 (Prism C) v 97 and text no. 7 (Prism Kh) v 38.

iv 72–75 The order of the names of the Elamite princes may have been in order of age: Ummanigaš (Ḫumban-nikaš II) being the eldest of Urtaku’s sons, Ummanappa being the second eldest, and Tammarītu being the third eldest. This is suggested by the fact that Ashurbanipal made Ummanigaš king of Elam after Teumman was beheaded at Tīl-Tūba and the fact that Tammarītu is referred to as the third brother Ummanigaš when Ashurbanipal installed him as ruler in the city Ḫidalu; see v 97–vi 2 of this text. Ummanappa, the middle brother, appears to have been seriously injured during a lion hunt; see text no. 54. The same may have been the case for Ummanaldašu II’s sons: Kudurru was likely the older brother of Parrû.

iv 73 Ex. 6 erroneously has <sup>m</sup>te-um-man (“Teumman”) for <sup>m</sup>ur-ta-ki (“Urtaku”). In addition, the scribe of ex. 103\* started to write a name beginning with <sup>m</sup>um-man here, but subsequently erased those signs and wrote <sup>m</sup>ur-ta-ki after the erasures.

iv 75 a-lik pa-ni “who came before”: The scribe of ex. 91\* erroneously metathesized these two words, which creates a nonsensical reading.

iv 76 ù 60 NUMUN LUGAL “together with sixty members of the royal (family)”: Ex. 75\* has u NUMUN LUGAL.MEŠ “together with members of the royal (family).”

- GIŠ.PAN  
 77) DUMU *ba-né-e ša* KUR.ELAM.MA.KI  
 78) *la-pa-an da-a-ki* <sup>m</sup>te-um-man  
 79) *in-nab-tu-nim-ma iṣ-ba-tú* ĠİR.II LUGAL-ti-ia
- 
- 80) *ina 7-e ger-ri-ia* UGU <sup>m</sup>te-um-man MAN  
 KUR.ELAM.MA.KI  
 81) *lu-u al-lik šá* UGU <sup>m</sup>um-man-i-gaš  
<sup>m</sup>um-man-ap-pa  
 82) <sup>m</sup>tam-ma-ri-tu DUMU.MEŠ <sup>m</sup>ur-ta-ki LUGAL  
 KUR.ELAM.MA.KI  
 83) <sup>m</sup>ku-dúr-ru <sup>m</sup>pa-ru-ú DUMU.MEŠ  
<sup>m</sup>um-man-al-da-še  
 84) ŠEŠ <sup>m</sup>ur-ta-ki LUGAL KUR.ELAM.MA.KI  
 85) LÚ.MAḪ.MEŠ-šú *iš-ta-<sup>m</sup>nap-pa-ra ana še-bu-li*  
 86) UN.MEŠ *šá-a-tu-nu šá in-nab-tu-nim-ma*  
 87) *iṣ-ba-tú ĠİR.II-ia še-bul-šú-nu ul aq-bi-šú*  
 88) *ina* UGU *me-re-ḫe-e-ti ina* ŠU.II <sup>m</sup>um-ba-da-ra-a  
 89) *ù* <sup>md</sup>MUATI-SIG<sub>5</sub>-iq *iš-ta-<sup>m</sup>nap-pa-ra* ITI-šam  
 Col. v  
 1) *qé-reb* KUR.ELAM.MA.KI *uš-tar-ra-aḫ ina* UKKIN  
 ERIM.ḪI.A-šú  
 2) *at-kil a-na* <sup>d</sup>15 *šá ú-tak-kil-an-ni*  
 3) *qí-bit pi-i-šu er-ḫu ul am-gúr ul a-din-šú*  
 4) *mun-nab-ti šá-a-tu-nu* <sup>m</sup>te-um-man *le-mut-tú*  
 5) *iš-te-né-'a-a* <sup>d</sup>30 *iš-te-né-'a-šú*  
 6) GIŠKIM.MEŠ MUNUS.ḪUL *ina* ITI.ŠU AN.MI *šat*  
*ur-ri* EN ZÁLAG  
 7) *uš-ta-ni-iḫ-ma* <sup>d</sup>UTU *IGI-šú-ma ki-ma*  
*šú-a-tu-ma*  
 8) *kal u<sub>4</sub>-me uš-ta-ni-iḫ a-na qí-it* BALA.MEŠ  
 9) MAN KUR.ELAM.MA.KI ZÁḪ KUR-šú  
 10) *ú-kal-lim-an-ni* GURUN EŠ.BAR-šú *ša la*  
*in-né-nu-u*  
 11) *ina u<sub>4</sub>-me-šú-ma mi-iḫ-ru im-ḫur-šu-ma*  
 12) NUNDUM-su *uk-tam-bil-ma* IGL.II-šú *is-ḫur-ma*  
 13) *ga-ba-šu iš-šá-kin ina lib-bi-šu*  
 14) *it-ti ep-še-e-ti an-na-a-ti šá* AN.ŠÁR u <sup>d</sup>15  
 15) *e-pu-šú-uš ul i-ba-áš id-ka-a* ERIM.ḪI.A-šú  
 16) *ina* ITL.NE ITI *na-an-mur-ti* MUL.PAN  
 17) *i-sin-ni šar-ra-ti ka-bit-ti* DUMU.MUNUS <sup>d</sup>EN.LÍL  
 18) *a-na pa-laḫ* DINGIR-ti-šá *GAL-ti áš-ba-ak*  
 19) *ina* URU.LÍMMU-DINGIR URU *na-ram lib-bi-šá*

iv 80–v 4a) On my seventh campaign, I marched against Teumman, the king of the land Elam who had regularly sent his envoys to me concerning Ummanigaš, Ummanappa, (and) Tammarītu — the sons of Urtaku, the king of the land Elam — (and) Kudurru (and) Parrū — the sons of Ummanaldašu (Ḫumban-ḫaltaš II), the brother of Urtaku, (former) king of the land Elam — (iv 85b) (asking me) to send (back) those people who had fled to me and grasped my feet. I did not grant him their extradition. Concerning the aforementioned, he sent insults monthly by the hands of Umbadarā and Nabû-damiq. (v 1) Inside the land Elam, he was bragging in the midst of his troops. I trusted in the goddess Ištar, who had encouraged me. I did not comply with the utterance(s) of his provocative speech (lit. “mouth”). I did not give him those fugitives.

v 4b–9) Teumman constantly sought out evil (deeds), (but) the god Sîn (also) sought out inauspicious omens for him. In the month Du’ūzu (IV), an eclipse (of the moon) lasted longer than the third watch of the night, until daylight, the god Šamaš saw it, and it lasted like this the entire day, (thus signifying) the end of the reign of the king of the land Elam (and) the destruction of his land.

v 10–15) “The Fruit” (the god Sîn) revealed to me his decision, which cannot be changed. At that time, a mishap befell him: His lip became paralyzed, his eyes turned back, and a seizure had taken place inside him. He was not ashamed by these measures that (the god) Aššur and the goddess Ištar had taken against him, (and) he mustered his troops.

v 16–24a) During the month Abu (V) — the month of the heliacal rising of the Bow Star, the festival of the honored queen, the daughter of the god Enlil (the goddess Ištar) — to revere her great divinity, I

iv 78 Ex. 75\* omits *da-a-ki* “the slaughter of.”

iv 87 ĠİR.II-ia “my feet”: Ex. 6 has ĠİR.II MAN-ti-ía “the feet of my royal majesty.”

v 1 Text no. 7 (Prism Kh) v 61–65 adds after *ina* UKKIN ERIM.ḪI.A-šú (“in the midst of his troops”) *um-<sup>r</sup>ma<sup>1</sup> ul ú-maš-šar a-di al-la-ku <sup>r</sup>it<sup>1</sup>-ti-šú ep-pu-šú mit-ḫu-šu-tú <sup>r</sup>UGU<sup>1</sup> a-ma-a-ti an-na-a-ti [šá <sup>m</sup>]te<sup>1</sup>-um-man iq-bu-ú [ú-šá]<sup>r</sup> an<sup>1</sup>-nu-u-ni ṭe-e-mu* “saying: I will not stop until I go (and) do battle [with him]. [As fo]r these insolent words [that T]eumman had spoken, they [repo]rted (this) news to me.”

v 2 <sup>d</sup>15 “the goddess Ištar”: Text no. 7 (Prism Kh) v 66–67 has [AN].<sup>r</sup>ŠÁR<sup>1</sup> <sup>d</sup>30 <sup>d</sup>UTU <sup>d</sup>EN u <sup>d</sup>AG [<sup>d</sup>15 šá] <sup>r</sup>NINA<sup>1</sup>.KI <sup>d</sup>15 šá URU.LÍMMU-DINGIR “the deities [Aššur], Sîn, Šamaš, Bēl (Marduk) and Nabû, [Ištar of Nineveh], (and) Ištar of Arbela.”

v 3 *er-ḫu* “provocative”: The *er-ḫu-u* of ex. 1 is a mistake.

v 6 The eclipse took place on July 13th 653 (=Du’ūzu). For details, see J. Mayr in Piepkorn, *Asb.* pp. 105–109. F.R. Stephenson (in Reade and Walker, *Afo* 28 [1981–82] p. 122), however, believes that the eclipse occurred in August 663. For evidence refuting that proposal, see Frame, *Babylonia* pp. 122–123 n. 112.

v 13 *ina lib-bi-šú* “inside him”: The master text follows ex. 1. Exs. 6, 60\*, 92\*, and 110\* have *šá* for the pronominal suffix, and ex. 104\* has *šú*.

v 14 AN.ŠÁR u <sup>d</sup>15 “(the god) Aššur and the goddess Ištar”: Exs. 5, 94\*, 104\*, 110\*, and text no. 7 (Prism Kh) v 81 have <sup>d</sup>30 “the god Sîn” for AN.ŠÁR, while ex. 60\* has <sup>r</sup>d<sup>1</sup>30 u <sup>d</sup>UTU “the gods Sîn and Šamaš.”

- 20) *áš-šú ti-bu-ut LÚ.e-la-me-e šá ba-lu-u DINGIR it-ba-a*
- 21) *ú-šá-an-nu-u-ni t̃e-e-mu um-ma <sup>m</sup>te-um-man*
- 22) *ki-a-am iq-bi šá <sup>d</sup>15 ú-šá-an-nu-u mi-lik t̃e-me-šú*
- 23) *um-ma ul ú-maš-šar a-di al-la-ku it-ti-šú*
- 24) *ep-pu-šú mit-ḥu-ṣu-tú šu-ut me-re-eḥ-te an-ni-te*
- 25) *šá <sup>m</sup>te-um-man iq-bu-u am-ḥur šá-qu-tú <sup>d</sup>iš-tar*
- 26) *a-zi-iz ana tar-ši-šá ak-mi-is šá-pal-šá*
- 27) *DINGIR-<sup>r</sup>us<sup>1</sup>-sa ú-sap-pa-a il-la-ka di-ma-a-a*
- 28) *um-ma <sup>d</sup>be-let URU.LÍMMU-DINGIR.KI a-na-ku <sup>m</sup>aš-šur-DÛ-A MAN KUR aš-šur.KI*
- 29) *bi-nu-ut ŠU.II-ki šá iḥ-šu-ḥu-šú AN.ŠÁR AD ba-nu-ki*
- 30) *a-na ud-du-uš eš-re-e-ti šul-lum par-še-šú-un*
- 31) *na-šir pi-riš-te-šú-un šu-ṭu-ub lib-bi-šú-un*
- 32) *im-bu-u zi-kir-šú a-na-ku áš-re-e-ki áš-te-né-’i-i*
- 33) *al-li-ka a-na pa-laḥ DINGIR-ti-ki šul-lum par-še-e-ki*
- 34) *ù šu-ú <sup>m</sup>te-um-man MAN KUR.ELAM.MA.KI la mu-šá-qir DINGIR.MEŠ*
- 35) *ku-šur ka-li a-na mit-ḥu-ši ERIM.ḪI.A-ia*
- 36) *um-ma at-ti <sup>d</sup>be-let be-le-e-ti i-lat qab-li be-let <sup>r</sup>MÈ<sup>1</sup>*
- 37) *ma-li-kàt DINGIR.MEŠ AD.MEŠ-šá šá ina ma-ḥar AN.ŠÁR AD DÛ-ki*
- 38) *SIG<sub>5</sub>-tì taq-bi-i i-na ni-iš IGI.II-šú KÛ.MEŠ iḥ-šu-ḥa-an-ni*
- 39) *a-na LUGAL-u-ti áš-šú <sup>m</sup>te-um-man MAN KUR.ELAM.MA.KI*
- 40) *šá ana AN.ŠÁR MAN DINGIR.MEŠ AD DÛ-ki iḥ-tu-u bil-tu*
- 41) *id-ka-a ERIM.ḪI.A-šú ik-šu-ra ta-ḥa-zu*
- 42) *ú-šá-’i-i-la GIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ-šú a-na a-lak KUR aš-šur.KI*
- 43) *um-ma at-ti qa-rit-ti DINGIR.MEŠ ki-ma GUN*
- 44) *ina qa-bal tam-ḥa-ri pu-uṭ-ṭi-ri-šú-ma di-kiš-šú me-ḥu-u*
- 45) *IM lem-nu in-ḥe-ia šu-nu-ḥu-ti <sup>d</sup>15 iš-me-ma*
- 46) *la ta-pal-laḥ iq-ba-a ú-šar-ḥi-ša-an-ni lib-bu*
- 47) *a-na ni-iš ŠU.II-ka šá taš-šá-a IGI.II-ka im-la-a di-im-tú*
- 48) *ar-ta-ši re-e-mu ina šat mu-ši šu-a-tu šá am-ḥur-ši*
- 49) *1-en LÚ.šab-ru-u ú-tu-ul-ma i-na-aṭ-ṭal MÁŠ.GI<sub>6</sub>*
- 50) *i-gi-il-ti-ma tab-rit mu-ši ša <sup>d</sup>15 ú-šab-ru-šú*
- 51) *ú-šá-an-na-a ia-a-ti um-ma <sup>d</sup>15 a-ši-bat*

resided in the city Arbela, the city that her heart loves, (v 20) (when) they reported to me news concerning an Elamite attack, which he (Teumman) had started against me without divine approval, saying: “Teumman, whose judgement the goddess Ištar had clouded (lit. “altered”), spoke as follows, saying: ‘I will not stop until I go (and) do battle with him.’”

v 24b–28a) On account of these insolent words that Teumman had spoken, I made an appeal to the sublime goddess Ištar. I stood before her, knelt down at her feet, (and) made an appeal to her divinity, while my tears were flowing, saying:

v 28b–35) “O Divine Lady of the city Arbela! I, Ashurbanipal, king of Assyria, the creation of your hands whom (the god) Aššur — the father who had engendered you — requires, (v 30) whose name he has called to restore sanctuaries, to successfully complete their rituals, to protect their secret(s), (and) to please their hearts: I am assiduous towards your places (of worship). I have come to revere your divinity (and) successfully complete your rituals. However, he, Teumman, the king of the land Elam who does not respect the gods, is fully prepared to fight with my troops.”

v 36–42) “You, the divine lady of ladies, the goddess of war, the lady of battle, the advisor of the gods — her ancestors — the one who speaks good thing(s) about me before (the god) Aššur — the father who had engendered you — (so that) at the glance of his pure eyes he desired me to be king — with regard to Teumman, the king of the land Elam (v 40) who placed a burden on (the god) Aššur — the king of the gods, the father who had engendered you — he mustered his troops, prepared for battle, (and) sharpened his weapons in order to march to Assyria.”

v 43–45a) “You, the heroic one of the gods, drive him away like a ... in the thick of battle and (then) raise a storm, an evil wind, against him.”

v 45b–48a) The goddess Ištar heard my sorrowful plight and said to me “Fear not!” She gave me confidence, (saying): “Because of your entreaties, which you directed towards me, (and because) your eyes were filled with tear(s), I had mercy (on you).”

v 48b–51a) During the course of the night that I had appealed to her, a dream interpreter lay down and saw a dream. He woke up and (then) reported to me the night vision that the goddess Ištar had shown him, saying:

v 51b–72) “The goddess Ištar who resides in the city

v 20 Ex. 52\* omits *šá ba-lu-u DINGIR it-ba-a* “which he (Teumman) had started against me without divine approval.”

v 23 Text no. 7 (Prism Kh) v 91 adds <sup>r</sup>ša iq<sup>1</sup>-bu-u (“[th]at he had said”) before *um-ma* (“saying”).

v 31 *na-šir* “to protect”: For this form of the infinitive construct, see the on-page note to text no. 2 (Prism E<sub>2</sub>) i 2’. Exs. 94\* and 95\* have the more common form *na-šar*.

- URU.LÍMMU-DINGIR
- 52) *e-ru-ba-am-ma* 15 u 2.30 *tu-ul-la-ta iš-pa-a-ti*  
 53) *tam-ḥa-at* GIŠ.PAN *ina i-di-šá šal-pat*  
*nam-ša-<sup>r</sup>ru<sup>1</sup> zaq-tú šá e-peš ta-ḥa-zi*  
 54) *ma-ḥar-šá ta-zi-iz ši-i ki-ma* AMA  
 55) *a-lit-ti i-tam-ma-a it-ti-ka*  
 56) *il-si-ka* <sup>d</sup>15 *šá-qut* DINGIR.MEŠ *i-šak-kan-ka*  
*ṭè-e-mu*  
 57) *um-ma ta-na-aṭ-ṭa-la a-na e-peš šá-áš-me*  
 58) *a-šar pa-nu-u-a šak-nu te-ba-ku a-na-ku*  
 59) *at-ta ta-qab-bi-šá um-ma a-šar tal-la-ki*  
 60) *it-ti-ki lul-lik* <sup>d</sup>be-let GAŠAN.MEŠ  
 61) *ši-i tu-šá-an-nak-ka um-ma at-ta a-kan-na lu*  
*áš-ba-ta*  
 62) *a-šar maš-kán-i-ka a-kul a-ka-lu ši-ti*  
*ku-ru-un-nu*  
 63) *nin-gu-tú šu-kun nu-<sup>i</sup>id* DINGIR-ti  
 64) *a-di al-la-ku šip-ru šu-a-tu ep-pu-šú ú-šak-šá-du*  
 65) *šu-um-me-rat lib-bi-ka*  
 66) *pa-nu-u-ka ul ur-raq ul i-nàr-ru-ṭa* GİR.II-ka  
 67) *ul ta-šam-maṭ zu-ut-ka ina* MURUB<sub>4</sub> *tam-ḥa-ri*  
 68) *ina ki-rim-mi-šá* DÜG.GA *taḥ-ši-in-ka-ma*  
*taḥ-te-na gi-mir la-ni-ka*  
 69) *pa-nu-uš-šá* <sup>d</sup>GIŠ.BAR *in-na-pi-iḥ*  
 70) *šam-riš ta-at-ta-ši a-na a-ḥa-a-ti*  
 71) *e-li* <sup>m</sup>te-um-man MAN KUR.ELAM.MA.KI  
 72) *ša ug-gu-ga-<sup>r</sup>ta<sup>1</sup> pa-nu-uš-šá taš-kun*  
 73) *ina* ITL.KIN *ši-pir* <sup>d</sup>INANNA.MEŠ *i-sin-ni* AN.ŠÁR  
*ši-i-ru*  
 74) *ITI* <sup>d</sup>30 *na-an-nàr* AN-e u *KI-tim at-kil ana*  
 EŠ.BAR  
 75) <sup>d</sup>ŠEŠ.KI-ri *nam-ri* *ù ši-pir* <sup>d</sup>15 GAŠAN-ia *šá la*  
*in-nen-nu-u*  
 76) *ad-ke* ERIM.MEŠ *MÈ.MEŠ-ia mun-daḥ-še šá ina*  
*qí-bit* AN.ŠÁR <sup>d</sup>30 u <sup>d</sup>15  
 77) *it-ta-na-áš-ra-bi-ṭu ina* MURUB<sub>4</sub> *tam-ḥa-ri*  
 78) *e-li* <sup>m</sup>te-um-man MAN KUR.ELAM.MA.KI *ur-ḥu*  
*aš-bat-ma*  
 79) *uš-te-še-ra ḥar-ra-nu el-la-mu-u-a* <sup>m</sup>te-um-man  
 MAN KUR.ELAM.MA.KI  
 80) *ina* URU.É-<sup>m</sup>im-bi-i *na-di ma-dak-tú e-reb*  
 LUGAL-ti-ia  
 81) *šá qé-reb* BĀD.AN.KI *iš-me-e-ma iṣ-bat-su ḥat-tu*  
<sup>m</sup>te-um-man *ip-làḥ-ma*  
 82) *ana* EGIR-šú *i-tur e-ru-ub qé-reb* URU.šú-šá-an  
 83) KÛ.BABBAR KÛ.GI *a-na šu-zu-ub* ZI-ti-šú  
*ú-za-<sup>i</sup>i-iz a-na* UN.MEŠ KUR-šú  
 84) *re-še-e-šu a-lik* Á.II-šu *pa-nu-uš-šú*  
*ú-ter-ram-ma*

Arbela entered and she had quivers hanging on the right and left. She was holding a bow at her side (and) she was unsheathing a sharp sword that (was ready) to do battle. You (Ashurbanipal) stood before her (v 55) (and) she was speaking to you like (your own) birth-mother. The goddess Ištar, the sublime one of the gods, called out to you, instructing you, saying: ‘You are looking forward to waging war (and) I myself am about to set out towards my destination (the battlefield).’ You (then) said to her, saying: (v 60) ‘Let me go with you, wherever you go, O Lady of Ladies!’ She replied to you, saying: ‘You will stay in the place where you are (currently) residing. Eat food, drink wine, make music, (and) revere my divinity. In the meantime, I will go (and) accomplish this task, (thus) I will let (you) achieve (v 65) your heart’s desire. Your face will not become pale, your feet will not tremble, you will not wipe off your sweat in the thick of battle.’ She took you into her sweet embrace and protected your entire body. Fire flared up in front of her. She went off furiously outside. She directed her attention towards Teumman, the king of the land Elam with whom she was angr[y].”

v 73–79a) In the month Ulūlu (VI), “the work of the goddesses,” the festival of the exalted (god) Aššur, the month of the god Sîn, the light of heaven and netherworld, I trusted in the decision of (v 75) the bright divine light (Sîn) and the message of the goddess Ištar, my lady, which cannot be changed. I mustered my battle troops, warriors who dart about in the thick of battle by the command of the deities Aššur, Sîn, and Ištar. I set out on the path against Teumman, the king of the land Elam, and took the direct road.

v 79b–86) Before me, Teumman, the king of the land Elam, set up camp in the city Bīt-Imbî. He heard about the entry of my royal majesty into (the city) Dēr and fear took hold of him. Teumman became frightened, turned around, (and) entered the city Susa. In order to save his (own) life, he distributed silver (and) gold to the people of his land. He redeployed his allies, who march at his side, to his front and amassed (them) before me. He established the Ulāya River as his defensive position and kept (me from) the watering places.

v 59 Ex. 74\* mistakenly has the 2fs pronoun *at-ti* for the 2ms *at-ta*. Furthermore, the nominal 3fs pronominal suffix *-šá* on the verb *ta-qab-bi* in ex. 5 — the only certain Prism B exemplar attesting to this line — is an error for the verbal accusative suffix *-ši*, which the other non-certain Prism B exemplars have.

v 64 Ex. 5, the only certain Prism B exemplar attesting to this line, apparently has [DÜ]-šú for *ep-pu-šú* “accomplished.”

v 70 *šam-riš ta-at-ta-ši a-na a-ḥa-a-ti* “she went off furiously outside”: Text no. 6 (Prism C) vi 9’–10’ and text no. 7 (Prism Kh) vi 6–7 have *ez-zi-iš nam-ri-ri-iš È-ma a-na ka-šá-ad* LÚ.KÛR-šá DU-ik “she came out furiously (and) splendidly and went to conquer her enemy.”

v 84 *pa-nu-uš-šú* “to his front”: Ex. 108\* omits this word.



- 85) *ug-dáp-pi-šá a-na maḥ-ri-ia*  
 86) *ÍD.ú-la-a-a ana dan-nu-ti-šú iš-kun-ma iš-bat pa-an maš-qé-e*  
 87) *ina qí-bit AN.ŠÁR <sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ <sup>r</sup>EN<sup>1</sup>.MEŠ-ía šá ú-tak-kil-ú-<sup>r</sup>in<sup>1</sup>-ni*  
 88) *ina GIŠKIM.MEŠ MUNUS.SIG<sub>5</sub> MÁŠ.GI<sub>6</sub> INIM.GAR ši-pir maḥ-ḥe-e*  
 89) *qé-reb DU<sub>6</sub>-URU.tu-ba BAD<sub>5</sub>,<sup>r</sup>BAD<sub>5</sub><sup>1</sup>-šú-nu áš-kun*  
 90) *ina ADDA.MEŠ-šú-nu ÍD.ú-la-a-a*  
 91) *<sup>r</sup>as<sup>1</sup>-ki-<sup>r</sup>ir<sup>1</sup> šal-ma-ti-šú-nu ki-ma GIŠ.DÌḤ u GIŠ.KIŠI<sub>16</sub>*  
 92) *ú-mal-la-a ta-mir-ti URU.šu-šá-an*  
 93) *SAG.DU <sup>m</sup>te-um-man LUGAL KUR.ELAM.MA.KI ina qí-bit*  
 94) *AN.ŠÁR u <sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ EN.MEŠ-ía*  
 95) *<sup>r</sup>ak<sup>1</sup>-kis ina UKKIN ERIM.ḪI.A-šú me-lam-me AN.ŠÁR u <sup>d</sup>15*  
 96) *KUR.ELAM.MA.KI is-ḥu-up-ma ik-nu-šú a-na ni-ri-ía*  
 97) *<sup>m</sup>um-man-i-gaš šá in-nab-tu iš-ba-tu ĠIR.II-ía*  
 Col. vi  
 1) *ina GIŠ.GU.ZA-šú ú-še-šib <sup>m</sup>tam-ma-ri-tu ŠEŠ-šú šal-šá-a-a*  
 2) *ina URU.ḫi-da-lu a-na LUGAL-ú-ti áš-kun*  
 3) *GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ GIŠ.šu-um-bi ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ ANŠE.KUNGA.MEŠ*  
 4) *ši-mit-ti ni-i-ri GIŠ.til-li si-mat MÈ*  
 5) *šá ina tukul-ti AN.ŠÁR <sup>d</sup>15 DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ EN.MEŠ-ía*  
 6) *bi-rit URU.šu-šá-an u ÍD.ú-la-a-a ik-šu-da ŠU.II-a-a*  
 7) *ina qí-bit AN.ŠÁR u DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ EN.MEŠ-ía*  
 8) *ul-tu qé-reb KUR.ELAM.MA.KI ḥa-diš ú-ša-am-ma*  
 9) *a-na gi-mir ERIM.ḪI.A-ia šá-lim-tu šak-na-at*  
 10) *ina 8-e ger-ri-ia UGU <sup>m</sup>du-na-nu DUMU <sup>m</sup>EN-BA-šá*  
 11) *a-na KUR.gam-bu-li lu-u al-lik*  
 12) *šá a-na LUGAL KUR.ELAM.MA.KI it-tak-lu*  
 13) *la ik-nu-šú a-na ni-ri-ia*  
 14) *ta-ḥa-zi dan-nu KUR.gam-bu-lu a-na si-ḫir-ti-šú*  
 15) *ki-ma MURU<sub>9</sub> ak-tùm*  
 16) *URU.šá-pi-i-<sup>d</sup>EN URU dan-nu-ti-šú*  
 17) *ša qé-reb ÍD.MEŠ na-da-at šu-bat-su ak-šu-ud*  
 18) *<sup>m</sup>du-na-nu ŠEŠ.MEŠ-šú ul-tu qé-reb URU šu-a-tu*  
 19) *bal-ṭu-su-un ú-še-ša-a*

v 87-96) By the command of the gods Aššur (and) Marduk, the great gods, my lords, who had encouraged me through auspicious omens, dream(s), *egirrû*-oracle(s), (and) message(s) from ecstasies, (v 90) I brought about their defeat inside (the city) TĪl-Tūba. I blocked up the Ulāya River with their corpses (and) filled the plain of the city Susa with their bodies like *baltu*-plant(s) and *ašāgu*-plant(s). By the command of the gods Aššur (and) Marduk, the great gods, my lords, (v 95) in the midst of his troops, I cut off the head of Teumman, the king of the land Elam. The brilliance of (the god) Aššur and the goddess Ištar overwhelmed the land Elam and they (the Elamites) bowed down to my yoke.

v 97-vi 9) I placed Ummanigaš (Ḫumban-nikas II), who had fled to me (and) had grasped my feet, on his (Teumman's) throne. I installed Tammaritu, his third brother, as king in the city Ḫidalu. (With) the chariots, wagons, horses, mules, harness-broken (steeds), (and) equipment suited for war (vi 5) that I captured between the city Susa and the Ulāya River with the support of (the god) Aššur (and) the goddess Ištar, the great gods, my lords, by the command of (the god) Aššur and the great gods, my lords, I joyfully came out of the land Elam and salvation was established for my entire army.

vi 10-17) On my eighth campaign, I marched against Dunānu, son of Bēl-iqīša, to the land Gambulu, which had put its trust in the king of the land Elam (and) had not bowed down to my yoke. With my mighty battle array, (vi 15) I covered the land Gambulu in its entirety like a fog. I conquered the city Ša-pī-Bēl, his fortified city, whose location is situated between rivers.

vi 18-29) I brought Dunānu (and) his brothers out of that city alive. I brought out his wife, his sons,

v 87 DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ <sup>r</sup>EN<sup>1</sup>.MEŠ-ía "the great gods, my lords": Ex. 109\* and text no. 4 (Prism D) v 49'' (ex. 3) omit these words.

vi 7 Following K 3040+ iv 7' (Winckler, Sammlung 3 p. 73), text no. 7 (Prism Kh) vi 19' probably adds <sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU ("the god Marduk") after AN.ŠÁR u ("the god Aššur and").

vi 16 The city Ša-pī-Bēl was fortified by Esarhaddon to be a first line of defense against invading Elamite armies; see Leichty, RINAP 4 p. 19 no. 1 iii 80-83: URU.šá-pi-i-<sup>d</sup>EN URU dan-nu-ti-šú dan-na-as-su ú-dan-nin-ma šá-a-šú a-di LÚ.ERIM.MEŠ GIŠ.PAN-šú ina lib-bi ú-še-li-šú-ma GIM GIŠ.IG ina IGI KUR.e-lam-ti e-dil-šu "I strengthened the city Ša-pī-Bēl, the city (which is) his strong fortress, and I put him together with his archers therein as a garrison and (thus) locked it (the fortress) up like a door against the land Elam." Essentially, if Assyrian inscriptions are to be believed, Ashurbanipal dismantled fortifications built by his father.

- 20) DAM-su DUMU.MEŠ-šú DUMU.MUNUS.MEŠ-šú  
MUNUS.sek-re-ti-šú
- 21) LÚ.NAR.MEŠ MUNUS.NAR.MEŠ ú-še-ša-am-ma  
šal-la-tiš am-nu
- 22) KÛ.BABBAR KÛ.GI NÍG.ŠU na-kám-ti É.GAL-šú  
ú-še-ša-am-ma šal-la-tiš am-nu
- 23) LÚ.šu-ut SAG.MEŠ man-za-az pa-ni-šú  
LÚ.kit-ki-tu-u mu-šá-ki-le-šú ú-še-ša-am-ma
- 24) šal-la-tiš am-nu gi-mir um-ma-a-ni ma-la  
ba-šu-u
- 25) mar-kas URU u EDIN ú-še-ša-am-ma šal-la-tiš  
am-nu
- 26) GU<sub>4</sub>.MEŠ še-e-ni ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ  
ANŠE.KUNGA.MEŠ
- 27) ša ni-ba la i-šú-u ú-še-ša-am-ma šal-la-tiš  
am-nu
- 28) UN.MEŠ KUR-šú zi-<sup>1</sup>kir<sup>1</sup> u sin-niš TUR u GAL
- 29) e-du ul e-zib <sup>1</sup>ú<sup>1</sup>-še-ša-am-ma šal-la-tiš am-nu
- 30) <sup>m</sup>mas-si-ra-a LÚ.[GAL] <sup>1</sup>GIŠ<sup>1</sup>.PAN šá <sup>m</sup>te-um-man  
MAN KUR.ELAM.MA.KI
- 31) šá a-na kit-ri KUR.gam-bu-li ma-šar-tu  
<sup>m</sup>du-na-nu
- 32) áš-bu qé-reb URU.šá-pi-i-<sup>d</sup>EN
- 33) bal-ṭu-us-su ina qa-ti aš-bat
- 34) SAG.DU-su ak-kís
- 35) it-ti pa-ni <sup>m</sup>du-na-nu kit-ri la mu-še-zib-i-šú  
ar-pi-is
- 36) URU šu-a-tú ap-pul aq-qur ina A.MEŠ  
uš-ḥar-miṭ
- 37) a-di la ba-še-e ú-šá-lik
- 38) na-gu-ú šu-a-tu ú-šah-rib
- 39) ri-gim a-me-lu-ti ap-ru-sa EDIN-uš-šú
- 40) ina tu-kul-ti AN.ŠÁR <sup>d</sup>EN <sup>d</sup>AG DINGIR.MEŠ  
GAL.MEŠ EN.MEŠ-ia
- 41) LÚ.KÚR.MEŠ-ia a-ni-ir šal-meš a-tu-ra a-na  
NINA.KI
- 42) SAG.DU <sup>m</sup>te-um-man MAN KUR.ELAM.MA.KI ina  
GÚ <sup>m</sup>du-na-nu a-lul
- 43) it-ti ki-šit-ti KUR.ELAM.MA.KI
- 44) šal-la-at KUR.gam-bu-li
- 45) ša ina qí-bit AN.ŠÁR ik-šu-da ŠU.II-a-a
- 46) it-ti LÚ.NAR.MEŠ e-piš nin-gu-ti
- 47) a-na NINA.KI e-ru-ub ina HÚL.MEŠ
- 48) <sup>m</sup>um-ba-da-ra-a <sup>md</sup>MUATI-SIG<sub>5</sub>-iq
- 49) LÚ.MAḤ.MEŠ šá <sup>m</sup>te-um-man <sup>1</sup>LUGAL<sup>1</sup>  
KUR.ELAM.MA.KI
- 50) ša <sup>m</sup>te-um-man ina ŠU.II-šú-nu iš-pu-ra
- 51) ši-pir me-re-eḫ-ti ša ina maḥ-ri-ia ak-lu-u
- 52) ú-qa-'u-ú pa-an ši-kin ṭè-me-ia
- 53) ni-kis SAG.DU <sup>m</sup>te-um-man EN-šú-nu qé-reb
- his daughters, his (palace) women, male singers, (and) female singers and I counted (them) as booty. I brought out silver, gold, property, (and) the treasures of his palace and I counted (them) as booty. I brought out eunuchs, his attendants, engineers, (and) his food preparers and I counted (them) as booty. (vi 25) I brought out all of (his) artisans, as many as there were, the bond of city and steppe, and I counted (them) as booty. I brought out oxen, sheep and goats, horses, (and) mules, which were without number, and I counted (them) as booty. I did not leave a single person of his land — ma[le] and female, young and old — (and) I brought (them) out and counted (them) as booty.
- vi 30–35) I captured alive Massirâ, the [chief] archer of Teumman, the king of the land Elam, who was stationed inside the city Ša-pī-Bēl to provide support to the land Gambulu (and) to guard Dunānu. I cut off his head (and) beat (it) against the face of Dunānu, the ally who could not save him.
- vi 36–41) (As for) that city, I destroyed, demolished, (and) dissolved (it) with water; I annihilated (it). I laid waste that district (and) cut off the clamor of humans from it. With the support of the gods Aššur, Bēl (Marduk), (and) Nabû, the great gods, my lords, I killed my enemies (and) returned safely to Nineveh.
- vi 42–47) I hung the head of Teumman, the king of the land Elam, around the neck of Dunānu. With the spoils of the land Elam (and) the booty of the land Gambulu, which I captured by the command of (the god) Aššur, with singers performing music, I entered Nineveh in (the midst of) celebration.
- vi 48–56) (As for) Umbadarâ (and) Nabû-damiq, the envoys of Teumman — [the k]ing of the land Elam — by whose hands Teumman sent insolent message(s), whom I had detained before me by making (them) wait for the issuing of my decision, they saw the decapitated head of Teumman, their lord, in Nineveh and madness took hold of them. Umbadarâ pulled out

vi 35 ar-pi-is “I beat (it)”): Text no. 6 (Prism C) vii 40 (ex. 1) has [ar-pi]-<sup>1</sup>iq<sup>1</sup> “[I bea]t (it).”

vi 40 Text no. 6 (Prism C) vii 45 omits the divine names and EN.MEŠ-ia (“my lords”).

vi 42 After ina GÚ <sup>m</sup>du-na-nu a-lul “I hung around the neck of Dunānu,” ex. 75\*, text no. 6 (Prism C) vii 49–50, and text no. 7 (Prism Kh) vi 7’–8’ add SAG.DU <sup>md</sup>iš-tar-na-an-di ina GÚ <sup>m</sup>sa-am-gu-nu šEŠ <sup>m</sup>du-na-nu tar-den-nu a-lul “I hung the head of Ištar-nandi (Šutur-Naḥūndi) around the neck of Samgunu, the second brother of Dunānu” (with an orthographic variant).

- NINA.KI  
 54) *e-mu-ru-ma šá-né-e tē-e-me iṣ-bat-su-nu-ti*  
 55) <sup>m</sup>um-ba-da-ra-a ib-qu-nu ziq-na-a-šu  
 56) <sup>mdr</sup>AG<sup>1</sup>-SIG<sub>5</sub>-iq ina GÍR AN.BAR šib-bi-šú is-ḫu-la  
 kar-as-su  
 57) *ni-kis* SAG.DU <sup>m</sup>te-um-man ina GABA KÁ.GAL  
 MURUB<sub>4</sub> URU  
 58) *ša* NINA.KI <sup>u</sup>-<sup>r</sup>maḫ<sup>1</sup>-ḫi-ra maḫ-ḫu-riš  
 59) *áš-šú da-na-an* AN.ŠÁR u <sup>d</sup>15 EN.MEŠ-ia UN.MEŠ  
 kul-lu-me  
 60) *ni-kis* SAG.DU <sup>m</sup>te-um-man LUGAL  
 KUR.ELAM.MA.KI  
 61) <sup>m</sup>IBILA-a-a DUMU <sup>md</sup>MUATI-sa-lim DUMU DUMU  
<sup>md</sup>ŠÚ-A-AŠ  
 62) *ša la-pa-an* AD AD *ba-ni-ia* AD-šú in-nab-tu  
 63) *a-na* KUR.ELAM.MA.KI *ul-tu* <sup>m</sup>um-man-i-gaš  
*qé-reb* KUR.ELAM.MA.KI  
 64) *áš-ku-nu ana* LUGAL-ú-ti <sup>m</sup>IBILA-ia DUMU  
 [<sup>m</sup>]<sup>r</sup>d<sup>1</sup>AG-sa-lim  
 65) *iṣ-bat ú-še-bi-la a-di* <sup>r</sup>maḫ<sup>1</sup>-ri-ia  
 66) <sup>m</sup>du-na-nu <sup>m</sup>sa-am-gu-na DUMU.MEŠ  
<sup>mdr</sup>EN<sup>1</sup>-BA-šá  
 67) *KUR.gam-bu-la-a-a šá* AD.MEŠ-<sup>r</sup>šú<sup>1</sup>-un *a-na*  
<sup>r</sup>LUGAL.MEŠ AD<sup>1</sup>.MEŠ-ía  
 68) *ú-dal-li-pu-ma ù šu-nu ú-nàr-ri-tu e-peš*  
 69) <sup>r</sup>LUGAL<sup>1</sup>-ti-ia *qé-reb bal-til*.KI ù  
 URU.LÍMMU-DINGIR  
 70) *a-na da-lál aḫ-ra-a-te ú-bil-šu-nu-ti*  
 71) *šá* <sup>m</sup>man-nu-ki-PAP.MEŠ LÚ.2-u *šá* <sup>m</sup>du-na-ni  
 72) ù <sup>md</sup>MUATI-ú-šal-li LÚ.šá UGU URU  
 KUR.gam-bu-li  
 73) *ša* UGU DINGIR.MEŠ-ia *iq-bu-u šil-la-tú* GAL-ti  
 74) *qé-reb* URU.LÍMMU-DINGIR EME-šú-un *áš-lu-up*  
*áš-ḫu-ṭa* KUŠ-šú-un  
 75) <sup>m</sup>du-na-nu *qé-reb* NINA.KI UGU GIŠ.ma-ka-ṣi  
*id-du-šú-ma*  
 76) *iṭ-bu-ḫu-šú as-liš si-it-ti* ŠEŠ.MEŠ-šú *šá*  
<sup>m</sup>du-na-ni  
 77) ù <sup>m</sup>IBILA-a-a *a-ni-ir* UZU.MEŠ-šú-nu *ú-na-kis*  
 78) *ú-še-bil a-na ta-mar-ti ma-ti-tan*  
 79) <sup>md</sup>MUATI-I <sup>md</sup>EN-KAR-ir DUMU.MEŠ  
<sup>md</sup>MUATI-MU-KAM-eš LÚ.GÚ.EN.NA  
 80) *šá* AD *ba-nu-šú-un* <sup>m</sup>ur-ta-ku *id-ka-a a-na*  
 81) *mit-ḫu-ṣi* KUR URI.KI GÌR.PAD.DA.MEŠ  
<sup>md</sup>MUATI-MU-KAM-eš  
 82) *šá ul-tu qé-reb* KUR.gam-bu-li *il-qu-u-ni a-na*  
 KUR aš-šur.KI  
 83) GÌR.PAD.DA.MEŠ *šá-a-ti-na mé-eḫ-ret* KÁ.GAL  
 MURUB<sub>4</sub> URU  
 84) *šá* URU.ni-na-<sup>r</sup>a<sup>1</sup>

his (own) beard (and) Nabû-damiq stabbed himself in the stomach with his iron belt-dagger.

vi 57–60) (As for) the decapitated head of Teumman, I displayed (it) opposite the Citadel Gate of Nineveh as a *spectacle* in order to show the people the might of (the god) Aššur and the goddess Ištar, my lords — the decapitated head of Teumman, the king of the land Elam.

vi 61–65) (As for) Aplāya, son of Nabû-salim, grandson of Marduk-apla-iddina (II) (Merodach-baladan), whose father had fled to the land Elam before the father of the father who had engendered me — after I had installed Ummanigaš (Ḫumban-nikas II) as king in the land Elam, he (Ummanigaš) seized Aplāya, son of Nabû-salim, (and) sent (him) b[ef]ore me.

vi 66–70) (As for) Dunānu (and) Samgunu, sons of Bē[1]-iqīša — Gambulians whose ancestors had harassed the kings, my ancestors, and, moreover, (who) themselves disturbed my exercising the kingship — I brought them inside Baltil (Aššur) and the city Arbela to praise (me) in the future.

vi 71–74) As for Mannu-kī-aḫḫē, the deputy of Dunānu, and Nabû-ušalli, a city overseer of the land Gambulu, who had uttered grievous blasphem(ies) against my gods, I ripped out their tongue(s) and flayed them inside the city Arbela.

vi 75–76a) (As for) Dunānu, they laid him on a slaughtering block inside Nineveh and slaughtered him like a lamb.

vi 76b–78) (As for) the rest of the brothers of Dunānu and Aplāya, I killed (them), chopped up their flesh, (and) sent (them) out to be a spectacle in all of the lands.

vi 79–85) (As for) Nabû-na'id (and) Bēl-ēṭir, sons of Nabû-šuma-ēreš, the *šandabakku* (governor of Nippur), whose father, the one who had engendered them, had stirred up Urtaku to fight with the land Akkad — the bones of Nabû-šuma-ēreš, which they had taken out of the land Gambulu to Assyria, I made them (lit. “his sons”) crush those bones opposite the Citadel Gate of Nineveh.

vi 59 EN.MEŠ-ia “my lords”: Ex. 30\* omits this word.

vi 70 Text nos. 6 (Prism C) and 7 (Prism Kh) add a passage here stating that Rusâ of Urartu sent an audience gift to Assyria and that Ashurbanipal made two Elamite envoys stand before the Urartian messengers with writing boards containing hostile messages; see respectively vii 20'–28' and vii 11–20 of those inscriptions.

- 85) *ú-šaḥ-ši-la* DUMU.MEŠ-šú
- 86) <sup>m</sup>um-man-i-gaš šá ṭa-ab-tú ma-a'-as-su  
e-pu-šú-uš
- 87) áš-ku-nu-uš a-na LUGAL-u-ti KUR.ELAM.MA.KI
- 88) ša SIG<sub>5</sub>-ti la ḥa-as-su
- 89) la iṣ-šu-ru a-de-e ma-mit DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ
- 90) ul-tu ŠU.II LÚ.A KIN.MEŠ <sup>md</sup>GIŠ.NU<sub>11</sub>-MU-GI.NA  
Col. vii
- 1) ŠEŠ la ke-nu LÚ.KÚR-ia im-ḥu-ru ṭa-a'-tú
- 2) e-mu-qi-šú it-ti-šú-un iṣ-pu-ra
- 3) a-na mit-ḥu-ši ERIM.ḪI.A-ia
- 4) ERIM.MEŠ MÈ-ia šá ina KUR.kár-<sup>d</sup>dun-ía-àš
- 5) it-ta-na-al-la-ku ú-kab-ba-su KUR.kal-du
- 6) ina la i-de še-er <sup>m</sup>un-da-si
- 7) DUMU <sup>m</sup>te-um-man LUGAL KUR.ELAM.MA.KI
- 8) ù <sup>m</sup>za-za-az LÚ.EN.URU KUR.pil-la-te
- 9) <sup>m</sup>pa-ru-ú LÚ.EN.URU KUR.ḥi-il-mu
- 10) <sup>m</sup>at-ta-me-tu LÚ.GAL GIŠ.PAN
- 11) <sup>m</sup>né-e-šú a-lik pa-ni ERIM.ḪI.A šá  
KUR.ELAM.MA.KI
- 12) a-na <sup>r</sup>mit<sup>1</sup>-ḥu-uš-ši it-ti ERIM.ḪI.A KUR aš-šur.KI
- 13) ú-ma-'e-er-šú-nu-ti iṣ-kun-šú-nu-te <sup>r</sup>ṭe-e-mu<sup>1</sup>
- 14) <sup>m</sup>um-man-i-gaš a-na <sup>m</sup>un-da-si ki-a-am <sup>r</sup>iq<sup>1</sup>-bi
- 15) um-ma a-<sup>r</sup>lik<sup>1</sup> TA KUR aš-šur.KI ter-<sup>r</sup>ra<sup>1</sup>
- 16) [tuk-te<sub>9</sub>]-<sup>r</sup>e<sup>1</sup> AD ba-ni-ka
- 17) <sup>m</sup>un-da-<sup>r</sup>a-su<sup>21</sup> <sup>m</sup>za-za-az <sup>m</sup>pa-ru-u  
<sup>m</sup>at-<sup>r</sup>ta<sup>1</sup>-me-tu <sup>m</sup>ne<sup>1</sup>-e-šú
- 18) <sup>r</sup>it-ti LÚ<sup>1</sup>.A KIN.MEŠ <sup>md</sup>GIŠ.<sup>r</sup>NU<sub>11</sub><sup>1</sup>-MU-GI.NA ŠEŠ  
nak-<sup>r</sup>ri<sup>1</sup>
- 19) <sup>r</sup>ur-ḥu iṣ<sup>1</sup>-ba-tu-nim-ma uš-te-še-ru-ni ḥar-ra-nu
- 20) <sup>r</sup>ERIM<sup>1</sup>.MEŠ MÈ-ia ina URU.man-gi-si šá <sup>r</sup>qé-reb<sup>1</sup>  
URU.su-man-dir
- 21) <sup>r</sup>EDIN<sup>1</sup>-uš-šú-un e-lu-nim-ma iṣ-ku-nu  
<sup>r</sup>taḥ<sup>1</sup>-ta-šú-un
- 22) ša <sup>m</sup>un-da-si DUMU <sup>m</sup>te-um-man LUGAL  
KUR.ELAM.MA.KI
- 23) ša <sup>m</sup>za-za-az <sup>m</sup>par-ru-ú <sup>m</sup>at-ta-me-tu
- 24) SAG.DU.MEŠ-šú-nu ik-ki-su-nim-ma ú-bil-u-ni  
a-di maḥ-ri-ia
- 25) šu-ut a-ma-a-ti an-na-a-ti LÚ.A KIN-ia
- 26) ú-ma-'e-er še-er <sup>m</sup>um-man-i-gaš
- 27) LÚ.šú-ut SAG-ia šá áš-pu-<sup>r</sup>ru<sup>1</sup> ik-la-ma
- 28) la ú-ter-ra tur-tú a-mat-ia
- 29) AN.ŠÁR <sup>d30</sup> <sup>d</sup>UTU <sup>dEN</sup> <sup>d</sup>MUATI <sup>dU</sup>.GUR  
DINGIR.MEŠ ti-ik-le-ia
- 30) di-in kit-ti it-ti <sup>m</sup>um-man-i-gaš i-<sup>r</sup>di<sup>1</sup>-nu-in-ni
- 31) <sup>m</sup>tam-ma-ri-tu EDIN-uš-šú ib-bal-kit-ma šá-a-šú

vi 86–vii 5) (As for) Ummanigaš (Ḫumban-nikas II), for whom I performed many act(s) of kindness (and) whom I installed as king of the land Elam, (and) who forgot my favor(s), did not honor the treaty sworn by the great gods, (and) accepted bribe(s) from the hands of the messengers of Šamaš-šuma-ukīn — (my) unfaithful brother, my enemy — he sent his forces with them to fight with my troops, my battle troops who were marching about in Karduniaš (Babylonia) (and) subduing Chaldea.

vii 6–19) Secretly, he (Ummanigaš) dispatched them to Undasu, a son of Teumman — a (former) king of the land Elam — and Zazaz, the city ruler of the land Pillatu, Parrû, the city ruler of the land Ḫilmu, Atta-metu, the chief archer, (and) Nēšu, a leader of the troops of the land Elam, to fight with the troops of Assyria (and) he gave them order(s). Ummanigaš said to Undasu as follows, (vii 15) saying: “Go, exact [reveng]e from Assyria for the father who had engendered you.” Unda[s]u, Zazaz, Parrû, Atta-metu, (and) Nēšu, together with the messengers of Šamaš-šuma-ukīn, (my) hosti[le] brother, set out en route and took the direct road.

vii 20–24) My battle troops (who were stationed) in the city Mangīsu — which is inside (the territory of) the city Sumandir — came up against them and brought about their defeat. They cut off the heads of Undasu, a son of Teumman — a (former) king of the land Elam — Zazaz, Parrû, (and) Atta-metu and they brought (them) before me.

vii 25–28) I dispatched my messenger to Ummanigaš (Ḫumban-nikas II) regarding these matters. He detained the eunuch of mine whom I had sent (Marduk-šarru-ušur) and did not give a reply to my word(s).

vii 29–33a) The gods Aššur, Sīn, Šamaš, Bēl (Marduk), Nabû, (and) Nergal, the gods who support me, rendered a just verdict for me concerning Ummanigaš (Ḫumban-nikas II). Tammarītu rebelled against him

vi 85 Text nos. 6 (Prism C) and 7 (Prism Kh) insert a passage here concerning Šamaš-šuma-ukīn before the passage reporting on Ummanigaš and his treacherous cooperation with that king against Assyria; see text no. 6 (Prism C) vii 48' and text no. 7 (Prism Kh) vii 36–45.

vii 1 LÚ.KÚR-ia “my enemy”: Ex. 92 has EN <sup>r</sup>nak<sup>1</sup>-ri-ia, ex. 108\* has EN LÚ.KÚR-ia, and ex. 125\* has <sup>r</sup>EN<sup>1</sup> LÚ.KÚR-ia. For this phrase, see CAD N/1 p. 171 and Borger, BIWA p. 109.

vii 8 ù “and”: Text no. 6 (Prism C) viii 3' omits this word.

vii 12–13a Compare text no. 6 (Prism C) viii 7'–9', which has a-na re-šu-<sup>r</sup>ut<sup>21</sup> [<sup>md</sup>GIŠ.NU<sub>11</sub>-MU-GI.NA?] a-na mit-ḥu-ši ERIM.[ḪI.A KUR aš-šur.KI?] <sup>m</sup>um-man-i-gaš [ú-ma-'e-er-šú-nu-ti] “Ummanigaš [dispatched them] to hel[p Šamaš-šuma-ukīn] (and) to fight with the troop[s of Assyria].”

vii 14 a-na <sup>m</sup>un-da-si “to Undasu”: Text no. 6 (Prism C) omits these two words; compare viii 11' of that inscription.

vii 29 Text no. 7 (Prism Kh) vii 13' probably adds <sup>d</sup>MAŠ <sup>d</sup>nusku (“the gods Ninurta (and) Nusku”) before <sup>dU</sup>.GUR (“the god Nergal”).

- 32) *ga-du kim-ti-šú ú-ra-sib*  
 ina GIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ <sup>m</sup>*tam-ma-ri-tú šá e-la*  
 šá-a-šú ek-šu ú-šib ina GIŠ.GU.ZA
- 33) KUR.ELAM.MA.KI *ki-ma šá-a-šú-ma ṭa-<sup>2</sup>a-a-tú*  
*im-ḥur*
- 34) *ul iš-al šu-lum LUGAL-ti-ia*
- 35) *a-na kit-ri* <sup>md</sup>GIŠ.NU<sub>11</sub>-MU-GI.NA ŠEŠ *la ke-e-nu*  
*il-lik-am-ma*
- 36) *a-na mit-ḥu-ši ERIM.ḪIA-ia ur-ri-ḥa*  
 GIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ-šú
- 37) *ina su-up-pe-e šá AN.ŠÁR u* <sup>d</sup>15 *ú-sap-pu-u*
- 38) *ta-né-ḥi-ia im-ḥu-ru iš-mu-u zi-kir NUNDUM-ia*
- 39) ARAD.MEŠ-šú EDIN-uš-šú *ib-bal-ki-tu-ma*
- 40) *a-ḥa-meš ú-ra-si-bu EN ḪUL-ti-ia*
- 41) <sup>m</sup>*in-da-bi-bi ARAD-su šá si-ḥu*
- 42) UGU-šú *ú-šab-šu-u ú-šib ina GIŠ.GU.ZA-šú*
- 43) <sup>m</sup>*tam-ma-ri-tu LUGAL KUR.ELAM.MA.KI*
- 44) *ša me-re-eḫ-tú iq-bu-u*
- 45) *e-li ni-kis SAG.DU* <sup>m</sup>*te-um-man*
- 46) *šá ik-ki-su a-ḥu-ru-u ERIM.ḪIA-ia*
- 47) *ù ŠEŠ.MEŠ-šú qin-nu-šú NUMUN É AD-<sup>r</sup>šú<sup>1</sup>*
- 48) *it-ti 85 NUN.MEŠ šá KUR.ELAM.MA.KI a-li-kut*  
 Á.II.MEŠ-šú
- 49) *ša la-pa-an GIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ AN.ŠÁR u* <sup>d</sup>15  
*ip-par-šu-nim-ma*
- 50) *a-na da-lál DINGIR-ti-šú-nu GAL-ti*
- 51) *it-ti* <sup>md</sup>AMAR.UTU-MAN-PAP LÚ.šú-ut SAG-ia
- 52) *ša ib-ši-mu-šú ina da-na-ni*
- 53) *mi-ra-nu-uš-šú-un ina UGU lib-bi-šu-nu*
- 54) *ip-ši-lu-nim-ma iš-ba-tu ĠIR.II LUGAL-ti-ia*
- 55) <sup>m</sup>*tam-ma-ri-tu a-na e-peš ARAD-ti-ia ra-man-šú*  
*im-nu-ma*
- 56) *a-na kàt-a-ri-šú ú-šal-la-a EN-u-ti*
- 57) *šu-ut 1-en šu-ut SAG-ia AN.ŠÁR* <sup>d</sup>30 <sup>d</sup>UTU <sup>d</sup>EN

and struck him, together with his family, down with the sword. Tammarītu, who was (even) more insolent than him (Ummanigaš), sat on the throne of the land Elam.

vii 33b–42) Just like him (Ummanigaš), he (Tammarītu) accepted bribes, did not inquire about the well-being of my royal majesty, went to the aid of Šamaš-šuma-ukīn, (my) unfaithful brother, and hastily sent his weapons to fight with my troops. As a result of the supplications that I had addressed to (the god) Aššur and the goddess Ištar, they accepted my sighs (and) listened to the utterance(s) of my lip(s). His servants rebelled against him and (vii 40) together struck down my adversary. Indabibi, a servant of his who had incited rebellion against him, sat on his throne.

vii 43–54) (As for) Tammarītu, the king of the land Elam who had spoken insolent word(s) on account of the cutting off of the head of Teumman – which a low-ranking soldier of my army had cut off – and his brothers, his family, (and) the seed of his father’s house, together with eighty-five nobles of the land Elam who march at his side, who had flown away from the weapons of (the god) Aššur and the goddess Ištar – (vii 50) to praise their great divinity, they crawled naked on their bellies, together with Marduk-šarru-ušur, a eunuch of mine whom they had taken away (with them) by force, and they grasped the feet of my royal majesty.

vii 55–60) Tammarītu handed himself over to do obeisance to me and made an appeal to my lordly majesty to be his ally. For just one eunuch of mine, the gods Aššur, Sîn, Šamaš, Bēl (Marduk), (and) Nabû,

vii 32 šá-a-šú “him”: Text no. 7 (Prism Kh) vii 19’ has [<sup>m</sup>um-man]<sup>r</sup>i-gaš “[Umman]igaš”; this variant probably also appears in text no. 6 (Prism C) viii 5’ and text no. 8 (Prism G) viii 10’.

vii 33 ṭa-<sup>2</sup>a-a-tú im-ḥur “he accepted bribes”: Text no. 6 (Prism C) viii 7’b–8’<sup>a</sup>, text no. 7 (Prism Kh) vii 21’b–22’, and text no. 8 (Prism G) viii 12’b–13’<sup>a</sup> have [ul-tu šú.II] <sup>md</sup>GIŠ.NU<sub>11</sub>-MU-GI.NA ṭa-a-<sup>2</sup>tú im-ḥur “he (Tammarītu) accepted bribes [from the hand of] Šamaš-šuma-ukīn.”

vii 35 <sup>md</sup>GIŠ.NU<sub>11</sub>-MU-GI.NA “Šamaš-šuma-ukīn”: Ex. 133\* writes the name as <sup>md</sup>GIŠ.NU<sub>11</sub>.<<GAL>>-MU-GI.NA<sup>1</sup>. For the various orthographies of this name, see Frame, *Babylonia* p. 103 n. 5; Frame, *NABU 1992* p. 79 no. 104; and Baker, *PNA 3/2* p. 1214.

vii 36 ur-ri-ḥa GIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ-šú “he hastily sent his weapons”: These words are not included in text nos. 6 (Prism C), 7 (Prism Kh), and 8 (Prism G); compare respectively viii 11’, vii 26’, and viii 16’ of those inscriptions.

vii 38 ta-né-ḥi-ia im-ḥu-ru “they accepted my sighs”: Text no. 7 (Prism Kh) vii 28’ and text no. 8 (Prism G) viii 18’ have un-ni-ni-ia il-qu-<sup>r</sup>ú<sup>1</sup> “they accepted my prayers.”

vii 39 ib-bal-ki-tu-ma “rebelled and”: Ex. 5, the only certain Prism B exemplar attesting to this word, has the deficient form *ib-ba-ki<sup>2</sup>-tu<sup>1</sup>-ma*; the master text follows the rest of the uncertain exemplars.

vii 47 ŠEŠ.MEŠ-šú “his brothers”: The names of two of Tammarītu’s brothers are recorded: Ummanaldašu (Ḫumban-ḫaltaš) and Para-... (name not fully preserved). Both are named in two inscriptions written on K 1609 + K 4699 (Leeper, *CT 35* pl. 47) and K 2825 (3 R pl. 37 no. 5), two badly damaged clay tablets that record this same event. Ummanaldašu is specifically referred to as the brother of Tammarītu in K 4457 + Rm 2,305 + 80-7-19,133 obv. 13’ (Borger, *BIWA* p. 314 no. 67). Ummanaldašu (Ḫumban-ḫaltaš; a son of Teumman), Ummanamni (a son of Ummanpi’, a son of Urtaku), and Ummanamni, a grandson of Ummanaldašu (Ḫumban-ḫaltaš II) are said to have accompanied them (according to K 1609+ and K 2825).

vii 48 85 NUN.MEŠ “eighty-five nobles”: Ex. 5, the only certain Prism B exemplar attesting to this number, has 86 NUN.MEŠ “eighty-six nobles.” The master text follows the rest of the exemplars and the other prisms of Ashurbanipal that contain this passage. Two tablets recording this same event, K 1609+ and K 2825 (see the on-page note for the previous line), contain a second variant number. K 1609+ rev. 4 has 88 nobles and K 2825 obv. 8’ has 8[8] (80+6+[2]).

vii 49 Ex. 118\* adds *ip-par-ši-du* (“had fled (and)”) before *ip-par-šu-nim-ma* (“had flown away and”).

vii 50 Ex. 118\* omits GAL-ti “great.”

vii 57 Text no. 7 (Prism Kh) vii 51’ possibly adds <sup>d</sup>MAŠ <sup>d</sup>nusku <sup>d</sup>U.GUR “the gods Ninurta, Nusku, (and) Nergal.”

- <sup>d</sup>AG
- 58) DINGIR.MEŠ *tik-le-ia* 1 LIM-A.A *ri-bi-ia i-ri-bu-u-ni*
- 59) <sup>m</sup>*tam-ma-ri-tu* UN.MEŠ *ma-la it-ti-šu*
- 60) *qé-reb* É.GAL-*ia ul-zi-is-su-nu-ti*
- 61) <sup>m</sup>*in-da-bi-bi* šá EGIR <sup>m</sup>*tam-ma-ri-ti*
- 62) *ú-ši-bu ina* GIŠ.GU.ZA KUR.ELAM.MA.KI
- 63) *da-na-an* GIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ-*ia i-de-e-ma*
- 64) *ša ú-šam-ri-ru* UGU KUR.ELAM.MA.KI
- 65) DUMU.MEŠ KUR *aš-šur*.KI šá *áš-pu-ru*
- 66) *a-na kit-ri* <sup>md</sup>MUATI-EN-MU.MEŠ DUMU <sup>md</sup>AMAR.UTU-A-AŠ
- 67) *ša* GIM *ib-ri u tap-pe-e na-šar* KUR-šú
- 68) *it-ta-na-al-la-ku it-ti-šú*
- 69) šá <sup>md</sup>MUATI-EN-MU.MEŠ *ina pi-ir-ša-a-ti ina šat mu-ši*
- 70) *uš-šab-bi-tu ik-lu-ú ina ki-li*
- 71) <sup>m</sup>*in-da-bi-bi* LUGAL KUR.ELAM.MA.KI
- 72) *ul-tu* É *ši-bit-ti ú-še-ša-áš-šú-nu-ti*
- 73) *ki-i ša-bat ab-bu-ut-ti qa-bé-e* MUNUS.SIG<sub>5</sub>-šú
- 74) *la ha-te-e mi-šir* KUR-šú
- 75) *ina* ŠU.II LÚ.A KIN-šú šá *tu-ú-bi ù su-lum-me-e*
- 76) *ú-še-bi-la a-di* IGI-<sup>r</sup>*ia*<sup>1</sup>
- 
- 77) <sup>m</sup>*ia-u-ta-a'* DUMU <sup>m</sup>*ha-za-a*-DINGIR LUGAL KUR.*qa-da-ri*
- 78) *e-piš* ARAD-*ti-ia áš-šú* <sup>r</sup>DINGIR.MEŠ<sup>1</sup>-šú *im-ḥur-an-ni-ma*
- 79) *ú-šal-la-a* LUGAL-*ú-ti*
- 80) MU DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ *ú-šá-az-kír-šú-ma*
- 81) <sup>dr</sup>*a*<sup>1</sup>-<sup>r</sup>[*tar*]-<sup>r</sup>*sa-ma-in*<sup>1</sup> *ú-ter-ma a-din-šú*
- 82) EGIR-*nu* <sup>r</sup>*ina*<sup>1</sup> *a-de-ia iḥ-ṭi-ma*
- 83) MUN *la iṣ-šur-ma iṣ-la-a* GIŠ.ŠUDUN *be-lu-ti-ia*
- 84) *a-na šá-'a-al šul-mì-ia* GÌR.II-šú *ip-ru-us-ma*
- 85) *ik-la-a ta-mar-ti*
- 86) UN.<sup>r</sup>MEŠ<sup>1</sup> [<sup>r</sup>KUR].<sup>r</sup>*a-ri-bi*<sup>1</sup> *it-ti-šú ú-šá-bal-kit-ma*
- 87) *iḥ-ta-nab-ba-tu*<sup>1</sup> *ḥu-bu-ut* KUR MAR.TU.KI
- 88) ERIM.ḪI.A-<sup>r</sup>*ia*<sup>1</sup> [*šá ina mi*]-<sup>r</sup>*šir*<sup>1</sup> KUR-šú *áš-bu*
- 89) *ú-ma-'e*-<sup>r</sup>[*e*]-*ra še-ru-uš-šu*
- Col. viii
- 1) BAD<sub>5</sub>.BAD<sub>5</sub>-šú-*nu* <sup>r</sup>*iš*<sup>1</sup>-*ku-nu* UN.MEŠ KUR.*a-ri-bi*
- 2) *ma-la it-<sup>r</sup>bu-u<sup>1</sup>-ni ú-ra-si-bu ina* GIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ
- 3) É EDIN *kul-ta-ri mu-šá-bi-šú-nu*
- 4) <sup>r</sup>IZI<sup>1</sup> *ú-šá-ḥi-zu ip-qí-du a-na* <sup>d</sup>GIŠ.BAR

the gods who support me, compensated me a thousand fold. I allowed Tammarītu (and) as many people as (there were) with him to stay in my palace.

vii 61-76) Indabibi, who sat on the throne of the land Elam after Tammarītu, knew about the might of my weapons that had prevailed over the land Elam and (vii 65) (as for) the Assyrians whom I had sent to aid Nabû-bēl-šumāti, son of Marduk-apla-iddina (II) (Merodach-baladan), with whom they used to march about protecting his land like a friend and ally (and) whom Nabû-bēl-šumāti (vii 70) had seized by guile during the night (and) confined in prison, Indabibi, the king of the land Elam, released them from prison. So that (they) would intercede (with me), say good thing(s) about him, (and) in order to prevent (me) from doing harm to the territory of his land, (vii 75) he sent (them) before me by the hands of his messenger (with messages) of goodwill and peace.

vii 77-87) Iauta', son of Hazael, the king of the land Qedar who does obeisance to me, approached me about his gods and implored my royal majesty. (vii 80) I made him swear an oath by the great gods and (then) I gave the god A[<sup>r</sup>tar]-samayin back to him. Afterwards, he sinned against my treaty, did not respect my kindness, and cast off the yoke of my lordship. He refrained from inquiring about my well-being and (vii 85) withheld audience gift(s) from me. He incited the peopl[e of the land of the] Arabs to rebel with him and they were repeatedly plundering the land Amurru.

vii 88-viii 4) I se[n]t troops of mi[ne who] were stationed [on the bor]der of his land against him (and) (viii 1) they brought about their defeat. They struck down with the sword the people of the land of the Arabs, as many as had risen up against me, (and) set fire to pavilion(s) and tents, their abodes, (and thus) consigned (them) to the god Gīra.

**vii 60** Text nos. 6 (Prism C), 7 (Prism Kh), and 8 (Prism G) add here a report about the defeat of Elamite archers and a detailed account about events in Babylon during the siege of that city and after it was captured; see respectively viii 1'''-ix 10'', viii 1-79', and viii 1'''-36''' of those inscriptions.

**vii 75** *ša tu-ú-bi ù su-lum-me-e* "of goodwill and peace": These words are not included in text no. 6 (Prism C) ix 24'', text no. 7 (Prism Kh) viii 94', and text no. 8 (Prism G) ix 5'.

**vii 76** Text nos. 6 (Prism C), 7 (Prism Kh), and 8 (Prism G) include a report about Nabû-bēl-šumāti and the people of Elam deposing Indabibi and replacing him with Ummanaldašu (Ḫumban-ḫaltaš III); see respectively ix 25''-52'', viii 95'-ix 9, and ix 6'-37' of those inscriptions.

**vii 79** LUGAL-*ú-ti* "my royal majesty": Text no. 7 (Prism Kh) ix 67'' has <sup>r</sup>EN<sup>1</sup>-*ú-ti* "my [lordly ma]jesty."

**viii 1** <sup>r</sup>*iš*<sup>1</sup>-*ku-nu* "they brought about": Text no. 4 (Prism D) viii 4 (ex. 2) has *áš-kun* "I brought about"; exs. 5 and 25\* may also have that variant.

**viii 3** Exs. 5 and 53\* have an extraneous BI sign after *kul-ta-ri*. This sign also appears in the parallel passage of text no. 4 (Prism D) viii 6 (ex. 2). Given that the intrusive sign appears in the same passage of two separate inscriptions, it is possible that the scribes of ex. 2 of Prism D directly copied this account from a Prism B version that contained the error (such as ex. 5, or possibly ex. 53\* if it is a Prism B exemplar), or from some other source common to these three exemplars (see Worthington, Textual Criticism pp. 77 and 132).

- 5) GU<sub>4</sub>.MEŠ *še-e-ni* ʿANŠE<sup>1</sup>.MEŠ ANŠE.GAM.MAL.MEŠ  
 6) *a-me-lu-tu iš-lu-lu-u-ni ina la mī-ni*  
 7) *se-ḥe-ep* KUR *ka-la-mu a-na si-ḥir-ti-šú*  
 8) *um-<sup>r</sup>da-na<sup>1</sup>-al-lu-u a-na paṭ gim-ri-šá*  
 9) ANŠE.GAM.MAL.MEŠ *ki-ma še-e-ni ú-par-ri-is*  
 10) *ú-za-<sup>3</sup>i-iz a-na* UN.MEŠ KUR *aš-šur*.KI  
 11) *qa-bal-ti* KUR-ia ANŠE.GAM.MAL *ina* 1 GÍN *ina*  
 1/2 GÍN *kas-pi*  
 12) *i-šam-mu ina* KÁ *ma-ḥi-ri*  
 13) MUNUS.*aš-tam-mu ina ni-id-ni* LÚ.LÚNGA *ina*  
 DUG.*ḥa-bé-e*  
 14) ʿLÚ<sup>1</sup>.NU.GIŠ.KIRI<sub>6</sub> *ina ki-i-ši im-da-na-ḥa-ru*  
 15) [ANŠE.GAM].ʿMAL<sup>1</sup>.MEŠ *ù a-me-lu-tu*  
 16) *si-it-ti* LÚ.*a-ri-bi šá la-pa-an* GIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ-ia  
 17) *ip-par-ši-du ú-šam-qit* <sup>d</sup>èr-ra *qar-du*  
 18) *su-un-qu ina bi-ri-šú-un iš-šá-kin-ma*  
 19) *a-<sup>r</sup>na<sup>1</sup> bu-ri-šú-<sup>r</sup>nu<sup>1</sup> e-ku-<sup>r</sup>lu<sup>1</sup>* UZU.MEŠ  
 DUMU.MEŠ-šú-un  
 20) *ar-ra-a-ti ma-<sup>r</sup>la<sup>1</sup> ina a-de-šú-un šaṭ-<sup>r</sup>ru<sup>1</sup>*  
 21) *ina pi-it-ti ʿi-<sup>r</sup>ši-mu-<sup>r</sup>šú<sup>1</sup>-nu-ti* AN.ŠÁR <sup>d</sup>30 <sup>d</sup>UTU  
 22) <sup>d</sup>EN <sup>d</sup>AG <sup>d</sup>r15 šá NINA.KI<sup>1</sup> <sup>d</sup>15 šá  
 URU.LÍMMU-DINGIR.KI  
 23) DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ EN.MEŠ-ia  
 24) <sup>m</sup>ia-u-ta-a<sup>1</sup> *ma-ru-uš-tú im-ḥur-šú-ma*  
 25) *e-diš-ši-šú in-na-bit* <sup>m</sup>a-bi-ia-te-e<sup>1</sup> DUMU  
<sup>m</sup>te-e<sup>1</sup>-ri  
 26) *a-na* NINA.KI *il-li-kam-ma ú-na-šiq* GÌR.II-ia  
 27) *a-de-e a-na e-peš* ARAD-ti-ia *it-ti-šú áš-kun*  
 28) *ku-um* <sup>m</sup>ia-u-ta-a<sup>1</sup> *áš-kun-šú ana* LUGAL-u-ti  
 29) KÙ.GI NA<sub>4</sub>.IGI.II.MEŠ NA<sub>4</sub>.BABBAR.DILI *gu-uḥ-lu*  
 ANŠE.GAM.MAL.MEŠ  
 30) ANŠE.MEŠ *bit-ru-tú man-da-at-tú šat-ti-šam-ma*  
 31) *ú-kin* EDIN-uš-šu  
 32) <sup>m</sup>am-mu-la-di-in LUGAL *qa-ad-ri šá ki-ma*  
 šá-a-šú  
 33) *ik-ki-ru iḥ-ta-nab-ba-tu ḥu-bu-ut* KUR  
 MAR.TU.KI  
 34) *ina zi-kir* MU-ia šá AN.ŠÁR <sup>d</sup>30 [<sup>d</sup>UTU <sup>d</sup>]ʿEN<sup>1</sup>  
<sup>d</sup>rAG<sup>1</sup>  
 35) <sup>d</sup>15 šá NINA.KI <sup>d</sup>15 šá LÍMMU-DINGIR.KI  
 ʿú<sup>1</sup>-[šar-bu-ú]  
 36) <sup>m</sup>ka-ma-as-ḥal-ta-a LUGAL ʿKUR.ma-<sup>3</sup>a-a-ba<sup>1</sup>  
 37) ARAD *da-gíl pa-ni-ia*  
 38) *ina* MÈ *iš-ku-nu* BAD<sub>5</sub>.BAD<sub>5</sub>-šú

viii 5–15) They carried off without number oxen, sheep and goats, donkeys, camels, (and) people. They fi[[l]led (with them) the whole extent of the land, in its entirety, to all of its border(s). I apportioned camels like sheep and goats (and) (viii 10) divided (them) among the people of Assyria (so that) within my country they (the Assyrians) could purchase a camel for one shekel (or even) a half shekel of silver at the market gate. The female tavern keeper for a *serving*, the beer brewer for a jug (of beer), (and) the gardener for (his) bag of vegetables were regularly receiving [cam]els and slaves.

viii 16–23) (As for) the rest of the Arabs who had fled from my weapons, the heroic god Erra struck (them) down. Famine broke out among them and they ate the flesh of their children on account of their hunger. (viii 20) The deities Aššur, Sîn, Šamaš, Bēl (Marduk) and Nabû, Ištar of Nineveh, (and) Ištar of Arbela, the great gods, my lords, decreed curses, as many as were written in their treaties, accordingly upon them.

viii 24–25a) (As for) Iauta<sup>1</sup>, hardship befell him and he fled alone.

viii 25b–31) Abi-Yate<sup>1</sup>, son of Te<sup>1</sup>ri, came to Nineveh and kissed my feet. I concluded a treaty with him to do obeisance to me. I installed him as king in place of Iauta<sup>1</sup>. I imposed upon him gold, eyestones, *pappardilû*-stone, kohl, camels, (and) prime quality donkeys as annual payment.

viii 32–42) (As for) Ammu-ladīn — the king of the land Qedar, who, like him (Iauta<sup>1</sup>), had turned hostile (and) repeatedly plundered the land Amurru — Kamās-ḥaltâ, the king of the land Moab, a servant who belonged to me who had brought about his defeat in battle by invoking my name — which the deities Aššur, Sîn, [Šamaš], Bēl (Marduk), Nabû, Ištar of Nineveh, (and) Ištar of Arbela [had made great] — (viii 40) captured Ammu-ladī(n) and the rest of his people who had escape[d the sl]aughter. He placed (their) hands and feet in iron fetters and sent (them) to Nineveh, before

viii 5 ʿANŠE<sup>1</sup>.MEŠ “donkeys”: Ex. 1 has DÙR “foal.”

viii 7 *a-na si-ḥir-ti-šú* “in its entirety”: Exs. 75\*, 80\*, and probably 77\* have šá for the pronominal suffix instead of šú so that it agrees with its feminine antecedent, KUR “land.”

viii 8 *um-<sup>r</sup>da-na<sup>1</sup>-al-lu-u* “they fi[[l]led”: Text no. 4 (Prism D) viii 11 (ex. 2) has *un-da-al-<sup>r</sup>lu-u<sup>2</sup>*. Moreover, ex. 6\* has *um-da-al-lu-ú<sup>1</sup>*, ex. 75\* has *um-<sup>r</sup>dal-lu-ú<sup>1</sup>*, and ex. 92\* has *un-da-al-<sup>r</sup>lu-[x]*.

viii 25 Text no. 6 (Prism C) x 5’ and text no. 7 (Prism Kh) x 2’ add [*a-na* KUR.na]ʿba<sup>1</sup>-a-a-ti (“[to the land of the Na]bayateans”) after *in-na-bit* (“he fled”).

viii 32b–33a *šá ki-ma šá-a-šú ik-ki-ru* “who, like him, had turned hostile”: Text no. 6 (Prism C) x 14’ and text no. 7 (Prism Kh) x 14’ have *ša it-ti* KUR ʿaš-šur<sup>1</sup>.KI ʿik-ki-ru<sup>1</sup> “who had turned hostile towards Assyria.”

viii 34b–35a Text no. 6 (Prism C) x 16’b–19’a and text no. 7 (Prism Kh) x 16’b–19’a have a different list of gods; those inscriptions have AN.ŠÁR <sup>d</sup>30 <sup>d</sup>UTU <sup>d</sup>EN <sup>d</sup>AG <sup>d</sup>15 šá NINA.KI <sup>d</sup>ršar-rat<sup>1</sup>-kid-mu-ri <sup>d</sup>15 ša URU.LÍMMU-DINGIR <sup>d</sup>rMAS<sup>1</sup> <sup>d</sup>GIŠ.BAR <sup>d</sup>U.GUR “the deities Aššur, Sîn, Šamaš, Bēl (Marduk), Nabû, Ištar of Nineveh, Šar[r]at-Kidmuri, Ištar of Arbela, Ninurta, Gira, (and) Nergal.”

- 39) <sup>m</sup>am-mu-<sup>r</sup>la-di<sup>?</sup> si-it-ti UN.MEŠ-šú me.
- 40) ša la-<sup>r</sup>pa<sup>r</sup>-[an] <sup>r</sup>da<sup>r</sup>-a-<sup>r</sup>ki<sup>r</sup> i-ši-tu-u-ni ú-šab-bit  
ina ŠU.II
- 41) ŠU.II u GİR.II bi-re-tú AN.BAR id-di-ma
- 42) a-na URU.NINA.KI a-di maḥ-<sup>r</sup>ri<sup>r</sup>-ia ú-še-bi-la
- 43) <sup>m</sup>na-at-nu LUGAL KUR.na-ba-a-a-ti
- 44) ša a-šar-šu ru-u-qu
- 45) iš-ma-a da-na-[an] AN.ŠÁR u <sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU šá  
ú-tak-kil-<sup>r</sup>ú<sup>r</sup>-in-ni
- 46) ša ma-ti-ma a-na <sup>r</sup>LUGAL.MEŠ<sup>r</sup> AD.MEŠ-ia
- 47) LÚ.A KIN-šú la iš-pu-ra
- 48) la iš-<sup>r</sup>a<sup>r</sup>-lu<sup>r</sup> šu-lum <sup>r</sup>LUGAL<sup>r</sup>-ti-šú-un
- 49) e-nen-na ia-a-ti LÚ.A KIN-šú [šá] šul-me
- 50) iš-pu-ra ú-na-šiq GİR.II-ia
- 51) a-na šá-kan a-de-e su-lum-me-e e-peš ARAD-ti-ia
- 52) ú-ša-na-al-la-a be-lu-u-ti
- 53) a-na-ku ḥa-diš ap-pa-lis-šu-ma
- 54) pa-ni-ia SIG<sub>5</sub>.MEŠ UGU-šú áš-kun
- 55) GUN man-da-at-tu šat-ti-šam-ma ú-kin  
EDIN-uš-šú
- 56) ina u<sub>4</sub>-me-šú-ma É.GAL ma-šar-ti ša qé-reb  
NINA.KI
- 57) ša <sup>md</sup>30-PAP.MEŠ-SU MAN KUR aš-šur.KI AD AD  
DÜ-ia e-pu-šú
- 58) la-ba-riš il-lik-am-ma tem-me-en-šú ir-bu-ub-ma
- 59) i-qu-pa É.GAR<sub>3</sub>.MEŠ-šú
- 60) É.GAL ma-šar-ti šu-a-tu ša la-ba-riš il-la-<sup>r</sup>ku<sup>r</sup>
- 61) e-na-ḥu UŠ<sub>8</sub>-šú mi-qit-ta-šu ad-ke
- 62) ak-šu-da a-sur-ru-šu ul-tu UŠ<sub>8</sub>-šú
- 63) a-di gaba-dib-bé-e-šú ar-šip ú-šak-lil
- 64) UGU šá u<sub>4</sub>-me pa-ni ú-dan-ni-na tem-me-en-šú
- 65) MU.SAR-ú ši-ṭir MU-ia u ta-nit-ti qar-ra-du-ti-ia
- 66) <sup>r</sup>šá<sup>r</sup> ina tukul-ti AN.ŠÁR <sup>d</sup>30 <sup>d</sup>UTU <sup>d</sup>EN <sup>d</sup>AG
- 67) <sup>d</sup>15 šá NINA.KI <sup>d</sup>15 šá URU.LÍMMU-DINGIR <sup>d</sup>MAŠ  
<sup>d</sup>nusku <sup>d</sup>U.GUR
- 68) ina KUR.KUR at-tal-la-ku áš-ku-nu da-na-an u  
li-i-tú
- 69) áš-ṭur-ma ana<sup>?</sup> aḥ-rat u<sub>4</sub>-me e-zib
- 70) a-na EGIR u<sub>4</sub>-me ina DUMU.MEŠ DUMU
- viii 43–55) Natnu, the king of the land of the Nabayateans — whose location is remote — heard about the migh[t of] the gods Aššur and Marduk, who had encouraged me. The one who had never sent his messenger to [the kings], my ancestors, (and) had never inquired about the well-being of their royal majesties, (viii 50) he now sent to me his messenger [with] greetings (and) kissed my feet. He was constantly be-seeing my lordly majesty to conclude a treaty (and) peace agreement, (and) to do obeisance to me. I myself looked with pleasure upon him and turned my benevolent face towards him. I imposed upon him annual tribute payment.
- viii 56–64) At that time, the armory that is inside Nineveh, which Sennacherib — king of Assyria, the father of the father who had engendered me — had built, had become old and (then) its foundation(s) had become weak and its walls had buckled. I removed the collapsed section(s) of that armory, which had become old (and) whose foundation(s) had become weak; I reached its lowest course. I built (and) completed (it) from its foundation(s) to its crenellations. I strengthened its foundation(s) more than previously.
- viii 65–69) I wrote out an inscribed object bearing my name and the praise of my heroism — with [wh]ich through the support of the deities Aššur, Šîn, Šamaš, Bēl (Marduk), Nabû, Ištar of Nineveh, Ištar of Arbela, Ninurta, Nusku, (and) Nergal, I constantly marched through the lands (and) established mighty victories — and I deposited (it) for future days.
- viii 70–78a) In the future, may one of the sons, grand-

**viii 43** KUR.na-ba-a-a-ti “Nabayateans”: For the identification of this people group, see Winnett and Reed, *Ancient Records* p. 99–100 and Eph<sup>al</sup>, *Arabs* pp. 221–223.

**viii 45** ú-tak-kil-<sup>r</sup>ú<sup>r</sup>-in-ni “had encouraged me”: Ex. 46\* has ú-tak-kil-an-ni for this verb. Although the first half of the line before <sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU is not preserved in the exemplar, R. Borger suggests (BIWA p. 116) that AN.ŠÁR has been omitted here, comparing it to text no. 11 (Prism A) viii 59 where AN.ŠÁR is cited without <sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU.

**viii 46–47** Ex. 118\* omits a-na <sup>r</sup>LUGAL.MEŠ<sup>r</sup> AD.MEŠ-ia “to [the king]s, my ancestors.” However, the indirect object might simply be displaced in this exemplar. Line 36’ of col. iii’ reads ša ma-ti-ma LÚ.A KIN-šú [...], followed by la iš-pu-ra <sup>r</sup>la<sup>r</sup> [...] in line 37’, indicating that the exemplar contained about half of a line of text in the broken section after LÚ.A KIN-šú but before la iš-pu-ra. It is possible that a-na LUGAL.MEŠ AD.MEŠ-ia was located there.

**viii 48** <sup>r</sup>LUGAL<sup>r</sup>-ti-šú-un “their royal majesties”: Text no. 6 (Prism C) x 1’ and text no. 7 (Prism Kh) x 34’ have LUGAL-ti-ia “my royal majesty.”

**viii 49** e-nen-na ia-a-ti “now, to me”: Text no. 6 (Prism C) x 2’–9’, text no. 7 (Prism Kh) x 35’–43’, and text no. 8 (Prism G) ix 12’–20’ have an expanded description of Natnu’s flight to the land of the Nabayateans in place of these two words. Also, the reading ia-a-ti follows ex. 118\* given that the only certain Prism B exemplar for this line, ex. 2, has the unusual orthography ia-a-a-ti.

**viii 56–64** The wording of the building accounts of this inscription and text no. 4 (Prism D) are very similar; compare viii 58–69 of the latter text.

**viii 65–69** This passage also appears in text no. 4 (Prism D) viii 70–74, text no. 6 (Prism C) x 3’–8’’, text no. 7 (Prism Kh) x 65’–72’, and text no. 8 (Prism G) x 1’–3’.

**viii 66** Ex. 5 omits ša before ina; as R. Borger (BIWA p. 117) has already noted, this may be an error.

**viii 70–71** Ex. 3 has [a-na] <sup>r</sup>EGIR<sup>r</sup> u<sub>4</sub>-me ina LUGAL.MEŠ<sup>r</sup> DUMU.MEŠ<sup>r</sup>-ia “[in the fu]ture, one of the kings, my descendants”; and ex. 6 has NUN-u EGIR-u [ina LUGAL.MEŠ DUMU].<sup>r</sup>MEŠ<sup>r</sup>-ia “a future ruler, [one of the kings], my [descendant]s.” Also, ex. 4 exhibits the same omissions as found in exs. 3 and 6, but since the text is broken it is impossible to know if its line began with the a-na EGIR u<sub>4</sub>-me of ex. 3 or the NUN-u EGIR-u of ex. 6.



- DUMU.<sup>1</sup>MEŠ DUMU<sup>1</sup>.MEŠ  
 71) ù DUMU.MEŠ *ina* LUGAL.MEŠ DUMU.MEŠ-*ia*  
 72) *ša* AN.ŠĀR u <sup>d</sup>15 *a-na be-lut* KUR u UN.MEŠ  
 73) *i-nam-bu-u zi-kir-šu e-nu-ma* É.GAL *ma-šar-te*  
 74) *šu-a-tú i-lab-bi-ru-ma en-na-ḥu*  
 75) <sup>1</sup>*an<sup>1</sup>-ḥu-us-su lu-ud-diš*  
 76) MU.SAR-ú *ši-ṭir* MU-*ia li-mur-ma*  
 77) Ì.MEŠ *lip-šu-uš* UDU.SISKUR BAL-*qí*  
 78) *a-na áš-ri-šu<sup>1</sup> lu-ter<sup>1</sup> ki-i ša a-na-ku*  
 79) MU.SAR-ú *ši-ṭir<sup>1</sup> šu-me* <sup>md</sup>[30]-<sup>1</sup>PAP<sup>1</sup>.MEŠ-SU AD  
 AD DÙ-*ia*  
 80) *a-mu-ru* Ì.MEŠ *ap-ṣu<sup>1</sup>-šu<sup>1</sup>* UDU.SISKUR <sup>1</sup>*aq-qu<sup>1</sup>-u*  
 81) *it-ti* MU.SAR-<sup>1</sup>*e<sup>1</sup> ši-ṭir* MU-*ia áš-ku-nu*  
 82) *at-ta ki-ma ia-a<sup>1</sup>-ti-ma* MU.SAR-*a-a a-mur-<sup>1</sup>ma<sup>1</sup>*  
 83) Ì.MEŠ *pu-šu-<sup>1</sup>uš<sup>1</sup>* UDU.SISKUR BAL-*qí*  
 84) *it-ti* MU.SAR-<sup>1</sup>*e<sup>1</sup>* (erasure) *ši-ṭir* MU-*ka šu-kun*  
 85) DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ *ma-la ina* MU.SAR-*e*  
*an-né-e šat-ru*  
 86) LUGAL-*ut-ka lik-tar-ra-<sup>1</sup>bu li<sup>1</sup>-iṣ-ṣu-ru*  
 BALA.MEŠ-*ka*  
 87) *ša* MU.SAR-ú <sup>1</sup>*ši<sup>1</sup>-ṭir* MU-*ia*  
 88) ù *ši-ṭir šu-me* <sup>AD</sup>1 [AD-*ia*?] *ib-ba-tú*  
 89) *ina mim-ma ši-pir ni-kil-<sup>1</sup>ti<sup>1</sup> [ú-ḥal]-<sup>1</sup>la<sup>1</sup>-qu*  
 90) *it-ti* MU.SAR-*e ši-ṭir<sup>1</sup>* [MU]-<sup>1</sup>*šu la i-šak-ka-nu*  
 91) DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ *ša AN-e u KI-tim*  
<sup>1</sup>LUGAL<sup>1</sup>-*su lis-ki-pu*  
 92) MU-<sup>1</sup>*šu NUMUN-šu<sup>1</sup> ina* KUR <sup>1</sup>*lu<sup>2</sup>-ḥal-li-qu*

**Date ex. 1**

- 93A) ITI.NE.NE.[NÍG UD.X.KÁM]  
 94A) *lim-mu* <sup>mn</sup>EN-<sup>1</sup>*šu-nu* [LÚ.EN.NAM URU.ḥi-in-da-na]

**Date ex. 5**

- 93B) ITI.NE <sup>1</sup>UD<sup>1</sup>.<sup>1</sup>[X (x)].KÁM  
 94B) *lim-mu* <sup>mf</sup>PAP<sup>1</sup>-DINGIR-*a-a*  
 95B) LÚ.GAR.<sup>1</sup>KUR<sup>1</sup> URU.gar-*ga-miš*

**Date ex. 6**

- 93C) ITI.NE.NE.<sup>1</sup>NÍG<sup>1</sup> [UD.X.KÁM *lim-mu*  
<sup>mp</sup>PAP]-DINGIR-*a-a*  
 94C) LÚ.GAR.KUR [URU.gar]-*ga-miš*

**Date ex. 39\***

- 93D) [ITI.NE].<sup>1</sup>NE<sup>1</sup>.NÍG UD.2.<sup>1</sup>KÁM<sup>1</sup>  
 94D) [*lim-mu* <sup>mn</sup>EN-<sup>1</sup>*šu<sup>1</sup>*]-<sup>1</sup>nu LÚ<sup>1</sup>.<sup>1</sup>[GAR].<sup>1</sup>KUR<sup>1</sup>  
 URU.ḥi-in-dan

sons, [(great grand)son]s, or (great, great grand)sons, one of the kings, my descendants, whom (the god) Aššur and the goddess Ištar nominate for ruling over the land and people, renovate its [di]lapidated section(s) when this armory becomes old and dilapidated. May he find an inscribed object bearing my name, and (then) anoint (it) with oil, make an offering, (and) return (it) to its place.

viii 78b–86) Just as I found an inscribed object be[ar]ing the name of [Senn]acherib, the father of the father who had engendered me, anointed (it) with oil, made an offering, (and) placed (it) with an inscribed object bearing my name, you should be just like me, find an inscribed object of mine and (then) anoint (it) with oil, make an offering (and) place (it) with an inscribed object bearing your name. (viii 85) May the great gods, as many as are recorded on this inscribed object, constantly bless your kingship (and) protect your reign.

viii 87–92) (As for) the one who destroys an inscribed object bearing my name or bearing the name of [my] grandfather, makes (it) disappear by some craft[y] device, (or) does not place (it) with an inscribed object bear[ing] his [name], may the great gods of heaven and netherworld overthrow his [ki]ngship (and) [m]ake his name (and) seed disappear from the land.

**Date ex. 1**

viii 93A–94A) Ab[u (V), the ... day], eponymy of Bēlšunu, [governor of the city Ḥindānu (648)].

**Date ex. 5**

viii 93B–95B) Abu (V), the [...]th day, eponymy of Aḥu-ilā'i, governor of the city Carchemish (649).

**Date ex. 6**

viii 93C–94C) Ab[u (V), the ...th day, eponymy of Aḥu-ilā'i, governor of [the city Car]chemish (649).

**Date ex. 39\***

viii 93D–94D) [A]bu (V), the second day, [eponymy of Bēlš]unu, [govern]or of the city Ḥindānu (648).

viii 78–83 These lines appear only in ex. 5; they are not included in exs. 3 and 6.

viii 84 The master text follows ex. 5. Exs. 3 and 6 have *it-ti* MU.SAR-*e ši-ṭir* MU-*ia u* MU <sup>md</sup>30-PAP.MEŠ-SU AD AD-*ia liš-ṭur-ma liš-kun* “may he write out and place (it) with an inscribed object bearing his name (and) the name of Sennacherib, my grandfather” (though ex. 3 lacks the *ma* in *liš-ṭur-ma*). Cf. the placement of this variant line in the building report of exs. 5 and 6 of text no. 4 (Prism D) viii 80.

viii 86 The master text follows ex. 5. Exs. 3 and 6 have *ki-ma ia-a<sup>1</sup>-ti-ma<sup>2</sup> liš<sup>1</sup>-ru-ku-šu<sup>1</sup> da-na-nu u li-i-tú* “[may] they (the gods) grant him mighty victories just like me” (with orthographic variants). See also the on-page note to text no. 4 (Prism D) viii 87.

viii 88 Ex. 6 omits *ù ši-ṭir šu-me* AD AD-*ia* “or bearing the name of my grandfather.” These five words are probably omitted in ex. 3 as well, though the omission is located inside a break in that exemplar. See also the on-page note to text no. 4 (Prism D) viii 88.

viii 89 This line is omitted in ex. 6. See also the on-page note to text no. 4 (Prism D) viii 89.

viii 91 Before <sup>1</sup>LUGAL<sup>1</sup>-*su lis-ki-pu* (“may they overthrow his [ki]ngship”), ex. 6 has DINGIR.MEŠ *a-<sup>1</sup>ši-bu-ti<sup>1</sup>* <sup>1</sup>AN<sup>1</sup>-*e u KI-tim ag-giš* [*li-ru-ru-šu<sup>1</sup>*] “[may] the gods who r[eside in hea]ven and netherworld [curse him] angrily.” See also the on-page notes to text no. 4 (Prism D) viii 91 and 92.

**Date ex. 40\***93E) [... UD.x.KÁM *lim-mu* <sup>m</sup>PAP-DINGIR-*a-a*]94E) [LÚ.GAR.KUR URU.gar]-<sup>r</sup>ga<sup>1</sup>-miš**Date ex. 127\***93F) ITL.SIG<sub>4</sub>.GA [UD.x.KÁM *lim-mu* ...]94F) LÚ.GAR.KUR <sup>r</sup>URU<sup>1</sup>[...]**Date ex. 40\***

viii 93E-94E) [..., the ...th day, eponymy of Aḫu-ilā'ī, governor of the city Carchemish (649).

**Date ex. 127\***

viii 93F-94F) Simānu (III), [the ... day, eponymy of ...], governor of the city [...].

## 4

Fragments of numerous clay prisms are inscribed with a version of Ashurbanipal's annals that records eight campaigns and describes the rebuilding and widening of (part of) Nineveh's citadel wall, which had fallen into disrepair; Sennacherib is named as a previous builder. The prologue and military narration of this inscription, which is generally called "Prism D" in earlier publications, is identical to that of text no. 3 (Prism B), apart from a few minor textual variants. At least three of the exemplars of this text were inscribed during the post-canonical eponymy of Bēšunu, governor of Ḫindānu (648).

## CATALOGUE

Ex.	Museum Number	Registration Number	Provenance	Lines Preserved	cpn
1	K 1741 + K 1811 + K 1839 + K 1852 + Sm 1887 + BM 99329 (+) Sm 1879	Ki 1904-10-9,362	Probably Nineveh	i 1-2, ii 1-3, iv 10'-v 1 15''-47'', 50''-vi 4, 42-89, vii 22-53, 61-91, viii 38-44, 83-93, date	c
2	A 8006 (+)? IM 11528	—	Purchased by E. Chiera in Mosul; Nineveh	i 1-64, ii 1'-16', vi 14-35, vii 1-66, viii 4-73	(c)
3	K 1700 + K 1836 + K 1844 + Sm 2020 + DT 102 (+) K 1713 (+) K 1717 + K 1779 + Sm 1878 (+) K 1732 + Sm 1989 (+)? K 1737 (+) 79-7-8,10	79-7-8,10	As ex. 1	i 26-29, 61-ii 5, 8'-15', 44'-72', iii 13-31, 1'-iv 13, 21'-41', v 1'-9', 1''-51'', vi 8-13, 33-76, 93-vii 2, 11-20, 30-53, viii 25-36, 44-74	c
4	A 8005 (+)? BM 128266	1932-12-10,523	As ex. 2	i 33-46, ii 7'-41', iii 23-64, iv 1'-37', viii 58-61	c
5	BM 127909 + BM 128012 + BM 128060 + BM 138192	1929-10-12,565 + 1929-10-12,668 + 1929-10-12,716 + 1932-12-12,919	Nineveh	i 47-76, ii 56'-74', vii 70-87, viii 71-93, date	c
6	A 7937 + A 8008	—	Purchased by E. Chiera in Mosul	i 48-79, viii 70-93	c
7	A 8010 (+) BM 127887 + BM 127916	1929-10-12,543 + 1929-10-12,572	As ex. 2	i 50-66, ii 33'-52', vi 55-63, vii 51-59, viii 59-72	c
8	BM 127867 + BM 128287 (+) LB 1315	1929-10-12,523 + 1932-12-10,544	As ex. 5	i 53-77, vi 56-71, vii 57-71, viii 60-84	c
9	83-1-18,602 + BM 134441	83-1-18,602 + 1932-12-12,436 (TM 1931-2,15)	As ex. 5	i 71-ii 10, 69'-iii 14, viii 89-93, date	c

10	A 11862 (+) BM 121017 + BM 127942 + BM 128276	1929-10-12,13 + 1929-10-12,598 + 1932-12-10,533	Purchased by A.C. Piepkorn in Mosul; Nineveh	v 28''-42'', vi 48-71, vii 43-72, viii 63-77	c
11	K 1731	—	As ex. 1	i 46-59, ii 31'-39', viii 59-68	p
12	Rm 31	—	As ex. 1	i 61-65, viii 81-89	p
13	BM 98629	Th 1905-4-9,135	As ex. 5	viii 58-67	p
14	BM 105323	1913-4-16,155	As ex. 5	i 43-62, viii 72-93	c
15	BM 127840	1929-10-12,496	As ex. 5	vii 47-65, viii 55-71	p
16	A 8007	—	As ex. 6	i 44-49, viii 61-70	c
17	A 8009	—	As ex. 6	vi 22-66, vii 29-71, viii 56-73	c

## COMMENTARY

Ashurbanipal had his scribes write out copies of this version of his annals on both eight-sided and ten-sided clay prisms; exs. 1-2, 4, 6-7, and 9-15 are octagons and exs. 3, 5, 8, and 16-17 are decagons. Note that the surfaces of the extant columns of ex. 17 are slightly rounded, rather than flat as one expects for a normal clay prism; A 8009 should not be regarded as a vertical cylinder because its columns are angled 31-32 degrees, like a ten-sided prism. Text no. 9 (Prism F) ex. 6 (BM 121008+) also has marginally rounded surfaces; see the commentary of that inscription.

As far as the exemplars are preserved, there are only minor (orthographic) variants in the prologue and military narration. However, there is significant variation in the building report and concluding formulae. The account of the rebuilding and expansion of the citadel wall of Nineveh in exs. 3, 7-8, 11, and 15 is fourteen words longer than it is in exs. 2, 10, and 16-17; the former group includes viii 65-67, whereas the latter group does not. The building reports are not sufficiently preserved in the other exemplars to be able to determine which version they follow. Since none of the exemplars in question preserves a date, one cannot be absolutely certain that the copies with the longer building report were inscribed later than those with the shorter one. However, because the building report of exs. 3, 7-8, 11, and 15 states that Ashurbanipal strengthened the foundations of the citadel wall with limestone blocks and made it thicker and higher than it had been in the reign of Sennacherib, these copies of Prism D may have been inscribed later than exs. 2, 10, and 16-17. Of course, one cannot rule out the possibility that exs. 2, 10, and 16-17 are later in date and contain an abridged version of the rebuilding of the citadel wall. Moreover, there are also at least two different versions of Ashurbanipal's advice to future rulers (viii 75-93): The first is found in exs. 1, 8, 12, and 14, while the second appears in exs. 5-6 and 9. Given the fact that

only ex. 8 sufficiently preserves both a version of the building report and the king's advice, it is not possible to make any firm conclusions about how the different building accounts correlate to the different advice passages. Further details about these editorial differences are provided in the on-page notes.

The arrangement of text, as well as the number of lines of each column, varies between the exemplars. No exemplar is complete and the master line is a conflation of the various exemplars. The line count of this edition is based on the following exemplars: ex. 1 in iv 11'-32', 35'-v 1', 15''-46'', 50''-vi 4, 35'-82', vii 22-53, 63-91, and viii 83-93; ex. 2 in i 1-63, ii 1'-11', vi 7'-26', vii 1-21, 54-61, viii 4-64, and 68-73; ex. 3 in i 79-ii 4, 45'-63', iii 15-25, 1'-iv 13, 33'-34', v 1'-9', 1''-14'', 47''-49'', vi 1'-6', and 86'-92'; ex. 4 in ii 12'-32', iii 26-64, and iv 1'-10'; ex. 5 in i 64-73 and ii 64'-74'; ex. 6 in i 74-78; ex. 7 in ii 33'-44' and viii 65-67; ex. 8 in viii 74-82; ex. 9 in ii 5-10 and iii 1-14; and ex. 17 in vi 27'-34'. The column and line numbering of R. Borger's edition of Prism D in BIWA generally follows that of A.C. Piepkorn (Asb.); see Borger, BIWA p. 86. The restorations are based on text no. 3 (Prism B), with a little help from text nos. 6 (Prism C) and 7 (Prism Kh). A full score of the inscription is presented on the CD-ROM and all of the numerous minor (orthographic) variants are listed at the back of the book, in the critical apparatus. In addition, because the lineation of the present edition differs significantly from the one given in Borger, BIWA, a concordance of line numbers is provided at the back of the book.

Numerous other prism fragments may be inscribed with copies of this text, rather than some other (earlier or later) inscription of Ashurbanipal. These are edited as text no. 3 (Prism B) exs. 1\*-147\*. For further details, see the catalogues and commentaries of that inscriptions. Moreover, it is possible that ex. 13 (BM 98629) could actually be an exemplar of text no. 8 (Prism G). Despite this uncertainty,

that piece is tentatively edited here as a positively identified exemplar of this text.

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## TEXT

Col. i

- 1) *a-na-ku* <sup>m</sup>rAN.ŠĀR-DÙ<sup>1</sup>-[A LUGAL] <sup>r</sup>GAL LUGAL *dan-nu*<sup>1</sup>
- 2) LUGAL ŠÚ LUGAL <sup>r</sup>KUR AN<sup>1</sup>.ŠĀR.<sup>r</sup>KI<sup>1</sup> [LUGAL *kib-rat* LÍMMU]-<sup>r</sup>tim<sup>1</sup>
- 3) <sup>r</sup>ši-it<sup>1</sup> lib-bi <sup>m</sup>AN.ŠĀR-<sup>r</sup>PAP<sup>1</sup>-[AŠ LUGAL KUR *aš-šur.KI*]
- 4) GĪR.NÍTA KÁ.DINGIR.RA.KI <sup>r</sup>LUGAL<sup>1</sup> [KUR EME.GI<sub>7</sub> u URI.KI]
- 5) ŠĀ.BAL.BAL <sup>md</sup>30-PAP.MEŠ-<sup>r</sup>SU<sup>1</sup> [LUGAL ŠÚ LUGAL KUR *aš-šur.KI*]
- 6) DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ *ina* UKKIN-šú-nu *ši-mat* <sup>r</sup>SIG<sub>5</sub><sup>1</sup>-[*tim i-šim-mu šim-ti*]
- 7) *uz-nu ra-pa-aš-tú iš-ru-ku-u-ni kul-lat* <sup>r</sup>tup<sup>1</sup>-[*šar-ru-ti ú-šá-ḫi-zu*]
- 8) *ka-ra-ši ina* UKKIN *lu-li-me zi-kir* <sup>r</sup>MU<sup>1</sup>-[*ia ú-šar-ri-ḫu*]

i 1–5) I, Ashurbani[*pal*], great [king], strong king, king of the world, king of Assyria, [king of the fou]r [quarters (of the world)], offspring of Esarh[addon, king of Assyria], governor of Babylon, ki[ng] of the land of Sumer and Akkad, descendant of Sennacher[ib, king of the world, king of Assyria] —

i 6–12a) The great gods in their assembly [determined] a favo[rable] destiny [as my lot] (and) they granted me a broad mind (and) [allowed] my mind [to learn] all of the scr[ibal arts]. They glorified] the mention of [my] na[me] in the assembly of princes (lit. “stags”) (and) made my kingship great; they gener-

i 1–viii 57 The prologue and military narration generally duplicate text no. 3 (Prism B) i 1–viii 55 apart from minor variants and the very occasional textual variant; see the on-page notes of that inscription for comments.

- 9) *ú-šar-bu-ú LUGAL-u-ti du-un-nu zik-ru<sup>1</sup>[u-tu]*  
 10) *e-mu-qa-an ši-ra-a-ti ú-šat-lim-u-ni ma-ta-<sup>r</sup>a-ti<sup>1</sup>*  
 11) *la ma-gi-re-ia ina ŠU.II-ia im-nu-u*  
*ú-šam-šu-in-ni*  
 12) *ma-la lib-bi-ia LÚ.Šá-an-gu-ti iḫ-šu-ḫu*  
 13) *na-dan zi-bi-ia i-ṭib UGU DINGIR-ti-šú-un*  
 14) *eš-ret DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ EN.MEŠ-ia ú-šak-lil*  
 15) *ú-šal-bi-šá KÙ.GI KÙ.BABBAR <sup>d</sup>lāḫ-me*  
<sup>d</sup>IM.DUGUD.MUŠEN.MEŠ  
 16) *tim-me MAḪ.MEŠ ina KÁ-šú-un ul-ziz é-šár-ra*  
*é-maš-maš*  
 17) *é-gašan-kalam-ma é-ḫúl-ḫúl ki-ma ši-ṭir AN-e*  
*ú-ban-ni*  
 18) *mim-ma si-mat É.KUR šá KÙ.GI KÙ.BABBAR*  
*e-pu-uš UGU šá LUGAL.MEŠ*  
 19) *AD.MEŠ-ia ú-rad-di sat-tuk-ku gi-nu-ú*  
 20) *UGU šá u<sub>4</sub>-me ul-lu-u-ti ú-šá-tir-ma ú-kin*  
 21) *áš-rat DINGIR.MEŠ áš-te-’a-a at-ta-la-ka*  
*al-ka-ka-te-šú-un*  
 22) <sup>d</sup>IŠKUR ŠĒG.MEŠ-šú *ú-maš-še-ra <sup>d</sup>é-a ú-paṭ-ṭi-ra*  
 IDIM.MEŠ-šú  
 23) *5 KÙŠ ŠE.AM iš-qu ina AB.SÍN-ni-šú e-ri-ik*  
*šu-bul-tú 5/6 KÙŠ*  
 24) *SI.SÁ BURU<sub>14</sub> na-pa-áš <sup>d</sup>nisaba ka-a-a-an*  
*ú-šah-na-bu*  
 25) *gi-pa-ru šip-pa-a-ti šu-um-mu-ḫa in-bu*  
 MÁŠ.ANŠE *šu-te-šur*  
 26) *ina ta-ḫ-ti ina BALA-ia ḪÉ.NUN ṭuḫ-du*  
 27) *ina MU.AN.NA.MEŠ-ia ku-um-mu-ru ḪÉ.GÁL-<sup>r</sup>lu<sup>1</sup>*  
 28) *10 ANŠE ŠE.PAD.MEŠ 1 ANŠE GEŠTIN.MEŠ*  
 BANMIN Ì.MEŠ 1 GUN SÍG.[MEŠ]  
 29) *ina nap-ḫar KUR-ia KI.LAM nap-šú i-šam-mu ina*  
*x x [x]*  
 30) *šat-ti-šam-ma ina ṭuḫ-di u mi-šá-ri ar-te-’a*  
*ba-’u-<sup>r</sup>ú<sup>1</sup>[lat <sup>d</sup>EN.LÍL]*  
 31) *ul-tú tam-tim e-liti a-di tam-tim šap-liti*  
*a<sup>2</sup>.<sup>r</sup>be<sup>1</sup>[ma<sup>2</sup>]*  
 32) *LUGAL.MEŠ ši-it <sup>d</sup>UTU-ši u e-reb <sup>d</sup>[UTU-ši]*  
 33) *iš-šú-u-ni GUN-su-nu ka-bit-tú UN.MEŠ MURUB<sub>4</sub>*  
*tam-tim*  
 34) *a-šib šad-de-e šá-qu-te ú-šak-ni-šá a-<sup>r</sup>na<sup>1</sup>*  
<sup>r</sup>[GIŠ].<sup>r</sup>ŠUDUN<sup>1</sup>-ia  
 35) *ina qí-bit AN.ŠÁR u <sup>d</sup>15 LUGAL.MEŠ a-šib*  
*pa-rak-ki ú-na-áš-šá-qu*  
 36) *GİR.II-ia mal-ki GAL.MEŠ šá ši-taš u ši-la-an*  
 37) *a-na kit-ri-šú-nu ú-pa-qu-u-ni*
- 
- 38) *i-na maḫ-re-e ger-ri-ia a-na KUR.má-kan <sup>r</sup>ù<sup>1</sup>*  
 KUR.me-luḫ-ḫa  
 39) *lu-u al-lik <sup>m</sup>tar-qu-u MAN KUR.mu-šur u*  
 KUR.ku-u-sí ša <sup>m</sup>AN.ŠÁR-PAP-AŠ  
 40) *MAN KUR AN.ŠÁR.KI AD ba-nu-u-a BAD<sub>5</sub>.BAD<sub>5</sub>-šú*

ously granted me power, vir[ility], (and) outstanding strength; (and) they placed lands that had not bowed down to me into my hands (and) allowed me to achieve my heart’s desire.

i 12b–21) They required my priestly services (and) my giving (them) food offerings pleased their divinity. I completed the sanctuaries of the great gods, my lords, clad (them) with gold (and) silver, (and) had long-haired heroes, lion-headed eagles, (and) tall columns erected in their gate(s). I made Ešarra, Emašmaš, Egašankalama, (and) Eḫulḫul shine like the stars (lit. “writing”) of the heavens. I made every type of temple appurtenance from gold (and) silver, (and) I added (them) to those of the kings, my ancestors. (i 20) I made regular offerings (and) contributions more plentiful than those of distant days. I was assiduous towards the sanctuaries of the gods (and) constantly followed their ways.

i 22–27) The god Adad released his rains (and) the god Ea opened up his springs. Grain was five cubits high in its furrow (and) ear(s) of corn were five-sixths of a cubits long. Successful harvest(s) and an abundance of grain enabled pasture land to continually flourish, fruit orchards to be very lush with fruit, (and) cattle to successfully give birth to (their) young. During my reign, there was plenitude (and) abundance; during my years, bountiful produc[e] was accumulated.

i 28–30) Throughout my entire land, (on account of) abundant trade, for (one) *shekel of sil[ver]* one could purchase ten donkey-loads of grain, one homer of wine, two seahs of oil, (and) one talent of wool[1]. Year after year, I shepherded the subjects of the god Enlil in prosperity and with justice.

i 31–37) *I ru[led]* from the Upper Sea to the Lower Sea [and] kings from the rising sun and the setting [sun] carried their substantial tribute to me. I made the people from the midst of the sea (and) those who live on high mountains bow down t[o] my [yo]ke. By the command of (the god) Aššur and the goddess Ištar, the kings who sit upon (royal) daises kiss my feet (and) great rulers from (both) east and west are anxious for me to be their ally.

i 38–52a) On my first campaign, I marched to Makan (Egypt) and Meluḫḫa (Ethiopia). Taharqa, the king of Egypt and Kush, whose defeat Esarhaddon — king of Assyria, the father who had engendered me — had brought about (and) whose land he ru[l]ed over, forgot

i 29 The translation assumes that this line ended with (1) GÍN kas-[pi] “(one) shekel of sil[ver].” The extant traces on ex. 2 cannot be checked against the original in the Iraq Museum (Baghdad) to confirm the reading of the signs.

i 31 R. Borger (BIWA p. 94) tentatively reads the end of the line as a<sup>12</sup>-b[el<sup>2</sup> x(ma<sup>2</sup>)] (“I ru[l]ed over”) on the basis of text no. 10 (Prism T) iv 20–26.

- iš-ku-nu i-be-<sup>l</sup>lu<sup>1</sup> KUR-su  
 41) da-na-an AN.ŠÁR <sup>d</sup>15 u DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ  
 EN.MEŠ-ia  
 42) im-ši-ma it-ta-kil a-<sup>r</sup>na tē<sup>1</sup>-em ra-ma-ni-šú  
 43) UGU LUGAL.MEŠ LÚ.qe-pa-a-ni šá qé-reb  
 KUR.mu-šur  
 44) ú-pa-qí-du AD ba-nu-u-a a-na da-a-ki  
 ḥa-ba-a-<sup>r</sup>ti<sup>1</sup>  
 45) u e-kem KUR.mu-šur il-li-ka [EDIN-uš-šú]-un  
 46) e-ru-um-ma ú-šib qé-<sup>r</sup>reb<sup>1</sup> [URU].<sup>r</sup>me-em<sup>1</sup>-pi  
 47) URU ša AD ba-nu-u-a ik-šu-<sup>r</sup>du<sup>1</sup> a-na mi-šir  
 KUR-šú  
 48) ú-ter-ru al-la-ku ḥa-an-tu ina qé-reb NINA.KI  
 49) il-li-kam-ma ú-šá-an-na-a ia-a-<sup>r</sup>ti UGU<sup>1</sup>  
 ep-še-e-ti  
 50) an-na-a-ti lib-bi i-gug-<sup>r</sup>ma<sup>1</sup> iṣ-ša-ru-<sup>r</sup>uh<sup>1</sup>  
 ka-bat-[ti]  
 51) ad-ke-e-ma LÚ.e-mu-qí-ia MAḤ.MEŠ ša AN.ŠÁR u  
<sup>d</sup>15  
 52) ú-mal-lu-u qa-tu-u-a a-na na-ra-ru-ti <sup>r</sup>ḥa-mat<sup>1</sup>  
 53) ša LUGAL.MEŠ LÚ.qe-pa-a-ni ša qé-reb  
 KUR.mu-šur ARAD.MEŠ  
 54) da-gíl pa-ni-ia ur-ru-ḥi-iš ar-de-<sup>r</sup>e<sup>1</sup>-ma al-lik  
 55) a-di URU.kar-ba-ni-ti <sup>m</sup>tar-qu-ú MAN  
 KUR.mu-šur u KUR.ku-u-si  
 56) qé-reb URU.me-em-pi a-lak ger-ri-ia iš-me-ma  
 57) a-na e-peš MURUB<sub>4</sub> GIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ MÈ a-na  
 maḥ-ri-ia  
 58) id-ka-a ERIM.MEŠ MÈ-šú ina tu-kul-ti AN.ŠÁR  
<sup>d</sup>EN <sup>d</sup>AG  
 59) DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ EN.MEŠ-ia a-li-kut <sup>r</sup>Á<sup>1</sup>.II-ia  
 ina MÈ EDIN rap-ši  
 60) áš-ku-na BAD<sub>3</sub>.BAD<sub>5</sub> ERIM.ḪI.A-šú <sup>m</sup>tar-qu-ú ina  
 qé-reb URU.me-em-pi  
 61) iš-ma-a taḥ-te-e ERIM.ḪI.A-šú nam-ri-ri AN.ŠÁR  
<sup>d</sup>15  
 62) is-ḥu-pu-šu-ma il-li-ka maḥ-ḥu-tiš mé-lam-me  
 LUGAL-ti-ia  
 63) ik-tu-mu-šú-ma šá ú-za-<sup>r</sup>i-i-nu-u-ni DINGIR.MEŠ  
 šu-ut AN KI  
 64) URU.me-em-pi ú-maš-šir-ma ana šu-zu-ub  
 ZI-tì-šú  
 65) in-na-bit a-na qé-reb URU.ni-i' URU šu-a-tu  
 66) aš-bat ERIM.ḪI.A.MEŠ-ia ú-še-rib ú-še-šib ina  
<sup>r</sup>lib<sup>1</sup>-bi  
 67) LUGAL.MEŠ LÚ.NAM.MEŠ šá qé-reb KUR.mu-šur  
 ú-pa-qí-du  
 68) AD ba-nu-u-a ša la-pa-an ti-bu-ut <sup>m</sup>tar-qu-u  
 69) pi-qit-ta-šú-un ú-maš-ši-ru im-lu-u EDIN  
 70) ú-ter-ma a-šar pi-qit-ti-šú-un  
 71) ina maš-kán-i-šú-nu ul-zi-is-su-nu-ti  
 72) KUR.mu-šur KUR.ku-u-su ša AD ba-nu-u-a  
 73) ik-šu-du a-na eš-šu-ti aš-bat  
 74) EN.NUN.MEŠ-šú UGU šá u<sub>4</sub>-me pa-ni ú-dan-<sup>r</sup>nin<sup>1</sup>  
 75) ú-rak-ki-sa rik-se-<sup>r</sup>e<sup>1</sup>-[šú]

the might of (the god) Aššur, the goddess Ištar, and the great gods, my lords, and trusted in his own counsel. (i 45) He marched against the kings (and) officials, whom the father who had engendered me had appointed inside Egypt, to kill (and) rob (them) and to take away Egypt (from them). He entered and resided i[n the city M]emphis, a city that the father who had engendered me had conquere[d] (and) made part of the territory of his land. A fast messenger came to Nineveh and reported (this) to me. (i 50) My heart became enraged about these deeds an[d my] tempe[r] turned hot. I mustered my elite forces that (the god) Aššur and the goddess Ištar had placed in my hands.

i 52b–60a) I quickly advanced to support (and) a[i]d the kings (and) officials who were in Egypt, servants who belonged to me, and I marched as far as the city Kār-Bānīti. Taharqa, the king of Egypt and Kush, heard about the advance of my expeditionary force (while he was) inside the city Memphis, and mustered his battle troops before me to wage armed battle (and) war. With the support of the gods Aššur, Bēl (Marduk), (and) Nabû, the great gods, my lords who march at my side, I brought about the defeat of his troops in a widespread pitched battle.

i 60b–66) Taharqa heard about the defeat of his troops while (he was) inside the city Memphis. The awe-inspiring radiance of (the god) Aššur (and) the goddess Ištar overwhelmed him and he went into a frenzy. The brilliance of my royal majesty, with which the gods of heaven and netherworld had endowed me, covered him; he abandoned the city Memphis and, in order to save his (own) life, he fled inside the city Thebes. I seized that city (Memphis) (and then) made my troops enter (and) reside there.

i 67–75) (As for) the kings (and) governors whom the father who had engendered me had appointed in Egypt, who had abandoned their post(s) in the face of Taharqa's tactical advance, (and) had gone to (lit. "filled") the countryside, where their post(s) were, I permitted (them) to serve in their (former) positions again. I reorganized Egypt (and) Kush, which the father who had engendered me had conquered. I strengthened its guard more than previously (and) concluded (new) agreements with [it].

- 76) URU.sa-a-a <sup>1</sup>URU<sup>1</sup>.bi-in-ti-ti URU.ša-a'-nu [ša]  
<sup>1</sup>ib<sup>1</sup>-bal-ki-tú
- 77) it-ti <sup>m</sup>tar-qu-u iš-ku-nu pi-i-šú-un
- 78) URU.MEŠ [šá-a-tu]<sup>1</sup>nu<sup>1</sup> ak-šu-ud
- 79) <sup>1</sup>UN<sup>1</sup>.[MEŠ a]<sup>1</sup>šib<sup>1</sup> lib-bi-šú-un a-<sup>1</sup>ni-ir ina<sup>1</sup>  
 GIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ
- 80) [ADDA.MEŠ-šú-nu ina GIŠ.ga]-ši-ši a-<sup>1</sup>lul<sup>1</sup>
- 81) [KUŠ.MEŠ]-šú-nu áš-<sup>1</sup>hu-u<sup>1</sup> BÀD URU ú-<sup>1</sup>hal-<sup>1</sup>líp<sup>1</sup>
- 82) [<sup>m</sup>LUGAL-lu-dà-ri šá AD-u-a] ina KUR.mu-šur
- 83) [iš-ku-nu-uš a-na] <sup>1</sup>LUGAL<sup>1</sup>-ti
- 84) [šá HUL]<sup>1</sup>tu<sup>1</sup> ik-pu-du [a]<sup>1</sup>na<sup>1</sup> DUMU.MEŠ KUR  
 aš-šur.KI
- 85) [ina qa-ti] aš-bat ú-ra-a a-na KUR aš-šur.KI
- 86) [<sup>m</sup>tar-qu-u a-šar] <sup>1</sup>in<sup>1</sup>-nab-tu
- 87) <sup>1</sup>ra<sup>1</sup>-šub-<sup>1</sup>bat<sup>1</sup> [GIŠ.TUKUL AN.ŠÁR EN-ia  
 is]-hup-šu-ma
- 88) il-lik <sup>1</sup>nam<sup>1</sup>-mu-ši-šú
- Col. ii
- 1) EGIR-nu <sup>m</sup>UR-da-ma-né-e DUMU NIN<sub>9</sub>-šú
- 2) ú-šib ina GIŠ.<sup>1</sup>GU<sup>1</sup>.[ZA] <sup>1</sup>LUGAL<sup>1</sup>-ti-šú
- 3) <sup>1</sup>URU<sup>1</sup>.ni-i' URU.ú-nu [a-na] <sup>1</sup>dan<sup>1</sup>-nu-ti-šú  
 iš-kun
- 4) [ú]<sup>1</sup>paḥ<sup>1</sup>-hi-ir il-lat-su
- 5) [a-na] mit-<sup>1</sup>hu-<sup>1</sup>ši ERIM<sup>1</sup>.[HIA DUMU.MEŠ] <sup>1</sup>KUR<sup>1</sup>  
 aš-šur.KI šá qé-reb URU.me-em-pi
- 6) [id]<sup>1</sup>ka<sup>1</sup>-a qa-bal-<sup>1</sup>šú<sup>1</sup> [UN.MEŠ šá-a]<sup>1</sup>tu<sup>1</sup>-nu  
 e-si-ir-ma
- 7) [is]<sup>1</sup>ba<sup>1</sup>-ta mu-uš-ša-<sup>1</sup>šú<sup>1</sup>-[un LÚ]<sup>1</sup>.<sup>1</sup>A<sup>1</sup> šip-ri  
 ḥa-an-ṭu
- 8) [a-na] <sup>1</sup>NINA<sup>1</sup>.KI il-lik-<sup>1</sup>am<sup>1</sup>-[ma iq]<sup>1</sup>ba<sup>1</sup>-a ia-a-ti
- 9) [áš-ni-ma] a-na KUR.mu-šur [KUR.ku-u-si]  
<sup>1</sup>uš<sup>1</sup>-te-še-ra ḥar-ra-nu
- 10) [<sup>m</sup>UR]<sup>1</sup>da<sup>1</sup>-ma-né-e [a-lak ger]<sup>1</sup>ri<sup>1</sup>-ia iš-me-ma
- Lacuna
- 1') <sup>1</sup>in-na<sup>1</sup>-[bit a-na URU.ki-ip-ki-pi URU šu-a-tu]
- 2') a-na [si-<sup>1</sup>hir-ti-šú ina tukul-ti AN.ŠÁR u <sup>d</sup>15  
 ik-šu-da]
- 3') ŠU.II-a-[a KÙ.BABBAR KÙ.GI ni-siq-ti NA<sub>4</sub>.MEŠ  
 NÍG.ŠU É.GAL-šú]
- 4') ma-la [ba-šú-u lu-bul-tu bir-me GADA.MEŠ  
 ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ]
- 5') UN.MEŠ [zik-ra ù sin-niš 2 tim-me MAḤ.MEŠ  
 pi-tiq za-ḥa-le-e]
- 6') eb-bi <sup>1</sup>ša<sup>1</sup> [2 LIM 5 ME GUN KILÁ-šú-nu  
 man-za-az KÁ É.KUR]
- 7') ul-tu man-zal-<sup>1</sup>ti<sup>1</sup>-šú-nu as-suh-ma al-qa-a a-na  
 KUR aš-šur.KI]
- 8') šal-la-tú ka-bit-<sup>1</sup>tu<sup>1</sup> [a-na la mî-ni áš-lu-la]  
<sup>1</sup>ul-tu<sup>1</sup> qé-reb
- 9') URU.ni-i' UGU KUR.mu-<sup>1</sup>šur<sup>1</sup> [u KUR.ku-u-si  
 GIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ]<sup>1</sup>ia<sup>1</sup>
- 10') ú-šam-ri-ir-ma <sup>1</sup>áš-ta<sup>1</sup>-[kan li-i-tú] it-ti qa-ti
- 11') ma-li-ti šal-meš [a-tu-ra] a-na URU.NINA.KI URU

i 76–81) (As for) the cities Sais, Mendes, (and) Tanis, [which] had rebelled (and) sided with Taharqa, I conquered [tho]se cities (and) I killed the pe[ople] livi[ng] inside them with the sword. I hun[g] their corpses on p[oles], fla[yed] them, (and) drape[d] the city wall(s with their skins).

i 82–85) [(As for) Šarru-lū-dāri, whom my father had installed as a ki[ng] in Egypt [(and) who] plotted [evi]l (deeds) [again]st the Assyrians, I capt[ured] (him and) brought (him) to Assyria.

i 86–88) [(As for) Taharqa, in the place where] he had fled, [the a]wesome terr[or of the weapon of (the god) Aššur, my lord, ov]erwhelmed him and he p[as]sed away.

ii 1–8) Afterwards, Tanutamón, the son of his sister, sat upon his [ro]yal th[rone]. He made the cities Thebes (and) Heliopolis his fo[r]tresses (and) [ass]embled his forces. (ii 5) [To] fight against [the] A[ssyrian] troo[ps] who were inside the city Memphis, [he mobiliz]ed his battle array, confined [tho]se [people], and [cut o]ff t[heir] escape route. [A] fast [me]ssenger cam[e to Ninev]eh [and tol]d (this) to me.

ii 9–10) [For a second time, I] took the direct road to Egypt (and) [Kush. Tanut]amon heard about [the advance of] my [expeditionary forc]e and

Lacuna

ii 1'–3'a) he (Tanutamón) fl[ed] to the city Kipkipi. With the support of (the god) Aššur and the goddess Ištar, I [conquered that city (Thebes)] in [its entirety]. ii 3'b–11') [Silver, gold, precious stones], as much [property of his palace as there was, garment(s) with multi-colored trim, linen garments, large horses], (ii 5') people – [male and female – two tall obelisks cast with] shiny [zaḥalū-metal], wh[ose] weight was 2,500 talents (and which) stood at a temple gate, I ripped (them) from where [they] were erecte[d] and took (them) to Assyria. I carried off] substantial booty, [(which was) without number], from inside the city Thebes. (ii 10') I made [m]y [weapons] prevail over Egy[pt and Kush] and (thus) ach[ieved] victory]. With full hand(s), [I returned] safely to Nineveh, my capital city.

## EN-ti-ia

- 12') *ina šal-ši ger-ri-ia* UGU <sup>m</sup>ba-'a-li LUGAL KUR.šur-ri  
 13') *a-šib* MURUB<sub>4</sub> *tam-tim lu-u al-lik*  
 14') *áš-šú a-mat* LUGAL-ti-ia *iš-šu-ru*  
 15') [*la iš-mu-u*] 'zi<sup>1</sup>-kir NUNDUM-ia  
 16') [URU.ḪAL.ŠU].<sup>r</sup>MEŠ<sup>1</sup> UGU-šú *ú-rak-kis a-na la a-še-e* UN.MEŠ-šú  
 17') [*ú-dan*]-<sup>r</sup>nin<sup>1</sup> *ma-šar-tú ina tam-tim u na-ba-li*  
 18') *ger-<sup>r</sup>re<sup>1</sup>-[ti]-<sup>r</sup>šú<sup>1</sup> ú-šab-bit a-lak-ta-šú ap-ru-us*  
 19') A.MEŠ *te-<sup>r</sup>u<sup>1</sup>-[ú]-ta ba-laṭ* ZI-ti-šú-nu *a-na pi-i-šú-nu*  
 20') *ú-šá-qir<sup>1</sup> ina me-[se]-<sup>r</sup>ri<sup>1</sup> dan-ni šá la*  
<sup>r</sup>na-par<sup>1</sup>-šú-di *e-si-ir-šú-nu-ti*  
 21') *nap-šat-su-<sup>r</sup>nu ú<sup>1</sup>-si-iq ú-kar-ri*  
 22') *a-na* GIŠ.ŠUDUN<sup>1</sup>-ia *ú-šak-ni-is-su-nu-ti*  
 23') DUMU.MUNUS *ši-it* 'lib<sup>1</sup>-bi-šú *u*  
 DUMU.MUNUS.MEŠ ŠEŠ.MEŠ-šú  
 24') *a-na e-peš* MUNUS.<sup>r</sup>AGRIG<sup>1</sup>-u-ti *ú-bi-la a-di* IGI-ia  
 25') DUMU-šú *ša ma-ti-ma* A.AB.BA *la e-bi-ra iš-šá-a*  
 26') *a-na e-peš* ARAD.<sup>r</sup>ti<sup>1</sup>-ia DUMU.MUNUS-su *u*  
 DUMU.MUNUS.MEŠ ŠEŠ.MEŠ-šú  
 27') *it-ti ter-ḫa-ti ma-a'-<sup>r</sup>as<sup>1</sup>-si am-ḫur-šú*  
 28') *re-e-mu ar-ši-šú-ma* DUMU *ši-it lib-bi-šú*  
 29') *ú-ter-ma a-ri-<sup>r</sup>im<sup>1</sup>-šú* URU.ḪAL.ŠU.MEŠ *šá* UGU <sup>m</sup>ba-'a-li  
 30') LUGAL KUR.šur-ri *ú-<sup>r</sup>rak<sup>1</sup>-ki-su ap-ṭur*  
 31') *ina tam-tim u na-ba-<sup>r</sup>li<sup>1</sup> ger-re-ti-šú ma-la*  
*ú-šab-bi-tú*  
 32') *ap-ti ma-da-at-<sup>r</sup>ta<sup>1</sup>-šú ka-bit-tú am-ḫur-šú*  
 33') *šal-meš a-tu-ra a-na* 'NINA<sup>1</sup>.KI URU EN-u-ti-ia  
 34') *ma-al-ki* MURUB<sub>4</sub> *tam-tim u* LUGAL.MEŠ  
 35') *a-šib šad-de-e šá-<sup>r</sup>qu<sup>1</sup>-[u]-<sup>r</sup>ti<sup>1</sup>*  
 36') *da-na-an ep-še-ti-ia* 'an<sup>1</sup>-[na-a-ti]  
 37') *e-mu-ru-ma ip-la-ḫu* EN-u-ti  
 38') <sup>m</sup>ia-ki-in-lu-u LUGAL KUR.a-ru-ad-da  
 39') <sup>m</sup>mu-gal-lu LUGAL KUR.tab-URU-a-a  
 40') <sup>m</sup>sa-an-[di]-šar-me KUR.ḫi-<sup>r</sup>lak<sup>1</sup>-ka-a-a  
 41') *ša a-na* LUGAL.MEŠ AD.MEŠ-<sup>r</sup>ia<sup>1</sup> [*la*] 'kan-šú<sup>1</sup>  
 42') *ik-nu-šú a-na ni-ri-ia* [DUMU.MUNUS.MEŠ]  
 43') *ši-it lib-bi-šú-nu it-<sup>r</sup>ti<sup>1</sup> [nu-dun-né-e]*  
 44') *ma-a'-di ù ter-ḫa-ti ma-a'-as-si*  
 45') *a-na e-peš* MUNUS.AGRIG-u-ti *a-na* NINA.KI  
 46') *ú-bi-lu-nim-ma ú-na-áš-ši-qu* 'GİR<sup>1</sup>.[II-ia]  
 47') *e-li* <sup>m</sup>mu-gal-li ANŠE.KUR.RA.<sup>r</sup>MEŠ<sup>1</sup> [GAL.MEŠ]  
 48') *ma-da-at-tu šat-ti-<sup>r</sup>šam ú-kin<sup>1</sup> [EDIN]-<sup>r</sup>uš<sup>1</sup>-šú*  
 49') *ul-tu* <sup>m</sup>ia-ki<sup>1</sup>-[in-lu-u LUGAL KUR].<sup>r</sup>a<sup>1</sup>-ru-ad-da  
 50') *il-li-ku [a-na šim]-ti*  
 51') [<sup>m</sup>a-zi-ba-al] <sup>m</sup>a-bi-ba-[al] 'm<sup>1</sup>a-du-ni-ba-al  
 52') DUMU.MEŠ <sup>m</sup>ia<sup>1</sup>-[ki-in-lu-u a-šib] MURUB<sub>4</sub>  
*tam-tim*  
 53') *ul-tu* MURUB<sub>4</sub> [*tam-tim*] 'e<sup>1</sup>-lu-nim-ma

ii 12'-22') On my third campaign, I marched against Ba'alu, the king of the land Tyre who resides in the middle of the sea. Because he did not honor my royal command(s and) (ii 15') [did not obey the pro]nouncement(s) from my lip(s), I set up [outpost]s against him. To prevent his people from leaving, [I reinforc]ed (its) garrison. By sea and dry land, I took control of (all of) [h]is ro[utes] (and thus) cut off (all) access to him. (ii 20') I made the water (and) fo[o]d for the preservation of their lives scarce for their mouths. I confined them in a harsh impri[sonm]ent from which there was no escape. I constricted (and) cut short their lives. I made them (the people of Tyre) bow down to my yoke.

ii 23'-29'a) He brought before me (his) daughter, his own off[s]pring, and the daughters of his brothers to serve as housekeepers. He brought his son, who had never crossed the sea, to do obeis[an]ce to me. I received from him his daughter and the daughters of his brothers, together with a large marriage gift. I had mercy on him and (then) I gav[e] (his) son, his offspring, back to him.

ii 29'b-33') I dismantled the outposts that I had [co]n-structed against Ba'alu, the king of the land Tyre. By sea and dry land, I opened (all of) his routes, as many as I had seized. I received from him his substantial payment. I returned safely to [N]ineveh, my capital city.

ii 34'-48') Rulers (who reside in) the middle of the sea and kings who reside in the hi[g]h mountains saw the might of t[hese] deeds of mine and became frightened of my lordly majesty. (As for) Yakīn-Lû, the king of the land Arwad, Mugallu, the king of the land Tabal, (ii 40') (and) San[da]-šarme of the land Ḫi[!]akku (Cilicia), who had [not] bowed down to the kings, m[y] ancestors, they bowed down to my yoke. (ii 45') They brought [(their) daughters], their own offspring, to Nineveh to serve as housekeepers, togethe[r with a] substantial [dowry] and a large marriage gift, and they kissed [my] fe[et]. I imposed upon Mugallu an annual payment of [large] horses.

ii 49'-60') After Yakī[n-Lû, the king of the land] Arwad, had gone [to (his) fa]te, [Azi-Ba'al], Abi-Ba'al], (and) Adūni-Ba'al, the sons of Ya[kīn-Lû who reside in] the middle of the sea, came up from the middle of [the sea], came with [their sub]stantial audience gif[t(s)], and (ii 55') kisse[d] my feet. I looked upon Azi-

ii 23' DUMU.MUNUS "(his) daughter": See the on-page note to text no. 3 (Prism B) ii 50.



- 54) *it-ti ta-mar-<sup>r</sup>ti<sup>1</sup>-[šú-nu ka]-bit-ti il-lik-u-nim-ma*  
 55) *ú-na-ás-ši-<sup>r</sup>qu<sup>1</sup> GÌR.II-ía*  
 56) *<sup>m</sup>a-zi-ba-al <sup>h</sup>a-diš<sup>1</sup> ap-pa-lis-ma*  
 57) *a-na LUGAL-u-ti KUR.a-ru-ad-da áš-kun*  
 58) *<sup>m</sup>a-bi-ba-al <sup>m</sup>a-du-ni-ba-al*  
 59) *lu-bul-ti bir-me <sup>r</sup>ú<sup>1</sup>-[lab-biš] ̕AR KÙ.GI áš-kun*  
 60) *ina maḥ-ri-ia <sup>r</sup>ul<sup>1</sup>-[zis]-<sup>r</sup>su<sup>1</sup>-nu-ti*  
 61) *<sup>m</sup>gu-ug-gu LUGAL KUR.lu-ud-di*  
 62) *na-gu-u šá né-ber-ti A.AB.BA áš-ru ru-u-qu*  
 63) *<sup>r</sup>ša<sup>1</sup> LUGAL.MEŠ AD.MEŠ-ia la iš-mu-u zi-kir*  
 MU-šú  
 64) *ní-bit LUGAL-ti-ia ina MÁŠ.GI<sub>6</sub> <sup>u</sup>-šab-<sup>r</sup>ri<sup>1</sup>-[šú-ma]*  
 65) *AN.ŠÁR <sup>r</sup>DINGIR<sup>1</sup> ba-nu-u-a u<sub>4</sub>-mu MÁŠ.GI<sub>6</sub>*  
*an-ni-tú e-mu-ru*  
 66) *LÚ.rak-<sup>r</sup>bu-šú iš-pu<sup>1</sup>-ra <sup>r</sup>a<sup>1</sup>-na šá-<sup>u</sup>a-al šul-mì-ia*  
 67) *LÚ.gi-<sup>r</sup>mir<sup>1</sup>-a-a LÚ.KÚR ek-šu <sup>r</sup>ša<sup>1</sup> la ip-tal-la-ḥu<sup>1</sup>*  
 68) *AD.MEŠ-ia ù ia-a-ši la iš-ba-<sup>r</sup>tu<sup>1</sup> GÌR.II*  
 LUGAL-ti-ia  
 69) *<sup>r</sup>ina tukul<sup>1</sup>-ti AN.ŠÁR <sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU EN.MEŠ-ia*  
*<sup>r</sup>ina<sup>1</sup> [GIŠ.ši-iš-ši]*  
 70) *<sup>r</sup>GIŠ.šat<sup>1</sup> qa-ti GIŠ.ši-ga-ri <sup>u</sup>-<sup>r</sup>tam<sup>1</sup>-[me-eḥ-ma]*  
 71) *it-<sup>r</sup>ti<sup>1</sup> ta-mar-ti-šú-nu ka-bit-ti [ú-še-bi-la]*  
 72) *a-<sup>r</sup>di maḥ<sup>1</sup>-ri-ia a-tam-ma-ra da-na-<sup>r</sup>an<sup>1</sup>*  
 [AN.ŠÁR u <sup>d</sup>ŠÚ]

- 73) *ina 4-e ger-<sup>r</sup>ri-ia a-na <sup>r</sup>URU.qir<sup>1</sup>-[bít šá qé-reb]*  
 74) *URU.ḥa-re-e-ḥa-as-<sup>r</sup>ta<sup>1</sup> [lu-u al-lik ša <sup>m</sup>ta-an-da]*  
 Col. iii  
 1) *LÚ.EN.URU-šú-nu a-na LUGAL.MEŠ <sup>r</sup>AD.MEŠ<sup>1</sup>-[ia*  
*la ik-nu-šú]*  
 2) *a-na GIŠ.ŠUDUN u UN.MEŠ a-ši-bu-<sup>r</sup>ti<sup>1</sup>*  
 [URU.qir-bít]  
 3) *ka-a-a-an iḥ-ta-nab-ba-tu <sup>r</sup>ḥu<sup>1</sup>-[bu-ut*  
 KUR.ia-mut-ba-lí]  
 4) *URU šu-a-tú ina tukul-ti AN.ŠÁR <sup>d</sup>EN <sup>d</sup>EN<sup>?</sup>. [ZU<sup>?</sup>*  
 DINGIR.MEŠ EN.MEŠ-ia]  
 5) *ak-šu-ud áš-lu-la šal-lat-su <sup>m</sup>rta<sup>1</sup>-[an-da*  
 LÚ.EN.URU-šú-nu]  
 6) *it-ti šal-lat URU-šú al-qa-a [a-na KUR aš-šur.KI]*  
 7) *UN.MEŠ URU.qir-bít ma-la áš-lu-[lu ú-bil-ma]*  
 8) *qé-reb <sup>r</sup>KUR.mu-šur<sup>1</sup> <sup>u</sup>-šá-[aš-bit]*

- 9) *ina 5-ši (erasure) ger-ri-ia UGU <sup>m</sup>aḥ-ši-ra MAN*  
 KUR.[man-na-a-a lu-u al-lik]  
 10) *šá a-na LUGAL.MEŠ AD.MEŠ-ia la kit-nu-šú*  
*i-tap-pa-<sup>r</sup>lu<sup>1</sup> [da-ša-a-ti]*  
 11) *ad-ke ERIM.MEŠ MÈ-ia a-na ka-šá-ad*  
 KUR.man-<sup>r</sup>na<sup>1</sup>-[a-a]  
 12) *uš-te-še-ra ḥar-ra-nu al-lik-ma qé-reb*  
<sup>r</sup>URU<sup>1</sup>. [BÀD-aš-šur]  
 13) *uš-man-nu ad-di-ma áš-ku-na ka-ra-ši*  
<sup>m</sup>r<sup>r</sup>aḥ<sup>1</sup>-[še-e]-<sup>r</sup>ri<sup>1</sup>  
 14) *a-lak ger-ri-ia iš-me-ma [ú-ma]-<sup>r</sup>e<sup>1</sup>-e-ra*

Ba'al with pleasure and installed (him) as king of the land Arwad. I [clothed] Abī-Ba'al (and) Adūnī-Ba'al in garment(s) with multi-colored trim (and) placed gold bracelet(s) around their wrists). I m[ade t]hem [stand] before me.

ii 61'–66') (As for) Gyges, the king of the land Lydia — a region on the opposite shore of the sea, a remote place, the mention of whose name none of the kings, my ancestors, had (ever) heard — (the god) Aššur, the god who created me, made [him] se[e] in a dream my royal name. On the (very) day he saw this dream, he sent his mounted messenger to inquire about my well-being.

ii 67'–72') (As for) the Cimmerians, a dangerous enemy who had never feared my ancestors, and, with regard to me, had not grasped the feet of my royal majesty, (ii 70') with the support of the gods Aššur (and) Marduk, my lords, he (Gyges) c[lamped (them)] i[n manacles], handcuffs, (and) neck-stocks [and sent (them)] before me, together wi[th] his substantial audience gift(s). I constantly saw the migh[t of the gods Aššur and Marduk].

ii 73'–iii 8) On my fourth campaign, [I marched] to the city Qir[bit, which is inside] (Mount) Ḥarēḥasta (lit. “the city Ḥarēḥasta”), [since Tandāya], (iii 1) their city ruler, [had never bowed down] to the yoke of the kings, [my] ancestors, and the people livin[g in the city Qirbit] were constantly plunde[r]ing the land Yamutbal]. With the support of the gods Aššur, Bēl (Marduk), (and) S[īn, the gods, my lords], I conquered (and) plundered that city. (As for) Ta[nḏāya, their city ruler], I took (him) [to Assyria] together with captives from his city. [I took] the people of the city Qirbit, as many as I had carrie[d off, and] set[tled (them)] in Egypt.

iii 9–12a) On my fifth campaign, [I marched] against Aḥšēri, the king of the land [Mannea], who had never bowed down to the kings, my ancestors, (and) who always answe[r]ed (them) with disrespect]. I mustered my battle troops. I made (them) take the direct road to conquer the land Mann[ea].

iii 12b–19) I went and (then) set up camp in the city [Dūr-Aššur] and pitched my camp (there). A[ḥšēr]i heard about the advance of my expeditionary force and [dispat]ched [his army. (iii 15) During the night, in a] crafty [ma]nuever, th[ey] approach[ed] to do

ii 65' <sup>r</sup>DINGIR<sup>1</sup> ba-nu-u-a “the god who created me”: Ex. 5 omits DINGIR.

iii 4 <sup>d</sup>EN<sup>?</sup>. [ZU<sup>?</sup>] “the god S[īn]”: The first sign of the deity's name is heavily damaged, but the traces seem to favor EN. This same passage in text no. 3 (Prism B) iii 10 has <sup>d</sup>AG (“the god Nabû,”) but two exmplars there (exs. 6 and 92\*) also apparently have the variant <sup>d</sup>EN.ZU.

- [um-man-šú]  
 15) [ina šat mu-ši ina] ṽšī<sup>1</sup>-pir ni-kil-ti a-na e-peš  
 MÈ it-bu-[u-ni]  
 16) [a-na mit]-ḥu-uš-ši ERIM.ḪI.A-ṽia<sup>1</sup>  
 17) [ERIM.MEŠ] ṽMÈ<sup>1</sup>-ia it-ti-šú-un im-da-ḥa-[šu]  
 18) [iš]-ṽku<sup>1</sup>-nu BAD<sub>5</sub>.BAD<sub>5</sub>-šú-ṽun<sup>1</sup>  
 19) [ma-lak 3 KASKAL.GÍD] A.ŠÀ šal-ma-ti-šú-nu  
 ú-mal-lu-u EDIN rap-šú  
 20) [ina qí-bit AN.ŠÁR] ṽd<sup>1</sup>30 ṽUTU DINGIR.MEŠ  
 GAL.MEŠ EN.MEŠ-ia ša ú-tak-ki-lu-in-ni  
 21) [qé-reb KUR.man]-ṽna<sup>1</sup>-a-a e-ru-ub-ma at-tal-lak  
 šal-ṽtiš  
 22) [ina me-ti-iq ger]-ṽri<sup>1</sup>-ia URU.a-a-ú-si-áš  
 URU.ḪAL.ŠU  
 23) [URU.áš-šá-áš dan]-ṽna-su URU<sup>1</sup>.bu-su-UD  
 URU.áš-di-áš  
 24) [URU.ur-ki-ia-mu-un URU.up-pi]-ṽiš<sup>1</sup>  
 URU.si-ḥu-u-a URU.na-zi-ni-ri  
 25) [8 URU.MEŠ dan-nu-ti] ṽù<sup>1</sup> a-di še-eḥ-ru-ti  
 26) [šá ni-ba la] ṽi-šú<sup>1</sup>-ú  
 27) a-ṽdi qé<sup>1</sup>-reb URU.i-zir-ti ak-šú-ud ap-pul aq-qur  
 28) ina ṽGÍŠ.BAR aq-mu ṽUN<sup>1</sup>.MEŠ ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ  
 ANŠE.MEŠ  
 29) GU<sub>4</sub>.MEŠ ṽše<sup>2</sup>1-[e-ni] ṽul<sup>1</sup>-tu qé-reb URU.MEŠ  
 šá-a-ṽtu<sup>1</sup>-nu  
 30) ú-še-ša-am-ma šal-la-tiš am-nu ṽaḥ-še-ṽe<sup>1</sup>-ri  
 31) a-lak ger-ṽri<sup>1</sup>-ia iš-me-ma ú-maš-šir  
 32) URU.i-zir-[tú] ṽURU<sup>1</sup> LUGAL-ti-šú a-na  
 URU.at-ra-a-na  
 33) URU tukul-ti-ṽšú in<sup>1</sup>-na-bit e-ḥu-uz  
 34) mar-qi-tu ṽURU<sup>1</sup>.[i]-ṽzir<sup>1</sup>-tú URU.ur-me-e-te  
 35) URU.uz-bi-a [URU.MEŠ dan]-ṽnu<sup>1</sup>-ti-šú al-me  
 36) UN.MEŠ a-ṽši-bu<sup>1</sup>-ut URU.<sup>1</sup>MEŠ<sup>1</sup> [šá-a]-ṽtu<sup>1</sup>-nu  
 37) e-si-ir-ṽma<sup>1</sup> nap-šat-su-nu ú-si-iq ṽú<sup>1</sup>-[kar]-ṽri<sup>1</sup>  
 38) na-gu-ṽú<sup>1</sup> šu-a-tu ak-šú-ud<sup>1</sup>  
 39) ap-pul ṽaq-qur<sup>1</sup> ina ṽGÍŠ.BAR aq-mu  
 40) ma-lak 10 u<sub>4</sub>-[me 5 u<sub>4</sub>]-ṽme<sup>1</sup> ú-šah-ri-ir-ma  
 šá-qu-um-ma-tú  
 41) at-bu-uk ina me-ṽti<sup>1</sup>-[iq] ger-ri-ia (erasure)  
 URU.MEŠ  
 42) šá li-mi-ṽit<sup>1</sup> URU.<sup>1</sup>pad<sup>1</sup>-[di]-ṽra<sup>1</sup> šá ina ter-ši  
 LUGAL.MEŠ  
 43) AD.MEŠ-ṽia<sup>1</sup> KUR.man-ṽna<sup>1</sup>-a-a e-ki-mu  
 44) a-na i-di ṽra<sup>1</sup>-ma-ni-šú-nu ú-ter-ru  
 45) ak-šú-ud<sup>1</sup> ina ṽGÍŠ.BAR aq-mu áš-ṽlu<sup>1</sup>-la  
 šal-lat-sún  
 46) URU.MEŠ ṽšá<sup>1</sup>-a-tu-nu a-na mi-šir KUR AN.ŠÁR  
 ú-ter  
 47) na-gu-ṽú<sup>1</sup> šá URU.ar-si-ia-ṽni<sup>1</sup>-iš  
 48) ša bi-ṽrit<sup>1</sup> URU.a-za-qa-ia-ṽni<sup>1</sup>  
 49) ša ḥa-ar-si šá-ṽdi-i<sup>1</sup>  
 50) ša ṽSAG<sup>1</sup> KUR.ku-mu-ur-ṽda-a-a<sup>1</sup>  
 51) ša qé<sup>1</sup>-reb<sup>1</sup> KUR.man-na-a-a as-pu-un ina  
 ṽGÍŠ.BAR aq<sup>1</sup>-mu  
 52) ṽra-a-ṽa-di<sup>1</sup>-šá-di-i LÚ.GAL ṽḪAL.ŠU-šú<sup>1</sup>-nu

battle, [to fi]ght with m[y] troops. My [bat]tle [troops] foug[ht] with them (and) [bro]ught about their defeat. (Over) an area (the distance of) [three leagues march], they filled the wide steppe with their corpses.

iii 20–30a) [By the command of the gods Aššur], Sîn, (and) Šamaš, the great gods, my lords, who had encouraged me, I entered [the land Mann]ea and marched about triumphantly. [In the course of] my [campaign], I conquered, destroyed, demolished, (and) burned with fire the cities Ayusiaš — a fortress (of his) — [Aššaš — a strong]hold of his — BusuD, Ašdiyaš, [Urkiyamun, Uppi]š, Siḥūa, (and) Naziniri — [eight fortified cities] — together with small(er settlements), [which] were [without number], a[s f]ar as the city Izirtu. I brought [peo]ple, horses, donkeys, oxen, (and) sh[EEP and goats] out of those cities and I counted (them) as booty.

iii 30b–41a) Aḥšēri heard about the advance of my expeditionary force and abandoned the city Izir[tu], his royal [c]ity. He fled to the city Atrāna, a city upon which he relied, (and) took refuge (there). I surrounded the cities [Iz]irtu, Urmēte, (and) Uzbā, his [forti]fied [cities]. I confined the people living in [tho]se cities an[d] (thus) constricted (and) [cut shor]t their lives. I conquered, destroyed, demolished, (and) burned that district with fire. (iii 40) I laid waste to (an area of) [fif]teen [da]ys march and poured out (over it) the silence (of desolation).

iii 41b–46) In the cou[rse of] my campaign, I conquered, burned with fire, (and) plundered the cities in the environs of the city Pa[ddi]ri, which the Manneans had taken away (and) appropriated for them[s]elves in the time of the kings, my ancestors. I returned those cities to the territory of Assyria.

iii 47–53a) I leveled (and) burned with fire the district of the city Arsiyaniš, which is betw[ee]n the city Azaqaya[n]i (Azaqanani) and (lit. “of”) Mount Ḥarsi, which is before the land of the Kumurdeans, who are in the land Mannea. I killed Rayadišadî, their fortress commander, (and) I pl[u]ndered it (Arsiyaniš).

- 53) *a-duk áš-lu<sup>1</sup>-la šal-lat-su na-gu-u šá*  
URU.e-ri-is-te-ia-na
- 54) *ak-šu-ud URU<sup>1</sup>.MEŠ-šú as-pu-un ina dGIŠ.BAR*  
*aq-mu*
- 55) *áš-lu-la šal-lat<sup>1</sup>-sún ina ti-ib ta-ḥa-zi-ia*  
*na-gu-u-šú<sup>1</sup>*
- 56) *ú-šaḥ-rib<sup>1</sup> ú-ša-aḥ-ḥi-ir nap-ḥar<sup>1</sup> KUR-šú*
- 57) *it-ti ḥu-ub<sup>1</sup>-ti ma-a<sup>2</sup>-di šal-la-tú ka-bit-tú*
- 58) *šal-meš a-tu-ra<sup>1</sup> ak-bu-sa mi-šir KUR aš-šur.KI*
- 59) *URU.bi-ir-ru-u-[a] URU.LUGAL-iq-bi*  
*URU.gu-si-né-e*
- 60) *URU.MEŠ maḥ-ru<sup>1</sup>-u-ti šá mi-šir KUR aš-šur.KI*
- 61) *ša<sup>1</sup> [ina] ter-ši<sup>1</sup> LUGAL.MEŠ AD.MEŠ-ia e-ki-mu*
- 62) *[KUR.man-na-a-a da]-ád-me šá<sup>1</sup>-a-tu-nu*  
*ak-šu-ud*
- 63) *[KUR.man-na-a-a TA lib]-bi<sup>1</sup> as-suḥ*
- 64) *[ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ til-li ú-nu-ut MÈ-šú]-nu<sup>1</sup>*
- Lacuna
- 1') *[ina SILA URU-šu id]-du<sup>1</sup>-u pa-gar-šú*
- 2') *[EGIR-nu m<sup>u</sup>-al-li-i DUMU]-šú ú-šib ina*  
*GIŠ.GU.ZA-šú<sup>1</sup>*
- 3') *[da-na-an] AN<sup>1</sup>.[ŠÁR dEN] dAG<sup>1</sup> d15 ša*  
*URU.NINA.KI<sup>1</sup>*
- 4') *[d]15 ša<sup>1</sup> URU.LÍMMU-DINGIR<sup>1</sup>.KI DINGIR.MEŠ*  
*GAL.MEŠ EN.MEŠ-ia<sup>1</sup>*
- 5') *e<sup>1</sup>-mur-ma ik<sup>1</sup>-nu-šá a-na ni-ri-ia<sup>1</sup>*
- 6') *áš-šú ba-laṭ ZI-ti-šú<sup>1</sup> up-na-a-šú ip-ta-a<sup>1</sup>*
- 7') *ú-šal-la-a EN-u-ti*
- 8') *m<sup>e</sup>-ri-si-in-ni<sup>1</sup> DUMU UŠ-ti-šú*
- 9') *a-na NINA.KI iš<sup>1</sup>-[pur-am-ma] ú-na-áš<sup>1</sup>-šiq*  
*GÌR.II-ia*
- 10') *re-e-mu ar-ši-šú LÚ<sup>1</sup>.[A KIN-ia šá šul-me*  
*ú-ma-e-er EDIN-uš-šú]*
- 11') *DUMU.MUNUS ši-it lib-bi-šú ú<sup>1</sup>-[še-bi-la ana*  
*e-peš MUNUS.AGRIG-u-ti]*
- 12') *ma-da-at-ta-šú maḥ-ri<sup>1</sup>-[tú šá ina tar-ši*  
*LUGAL.MEŠ AD.MEŠ-ia]*
- 13') *ú-šab-ṭi-lu iš<sup>1</sup>-[šu-u-ni a-di maḥ-ri-ia]*
- 14') *30 ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ<sup>1</sup> [UGU ma-da-at-ti-šú]*
- 15') *maḥ-ri-ti ú-rad-di-ma<sup>1</sup> [e-mid-su]*
- 16') *ina u<sub>4</sub>-me-šú m<sup>bi</sup>-ri-is-ḥa-at-ri<sup>1</sup> [LÚ.EN.URU ša*  
*mad-a-a]*
- 17') *m<sup>sar</sup>-a-ti m<sup>pa</sup>-ri-ḥi]*
- 18') *2 DUMU.MEŠ m<sup>ga</sup>-a-gi LÚ.EN<sup>1</sup>.[URU KUR.sa-ḥi]*
- 19') *ša iṣ-lu-u GIŠ.ŠUDUN<sup>1</sup> [EN-ti-ia]*
- 20') *75 URU.MEŠ-šú-nu dan-nu-ti ak-šú<sup>1</sup>-[ud áš-lu-la*  
*šal-la-sún]*
- 21') *šá-a-šú-nu bal-ṭu-su-nu [ina ŠU.II aš-bat]*
- 22') *ú-bi-la a-na NINA.KI URU<sup>1</sup> [EN-u-ti-ia]*
- Col. iv
- 1) *m<sup>an</sup>-da-ri-a LÚ.EN.NAM KUR<sup>1</sup>.[ur-ár-ṭi]*
- 2) *ša a-na ka-šá-ad URU.up-pu-um<sup>1</sup>-[me u*

iii 53b–58) I conquered the district of the city Eristeyana, flattened its [v]illages, burned (them) with fire, (and) plundered them. With the assault of my battle array, I laid [wa]ste to his district (and) made his entire land smaller. I returned safely with much plu[n]der (and) substantial booty (and) set foot in Assyrian territory.

iii 59–64) (As for) the cities Birrū[a], Šarru-iqbi, (and) Gusinê, cities that were formerly *within* the territory of Assyria [wh]ich [the Manneans] had taken away [in the t]ime of the kings, my ancestors, I conquered those [set]tlements. I tore [the land Mannea] apart [from with]n. [I carried off to Assyria (their) horses, (their) equipment, (and) the]ir [implements of war].

Lacuna

iii 1') they [c]ast his (Aḥšēri's) corpse [into a street of his city].

iii 2'–15') [Afterwards, Uallî], his [son], sat on his throne. He saw [the might of] the deities Aššur, Bēl (Marduk), Nabû, Ištar of Nineveh, (and) Ištar of A[rbel]a, the great gods, my lords, and (iii 5'b) bowed down to my yoke. For the preservation of his (own) life, he opened up his hands to me (and) made an appeal to my lordly majesty. He s[ent] Erisinni, his heir designate, to Nineveh [and] he kissed my feet. (iii 10') I had mercy on him. [I dispatched my messenger with (a message of) goodwill to him]. He [sent me] (his) daughter, his own offspring, [to serve as a housekeeper]. (As for) his form[er] payment, [which] they had discontinued [in the time of the kings, my ancestors], they car[ried (it) before me]. I added thirty horses [to his] former [payment] and [imposed (it) upon him].

iii 16'–22') At that time, (as for) Birishatr[i, a city ruler of the Medes], (and) Sarati (and) [Pariḥi], two sons of Gagî, a ci[ty ruler of the land Saḥi], who had cast off the y[oke of my lordship], I conqu[ered (and) plundered] seventy-five of their fortified cities. [I captured] them alive (and) brought (them) to Nineveh, [my capital] c[ity].

iv 1–8) (As for) Andaria, the governor of the land [Urarṭu], who had advanced (and) marched du[ring the

**Lacuna after iii 64** The translation assumes that the now-missing iii 65 contained *áš-lu-la ana KUR aš-šur.KI* "I carried off to Assyria." The gap in the inscription corresponds to text no. 3 (Prism B) iii 73b–78.

- KUR.kul-li-im-me-ri]  
 3) ir-da-a il-li-ka <sup>r</sup>qē<sup>1</sup>-[reb mu-ši-ti]  
 4) UN.MEŠ a-ši-bu-ti URU.kul-li-im-<sup>r</sup>me<sup>1</sup>-[ri  
 ARAD.MEŠ da-gíl pa-ni-ia]  
 5) ina šat mu-ši di-ik-ta-šú ma-a<sup>r</sup>-<sup>r</sup>as<sup>1</sup>-[su i-du-ku]  
 6) la iz-zi-bu [a-a-um-ma]  
 7) SAG.DU <sup>m</sup>an-da-ri-a [ik-ki-su-nim-ma]  
 8) a-na NINA.KI ina maḥ-[ri-ia ú-bil-u-ni]
- 
- 9) ina 6-ši ger-ri-ia <sup>r</sup>UGU<sup>1</sup> [<sup>m</sup>ur-ta-ki MAN  
 KUR.ELAM.MA.KI lu-u al-lik]  
 10) ša MUN AD DÙ-[ia la ḥa-as-su la iṣ-ṣu-ru  
 ib-ru-ti]  
 11) ul-tu ina KUR.ELAM.<sup>r</sup>MA<sup>1</sup>.<sup>r</sup>[KI su-un-qu iš-ku-nu  
 ib-ba-šú-u né-eb-re-tu]  
 12) <sup>d</sup>nisaba ba-laṭ <sup>r</sup>ZI<sup>1</sup>-[tim UN.MEŠ ú-še-bil-šú-ma]  
 13) x x x x [...]
- Lacuna  
 1') x x [...]  
 2') <sup>m</sup>ur-[ta-ki ul áš-du-ud ina lib-bi-ia]  
 3') šu-ut <sup>r</sup>LÚ<sup>1</sup>.<sup>r</sup>[MAḤ.MEŠ-šú ša su-lum-me-e]  
 4') iš-ta-<sup>r</sup>nap<sup>1</sup>-[pa-ra ina maḥ-ri-ia]  
 5') a-na a-mar <sup>r</sup>LUGAL<sup>1</sup> [KUR.ELAM.MA.KI LÚ.A  
 KIN-ia]  
 6') <sup>r</sup>ú<sup>1</sup>-ma-<sup>r</sup>e-<sup>r</sup>er<sup>1</sup> [ḥa-an-ṭiš il-lik i-tu-ram-ma]  
 7') a-<sup>r</sup>ma-a-te<sup>1</sup> ka-[a-a-ma-na-ti ú-šá-an-na-a  
 ia-a-te]  
 8') um-ma KUR.e-<sup>r</sup>la<sup>1</sup>-[mu-u GIM ZI-ut BURU<sub>5</sub>.<sup>r</sup>ḤI.A]  
 9') ka-tim KUR <sup>r</sup>URU<sup>1</sup>.KI [ka-li-šá še-er  
 KÁ.DINGIR.RA.KI]  
 10') <sup>r</sup>uš-man<sup>1</sup>-nu [šá-kin-ma na-di ma-dak]-<sup>r</sup>tú<sup>2</sup><sup>1</sup>  
 a-<sup>r</sup>na<sup>1</sup> [na-ra-ru-ti]  
 11') [<sup>d</sup>EN u] <sup>r</sup>d<sup>1</sup>AG <sup>r</sup>DINGIR<sup>1</sup>.<sup>r</sup>[MEŠ-ia]  
 12') <sup>r</sup>ša<sup>1</sup> ap-tal-la-ḥu <sup>r</sup>DINGIR-su-un<sup>1</sup>  
 13') ERIM.MEŠ MÈ-ia ad-ke-e-ma aṣ-ba-ta ḥar-ra-nu  
 14') a-lak ger-<sup>r</sup>ri<sup>1</sup>-[ia] iš-me-ma  
 15') ḥat-tu is-ḥup-šú-ma i-tur a-<sup>r</sup>na<sup>1</sup> [KUR-šú]  
 16') EGIR-šú aṣ-bat a-bi-ik-ta-šú áš-<sup>r</sup>kun<sup>1</sup>  
 17') aṭ-ru-us-su a-di mi-šir KUR-šú  
 18') <sup>m</sup>ur-ta-ku LUGAL KUR.ELAM.MA.KI ša la  
 iṣ-ṣu-<sup>r</sup>ru ib<sup>1</sup>-[ru-ti]  
 19') ina u<sub>4</sub>-me la šim-ti-šú mu-u-tu <sup>r</sup>ú<sup>1</sup>-gar-[ru-u]  
 20') ina ta-né-ḥi iq-tu-ú <sup>r</sup>i<sup>1</sup>-[zu-bu]  
 21') ina qa-q-a-ri ba-lá-ṭi <sup>r</sup>GIR<sup>1</sup>.<sup>r</sup>[II-šú ul iš-kun]  
 22') ina MU.AN.NA-šú na-piš-ta-šú [iq-ti]  
 23') il-lik nam-mu-<sup>r</sup>š<sup>1</sup>-šú<sup>1</sup> <sup>m</sup>r<sup>r</sup>EN<sup>1</sup>-BA-šá  
 LÚ.gam-bu-la-<sup>r</sup>a<sup>1</sup>-[a]  
 24') ša <sup>r</sup>iṣ-lu-ú<sup>1</sup> GIŠ.ŠUDUN EN-<sup>r</sup>ti<sup>1</sup>-[ia]  
 25') ina ni-šik PÉŠ iš-ta-<sup>r</sup>kan<sup>1</sup> na-piš-<sup>r</sup>tu<sup>1</sup>  
 26') <sup>m</sup>dAG-MU-KAM-eš LÚ.GÚ.<sup>r</sup>[EN.NA] la na-šir a-de-e  
 27') iš-<sup>r</sup>š<sup>1</sup> a-ga-nu-<sup>r</sup>til<sup>2</sup>-[la-a] A.MEŠ SA<sub>5</sub>.MEŠ  
 28') <sup>m</sup>dAMAR.UTU-MU-DÙ LÚ.šu-[ut SAG]-<sup>r</sup>šú<sup>2</sup><sup>1</sup>

night] to conquer the cities Uppu[mu and Kullimmeri], the people living in the city Kullimm[eri, servants who belonged to me, inflicted] a hea[vy] defeat on him during the night. They did not spare [anyone. They cut off] the head of Andaria [and they brought (it)] to Nineveh, befo[re me].

iv 9–13) On my sixth campaign, [I marched] again[st Urtaku, the king of the land Elam] who [did not remember] the kindness of the father who had engendered [me (nor) did he respect my friendship]. After [famine occurred] in the land Elam (and) [hunger had set in, I sent to him] grain, (which) sustains the li[ve(s)] of people, and] ... [...]

Lacuna

iv 1'–10'a) ... [... I was not concerned about this news of] Ur[taku's assault]. (Because) he had regularly s[ent his envoys (with messages) of peace before me], (iv 5') I dispatch[ed my messenger] to see the ki[ng of the land Elam. He went quickly, returned, and reported to me] an acc[urate] report, saying: "The El[amites] cover the land Akka[d, all of it, like a swarm of locusts. Against Babylon], (his) camp [is pitched and (his) military cam]p [is laid]."

iv 10'b–17') T[o aid the gods Bēl (Marduk) and] Nabû, g[ods of mine] whose divinity I constantly revered, I mustered my battle troops and set out on the road. He heard about the advance of [my] expeditionary forc[e] and (then) fear overwhelmed him and he returned t[o his (own) land]. I went after him (and) brought a[bout] his defeat. I drove him away as far as the border of his land.

iv 18'–23'a) (As for) Urtaku, the king of the land Elam who had not respected [my] frie[ndship], whom death cal[led] on a day (that was) not his fate, who came to an end (and) [withered away] while wailing — [he no (longer) set] f[oot] upon the land of the living. In that year, his life [came to an end] (and) he passed away. iv 23'b–25') (As for) Bēl-iqīša, a Gambuli[an] who had cast off the yoke of [my] lordshi[p], he laid down (his) lif[e] through the bite of a mouse.

iv 26'–27') (As for) Nabû-šuma-ēreš, the šan[dabakku] (governor of Nippur) who did not honor (my) treaty, he suff[er]ed from dro[psy], (that is) "full water."

iv 28'–30') (As for) Marduk-šuma-ibni, [hi]s (Urtaku's)

iv 13 and lacuna This mostly destroyed line and the now-missing text that followed would have duplicated text no. 3 (Prism B) iv 20–33.

iv 1' The translation assumes that this mostly destroyed line contained a-ma-ti šá-a-ti-na ša ti-bu-ut "this news of the assault of" from text no. 3 (Prism B) iv 34a.

- mu-šad-bi-ib-šú  
 29') ša MUNUS.ḪUL<sup>1</sup> ú-šak-[pi-du] a-na m<sup>ur</sup>-ta-ki  
 30') e-mid-[su<sup>d</sup>]AMAR.UTU LUGAL<sup>1</sup> [DINGIR.MEŠ]  
 ši-ir-ta-šú GAL-tú  
 31') ina 1-<sup>f</sup>et<sup>1</sup> [MU.AN.NA] mé-eḫ-ret a-ḫa-meš  
 32') i<sup>š</sup>-ku<sup>1</sup>-nu na-piš-tú  
 33') lib-bi AN.ŠĀR ag-gu ul [i-nu-uḫ-šú]-nu-ti  
 34') ul ip-šaḫ-šú-nu-ti ḫa<sup>1</sup>-[bit-ti<sup>d</sup>iš]-<sup>f</sup>tar<sup>1</sup> ša  
 ú-tak-kil-<sup>f</sup>an<sup>1</sup>-ni  
 35') BALA-e LUGAL-ti-[šú] i<sup>š</sup>-ki-<sup>f</sup>pu<sup>1</sup>  
 36') be-lut KUR.ELAM.MA.KI ḫ<sup>1</sup>-[šal]-<sup>f</sup>qu<sup>1</sup>-u  
 šá-nam-ma  
 37') EGIR<sup>1</sup> m<sup>te</sup>-um-man ḫam-šil<sup>1</sup> GAL<sub>5</sub>.LÁ<sup>1</sup>  
 38') [ú-šib ina GIŠ.GU.ZA m<sup>ur</sup>-ta-ki  
 39') [a-na da-a-ki DUMU.MEŠ] m<sup>ur</sup>-ta-<sup>f</sup>ki<sup>1</sup>  
 40') [a-na DUMU.MEŠ m<sup>um</sup>-man-al]-da-še ḫeš<sup>1</sup>  
 m<sup>ur</sup>-ta-ki  
 41') [i<sup>š</sup>-te-né]-<sup>f</sup>a-a MUNUS<sup>1</sup>.ḪUL  
 42') [m<sup>um</sup>-man-i-gaš m<sup>um</sup>-man-ap]-<sup>f</sup>pa<sup>1</sup>  
 m<sup>tam</sup>-ma-ri-tú  
 43') [DUMU.MEŠ m<sup>ur</sup>-ta-ki LUGAL] KUR.ELAM.MA.KI  
 44') [m<sup>ku</sup>-dúr-ru m<sup>pa</sup>-ru-ú  
 45') [DUMU.MEŠ m<sup>um</sup>-man-al-da-še] LUGAL<sup>1</sup> a-lik  
 pa-ni  
 46') [m<sup>ur</sup>-ta-ki ù 60 NUMUN] LUGAL<sup>1</sup> ina la mì-ni  
 47') [ERIM.MEŠ GIŠ.PAN DUMU ba-né-e] ḫá<sup>1</sup>  
 KUR.ELAM.MA.KI  
 48') [la-pa-an da-a-ki m<sup>te</sup>]-<sup>f</sup>um-man<sup>1</sup>  
 49') [in-nab-tu-nim-ma i<sup>š</sup>-ba-tú ĠĪR.II] LUGAL<sup>1</sup>-ti-ia  
 50') [ina 7-e ger-ri-ia UGU m<sup>te</sup>-um-man  
 51') [MAN KUR.ELAM.MA.KI lu-u] al-lik  
 52') ḫá UGU m<sup>um</sup>-man-i-gaš m<sup>um</sup>-man]-ap-pa  
 53') [m<sup>tam</sup>-ma-ri-tu] DUMU.MEŠ<sup>1</sup> [m<sup>ur</sup>-ta-ki LUGAL]  
 KUR.ELAM.MA.KI  
 54') [m<sup>ku</sup>-dúr]-ru m<sup>f</sup>pa-ru<sup>1</sup>-ú  
 55') [DUMU.MEŠ m<sup>um</sup>]-<sup>f</sup>man<sup>1</sup>-al-da-še šeš m<sup>ur</sup>-<sup>f</sup>ta<sup>1</sup>-ki  
 56') [LUGAL KUR].ELAM.MA.KI<sup>1</sup>  
 57') [LÚ.MAḪ.MEŠ]-šú i<sup>š</sup>-ta-<sup>f</sup>nap-pa-ra a-na še-bu-<sup>f</sup>li<sup>1</sup>  
 58') [UN.MEŠ] ḫá<sup>1</sup>-a-tu-nu ḫá in-<sup>f</sup>nab-tu<sup>1</sup>-nim-ma  
 59') [i<sup>š</sup>-ba-tú] ĠĪR<sup>1</sup>.II-ia ḫeš<sup>1</sup>-bul-šú-nu ul aq-bi-šú  
 60') [ina UGU me]-<sup>f</sup>re<sup>1</sup>-ḫe-e-ti ina ḫ<sup>1</sup>ŠU<sup>1</sup>.II  
 m<sup>um</sup>-ba-da-ra-a  
 61') [ù m<sup>u</sup>ATI]-SIG<sub>5</sub>-iq i<sup>š</sup>-ta-<sup>f</sup>nap-pa-ra ITI-šam  
 62') [qé-reb KUR.e]-<sup>f</sup>lam<sup>1</sup>-ti uš-tar-ra-aḫ ina UKKIN  
 ERIM.ḪI.A-šú  
 63') [at-kil a]-<sup>f</sup>na<sup>1</sup> d<sup>15</sup> ša ú-tak-kil-an-ni  
 64') [qí-bit pi-i-šú] er-ḫu ul am-gúr ul a-din-šú  
 65') [mun-nab]-ti ḫá-a-tu-nu  
 Col. v  
 1) [m<sup>te</sup>-um-man le-mut-tú i<sup>š</sup>-te-né]-<sup>f</sup>a<sup>1</sup>-a  
 Lacuna  
 1') um-ma m<sup>f</sup>te<sup>1</sup>-[um-man] ki-a-am iq-bi  
 2') ša d<sup>15</sup> ḫ<sup>1</sup>-[šá]-<sup>f</sup>an<sup>1</sup>-nu-u mi-lik ḫe-me-šú

eu[nuch], the instigator who had incited Urtaku [to plot] evi[l (deeds), the god] Marduk, the k[ing of the gods], imposed his grievous punishment [upon him].

iv 31'–36') Within on[e year], they (all) laid down (their) live(s) at the same time. The angry heart of (the god) Aššur [had] not [relented against t]hem, nor had the m[ood of the goddess Išt]ar, who had encourag[ed] me, become tranquil towards them. (iv 35') They overthre[w his] royal dynasty. They [made] somebody else [assu]me dominion over the land Elam.

iv 37'–49') [Afterwa]rds, Teumman, the (very) image of a gallú-demon, [sat on the throne of] Urtaku. [He constantly soug]ht out evil (ways) [to kill the children of] Urtaku (and) [the children of Ummanal]dašu (Ḫumban-ḫaltaš II), [the brot]her of Urtaku. [Ummanigaš, Ummanapp]a, (and) Tammarītu – [the sons of Urtaku, the king of] the land Elam – [Kudurru (and) Pa]rrū – (iv 45') [the sons of Ummanal]dašu (Ḫumban-ḫaltaš II), the kin[g who came before [Urtaku – together with sixty members of the ro]yal (family), countless [archers, (and) nobles o]f the land Elam [fled to me before Teu]mman's [slaughtering and grasped the feet of] my [ro]yal majesty.

iv 50'–65') [On my seventh campaign], I marched [against] Teumman, [the king of the land Elam who] had regularly sent his [envoys] to me [concerning Ummanigaš, Umman]appa, (and) [Tammarītu – the s]ons of [Urtaku, the king of] the land Elam – (and) [Kudur]ru (and) Parrū – [the sons of Umm]analdašu (Ḫumban-ḫaltaš II), the brother of Urtaku, [(former) king of the land] Elam – (asking me) to send (back) those [people] who had fled to me and [grasped] my [f]eet. I did not grant him their extradition. (iv 60') [Concerning the aforementioned], he sent [ins]ults monthly by the hands of Umbadarâ [and Nabû]-damiq. [Inside the land El]am, he was bragging in the midst of his troops. [I trusted i]n the goddess Išt[ar], who had encouraged me. I did not comply with [the utterance(s) of his] provocative [speech (lit. “mouth”)]. I did not give him those [fugitiv]es.

v 1) [Teumman constantly soug]ht out [evil (deeds)], Lacuna

v 1'–4') saying: “T[eumman], whose judgement the goddess Išt[ar] h[ad clo]uded (lit. “[alt]ered”), spoke as

- 3') *um-ma ul ú-maš-[šar a-di al-la-ku]*  
 4') *it-ti-šú [ep-pu-šú mit-ḥu-šu-tú]*  
 5') *šu-ut mé-re-eh-<sup>r</sup>ti<sup>1</sup> [an-ni-te šá<sup>m</sup>te-um-man]*  
 6') *<sup>r</sup>iq<sup>1</sup>-bu-u am-ḥur [šá-qu-tú<sup>d</sup>iš-tar]*  
 7') *a-zi-iz a-<sup>r</sup>na<sup>1</sup> [tar-ši-šá ak-mi-is šá-pal-šá]*  
 8') *DINGIR-us-<sup>r</sup>sa<sup>1</sup> [ú-sap-pa-a il-la-ka di-ma-a-a]*

- 9') *<sup>r</sup>um<sup>1</sup>-[ma<sup>d</sup>be-let URU.LÍMMU-DINGIR.KI a-na-ku<sup>m</sup>aš-šur-DÛ-A]*

## Lacuna

- 1'') *[1-en LÚ.šab-ru-u ú-tu-ul-ma i]-<sup>r</sup>na-ṭal MÁŠ.GI<sup>6</sup><sup>1</sup>*  
 2'') *[i-gi-il-ti-ma tab-rit mu-ši] <sup>r</sup>ša<sup>d</sup>15<sup>1</sup> ú-šab-ru-šú*  
 3'') *[ú-šá]-<sup>r</sup>an-na<sup>1</sup>-a ia-a-ti*
- 4'') *[um-ma<sup>d</sup>15<sup>1</sup> a-ši-bat URU.<sup>r</sup>LÍMMU<sup>1</sup>-DINGIR e-<sup>r</sup>ru-ub-am<sup>1</sup>-ma*  
 5'') *[15 u 2.30] tu-ul-<sup>r</sup>la-a<sup>2</sup>-ta iš-pa-a-ti<sup>1</sup>*  
 6'') *[tam-ḥa-at] GIŠ.PAN <sup>r</sup>i<sup>21</sup>-na <sup>r</sup>i-di-šá<sup>1</sup>*  
 7'') *[šal-pat nam]-<sup>r</sup>ša<sup>1</sup>-ru zaq-tu <sup>r</sup>ša e-peš ta-ḥa-zi<sup>1</sup>*  
 8'') *[ma-ḥar-šá] <sup>r</sup>ta<sup>1</sup>-zi-iz ši-i ki-<sup>r</sup>ma AMA<sup>1</sup>*  
 9'') *[a-lit-ti] i-tam-ma-a it-<sup>r</sup>ti-ka<sup>1</sup>*  
 10'') *[il-si-ka<sup>d</sup>15 šá]-<sup>r</sup>qu<sup>1</sup>-ut DINGIR.MEŠ i-šak-kan-ka<sup>r</sup>ṭè-e-mu<sup>1</sup>*  
 11'') *[um-ma ta-na-aṭ]-ṭa-la a-na e-peš šá-áš-<sup>r</sup>mi<sup>1</sup>*  
 12'') *[a-šar pa-nu-u-a] šak-nu te-ba-ku a-na-ku*  
 13'') *[at-ta ta-qab]-bi-ši um-ma a-šar <sup>r</sup>tal-la-ki<sup>1</sup>*  
 14'') *[it-ti-ki] <sup>r</sup>lul<sup>1</sup>-lik be-let <sup>r</sup>GAŠAN.MEŠ<sup>1</sup>*  
 15'') *ši-<sup>r</sup>i<sup>1</sup> [tu-šá-an-nak]-<sup>r</sup>ka<sup>1</sup> um-ma at-ta <sup>r</sup>a-kan-na<sup>1</sup>*  
 16'') *lu-u áš-ba-<sup>r</sup>ta<sup>1</sup> a-šar maš-kán-<sup>r</sup>i-ka<sup>1</sup>*  
 17'') *a-kul a-ka-lu ši-ti ku-ru-un-nu*  
 18'') *nin-<sup>r</sup>gu-tú<sup>1</sup> šu-kun nu-<sup>2</sup>i-id <sup>r</sup>DINGIR-ú-ti<sup>1</sup>*  
 19'') *a-di al-la-ku šip-ru šu-a-tú <sup>r</sup>ep-pu-šú<sup>1</sup>*  
 20'') *ú-šak-šá-du šu-um-me-rat lîb-bi-<sup>r</sup>ka<sup>1</sup>*  
 21'') *pa-nu-u-ka ul ur-raq ul i-nàr-ru-ṭa GÌR.II-<sup>r</sup>ka<sup>1</sup>*  
 22'') *ul ta-šam-maṭ zu-ut-ka ina MURUB<sub>4</sub> tam-ḥa-<sup>r</sup>ri<sup>1</sup>*  
 23'') *ina ki-rim-mi-šá DÛG.GA taḥ-ši-in-ka-ma*  
 24'') *taḥ-te-na gi-mir la-a-ni-ka*  
 25'') *<sup>r</sup>pa-nu-uš-šá<sup>d</sup>GIŠ.BAR in-na-pi-iḥ*  
 26'') *[šam]-<sup>r</sup>riš ta-at-ta<sup>1</sup>-ši a-na a-ḥa-a-ti*  
 27'') *[e]-<sup>r</sup>li<sup>21</sup> <sup>m</sup>te-um-<sup>r</sup>man<sup>1</sup> LUGAL KUR.ELAM.MA.KI*  
 28'') *[šá] ug-gu-ga-<sup>r</sup>at<sup>1</sup> pa-nu-uš-šá taš-kun*  
 29'') *<sup>r</sup>ina ITI<sup>1</sup>.KIN ši-pir<sup>d</sup>15<sup>1</sup>.MEŠ i-sin-ni AN.ŠÁR MAḤ*  
 30'') *ITI<sup>d</sup>30 <sup>d</sup>na-<sup>r</sup>an<sup>1</sup>-nàr AN-e u KI-tim*  
 31'') *at-kil a-na EŠ.BAR <sup>r</sup>d<sup>7</sup>ŠEŠ.KI-ri nam-ri*  
 32'') *ù ši-pir<sup>d</sup>15 GAŠAN-<sup>r</sup>ia<sup>1</sup> ša la in-né-nu-u*  
 33'') *ad-ke ERIM.MEŠ MÈ-<sup>r</sup>ia<sup>1</sup> mun-daḥ-še*  
 34'') *ša ina qí-bit AN.ŠÁR<sup>d</sup>30 u<sup>d</sup>15*  
 35'') *it-ta-na-áš-ra-bi-ṭu ina qa-<sup>r</sup>bal<sup>1</sup> tam-ḥa-ri*  
 36'') *e-li <sup>m</sup>te-um-man LUGAL KUR.ELAM.MA.KI ur-ḥu aš-bat-ma*  
 37'') *uš-te-ši-ra ḥar-ra-nu el-la-mu-u-a [m]<sup>r</sup>te-um-man<sup>1</sup>*  
 38'') *LUGAL KUR.ELAM.MA.KI ina É-<sup>m</sup>im-bi-i na-di*

follows, saying: 'I will not st[op until I go (and) do battle] with him.'"

v 5'-9'a) On account of [these] insolent words [that Teumman] had spoken, I made an appeal to [the sublime goddess Ištar]. I stood be[fore her, knelt down at her feet, (and) made an appeal to] her divinity, [while my tears were flowing], say[ing]:

v 9'b) ["O Divine Lady of the city Arbela! I, Ashurbanipal],

## Lacuna

v 1''-4''a) [a dream interpreter lay down and s]aw a dream. [He woke up and (then) rep]or[t]ed to me [the night vision t]hat the goddess Ištar had shown him, [saying]:

v 4''b-28'') ["The goddess Ištar who resides in the city Arbela entered and she had quivers *hanging on* [the right and left. She was holding] a bow *at* her side (and) [she was unsheathing a] sharp [swo]rd that (was ready) to do battle. [Y]ou (Ashurbanipal) stood [before her] (and) she was speaking to you like [(your own) birth]-mother. (v 10'') [The goddess Ištar, the sub]lime one of the gods, [called out to you], instructing you, [saying: 'You are looking forw]ard to waging war (and) I myself am about [to set out towards my destination (the battlefield).] You (then) sa]jid to her, saying: 'Let me] go [with you], wherever you go, O Lady of Ladies!' (v 15'') She [replied to yo]u, saying: 'You will stay in the place where you are (currently) residing. Eat food, drink wine, make music, (and) revere my divinity. In the meantime, I will go (and) accomplish this task, (v 20'') (thus) I will let (you) achieve your heart's desire. Your face will not become pale, your feet will not tremble, you will not wipe off your sweat in the thick of battle.' She took you into her sweet embrace and protected your entire body. (v 25'') Fire flared up in front of her. She went off [furio]usly outside. She directed her attention [towar]ds Teum[m]an, the king of the land Elam [with whom] she was ang[r]y.'"

v 29''-37''a) In the month Ulūlu (VI), "the work of the goddesses," the festival of the exalted (god) Aššur, the month of the god Sîn, the light of heaven and netherworld, I trusted in the decision of the bright divine light (Sîn) and the message of the goddess Ištar, my lady, which cannot be changed. I mustered my battle troops, warriors (v 35'') who dart about in the thick of battle by the command of the deities Aššur, Sîn, and Ištar. I set out on the path against Teumman, the king of the land Elam, and took the direct road. v 37''b-48'') Before me, Teumman, the king of the land Elam, set up camp in the city Bît-Imbî. He heard about the entry of my royal majesty into the city Dêr

- 39'') *e-reb* LUGAL-ti-ia šá *qé-reb* URU.BÀD.AN.KI  
 40'') *iš-me-e-ma iš-bat-su* [hat]-<sup>r</sup>tu<sup>1</sup>  
 41'') <sup>m</sup>te-um-man ip-làh-ma a-na <sup>r</sup>EGIR<sup>1</sup>-[šú] <sup>r</sup>i<sup>1</sup>-tur  
 42'') *e-ru-ub qé-reb* URU.<sup>r</sup>šú-šá<sup>1</sup>-an  
 43'') KÛ.BABBAR KÛ.GI a-na šu-zu-ub [ZI]-<sup>r</sup>ti<sup>1</sup>-šú  
 44'') *ú-za-<sup>r</sup>i-iz a-na* UN.MEŠ<sup>1</sup> KUR-šú  
 45'') *re-še-e-šú a-<sup>r</sup>lik<sup>1</sup>* [Á.II]-šú pa-nu-<sup>r</sup>uš-šú<sup>1</sup>  
*ú-ter-ram-<sup>r</sup>ma<sup>1</sup>*  
 46'') *ug-dáp-pi-šá a-na maḥ-ri-ia*  
 47'') [ÍD.ú-la-a-a] a-na dan-nu-ti-šú *iš-kun*  
 48'') [iṣ-bat] pa-an maš-qé-e  
 49'') [ina qí-bit AN.ŠÁR <sup>d</sup>]AMAR<sup>1</sup>.UTU <sup>r</sup>šá<sup>1</sup>  
*ú-tak-kil-ú-in-ni*  
 50'') ina <sup>r</sup>GIŠKIM<sup>1</sup>.[MEŠ SIG<sub>5</sub>.MEŠ MÁŠ.GI<sub>6</sub>] <sup>r</sup>INIM<sup>1</sup>.GAR  
*ši-pir maḥ-<sup>r</sup>he-e<sup>1</sup>*  
 51'') *qé-reb* URU.<sup>r</sup>DU<sub>6</sub><sup>1</sup>[tu-ba BAD<sub>5</sub>.BAD<sub>5</sub>-šú-nu]  
*áš-kun<sup>1</sup>*  
 52'') ina ADDA.MEŠ-šú-nu [ÍD<sup>1</sup>.ú-la-a-a as-ki-ir]  
 53'') *šal-ma-a-te-šú-nu ki-ma* GIŠ.<sup>r</sup>DÌḪ<sup>1</sup> [u GIŠ.KIŠI<sub>16</sub>]  
 54'') *ú-ma-al-la-a ta-mar-ti* URU.<sup>r</sup>šú<sup>1</sup>-[šá-an]  
 55'') SAG.DU <sup>m</sup>te-um-man LUGAL KUR.ELAM.<sup>r</sup>MA<sup>1</sup>.KI  
 56'') ina qí-bit AN.ŠÁR <sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU DINGIR.MEŠ  
 GAL.MEŠ EN.MEŠ-ia KUD-is ina UKKIN  
 ERIM.ḪI.A-[šú]  
 57'') *mé-lam-me* AN.ŠÁR u <sup>d</sup>15 KUR.ELAM.MA.<sup>r</sup>KI<sup>1</sup>  
 58'') *is-ḥu-up-ma ik-nu-šú a-na ni-ri-<sup>r</sup>ia<sup>1</sup>*  
 Col. vi  
 1) [<sup>m</sup>um-man]-i-gaš šá in-<sup>r</sup>nab<sup>1</sup>-[tu]  
 2) [iṣ-ba-tu GİR.II]-<sup>r</sup>ia<sup>1</sup> ina GIŠ.<sup>r</sup>GU<sup>1</sup>.ZA-šú  
<sup>r</sup>ú<sup>1</sup>-[še-šib]  
 3) [<sup>m</sup>tam-ma-ri-tu] <sup>r</sup>ŠEŠ<sup>1</sup>-šú <sup>r</sup>šal-šá<sup>1</sup>-[a-a]  
 4) [ina URU.ḫi-da-lu a-na] <sup>r</sup>MAN-ú<sup>1</sup>-[ti áš-kun]  
 5) [GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ GIŠ.šú-um-bi ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ  
 ANŠE.KUNGA.MEŠ]  
 6) [ši-mit-ti ni-i-ri GIŠ.til-li si-mat MÈ]  
 7) [šá ina tukul-ti AN.ŠÁR <sup>d</sup>15 DINGIR.MEŠ  
 GAL.MEŠ EN.MEŠ-ia]  
 8) *bi-ri-it* URU.šú-šá-an ÍD.ú-la-a-a  
 9) <sup>r</sup>ik<sup>1</sup>-šú-da ŠU.II-a-a  
 10) [ina qí-bit] AN.ŠÁR u DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ  
 EN.MEŠ-ia  
 11) [ul-tu qé]-<sup>r</sup>reb<sup>1</sup> KUR.ELAM.MA.KI ḥa-diš  
*ú-ša-am-ma*  
 12) [a-na gi-mir ERIM.ḪI.A]-<sup>r</sup>ia šá-lim<sup>1</sup>-tu šak-na-at  
 13) [ina 8-e ger-ri-ia UGU <sup>m</sup>du-na-nu DUMU]  
<sup>r</sup>m<sup>1</sup>EN-BA-<sup>r</sup>šá<sup>1</sup>  
 14) [a-na KUR].gam-bu-li lu-u al-lik  
 15) [šá a-na] LUGAL KUR.ELAM.MA.KI it-tak-lu  
 16) [la ik]-nu-šú a-na ni-ri-ia  
 17) [ta-ḥa]-<sup>r</sup>zi<sup>1</sup> dan-nu LÚ.gam-bu-lu a-na  
*si-ḥir-ti-šú*  
 18) [ki-ma MURU<sub>9</sub>] ak-tùm URU.šá-pi-EN URU

and (v 40'') [fea]r took hold of him. Teumman became frightened, turned a[round], (and) entered the city S[u]sa. In order to save his (own) [lif]e, he distributed silver (and) gold to the people of his land. (v 45'') He redeployed his allies, who ma[rch at] his [side], to his front an[d] amassed (them) before me. He established [the Ulāya River] as his defensive position (and) [kept] (me from) the watering places.

v 49''-58'') [By the command of the gods Aššur (and) Ma]rduk, who had encouraged me through [auspicious] om[ens, dream(s), e]girrû-oracle(s), (and) message(s) from ecstasies, I brought abo[ut their defeat] inside the city T[il-Tūba. I blocked up the Ulāya] River with their corpses (and) filled the plain of the city S[usa] with their bodies like ba[l]tu-plant(s) [and ašāgu-plant(s)]. (v 55'') By the command of the gods Aššur (and) Marduk, the great gods, my lords, in the midst of [his] troops, I cut off the head of Teumman, the king of the land Elam. The brilliance of (the god) Aššur and the goddess Ištar overwhelmed the land Elam and they (the Elamites) bowed down to m[y] yoke.

vi 1-12) I [placed Umman]igaš (Ḫumban-nikas II), who had fl[ed] to me (and) had grasped] my [feet], on his (Teumman's) throne. [I installed Tammaritu], his thi[rd] brother, [as k]in[g in the city Ḫidalu. (vi 5) (With) the chariots, wagons, horses, mules, harness-broken (steeds), (and) equipment suited for war that] I captured between the city Susa (and) the Ulāya River [with the support of (the god) Aššur (and) the goddess Ištar, the great gods, my lords, by the command of] (the god) Aššur and the great gods, my lords, I joyfully cam[e out o]f the land Elam and salvation was established for m[y] entire army].

vi 13-19) [On my eighth campaign], I marched [against Dunānu, son of] Bēl-iqīša, [to the land] Gambulu, [which] had put its trust [in] the king of the land Elam (and) [had not b]owed down to my yoke. [With] my mighty [battle array], I covered the land (lit. "people") Gambulu in its entirety [like a fog]. I conquered the city Ša-pī-Bēl, his fortified city, [who]se location is situated [between river]s.

v 49'' Text no. 3 (Prism B) v 87 adds DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ <sup>r</sup>EN<sup>1</sup>.MEŠ-ia "the great gods, my lords."

- dan-nu-ti-šú*  
 19) [ša qé-reb ÍD].MEŠ na-da-at šu-bat-su ak-šu-ud  
 20) [ᵐdu-na-nu ŠEŠ.MEŠ]-šú ul-tú qé-reb URU  
 šu-a-tu  
 21) [bal-tu-su-un] ú-še-ša-a  
 22) [DAM-su DUMU.MEŠ]-šú DUMU.MUNUS<sup>1</sup>.MEŠ-šú  
 MUNUS.sek-re-ti-šú  
 23) [LÚ.NAR.MEŠ MUNUS.NAR.MEŠ] ᵠ<sup>1</sup>-še-ša-am-ma  
 šal-la-tiš am-nu  
 24) [KÙ.BABBAR KÙ].ᵠ<sup>1</sup> NÍG.ŠU na-kám-ti  
 É.GAL.MEŠ-šú  
 25) [ú]-ᵠ<sup>1</sup>-še-ša-am-ma šal-la-tiš am-nu  
 26) [LÚ.šu-ut] ᵠ<sup>1</sup>SAG<sup>1</sup>.MEŠ LÚ.man-za-az pa-ni-šú  
 LÚ.kit-ki-tu-u  
 27) [mu-šá]-ᵠ<sup>1</sup>ki<sup>1</sup>-le-šú ú-še-ša-am-ma šal-la-tiš  
 am-nu  
 28) [gi-mir um]-ᵠ<sup>1</sup>ma<sup>1</sup>-a-ni ma-la ba-šu-u  
 29) mar-kas URU u EDIN [ú-še-ša]-ᵠ<sup>1</sup>am<sup>1</sup>-ma šal-la-tiš  
 am-nu  
 30) [GU<sub>4</sub>.MEŠ še-e-ni] ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ  
 ANŠE.KUNGA.MEŠ  
 31) šá ni-ba la i-šú-u [ú-še-ša-am]-ᵠ<sup>1</sup>ma<sup>1</sup> šal-la-tiš  
 am-nu  
 32) [UN.MEŠ KUR-šú zi]-ᵠ<sup>1</sup>kir<sup>2</sup> sin-niš TUR u GAL  
 33) e-du ul e-zib [ú-še-ša-am]-ᵠ<sup>1</sup>ma<sup>1</sup> šal-la-tiš am-nu  
 34) ᵐmas-si-ᵠ<sup>1</sup>ra<sup>1</sup>-[a LÚ.GAL GIŠ.PAN] ša ᵐte-um-man  
 LUGAL KUR.ELAM.MA.KI  
 35) ša a-na kit-ri ᵠ<sup>1</sup>KUR<sup>1</sup>.[gam-bu-li] ᵠ<sup>1</sup>ma<sup>1</sup>-šar-tú  
 ᵐdu-na-nu  
 36) áš-bu qé-[reb URU.šá-pi-i-<sup>d</sup>EN] bal-tu-us-su ina  
 qa-ti aš-bat  
 37) [SAG.DU-su ak-kís] it-ti pa-ni ᵐdu-na-nu kit-ri  
 la mu-še-zib-i-šú  
 38) [ar-pi-is] URU šu-a-tu ap-pul [aq]-ᵠ<sup>1</sup>qur<sup>1</sup> ina  
 A.MEŠ uš-ḥar-miṭ  
 39) a-di la ba-še-ᵠ<sup>1</sup>e [ú-šá-lik] na-gu-ú šu-a-tu  
 40) [ú-šaḥ-rib] ᵠ<sup>1</sup>ri<sup>1</sup>-gim a-me-lu-ᵠ<sup>1</sup>ti<sup>1</sup> [ap]-ᵠ<sup>1</sup>ru<sup>1</sup>-us-sa  
 EDIN-uš-šú  
 41) ᵠ<sup>1</sup>ina tu-kul<sup>1</sup>-ti AN.ŠÁR <sup>d</sup>EN <sup>d</sup>AG ᵠ<sup>1</sup>DINGIR<sup>1</sup>.[MEŠ]  
 GAL.MEŠ EN.MEŠ-ia  
 42) ᵠ<sup>1</sup>LÚ.KÚR.MEŠ<sup>1</sup>-ia a-ni-[ir]  
 43) ᵠ<sup>1</sup>šal-meš a<sup>1</sup>-tu-ra a-na NINA.KI  
 44) ᵠ<sup>1</sup>SAG.DU<sup>1</sup> ᵐte-um-man LUGAL KUR.ELAM.MA.KI  
 45) ina GÚ ᵐdu-na-nu a-lul  
 46) ᵠ<sup>1</sup>it-ti<sup>1</sup> ki-šit-ti KUR.ELAM.MA.KI šal-la-ti  
 KUR.gam-bu-li  
 47) ᵠ<sup>1</sup>ša ina q<sup>1</sup>-bit AN.ŠÁR ik-šu-da ŠU.II-a-a  
 48) ᵠ<sup>1</sup>it-ti LÚ.NAR.MEŠ e-piš nin-gu-ti  
 49) a-na NINA.KI e-ru-ub ina ḤÚL.MEŠ  
 50) ᵐum-ᵠ<sup>1</sup>ba-da<sup>1</sup>-ra-a ᵐdMUATI-SIG<sub>5</sub>-iq  
 51) LÚ.MAḤ.MEŠ šá ᵐte-um-man LUGAL  
 KUR.ELAM.MA.KI  
 52) ša ᵐte-um-man ina ŠU.II-šú-nu iš-pu-ra ši-pir  
 me-re-eḥ-tú šá ina maḥ-ri-ia  
 53) ak-lu-u ú-qa-<sup>2</sup>u u pa-an ši-kin ṭè-e-me-ia

vi 20–33) I brought [Dunānu (and)] his [brothers] out of that city [alive]. I brought out [his wife], his [sons], his daughters, his (palace) women, [male singers, (and) female singers] and I counted (them) as booty. (vi 25) [I b]rought out [silver, gol]d, property, (and) the treasures of his palace and I counted (them) as booty. I brought out [eun]uchs, his attendants, engineers, (and) his [food pre]parers and I counted (them) as booty. [I brought ou]t [all of (his) arti]sans, as many as there were, the bond of city and steppe, and I counted (them) as booty. (vi 30) [I brought out oxen, sheep and goats], horses, (and) mules, which were without number, [an]d I counted (them) as booty. I did not leave a single [person of his land — mal]e (and) female, young and old — (and) [I brought (them) out an]d counted (them) as booty.

vi 34–38a) I captured alive Massir[â, the chief archer] of Teumman, the king of the land Elam, who was stationed ins[ide the city Ša-pi-Bē]l to provide support to the la[nd Gambulu] (and) to guard Dunānu. [I cut off his head (and) beat (it)] against the face of Dunānu, the ally who could not save him.

vi 38b–43) (As for) that city, I destroyed, [demol-]ish[ed, (and) dissolved (it) with water; [I annihi]lated (it). [I laid waste] that district [(and) cu]t off the clamor of humans from it. With the support of the gods Aššur, Bēl (Marduk), (and) Nabû, the great go[ds], my lords, I kil[led] my enemies (and) returned safely to Nineveh.

vi 44–49) I hung the head of Teumman, the king of the land Elam, around the neck of Dunānu. With the spoils of the land Elam (and) the booty of the land Gambulu, which I captured by the command of (the god) Aššur, with singers performing music, I entered Nineveh in (the midst of) celebration.

vi 50–59) (As for) Umbadarâ (and) Nabû-damiq, the envoys of Teumman — the king of the land Elam — by whose hands Teumman sent insolent message(s), whom I had detained before me by making (them) wait for the issuing of my decision, they saw the decapitated head of Teumman, their lord, in Nineveh



- 54) *ni-kis* SAG.DU <sup>m</sup>*te-um-man* EN-šú-nu  
 55) *qé-reb* NINA.KI *e-mu-ru-ma*  
 56) *šá-né-e* *ṭè-e-me* *iš-bat-su-nu-ti*  
 57) <sup>m</sup>*um-ba-da-ra-a* *ib-qu-ma* *ziq-na-a-šú*  
 58) <sup>md</sup>MUATI-SIG<sub>5</sub>-*iq* *ina* GÍR AN.BAR *šib-bi-šú*  
 59) *is-ḥu-la* *ka-ra-as-su*  
 60) *ni-kis* SAG.DU <sup>m</sup>*te-um-man* *ina* GABA KÁ.GAL  
 MURUB<sub>4</sub> URU  
 61) *ša* NINA.KI *ú-maḥ-ḥi-ra* *maḥ-ḥu-riš*  
 62) *áš-šú* *da-na-an* AN.ŠÁR u <sup>d</sup>15 EN.MEŠ-*ia* UN.MEŠ  
*kul-lu-me*  
 63) *ni-kis* SAG.DU <sup>m</sup>*te-um-man* LUGAL  
 KUR.ELAM.MA.KI  
 64) <sup>m</sup>IBILA-*a-a* DUMU <sup>md</sup>MUATI-*sa-lim* DUMU DUMU  
<sup>md</sup>AMAR.UTU-A-*AŠ*  
 65) *ša* *la-pa-an* AD AD *ba-ni-ia* AD-šú *in-nab-tu*  
 66) *a-na* KUR.ELAM.MA.KI *ul-tu* <sup>m</sup>*um-man-i-gaš*  
 67) *qé-reb* KUR.ELAM.MA.KI *áš-ku-nu* *a-na*  
 LUGAL-*u-ti*  
 68) <sup>m</sup>IBILA-*a-a* DUMU <sup>md</sup>MUATI-*sa-lim*  
 69) *iš-bat* *ú-še-bi-la* *a-di* *maḥ-ri-ia*  
 70) <sup>m</sup>*du-na-nu* <sup>m</sup>*sa-am-gu-nu*  
 71) DUMU.MEŠ <sup>m</sup>EN-BA-*šá* KUR.*gam-bu-la-a*-<sup>r</sup>*a*<sup>1</sup>  
 72) *šá* AD.MEŠ-šú-*un* *a-na* LUGAL.MEŠ AD.MEŠ-<sup>r</sup>*ia*<sup>1</sup>  
 73) *ú-dal-li-pu-ma* *ù* <sup>r</sup>šú<sup>1</sup>-*[nu]*  
 74) *ú-nàr-ri-ta* *e-peš* <sup>r</sup>LUGAL<sup>1</sup>-*[ti]*-<sup>r</sup>*ia*<sup>1</sup>  
 75) *qé-reb* *bal-til*.KI *ù* <sup>r</sup>URU.LÍMMU<sup>1</sup>-DINGIR  
 76) *a-na* *da-lál* *aḥ-ra-a*-<sup>r</sup>*te*<sup>?</sup> *ú-bil*<sup>1</sup>-*šu-nu-ti*  
 77) *ša* <sup>m</sup>*man-nu-ki-PAP*.<sup>r</sup>MEŠ<sup>1</sup> [LÚ.2-*u* *šá*] <sup>m</sup>*du-na-nu*  
 78) *ù* <sup>md</sup>MUATI-*ú*-<sup>r</sup>šal-*li*<sup>1</sup> LÚ.šá UGU URU  
 KUR.*gam-bu-li*  
 79) *ša* <sup>r</sup>UGU<sup>1</sup> DINGIR.MEŠ-*ia* *iq-bu-u* *šil-la-tu* GAL-*tú*  
 80) <sup>r</sup>*qé-reb*<sup>1</sup> URU.LÍMMU-DINGIR EME-šú-*un* *áš-lu-up*  
 81) *áš-ḥu-uṭ* KUŠ-šú-*un* <sup>m</sup>*du-na-nu* *qé-reb* NINA.KI  
 82) UGU GÍŠ.*ma-ka-a-ši* *id-du-šum-ma*  
 83) *iṭ-bu-ḥu-uš* *as-liš*  
 84) *si-it-ti* ŠEŠ.MEŠ-šú *šá* <sup>m</sup>*du-na-nu*  
 85) *ù* <sup>m</sup>IBILA-*a-a* *a-ni-ir* UZU.MEŠ-šú-*<nu>* *ú-nak-kis*  
 86) *ú-še-bil* *a-na* *ta-mar-ti* *ma-ti-tan*  
 87) [<sup>m</sup>]<sup>r</sup>MDUATI<sup>1</sup>-I <sup>m</sup>EN-KAR-*ir*  
 88) [DUMU.MEŠ <sup>m</sup>]<sup>r</sup>MDUATI-MU<sup>1</sup>-KAM-*eš*  
 LÚ.GÚ.EN.NA  
 89) [*šá* AD *ba-nu-šú-un*] <sup>r</sup>*ur*<sup>1</sup>-*ta-ki* *id-ka-a*  
 90) [*a-na* *mit-ḥu-ši* KUR URL.KI]  
 91) [GÍR.PAD.DA.MEŠ <sup>md</sup>MUATI-MU-KAM-*eš* *šá* *ul-tu*  
*qé-reb* KUR.*gam-bu-li*]  
 92) [*il-qu-u-ni* *a-na* KUR *aš-šur*.KI]  
 93) GÍR.PAD.DA.MEŠ *šá-a-ti*-<sup>r</sup>*na*<sup>1</sup>  
 94) *mé-eḥ-ret* KÁ.GAL MURUB<sub>4</sub> URU NINA.<sup>r</sup>KI<sup>1</sup>  
 95) *ú-šaḥ-ši-la* DUMU.MEŠ-<sup>r</sup>šú<sup>1</sup>  
 96) <sup>m</sup>*um-man-i-gaš* *šá* *ṭa-ab-tú* *ma-a*<sup>?</sup>-*as-su*  
*e-pu-šú-uš*  
 97) *áš-ku-nu-uš* *a-na* LUGAL-*ut* KUR.ELAM.MA.KI  
 98) *ša* SIG<sub>5</sub>-*tì* *la* *ḥa-as-su*

and madness took hold of them. Umbadarâ pulled out his (own) beard and Nabû-damiq stabbed himself in the stomach with his iron belt-dagger.

vi 60–63) (As for) the decapitated head of Teumman, I displayed (it) opposite the Citadel Gate of Nineveh as a *spectacle* in order to show the people the might of (the god) Aššur and the goddess Ištar, my lords — the decapitated head of Teumman, the king of the land Elam.

vi 64–69) (As for) Aplāya, son of Nabû-salim, grandson of Marduk-apla-iddina (II) (Merodach-baladan), whose father had fled to the land Elam before the father of the father who had engendered me — after I had installed Ummanigaš (Ḥumban-nikas II) as king in the land Elam, he (Ummanigaš) seized Aplāya, son of Nabû-salim, (and) sent (him) before me.

vi 70–76) (As for) Dunānu (and) Samgunu, sons of Bēl-iqīša — Gambulians whose ancestors had harassed the kings, m[y] ancestors, and, moreover, (who) them[selves] disturbed [m]y exercising the ki[ngship] — I brought them inside Baltil (Aššur) and the city Arbela to praise (me) in the future.

vi 77–81a) As for Mannu-kī-aḥḥ[ē], the deputy of Dunānu, and Nabû-ušalli, a city overseer of the land Gambulu, who had uttered grievous blasphem(ies) aga[inst] my gods, I ripped out their tongue(s) and flayed them inside the city Arbela.

vi 81b–83) (As for) Dunānu, they laid him on a slaughtering block inside Nineveh and slaughtered him like a lamb.

vi 84–86) (As for) the rest of the brothers of Dunānu and Aplāya, I killed (them), chopped up th<eir> flesh, (and) sent (them) out to be a spectacle in all of the lands.

vi 87–95) [(As for) N]abû-na'id (and) Bēl-ēṭir, [sons of Na]bû-šuma-ēreš, the *šandabakku* (governor of Nippur), [whose father, the one who had engendered them], had stirred up Urtaku (vi 90) [to fight with the land Akkad — the bones of Nabû-šuma-ēreš, which they had taken out of the land Gambulu to Assyria], I made them (lit. “his sons”) crush thos[e] bones opposite the Citadel Gate of Nineveh.

vi 96–vii 5) (As for) Ummanigaš (Ḥumban-nikas II), for whom I performed many act(s) of kindness (and) whom I installed as king of the land Elam, (and) who forgot my favor(s), did not honor the treaty sworn by

- 99) *la iṣ-ṣu-ru a-de-e* <sup>r</sup>ma-mit DINGIR.MEŠ GAL<sup>1</sup>.MEŠ  
Col. vii
- 1) *ul-tu* ŠU.II LÚ.A KIN.MEŠ <sup>md</sup>GIŠ.NU<sub>11</sub>-MU-GI.NA  
2) *ŠEŠ la ke-nu* LÚ.KÜR-ia im-ḥu-ru ṭa-a-tú  
3) *e-mu-qi-šú it-ti-šú-un iṣ-pu-ra a-na mit-ḥu-ṣi*  
ERIM.ḪI.A-ia  
4) ERIM.MEŠ MÈ-ia šá ina KUR.kár-<sup>d</sup>dun-ía-àš  
5) *it-ta-na-al-la-ku ú-kab-ba-su* KUR.kal-du  
6) *ina la i-de ṣe-er* <sup>m</sup>un-da-si  
7) DUMU <sup>m</sup>te-um-man LUGAL KUR.ELAM.MA.KI  
8) *ù* <sup>m</sup>za-za-az LÚ.EN.URU KUR.pil-la-ti  
9) <sup>m</sup>pa-ru-ú LÚ.EN.URU KUR.ḫi-il-mu  
10) <sup>m</sup>at-ta-me-tú LÚ.GAL GIŠ.PAN  
11) <sup>m</sup>né-e-šú a-lik pa-ni ERIM.ḪI.A šá  
KUR.ELAM.MA.KI  
12) *a-na mit-ḥu-ṣi it-ti* ERIM.ḪI.A KUR aš-šur.KI  
13) *ú-ma-’e-er-šú-nu-ti áš-kun-šú-nu-ti ṭe-e-mu*  
14) <sup>m</sup>um-man-i-gaš a-na <sup>m</sup>un-da-si ki-a-am iq-bi  
15) *um-ma a-lik* TA KUR aš-šur.KI ter-ra  
16) *tuk-te<sub>9</sub>-e* AD ba-ni-ka  
17) <sup>m</sup>un-da-su <sup>m</sup>za-za-az <sup>m</sup>pa-ru-u <sup>m</sup>at-ta-me-tú  
<sup>m</sup>né-e-šú  
18) <sup>r</sup>it<sup>1</sup>-ti LÚ.A KIN.MEŠ <sup>md</sup>GIŠ.NU<sub>11</sub>-MU-GI.NA ŠEŠ  
*nak-ri*  
19) [ur]-<sup>r</sup>ḥu<sup>1</sup> iṣ-bat-u-nim-ma uš-te-še-ra ḥar-ra-nu  
20) [ERIM.MEŠ MÈ]-ia ina URU.man-gi-si šá qé-reb  
[URU].<sup>r</sup>su<sup>1</sup>-man-dir  
21) [EDIN-uš]-<sup>r</sup>šú<sup>1</sup>-un e-lu-nim-ma iṣ-ku-[nu  
taḥ]-<sup>r</sup>ta<sup>1</sup>-šú-un  
22) [ša <sup>m</sup>un]-<sup>r</sup>da<sup>1</sup>-si DUMU <sup>m</sup>te-um-man [LUGAL]  
KUR.ELAM.MA.KI  
23) [ša <sup>m</sup>za-za-az] <sup>r</sup>m<sup>1</sup>par-ru-u <sup>m</sup>at-ta-me-tú  
24) [SAG.DU.MEŠ-šú-nu ik]-<sup>r</sup>ki-su<sup>1</sup>-nim-<sup>r</sup>ma<sup>1</sup>  
25) <sup>r</sup>ú-bil<sup>1</sup>-u-ni a-di IGI-ia  
26) [šu-ut a-ma-a-ti] <sup>r</sup>an<sup>1</sup>-na-a-te  
27) <sup>r</sup>LÚ<sup>1</sup>.A KIN-ia [ú-ma-’e-er ṣe]-<sup>r</sup>er<sup>1</sup>  
<sup>m</sup>um-man-i-gaš  
28) [LÚ.šu-ut SAG-ia šá áš-pu]-<sup>r</sup>ra<sup>1</sup> ik-la-ma  
29) *la ú-ter<sup>1</sup>-[ra tur]-<sup>r</sup>ti<sup>1</sup> a-mat-ia*  
30) AN.ŠÁR <sup>d</sup>30 <sup>d</sup>UTU <sup>r</sup>dEN<sup>1</sup> <sup>d</sup>AG <sup>d</sup>U.GUR  
31) DINGIR.MEŠ *ti-ik-le-ia di-in kit-ti*  
32) *it-<sup>r</sup>ti<sup>1</sup> <sup>m</sup>um-man-i-gaš i-di-nu-in-ni*  
33) <sup>m</sup>tam-ma-ri-tu EDIN-uš-šú ib-bal-kit-ma  
34) *šá-a-šú ga-a-du kim-ti-šú ú-ra-sib ina*  
GIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ  
35) <sup>m</sup>tam-ma-ri-tu šá e-la šá-a-šú ek-ṣu  
36) *ú-šib ina* GIŠ.GU.ZA KUR.ELAM.MA.KI  
37) *ki-ma šá-a-šú-ma ṭa-’a-a-tú im-ḥur*  
38) *ul iṣ-al šu-lum* LUGAL-ti-ia  
39) *a-na kit-ri* <sup>md</sup>GIŠ.NU<sub>11</sub>-MU-GI.NA  
40) *ŠEŠ la ke-e-nu il-lik-am-ma*  
41) *a-na mit-ḥu-ṣi* ERIM.ḪI.A-ia ur-ri-ḥa  
GIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ-šú

the great gods, (vii 1) (and) accepted bribe(s) from the hands of the messengers of Šamaš-šuma-ukīn — (my) unfaithful brother, my enemy — he sent his forces with them to fi<gh>t with my troops, my battle troops who were marching about in Karduniaš (Babylonia) (and) subduing Chaldea.

vii 6–19) Secretly, he (Ummanigaš) dispatched them to Undasu, a son of Teumman — a (former) king of the land Elam — and Zazaz, the city ruler of the land Pillatu, Parrû, the city ruler of the land Ḫilmu, Atta-metu, the chief archer, (and) Nēšu, a leader of the troops of the land Elam, to fight with the troops of Assyria (and) he gave them order(s). Ummanigaš said to Undasu as follows, (vii 15) saying: “Go, exact revenge from Assyria for the father who had engendered you.” Undasu, Zazaz, Parrû, Atta-metu, (and) Nēšu, [to]gether with the messengers of Šamaš-šuma-ukīn, (my) hostile brother, set out [en rout]e and took the direct road.

vii 20–25) My [battle troops] (who were stationed) in the city Mangisu — which is inside (the territory of) [the city S]umandir — came up [against t]hem and brought ab[out] their [defeat]. They [cut] off [the heads of Und]asu, a son of Teumman — [a (former) king of] the land Elam — [Zazaz], Parrû, (and) Atta-metu an[d] they brought (them) before me.

vii 26–29) [I dispatched] my messenger [t]o Ummanigaš (Ḫumban-nikas II) [regarding t]hese [mat- ters]. He detained [the eunuch of mine whom I had sen]t (Marduk-šarru-ušur) and did not gi[ve a repl]y to my word(s).

vii 30–36) The gods Aššur, Sîn, Šamaš, Bēl (Marduk), Nabû, (and) Nergal, the gods who support me, rendered a just verdict for me conce[rni]ng Ummanigaš (Ḫumban-nikas II). Tammarītu rebelled against him and struck him, together with his family, down with the sword. (vii 35) Tammarītu, who was (even) more insolent than him (Ummanigaš), sat on the throne of the land Elam.

vii 37–47) Just like him (Ummanigaš), he (Tammarītu) accepted bribes, did not inquire about the well-being of my royal majesty, (vii 40) went to the aid of Šamaš-šuma-ukīn, (my) unfaithful brother, and hastily sent his weapons to fight with my troops. As a result of the supplications that I had addressed to (the god) Aššur

vii 19 *uš-te-še-ra ḥar-ra-nu* “took the direct road”: As R. Borger (BIWA p. 110) points out, the writing of the verb in ex. 2 is possibly an error for *uš-te-še-ru-u-ni*. The only other exemplar (ex. 3) preserving part of this line has [uš-te-še-ru]-u-ni ḥar-ra-nu.

- 42) *ina su-up-pe-e šá* AN.ŠÁR u <sup>d</sup>15 *ú-sap-pu-u*  
 43) *ta-né-ḫi-ia im-ḫu-ru iš-mu-u zi-kir* NUNDUM-ia  
 44) ARAD.MEŠ-šú EDIN-uš-šú *ib-bal-ki-tu-ma*  
 45) *a-ḫa-meš ú-ra-si-bu* EN ḪUL-ti-ia  
 46) <sup>m</sup>in-da-bi-bi ARAD-su *ša si-ḫu*  
 47) UGU-šú *ú-šab-šu-ú ú-šib ina* GIŠ.GU.ZA-šú  
 48) <sup>m</sup>tam-ma-ri-tu LUGAL KUR.<sup>r</sup>ELAM<sup>1</sup>.MA.KI  
 49) *šá me-re-eh-tú iq-bu-u*  
 50) UGU *ni-kis* SAG.DU <sup>m</sup>te-um-man  
 51) *šá ik-ki-su a-ḫu-ru-u* ERIM.ḪI.A-ia  
 52) *ù ŠEŠ.MEŠ-šú qin-nu-šú* NUMUN É AD-šú  
 53) *it-ti* 85 NUN.MEŠ *šá* KUR.ELAM.MA.<sup>r</sup>KI<sup>1</sup> *a-li-kut*  
 Á.MEŠ-šú  
 54) *šá la-pa-<sup>r</sup>an<sup>1</sup>* GIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ AN.ŠÁR u <sup>d</sup>15  
*ip-par-šu-nim-ma*  
 55) *a-na da-lál* DINGIR-ti-šú-nu GAL-ti *it-ti*  
<sup>md</sup>AMAR.UTU-MAN-PAP LÚ.šú-ut SAG-ia  
 56) *ša ib-ši-mu-šú ina da-na-ni mi-ra-nu-uš-šú-un*  
*ina* UGU *lib-bi-šú-nu*  
 57) *ip-ši-lu-nim-ma iš-ba-tu* ĞIR.II LUGAL-ti-ia  
 58) <sup>m</sup>tam-ma-ri-tú *a-na e-peš* ARAD-ti-ia *ra-man-šú*  
*im-nu-ma*  
 59) *a-na kàt-a-ri-šú ú-šal-la-a* EN-u-ti  
 60) *šu-ut 1-en šu-ut* SAG-ia AN.ŠÁR <sup>d</sup>30 <sup>d</sup>UTU <sup>d</sup>EN  
<sup>d</sup>AG  
 61) DINGIR.MEŠ *tik-le-ia* 1 LIM-A.A *ri-bi-ia*  
*i-ri-bu-u-ni*  
 62) <sup>m</sup>tam-ma-ri-tu UN.MEŠ *ma-la it-ti-šú*  
 63) *qé-reb* É.GAL-ia *ul-zi-is-su-nu-ti*  
 64) <sup>m</sup>in-da-bi-bi *šá* EGIR <sup>m</sup>tam-ma-ri-tu  
 65) *ú-ši-bu ina* GIŠ.GU.ZA KUR.ELAM.MA.KI  
 66) *da-na-na* GIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ-ia *i-de-e-ma*  
 67) *ša ú-šam-ri-ru* UGU KUR.ELAM.MA.KI  
 68) DUMU.MEŠ KUR *aš-šur*.KI *šá aš-pu-ru*  
 69) *a-na kit-ri* <sup>md</sup>MUATI-EN-MU.MEŠ  
 70) DUMU <sup>md</sup>AMAR.UTU-A-<sup>r</sup>SUM<sup>1</sup>.[NA *ša* GIM *ib-ri*  
*u*] <sup>r</sup>tap-pe<sup>1</sup>-e  
 71) *na-šar* KUR-šú <sup>r</sup>it-ta<sup>1</sup>.[na-al-la-ku] *it-ti-šú*  
 72) *šá* <sup>md</sup>MUATI-EN-<sup>r</sup>MU<sup>1</sup>.[MEŠ *ina*] <sup>r</sup>pi-ir<sup>1</sup>-ša-a-ti  
 [ina *šat mu-ši*]  
 73) *uš-šab-bi-tu* [ik-lu]-<sup>r</sup>ú<sup>1</sup> *ina ki-li*  
 74) <sup>m</sup>in-da-<sup>r</sup>bi<sup>1</sup>-[bi] <sup>r</sup>LUGAL<sup>1</sup> KUR.ELAM.MA.KI  
 75) *ul-tu* É <sup>r</sup>ši-bit<sup>1</sup>-ti *ú-še-ša-áš-šú-nu-ti*  
 76) *ki-i ša-bat ab-bu-ut-ti* <sup>r</sup>qa-be<sup>1</sup>-e  
 MUNUS.SIG<sub>5</sub>-ti-šú  
 77) *la ḫa-te-<sup>r</sup>e<sup>1</sup>* <sup>r</sup>mi-šir KUR-šú  
 78) *ina* ŠU.II LÚ.A KIN-šú <sup>r</sup>šá<sup>1</sup> *ṭu-ú-bi u su-lum-me-e*  
 79) *ú-še-bi-la a-di maḫ-ri-ia*
- 
- 80) [<sup>m</sup>ia-u-ta]-<sup>r</sup>a<sup>1</sup> DUMU<sup>1</sup> <sup>m</sup>ḫa-za-DINGIR  
 81) [LUGAL KUR.qa-ad-ri e-piš] ARAD-ti-ia  
 82) [áš-šú DINGIR.MEŠ-šú im]-<sup>r</sup>ḫur-an<sup>1</sup>-ni-ma  
 83) [ú-šal-la-a LUGAL]-ú-ti  
 84) [MU DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ *ú-šá-az*]-<sup>r</sup>kír<sup>1</sup>-šú-ma

and the goddess Ištar, they accepted my sighs (and) listened to the utterance(s) of my lip(s). His servants rebelled against him and (vii 45) *together* struck down my adversary. Indabibi, a servant of his who had incited rebellion against him, sat on his throne.

vii 48–57) (As for) Tammarītu, the king of the land Elam who had spoken insolent word(s) on account of the cutting off of the head of Teumman – which a low-ranking soldier of my army had cut off – and his brothers, his family, (and) the seed of his father’s house, together with eighty-five nobles of the land Elam who march at his side, who had flown away from the weapons of (the god) Aššur and the goddess Ištar – (vii 55) to praise their great divinity, they crawled naked on their bellies, together with Marduk-šarru-ušur, a eunuch of mine whom they had taken away (with them) by force, and they grasped the feet of my royal majesty.

vii 58–63) Tammarītu handed himself over to do obeisance to me and made an appeal to my lordly majesty to be his ally. For just one eunuch of mine, the gods Aššur, Šîn, Šamaš, Bēl (Marduk), (and) Nabû, the gods who support me, compensated me a thousand fold. I allowed Tammarītu (and) as many people as (there were) with him to stay in my palace.

vii 64–79) Indabibi, who sat on the throne of the land Elam after Tammarītu, knew about the might of my weapons that had prevailed over the land Elam and (as for) the Assyrians whom I had sent to aid Nabû-bēl-šumāti, (vii 70) son of Marduk-apla-iddi[na] (II) (Merodach-baladan), with [wh]om th[ey use]d to ma[rch] ab[out] protecting his land [like a friend and] ally (and) whom Nabû-bēl-šum[āti] had seized [by] guile [during the night (and) confined] in prison, Indabi[bi, the k]ing of the land Elam, (vii 75) released them from prison. So that (they) would intercede (with me), say good thing(s) about him, (and) in order to prevent (me) from doing harm to the territory of his land, he sent (them) before me by the hands of his messenger (with messages) of goodwill and peace.

vii 80–viii 1) [Iaut]a’, son of Hazael, [the king of the land Qedar who does] obeisance to me, [appro]ached me [about his gods] and [implored] my [royal maj]esty. [I made] him [swea]r [an oath by the great gods] and (vii 85) (then) I gave [the god Atar-samayin back] to

vii 45 EN ḪUL-ti-ia “my adversary”: Ex. 3 mistakenly has EN SIG<sub>5</sub>-ti-ia “my friend.”

- 85) [d<sup>a</sup>-tar-sa-ma-in ú-ter-ma] [a<sup>1</sup>-din-šú  
 86) [EGIR-nu ina a-de-ia] [i<sup>h</sup><sup>1</sup>-ti-ma  
 87) [MUN la] [i<sup>š</sup><sup>1</sup>-šur-ma  
 88) [i<sup>š</sup>-la-a GIŠ.ŠUDUN] [EN<sup>1</sup>-ti-ia  
 89) [a-na šá-<sup>2</sup>a-al šul-mi-ia GİR.II]-[šú<sup>1</sup> ip-ru-us-ma  
 90) [ik-la-a ta-mar-ti UN.MEŠ] [KUR<sup>1</sup>.a-ri-bi  
 91) [it-ti-šú ú-šá]-[bal<sup>1</sup>-kit-ma  
 Col. viii  
 1) [i<sup>h</sup>-ta-nab-ba-tu hu-bu-ut KUR MAR.TU.KI]  
 2) [ERIM.ĪIA-ia šá ina mi-šir KUR-šú áš-bu]  
 3) [ú-ma-<sup>2</sup>e-e-ra še-ru-uš-šú]  
 4) [BAD<sub>5</sub>.BAD<sub>5</sub>-šú-un áš-kun UN.ĪIA KUR.a-ri-bi  
 5) ma-la it-bu-u-ni ú-ra-si-bu ina GIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ  
 6) É [EDIN<sup>1</sup> kul-ta-ri <<BI>> mu-šá-bi-šú-nu  
 7) IZI ú-šá-<sup>h</sup>i-zu ip-qí-du a-na <sup>d</sup>GIŠ.BAR  
 8) GU<sub>4</sub>.MEŠ še-e-ni ANŠE.MEŠ [ANŠE.GAM<sup>1</sup>.MAL.MEŠ  
 9) a-me-lu-tú iš-lu-[lu-u-ni ina la mi]-ni  
 10) se-<sup>h</sup>e-ep KUR [ka]-[la<sup>1</sup>]-[mu a-na] [si<sup>1</sup>-<sup>h</sup>ir-ti-šá  
 11) un-da-al-<sup>h</sup>lu-u<sup>2</sup>? a-na paṭ gim-ri-šá  
 12) ANŠE.GAM.MAL.MEŠ [ki<sup>1</sup>-ma še-e-ni ú-par-ri-is  
 13) ú-za-<sup>2</sup>i-iz a-na UN.MEŠ KUR aš-šur.KI  
 14) qa-bal-ti KUR-ia ANŠE.GAM.MAL ina GÍN ina 1/2  
 GÍN kas-pi  
 15) i-šam-mu ina KÁ ma-<sup>h</sup>i-ri  
 16) MUNUS.áš-tam-mu ina ni-id-ni LÚ.LÚNGA ina  
 DUG.ḫa-bé-e  
 17) LÚ.NU.GIŠ.KIRI<sub>6</sub> ina ki-i-si im-da-na-ḫa-ru  
 18) ANŠE.GAM.MAL.MEŠ ù a-me-lu-ti  
 19) si-it-ti LÚ.a-ri-bi šá la-pa-an GIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ  
 20) ip-par-š<sup>i</sup>-du ú-šam-qit <sup>d</sup>èr-ra qar-du  
 21) su-un-qu ina bi-ri-šú-un iš-šá-kin-ma  
 22) a-na bu-ri-šú-nu e-ku-lu UZU.MEŠ  
 DUMU.MEŠ-šú-un  
 23) ar-ra-a-ti ma-la ina a-de-šú-un šaṭ-ru  
 24) ina pi-it-ti i-šim-šú-nu-ti AN.ŠÁR <sup>d</sup>30 <sup>d</sup>UTU  
 25) <sup>d</sup>EN u <sup>d</sup>AG <sup>d</sup>15 šá NINA.KI <sup>d</sup>15 šá  
 URU.LÍMMU-DINGIR.KI  
 26) DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ EN.MEŠ-ía  
 27) <sup>m</sup>ia-u-ta-a' ma-ru-uš-tú im-<sup>h</sup>ur-šú-ma  
 28) e-diš-š<sup>i</sup>-šú in-na-bit  
 29) <sup>m</sup>a-bi-ia-te-e' DUMU <sup>m</sup>te-e'-ri  
 30) a-na URU.NINA.KI il-li-kam-ma ú-na-šiq GİR.II-ía  
 31) a-de-e a-na e-peš ARAD-ti-ia it-ti-šú áš-kun  
 32) ku-um <sup>m</sup>ia-u-ta-a' áš-kun-šú a-na LUGAL-u-ti  
 33) KÙ.GI IGL.II.MEŠ NA<sub>4</sub>.BABBAR.DILI gu-uḫ-lu  
 ANŠE.GAM.MAL.MEŠ  
 34) ANŠE.NÍTA.MEŠ [bit<sup>1</sup>-ru-ti man-da-at-ti  
 šat-ti-šam-ma  
 35) ú-kin še-ru-uš-šú  
 36) <sup>m</sup>am-mu-la-di-in LUGAL KUR.qa-ad-ri šá ki-ma

him. [Afterwards, he] sinned [against my treaty, did not] respect [my kindness], and [cast off the yoke of] my [lor]dship. He refrained [from inquiring about my well-being] and (vii 90) [withheld audience gift(s) from me. He incited the people of the lan]d of the Arabs [to re]bel [with him] and [they were repeatedly plundering the land Amurru].

viii 2-7) [I sent troops of mine who were stationed on the border of his land against him] (and) they (lit. "I") brought about their defeat. They struck down with the sword the people of the land of the Arabs, as many as had risen up against me, (and) set fire to pavilion(s) and) tents, their abodes, (and thus) consigned (them) to the god Gira.

viii 8-18) Th[ey] carr[ied off without num]ber oxen, sheep and goats, donkeys, camels, (and) people. They filled (with them) the [wh]o[le] extent of the land, [in] its [e]ntirety, to all of its border(s). I apportioned camels like sheep and goats (and) divided (them) among the people of Assyria (viii 15) (so that) within my country they (the Assyrians) could purchase a camel for one shekel (or even) a half shekel of silver at the market gate. The female tavern keeper for a *serving*, the beer brewer for a jug (of beer), (and) the gardener for (his) bag of vegetables were regularly receiving camels and slaves.

viii 19-26) (As for) the rest of the Arabs who had fled from (my) weapons, the heroic god Erra struck (them) down. Famine broke out among them and they ate the flesh of their children on account of their hunger. The deities Aššur, Sîn, Šamaš, Bēl (Marduk) and Nabû, Ištar of Nineveh, (and) Ištar of Arbela, the great gods, my lords, decreed curses, as many as were written in their treaties, accordingly upon them.

viii 27-28) (As for) Iauta', hardship befell him and he fled alone.

viii 29-35) Abī-Yate', son of Te'ri, came to Nineveh and kissed my feet. I concluded a treaty with him to do obeisance to me. I installed him as king in place of Iauta'. I imposed upon him gold, eyestones, *pappardilû*-stone, kohl, camels, (and) prime quality donkeys as annual payment.

viii 36-46) (As for) Ammu-ladīn — the king of the

viii 4 áš-kun "I brought about": One expects here iš-ku-nu "they brought about"; see text no. 3 (Prism B) viii 1.

viii 6 <<BI>> : For this extraneous sign, see the on-page note to text no. 3 (Prism B) viii 3.

viii 11 un-da-al-<sup>h</sup>lu-u<sup>2</sup>? "they filled": See the on-page note to text no. 3 (Prism B) viii 8.

viii 24 i-šim-šú-nu-ti "he decreed upon them": This is possibly an error for i-š<sup>i</sup>-mu-šú-nu-ti.

- šá-a-šú ik-ki-ru  
 37) *ih-ta-nab-ba-tu hu-bu-ut* KUR.MAR.TU.KI  
 38) *ina zi-kir* MU-ia šá AN.ŠÁR <sup>d30</sup> <sup>dUTU</sup> <sup>dEN</sup> <sup>dAG</sup>  
 39) <sup>d15</sup> šá NINA.KI <sup>d15</sup> šá URU.LÍMMU-DINGIR.KI  
*ú-šar-bu-ú*  
 40) <sup>mka-ma-as-hal-ta-a</sup> LUGAL.KUR.ma-'a-a-bi  
 41) ARAD *da-gíl pa-ni-ia*  
 42) *ina* MÈ *iš-ku-nu* BAD<sub>5</sub>.BAD<sub>5</sub>-šú  
 43) <sup>mam-mu-la-di si-it-ti</sup> UN.MEŠ-šú  
 44) *šá la-pa-an da-a-ki i-ši-tu-u-ni ú-šab-bit ina*  
 ŠU.II  
 45) ŠU.II u GÌR.II *bi-re-tú* AN.BAR *id-di-ma*  
 46) *a-na* URU.NINA.KI *a-di maḥ-ri-ia ú-še-bi-la*  
 47) <sup>ma-na-at<sup>1</sup>-nu</sup> LUGAL.KUR.na-ba-a-a-ti ša *a-šar-šú*  
*ru-u-qu*  
 48) *iš-ma-a da-na-an* AN.ŠÁR <sup>dAMAR.UTU</sup> <sup>šá<sup>1</sup></sup>  
*ú-tak-kil-u-in-ni*  
 49) *ša ma-ti-ma a-na* LUGAL.MEŠ AD.MEŠ-ia LÚ.A  
 KIN-šú *la iš-pu-ra*  
 50) *la iš-a-lu<sub>4</sub> šu-lum* LUGAL-ti-šú-un  
 51) *e-nen-na ia<sup>1</sup>-ti<sup>1</sup>* LÚ.A KIN-šú *šá šul-me*  
 52) *iš-pu-ram-ma ú-na-áš-šiq* GÌR.II-ia  
 53) *a-na šá-kan a-de-e su-lum-me-e e-peš* ARAD-ti-ia  
 54) *ú-ša-na-al-la-a be-lu-u-ti*  
 55) *a-na-ku ḥa-diš ap-pa-lis-šu-ma*  
 56) *pa-ni-ia* SIG<sub>5</sub>.MEŠ UGU-šú *áš-kun*  
 57) GUN *man-da-at-tu šat-ti-šam-ma ú-kin*  
 EDIN-uš-šú  


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 58) *ina u<sub>4</sub>-me-šú-ma* BÀD MURUB<sub>4</sub> URU ša NINA.KI  
 59) *šá* <sup>m<sup>d</sup>30-PAP.MEŠ-SU</sup> MAN KUR *aš-šur*.KI AD AD  
*ba-ni-ia* DÛ-šú  
 60) *ina* A.MEŠ *ṭaḥ-TU-ti ra-a-di gap-šu-ti*  
 61) *ša šat-ti-šam-ma ina* BALA-ia <sup>šá<sup>1</sup></sup> IŠKUR *ú-sad-di-ra*  
*ina* KUR-ia  
 62) *tem-me-en-šú ir-bu-ub-ma i-qu-pa re-šá-a-šú*  
 63) BÀD *šu-a-tú ša la-ba-riš* DU-ku *e-na-ḥu* UŠ<sub>8</sub>-šú  
 64) *mi-qit-ta-šú ad-ke ak-šu-da a-sur-ru-šú*  
 65) *ina eš-qí* NA<sub>4</sub> KUR-*i tem-me-en-šú ú-dan-nin*  
 66) *e-li* <sup>šá<sup>1</sup></sup> *maḥ-ri* BÀD *šu-a-tú*  
 67) *ú-<sup>1</sup>kab<sup>1</sup>-bir áš-pu-ka šad-du-iš*  
 68) *ul-tu* UŠ<sub>8</sub>-šú *a-di gaba-dib-bé-e-šú ar-šip*  
*ú-šak-lil*  
 69) UGU *ša u<sub>4</sub>-me pa-ni ú-dan-ni-na tem-me-en-šú*  
 70) MU.SAR-u *ši-tir* MU-ia u *ta-nit-ti qar-ra-du-ti-ia*  
 71) *ša ina tukul-ti* AN.ŠÁR <sup>d30</sup> <sup>dUTU</sup> <sup>dEN</sup> <sup>dAG</sup>  
 72) <sup>d15</sup> šá NINA.KI <sup>d15</sup> šá URU.LÍMMU-DINGIR <sup>dMAŠ</sup>  
<sup>d<sup>n</sup>usku</sup> <sup>dU.GUR</sup>  
 73) *ina* KUR.KUR *at-tal-la-ku áš-ku-nu da-na-nu u*  
*li-i-tú*  
 74) *áš-ṭur-ma a-na aḥ-rat u<sub>4</sub>-me e-zib*

land Qedar, who, like him (Iauta'), had turned hostile (and) repeatedly plundered the land Amurru — (viii 40) Kamās-ḥaltâ, the king of the land Moab, a servant who belonged to me who had brought about his defeat in battle by invoking my name — which the deities Aššur, Sîn, Šamaš, Bēl (Marduk), Nabû, Ištar of Nineveh, (and) Ištar of Arbela had made great — captured Ammuladi(n and) the rest of his people who had escaped the slaughter. (viii 45) He placed (their) hands and feet in iron fetters and sent (them) to Nineveh, before me.

viii 47–57) Natnu, the king of the land of the Nabayateans — whose location is remote — heard about the might of the gods Aššur (and) Marduk, who had encouraged me. The one who had never sent his messenger to the kings, my ancestors, (and) (viii 50) had never inquired about the well-being of their royal majesties, he now sent to me his messenger with greetings and kissed my feet. He was constantly beseeching my lordly majesty to conclude a treaty (and) peace agreement, (and) to do obeisance to me. I myself looked with pleasure upon him and turned my benevolent face towards him. I imposed upon him annual tribute payment.

viii 58–69) At that time, the wall of the citadel of Nineveh, which Sennacherib — king of Assyria, the father of the father who had engendered me — had built, (and, which) on account of abundant waters (and) heavy downpours that the god Adad had regularly brought yearly to my land during my reign, its foundation(s) had become weak and its superstructure had buckled. I removed the collapsed section(s) of that wall, which had become old (and) whose foundation(s) had become weak; I reached its lowest course. (viii 65) I strengthened its foundation(s) with massive (blocks of) mountain stone. I made that wall thicker than the previous one (and) I heaped (it) up like a mountain. I built (and) completed (it) from its foundation(s) to its crenellations. I strengthened its foundation(s) more than previously.

viii 70–74) I wrote out an inscribed object bearing my name and the praise of my heroism — with which through the support of the deities Aššur, Sîn, Šamaš, Bēl (Marduk), Nabû, Ištar of Nineveh, Ištar of Arbela, Ninurta, Nusku, (and) Nergal, I constantly marched through the lands (and) established mighty victories — and I deposited (it) for future days.

viii 60 A.MEŠ “waters”: Exs. 3 and 7 have ŠĒG (“rain”) and ŠĒG.MEŠ (“rains”), respectively.

viii 65–67 These lines of the building report appear in exs. 3, 7–8, 11, and 15; they are not included in exs. 2, 10, and 16–17.

- 75) *a-na* <sup>1</sup>EGIR<sup>1</sup> *u<sub>4</sub>-me ina* LUGAL.MEŠ DUMU.MEŠ-*ia*  
 76) *ša* AN.ŠĀR u <sup>d</sup>15 *a-na be-lut* KUR u UN.MEŠ  
*i-nam-bu-ú zi-kir-šú*  
 77) *e-nu-ma* BĀD *šu-a-tú i-lab-bi-ru-ma in-na-ḫu*  
 78) *an-ḫu-us<sup>1</sup>-su lu-ud-diš* MU.SAR-u *ši-tir* MU-*ia*  
 79) *li-mur-ma* Ì.MEŠ *lip-šu-uš* UDU.SISKUR *liq-qi*  
 80) *a-na aš-ri-šú lu-ter*  
 81) [*ki-i ša a-na-ku*] MU.SAR-u *ši-tir šu-me*  
<sup>md</sup>30-PAP.MEŠ-SU *ab* AD DÛ-*ia*  
 82) [*a-mu-ru* Ì.MEŠ] <sup>r</sup>*ap-šu-šú* UDU<sup>1</sup>.SISKUR *aq-qu-u*  
*[it-ti* MU.SAR-*e]*  
 83) <sup>r</sup>*ši-tir*<sup>1</sup> MU-*ia aš-ku-nu at-ta ki-i* [*ia-a-ti-ma*]  
 84) MU.SAR-*a-a a-mur-ma* Ì.MEŠ *pu-šu-uš*  
 [UDU].SISKUR BAL-*qi*  
 85) *it-ti* MU.SAR-*e ši-tir* MU-*ka šu-kun*  
 86) DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ *ma-la ina* MU.SAR-*e*  
*an-né-e šaṭ-ru*  
 87) LUGAL-*ut-ka lik-tar-ra-bu li-ḫi-ṣu-ru*  
 BALA.MEŠ-*ka*  
 88) *ša* MU.SAR-*ú ši-tir* MU-*ia u šu-me* AD AD DÛ-*ia*  
 89) *ib-ba-tu<sup>1</sup> ina mim-ma ši-pir ni-kil-ti ú-ḫal-la-qu*  
 90) *it-ti* MU.SAR-<sup>r</sup>*e* [*ši-tir*<sup>1</sup> MU-*šú la i-šak-ka-nu*  
 91) DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ *ša* AN-*e u KI-tim*  
 92) LUGAL-*us-su lis-ki-pu*  
 93) MU-*šú NUMUN-šú ina* KUR *lu-ḫal-li-qu*

viii 75–80) In the future, may one of the kings, my descendants, whom (the god) Aššur and the goddess Ištar nominate for ruling over the land and people, renovate its dilapidated section(s) when this wall becomes old and dilapidated. May he find an inscribed object bearing my name, and (then) anoint (it) with oil, make an offering, (and) return (it) to its place.  
 viii 81–87) [Just as I found] an inscribed object bearing the name of Sennacherib, the father of the father who had engendered me, anointed (it) [with oil], made an offering, (and) placed (it) [with an inscribed object] bearing my name, you should be just like [me], find an inscribed object of mine and (then) anoint (it) with oil, make [an offering (and) (viii 85) place (it) with an inscribed object bearing your name. May the great gods, as many as are recorded on this inscribed object, constantly bless your kingship (and) protect your reign.

viii 88–93) (As for) the one who destroys an inscribed object bearing my name or the name of the father of the father who had engendered me, makes (it) disappear by some crafty device, (or) does not place (it) with an inscribed object [bear]ing his name, may the great gods of heaven and netherworld overthrow his kingship (and) make his name (and) seed disappear from the land.

**Date ex. 1**

- 94A) ITI.ŠU.GAR.NUMUN.NA *lim-mu* <sup>m</sup>EN-*šu-nu*  
 95A) LÚ.GAR.KUR URU.<sup>r</sup>*ḫi-in<sup>1</sup>-da-na*

**Date ex. 5**

- 94B) <sup>r</sup>ITI<sup>1</sup>.SIG<sub>4</sub> UD.22.KAM *lim-mu* <sup>m</sup>EN-*šu-nu*  
 95B) [LÚ.GAR.KUR URU.<sup>r</sup>*ḫi-in-da*]-*na*

**Date ex. 9**

- 94C) [...] UD.8.<sup>r</sup>KĀM<sup>1</sup>  
 95C) [*lim-mu* <sup>m</sup>EN]-*šu-nu*  
 96C) [LÚ.GAR.KUR URU.<sup>r</sup>*ḫi-in<sup>1</sup>-da-<sup>r</sup>na<sup>1</sup>*

**Date ex. 1**

viii 94A–95A) Du'ūzu (IV), eponymy of Bēlšunu, governor of the city Ḫindānu (648).

**Date ex. 5**

viii 94B–95B) Simānu (III), the twenty-second day, eponymy of Bēlšunu, [governor of the city Ḫindā]nu (648).

**Date ex. 9**

viii 94C–96C) [...], the eighth day, [eponymy of Bēl]šunu, [governor of the city Ḫi]ndān[u] (648).

viii 75 Before *ina* LUGAL.MEŠ DUMU.MEŠ-*ia* “one of the kings, my descendants,” exs. 8 and 14 add [*ina* DUMU].<sup>r</sup>DUMU<sup>1</sup> DUMU DUMU.DUMU ù DUMU.MEŠ “[one of the so]ns, grandsons, or (great grand)sons.” Compare text no. 3 (Prism B) viii 70b–71a, text no. 5 (Prism I) v 3b–4a, and text no. 10 (Prism T) vi 28b–29.

viii 80 The master text follows ex. 14. Exs. 5 and 6 instead conclude lines 75–79 with *it-ti* MU.SAR-*e ši-tir* MU-*šú* ù *šu-me* <sup>md</sup>30-PAP.MEŠ-SU AD AD-*ia liš-ṭur-<sup>r</sup>ma<sup>1</sup> liš-kun* “may he write out and place (it) with an inscribed object bearing his name and the name of Sennacherib, my grandfather” (though ex. 5 lacks the possible *ma* in *liš-ṭur-<sup>r</sup>ma<sup>1</sup>* of ex. 6). Cf. the placement of this variant line in the building report of exs. 3 and 6 of text no. 3 (Prism B) viii 84.

viii 80–85 These lines appear in exs. 1, 8, 12, and 14; they are not included in exs. 5–6.

viii 87 The master text is based on exs. 1, 12, and 14. Exs. 5 and 6 have *ki-ma ia-a-ti-ma liš-ru-ku-uš* (ex. 6 mistakenly has *liš-ku-ru-uš*) *da-na-nu li-i-tú* “may they (the gods) grant him mighty victories just like me.” See also the on-page note to text no. 3 (Prism B) viii 86.

viii 88 Exs. 5, 6, and probably 9 omit *u šu-me* AD AD-*ia* DÛ-*ia* “or the name of the father of the father who had engendered me.” See also the on-page note to text no. 3 (Prism B) viii 88.

viii 89 Exs. 5, 6, and 9 omit *ina mim-ma ši-pir ni-kil-ti ú-ḫal-la-qu* “makes (it) disappear by some crafty device.” See also the on-page note to text no. 3 (Prism B) viii 89.

viii 90 *it-ti* MU.SAR-<sup>r</sup>*e* [*ši-tir*<sup>1</sup> MU-*šú* “with an inscribed object [bear]ing his name”: Exs. 5, 6, and probably 9 instead only have *it-ti* MU.SAR-*ú-šú* “with his inscribed object.”

viii 91 DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ *ša* “the great gods of”: Exs. 5, 6, and probably 9 have DINGIR.MEŠ *a-ši-bu-ti* “the gods who reside in.” See also the on-page note to text no. 3 (Prism B) viii 91.

viii 92 Before LUGAL-*us-su lis-ki-pu* (“may they overthrow his kingship”), exs. 5, 6, and 9 have *ag-giš li-ru-ru-šú* “may they (the gods) curse him angrily.” See also the on-page note to text no. 3 (Prism B) viii 91.

## 5

An inscription of Ashurbanipal recording only his building activities in Assyria and Babylonia (despite his older brother Šamaš-šuma-ukīn being the king of Babylon) is written on at least four fragmentary clay prisms. Unlike other extant prism inscriptions of his, this text does not contain any military narration; the absence of campaign reports is commonly attested for Ashurbanipal's Babylonian inscriptions, but not for his Assyrian ones. The lengthy prologue – which, as far as it is preserved, is identical (apart from minor variants) to those of text nos. 6 (Prism C), 7 (Prism Kh), and 8 (Prism G) – provides information on the following projects: (1) the completion and decoration of the Aššur temple at Aššur, Eḫursaggalkurkurra (“House of the Great Mountain of the Lands”); (2) the completion of Esagil (“House whose Top is High”), the temple of Marduk at Babylon, and the return of the statues of Babylon's tutelary deities; (3) the refurbishing and creation of ornate cult objects for Marduk and his consort Zarpanītu; (4) the setting up of statues of wild bulls in prominent gateways of Nabû's temple at Borsippa, Ezida (“True House”); (5) the decoration of the Ištar temples at Nineveh (Emašmaš) and Arbela (Egašankalama, “House of the Lady of the Land”) (passage not preserved); (6) the refurbishing of a (forgotten) image of the goddess Šarrat-Kidmuri and the reinstatement of her cultic rites (not preserved); (7) the setting up of lion-headed eagles and divine emblems in Egalmeslam (“Palace, Warrior of the Netherworld”), the temple of Nergal at Tarbišu; and (8) the rebuilding of the temple of the moon-god Sīn at Ḫarrān, Ehulhul (“House which Gives Joy”), and the construction of its (twin) Emelamana (“House of the Radiance of Heaven”), the temple of Nusku. In addition, Ashurbanipal boasts that he had metal (silver, gold, and bronze) images made of himself and had them placed in the presence of his divine benefactors. The building report records the renovation and subsequent decoration of the Sīn-Šamaš temple at Nineveh, which had last been worked on by his father Esarhaddon; the building's Sumerian ceremonial name is not known and its archaeological remains have not yet been positively identified. One exemplar of this inscription, which was formerly referred to as “Prism TVar[iant]” (or “T-Type”) and is now sometimes called “Prism I,” was inscribed during the post-canonical eponymy of Bēlšunu, governor of Ḫindānu (648), around the same time as some copies of text no. 4 (Prism D).

## CATALOGUE

Ex.	Museum Number	Excavation/ Registration No.	Provenance	Lines Preserved	cpn
1	BM 134462	1932-12-12,457 (TM 1931-2,22)	Nineveh, Area SH	v 1-24	c
2	A 8131	—	Purchased by E. Chiera in Mosul	iv 1-17, v 5-17	c
3	BM 127896 + BM 128004 + BM 128250 + BM 128296	1929-10-12,552 + 1929-10-12,660 + 1932-12-10,507 + 1932-12-10,553	Nineveh	iii 1'-23', iv 20-37	c
4	BM 134464 (+) BM 134479	1932-12-12,459 (+) 1932-12-12,474	As ex. 3	i 4-15, 1'-17', iv 33-42; v 8-34, date	c

5	BM 134442	1932-12-12,437 (TM 1931-2,9)	Nineveh, Ištar Temple, Square MM	iii 1'-9'	c
6	A 8112	—	As ex. 2	ii 5'-13'	c
7	A 8113	—	As ex. 2	iii 11'-21'	c
8	A 8114	—	As ex. 2	ii 1-8	c
9	A 8115	—	As ex. 2	ii 1'-18'	c
10	A 8116	—	As ex. 2	iii 25'-30'	c

## COMMENTARY

This inscription was inscribed on five- and six-sided clay prisms. In earlier Assyriological literature, this text is referred to as “T-Type” (Cogan, JCS 32 [1980] p. 149 n. 10) or “T Variant” (“TVar” for short; Borger, BIWA pp. 134–136) since its contents most closely resembled the “Thompson Prism” (text no. 10 [Prism T] ex. 1). Because the inscription is a clearly definable edition, and not a sub-edition or variant of another prism class, including “Prism T,” J. Novotny (Studies Walker p. 192 n. 6) suggested Prism I as a suitable replacement.

The non-physical join between BM 134464 and BM 134479 (ex. 4) was recognized on the basis of the hand (same scribe), color (deep orange), and composition of the clay. Exs. 5–10 should probably be regarded as exemplars of this inscription, rather than text no. 10 (Prism T), on the basis of one or more of the following characteristics: (1) the color (deep orange) and composition of the clay (which is simi-

lar to exs. 1, 3, and 4); (2) very large script; (3) very wide columns; and (4) textual variants, particularly in the passage describing the circumstances in which Ashurbanipal came to rebuild Eḫulḫul (“House which Gives Joy”), the temple of Šin at Ḥarrān.

The arrangement of text, as well as the number of lines of each column, varies between the exemplars. No exemplar is complete and the master line is a conflation of the various exemplars. The inscription is reconstructed here as a pentagonal prism with an estimated 50–55 lines per column. The line arrangement follows ex. 1 in v 1–24; ex. 2 in iv 1–17; ex. 3 in iii 1'–23' and iv 20–38; ex. 4 in col. i, iv 39–42, and v 25–36; ex. 8 in ii 1–8; ex. 9 in ii 27'–44'; and ex. 10 in iii 25'–30'. Restorations are generally based on text no. 10 (Prism T), but also on text nos. 3 (Prism B), 6 (Prism C), and 7 (Prism Kh) when necessary. A score is presented on Oracc. The few attested minor variants are listed at the back of the book.

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## TEXT

Col. i

- 1) [a-na-ku <sup>m</sup>AN.ŠĀR-DÛ-A LUGAL GAL-u LUGAL dan-nu]
- 2) [LUGAL ŠÛ LUGAL KUR AN.ŠĀR.KI LUGAL kib-rat LÍMMU-tim]
- 3) [È] ṛlib-bi<sup>1</sup> [<sup>m</sup>AN.ŠĀR-PAP-AŠ MAN KUR AN.ŠĀR.KI]

i 1–7) [I, Ashurbanipal, great king, strong king, king of the world, king of Assyria, king of the four quarters (of the world), off]spring [of Esarhaddon, king of Assyria, gov]ernor of B[abylon, kin]g of the land of Sumer and [Akkad, desce]ndant of Sennac[herib, kin]g of the world, king of A[ssyria] —



- 4) [GÌR].<sup>r</sup>NÍTA KÁ<sup>1</sup>. [DINGIR.RA.KI]  
 5) <sup>r</sup>LUGAL<sup>1</sup> KUR EME.GI<sub>7</sub> ù [URI.KI]  
 6) [ŠÀ].<sup>r</sup>BAL<sup>1</sup>.BAL<sup>md30</sup>-PAP.<sup>r</sup>MEŠ<sup>1</sup>-[SU]  
 7) <sup>r</sup>LUGAL<sup>1</sup> kiš-ša-ti LUGAL<sup>1</sup> <sup>r</sup>KUR<sup>1</sup> [AN.ŠÁR.KI]  
 8) <sup>r</sup>DINGIR.MEŠ GAL<sup>1</sup>.MEŠ ina <sup>r</sup>UKKIN<sup>1</sup>-[šú-nu]  
 9) <sup>r</sup>š<sup>1</sup>-mat SIG<sub>5</sub>-<sup>r</sup>tim i-š<sup>1</sup>-mu [šim-ti]  
 10) <sup>r</sup>uz<sup>1</sup>-nu ra-<sup>r</sup>pa-āš-tum iš<sup>1</sup>-[ru-ku-u-ni]  
 11) <sup>r</sup>ku<sup>1</sup>-lat ṭup-<sup>r</sup>šar<sup>1</sup>-[ru-ti]  
 12) ú-šá-ḫi-zu ka-[ra-š<sup>1</sup>]  
 13) e-li LUGAL.<sup>r</sup>MEŠ<sup>1</sup> a-šib [pa-rak-ki]  
 14) <sup>r</sup>zi-kir<sup>1</sup> MU-ia ú-[šar-ri-ḫu]  
 15) [ú-šar-bu]-<sup>r</sup>ú EN<sup>1</sup>-[ú-ti]

## Lacuna

- 1') <sup>r</sup>e<sup>1</sup>-[ḫur-sag-gal-kur-kur-ra É AN.ŠÁR]  
 2') <sup>r</sup>EN<sup>1</sup>-[ia ú-šak-li]  
 3') É.[GAR<sub>8</sub>.MEŠ-šú ú-šal-bi-šá KÙ.GI KÙ.BABBAR]  
 4') GIŠ.<sup>r</sup>tim<sup>1</sup>-[me MAḪ.MEŠ me-ser KÙ.BABBAR  
 ú-rak-kis]  
 5') ina [KÁ ḫi-šib KUR.KUR az-qu-up]  
 6') <sup>r</sup>AN.ŠÁR<sup>1</sup> [ina é-ḫur-sag-gu-la ú-še-rib-ma]  
 7') ú-[šar-ma-a BÁRA da-ra-a-ti]  
 8') <sup>r</sup>e<sup>1</sup>-[sag-íl É.GAL DINGIR.MEŠ DÙ-uš]  
 9') <sup>r</sup>ú<sup>1</sup>-[šak-li-la GIŠ.ḪUR.MEŠ-šú]  
 10') <sup>dr</sup>EN<sup>1</sup> [<sup>d</sup>GAŠAN-MU <sup>d</sup>be-let-KÁ.DINGIR.RA.KI]  
 11') x x [...]  
 12') x [...]  
 13') x [...]  
 14') 50 [GUN za-ḫa-lu-u eb-bu]  
 15') a-[na a-gúr-ri ap-ti-iq-ma]  
 16') <sup>r</sup>ú<sup>1</sup>-[rab-ba-a EDIN-uš-šú]  
 17') x [...]

## Lacuna

## Col. ii

- 1) [a-na ma]-<sup>r</sup>a<sup>1</sup>-<sup>r</sup>al<sup>1</sup> tak-né-e <sup>r</sup>d<sup>1</sup>[EN <sup>d</sup>GAŠAN-MU]  
 2) [šá-kan] <sup>r</sup>ḫa<sup>1</sup>-šá-di e-<sup>r</sup>peš<sup>1</sup> [ru-'a-a-me]  
 3) [nak]-<sup>r</sup>liš e<sup>1</sup>-[pu-uš]  
 4) [ina ká]-<sup>r</sup>ḫi<sup>1</sup>-li-sù maš-[tak <sup>d</sup>zar-pa-ni-tum]  
 5) [ša ku]-uz-bu sa-[al-ḫu ad-di]

i 8–15) The great [go]ds in [their] as[sembly] determined a favorable [de]stiny [as my lot (and)] th[ey] gra[n]ted me a] broad [m]ind (and) allowed [my] mi[n]d to learn [a]ll of the scribal [arts]. They [glorified the] mention of my name (and) [made my] lord[ship greater] than (those of all other) kings who sit on [(royal) daises].

## Lacuna

i 1'–7') [I completed] E[ḫursaggalkurkurra, the temple of (the god) Aššur, my] lo[r]d, (and) I clad its] w[alls with gold (and) silver. I fastened band(s) of silver on tall] col[umns (and) I erected (them)] at [the Gate of the Abundance of the Lands. I made] (the god) Aššur [enter into Eḫursaggula and] m[ade (him) reside on (his) eternal dais].

i 8'–12') [I (re)built] E[sagil, the palace of the gods, (and)] co[m]pleted its designs. *I brought* the deities Bēl (Marduk), [Bēltiya (Zarpanītu), the Lady of Babylon, Ea, (and) Mandānu out of Ešarra (and) made (them) enter into Šuanna (Babylon)].

i 13'–16') [(As for) the throne-dais, the seat of his (Marduk's) exalted divinity, I cast] fifty [talents of shiny zaḫalū-silver] in[to bricks and (thereby)] e[n]larged it].

i 17') [...]

## Lacuna

ii 1–5) I [skill]fully m[ade a bed of *musukkannu*-wood ... as a] pleasure [b]ed for the god [Bēl (Marduk) (and) the goddess Bēltiya (Zarpanītu) to carry out the we]dding (and) to make [love. I placed (it) in Kaḫ]ilisu, the bed cha[m]ber of the goddess Zarpanītu, which] is

**Lacuna after i 15** For the now-missing contents, see text no. 6 (Prism C) i 5'–10'.

**i 1'–7'** Compare the earlier descriptions of the completion and decoration of the Aššur temple at Aššur in text no. 15 ii 3–9 and BM 134557 lines 5–7 (Novotny, SAACT 10 p. 74 no. 14).

**i 8'–9'** This is a shorter general statement about Ashurbanipal's work at Babylon than the one included in text no. 15; compare ii 10–13 of that inscription.

**i 10'–12'** According to the Esarhaddon Chronicle (Grayson, Chronicles p. 127 no. 14 lines 31–37) and the Akītu Chronicle (ibid. p. 131 no. 16 lines 1–8), the statues of Marduk and his entourage entered Babylon in the month Ayyāru (II) of Ashurbanipal's 1st regnal year (668 = Šamaš-šuma-ukīn's accession year). A detailed description of the festive event is recorded on K 2694 + K 3050 ii 26'–iii 30' (L<sup>4</sup>; Novotny, SAACT 10 pp. 78–79 no. 18).

**i 11'–13'** The translation assumes that these three damaged lines contained <sup>d</sup>e-a <sup>d</sup>DI.KU<sub>5</sub> ul-tu qé-reb é-šar-ra ú-bil ú-še-rib qé-reb šu-an-na.KI BÁRA.MAḪ-ḫu šu-bat DINGIR-ti-šú šir-ti “the gods Ea (and) Mandānu, I brought out of Ešarra (and) had (them) brought into Šuanna (Babylon). (As for) the raised dais, the seat of his (Marduk's) exalted divinity.” See text no. 6 (Prism C) i 21'–24' and text no. 10 (Prism T) i 24–27.

**i 13'–16'** Compare the longer account of the enlargement of Marduk's raised dais in text no. 15 ii 19–21 and 81–2–4,212 obv. 7'–13' (Bauer, *Asb.* pl. 57).

**i 17' and lacuna** The contents of i 17' and the following gap would have duplicated text no. 6 (Prism C) i 27'–39' and text no. 10 (Prism T) i 31–48.

**End of col. i** Based on parallels, the translation assumes that the now-missing penultimate line of col. i contained GIŠ.NÁ GIŠ.MES.MÁ.KAN.NA “a bed of *musukkannu*-wood.”

**ii 1–5** According to the Šamaš-šuma-ukīn Chronicle (Grayson, Chronicles p. 129 no. 15 line 4), this (inscribed and) completely refurbished bed was sent to Babylon during Ashurbanipal's 14th regnal year (655 = Šamaš-šuma-ukīn's 13th regnal year). For some details, see Grayson and Novotny, RINAP 3/2 pp. 225–231 text nos. 161–162.

- 6) [4 AM].MEŠ KÙ.BABBAR [ek-du-u-ti]  
 7) [na]-[ši-ru ki<sup>1</sup>-bi-[is LUGAL-u-ti-ia]  
 8) [ina KÁ ši-it] <sup>d</sup>UTU-ši<sup>1</sup> [u KÁ <sup>d</sup>LAMMA-RA.BI]  
 Lacuna  
 1') [šá URU.tar-bi-ši] <sup>r</sup>az-qu<sup>1</sup>-[up]  
 2') [a-di a-di-ni a-bi] <sup>r</sup>la<sup>1</sup> i-ma-<sup>r</sup>al<sup>1</sup>-[la-du]  
 3') [um-mì a-lit-ti la] <sup>r</sup>ba<sup>1</sup>-na-at ina lib-bi [AMA-šá]  
 4') [a-na e-peš] <sup>r</sup>é<sup>1</sup>-húl-húl iz-kur ni-bit [MU-ia]  
 5') [<sup>d</sup>30 šá] <sup>r</sup>ib<sup>1</sup>-na-an-ni a-na <sup>r</sup>LUGAL<sup>1</sup>-[u-ti]  
 6') [um-ma <sup>m</sup>AN<sup>1</sup>.ŠÁR-DÛ-A É.KUR šu-a-tú  
 ip-<sup>r</sup>pu<sup>1</sup>-[uš-ma]  
 7') [qé-reb-šú] <sup>r</sup>ú<sup>1</sup>-šar-man-ni pa-rak da-[ra-a-ti]  
 8') [a-mat <sup>d</sup>30<sup>d</sup> šá ul-tu [UD.MEŠ]  
 9') <sup>r</sup>ru<sup>1</sup>-qu-<sup>r</sup>ú<sup>1</sup>-ti iq-bu-[u]  
 10') [e-nen-na] <sup>r</sup>ú<sup>1</sup>-kal-lim UN.MEŠ ar-[ku-u-ti]  
 11') [É <sup>d</sup>30 šá <sup>md</sup>šú<sup>1</sup>-ma-nu-MAŠ A  
<sup>m</sup>aš-šur-<sup>r</sup>PAP<sup>1</sup>-[IBILA]  
 12') [LUGAL pa-ni] <sup>r</sup>maḥ<sup>1</sup>-ri-ia e-[pu-šu]  
 13') [la-ba]-<sup>r</sup>riš<sup>1</sup> ú-šá-[lik-ma]  
 14') [ú-šad]-<sup>r</sup>gi<sup>1</sup>-la <sup>r</sup>pa-nu<sup>1</sup>-[u-a]  
 15') [É.KUR šu-a-tú šá] <sup>r</sup>la<sup>1</sup>-ba-riš <sup>r</sup>il<sup>1</sup>-[li-ku]  
 16') [ina a-mat <sup>d</sup>30<sup>d</sup> <sup>r</sup>nusku<sup>1</sup> an-ḥu-<sup>r</sup>us<sup>1</sup>-[su ad-ke]  
 17') [e-li ša u<sub>4</sub>-me pa]-<sup>r</sup>ni<sup>1</sup> šu-bat-<sup>r</sup>su<sup>1</sup> [ú-<sup>r</sup>ap-piš]  
 18') [...] x [...]

Lacuna

Col. iii

Lacuna

- 1') [<sup>d</sup>nin]-<sup>r</sup>kur<sup>1</sup>-ra nak-liš ú<sup>1</sup>-[še]-<sup>r</sup>piš-ma<sup>1</sup>  
 2') [a-na mu]-<sup>r</sup>ter<sup>1</sup>-ri-ši <sup>r</sup>TL.LA<sup>1</sup>-ia  
 3') [ma-ḥar] <sup>r</sup>DINGIR<sup>1</sup>.MEŠ ti-ik-le-ia  
 4') [ú-kin] na-an-za-sún  
 5') [ul-tu še-ḥe]-<sup>r</sup>ri<sup>1</sup>-ia a-di ra-bé-ia  
 6') [áš-te-'a-a áš]-<sup>r</sup>rat<sup>1</sup> DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ  
 7') [LÚ.šá-an-gu-ti] <sup>r</sup>iḥ<sup>1</sup>-šu-ḥu  
 8') [i-ram-mu na-dan] <sup>r</sup>zi<sup>1</sup>-bi-ia  
 9') [<sup>d</sup>IŠKUR ŠÈG.MEŠ-šú ú]-maš-še-ra  
 10') [<sup>d</sup>é-a ú-paṭ-ṭi-ra] <sup>r</sup>IDIM<sup>1</sup>.MEŠ-šú  
 11') [5] <sup>r</sup>KÙŠ<sup>1</sup> ŠE.AM <sup>r</sup>iš<sup>1</sup>-[qu ina AB].<sup>r</sup>SÍN<sup>1</sup>-ni-šú  
 12') [e]-<sup>r</sup>ri<sup>1</sup>-ik šu-<sup>r</sup>bul<sup>1</sup>-[tú] <sup>r</sup>5/6<sup>1</sup> KÙŠ  
 13') [SÍ].<sup>r</sup>SÁ<sup>1</sup> BURU<sub>14</sub> <sup>r</sup>na-pa<sup>1</sup>-áš [<sup>d</sup>nisaba  
 14') [ka-a]-<sup>r</sup>a<sup>1</sup>-an ú-šah-na-bu [gi]-pa-ru

la[den with sexu]al charm.

ii 6–8) [I stationed four fierce wild bull]s of silver, [prote]ctors of [my royal] pa[th, in the Gate of the Rising] Sun [and (in) the Gate of Lamma-RA.BI],  
 Lacuna

ii 1') I set u[p ... in the gateway(s) of Egallammes, the temple of the god Nergal of the city Tarbišu].  
 ii 2'–14') [Before my father] was bo[rn (and) my birth-mother] was created in [her mother]'s womb, [the god Sîn, who c]reated me to be ki[ng], named [me to (re)build] Eḥulḥul, [saying: “A]shurbanipal will (re)bui[ld] that temple [and] make me dwell [therein] upon an et[ernal] dais.” [The word of the god S]în, which he had spoke[n] in distant [days, (ii 10') h]e [now] revealed to the people of a lat[er generation]. He allow[ed] the temple of the god Sîn — which S]halmaneser (III), son of Ashurna[sirpal (II), a king of the past (who had come) b]efore me, had b[uilt — to become ol]d [and he entru]sted (its renovation) to [me].

ii 15'–18') [(As for) that temple, which] had be[come ol]d, [I removed its] dilapidated sectio[n(s)] by the command of the gods Sîn (and) Nusk[u]. [I made] it[s] structure [larger than the one in the days of the pa]st. [...]

Lacuna

Lacuna

iii 1'–8') I [had statues of my royal majesty] skillfully [m]ade [... through the craft of the deities Ninagal, Kusibanda, (and) Nin]kurra, and, [as cons]tant petitioners for my life, [I installed (them)] in their positions [before the go]ds who support me. [From] my [childho]od until I became an adult, [I was assiduous towards the sanctuar]ies of the great gods. They required [my priestly services (and) they (now) enjoy] my [giving (them) fo]od offerings.  
 iii 9'–18') [The god Adad re]leased [his rains (and) the god Ea opened up] his [spr]ings. Grain was [five c]ubits hi[gh in] its [fur]row (and) ear(s) [of corn] were [five]-sixths of a cubits [lo]ng. [Succe]ssful harvest(s) and) an abundance of [g]rain enabled [pas]ture land to [conti]nually flourish, [fruit orc]hards to be very lus[h

ii 8 u “and”: The restoration follows text no. 6 (Prism C) i 46'; compare text no. 10 (Prism T) ii 4, which has ina (“in”).

Lacuna after ii 8 The translation assumes that the end of the now-missing ii 9 contained ul-ziz “I stationed.” The lacuna corresponds to text no. 10 (Prism T) ii 5–28a.

Lacuna before ii 1' The translation assumes that the now-missing line before ii 1' contained ina KÁ é-galam-mes É <sup>d</sup>U.GUR “in gateway(s) of Egallammes, the temple of the god Nergal.”

ii 2'–18' For a comprehensive discussion of Ashurbanipal's construction work at Ḥarrān, see Novotny, Eḥulḥul. The most detailed report of Eḥulḥul's rebuilding is known from the Large Egyptian Tablets Inscription rev. 43–69 (Novotny, SAACT 10 pp. 84–85 no. 20).

ii 15' These five words also appear in text no. 6 (Prism C) i 76' and text no. 7 (Prism Kh) i 50'; they are, on the other hand, not included in text no. 10 (Prism T).

ii 18' and lacuna For the now-missing contents, see text no. 10 (Prism T) ii 47–iii 14 and 35b–51.

Lacuna before iii 1' The translation assumes that the two lines now-missing before iii 1' contained ALAM.MEŠ LUGAL-ti-ia ... ina ši-pir <sup>d</sup>nin-á-gal <sup>d</sup>kù-si<sub>22</sub>-bàn-da “statues of my royal majesty ... through the craft of the deities Ninagal, Kusibanda.”

- 15') [šip-pa]<sup>r</sup>a<sup>1</sup>-ti šu-um-mu-<sup>r</sup>ha in<sup>1</sup>-bu  
 16') [MÁŠ].<sup>r</sup>ANŠE<sup>1</sup> šu-te-šur ina <sup>r</sup>ta<sup>1</sup>-lit-ti  
 17') ina BALA.<sup>r</sup>MEŠ<sup>1</sup>-ia ĤÉ.NUN tuḥ-du  
 18') [ina MU.AN.NA].MEŠ-ia ku-um-mu-ru  
 ĤÉ.GÁL-lum  
 19') [10 ANŠE] <sup>r</sup>ŠE<sup>1</sup>.PAD.MEŠ 3 ANŠE GEŠTIN.MEŠ  
 20') BANMIN Ì.<sup>r</sup>[MEŠ 1] <sup>r</sup>GUN<sup>1</sup> SÍG.MEŠ ina nap-ḥar  
 KUR-ia  
 21') [KI.LAM] <sup>r</sup>nap<sup>1</sup>-šú i-šam-ma ina 1 GÍN kas-<sup>r</sup>pi<sup>1</sup>  
 22') [šat-ti-šam]<sup>r</sup>ma<sup>1</sup> ina tuḥ-di u me-šá-ri  
 23') [ar-te-<sup>r</sup>a]<sup>r</sup>a<sup>1</sup> ba-<sup>r</sup>u-lat <sup>d</sup>EN.LÍL
- 
- 24') [DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ ša ap-tal-la-ḥu]  
 25') [DINGIR-us-su-un dun-nu zik-ru]-u-<sup>r</sup>ti<sup>1</sup>  
 26') [e-mu-qi ši-ra-a-ti ú]-<sup>r</sup>šat<sup>1</sup>-li-mu-<sup>r</sup>in<sup>1</sup>-[ni]  
 27') [KUR.KUR la ma-gi-re-ia ina] <sup>r</sup>ŠU.II<sup>1</sup>-ia  
 im-<sup>r</sup>nu<sup>1</sup>-[ú]  
 28') [ú-šam-šu-in-ni] <sup>r</sup>ma-la<sup>1</sup> lib-<sup>r</sup>bi<sup>1</sup>-[ia]  
 29') [ul-tu tam-tim e-liti a-di] <sup>r</sup>tam-tim šap<sup>1</sup>-[liti]  
 30') [ša LUGAL.MEŠ AD.MEŠ-ia ir]-<sup>r</sup>te-ed<sup>1</sup>-[du-ú]
- Lacuna  
 Col. iv
- 1) [ú-šak-ni-šá] <sup>r</sup>a<sup>1</sup>-na ni-ri-ia  
 2) [GUN man-da-at-tú] šat-ti-šam-ma  
 3) [ú-kin] <sup>r</sup>EDIN<sup>1</sup>-uš-šú-un  
 4) [ina qí-bit <sup>d</sup>30 <sup>d</sup>] <sup>r</sup>nin<sup>1</sup>-gal <sup>d</sup>UTU u <sup>d</sup>a-a  
 5) [LUGAL.MEŠ a]-<sup>r</sup>šib<sup>1</sup> pa-rak-ki  
 6) [ú-na-áš-šá-qu] ĜIR.II-ia  
 7) [mal-ki GAL.MEŠ šá ši-taš] u ši-la-an  
 8) [a-na kit-ri-šú-nu ú]-pa-qu-ni
- 
- 9) [ina u<sub>4</sub>-me-šú-ma É <sup>d</sup>30 <sup>d</sup>nin-gal] <sup>d</sup>UTU <sup>d</sup>a-a  
 10) [ša qé-reb NINA.KI ša <sup>m</sup>AN.ŠÁR-PAP-AŠ] <sup>r</sup>LUGAL<sup>1</sup>  
 KUR aš-šur.KI  
 11) [AD DÛ-ia e]-pu-šú  
 12) [il-li-ku] <sup>r</sup>la<sup>1</sup>-ba-riš  
 13) [É.KUR šú-a-tú e-na]-aḥ-ma  
 14) [i-qu-pa É].<sup>r</sup>GAR<sub>8</sub><sup>1</sup>.MEŠ-šú  
 15) [É.KUR šú-a-tú a-na si]-<sup>r</sup>hir<sup>1</sup>-ti-šú  
 16) [ar-šip ú-šak-lil ul-la-a] re-ši-šú  
 17) [GIŠ.ÛR.MEŠ GIŠ.ŠUR.MÏN] <sup>r</sup>MAḤ<sup>?</sup>.MEŠ<sup>?</sup><sup>?</sup>  
 18) [ú-šat-ri-ša ta-ra-an-šú]  
 19) [GIŠ.IG.MEŠ GIŠ.li-ia-a-ri]  
 20) <sup>r</sup>šá e-re<sup>1</sup>-[si-na DÛG.GA]  
 21) ú-rat-[ta-a KÁ.MEŠ-šú]  
 22) ul-tu <sup>r</sup>É<sup>1</sup>.<sup>r</sup>[KUR šú-a-tú ú-šak-li-lu]  
 23) <sup>r</sup>ú<sup>1</sup>-qat-tu-[u ag-mu-ra ši-pir-šú]  
 24) <sup>r</sup>d<sup>1</sup>30 <sup>r</sup>d<sup>1</sup>[nín-gal <sup>d</sup>nusku <sup>d</sup>UTU u <sup>d</sup>a-a]  
 25) [DINGIR].<sup>r</sup>MEŠ<sup>1</sup> [tik-le-ia]  
 26) [ina] <sup>r</sup>qer-bi<sup>1</sup>-[šú ú-še-rib-ma]

with f[r]uit, (and) [catt]le to successfully give birth to (their) young. During my reign, there was plenitude (and) abundance; [during] my [year]s, bountiful produce was accumulated.

iii 19'-23') Throughout my entire land, (on account of) [abun]dant [trade], for one shekel of silv[er] one could purchase [ten donkey-loads of gr]ain, three homers of wine, two seahs of oil, (and) [one ta]lent of wool. [Year after yea]r, [I shepherd]ed the subjects of the god Enlil in prosperity and with justice.

iii 24'-30') [The great gods, whose divinity I constantly revered, generous]ly granted m[e power, viril]it[y, (and) outstanding strength]. Th[ey] placed [lands that had not bowed down to me into] my hands (and) [allowed me to achieve my] heart's desire. [I marched from the Upper Sea to the] Low[er] Sea, [where the kings, my ancestors, had regularly t]rave[led].

Lacuna

iv 1-8) [I made the people living in those lands bow down] to my yoke (and) [I imposed] annual [tribute payment up]on them. [By the command of the deities Sîn, N]ingal, Šamaš, and Aya, [the kings who s]it upon (royal) daises [kiss] my feet (and) [great rulers from (both) east] and west [are a]nxious for me [to be their ally].

iv 9-27) [At that time, the temple of the deities Sîn, Ningal], Šamaš, (and) Aya [that is inside Nineveh (and) which Esarhaddon, kin]g of Assyria, [the father who had engendered me, had b]uilt, [had become o]ld – [that temple had become dilapid]ated and its [wa]lls [had buckled. (iv 15) I built (and) completed that temple in] its [entir]ety (and) [I raised up] its superstructure. [I roofed it with] long [beams of cypress] (and) fi[xed doors of white cedar], who[se] frag[rance is sweet, in its gateways]. After [I had thoroughly co]mplete[d that] te[mple (and) finished its construction, I brought] the deities Sîn, [Ningal, Nusku, Šamaš, and Aya, the god]s [who support me, in]side [it and] made (them) dw[ell (on their) eternal dais(es)].

**Lacuna after iii 30'** The translation assumes that the beginning of the now-missing iii 31' contained *a-na-ku lu-u ar-de* "I marched." The contents of the gap duplicate text no. 10 (Prism T) iv 22b-27.

**Last line of col. iii** The translation assumes that the final line of col. iii ended with UN.MEŠ *a-ši-bu-ti* KUR.KUR *šá-a-ti-na* "the people living in those lands."

**iv 9-27** The building report of this inscription was more or less incorporated verbatim into the prologue of text no. 10 (Prism T); see iii 18-35a of that inscription. This presumably took place after work on the Sîn-Šamaš temple at Nineveh had been completed (perhaps sometime in 646 or at the very beginning of 645).

- 27) <sup>1</sup>ú-šar<sup>1</sup>-[me BÁRA da-ra-a-ti]  
 28) ep-[še]<sup>1</sup>-ti-ia<sup>1</sup> [SIG<sub>5</sub>.MEŠ ha-diš lit-tap-la-su<sup>2</sup>]  
 29) <sup>d</sup>r30 <sup>d</sup>1[nin-gal <sup>d</sup>nusku <sup>d</sup>UTU u <sup>d</sup>a-a]  
 30) <sup>1</sup>DINGIR.MEŠ<sup>1</sup> [tik-le-ia<sup>2</sup>]  
 31) <sup>1</sup>ia<sup>1</sup>-a<sup>1</sup>-ti<sup>1</sup> [<sup>m</sup>AN.ŠÁR-DÛ-A]  
 32) <sup>1</sup>LUGAL<sup>1</sup> [mi-gir lib-bi-šú-nu<sup>2</sup>]  
 33) e-piš ku-[um-mi<sup>2</sup>]-<sup>1</sup>šú<sup>1</sup>-nu [ši-ru-ti<sup>2</sup>]  
 34) pa-liḫ DINGIR-<sup>1</sup>ti-šú<sup>1</sup>-nu <sup>1</sup>GAL<sup>1</sup>-[ti]  
 35) ina ni-ip-<sup>1</sup>ḫi<sup>1</sup> u ri-<sup>1</sup>i<sup>1</sup>-bi e-ma it-x [x (x)]  
 36) PI<sup>2</sup>-x [...] <sup>1</sup>ša-ma<sup>1</sup>-[me<sup>2</sup>]  
 37) <sup>1</sup>GIŠKIM<sup>2</sup> [SIG<sub>5</sub>?] šá a-rak <sup>1</sup>u<sub>4</sub><sup>1</sup>-me pa-[le-ia<sup>2</sup>]  
 38) [...] LUGAL-<sup>1</sup>ti<sup>1</sup>-[ia<sup>2</sup>]  
 39) [šul-bur SUḪUŠ<sup>2</sup>] <sup>1</sup>GIŠ.GU.ZA EN-u-<sup>1</sup>ti<sup>1</sup>-[ia<sup>2</sup>]  
 40) [ITI-šam-ma<sup>2</sup>] <sup>1</sup>la na-par<sup>1</sup>-[ka-a]  
 41) [li-tap-pa]-<sup>1</sup>lu<sup>2</sup> a-[ḫa-meš]  
 42) [...] <sup>1</sup>šú<sup>2</sup>-nu<sup>2</sup>

Lacuna

Col. v

- 1) <sup>1</sup>ina<sup>1</sup> tukul-ti-šú-nu GAL-te <sup>1</sup>e<sup>1</sup>-[ma a-qab-bu-u la-be-el]  
 2) a-šar ú-šar-ra-mu <sup>1</sup>li<sup>1</sup>-[ik-šu-da ŠU.II-a-a]  
 3) a-na EGIR u<sub>4</sub>-me ina DUMU.MEŠ [DUMU DUMU.MEŠ]  
 4) DUMU.MEŠ u DUMU.MEŠ ina LUGAL.MEŠ [DUMU.MEŠ-ia]  
 5) šá AN.ŠÁR <sup>d</sup>30 <sup>d</sup>UTU ut-tu-šú-ma a-na be-lut [KUR u UN.MEŠ]  
 6) i-nam-bu-u <sup>1</sup>zi<sup>1</sup>-[kir-šú]  
 7) e-nu-ma eš-re-<sup>1</sup>e<sup>1</sup>-ti šá-[ti-na]  
 8) i-lab-bi-ra-ma en-<sup>1</sup>na<sup>1</sup>-[ḫa]  
 9) an-ḫu-us-si-na lu-ud-[diš]  
 10) MU.SAR-ú ši-ṭir MU-[ia]  
 11) li-mu-ur-ma Ì.MEŠ lip-šu-<sup>1</sup>uš<sup>1</sup>  
 12) UDU.SISKUR BAL-<sup>q</sup>í a-na áš-ri-šú lu-ter  
 13) ki-i šá a-na-ku MU.SAR-u  
 14) ši-ṭir šu-me <sup>m</sup>AN.ŠÁR-PAP-AŠ MAN KUR aš-šur.<sup>1</sup>KI<sup>1</sup>  
 15) AD DÛ-ia a-mu-ru  
 16) Ì.MEŠ ap-šu-šú UDU.SISKUR aq-qu-u  
 17) <sup>1</sup>it<sup>1</sup>-ti MU.SAR-re-e ši-<sup>1</sup>ṭir šu<sup>1</sup>-mì-ia áš-ku-nu  
 18) at-ta ki-ma ia-a-ti-ma  
 19) MU.SAR-a-a <sup>1</sup>a<sup>1</sup>-mur-ma  
 20) <sup>1</sup>ṭ<sup>1</sup>.MEŠ pu-šu-<sup>1</sup>uš<sup>1</sup> UDU.<sup>1</sup>SISKUR<sup>1</sup> BAL-<sup>q</sup>í  
 21) <sup>1</sup>it<sup>1</sup>-ti mu-šá-re-e  
 22) ši-ṭir šu-mì-ka šu-<sup>1</sup>kun<sup>2</sup>  
 23) DINGIR.<sup>1</sup>MEŠ<sup>1</sup> [GAL].<sup>1</sup>MEŠ<sup>1</sup> ma-la ina mu-šá-re-e  
 24) <sup>1</sup>an<sup>1</sup>-[né-e] šá-aṭ-ru  
 25) [LUGAL]-<sup>1</sup>ut-ka<sup>1</sup> lik-tar-ra-bu  
 26) [li]-<sup>1</sup>iš<sup>1</sup>-šu-ru BALA.MEŠ-ka  
 27) [ša] <sup>1</sup>mu<sup>1</sup>-šá-ru-u ši-<sup>1</sup>ṭir<sup>1</sup> šu-me AD ba-ni-ia  
 28) [u] ši-ṭir šu-<sup>1</sup>mì<sup>1</sup>-ia ib-ba-tú  
 29) [ina mim]-<sup>1</sup>ma<sup>1</sup> ši-<sup>1</sup>pir<sup>1</sup> ni-<sup>1</sup>kil-ti<sup>1</sup> ú-ḫal-<sup>1</sup>la<sup>1</sup>-qu  
 30) [it]-<sup>1</sup>ti<sup>1</sup> MU.<sup>1</sup>SAR<sup>1</sup>-e ši-ṭir šu-mì-šú

iv 28–42) [May they (the gods) always look with pleasure upon] m[y good] d[ee]ds. The deities Sîn, [Ningal, Nusku, Šamaš, and Aya], the gods [who support me], (with regard) to m[e – Ashurbanipal], the ki[n]g [who is the favorite of their hearts], the builder of their [exalted] ce[llas], (and) the one who reveres their gre[at] divinity – from (sun)ris[e] to (sun)set, wherever ... [...] ... the heav[ens ... monthly] without interr[uption] may they discu[ss] with [each other favorable] o[mens] concerning the lengthening of the days of [my] re[ign], ... of my] kingship, [the securing of the foundation(s) of the] throne of [my] lordshi[p. ...] their [...]

Lacuna

v 1–2) [W]ith their great support, may [I rule] wherever [I desire (lit. “I say”) (and) achieve] whatever (lit. “the place”) [I] strive for.

v 3–12) In the future, may one of the sons, [grand-sons], (great grand)sons, or (great, great grand)sons, one of the kings, [my descendants], whom the gods Aššur, Sîn, (and) Šamaš choose and nomi[nate] for ruling over [the land and people], renov[ate] their dilapidated section(s) when the[se] shrines become old and dilapid[ated]. May he find an inscribed object bearing [my] name, anoin[t] (it) with oil, make an offering, (and) return (it) to its place.

v 13–26) Just as I found an inscribed object bearing the name of Esarhaddon, king of Assyria, the father who had engendered me, anointed (it) with oil, made an offering, (and) placed (it) with an inscribed object bearing my name, you should be just like me, find an inscribed object of mine and (then) anoin[t] (it) with oil, make an offering (and) place (it) with an inscribed object bearing your name. May the [great] gods, as many as are recorded on t[his] inscribed object, constantly bless your [kings]hip (and) [pr]otect your reign.

v 27–34) [(As for) the one] who destroys [an in]scribed object bear[ing] the name of the father who engendered me [or] bearing my na[m]e, makes (it) disappear [by som]e crafty device, (or) does [not] place (it)

- |     |  |   |
|-----|--|---|
| 31) | [la] <sup>r</sup> i-šak <sup>1</sup> -ka-nu  | [wit]h an inscribed obje[ct] bearing his name, may    |
| 32) | [DINGIR]. <sup>r</sup> MEŠ GAL <sup>1</sup> .MEŠ <sup>r</sup> šá <sup>1</sup> AN-e u KI-tim  | [the] great [god]s of heaven and netherworld over-    |
| 33) | [LUGAL]. <sup>r</sup> us-su <sup>1</sup> lis-ki-pu   | throw his [kings]hip (and) make his name (and) <seed> |
| 34) | <sup>r</sup> MU-šú <sup>1</sup> <NUMUN-šú> <sup>r</sup> i-na <sup>1</sup> [KUR] lu-ḫal-li-qu | disappear from [the land].                            |

**Date ex. 4**

- 35) [ITI].<sup>r</sup>NE<sup>2</sup> UD.8.<sup>r</sup>KAM<sup>1</sup>  
 36) [lim-me<sup>m</sup>]be-el-šú.<sup>r</sup>nu LÚ.EN<sup>1</sup>.[NAM URU].ḫi-in-<sup>r</sup>da<sup>1</sup>[na]

**Date ex. 4**

v 35–36) Abu (V), the eighth day, [eponymy of] Bēlšunu, gove[rn]or of the city] Ḫindā[nu] (648).

## 6

After the tragic death of Ashurbanipal's brother Šamaš-šuma-ukīn and the capture of Babylon in 648, the Assyrian king had his scribes prepare a new edition of his annals, one commemorating his victory over the king of Babylon and his numerous allies. That inscription is known from at least four badly damaged ten-sided clay prisms. Its prologue and much of its military narration were borrowed (with modifications and additions) from earlier versions of Ashurbanipal's annals, including all of the five previous inscriptions (text nos. 1–5). This text's prologue is more or less identical to text no. 5 (Prism I) — which records construction in five Assyrian cities (Aššur, Arbela, Ḫarrān, Nineveh, and Tarbišu) and two Babylonian cities (Babylon and Borsippa) — and its descriptions of the king's victories generally duplicate those of text nos. 3 (Prism B) and 4 (Prism D), apart from the new report about the Šamaš-šuma-ukīn rebellion (652–648) and events in Elam (648), including Ummanaldašu (Ḫumban-ḫaltaš III) deposing Indabibi; note that some passages in the first Egyptian campaign report (against Taharqa) were borrowed from earlier inscriptions, including text nos. 1 (Prism E<sub>1</sub>) and 2 (Prism E<sub>2</sub>). With regard to the events of the Babylonian rebellion, this inscription records that the siege ended when the gods cast Šamaš-šuma-ukīn into a fire; this vague statement could imply either that the king of Babylon took his own life or that he was murdered by one or more of his officials. Moreover, some of the harsh and heart-breaking conditions that Babylon's citizens had to endure while their city was besieged, including having to resort to cannibalism, are explicitly recorded. Although little of the building report is preserved, it is generally assumed that that passage recorded the renovation of a wing of the armory at Nineveh that Esarhaddon constructed since Ashurbanipal is known to have worked on that palace (text no. 3 [Prism B]), since Esarhaddon is named a previous builder, and since the word *ekallu* ("palace") appears in the concluding formulae. Scholars usually refer to this inscription as "Prism C"; one copy of this text (ex. 3b) was previously referred to as "Prism G" and "Prism K." Although no certain exemplar of this text preserves a date, it is generally thought that the inscription was written on clay prisms during the year after the fall of Babylon, in 647 (possibly the post-canonical eponymy of Nabû-da'inanni, governor of Que).

## CATALOGUE

Ex.	Museum Number	Registration Number	Provenance	Lines Preserved	cpn
1	K 1794 (BM 93007) + Sm 2101 + Sm 2103 + Sm 2109 + 81-2-4,172 + 81-7-27,16 + 82-5-22,15 (+)? K 13730	81-2-4,172 + 81-7-27,16 + 82-5-22,15	Probably Nineveh	i 2'-56', 67'-98', 1''-9'', ii 8'-19', 41'-48', 73'-85', 1''-4'', iii 1'-18', 38'-72', iv 1'-19', 1''-21'', 28''-35'', v 8-25, 57-70, vi 9'-13', 21'-33', 23''-39'', vii 4-22, 37-53, 35'-48', viii 1'-20', 1''-24'', 1'''-8''', ix 1'-24', 1''-52'', x 1'-20', 1''-21'', 1'''-28'''	c
2	Rm 3 (+) K 1705 (+) VA 2972 (+) K 1707	—	As ex. 1	i 1'-61', ii 1'-53', iii 15'-40', 68'-99', iv 18''-83'', v 30-107, vi 1'-28'	(c)
3	K 1704 (+) K 1703	—	As ex. 1	iv 36''-56'', v 41-51, 78-97, vi 18'-38', 7''-22'' vii 1'-23', viii 2'''-21'''	p
4	Rm 27	—	As ex. 1	vi 20''-23'', vii 29'-41'	p

## CATALOGUE OF UNCERTAIN EXEMPLARS

Ex.	Museum Number	Registration Number	Provenance	Lines Preserved	cpn
1*	Rm 2,546	—	As ex. 1	i 60'-65', ii 59'-66'	c
2*	BM 127958	1929-10-12,614	Nineveh	ii 14'-28', iii 29'-37'	c
3*	K 1848	—	As ex. 1	ii 22'-34', iii 32'-40'	p
4*	Rm 2,387	—	As ex. 1	ii 53'-65'	p
5*	BM 127941	1929-10-12,597	As ex. 2*	ii 9''-19'', iii 78'-89'	c
6*	K 1854	—	As ex. 1	iii 15'-20', iv 2''-14''	p
7*	BM 128130 + BM 128133 + BM 128136 (+) A 7942	1929-10-12,786 + 1929-10-12,789 + 1929-10-12,792	Nineveh; purchased by E. Chiera in Mosul	iii 59'-77', iv 20''-38''	c
8*	K 1709	—	As ex. 1	iii 103'-iv 1, 58''-70''	p
9*	BM 127918	1929-10-12,574	As ex. 2*	iv 75''-v 6, 1'-2'	c
10*	A 8001 (+)? BM 128307	1932-12-10,564	As ex. 7*	v 68-84, 89-100, vi 1''-24''	c
11*	Sm 1882	—	As ex. 1	vi 3'-15', vii 26-35	p
12*	K 1801	—	As ex. 1	iii 9'-17'	p
13*	K 13751	—	As ex. 1	iii 36'-49'	p
14*	Sm 2026	—	As ex. 1	ii 55'-74', iii 33'-47'	p
15*	A 8089	—	Purchased by E. Chiera in Mosul	ii 73'-80'	c
16*	A 8090	—	As ex. 15*	ii 7''-19''	c

## COMMENTARY

Ashurbanipal's scribes had copies of this inscription written on ten-sided clay prisms. For many years, K 1794+ (ex. 1) and K 1703 (ex. 3b) were regarded as belonging to different versions of this king's annals; the former was designated as "Prism C," while the latter was called "Prism G" (by T. Bauer) and then "Prism K" (by A.C. Piepkorn). R. Borger (BIWA p. 126), however, has satisfactorily proved that K 1703 (Bauer's "Prism G" and Piepkorn's "Prism K") and K 1794+ ("Prism C") both bear one and the same version of Ashurbanipal's annals. Borger describes his discovery as follows: "Cogan + Tadmor, OrNS 50, 229ff. und Cogan, JCS 41 96ff. haben „Prism K“ weitere Texte zugewiesen, wobei es ihnen allerdings offensichtlich schwer fiel, „K“ und C sauber voneinander zu trennen. Dies war kein Wunder, denn K 1703 ist einfach ein Textvertreter von Prisma C! Die beiden für „K“ typischen Passagen, eingebaut nach B VI 82 bzw. wie seit 1987 (Sumer 44 152 n4, siehe dazu Weissert, NABU 1990 n126) nachweisbar, unmittelbar nach B VII 76, durfte man in C VII Mitte bzw. VIII Mitte erwarten, aber gerade dort klafften in C, auch noch nach Freedmans Bearbeitung, grosse Lücken. Diese Tatsache sowie der Umstand, dass K 1703 wie C 10kolumnig ist (IWA p8 korrekt! Piepkorn äussert sich nicht zur Kolumnenzahl), hätten die korrekte Identifizierung von K 1703 bereits ermöglicht. Als ich im Juli 1991 ND5411+ (unten CND8) abschrieb, traf ich dort den ersten für „K“ typischen Passus an ; hier folgt nach B VII lf. nicht B VII 3, sondern C VII 120, womit Zugehörigkeit zu C erwiesen war. Freedman VIII „x+ 1“-„x+6“ (Zusatzstück zu C) konnte ich als Reste des zweiten für „K“ typischen Passus identifizieren (bei mir C VIII 70ff.). Nachdem ich CND8 abgeschrieben hatte, wurde es mir alsbald klar, dass sämtliche Assurbanipal-Prismen aus Nimrud zur Prismenklasse C gehören müssen (CND1-15). Weissert hatte übrigens bereits mit dem Gedanken gespielt, dass sie alle zu C gehören konnten, und keines zu B." Following Borger, K 1794+ and K 1703 are both regarded as exemplars of "Prism C." However, based on J. Novotny's (SAOC 62 p. 128) recent examination of the original of ex. 1, it is certain that the military narration of Borger's "Prism CKalach" (or "Prism CND") does not duplicate that of this text. The Kalḫu version of the annals includes a report of the first war against the Elamite king Ummanaldašu (Ḫumban-ḫaltaš III), whereas the military narration of this text (Prism C) does not (see below). Therefore, Ashurbanipal's Nimrud annals are edited separately as text no. 7 (Prism Kh); moreover, its designation has been changed to "Prism Kh."

Novotny (SAOC 62 p. 128, with nn. 6-7) carefully

examined the numerous fragments of K 1794+ (ex. 1) and concluded that there was not sufficient space for an account of his fourth Elamite campaign in that prism since there is a lacuna of approximately twenty-three lines at the end of col. ix and a gap of about eighteen lines at the beginning of col. x. The proposed forty-one missing lines perfectly corresponds to the expected number of lines missing from the descriptions of the campaigns against the Arabs; the lacuna between ix 52' and x 1' corresponds to text no. 3 (Prism B) vii 77-viii 23. Given the fact that it would require an additional ninety to one hundred lines to narrate the first war against the Elamite king Ummanaldašu, one must conclude that K 1794+ (ex. 1) could not have included a report of that campaign in its military narration. Based on this critical reassessment of the original of K 1794+, it is certain that (1) the *terminus ante quem* for this text is the fourth Elamite campaign; (2) a report of Ashurbanipal's first war against Ummanaldašu was recorded for the first time in text no. 7 (Prism Kh), and not in this version of the annals; and (3) K 13778 (Borger's C16) is an exemplar of text no. 8 (Prism G; ex. 4) since it includes an account of the Elamite campaign in question. Moreover, this text was probably composed one year earlier than text nos. 7 (Prism Kh) and 8 (Prism G), and not in the same year; for example, see Borger, BIWA p. 257. Novotny (SAOC 62 p. 128), based on this new information, dates the post-canonical eponymy of Nabû-nādin-aḫi to 646 since there should be one year separating it from the eponymy of Bēlšunu, which most scholars generally date to 648. Unfortunately, because the date lines are not preserved on K 1794+ (ex. 1), it is uncertain who held that position in 647. Novotny (Eḫulḫul p. 17; and SAOC 62 p. 128), following M. Falkner (AfO 17 [1954-56] p. 118) tentatively suggests that Nabû-da'inanni was the eponym-official for that year. For further information, see the Dating and Chronology section of the book's introduction.

Borger (BIWA pp. 122-127) assigned sixteen certain exemplars to this edition of Ashurbanipal's annals. Although this may be true, some of the smaller fragments could actually bear copies of text no. 8 (Prism G) and, therefore, these pieces are tentatively included here as exemplars of uncertain attribution (exs. 1\*-11\*). Five further small fragments are included here; exs. 12\*-16\* could be exemplars of this inscription, text no. 8 (Prism G), or text no. 11 (Prism A). In addition, eight possible exemplars of this text are edited as text no. 3 (Prism B) exs. 138\*-144\* and text no. 8 (Prism G) ex. 1\*. For further details on those pieces, see the catalogues of those two inscrip-

tions.

The arrangement of text, as well as the number of lines of each column, varies between the exemplars. No exemplar is complete and the master line is a conflation of the various exemplars. The line count of this edition is based on the following exemplars: ex. 1 in i 2'-55', 67'-98', 1''-9'', ii 8'-18', 73'-85', 1''-4'', iii 1'-18', 39'-71', iv 1'-18', 1''-21'', 28''-35'', v 8-25, 57-68, vi 21'-32', 23''-39'', vii 4-22, 37-53, 35'-48', viii 1'-20', 1''-24'', 1'''-3''', ix 1'-24', 1''-52'', x 1'-20', 1''-21'', and 1'''-28'''; ex. 2 in i 1', 56'-61', ii 1'-7', 19'-53', iii 19'-38', 72'-99', iv 22''-27'', 36''-84'', v 30-56, 69-107, and vi 1'-20'; ex. 3 in vi 33'-38', 7''-22'', vii 1'-23', and viii 4'''-21'''; ex. 4 in vii 29'-34'; ex. 1\* in i 62'-65' and ii 59'-65'; ex. 4\* in ii 54'-58'; ex. 8\* in iii 104'-iv 1; ex. 9\* in v 1-6 and 1'-2'; ex. 10\* in vi

1''-6''; ex. 11\* in vii 26-35; ex. 14\* in ii 66'-72'; and ex. 16\* in ii 7''-19'. The column and line numbering of Borger's edition of Prism C in BIWA generally follows that of R.D. Freedman (St. Louis); see Borger, BIWA pp. 122-123. When possible, the restorations are generally based on text nos. 7 (Prism Kh) and 8 (Prism G) and, when they are not, they stem from text no. 3 (Prism B). In a few places, restorations have been made from text nos. 4 (Prism D), 5 (Prism I), 10 (Prism T), and 11 (Prism A). A complete score of the text, including the exemplars of uncertain attribution, is presented on Oracc. The numerous orthographic variants that appear in this text are listed in the critical apparatus. Moreover, because the lineation of the edition given here differs from that of Borger, a concordance of line numbers is given at the back of the book.

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 1976 Spalinger, JARCE 13 p. 143 n. 7 (study)  
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 2002 Weippert, Orientalia NS 71 pp. 32-33 n. 130 (vi 33', study)



- 2003 Henkelman, BiOr 60 p. 255 (ix 25'-52'', study)  
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 2003 Novotny, Orientalia NS 72 p. 215 (study)  
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 2006 Radner and Kroll, ZA 96 p. 217 n. 20 (iii 3'-4', edition)  
 2006 Waters, IrAnt 41 p. 64 n. 15 (vii 47-53, study)  
 2008 Novotny, SAOC 62 pp. 127-135 (study)  
 2008 Novotny and Watanabe, Iraq 70 pp. 112-120 and 121 no. 3 (ix 1'-7'', edition, study)  
 2009 Dubovský, Orientalia NS 78 pp. 403-406 (x 1'-18'', study)  
 2009 Meinhold, Iṣtar pp. 190, 219, 230-231, 237, and 243 with nn. 1381-1382 (vi 14'-15'a, 23'-25', 34'-37', edition; iii 40'-42', vi 16'-18', study)  
 2010 Fuchs, Interkulturalität pp. 410-415 and 419-421 (iv 1'-7', study)  
 2011 Fuchs, HSAO 14 pp. 286-287 (iv 8'-18', study)  
 2012 May, CRRRA 54 pp. 471-473 and 480 with n. 18 (vii 47-53, 2'-6', edition; vi 1'-38', 1'-12'', study)  
 2012 Worthington, Textual Criticism pp. 117 and 151 with n. 501 (study)  
 2014 Cogan, Orient 49 pp. 69-77 (iii 93'-105', iv 69''-72'', edition; study)  
 2014 Novotny, JCS 66 pp. 93, 97, 103, 108, and 110-111 (i 11'-12', 14'-17', 73'-74', 78', x 19''-21'', 16''', 23''', study)  
 2016 Sano, UF 47 pp. 252-253, 255-258, and p. 261 no. 8 (ii 76'-85', translation; ii 4'-17', 3''-iii 15', 28'-57', study)  
 2017 Liverani, Assyria p. 123 (ix 33''-37'', translation)

## TEXT

## Col. i

## Lacuna

- 1') [kul-lat ṭup-šar-ru-ti] ṛú¹-[šá-ḫi-zu ka-ra-ši]  
 2') e-[li LUGAL].MEŠ¹ a-šib ṛpa-rak¹-[ki]  
 3') zi-[kir MU]ṛia¹ ú-šar-ri-ḫu¹  
 4') ú-šar¹-[bu]ṛú¹ EN-ú-ti  
 5') eš-re-ṛe¹-[ti] ṛKUR¹ aš-šur.KI KUR URL.KI  
 6') ša ṁAN.ṛŠĀR-PAP¹-[AŠ] LUGAL KUR aš-šur.KI AD  
 ba-ni-ia  
 7') tem-me-en-šú-ṛun id¹-du-ú  
 8') la ig-mu-ru ši-pir-šú-un  
 9') e-nen-na a-na-ku ina qí-bit DINGIR.MEŠ  
 GAL.MEŠ EN.MEŠ-ia  
 10') ag-mu-ra ši-pir-šun  
 11') é-ḫur-sag-gal-kur-ṛkur¹-ra É AN.ŠĀR  
 12') EN-ia ú-šak-lil  
 13') É.GAR₈.MEŠ-ṛšú ú¹-šal-bi-šá KÙ.GI KÙ.BABBAR  
 14') GIŠ.tim-me MAḪ.ṛMEŠ¹ me-ser KÙ.BABBAR  
 ú-rak-kis  
 15') ina KÁ ḫi-šib KUR.KUR az-qu-up  
 16') AN.ŠĀR ina é-ḫur-sag-gu-la ú-še-rib-ma  
 17') ú-šar-ma-a pa-rak da-ra-a-ti  
 18') é-sag-íl É.GAL DINGIR.MEŠ e-pu-uš  
 19') ú-šak-li-ṛla¹ GIŠ.ḫUR.MEŠ-šú  
 20') ṛdEN¹ dGAŠAN-MU ṛd¹[be-let]-KÁ.DINGIR.RA.KI  
 21') dḗ-a dDI.KU₅  
 22') ul-tu qé-reb é-šár-ra ú-bil  
 23') ú-še-rib qé-reb šu-an-na.KI  
 24') BĀRA.MAḪ-ḫu šu-bat DINGIR-ti-šú šir-ti  
 25') 50 GUN za-ḫa-lu-ú eb-bu [a-na] ṛa¹-gúr-ri  
 ap-ti-iq-ma  
 26') ú-rab-ba-a EDIN-uš-šú  
 27') ú-še-piš-ma GIŠ.er-me a-nu GIŠ.MES.MÁ.KAN.NA

## Lacuna

- i 1'-4') th[ey (the gods) allowed my mind to learn all of the scribal arts]. They glorified the men[ti]on of m[yl]y [name] (and) made my lordship g[reater] t[han] (those of all other) king[s] who sit on (royal) da[is]es.  
 i 5'-10') (As for) the sanctua[ries of A]ssyria (and) the land Akkad whose foundation(s) Esarh[addon], king of Assyria, the father who had engendered me, had laid, but whose construction he had not finished, I myself now completed their work by the command of the great gods, my lords.  
 i 11'-17') I completed Eḫursaggalkurkurra, the temple of (the god) Aššur, my lord, (and) I clad its walls with gold (and) silver. I fastened band(s) of silver on tall columns (and) I erected (them) at the Gate of the Abundance of the Lands. I made (the god) Aššur enter into Eḫursaggula and made (him) reside on (his) eternal dais.  
 i 18'-23') I (re)built Esagil, the palace of the gods, (and) completed its designs. I brought the deities Bēl (Marduk), Bēltiya (Zarpanītu), [the Lady of] Babylon, Ea, (and) Mandānu out of Ešarra (and) made (them) enter into Šuanna (Babylon).  
 i 24'-26') (As for) the throne-dais, the seat of his (Marduk's) exalted divinity, I cast fifty talents of shiny zaḫalū-silver [into] bricks and (thereby) enlarged it.  
 i 27'-32') I had a canopy, which rivals the heavens,

i 1'-ii 3' The prologue of this text, text no. 5 (Prism I), text no. 7 (Prism Kh), and text no. 8 (Prism G) are, as far as they are preserved, identical apart from orthographic variants; see respectively i 1-iv 8, i 1-101', and i 1'-34' of those inscriptions. Moreover, the introduction of text no. 10 (Prism T) is similar to the one included in this inscription, but it includes several minor variants, shortens several passages, and includes two additional building reports; compare i 1-iv 35 of that inscription. For information on some of the accounts of construction, see the on-page notes to text no. 5 (Prism I) i 1-iv 8. The major and minor differences between the prologue of this inscription and that of text no. 10 (Prism T) are included in the on-page notes of the latter inscription.



Figure 4. Rm 3 (text no. 6 ex. 2a), a fragment of a ten-sided prism containing a version of Ashurbanipal's annals written in 647, the year following the fall of Babylon. © Trustees of the British Museum.



Figure 5. K 1705 (text no. 6 ex. 2b), a fragment of a ten-sided prism. This inscription is the earliest of Ashurbanipal's annals to record the capture of Babylon after a siege of just over two years. © Trustees of the British Museum.

- 28') *iš-ši* <sup>d</sup>da-re-e<sup>1</sup> *šá šit-nu-nu šá-ma-me-eš*  
 29') <sup>r</sup>34' [GUN 20] <sup>r</sup>MA<sup>1</sup>.NA KÙ.GI ̄HUŠ.A  
 30') [kip-pat]-<sup>r</sup>su *ú-šal<sup>1</sup>-biš ú-dan-ni-na rik-se-e-šú*  
 31') <sup>r</sup>e<sup>1</sup>-li <sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU EN GAL-e *šu-lul-šú*  
 32') *at-ru-uš-ma ú-kin ta-ra-an-šú*  
 33') GIŠ.GIGIR *šir-tu ru-kub* <sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU  
 34') *e-tel-li* DINGIR.MEŠ EN EN.EN  
 35') *ina* KÙ.GI KÙ.BABBAR NA<sub>4</sub>.<sup>r</sup>MEŠ<sup>1</sup> *ni-siq-ti*  
*aq-mu-ra nab-nit-sa*  
 36') *a-na* <sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU LUGAL *kiš-šat AN-e u KI-tim*  
 37') *sa-pi-in* LÚ.KÚR.MEŠ-ia *a-na ši-rik-ti áš-ruk*  
 38') GIŠ.NÁ GIŠ.MES.MÁ.KAN.NA *iš-ši da-re-e*  
 39') *ša pa-šal-lu lit-bu-šat* NA<sub>4</sub>.MEŠ *ni-siq-ti*  
*za-a<sup>1</sup>-nat*  
 40') <sup>r</sup>a<sup>1</sup>-[na ma-a-a]-<sup>r</sup>al *tak-né<sup>1</sup>-e* <sup>d</sup>EN u <sup>d</sup>GAŠAN-MU  
 41') [šá-kan ha-šá-di e]-<sup>r</sup>peš *ru-'a-a-me nak-liš*  
*e-pu-uš*  
 42') [ina ká-*hi-li*]-<sup>r</sup>sù<sup>1</sup> *maš-tak* <sup>d</sup>zar-pa-ni-tum  
 43') [ša ku-uz]-<sup>r</sup>bu<sup>1</sup> *sa-al-*hu* ad-di*  
 44') [4 AM].<sup>r</sup>MEŠ KÙ.BABBAR<sup>1</sup> *ek-du-ú-ti*  
 45') [na]-<sup>r</sup>ši<sup>1</sup>-ru *ki-bi-is* LUGAL-ti-ia  
 46') <sup>r</sup>ina<sup>1</sup> KÁ *ši-it* <sup>d</sup>UTU-ši u KÁ <sup>d</sup>LAMMA-RA.BI  
 47') *ina* KÁ *é-zi-da šá qé-reb bár-sipa*.KI *ul-ziz*  
 48') *é-maš-maš é-gašan-kalam-ma* KÙ.BABBAR KÙ.GI  
*ú-za-'i-in*  
 49') *lu-le-e ú-mal-li*  
 50') <sup>d</sup>šar-rat-kid-mu-ri *šá ina ug-gat lib-bi-šá*  
 51') *at-man-šá e-zi-bu ú-<sup>r</sup>ši-bu<sup>1</sup> a-šar la si-ma-ti-šá*  
 52') *ina* BALA-ia [dam-qi]  
 53') *ša* AN.ŠÁR *iš-ru-ka tar-šá-a sa-li-mu*  
 54') *a-na šuk-lul* DINGIR-ti-šá *šir-ti*  
 55') *šur-ru-*hi* mi-se-<sup>r</sup>e<sup>1</sup>-šá šu-qu-ru-u-ti*  
 56') [ina] <sup>r</sup>MÁŠ.GI<sub>6</sub> *ši-pir<sup>1</sup> [mah-*he*]-<sup>r</sup>e<sup>1</sup>*  
*iš-ta-*nap-pa-ra* ka-a-a-na*  
 57') [<sup>d</sup>UTU <sup>d</sup>ŠKUR *áš-al-ma e*]-<sup>r</sup>pu-lu-in-ni *an-nu*  
*ke-e-nu*  
 58') [*si-mat* DINGIR-ti-šá GAL]-<sup>r</sup>ti<sup>1</sup> *ú-šar-ri-i*h**  
 59') [*ú-še-šib-ši ina* BÁRA.MA<sup>h</sup> šu]-<sup>r</sup>bat<sup>1</sup> *da-ra-a-ti*  
 60') [*par-še-e-šá šu-qu-ru-ti*] *ú-kin-ma*  
 61') [*ú-šal-li-ma mi-se*]-<sup>r</sup>e<sup>1</sup>-šá  
 62') [<sup>d</sup>IM.DUGUD.MUŠEN.MEŠ GIŠ.šur-ri]-<sup>r</sup>in<sup>1</sup>-ni  
 63') [*a-na* TI.LA ZI].<sup>r</sup>MEŠ<sup>1</sup>-ia  
 64') [*ina* KÁ *é-galam-mes É* <sup>d</sup>U.GUR *ša URU.tar-bi-ši*  
*az*]-<sup>r</sup>qu-up<sup>1</sup>  
 65') [*a-di a-di-ni a-bi la im-ma-al-la*]-<sup>r</sup>du<sup>1</sup>  
 66') [*um-mi a-lit-ti la ba-na-a-ta ina lib-bi* AMA-šá]  
 67') <sup>r</sup>a<sup>1</sup>-[na e-peš *é-*hul-hul* iz-kur ni-bit* MU-ia]  
 68') <sup>d</sup>[30 *šá ib-na-an-ni a-na* LUGAL-u-ti]  
 69') *um-<sup>r</sup>ma<sup>1</sup> [m*AN.ŠÁR-DÛ-A *É.KUR šú-a-tú*  
*ip-pu-uš-ma]*

made from *musukkannu*-wood, a durable wood. I clad its [perimeter] with thirty-fo[ur talents (and) twenty m]inas of reddish gold (and thereby) reinforced its bonds. I stretched out its covering over the god Marduk, the great lord, and (thus) secured its roof.

i 33'-37') (As for) the exalted chariot, the vehicle of the god Marduk, the pre-eminent one among the gods, the lord of lords, I completed its feature(s) with gold, silver, (and) precious stones. I gave (it) as a gift to the god Marduk, the king of the totality of heaven and netherworld, the one who overwhelms my enemies.

i 38'-43') I skillfully made a bed of *musukkannu*-wood, a durable wood, that is clad with *pašallu*-gold (and) studded with precious stones, a[s a] pleasure [be]d for the god Bēl (Marduk) and the goddess Bēltiya (Zarpanītu) [to carry out the wedding (and) to m]ake love. I placed (it) [in Kaḫilis]u, the bed chamber of the goddess Zarpanītu, [which] is laden with [sexual char]m.

i 44'-47') I stationed [four] fierce [wild bulls of] silver, [prote]ctors of my royal path, in the Gate of the Rising Sun and (in) the Gate of Lamma-RA.BI, in gateway(s) of Ezida, which is inside Borsippa.

i 48'-49') I decorated Emašmaš (and) Egašankalama with silver (and) gold, (and) filled (them) with splendor.

i 50'-56') The goddess Šarrat-Kidmuri, who in her anger had abandoned her inner sanctum (and) had taken up residence in a place not befitting her, relented during the [favorable] reign (lit. "my [favorable] reign") that (the god) Aššur had granted me. To complete (the emblem of) her exalted divinity (i 55') (and) to glorify her precious cultic rites, she constantly kept sending me (instructions) [through] dream(s) and message(s) from [ecstati]cs.

i 57'-61') [I asked the gods Šamaš (and) Adad and] they [an]swered me with a firm "yes." I refurbished [the emblem of her grea]t [divinity (and) made her sit upon a throne-dais] as (her) eternal [abod]e. I firmly (re)-established [her precious cultic ordinances] and [properly carried out] her [cultic rit]es.

i 62'-64') [For the preservation of] my [life, I se]t up [lion-headed eagles (and) divine embl]ems [in the gateway(s) of Egallammes, the temple of the god Nergal of the city Tarbišu].

i 65'-75') [Before my father was bor]n (and) [my birth-mother was created in her mother's womb], the god [Sîn, who created me to be king, named me] t[o (re)build Eḫulḫul], saying: ["Ashurbanipal will (re)build that temple and (i 70') make me dwell] the[rein upon an eternal dais].” The word of the

i 33'-37' According to the Šamaš-šuma-ukīn Chronicle (Grayson, Chronicles p. 129 no. 15 line 5), this chariot was sent to Babylon during Ashurbanipal's 15th regnal year (654 = Šamaš-šuma-ukīn's 14th regnal year); see p. 35 of the Introduction.

i 50'-61' Compare the earlier and shorter account of the refurbishment of Šarrat-Kidmuri's image in BM 134557 lines 8-14 (Novotny, SAACT 10 p. 74 no. 14).

- 70') *qé-<sup>r</sup>reb<sup>1</sup>* [šú ú-šar-man-ni pa-rak da-ra-a-ti]  
 71') *a-mat<sup>r</sup>* [30 šá ul-tu UD.MEŠ ru-qu-ti iq-bu-u]  
 72') *e-<sup>r</sup>nen<sup>1</sup>* [na ú-kal-lim UN.MEŠ ar-ku-u-ti]  
 73') *é<sup>r</sup>* [30 šá <sup>md</sup>šul-ma-nu-MAŠ A  
 maš-šur-PAP-IBILA]  
 74') <sup>r</sup>LUGAL<sup>1</sup> [pa-ni] <sup>r</sup>maḥ<sup>1</sup>-ri-<sup>r</sup>ia<sup>1</sup> [e-pu-šu]  
 75') *la-<sup>r</sup>ba-riš<sup>1</sup>* ú-šá-lik-ma ú-šad-<sup>r</sup>gi<sup>1</sup> [la pa-nu-u-a]  
 76') *É.*[KUR] šu-a-tú šá la-ba-riš <sup>r</sup>il<sup>1</sup>-[li-ku]  
 77') [ina a]<sup>r</sup>mat<sup>1</sup> <sup>d</sup>30 <sup>d</sup>nusku an-ḥu-us-<sup>r</sup>su ad-ke<sup>1</sup>  
 78') [e]<sup>r</sup>li<sup>1</sup> ša u<sub>4</sub>-me pa-ni šu-bat-su ú-<sup>r</sup>ap-piš  
 79') [ul]-tu UŠ<sub>8</sub>-šú a-di gaba-dib-bi-šú ar-šip ú-šak-lil  
 80') [é]<sup>r</sup>me<sup>1</sup>-lám-an-na É <sup>d</sup>nusku SUKKAL MAḤ  
 81') [ša] LUGAL pa-ni maḥ-ri-ia e-pu-šú  
 82') [ab]-na-a qé-<sup>r</sup>reb-šú  
 83') [GIŠ].<sup>r</sup>UR<sup>1</sup>.MEŠ GIŠ.EREN MAḤ.MEŠ ú-šat-ri-ša  
 UGU-šú-un  
 84') [GIŠ].IG.MEŠ GIŠ.li-ia-a-ri me-ser KÛ.BABBAR  
 85') <sup>r</sup>ú<sup>r</sup>-rak-kis ú-rat-ta-a KÁ.MEŠ-šú-un  
 86') <sup>r</sup>2 AM<sup>1</sup>.MEŠ KÛ.BABBAR mu-nak-ki-pu ga-re-ia  
 87') *ina at-<sup>r</sup>man<sup>d</sup>* <sup>d</sup>30 EN-ia ul-ziz  
 88') <sup>2</sup> <sup>d</sup>lāḥ-<sup>r</sup>me eš-ma-re-e šá ti-iš-bu-tú  
 GIŠ.šú-ri-in-ni<sup>1</sup>  
 89') *mu-šal-li-mu kib-si* LUGAL-<sup>r</sup>ti<sup>1</sup>-[ia]  
 90') *mu-še-ri-bu ḥi-šib šad-de-e u tam-<sup>r</sup>tim<sup>1</sup>*  
 91') *ina KÁ é-ḥúl-ḥúl ul-[ziz]*  
 92') ŠU.II <sup>d</sup>30 <sup>d</sup>nusku aš-bat ú-še-rib ú-še-<sup>r</sup>šib<sup>1</sup>  
 93') *ina pa-rak da-ra-a-ti*

- 94') *eš-re-e-ti* KUR aš-šur.KI u KUR URI.KI  
 95') *a-na si-ḥir-ti-ši-na ú-šak-lil*  
 96') [mim-ma] <sup>r</sup>si<sup>1</sup>-mat É.KUR ma-la ba-šú-u šá  
 KÛ.BABBAR KÛ.GI e-pu-uš  
 97') [e-li] <sup>r</sup>ša LUGAL.MEŠ<sup>1</sup> AD.MEŠ-ia ú-rad-di  
 98') [DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ] ti-ik-<sup>r</sup>le-ia<sup>1</sup>

## Lacuna

- 1'') <sup>r</sup>SI.SÁ BURU<sub>14</sub><sup>1</sup> [na-pa-áš <sup>d</sup>nisaba]  
 2'') *ka-a-a-<sup>r</sup>an<sup>1</sup>* [ú-šah-na-bu gi-pa-ru]  
 3'') *šip-pa-a-ti šu-<sup>r</sup>um<sup>1</sup>* [mu-ḥa in-bu MÁŠ.ANŠE  
 šu-te-šur ina ta-lit-ti]  
 4'') *ina* BALA.MEŠ-ia ḤÉ.<sup>r</sup>NUN<sup>1</sup> [tuḥ-du ina  
 MU.AN.NA.MEŠ-ia ku-um-mu-ru ḤÉ.GÁL-lum]  
 5'') <sup>r</sup>12<sup>1</sup> ANŠE ŠE.PAD.MEŠ <sup>r</sup>3<sup>1</sup> [ANŠE GEŠTIN.MEŠ  
 BANMIN Ì.MEŠ GUN SÍG.MEŠ]  
 6'') [ina] <sup>r</sup>nap<sup>1</sup>-ḥar KUR-ia KI.<sup>r</sup>LAM<sup>1</sup> [nap-šú  
 i-šam-mu ina 1 GÍN kas-pi]  
 7'') [šat]-<sup>r</sup>ti<sup>1</sup>-šam-ma [ina tuḥ-di u me-šá-ri]  
 8'') [ar-te]-<sup>r</sup>'a ba<sup>1</sup>-[u-ú-lat <sup>d</sup>EN.LÍL]  
 9'') [DINGIR.MEŠ] <sup>r</sup>GAL<sup>1</sup>.MEŠ [šá ap-tal-la-ḥu  
 DINGIR-us-su-un]

## Lacuna

Col. ii

## Lacuna

god [Sîn, which he had spoken in distant days, he] no[w revealed to the people of a later generation]. He allowed the temple of the god [Sîn — which Shalmaneser (III), son of Ashurnasirpal (II)], a king of [the past (who had come) be]fore me, [had built] — to become old and he entru[sted (its renovation) to me].

i 76'-85') (As for) that te[mple], which had b[ecome] old, I removed its dilapidated section(s) [by the com- man]d of the gods Sîn (and) Nusku. I made its struc- ture larger [th]an the one in the days of the past. I built (and) completed (it) [fr]om its foundation(s) to its crenellations. (i 80') Inside it, [I bu]ilt [Em]elamana, the temple of the god Nusku, the exalted vizier, [which] a king of the past (who had come) before me had built. I roofed them with long [bea]ms of cedar. I fastened band(s) of silver on [d]oors of white cedar (and) I fixed (them) in their gateways. i 86'-91') In the inner sanctum of the god Sîn, my lord, I stationed two wild bulls of silver, which gore my foes (to death). In a gateway of Eḫulḫul, I (also) sta[tioned] two long-haired heroes of ešmarû-metal, which grasp divine emblems, keep safe my royal path, (and) bring in the yield of mountain and sea.

i 92'-93') I took the gods Sîn (and) Nusku by the hand, made (them) enter into (their respective temples), (and) made (them) sit on (their) eternal dais(es).

i 94'-98') I completed the sanctuaries of Assyria and the land Akkad in their entirety. I made [every type of] temple [app]urtenance there is from silver (and) gold, (and) I added (them) [to] those of the kings, my ancestors. [I made the great gods] who support me [reside in their exalted inner sanctums].

## Lacuna

i 1''-4'') Successful harvest(s) and [an abundance of grain enabled pasture land to] continual[ly flourish], fruit orchards to be v[ery lush with fruit, (and) cattle to successfully give birth to (their) young]. During my reign, there was plenu[de (and) abundance; during my years, bountiful produce was accumulated].

i 5''-8'') [Throughout] my entire land, (on account of) [abundant] tra[de, for one shekel of silver one could purchase twe]lve donkey-loads of grain, three [homers of wine, two seahs of oil, (and one) talent of wool. Year aft]er year, [I sheph]erded the subj[ects of the god Enlil in prosperity and with justice].

i 9'') [The gre]at [gods, whose divinity I constantly revered]

## Lacuna

## Lacuna

**Lacuna after i 98'** Based on parallels, the translation assumes that the first missing line after i 98' contained *ina at-ma-ni-šú-nu ši-i-ri ú-še-šib-šú-nu-ti* "I made (them) reside in their exalted inner sanctums." The lacuna corresponds to text no. 7 (Prism Kh) i 70'b-83'a.

**Lacuna after i 9''** The now-missing contents would have duplicated text no. 7 (Prism Kh) i 91'-100'a.

- 1')  $\text{r}^1$ -[na-áš-šá-qu GİR.II-ia]  
 2') mal- $\text{r}^1$ ki $\text{r}^1$  [GAL.MEŠ šá ši-taš u ši-la-an]  
 3') a-na kit- $\text{r}^1$ ri $\text{r}^1$ -[šu-nu ú-pa-qu-u-ni]
- 
- 4') i-na maḥ- $\text{r}^1$ re $\text{r}^1$ -[e ger-ri-ia]  
 5') a-na KUR.má-kan [u KUR.me-luḥ-ḥa lu-u al-lik]  
 6')  $\text{m}^{\text{m}}$ tar-qu-u MAN KUR. $\text{r}^1$ mu $\text{r}^1$ -[šur u KUR.ku-u-si]  
 7') ša  $\text{m}^{\text{AN}}$ .ŠĀR-PAP-AŠ MAN KUR  $\text{r}^1$ AN $\text{r}^1$ .[ŠĀR.KI AD ba-nu-u-a]  
 8') BAD<sub>5</sub>.BAD<sub>5</sub>-šú iš-ku-nu i-[be-lu KUR-su]  
 9') da-na-an AN.ŠĀR u  $\text{r}^{\text{d}}$ [15 DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ] EN.MEŠ-ia [im-ši-ma]  
 10') it-ta-kil a-na e- $\text{r}^1$ muq $\text{r}^1$  ra-[ma-ni-šú]  
 11') e-li LUGAL.MEŠ LÚ.qe- $\text{r}^1$ pa $\text{r}^1$ -[a-ni]  
 12') ša qé-reb KUR.mu- $\text{r}^1$ šur $\text{r}^1$  ú-pa-qí-du AD  $\text{r}^1$ ba $\text{r}^1$ -[nu-u-a]  
 13') a-na da- $\text{r}^1$ a-ki $\text{r}^1$  ḥa-ba-a-te u e-kem KUR.mu-[šur]  
 14') il-li-ka EDIN-uš- $\text{r}^1$ šú $\text{r}^1$ -[un]  
 15') e-ru-um-ma ú-šib qé-reb URU.me-em-[pi]  
 16') URU ša AD ba-nu-u-a ik-šú- $\text{r}^1$ du $\text{r}^1$   
 17') a-na mi-šir KUR-šú ú-ter-ru  
 18') al-la-ku ḥa-an-tu qé-reb NINA.KI il-lik-am-ma  
 19') ú-šá-an-na-a ia-a-ti  
 20') UGU ep-še-e-ti an-na-a-ti  
 21')  $\text{r}^1$ lib $\text{r}^1$ -bi i-gug-ma iṣ-ša-ru-uḥ ka-bat-ti  
 22')  $\text{r}^1$ ad $\text{r}^1$ -ke-e-ma LÚ.e-mu-qi-ia ši-ra-a-ti  
 23')  $\text{r}^1$ ša $\text{r}^1$  AN.ŠĀR u  $\text{d}$ 15 ú-mal-lu-u qa-a-tu-u-a  
 24') a-na KUR.mu-šur u KUR.ku-u-si uš-te-še-ra ḥar-ra-nu  
 25') ina me-ti-iq ger-ri-ia  
 26')  $\text{m}^{\text{ba}}$ - $\text{a}$ -lu LUGAL KUR.šur-ri  
 27')  $\text{m}^{\text{mi}}$ -in-se-e LUGAL KUR.ia-ú-di  
 28')  $\text{m}^{\text{qa}}$ -uš-gab-ri LUGAL KUR.ú-du-me  
 29')  $\text{m}^{\text{mu}}$ -šur-i LUGAL KUR.ma- $\text{a}$ -ba  
 30')  $\text{m}^{\text{GISSU}}$ -EN LUGAL KUR.ḥa-zi-ti  
 31')  $\text{m}^{\text{mi}}$ -ti-in-ti LUGAL KUR.is-qa-lu-na  
 32')  $\text{m}^{\text{i}}$ -ka-ú-su LUGAL KUR.am-qar-u-na  
 33')  $\text{m}^{\text{mil}}$ -ki-a-šá-pa LUGAL KUR.gu-ub-li  
 34')  $\text{m}^{\text{ia}}$ -ki-in-lu-ú LUGAL KUR.ar-ú-a-da  
 35')  $\text{m}^{\text{a}}$ -bi-ba- $\text{a}$ -al LUGAL KUR.sa-am-si-mu-ru-na  
 36')  $\text{m}^{\text{am}}$ -mi-na-ad-bi LUGAL KUR.É-am-ma-na  
 37')  $\text{m}^{\text{PAP}}$ -mil-ki LUGAL KUR.as-du-di

ii 1'-3') k[iss my feet (and) great] ruler[s from (both) east and west are anxious for me] to be [their] ally.

ii 4'-24') On my fir[st campaign, I marched] to Makan (Egypt) [and Meluḥḥa (Ethiopia)]. Taharqa, the king of Egypt and Kush, whose defeat Esarhaddon — king of As[syria, the father who had engendered me] — had brought about (and) [whose land] he [ruled over, forgot] the might of (the god) Aššur and the goddess [Ištar, the great gods], my lords, [and] (ii 10') trusted in [his] o[wn] strength. He marched against the kings (and) off[icials], whom the father who had en[gendered me] had appointed inside Egypt, to kill (and) rob (them) and to take away Eg[yp]t (from them)]. (ii 15') He entered and resided in the city Mem[phis], a city that the father who had engendered me had conquer[ed] (and) made part of the territory of his land. A fast messenger came to Nineveh and reported (this) to me. (ii 20') My [h]eart became enraged about these deeds and my temper turned hot. I mustered my elite forces that (the god) Aššur and the goddess Ištar had placed in my hands and I made (them) take the direct road to Egypt and Kush.

ii 25'-52') In the course of my campaign, Ba'al, king of the land Tyre, Manasseh, king of the land Judah, Qa'uš-gabri, king of the land Edom, Mušurī, king of the land Moab, (ii 30') Šil-Bēl, king of the land Gaza, Mitinti, king of the land Ashkelon, Ikausu, king of the land Ekron, Milki-ašapa, king of the land Byblos, Yakīn-Lū, king of the land Arwad, (ii 35') Abī-Ba'al, king of the land Samsimurruna, Ammi-nadbi, king of the land Bit-Ammon, Aḥī-Milki, king of the land Ashdod, Ekištūra, king of the land Idalion, Pilagurā, king of the land Kitrusi, (ii 40') Kisu, king of the land Salamis, Itūandar, king of the land Paphos, Erēsu, king of the land Soloi, Damāsu, king of the land Curium,

ii 4'-vii 47', viii 1'-1''', ix 11''-24'', and [ix 53'']-x 18'' Large portions of the military narration of this inscription duplicate the contents of the reports of Ashurbanipal's campaigns included in text nos. 3 (Prism B), 4 (Prism D), 7 (Prism Kh), and 8 (Prism G). Apart from minor variants and a few additions, the descriptions of this Assyrian king's "second" to "seventh" campaigns are nearly the same as those of text nos. 3 (Prism B) and 4 (Prism D). However, reports of the "first" campaign (against Egypt) and "eighth" campaign of this inscription deviate significantly from those two earlier texts. With regard to the first campaign to Egypt, this text not only adds a lot of new material, but also utilizes the some of the contents of this military expedition of text nos. 1 (Prism E<sub>1</sub>) and 2 (Prism E<sub>2</sub>). As for the "eighth" campaign, the account in this inscription adds a lengthy description of the Šamaš-šuma-ukīn rebellion, especially the horrors endured by the citizens of Babylon and the fate of the anti-Assyrian Babylonians, as well as the coup against the Elamite king Indabibi. This inscription — contrary to the edition in Borger, BIWA — does not include a report of Ashurbanipal's first war against the Elamite king Ummanaldašu (Ḥumban-ḥaltaš III). That military account appears for the first time in text nos. 7 (Prism Kh) and 8 (Prism G); for details, see the on-page note labelled "Lacuna after ix 52''." Differences between this text and text nos. 3 (Prism B) and 4 (Prism D) are generally noted with the edition of text no. 3. Textual alterations between this text and text no. 8 (Prism G) are included with the latter inscription. See the on-page notes to those texts for further information.

ii 4'-iii 27' The report of the first Egyptian campaign in text no. 11 (Prism A) is an expanded and updated version of the one included in this inscription; compare i 52-ii 27 of that text. A few comments are provided here, in the on-page notes.

ii 24'-55' This passage is not included in the earlier text nos. 3 (Prism B) and 4 (Prism D); compare, for example, text no. 3 (Prism B) i 66.

- 38') <sup>m</sup>e-ki-iš-tu-ra LUGAL KUR.e-di-i'-li  
 39') <sup>m</sup>pi-la-a-gu-ra-a LUGAL KUR.ki-it-ru-si  
 40') <sup>m</sup>ki-i-su LUGAL KUR.si-lu-u-a  
 41') <sup>m</sup>i-tu-u-an-da-ar LUGAL KUR.pa-ap-pa  
 42') <sup>m</sup>e-re-su LUGAL KUR.si-il-lu  
 43') <sup>m</sup>da-ma-su LUGAL KUR.ku-ri-i  
 44') <sup>m</sup>ád-me-su LUGAL KUR.ta-me-su  
 45') <sup>m</sup>da-mu-u-su LUGAL KUR.qar-ti-ḥa-da-as-ti  
 46') <sup>m</sup>ú-na-sa-gu-su LUGAL KUR.li-di-ir  
 47') <sup>m</sup>bu-ṣu-su LUGAL KUR.nu-re-e  
 48') ŠU.NIGIN 22 LUGAL.MEŠ ša a-ḥi tam-tim  
 49') <sup>r</sup>MURUB<sub>4</sub><sup>1</sup> tam-tim ù na-ba-li  
 50') <sup>r</sup>ARAD<sup>1</sup>.MEŠ da-gíl pa-ni-ia  
 51') [ta]<sup>r</sup>mar<sup>1</sup>-ta-šú-nu ka-bit-tu  
 52') [ina IGI-ia] <sup>r</sup>iš<sup>1</sup>-šú-nim-ma ú-na-ši-qu GÌR.II-<sup>r</sup>ia<sup>1</sup>  
 53') [LUGAL.MEŠ šá]<sup>r</sup>a<sup>2</sup>-tu<sup>1</sup>-nu <sup>r</sup>a-di<sup>1</sup> e-<sup>r</sup>mu-qi-šú-nu<sup>1</sup>  
 54') [GIŠ.MÁ].<sup>r</sup>MEŠ<sup>1</sup>-šú-nu ina <sup>r</sup>tam-tim<sup>1</sup> [u na-ba-li]  
 55') [it-ti] <sup>r</sup>ERIM.ḪI<sup>1</sup>.A-ia ur-<sup>r</sup>ḥu<sup>1</sup> pa-da-nu  
<sup>r</sup>ú<sup>1</sup>-[šá-aš-bit]<sup>r</sup>su<sup>1</sup>-nu-<sup>r</sup>ti<sup>1</sup>  
 56') [a-na na]<sup>r</sup>ra<sup>1</sup>-ru-ti ḥa-mat šá LUGAL.MEŠ  
<sup>r</sup>LÚ<sup>1</sup>.qé-pa-a-ni  
 57') [ša qé-reb KUR].mu-ṣur ARAD.MEŠ da-gíl  
 pa-ni-ia  
 58') [ur-ru-ḥi]<sup>r</sup>iš<sup>1</sup> ar-[de]<sup>r</sup>e<sup>1</sup>-ma  
 59') al-lik a-di URU.kar-<sup>d</sup>DÙ-ti  
 60') [<sup>m</sup>tar<sup>1</sup>-qu-u MAN KUR.mu-ṣur u KUR.ku-u-si  
 61') <sup>r</sup>qé<sup>1</sup>-reb URU.me-em-pi a-<sup>r</sup>lak<sup>1</sup> ger-ri-ia iš-me-ma  
 62') <sup>r</sup>a<sup>1</sup>-na e-peš MURUB<sub>4</sub><sup>1</sup> GIŠ<sup>1</sup>.TUKUL.MEŠ u MÈ  
 63') <sup>r</sup>a<sup>1</sup>-na maḥ-ri-ia <sup>r</sup>id<sup>1</sup>-[ka]<sup>r</sup>a<sup>1</sup> LÚ.ERIM.MEŠ MÈ-šú  
 64') [i-na] <sup>r</sup>tu<sup>1</sup>-kul-ti AN.ŠÁR <sup>d</sup>EN <sup>r</sup>ú<sup>1</sup> <sup>d</sup>rAG<sup>1</sup>  
[DINGIR].<sup>r</sup>MEŠ<sup>1</sup> GAL.MEŠ EN.MEŠ-ia  
 65') [a]<sup>r</sup>li<sup>1</sup>-kut [i]<sup>r</sup>di<sup>1</sup>-ia  
 66') [ina MÈ] <sup>r</sup>EDIN rap<sup>1</sup>-[ši áš-ku-na] <sup>r</sup>BAD<sub>5</sub><sup>1</sup>.BAD<sub>5</sub>  
ERIM.ḪI.A-šú  
 67') [<sup>m</sup>tar-qu-ú ina qé-reb] <sup>r</sup>URU<sup>1</sup>.me-em-pi  
 68') [iš-ma-a taḥ-te-e] <sup>r</sup>ERIM<sup>1</sup>.ḪI.A-šú  
 69') [nam-ri-ri AN.ŠÁR u] <sup>d</sup>15  
 70') [is-ḥu-pu-šu-ma il-li]<sup>r</sup>ka<sup>1</sup> maḥ-ḥu-tiš  
 71') [me-lam-me MAN-ti-ia ik-tu]<sup>r</sup>mu-šú<sup>1</sup>-ma  
 72') [šá ú-za<sup>1</sup>-i-i-nu-u-ni DINGIR.MEŠ šu]<sup>r</sup>ut<sup>1</sup> AN KI  
 73') [URU.me-em-pi] <sup>r</sup>ú<sup>1</sup>-[maš-šir]-ma  
 74') <sup>r</sup>a-na šu-zu<sup>1</sup>-ub ZI-ti-šú in-na-bit a-na qé-reb  
 URU.ni-<sup>r</sup>i<sup>1</sup>  
 75') URU <sup>r</sup>šú<sup>1</sup>-a-tú aš-bat ERIM.ḪI.A-ia ú-še-rib  
 ú-še-šib ina lib-bi  
 76') <sup>m</sup>ni-<sup>r</sup>ku<sup>1</sup>-u LUGAL URU.me-em-pi ù URU.sa-a-a  
 77') <sup>m</sup>rLUGAL<sup>1</sup> lu-dà-ri LUGAL URU.ši-i'-nu  
 78') <sup>m</sup>pi-[šá]-an-ḥu-ru LUGAL URU.na-at-ḥu-ú  
 79') <sup>m</sup>rpa-aq<sup>1</sup>-ru-ru LUGAL URU.šap-tú  
 80') <sup>m</sup>rni<sup>2</sup>-her<sup>1</sup>-a-u LUGAL URU.ḥa-at-ḥi-ri-bi

Admēsu, king of the land Tamassos, (ii 45') Damysos, king of the land Qartiḥadasti, Unasagusu, king of the land Lidir, Bušusu, king of the land Nūria — in total, twenty-two kings of the seacoast, the midst of the sea, and dry land, (ii 50') [serva]nts who belonged to me, carried their substantial [audience] gift(s) [before me] and kissed my feet.

ii 53'–55') I [made th]ose [kings], together with their forces (and) their [boat]s, [take] the road (and) path [with] my [tro]ops by se[a and dry land].

ii 56'–66') I [quickl]y adv[anc]ed [to sup]port (and) aid the kings (and) officials [who were in] Egypt, servants who belonged to me, and I marched as far as the city Kār-Bānīti. (ii 60') [Ta]harqa, the king of Egypt and Kush, heard about the advance of my expeditionary force (while he was) [in]side the city Memphis, and m[ustere]d his battle troops before me to wage armed battle and war. [With the su]pport of the gods Aššur, Bēl (Marduk), and Na[bû, the] great [god]s, my lords [who ma]rch at my [si]de, [I brought about] the defeat of his troops [in a] widespr[ead] pitch[ed] [battle].

ii 67'–75') [Taharqa heard about the defeat of] his [tro]ops [while (he was) inside] the city Memphis. [The awe-inspiring radiance of (the god) Aššur and] the goddess Ištar (ii 70') [overwhelmed him and he wen]t into a frenzy. [The brilliance of my royal majesty, with which the gods of heaven (and) netherworld [had endowed me, cove]red him; he [abandoned the city Memphis] and, in order to save his (own) life, he fled inside the city Thebes. I seized th[a]t city (Memphis) (and then) made my troops enter (and) reside there.

ii 76'–85') (As for) Necho, king of the cities Memphis and Sais, Šar[r]u-lū-dāri, king of the city Pelusium, Pi-[š]an-Ḫuru, king of the city Natho, P[a]-qruru, king of the city (Pi)šaptu, (ii 80') I[na]ros (N[i]ḥe[ra]u), king of the city Athribis, (and) N[a]ḥkê, king of the

ii 76'–82' This passage is not included in the earlier text nos. 3 (Prism B) and 4 (Prism D); compare, for example, text no. 3 (Prism B) i 82b–83a. Text no. 11 (Prism A) i 90–109 has an expanded list of local rulers; that inscription contains the names of twenty rulers.

ii 79' URU.šap-tú "the city (Pi)šaptu": The name of this Egyptian city is URU.pi-šap-tú in text no. 11 (Prism A) i 93. It is possible that ex. 1 of this inscription (Prism C) has a scribal error.

ii 80' <sup>m</sup>rni<sup>2</sup>-her<sup>1</sup>-a-u "[na]ros (N[i]ḥe[ra]u)": The reading of the name is based on Quack, Studies Haider pp. 501–502 and on collation of ex. 1. The authors would like to thank H. Van Wees (personal communication) for bringing this article to our attention. Text no. 11 (Prism A) i 94 states that Athribis was ruled by <sup>m</sup>bu-uk-ku-na-an-ni-i'-pi ("Bokennife [Bukkunanni' pi]"), the father of Inaros.

- 81') <sup>m</sup>na<sup>1</sup>-[aḥ-ke]-<sup>r</sup>e<sup>1</sup> LUGAL URU.ḥi-ni-in-ši  
 82') <sup>r</sup>LUGAL<sup>1</sup>.[MEŠ an-nu]-<sup>r</sup>ti<sup>1</sup> LÚ.NAM.MEŠ  
 LÚ.qe-pa-ni  
 83') <sup>r</sup>ša<sup>1</sup> [qé-reb KUR.mu-šur] <sup>r</sup>ú<sup>1</sup>-pa-qí-du AD DÛ-u-a  
 84') <sup>r</sup>ša<sup>1</sup> [la-pa-an ti]-<sup>r</sup>bu<sup>1</sup>-ut <sup>m</sup>tar-qu-u  
 85') [pi-qit-ta-šú-un ú-maš-še]-<sup>r</sup>ru im<sup>1</sup>-[lu-ú] <sup>r</sup>EDIN<sup>1</sup>

Lacuna

- 1'') <sup>r</sup>pa<sup>1</sup>-[an GIŠ.ŠUDUN-ia ú-ter-ra-am-ma]  
 2'') <sup>r</sup>šal<sup>1</sup>-[meš a-tu-ra a-na KUR aš-šur.KI]  
 3'') <sup>r</sup>EGIR<sup>1</sup>-[nu <sup>m</sup>ni-ku-ú <sup>m</sup>LUGAL-lu-dà-ri  
<sup>m</sup>pa-aq-ru-ru]  
 4'') ina <sup>r</sup>a<sup>1</sup>-[de-ia iḥ-tu-u la iṣ-šu-ru ma-mit  
 DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ]  
 5'') [ta-ab-ti im-šu-ma lib-ba-šú-nu ik-pu-ud  
 le-mut-tú]  
 6'') [da-bab sur-ra-a-ti id-bu-bu-ma]  
 7'') [mi]-<sup>r</sup>lik la ku<sup>1</sup>-[širi<sub>4</sub> im-li-ku ra-man-šú-un]  
 8'') [um-ma <sup>m</sup>tar]-<sup>r</sup>qu<sup>1</sup>-u ul-tú <sup>r</sup>qé-reb KUR.mu<sup>1</sup>-[šur]  
 9'') [i-na-saḥ-ú-ma at]-tu-ni a-šá-ba-ni [mì-i-nu]  
 10'') [e]-<sup>r</sup>li <sup>m</sup>tar<sup>1</sup>-qu-u MAN KUR.ku-u-si  
 11'') [a]-<sup>r</sup>na<sup>1</sup> šá-<sup>r</sup>kan<sup>1</sup> [a-de-e] <sup>r</sup>ú sa<sup>1</sup>-li-me  
 12'') ú-ma-'e-e-<sup>r</sup>ru LÚ.rak-be<sup>1</sup>-šú-un  
 13'') [um]-<sup>r</sup>ma<sup>1</sup> su-lum-mu-ú ina bi-<sup>r</sup>ri-ni<sup>1</sup>  
 liš-šá-kin-ma  
 14'') [ni]-<sup>r</sup>in-dag<sup>1</sup>-ga-ra a-ḥa-meš  
 15'') [KUR] <sup>r</sup>a<sup>1</sup>-[ḥe-en-na-a] <sup>r</sup>ni-zu<sup>1</sup>-uz-ma  
 16'') a-a ib-[ba-ši ina bi]-<sup>r</sup>ri<sup>1</sup>-[ni] šá-nu-um-ma  
 be-lum  
 17'') <sup>r</sup>a-na ERIM.ḥi<sup>1</sup>.A KUR AN.<sup>r</sup>ŠÁR.KI<sup>1</sup> [e]-<sup>r</sup>muq<sup>1</sup>  
 EN-ti-ia  
 18'') [šá na-kas ZI-tim iš-te]-né-<sup>1</sup>u-u  
 19'') [a-mat ḥUL-tim LÚ.šú-ut SAG].<sup>r</sup>MEŠ<sup>1</sup>-ia  
 a-ma-a-ti

Lacuna

Col. iii

Lacuna

- 1') [al-lu KÛ.GI] <sup>r</sup>si<sup>1</sup>-mat LUGAL-ti-šú <sup>r</sup>aš-kun<sup>1</sup>-[šú]  
 2') [ḤAR.MEŠ KÛ].<sup>r</sup>GI<sup>1</sup> ú-rak-ki-sa rit-ti-šú  
 3') [GÍR šib-bi] šá iḥ-zu-šú KÛ.GI  
 4') [ni-bit MU-ia ina] <sup>r</sup>muḥ<sup>1</sup>-ḥi aš-ṭur-ma a-din-šú  
 5') [GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ ANŠE.KUR].<sup>r</sup>RA<sup>1</sup>.MEŠ  
 ANŠE.KUNGA.MEŠ  
 6') [a-na ru-kub EN]-ti-šú a-qis-su  
 7') [LÚ.šú-ut SAG.MEŠ-ia] LÚ.NAM.MEŠ

city Heracleopolis, [thos]e ki[ngs], governors, (and) officials wh[om] the father who had engendered me had appointed [in Egypt], w[ho had abando]ned [their post(s) in the face of] Taharqa's [tactical adv]ance, (and) had go[ne to (lit. "fil[led]")] the countrys]ide,

Lacuna

ii 1''-2'') [I turned] ar[ound (lit. "[I turned] the [front of my yoke]") and returned] s[afely to Assyria].  
 ii 3''-19''a) After[wards, Necho, Šarru-lū-dāri, (and) Pa-qruru sinned against my] tr[eaty (and) did not honor the oath(s) sworn] by the great gods. (ii 5'') They forgot my kindness and their heart(s) plotted evil (deeds). They spoke word(s) of treachery and decided (among) themselves on a] pro[fitless deci]sion, [saying: "If they remove Tahar]qa from Eg[lypt, how then] can [w]e (ourselves) stay?" (ii 10'') [T]o establish [treaties a]nd peace, they dispatched their mounted messenger(s) [t]o Taharqa, the king of Kush, [sayi]ng: "Let peace be established between us so that [we] can come to a mutual agreement. (ii 15'') (Let) us divide [the land] am[ong ourselves] so that no other lord co[mes betw]een [us]." With regard to troops of Assyria, [the mig]ht of my lordly majesty, they [consta]ntly [so]ught out [evil plan(s) to cut (their) throat(s)].

ii 19''b) [Eunuchs of] mine [heard these] words;

Lacuna

Lacuna

iii 1'-11') I plac[ed on him (Necho) a golden hoe, an in]signia of his kingship, (and) fastened [gol]d [bracelets] around his wrists. [O]n [a belt-dagger] with gold mountings, I wrote out [my name] and I gave (it) to him. (iii 5') I presented him [with chariots, hors]es, (and) mules [to be] his [lord]ly [transport]. I sent [wit]h him [eunuchs of mine] (and) governors [to help him. Where] the fat[her who had engendered

**Lacuna after ii 85'** The contents of the gap correspond to text no. 7 (Prism Kh) ii 11'-17'a.

**ii 1''-iii 15'** This passage is not included in the earlier text nos. 3 (Prism B) and 4 (Prism D); compare, for example, text no. 3 (Prism B) i 91-ii 3.

**ii 3''-19''** This passage borrows material from much earlier inscriptions; see, for example, text no. 2 (Prism E<sub>2</sub>) iv 2'-24'. Moreover, it also appears in text no. 11 (Prism A) i 118-128.

**ii 3''** Text no. 11 (Prism A) i 118 has LUGAL.MEŠ an-nu-ti ("those kings") in lieu of the names of Necho, Šarru-lū-dāri, and Pa-qruru.

**ii 18''** [šá na-kas zi-tim] "[to cut (their) throat(s)]: Text no. 11 (Prism A) i 127b has šá a-na kit-ri-šú-nu uš-zi-zu "that I had stationed (there) to help them."

**Lacuna after ii 19''** Based on parallels, the translation assumes that the beginning of the now-missing line ii 20'' contained iš-mu-u-ma "they heard and." The lacuna between the last preserved line of col. ii and the first preserved line of col. iii is about twenty-one lines; the gap corresponds to text no. 7 (Prism Kh) ii 35''b-56''.

**iii 1'-15'** This passage borrows material from much earlier inscriptions; see, for example, the Large Egyptian Tablets Inscription obv. 60'-67' (Novotny, SAACT 10 p. 82-83 no. 20). Moreover, it also appears in text no. 11 (Prism A) ii 10b-19.



- 8') [a-na kit-ri-šú it]-<sup>r</sup>ti-šú áš-pur  
 9') [a-šar] <sup>r</sup>AD<sup>1</sup> [DÜ-u-a i]-<sup>r</sup>na<sup>1</sup> URU.sa-a-a  
 10') [a-na LUGAL-ti ip]-<sup>r</sup>q<sup>r</sup>-du-šú  
 11') a-na maš-kán-i-šú <sup>r</sup>ú<sup>1</sup>-ter-šú  
 12') [ù] <sup>md</sup>AG-še-zib-a-ni DUMU-šú  
 13') ina <sup>r</sup>URU<sup>1</sup>.[ha-at-ha-ri]-<sup>r</sup>ba<sup>1</sup> ap-qid  
 14') <sup>r</sup>MUN<sup>1</sup> SIG<sub>5</sub>-tú <sup>r</sup>UGU<sup>1</sup> [šá AD] ba-ni-ia  
 15') <sup>r</sup>ú<sup>1</sup>-šá-tir-ma <sup>r</sup>e-pu<sup>1</sup>-us-su  
 16') <sup>m</sup>tar-<sup>r</sup>qu<sup>1</sup>-u <sup>r</sup>a-šar<sup>1</sup> in-nab-tu  
 17') ra-šub-<sup>r</sup>bat GIŠ<sup>1</sup>.TUKUL AN.ŠÁR <sup>r</sup>EN-ia<sup>1</sup>  
 is-húp-šú-ma
- 18') [il-lik nam]-<sup>r</sup>mu<sup>1</sup>-ši-šu EGIR-<sup>r</sup>nu<sup>1</sup>  
 [<sup>m</sup>UR-da-ma-né-e] <sup>r</sup>DUMU<sup>1</sup> NIN<sub>9</sub>-šú  
 19') ú-<sup>r</sup>šib<sup>1</sup> [ina GIŠ.GU.ZA LUGAL]-<sup>r</sup>ti-šú  
 20') URU.ni-i' [URU.ú-nu a-na dan-nu-ti-šú iš]-<sup>r</sup>kun<sup>1</sup>  
 21') ú-paḥ-<sup>r</sup>hi<sup>1</sup>-[ir el-lat-su]  
 22') a-na mit-ḥu-<sup>r</sup>ši<sup>1</sup> [ERIM.ḪI.A DUMU.MEŠ KUR  
 aš-šur.KI]  
 23') ša qé-reb URU.me-[em-pi id-ka-a qa-bal-šú]  
 24') UN.MEŠ šá-a-<sup>r</sup>tu<sup>1</sup>-[nu e-si-ir-ma]  
 25') iṣ-ba-ta [mu-uṣ-ša-šú-un]  
 26') LÚ.DUMU šip-ri ha-an-[tu a-na NINA.KI]  
 27') il-lik-am-ma iq-ba-[a ia-a-ti]  
 28') áš-ni-ma a-na KUR.mu-šur [u KUR.ku-u-si]  
 29') uš-te-še-ra [har-ra-nu]  
 30') <sup>m</sup>UR-da-ma-né-e a-lak [ger-ri-ia iš]-me-ma  
 31') ša ak-bu-su mi-šir [KUR.mu-šur]  
 32') URU.me-em-pi ú-maš-šir-ma a-na šu-zu-ub  
<sup>r</sup>ZI<sup>1</sup>-[ti-šú]  
 33') <sup>r</sup>in-na<sup>1</sup>-bit a-na qé-reb [URU.ni-i']  
 34') LUGAL.MEŠ LÚ.NAM.MEŠ <sup>r</sup>LÚ<sup>1</sup>.[qe-pa-a-ni]  
 35') ša qé-reb KUR.mu-šur [áš-ku-nu]  
 36') ina ir-ti-ia il-lik-u-nim-ma ú-na-áš-ši-[qu  
 ĠIR.II-ia]  
 37') EGIR <sup>m</sup>UR-da-ma-né-<sup>r</sup>e<sup>1</sup> [har-ra-nu aš-bat]  
 38') al-lik a-di URU.ni-i' <sup>r</sup>URU dan<sup>1</sup>-[nu-ti-šú]  
 39') ti-ib MÈ-ia <sup>r</sup>e-mur<sup>1</sup>-[ma] URU.ni-i' ú-maš-šir  
 40') in-na-bit a-na URU.<sup>r</sup>ki<sup>1</sup>-[ip]-ki-pi  
 41') URU šu-a-tú a-<sup>r</sup>na<sup>1</sup> [si]-<sup>r</sup>hir<sup>1</sup>-ti-šú  
 42') ina tukul-ti AN.ŠÁR u <sup>dr</sup>15 ik<sup>1</sup>-šu-da ŠU.II-a-a
- 43') KÙ.BABBAR KÙ.GI ni-siq-ti NA<sub>4</sub>.MEŠ  
 44') [NÍG.ŠU] <sup>r</sup>É<sup>1</sup>.GAL-šú ma-la ba-šú-u  
 45') lu-bul-ti <sup>r</sup>bir<sup>1</sup>-[me] GADA.MEŠ ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ  
 GAL.MEŠ  
 46') UN.MEŠ <sup>r</sup>zik<sup>1</sup>-ru ù sin-niš  
 47') 2 tim-me MAḪ.<sup>r</sup>MEŠ pi<sup>1</sup>-ti-iq za-ḥa-le-e eb-bi  
 48') ša 2 LIM 5 <sup>r</sup>ME<sup>1</sup> GUN KI.LÁ-šú-nu  
 49') [man-za-az] KÁ É.KUR  
 50') ul-tu man-zal-<sup>r</sup>ti<sup>1</sup>-šú-nu as-suḥ-ma  
 51') [al-qa-a a]-<sup>r</sup>na<sup>1</sup> KUR aš-šur.KI  
 52') šal-la-tu ka-[bit]-<sup>r</sup>tu<sup>1</sup> ina la mi-ni áš-lu-la  
 53') [ul-tu qé-reb] <sup>r</sup>URU<sup>1</sup>.ni-i'  
 54') <sup>r</sup>e<sup>1</sup>-li <sup>r</sup>KUR<sup>1</sup>.[mu-šur ù KUR].<sup>r</sup>ku-u<sup>1</sup>-si

me had app]ointed him [as king, i]n the city Sais, I returned him to his position.

iii 12'–15') [Moreover], I appointed Nabû-šēzibanni, his son, in the city [Athribi]s. I performed more [k]ind (and) good deed(s) for him th[an the father] who had engendered me.

iii 16'–18'a) (As for) Tahar[q]a, in the place where he had fled, the awesome terror of the weapon of (the god) Aššur, my lord, overwhelmed him and [he passed a]way.

iii 18'b–27') Afterwar[ds, Tanutamón, the so]n of his sister, sat [upon] his [royal] [throne. He mad]e the cities Thebes (and) [Heliopolis his fortresses] (and) assem[bled his forces]. To fight against [the Assyrian troops] who were inside the city Me[mphis, he mobi]lized his battle array, confined] tho[se] people, [and] (iii 25') cut off [their escape route]. A fas[t] messenger came [to Nineveh] and told (this) [to me].

iii 28'–36') For a second time, I took the direct [road] to Egypt [and Kush]. Tanutamón [he]ard about the advance of [my expeditionary force] and that I had set foot on [Egyptian] territory, he abandoned the city Memphis and, in order to save [his (own)] li[fe], he fled inside [the city Thebes]. The kings, governors, (and) [officials] whom [I had stationed] in Egypt came to meet me and kiss[ed my feet].

iii 37'–42') [I took the road] in pursuit of Tanutamón (and) I marched as far as the city Thebes, [his] for[tified] city. He saw the assault of my battle array [and] abandoned the city Thebes; (iii 40') he fled to the city K[ip]kipi. With the support of (the god) Aššur and the goddess Ištar, I conquered that city (Thebes) i[n] its [entir]ety.

iii 43'–57') Silver, gold, precious stones, as much [property of] his palace as there was, garment(s) with multi-[colored trim], linen garments, large horses, people – male and female – two tall obelisks [c]ast with shiny zaḥalû-metal, whose weight was 2,500 talents [(and which) stood at] a temple gate, (iii 50') I ripped (them) from where they were ere[ct]ed and [took (them) t]o Assyria. I carried off sub[stanti]al booty, (which was) without number, [from inside the c]ity Thebes. (iii 55') [I made] m[y] weapons [prevail] over [Egypt and K]ush [and (thus) achieved vi]ctory. Wit[h full hand(s), I returne]d [safely] t[o Nineveh, my capital city].

55') 𒂍𒀭𒀭.TUKUL.MEŠ-<sup>r</sup>ia<sup>1</sup> [ú-šam-ri-ir-ma áš-ta-kan]  
𒂍𒀭-<sup>r</sup>i-tu

56') it-<sup>r</sup>ti<sup>1</sup> [ŠU.II ma-li-ti šal-meš a-tu]-<sup>r</sup>ra<sup>1</sup>

57') a-<sup>r</sup>na<sup>1</sup> [NINA.KI URU be-lu-ti-ia]

58') [ina šal-ši ger-ri-ia]

59') [UGU <sup>m</sup>ba-<sup>a</sup>]-<sup>r</sup>li LUGAL<sup>1</sup> [KUR.šur-ri]

60') [a-šib MURUB<sub>4</sub> tam-tim] <sup>r</sup>lu<sup>1</sup>-u <sup>r</sup>al<sup>1</sup>-[lik]

61') [áš-šú a-mat LUGAL-u-ti-ia] <sup>r</sup>la<sup>1</sup> iš-šu-[ru]

62') [la iš-mu-ú zi]-<sup>r</sup>kir<sup>1</sup> NUNDUM-<sup>r</sup>ia<sup>1</sup>

63') [URU.ḪAL.ŠU.MEŠ e-li]-šú ú-rak-kis

64') [a-na la a-še-e UN.MEŠ]-<sup>r</sup>šú ú<sup>1</sup>-dan-nin  
ma-šar-tuš

65') ina <sup>r</sup>tam<sup>1</sup>-[tim u na-ba-li] <sup>r</sup>ger<sup>1</sup>-re-ti-šú ú-šab-bit

66') a-<sup>r</sup>lak<sup>1</sup>-[ta-šú] <sup>r</sup>ap<sup>1</sup>-ru-us

67') A.MEŠ ù [te-<sup>u</sup>-ú-tu ba-laṭ] ZI-ti-šú-nu

68') a-na pi-i-šú-<sup>r</sup>nu ú<sup>1</sup>-šá-qí-ir

69') ina me-se-<sup>r</sup>ri<sup>1</sup> [dan-ni]

70') šá la na-par-šu-di e-si-ir-šú-nu-ti

71') nap-šat-[su]-<sup>r</sup>nu ú<sup>1</sup>-si-iq ú-kar-ri

72') <sup>r</sup>a<sup>2</sup>-[na] GIŠ.ŠUDUN-ia ú-šak-ni-is-su-nu-ti

73') [DUMU.MUNUS] ši-it lib-bi-šú u DUMU.MUNUS  
ŠEŠ.MEŠ-šú

74') [a-na] <sup>r</sup>e<sup>1</sup>-peš MUNUS.AGRIG-ú-ti

75') [ú-bi]-la a-di maḫ-ri-ia

76') [DUMU-šú šá] ma-ti-ma ti-amtu la e-bi-ra

77') [iš-šá]-<sup>r</sup>a<sup>1</sup> a-na e-peš ARAD-ti-ia

78') <sup>r</sup>DUMU<sup>1</sup>. [MUNUS]-<sup>r</sup>su<sup>1</sup> u DUMU.MUNUS  
ŠEŠ.MEŠ-šú

79') it-<sup>r</sup>ti<sup>1</sup> [ter]-<sup>r</sup>ḫa<sup>1</sup>-ti ma-a'-as-si am-ḫur-šú

80') re-<sup>r</sup>e-mu<sup>1</sup> ar-ši-šú-ma

81') DUMU ši-it <sup>r</sup>lib<sup>1</sup>-[bi-šú ú]-ter-ma a-din-šú

82') URU.ḪAL.ŠU.MEŠ šá <sup>r</sup>UGU<sup>1</sup> [<sup>m</sup>ba]-<sup>r</sup>a<sup>1</sup>-li

83') [LUGAL KUR.šur-ri] ú-rak-ki-su [ap]-<sup>r</sup>ṭur<sup>1</sup>

84') ina tam-tim u na-<sup>r</sup>ba<sup>1</sup>-[li ger-re]-<sup>r</sup>ti<sup>1</sup>-šú

85') ma-la ú-šab-<sup>r</sup>bi<sup>1</sup>-[tu ap]-<sup>r</sup>ti<sup>1</sup>

86') ma-da-ta-šú <sup>r</sup>ka<sup>1</sup>-[bit-tú am-ḫur-šú]

87') pa-an GIŠ.ŠUDUN-<sup>r</sup>ia<sup>1</sup> [ú-ter-ram-ma]

88') šal-meš a-tu-<sup>r</sup>ra a-na NINA.KI URU be-lu-ti-ia<sup>1</sup>

89') ma-al-ki <sup>r</sup>MURUB<sub>4</sub> tam<sup>1</sup>-tim u LUGAL.MEŠ

90') [a-ši-bu-ti] <sup>r</sup>šad-de-<sup>r</sup>e šá-qu-ti

91') [da-na-an ep]-<sup>r</sup>še-ti<sup>1</sup>-ia an-na-a-ti

92') [e-mu-ru]-<sup>r</sup>ma<sup>1</sup> ip-la-ḫu EN-u-ti

93') [<sup>m</sup>ia-ki-in]-<sup>r</sup>lu-u<sup>1</sup> LUGAL KUR.ar-ú-a-da

94') [<sup>m</sup>mu-gal-lu] LUGAL KUR.tab-a-la

95') [<sup>m</sup>sa-an-di-šar-me] <sup>r</sup>KUR.ḫi<sup>1</sup>-lak-ka-a-a

96') [ša a-na LUGAL.MEŠ AD.MEŠ-ia la] <sup>r</sup>kan<sup>1</sup>-šú

97') [ik-nu-šú a-na GIŠ].<sup>r</sup>ŠUDUN<sup>1</sup>-ia

98') [DUMU.MUNUS.MEŠ ši-it lib-bi-šú]-nu

99') [it-ti nu-dun-né-e ma-a'-<sup>r</sup>di<sup>1</sup>

100') [ù ter-ḫa-ti ma-a'-as-si]

101') [a-na e-peš MUNUS.AGRIG-ú-ti]

iii 58'-72') [On my third campaign], I m[arched against Ba'al]u, the k[ing of the land Tyre who resides in the middle of the sea. Because] he did [n]ot hon[or my royal command(s) and] did not obey the pronoun]cement(s) from my lip(s), I set up [outposts against] him. [To prevent] his [people from leaving], I reinforced (its) garrison. (iii 65') By s[ea and dry land], I took control of (all of) his [r]outes (and thus) cut off (all) acc[ess to him]. I made water and [food for the preservation of] their lives scarce for their mouths. (iii 70') I confined them in a [harsh] imprisonment from which there was no escape. I constricted (and) cut short [the]ir lives. I made them (the people of Tyre) bow down t[o] my yoke.

iii 73'-81') [He brou]ght before me [(his) daughter], his own offspring, and the daughter(s) of his brothers [to s]erve as housekeepers. [He brou]ght [his son, who] had never crossed the sea, to do obeisance to me. I received from him [h]is dau[ghter] and the daughter(s) of his brothers, together with [a] large [marria]ge gift. (iii 80') I had mer[cy] on him and (then) I gave (his) son, [his] offs[pring, b]ack to him.

iii 82'-88') [I disman]tled the outposts that I had constructed ag[ainst Ba']alu, [the king of the land Tyre]. By sea and dr[y land, I open]ed (all of) his [route]s, as many as I had seiz[ed]. I received from him] his su[bsstantial] payment. [I turned] around (lit. "[I turned] the front of m[y] yoke") [and] returned safely to Nineveh, my capital city.

iii 89'-105') Rulers (who reside in) the mid[dle of] the sea and kings [who reside in] the high mountains [saw the might of] these [de]eds of mine [an]d became frightened of my lordly majesty. [(As for) Yakīn]-Lû, the king of the land Arwad, [Mugallu], the king of the land Tabal, (iii 95') [(and) Sanda-šarme of] the land Ḫilakku (Cilicia), [who had not bowed d]own [to the kings, my ancestors, they bowed down to] my [yok]e. [They brought (their) daughters, th]eir [own offspring, to Nineveh to serve as housekeepers, together with a substanti]al [dowry and a large marriage gift, and they kissed my feet]. I imposed upon [Mugallu an annua]l [payment of large ho]rses.

iii 87' pa-an GIŠ.ŠUDUN-<sup>r</sup>ia<sup>1</sup> [ú-ter-ram-ma] "[I turned] around (lit. "[I turned] the front of m[y] yoke") [and]": These three words are not included in text no. 3 (Prism B); see ii 61 of that inscription.

iii 100'-103' These completely destroyed lines correspond to text no. 7 (Prism Kh) iii 2'<sup>b</sup>-4' and text no. 8 (Prism G) iii 26'-29'; the line divisions tentatively follow the latter inscription.

- 102') [a-na NINA.KI ú-bi-lu-nim-ma]  
 103') [ú-na-áš-ši-qu GÌR.II-ia]  
 104') [e-li <sup>m</sup>mu-gal-li ANŠE].<sup>r</sup>KUR<sup>1</sup>.RA.<sup>r</sup>MEŠ<sup>1</sup> [GAL.MEŠ]  
 105') [ma-da-at-tú šat-ti-šam]-<sup>r</sup>ma<sup>1</sup> ú-kin  
<sup>r</sup>EDIN-uš<sup>1</sup>-[šú]  
 106') [ul-tu <sup>m</sup>ia-ki-in-lu-u] <sup>r</sup>LUGAL<sup>1</sup> KUR.a-ru-ad-da  
 107') [il-li-ku a-na šim-ti] <sup>m</sup>a-zi-ba-<sup>r</sup>al<sup>1</sup>  
 108') [<sup>m</sup>a-bi-ba-a'-al <sup>m</sup>a]-<sup>r</sup>du<sup>1</sup>-ni-ba-a'-[al]  
 109') [DUMU.MEŠ <sup>m</sup>ia-ki-in-lu-u] <sup>r</sup>a<sup>1</sup>-šib MURUB<sub>4</sub>  
<sup>r</sup>tam<sup>1</sup>-[tim]  
 110') [ul-tu MURUB<sub>4</sub> tam-tim] <sup>r</sup>e<sup>1</sup>-lu-<sup>r</sup>nim<sup>1</sup>-[ma]  
 111') [it-ti ta-mar-ti-šú-nu] ka-bit-<sup>r</sup>tu<sup>1</sup>  
 112') [il-lik-ú-nim-ma ú-na-áš]-<sup>r</sup>š<sup>1</sup>-qu <sup>r</sup>GÌR<sup>1</sup>.II-ia  
 113') [<sup>m</sup>a-zi-ba-a'-al ḥa-diš] <sup>r</sup>ap<sup>1</sup>-pa-lis-ma  
 114') [a-na LUGAL-ú-ti KUR.a-ru-ad]-<sup>r</sup>da<sup>1</sup> áš-kun  
 115') [<sup>m</sup>a-bi-ba-a'-al <sup>m</sup>a-du]-<sup>r</sup>ni<sup>1</sup>-ba-<sup>r</sup>a<sup>1</sup>-al

Col. iv

- 1) [...] x x x x [(x)]

Lacuna

- 1') [LÚ.gi-mir-a-a LÚ.KÚR ek]-<sup>r</sup>su<sup>1</sup>  
 2') <sup>r</sup>ša la ip-tal<sup>1</sup>-[la-ḥu AD.MEŠ]-<sup>r</sup>ia<sup>1</sup>  
 3') ù ia-a-ti <sup>r</sup>la<sup>1</sup> [iṣ-ba-tú GÌR.II] <sup>r</sup>LUGAL<sup>1</sup>-ti-ia  
 4') ina tukul-ti AN.ŠÁR <sup>d</sup>15 EN].<sup>r</sup>MEŠ<sup>1</sup>-ia  
 5') ina GIŠ.ši-iš-ši šat [qa-ti GIŠ.š<sup>1</sup>]-<sup>r</sup>ga<sup>1</sup>-ri  
 6') ú-tam-me-eḥ-ma <sup>r</sup>it<sup>1</sup>-[ti ta-mar-ti]-<sup>r</sup>šú<sup>1</sup> ka-bit-ti  
 7') ú-še-bi-<sup>r</sup>la<sup>1</sup> [a-di] <sup>r</sup>maḥ<sup>1</sup>-ri-ia

- 8') ina 4 ger-ri-ia a-<sup>r</sup>na URU<sup>1</sup>.qir-bít  
 9') šá qé-reb URU.ḥa-re-e-ḥa-<sup>r</sup>as<sup>1</sup>-ta <sup>r</sup>lu al<sup>1</sup>-lik  
 10') ša <sup>m</sup>ta-an-da LÚ.EN<sup>1</sup>.URU-šú-nu  
 11') a-na LUGAL.MEŠ AD.MEŠ-ia la <sup>r</sup>ik-nu-šú<sup>1</sup> a-na  
 GIŠ.ŠUDUN  
 12') ù <sup>r</sup>UN<sup>1</sup>.MEŠ a-ši-bu-<sup>r</sup>ti<sup>1</sup> URU.qir-bít  
 13') ka-a-a-an iḥ-<sup>r</sup>ta<sup>1</sup>-nab-ba-tu  
 14') ḥu-bu-ut KUR.ia-<sup>r</sup>mut<sup>1</sup>-ba-li  
 15') URU šu-a-tu ina tukul-ti <sup>r</sup>AN<sup>1</sup>.ŠÁR <sup>d</sup>30 <sup>d</sup>UTU  
 16') <sup>d</sup>EN <sup>d</sup>AG <sup>d</sup>15 ša NINA.KI <sup>r</sup>d<sup>1</sup>15 ša  
<sup>r</sup>URU<sup>1</sup>.LÍMMU-DINGIR  
 17') ak-šu-ud áš-<sup>r</sup>lu<sup>1</sup>-[la] <sup>r</sup>šal<sup>1</sup>-lat-su  
 18') <sup>m</sup>ta<sup>1</sup>-[an-da LÚ.EN].URU-šú-nu  
 19') [it-ti šal-lat URU-šú al-qa-a] <sup>r</sup>a-na KUR  
 áš-šur.KI<sup>1</sup>

Lacuna

- 1'') [<sup>m</sup>]<sup>r</sup>ah<sup>2</sup>-še<sup>2</sup>[-e-ri a-lak ger-ri-ia iš-me-ma]  
 2'') <sup>r</sup>ú<sup>1</sup>-ma-<sup>r</sup>e-<sup>r</sup>e<sup>1</sup>-[ra um-man-šú]  
 3'') ina šat mu-ši ina <sup>r</sup>š<sup>1</sup>-[pir ni-kil-ti]  
 4'') a-na e-<sup>r</sup>peš<sup>1</sup> [MÈ it-bu-u-ni]  
 5'') a-na mit-ḥu-<sup>r</sup>uš<sup>1</sup>-[ši ERIM.ḤI.A-ia]

iii 106'-iv 1) [After Yakīn-Lû, the king of the land Arwad, [had gone to (his) fate], Azi-Ba'al, Abī-Ba'al, (and) Ad]ūnī-Ba'al, the sons of Yakīn-Lû who reside in the middle of the s[ea], (iii 110') came up [from the middle of the sea, came with their] substantial [audience gift(s), and kiss]ed my feet. [I] looked upon [Azi-Ba'al with pleasure] and installed (him) [as king of the land Arwa]d. (iii 115') [I clothed Abī-Ba'al (and) Adū]nī-Ba'al ...

Lacuna

iv 1'-7') [(As for) the Cimmerians, a dangero]us [en-emy] who had never fe[ared] my [ancestors], and, with regard to me, [had] n[ot grasped the feet of] my [royal maj]esty, with the support of (the god) Aššur (and) the goddess [Ištar], my [lord]s, he (Gyges) clamped (them) in manacles, [hand]cuffs, (and) [neck-sto]cks and sen[t (them) be]fore me, tog[ether with hi]s substantial [au-]dience gift(s)].

iv 8'-19') On my fourth campaign, I marched to the city Qirbit, which is inside (Mount) Ḥarēḥa[s]ta (lit. "the city Ḥarēḥa[s]ta"), (iv 10') since Tandāya, their city ruler, had never bow[ed do]wn to the yoke of the kings, my ancestors, and the people living in the city Qirbit were constantly plundering the land Yamutbal. (iv 15') With the support of the deities A[š]šur, Sîn, Šamaš, Bēl (Marduk), Nabû, Ištar of Nineveh, (and) Ištar of Arbela, I conquered (and) plun[de]red that city. (As for) Ta[ndāya], their city [ruler, I took (him)] to Assyria [together with captives from his city].

Lacuna

iv 1''-9'') [A]ḥš[ēri heard about the advance of my expeditionary force and] dispatch[ed his army]. During the night, in a [crafty] mane[u]ver, they approach[ed] to d[o battle], to fig[ht with my troops]. My battle troops [fought] w[ith them] (and) brought about [their

**iv 1 and lacuna** Based on parallels, the translation assumes that this mostly damaged line contained *ú-lab-biš-ma* "I clothed and." The lacuna corresponds to text no. 7 (Prism Kh) iii 15''b-23''. The first preserved line of col. iv of ex. 1 (iv 10 = Borger's C iv 8) is about ten lines from the top of the column.

**Lacuna after iv 19'** The break in the text is probably no more than about eighteen lines since iv 18' (Borger's C iv 25) is beside iii 17' and iv 4'' (Borger's C iv 34) is next to iii 39' in ex. 1. Part of the now-missing contents duplicate text no. 7 (Prism Kh) iv 1'-17', as well as text no. 3 (Prism B) iii 14-15 and 20-22. Note that this text and text no. 7 (Prism Kh) contain a longer description of the anti-Assyrian nature of the land Mannea than the one included in text nos. 3 (Prism B) and 4 (Prism D).

- 6'') ERIM.MEŠ MÈ-ia ᵀit¹-[ti-šú-un im-da-ḫa-ṣu]  
 7'') iš-ku-nu [BAD₅.BAD₅-šú-un]  
 8'') ma-lak 3 KASKAL.GÍD A.ᵀŠÀ¹ [šal-ma-a-te-šú-nu]  
 9'') ú-mal-li [EDIN rap-šú]  
 10'') ina qí-bit AN.ŠÁR ᵀr30¹ [ᵀUTU DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ]  
 11'') EN.MEŠ-ia šá [ú-tak-ki-lu-in-ni]  
 12'') qé-reb KUR.man-na-a-a ᵀe¹-[ru-ub-ma at-ta-lak šal-ᵀišš]  
 13'') ina me-ti-iq ᵀger-ri-ia¹  
 14'') URU.a-a-ú-ᵀsi¹-[áš URU.ḪAL.ŠU URU.áš-šá-áš dan-na-su]  
 15'') URU.bu-su-UD URU.ᵀáš¹-[di-áš URU.ur-ki-ia-mu-un]  
 16'') URU.up-pi-iš ᵀURU¹.[si-ḫu-u-a URU.na-zi-ni-ri]  
 17'') 8 URU.MEŠ dan-nu-[ti à a-di še-eḫ-ru-ti]  
 18'') ša ni-ᵀba laᵀ¹ [i-šú-u]  
 19'') a-di qé-ᵀreb¹ URU.i-zir-te [ak-šu-ud]  
 20'') ap-ᵀpul¹ aq-qur ina ᵀGÍŠ.BAR [aq-mu]  
 21'') UN.MEŠ ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ ANŠE.MEŠ GU₄.MEŠ US₅.ᵀUDU.ḪI.A¹  
 22'') ul-tu qé-reb URU.MEŠ šá-a-tu-nu  
 23'') ú-še-ša-am-ma šal-la-tiš am-nu  
 24'') ᵀah-še-e-ri a-lak ger-ri-ia iš-me-ma  
 25'') ú-maš-šir URU.i-zir-tú URU LUGAL-ti-šú  
 26'') a-na URU.at-ra-a-na URU tukul-ti-šú  
 27'') in-na-bit e-ḫu-uz mar-qí-tu  
 28'') URU.i-zir-tu URU.ur-me-ia-te URU.uz-bi-a  
 29'') URU.MEŠ dan-nu-ti-šú al-me  
 30'') UN.MEŠ a-ši-bu-ti URU.MEŠ šá-a-tu-nu  
 31'') e-si-ir-ma nap-šat-su-nu ú-si-iq ú-kar-ri  
 32'') na-gu-u šu-a-tu ak-šu-ud  
 33'') ap-pul aq-qur ina ᵀGÍŠ.BAR aq-mu  
 34'') ma-lak 10 u₄-me 5 u₄-me ú-šah-ri-ib-ma  
 35'') šá-qu-um-ma-tú at-bu-uk  
 36'') ina me-ti-iq ger-ri-ia  
 37'') URU.MEŠ šá li-me-et URU.pad-di-ri  
 38'') ša ina ter-ši LUGAL.MEŠ AD.MEŠ-ia KUR.man-na-a-a e-ki-mu  
 39'') a-na ra-ma-ni-šú-nu ú-ter-ru  
 40'') ᵀak¹-šu-ud ina ᵀGÍŠ.BAR aq-mu áš-lu-la šal-la-sún  
 41'') URU.MEŠ šá-a-tu-nu a-na mi-šir KUR aš-šur.KI ú-ter-ra  
 42'') na-gu-ᵀu¹ ša URU.ar-si-ia-ni-iš  
 43'') ša bi-ᵀrit¹ URU.a-za-qa-na-ni  
 44'') ša KUR.ḫa-ᵀar¹-si šá-di-i  
 45'') ša SAG KUR.ku-ᵀmu¹-ur-da-a-a  
 46'') ša qé-reb KUR.man-na-a-a  
 47'') as-pu-un ina ᵀGÍŠ.BAR aq-mu  
 48'') ᵀra-a-a-di-šá-di-i LÚ.GAL ḪAL.ŠU-šú-nu  
 49'') a-duk áš-lu-la šal-lat-su  
 50'') na-gu-u ša URU.e-ri-is-te-ia-na

defeat]. (Over) an ar[ea] (the distance of) three leagues march, they filled [the wide steppe with their corpses].

iv 10''–23'') By the command of the gods Aššur, S[în, (and) Šamaš, the great gods], my lords who [had encouraged me], I en[tered] the land Mannea [and marched about triumphantly]. In the course of m[ycamp]aign, I [conquered], destroyed, demolished, (and) [burned] with fire the cities Ayus[iaš — a fortress (of his) — Aššaš — a stronghold of his] — Busuᵀ, A[šdiyaš, Urkiyamun], Uppiš, [Siḫūa, (and) Naziniri] — eight fortif[ie]d cities — [together with small(er) settlements], which [were with]out number, as fa[r] as the city Izirtu. I brought people, horses, donkeys, oxen, (and) sheep and goats out of those cities and I counted (them) as booty.

iv 24''–35'') Aḫšeri heard about the advance of my expeditionary force and abandoned the city Izirtu, his royal city. He fled to the city Atrāna, a city upon which he relied, (and) took refuge (there). I surrounded the cities Izirtu, Urmēte, (and) Uzbia, his fortified cities. (iv 30'') I confined the people living in those cities and (thus) constricted (and) cut short their lives. I conquered, destroyed, demolished, (and) burned that district with fire. I laid waste to (an area of) fifteen days march and poured out (over it) the silence (of desolation).

iv 36''–41'') In the course of my campaign, I conquered, burned with fire, (and) plundered the cities in the environs of the city Paddiri, which the Mannans had taken away (and) appropriated for themselves in the time of the kings, my ancestors. I returned those cities to the territory of Assyria.

iv 42''–49'') I leveled (and) burned with fire the district of the city Arsiyaniš, which is between the city Azaqanani and (lit. “of”) Mount Ḫarsi, which is before the land of the Kumurdeans, who are in the land Mannea. I killed Rayadišadi, their fortress commander, (and) I plundered it (Arsiyaniš).

iv 50''–57'') I conquered the district of the city

iv 28'' URU.ur-me-ia-te “the city Urmēte”: Only ex. 2 — the source for the master text here — attests this spelling of the city's name in Ashurbanipal's inscriptions. It is otherwise written URU.ur-me-e-te.

- 51'') *ak-šu-ud* URU.MEŠ-šú *as-pu-un*  
 52'') *ina* <sup>d</sup>GIŠ.BAR *aq-mu áš-lu-la šal-lat-su*  
 53'') *ina ti-ib* MÈ-ia *na-gu-šú ú-šaḥ-rib*  
 54'') *ú-ša-aḥ-ḥi-ir nap-ḥar* KUR-šú  
 55'') *it-ti ḥu-ub-ti ma-a<sup>a</sup>-di*  
 56'') [šal]-<sup>r</sup>la<sup>1</sup>-ti *ka-bit-ti šal-meš a-tu-ra*  
 57'') [ak]-<sup>r</sup>bu<sup>1</sup>-sa *mi-šir* KUR *aš-šur.KI*  
 58'') <sup>r</sup>URU<sup>1</sup>.*bi-ru-a* URU.LUGAL-*iq-bi*  
 59'') [URU.gu-si-né-e] URU.MEŠ <sup>r</sup>maḥ-ru<sup>1</sup>-u-<sup>r</sup>te<sup>1</sup>  
 60'') [ša mi-šir] KUR *aš-šur.KI*  
 61'') <sup>r</sup>ša<sup>1</sup> *ina ter-[-šī]* <sup>r</sup>LUGAL<sup>1</sup>.MEŠ AD.MEŠ-ia  
 62'') *e-ki-<sup>r</sup>mu<sup>1</sup>* KUR.*man-na-a-a*  
 63'') *da-ád-<sup>r</sup>me šá<sup>1</sup>-a-tu-nu ak-šu-ud*  
 64'') KUR.*man-<sup>r</sup>na<sup>1</sup>-a-<sup>r</sup>a<sup>1</sup> ul-tu lib-bi as-suḥ*  
 65'') ANŠE.<sup>r</sup>KUR.RA<sup>1</sup>.MEŠ GIŠ.*til-li ú-nu-ut MÈ-šú-nu*  
 66'') *áš-lu-<sup>r</sup>la<sup>1</sup> a-na* KUR *aš-šur.KI*  
 67'') URU.<sup>r</sup>MEŠ *šá<sup>1</sup>-a-tu-nu a-na eš-šu-ti aš-bat*  
 68'') *ú-<sup>r</sup>ter<sup>1</sup>-ra a-na mi-šir* KUR *aš-šur.KI*  
 69'') <sup>m</sup>r<sup>r</sup>ah<sup>1</sup>-[še]-<sup>r</sup>e<sup>1</sup>-ri *la pa-liḥ* EN-ti-ia  
 70'') <sup>r</sup>AN<sup>1</sup>.[ŠÁR <sup>d</sup>]15<sup>1</sup> *im-nu-šú i-na* ŠU.II  
 ARAD.MEŠ-šú  
 71'') [UN.MEŠ KUR]-<sup>r</sup>šú<sup>1</sup> *si-ḥu* UGU-šú *ú-šab-šú-u*  
 72'') [ina SILA] <sup>r</sup>URU<sup>1</sup>-šú *id-du-u ADDA-šu*  
 73'') [EGIR-nu] <sup>m</sup>ú-a-al-li-i DUMU-šú  
 74'') [ú]-<sup>r</sup>šib<sup>1</sup> *i-na* GIŠ.GU.ZA-šú  
 75'') [da-na-an] <sup>r</sup>AN<sup>1</sup>.ŠÁR <sup>d</sup>30 <sup>d</sup>UTU <sup>d</sup>EN *u* <sup>d</sup>AG  
 76'') [<sup>d</sup>15 šá] <sup>r</sup>NINA<sup>1</sup>.KI <sup>d</sup>15 *šá LÍMMU-DINGIR.KI*  
<sup>d</sup>MAŠ <sup>d</sup>nusku <sup>d</sup>U.GUR  
 77'') DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ EN.MEŠ-ia *e-mur-ma*  
 78'') *ik-nu-šá a-na* GIŠ.ŠUDUN-ia  
 79'') [*áš-šú ba-lat*] ZI-ti-šú *up-na-a-šú ip-ta-a*  
 80'') *ú-šal-la-a* EN-<sup>r</sup>ú-ti<sup>1</sup>  
 81'') [<sup>m</sup>e-ri]-<sup>r</sup>si<sup>1</sup>-in-ni DUMU UŠ-ti-šú  
 82'') [a-na] <sup>r</sup>NINA<sup>1</sup>.KI *iš-pur-<sup>r</sup>am<sup>1</sup>-ma*  
 83'') *ú-na-áš-<sup>r</sup>ši-qa<sup>1</sup>* GÌR.II-ia  
 84'') [*re-e-mu ar-ši-šú* LÚ.A KIN]-<sup>r</sup>ia<sup>1</sup> *šá šul-me*  
*ú-ma-<sup>r</sup>e-er* EDIN-<sup>r</sup>uš<sup>1</sup>-[šú]
- Col. v
- 1) [DUMU.MUNUS *ši-it lib-bi-šú ú-še*]-<sup>r</sup>bi<sup>1</sup>-la *a-na*  
*e-peš* MUNUS.<sup>r</sup>AGRIG<sup>1</sup>-[u-ti]
  - 2) [*ma-da-at-ta-šú maḥ-ri-tú*] <sup>r</sup>ša<sup>1</sup> *ina tar-ši*  
LUGAL.MEŠ <sup>r</sup>AD<sup>1</sup>.[MEŠ-ia]
  - 3) [*ú-šab-ṭi-lu iš-šu-u-ni*] <sup>r</sup>a<sup>1</sup>-di <sup>r</sup>maḥ<sup>1</sup>-[ri-ia]
  - 4) [30 ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ UGU] <sup>r</sup>ma<sup>1</sup>-da-<sup>r</sup>at<sup>1</sup>-[ti-šú]
  - 5) [*maḥ-ri-ti ú-rad-di*]-<sup>r</sup>ma<sup>1</sup> *e-<sup>r</sup>mi<sup>1</sup>-[is-su]*
  - 6) [*ina* *u<sub>4</sub>-me-šú* <sup>m</sup>bi-ri-is-ḥa-at-ri LÚ].<sup>r</sup>EN.URU<sup>1</sup> [*ša*  
*mad-a-a*]
  - 7) [<sup>m</sup>sar-a-ti <sup>m</sup>pa-ri-ḥi 2 DUMU.MEŠ <sup>m</sup>ga-a-gi  
LÚ.EN.URU KUR.sa-ḥi]
  - 8) <sup>r</sup>ša<sup>1</sup> [*iš-lu-u* GIŠ.ŠUDUN *be-lu-ti-ia*]
  - 9) 75 <sup>r</sup>URU<sup>1</sup>.[MEŠ-šú-nu *dan-nu-ti ak-šu-ud*]
  - 10) *áš-lu-la* [šal-lat-sún]

Eristeyana, flattened its villages, burned (them) with fire, (and) plundered (them). With the assault of my battle array, I laid waste to his district (and) made his entire land smaller. I returned safely with much plunder (and) substantial [bo]oty (and) [se]t foot in Assyrian territory.

iv 58''–68'') (As for) the cities Birrūa, Šarru-iqbi, (and) [Gusinê], cities that were formerly [within the territory of] Assyria which the Mannians had taken aw[ay] in the tim[e of the ki]ngs, my ancestors, I conquered those settlements. I tore the land Mannea apart from within. (iv 65'') I carried off to Assyria (their) horses, (their) equipment, (and) their implements of war. I reorganized those cities (and) retu[r]ned (them) to the territory of Assyria.

iv 69''–72'') (As for) A[h]š[er]i, who did not fear my lordly majesty, [(the god) A]š[šur (and) the goddess I]š[ta]r placed him in the hands of his servants. [The people of h]is [land] incited a rebellion against him (and) they cast his corpse [into a street of] his [cit]y. iv 73''–v 5) [Afterwards], Uallī, his son, [sa]t on his throne. He saw [the might of] the deities [A]š[šur, Sîn, Šamaš, Bēl (Marduk) and Nabû, [I]štar of Nineveh, Ištar of Arbela, Ninurta, Nusku, (and) Nergal, the great gods, my lords, and bowed down to my yoke. [For the preservation of] his (own) life, he opened up his hands to me (and) (iv 80'') made an appeal to my lordly majesty. He sen[t Eris]inni, his heir designate, [to Nineveh] and he kissed my feet. [I had mercy on him]. I dispatched [m]y [messenger] with (a message of) goodwill to h[im]. (v 1) He sen[t me [(his) daughter, his own offspring], to serve as a houseke[eper]. (As for) his former payment, wh[ic]h [they had discontinued] in the time of the kings, [my] anc[estors], they carried (it) befo[re] me. I added thirty horses to his former] payme[nt an]d imp[osed (it) upon him].

v 6–12) [At that time, (as for) Birishatri, a] city ruler [of the Medes, (and) Sarati (and) Pariḥi, two sons of Gagî, a city ruler of the land Saḥi], w[ho] had cast off the yoke of my lordship, I conquered] (and) plun[dered] seventy-five of [their fortified] ci[ties]. I captured] them alive (and) brought (them) to Nineveh, [my capital] c[it]y].

iv 76'' Ex. 9\* omits <sup>d</sup>MAŠ <sup>d</sup>nusku <sup>d</sup>U.GUR “the gods Ninurta, Nusku, (and) Nergal.”

v 7–8 These two lines correspond to text no. 3 (Prism B) iv 1–2 and text no. 7 (Prism Kh) iv 60''–62''. The first preserved line of col. v in ex. 1 (v 8 = Borger's C v 8) is approximately eight to nine lines from the top of the column.



- 58) LÚ.A KIN-ia ú-ma-'e-<sup>r</sup>er<sup>1</sup> [ha]-<sup>r</sup>an<sup>1</sup>-<sup>ti</sup>š  
 59) il-lik i-tu-<sup>r</sup>ram<sup>1</sup>-ma  
 60) a-<sup>r</sup>ma<sup>1</sup>-a-ti ka-a-a-ma-na-a-ti  
 61) ú-šá-an-na-a ia-a-ti  
 62) um-ma LÚ.e-la-mu-ú  
 63) GIM ti-bu-ut <sup>r</sup>BURU<sub>5</sub>.<sup>1</sup>Ī.A  
 64) ka-tim KUR URL.KI ka-<sup>r</sup>li<sup>1</sup>-[šá]  
 65) še-er KÁ.DINGIR.RA.KI uš-man-nu šá-kin-ma  
 na-di <sup>r</sup>ma<sup>2</sup>[-dak-tú]  
 66) a-na na-ra-ru-ti <sup>d</sup>EN u <sup>d</sup>AG EN.MEŠ-ia  
 67) ša ap-tal-la-<sup>h</sup>u DINGIR-us-su-un  
 68) ERIM.MEŠ MÈ-ia ad-ke-e-ma aš-ba-ta  
 ħar-ra-<sup>r</sup>nu<sup>1</sup>  
 69) a-lak ger-ri-ia iš-me-ma  
 70) ħat-tu is-<sup>h</sup>up-šu-ma i-tur [a]-<sup>r</sup>na<sup>1</sup> KUR-šú  
 71) EGIR-šú aš-bat a-bi-ik-<sup>r</sup>ta-šú<sup>1</sup> áš-<sup>r</sup>kun<sup>1</sup>  
 72) aṭ-ru-us-su a-di <sup>r</sup>mi-šir<sup>1</sup> KUR-šú  
 73) <sup>m</sup>ur-ta-ku <sup>r</sup>LUGAL KUR<sup>1</sup>.[ELAM].MA.<sup>r</sup>KI<sup>1</sup>  
 74) ša la iṣ-<sup>h</sup>u-ru ib-[ru]-ti  
 75) ina u<sub>4</sub>-me la šim-ti-šú mu-ú-[tú ú]-<sup>r</sup>gar<sup>1</sup>-ru-u  
 76) ina ta-né-<sup>h</sup>i iq-tu-ú [i]-<sup>r</sup>zu<sup>1</sup>-bu  
 77) ina qaṣ-<sup>r</sup>ar ba-la-<sup>ti</sup> ĠIR.II-šú [ul] <sup>r</sup>iš<sup>1</sup>-kun  
 78) ina MU.AN.NA-šú na-piš-ta-šú iq-ti [il-lik  
 nam-mu-ší]-šú  
 79) <sup>m</sup>EN-BA-šá KUR.gam-[bu-la]-<sup>r</sup>a<sup>1</sup>-a  
 80) ša iṣ-lu-u ĠIŠ.<sup>r</sup>ŠUDUN EN-ti-ia<sup>1</sup>  
 81) ina ni-šik PÉŠ iš-ta-kan na-piš-tú  
 82) <sup>m</sup>dAG-MU-KAM-eš LÚ.GÚ.EN.NA la na-šir a-de-e  
 83) iš-ši a-ga-nu-til-la-a A.MEŠ ma-lu-u-ti  
 84) <sup>m</sup>dAMAR.UTU-MU-DÙ LÚ.šu-ut SAG-šú  
 mu-šad-bi-ib-šú  
 85) ša ĤUL-tú ú-šak-pi-du a-na <sup>m</sup>ur-ta-ki  
 86) e-mì-is-su <sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU LUGAL DINGIR.MEŠ  
 87) še-er-ta-šú GAL-tú  
 88) ina 1-et MU.AN.NA mé-eḫ-ret a-<sup>h</sup>a-meš  
 89) iš-ku-nu na-piš-tú  
 90) ĩb-bi AN.ŠÁR ag-gu ul i-nu-uḫ-šú-nu-ti  
 91) ul ip-šah-šú-nu-ti ka-bat-ti <sup>d</sup>15 šá  
 ú-tak-kil-an-ni  
 92) BALA-e LUGAL-ti-šú iš-ki-pu  
 93) be-lut KUR.ELAM.MA.KI ú-šal-qu-u šá-nam-ma  
 94) EGIR <sup>m</sup>te-um-man tam-šil GAL<sub>5</sub>.LÁ  
 95) ú-šib ina ĠIŠ.GU.ZA <sup>m</sup>ur-ta-ki  
 96) a-na da-a-ki DUMU.MEŠ <sup>m</sup>rur<sup>1</sup>-ta-ki  
 97) ù DUMU.MEŠ <sup>m</sup>um-man-al-da-a-<sup>r</sup>še<sup>1</sup>  
 98) ŠEŠ <sup>m</sup>ur-ta-ki iš-te-né-'a-a <sup>r</sup>MUNUS.ĤUL<sup>1</sup>  
 99) <sup>m</sup>um-man-i-<sup>r</sup>gaš <sup>m</sup>um-man-ap-pa  
<sup>m</sup>tam-ma-<sup>r</sup>ri-tú<sup>1</sup>  
 100) DUMU.MEŠ <sup>m</sup>ur-ta-ki LUGAL KUR.ELAM.MA.KI  
 101) <sup>m</sup>ku-dúr-ru <sup>m</sup>pa-ru-ú  
 102) DUMU.MEŠ <sup>m</sup>um-man-al-da-a-še  
 103) LUGAL a-lik pa-ni <sup>m</sup>ur-ta-[ki]  
 104) ù 60 NUMUN LUGAL ina la mî-ni <sup>r</sup>LÚ<sup>1</sup>.[ERIM.MEŠ  
 ĠIŠ.PAN]

(his) mil[itary camp] is laid.”

v 66–72) To aid the gods Bēl (Marduk) and Nabû, lords of mine whose divinity I constantly revered, I mustered my battle troops and set out on the road. He heard about the advance of my expeditionary force and (v 70) (then) fear overwhelmed him and he returned [t]o his (own) land. I went after him (and) brought about [h]is defeat. I drove him away as far as the bo[rde]r of his land.

v 73–78) (As for) Urtaku, the king of the lan[d Ela]m who had not respected my frie[ndshi]p, whom dea[th ca]lled on a day (that was) not his fate, who came to an end (and) [with]ered away while wailing — [he no (longer)] set foot upon the land of the living. In that year, his life came to an end (and) he [passed away].

v 79–81) (As for) Bēl-iqīša, a Gam[bul]ian who had cast off the yoke of my lordship, he laid down (his) life through the bite of a mouse.

v 82–83) (As for) Nabû-šuma-ēreš, the šandabakku (governor of Nippur) who did not honor (my) treaty, he suffered from dropsy, (that is) “full water.”

v 84–87) (As for) Marduk-šuma-ibni, his (Urtaku’s) eunuch, the instigator who had incited Urtaku to plot evil (deeds), the god Marduk, the king of the gods, imposed his grievous punishment upon him.

v 88–93) Within one year, they (all) laid down (their) live(s) at the same time. The angry heart of (the god) Aššur had not relented against them, nor had the mood of the goddess Ištar, who had encouraged me, become tranquil towards them. They overthrew his royal dynasty. They made somebody else assume dominion over the land Elam.

v 94–107) Afterwards, Teumman, the (very) image of a gallū-demon, sat on the throne of Urtaku. He constantly sought out e[vi]l (ways) to kill the children of Urtaku and the children of Ummanaldaš[u] (Ĥumban-ħaltaš II), the brother of Urtaku. Ummanigaš, Ummanappa, (and) Tammaritu — (v 100) the sons of Urtaku, the king of the land Elam — Kudurru (and) Parrû — the sons of Ummanaldašu (Ĥumban-ħaltaš II), the king who came before Urta[ku] — together with sixty members of the royal (family), countless [archers], (and) nobles of the lan[d Elam] fled to me before [Teumman’s] slaugh[tering and grasped the feet of my royal majesty].

- 105) DUMU.MEŠ *ba-né-e* ʿša KUR<sup>1</sup>. [ELAM.MA.KI]  
 106) *ša la-pa-an da-ʿa<sup>1</sup>-[ki mte-um-man]*  
 107) ʿin-nab-tu<sup>1</sup>-[nim-ma iṣ-ba-tu ĠIR.II LUGAL-ti-ia]

Lacuna

- 1') UN.ʿMEŠ<sup>1</sup> [*ša-a-tu-nu ša in-nab-tu-nim-ma*]  
 2') x x [...]

Lacuna

Col. vi

Lacuna

- 1') ʿDINGIR-us<sup>1</sup>-[sa ú-sap-pa-a il-la-ka di-ma-a-a]  
 2') *um-ma* [<sup>d</sup>be-let URU.LÍMMU-DINGIR.KI]  
 3') *a-na-ku* mʿAN<sup>1</sup>. [ŠÁR-DÛ-A MAN] ʿKUR<sup>1</sup>  
*aš-šur*. [KI]  
 4') *bi-nu-ut* ŠU.II-ki ʿša<sup>1</sup> [iḥ-šu-ḥu]-ʿšú<sup>1</sup> AN.ŠÁR AD  
*ba-ʿnu-ki<sup>1</sup>*  
 5') *a-na ud-du-uš* [eš-re-e-ti]  
 6') *šul-lum par-še-šú-un* ʿna-šar<sup>1</sup> [pi-riš-te-šú-un]  
 7') *šu-tu-ub lib-bi-šú-un* [im-bu-u zi-kir-šú]  
 8') *a-na-ku aš-re-e-ki aš-te-né-ʿi-i*  
 9') *al-li-ka a-na pa-ʿlaḥ* DINGIR<sup>1</sup>-ti-ki  
 10') *ù šul-lum par-še-ki*  
 11') *ù šu-ú* mʿte-um<sup>1</sup>-man  
 12') ʿLUGAL<sup>1</sup> KUR.ELAM.MA.KI *la mu-ša-ʿqir<sup>1</sup>*  
 [DINGIR]. ʿMEŠ<sup>1</sup>  
 13') *ku-uš-šur ka-li* ʿa-na mit-ḥu-ši<sup>1</sup> [ERIM.ḤI]. ʿA<sup>1</sup>-ia  
 14') *um-ma at-ti* <sup>d</sup>be-let be-ʿle<sup>1</sup>-[e]-ʿti<sup>1</sup>  
 15') *i-lat* MURUB<sub>4</sub> *be-let* MÈ *ma-li-kàt* DINGIR.MEŠ  
 [AD.MEŠ-šá]  
 16') ʿša<sup>1</sup> *ina ma-ḥar* AN.ŠÁR AD *ba-ʿni<sup>1</sup>-[ki]*  
 17') MUNUS.SIG<sub>5</sub> *taq-bi-i ina ni-iš* ĠI.II-šú  
 ʿKÛ<sup>1</sup>. [MEŠ]  
 18') *iḥ-šu-ḥa-an-ni a-na* LUGAL-u-[ti]  
 19') *aš-šú* mʿte-um-man LUGAL KUR.ELAM.ʿMA<sup>1</sup>.KI  
 20') *ša a-na* AN.ŠÁR LUGAL DINGIR.MEŠ AD *ba-ni-ki*  
*iḥ-tu-u* [bil-tú]  
 21') *id-ka-a* ERIM.ḤI.A-šú *ik-šu-ra ta-ḥa-ʿzu<sup>1</sup>*  
 22') *ú-ša-ʿa-a-la* ĠIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ-šú *a-na a-lak* KUR  
*aš-šur*.KI  
 23') *um-ma at-ti qa-rit-ti* DINGIR.MEŠ  
 24') GIM GUN *ina* MURUB<sub>4</sub> *tam-ḥa-ri*  
*pu-uṭ-ṭi-ri-šú-ma*  
 25') *di-kiš-šú me-ḥu-u* IM *lem-nu*  
 26') *in-ḥe-ia šu-nu-ḥu-u-ti* <sup>d</sup>iš-tar *iš-me-e-ma*  
 27') *la ta-pal-làḥ iq-ba-a ú-šar-ḥi-ša-an-ni lib-bu*  
 28') *a-na ni-iš* ŠU.II-ka *ša taš-šá-a*  
 29') ĠI.II-ka *im-la-a di-im-tu ar-ta-ši re-e-[mu]*  
 30') ʿina<sup>1</sup> *šat mu-ši šu-a-tu ša am-ḥu-ru-ši*  
 31') [1]-ʿen<sup>1</sup> *šab-ru-u ú-tu-ul-ma i-na-aṭ-ṭal* MÁŠ.GI<sub>6</sub>

Lacuna

v 1'-2') [those] peopl[e who had fled to me and] ... [...]

Lacuna

Lacuna

vi 1'-2'a) [I made an appeal to her] divini[ty, while my tears were flowing], saying:  
 vi 2'b-13') ["O Divine Lady of the city Arbela! I, As[hurbanipal, king of] Assyria, the creation of your hands whom (the god) Aššur — the father who had engendered you — [requires, (vi 5') whose name he has called] to restore [sanctuaries], to successfully complete their rituals, to protect [their secret(s)], (and) to please their hearts: I am assiduous towards your places (of worship). I have come to revere your [div]inity (vi 10') and successfully complete your rituals. However, he, Teumman, the king of the land Elam who does not resp[ect the god]s, is fully prepared to fight with my [troops]."

vi 14'-22') "You, the divine lady of la[d]ies, the goddess of war, the lady of battle, the advisor of the gods — [her ancestors] — the one who speaks good thing(s) about me before (the god) Aššur — the father who had engen[dered you] — (so that) at the glance of his pu[re] eyes he desired me to be kin[g] — with regard to Teumman, the king of the land Elam (vi 20') who placed [a burden] on (the god) Aššur — the king of the gods, the father who had engendered you — he mustered his troops, prepared for battle, (and) is sharpening his weapons in order to march to Assyria."

vi 23'-25') "You, the heroic one of the gods, drive him away like a ... in the thick of battle and (then) raise a storm, an evil wind, against him."

vi 26'-29') The goddess Ištar heard my sorrowful plight and said to me "Fear not!" She gave me confidence, (saying): "Because of your entreaties, which you directed towards me, (and because) your eyes were filled with tear(s), I had mer[cy] (on you)."

vi 30'-34'a) [Dur]ing the course of the night that I had appealed to her, a dream interpreter lay down and saw

**Lacuna after v 107** The contents of this lacuna would have duplicated text no. 7 (Prism Kh) v 48-54.

**v 2' and lacuna** The now-missing text is approximately forty-one lines long; the estimate is based on text no. 7 (Prism Kh) v 56-96.

**vi 9'** ʿDINGIR<sup>1</sup>-ti-ki "your [div]inity": Ex. 1 has [DINGIR]-ʿti<sup>1</sup>-ka, which contains the wrong pronominal suffix on the noun given that Ashurbanipal is speaking to Ištar. However, that same exemplar has [...] x-ki for *par-še-ki* "your rituals" in the following line, thus employing the correct suffix.



- 32') [i]-<sup>r</sup>gi<sup>1</sup>-il-ti-ma tab-rit mu-ši  
 33') [ša <sup>d15</sup>] <sup>r</sup>ú<sup>1</sup>-šab-ru-u-šú ú-šá-an-na-a ia-a-ti
- 34') [um-ma <sup>d15</sup>] <sup>r</sup>a-ši-bat<sup>1</sup> URU.LÍMMU-DINGIR  
 e-ru-ba-am-ma  
 35') [15 u 2.30 tul-la-a-ta] <sup>r</sup>iš<sup>1</sup>-pa-a-ti  
 36') [tam-ḥa-at GIŠ.PAN ina] <sup>r</sup>i<sup>1</sup>-di-šá  
 37') [šal-pat nam-ša-ru zaq-tú šá e]-peš MÈ  
 38') [...] x x
- Lacuna
- 1'') <sup>r</sup>nin-gu<sup>1</sup>-[tú šu-kun nu-'i-id DINGIR-u-ti]  
 2'') <sup>r</sup>a-di al-la<sup>1</sup>-[ku šip-ru šú-a-tú ep-pe-šú]  
 3'') <sup>r</sup>ú-šak<sup>1</sup>-šá-[du šu-um-me-rat lib-bi-ka]  
 4'') pa-nu-ka <sup>r</sup>u<sup>1</sup> [ur-raq ul i-nàr-ru-ṭa ĠIR.II-ka]  
 5'') <sup>r</sup>ul<sup>1</sup> ta-šam-<sup>r</sup>ma<sup>1</sup> [zu-ut-ka MURUB<sub>4</sub> tam-ḥa-ri]  
 6'') <sup>r</sup>ina ki<sup>1</sup>-rim-mì-šá [DÜG.GA taḥ-ši-in-ka-ma]  
 7'') taḥ-ti-na [gi-mir la-a-ni-ka]  
 8'') pa-nu-uš-šá <sup>r</sup>d<sup>1</sup>[GIŠ.BAR in-na-pi-iḥ]  
 9'') ez-zi-iš <sup>r</sup>nam<sup>1</sup>-[ri-ri-iš È-ma]  
 10'') a-na ka-šá-ad LÚ.<sup>r</sup>KÚR<sup>1</sup>-[šá DU-ik]  
 11'') e-li <sup>m</sup>te-um-man [LUGAL KUR.ELAM.MA.KI]  
 12'') ša ug-gu-ga-at pa-[nu-uš-šá taš-kun]  
 13'') ina ITL.KIN ši-pir <sup>d</sup>INANNA.MEŠ [i-sin-ni AN.ŠĀR  
 ši-i-ri]  
 14'') ITI <sup>d30</sup> na-an-nàr AN-<sup>r</sup>e<sup>1</sup> [u KI-tim]  
 15'') at-kil a-na EŠ.BAR <sup>d</sup>r<sup>1</sup>ŠEŠ<sup>1</sup>. [KI-ri nam-ri]  
 16'') ù ši-pir <sup>d15</sup> GAŠAN-<sup>r</sup>ia<sup>1</sup> [ša la in-nen-nu-u]  
 17'') ad-ke ERIM.MEŠ MÈ-<sup>r</sup>ia<sup>1</sup> [mun-daḥ-še]  
 18'') ša ina qí-bit AN.ŠĀR [<sup>d30</sup> u <sup>d15</sup>]  
 19'') it-ta-na-áš-<sup>r</sup>ra<sup>1</sup>-[bi-ṭu MURUB<sub>4</sub> tam-ḥa-ri]  
 20'') e-li <sup>m</sup>te-[um-man MAN KUR.ELAM.MA].<sup>r</sup>KI<sup>1</sup>  
 21'') ur-ḥu aš-bat-<sup>r</sup>ma<sup>1</sup> [uš-te-še-ra ḥar]-<sup>r</sup>ra<sup>1</sup>-nu
- 22'') <sup>r</sup>el-la-mu<sup>1</sup>-u-a [<sup>m</sup>te-um-man MAN  
 KUR.ELAM.MA].<sup>r</sup>KI<sup>1</sup>  
 23'') <sup>r</sup>ina<sup>1</sup> [URU.É-<sup>m</sup>im-bi-i na]-<sup>r</sup>di<sup>2</sup> ma<sup>2</sup>?-[<sup>r</sup>dak]-<sup>r</sup>tu<sup>2</sup>?  
 24'') <sup>r</sup>e<sup>1</sup>-[reb LUGAL-ti-ia šá] <sup>r</sup>q<sup>e1</sup>-reb BÀD.AN.KI  
 25'') [iš-me-e-ma iṣ-bat]-<sup>r</sup>su<sup>1</sup> ḥat-tu  
 26'') [<sup>m</sup>te-um-man ip-làḥ-ma a-na] <sup>r</sup>EGIR<sup>1</sup>-šú i-tur  
 27'') [e-ru-ub qé-reb] <sup>r</sup>URU<sup>1</sup>.šu-šá-an  
 28'') [KÛ.BABBAR KÛ.GI a-na šu-zu]-<sup>r</sup>ub<sup>1</sup> ZI-tì-šú  
 29'') [ú-za-'i-iz] <sup>r</sup>a-na UN<sup>1</sup>.MEŠ KUR-šú  
 30'') [re-še-e-šú a]-<sup>r</sup>lik<sup>1</sup> i-di-i-šú pa-nu-uš-<sup>r</sup>šú  
 ú<sup>1</sup>-te-ram-ma  
 31'') [ug-dáp-pi]-<sup>r</sup>šá<sup>1</sup> a-na maḥ-<sup>r</sup>ri-ia<sup>1</sup>  
 32'') [ÍD.ú-la]-<sup>r</sup>a<sup>1</sup>-a a-na dan-nu-ti-šú <sup>r</sup>iš-kun<sup>1</sup>  
 33'') [iṣ-bat] <sup>r</sup>pa<sup>1</sup>-an maš-qé-<sup>r</sup>e<sup>1</sup>  
 34'') [ina qí-bit AN.ŠĀR] <sup>r</sup>d<sup>1</sup>AMAR.UTU DINGIR.MEŠ  
 GAL.MEŠ EN.MEŠ-<sup>r</sup>ia<sup>1</sup>  
 35'') [šá ú-tak]-<sup>r</sup>ki<sup>1</sup>-lu-in-<sup>r</sup>ni<sup>1</sup>  
 36'') [ina GIŠKIM.MEŠ SIG<sub>5</sub>.MEŠ] <sup>r</sup>MÁŠ<sup>1</sup>.GI<sub>6</sub> INIM.GAR  
 ši-pir maḥ-<sup>r</sup>he-e<sup>1</sup>

a dream. [He wo]ke up and (then) reported to me the night vision [that the goddess Ištar] had shown him, [saying]:

vi 34' b-38') ["The goddess Ištar] who resides in the city Arbela entered and [she had q]uivers [hanging on the right and left. She was holding a bow at] her side [(and) she was unsheathing a sharp sword that (was ready) to d]o battle. [...] ..."

Lacuna

vi 1''-12'') "[make] musi[c, (and) revere my divinity]. In the meantime, I wi[ll go (and) accomplish this task], (thus) I will let (you) achie[ve your heart's desire]. Your face [will] n[ot become pale, your feet will not tremble], (vi 5'') you will not wipe off [your sweat in the thick of battle.' She took you] into her [sweet] embrace [and] protected [your entire body. Fire flared up] in front of her. [She came out] furiously (and) sple[ndidly and (vi 10'') went] to conquer [her] en[emy. She directed her] at[tention] towards Teumman, [the king of the land Elam] with whom she was angry."

vi 13''-21'') In the month Ulūlu (VI), "the work of the goddesses," [the festival of the exalted (god) Aššur], the month of the god Sîn, the light of heaven [and netherworld], (vi 15'') I trusted in the decision of the [bright] divine lig[ht (Sîn)] and the message of the goddess Ištar, m[y] lady, [which cannot be changed]. I mustered my battle troops, [warriors] who dart ab[out in the thick of battle] by the command of the deities Aššur, [Sîn, and Ištar]. (vi 20'') I set out on the path against Te[umman, the king of the land Elam], an[d took the direct ro]ad.

vi 22''-33'') Before me, [Teumman, the king of the land Elam, set u]p c[am]p i[n the city Bīt-Imbī. He heard about] the e[ntry of my royal majesty i]nto (the city) Dēr [and] (vi 25' b) fear [took hold of h]im. [Teumman became frightened], turned [aro]und, (and) [entered] the city Susa. [In order to sav]e his (own) life, [he distributed silver (and) gold] to the people of his land. (vi 30'') He redeployed [his allies, who ma]rch at his side, to his front and [amasse]d (them) before me. He established [the Ulā]ya [River] as his defensive position (and) [kept] (me from) the watering places.

vi 34''-39'') [By the command of the gods Aššur (and)] Marduk, the great gods, my lords, [who had en-cour]aged me [through auspicious omens], dream(s), egirrū-oracle(s), (and) message(s) from ecstasies, I brought about their defeat [inside (the city) Tīl-Tūb]a.

vi 38' and lacuna The contents of this break in the inscription correspond to text no. 7 (Prism Kh) v 134-143.

vi 9''-10'' Compare text no. 3 (Prism B) v 70, which has šam-riš ta-at-ta-ši a-na a-ḥa-a-ti "she went off furiously outside" in place of these two lines.

- 37'') [qé-reb DU<sub>6</sub>-URU.tu] <sup>1</sup>ba<sup>1</sup> BAD<sub>5</sub>.BAD<sub>5</sub>-šú-nu  
áš-kun
- 38'') [ina ADDA.MEŠ-šú-nu ÍD].ú-la-a-a as-ki-ir
- 39'') [šal-ma-a-te-šú-nu] <sup>1</sup>GIM<sup>1</sup> GIŠ.DÌĪ u GIŠ.<sup>1</sup>KIŠI<sub>16</sub><sup>1</sup>
- Lacuna
- Col. vii
- 1) [ina GIŠ.GU.ZA-šú ú-še-šib]
- 2) [<sup>m</sup>tam-ma-ri-tu ŠEŠ-šú šal-šá-a-a]
- 3) [ina URU.ĥi-da-lu a-na LUGAL-ú-ti áš-kun]
- 4) [GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ GIŠ.šu-um-bi ANŠE.KUR.RA].<sup>1</sup>MEŠ  
ANŠE.KUNGA.MEŠ<sup>1</sup>
- 5) [ši-mit-ti ni-i-ri GIŠ.ti] <sup>1</sup>li<sup>1</sup> si-mat MÈ
- 6) [ša ina tu-kul-ti AN.ŠÁR <sup>d</sup>15<sup>1</sup> DINGIR.MEŠ  
GAL.MEŠ
- 7) [bi-rit URU.šú-šá-an u ÍD.ú-la]-a-a ik-šú-da  
ŠU.II-a-a
- 8) [ina qí-bit AN.ŠÁR u <sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU<sup>2</sup> DINGIR].<sup>1</sup>MEŠ<sup>1</sup>  
GAL.MEŠ EN.MEŠ-ia
- 9) [ul-tu qé-reb KUR.ELAM.MA.KI] <sup>1</sup>ha<sup>1</sup>-diš  
ú-ša-am-ma
- 10) [a-na gi-mir ERIM.ĤI.A-ia] <sup>1</sup>šá<sup>1</sup>-lim-tu šak-na-at
- 
- 11) [ina 8-e] <sup>1</sup>ger<sup>1</sup>-ri-ia
- 12) [UGU <sup>m</sup>du-na-ni DUMU] <sup>m</sup>EN-BA-šá
- 13) [a-na KUR.gam-bu-li lu]-<sup>1</sup>u<sup>1</sup> al-lik
- 14) [ša a-na LUGAL KUR.ELAM].<sup>1</sup>MA<sup>1</sup>.KI it-tak-lu
- 15) [la ik-nu-šú ana] GIŠ.ŠUDUN-ia
- 16) [ta-ĥa-zi] dan-nu
- 17) [KUR.gam-bu-lu a-na] si-ĥir-ti-šú
- 18) [GIM im-ba-ri] ak-tum
- 19) [URU.šá-pi-i-<sup>d</sup>EN] <sup>1</sup>URU<sup>1</sup> dan-nu-ti-šú
- 20) [ša qé-reb ÍD.MEŠ na]-da-at šu-bat-su ak-šú-ud
- 21) [<sup>m</sup>du-na-nu ŠEŠ.MEŠ-šú] <sup>1</sup>ul<sup>1</sup>-tu qé-reb URU  
šú-a-tú
- 22) [bal-ṭu-us-su-un] <sup>1</sup>ú<sup>1</sup>-še-ša-a
- 23) [DAM-su DUMU.MEŠ-šú DUMU.MUNUS.MEŠ-šú  
MUNUS.sek-re-ti-šú]
- 24) [LÚ.NAR.MEŠ MUNUS.NAR.MEŠ ú-še-ša-am-ma  
šal-la-tiš am-nu]
- 25) [KÛ.BABBAR KÛ.GI NÍG.ŠU na-kám-ti É.GAL-šú]
- 26) <sup>1</sup>ú-še<sup>1</sup>-[ša-am-ma šal-la-tiš am-nu]
- 27) LÚ.šú-ut SAG.[MEŠ LÚ.man-za-az pa-ni-šú  
LÚ.kit-ki-tu-ú]
- 28) mu-šá-ki-le-<sup>1</sup>šú<sup>1</sup> [ú-še-ša-am-ma šal-la-tiš  
am-nu]
- 29) gi-mir um-ma-[ni ma-la ba-šú-u]
- 30) mar-kas URU u <sup>1</sup>EDIN<sup>1</sup> [ú-še-ša-am-ma šal-la-tiš  
am-nu]
- 31) GU<sub>4</sub>.MEŠ še-e-ni <sup>1</sup>ANŠE<sup>1</sup>.<sup>1</sup>[KUR.RA.MEŠ  
ANŠE.KUNGA.MEŠ]

I blocked up the Ulāya [River with their corpses (and) filled the plain of the city Susa with their bodies li]ke baltu-plant(s) and ašā[gu]-plant(s).

Lacuna

vii 1–10) [I placed Ummanigaš (Ĥumban-nikas II), ..., on his (Teumman's) throne. I installed Tammaritu, his third brother, as king in the city Ĥidalu. (With the chariots, wagons, horse]s, mules, (vii 5) [harness-broken (steeds), (and) equipme]nt suited for war [that] I captured [between the city Susa and the Ulā]ya [River with the support of (the god) Aššur (and) the goddess Iš]tar, the great gods, [by the command of (the god) Aššur and the god Marduk, the] great [god]s, my lords, I [jo]yfully came out [of the land Elam] and [sal]vation was established [for my entire army].

vii 11–20) [On] my [eighth camp]aign, I marched [against Dunānu, son of] Bēl-iqīša, [to the land Gambulu, which] had put its trust [in the king of the land Ela]m (and) [had not bowed down to] my yoke. [With my] mighty [battle array], I covered [the land Gambulu in] its entirety [like a fog]. I conquered [the city Ša-pī-Bēl], his fortified [cit]y, [whose] location [is situ]ated [between rivers].

vii 21–34) I brought [Dunānu (and) his brothers o]ut of that city [alive. I brought out his wife, his sons, his daughters, his (palace) women, male singers, (and) female singers and I counted (them) as booty]. (vii 25) I br[ought out silver, gold, property, (and) the treasures of his palace and I counted (them) as booty. I brought out] eunuch[s, his attendants, engineers], (and) hi[s] food preparers [and I counted (them) as booty. (vii 30) I brought out] all of (his) artis[ans, as many as there were], the bond of city and step[pe, and I counted (them) as booty. I brought out] oxen, sheep and goats, ho[r]ses, (and) mules], which were without number, [and I counted (them) as booty]. I did not l[eave] a single person of his land – male [and female, young and old – (and) I brought (them) out and counted (them) as booty].

**Lacuna after vi 39''** Based on parallels, the translation assumes that the now-missing vi 40'' contained ú-mal-la-a ta-mir-ti URU.šú-šá-an "I filled the plain of the city Susa." There are approximately ten lines between vi 39'' and vii 4 and, therefore, the lacuna likely corresponds to text no. 7 (Prism Kh) vi 3'-11'.

**Last line of col. vi** The translation assumes that the final line of col. vi contained <sup>m</sup>um-man-i-gaš "Ummanigaš (Ĥumban-nikas II)."

**vii 8** <sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU<sup>2</sup> "the god Marduk"; Or possibly <sup>d</sup>15<sup>2</sup> "the goddess Ištar."

**vii 23–25** These completely destroyed lines correspond to text no. 7 (Prism Kh) vi 33'-36' and text no. 8 (Prism G) vii 23'-26'.

- 32) šá ni-ba <sup>r</sup>la i<sup>1</sup>-šú-u [ú-še-ša-am-ma šal-la-tiš am-nu]  
 33) UN.MEŠ KUR-šú <sup>r</sup>zi-kar<sup>1</sup> [u sin-niš TUR u GAL]  
 34) e-du ul <sup>r</sup>e<sup>1</sup>-[zib ú-še-ša-am-ma šal-la-tiš am-nu]  
 35) [<sup>m</sup>mas-si-ra-a LÚ.GAL GIŠ.PAN šá <sup>m</sup>te-um-man]  
 36) [MAN KUR.ELAM.MA.KI šá a-na kit-ri KUR.gam-bu-li]  
 37) ma-[šar-tu <sup>m</sup>du-na-nu áš-bu qé-reb URU.šá-pi-i-d]<sup>r</sup>EN<sup>1</sup>  
 38) bal-[tu-us-su ina qa-ti aš]-bat\*  
 39) SAG.DU-[su ak-kís it-ti pa-ni <sup>m</sup>]du<sup>1</sup>-na-nu  
 40) kit-ri [la mu-še-zib-i-šú ar-pi]-<sup>r</sup>iq<sup>2</sup><sup>1</sup>  
 41) URU šu-a-<sup>r</sup>tu<sup>1</sup> [ap]-<sup>r</sup>pul<sup>1</sup> [aq-qur]  
 42) ina A.MEŠ uš-<sup>r</sup>har<sup>1</sup>-[miš a-di la] ba-še\*-e <sup>r</sup>ú<sup>1</sup>-[šá-lik]  
 43) na-gu-u <sup>r</sup>šu<sup>1</sup>-[a-tu] ú-<sup>r</sup>ša<sup>h</sup><sup>1</sup>-[rib]  
 44) ri-gim a-me-<sup>r</sup>lu-ti<sup>1</sup> ap-ru-sa EDIN-<sup>r</sup>uš<sup>1</sup>-[šú]  
 45) [ina] <sup>r</sup>tu<sup>1</sup>-kul-ti <sup>r</sup>DINGIR.MEŠ<sup>1</sup> GAL.MEŠ LÚ.KÚR.MEŠ-ia a-ni-[ir]  
 46) [šal]-meš a-<sup>r</sup>tu<sup>1</sup>-ra a-na NINA.<sup>r</sup>KI<sup>1</sup>  
 47) [SAG].<sup>r</sup>DU <sup>m</sup>[te]-<sup>r</sup>um<sup>1</sup>-man MAN KUR.<sup>r</sup>ELAM.MA<sup>1</sup>.KI  
 48) [ina GÚ <sup>m</sup>du-na-nu a]-lul  
 49) [SAG.DU <sup>m</sup>díš-tar-na-an-di ina GÚ <sup>m</sup>]sa<sup>1</sup>-am-gu-nu  
 50) [ŠEŠ <sup>m</sup>du-na-nu tar-den-nu] <sup>r</sup>a<sup>1</sup>-lul  
 51) [it-ti ki-šit-ti KUR.ELAM.MA.KI šal-la-at KUR.gam]-<sup>r</sup>bu<sup>1</sup>-li  
 52) [ša ina qí-bit AN.ŠÁR ik-šu-da ŠU.II-a]-<sup>r</sup>a<sup>1</sup>  
 53) [it-ti LÚ.NAR.MEŠ e-piš nin-gu]-<sup>r</sup>ti<sup>1</sup>

## Lacuna

- 1') <sup>r</sup>mdAG-SIG<sub>5</sub>-iq ina GÍR AN.BAR šib-bi-šú is-<sup>h</sup>u-la kar-as-su<sup>1</sup>  
 2') ni-kis SAG.DU <sup>m</sup>te-um-man  
 3') ina GABA KÁ.GAL MURUB<sub>4</sub> URU ša URU.NINA  
 4') ú-ma<sup>h</sup>-<sup>h</sup>i-ra ma<sup>h</sup>-<sup>h</sup>u-riš  
 5') áš-šú da-na-an AN.ŠÁR u <sup>d</sup>15 EN.MEŠ-ia UN.MEŠ kul-lu-me  
 6') ni-kis SAG.DU <sup>m</sup>te-um-man MAN KUR.ELAM.MA.KI  
 7') <sup>m</sup>IBILA-a-a DUMU <sup>md</sup>AG-sa-lim  
 8') DUMU DUMU <sup>md</sup>AMAR.UTU-A-AŠ  
 9') ša la-pa-an AD AD ba-ni-ia  
 10') AD-šú in-nab-tu a-na KUR.ELAM.MA.KI  
 11') ul-tu <sup>m</sup>um-man-<sup>r</sup>i-gaš<sup>1</sup> qé-reb KUR.ELAM.MA.KI áš-ku-nu a-na LUGAL-u-ti  
 12') <sup>m</sup>IBILA-ia DUMU <sup>md</sup>AG-sa-lim  
 13') iš-bat ú-<sup>r</sup>še<sup>1</sup>-bi-la a-di IGI-ia  
 14') <sup>m</sup>du-na-nu <sup>m</sup>sa-am-gu-nu

vii 35–40) [I captur]ed ali[ve Massirâ, the chief archer of Teumman, the king of the land Elam, who was stationed inside the city Ša-pī-Bē]l [to provide support to the land Gambulu (and) to] gu[ard Dunānu. I cut off his] head (and) [bea]t (it) [against the face of D]unānu, the ally [who could not save him].

vii 41–46) (As for) tha[t] city, I [des]troyed, [demolished], (and) diss[olved] (it) with water; I [annihil]ated (it). I laid w[aste] th[at] district (and) cut off the clamor of humans from [it. (vii 45) With the s]upport of the great gods, I kil[l]ed] my enemies (and) retu[rn]ed [saf]ely to Nineveh.

vii 47–53) [I h]ung [the hea]d of [Teu]mman, the king of the land Ela[m, around the neck of Dunānu]. I hung [the head of I]štar-nandi (Šutur-Naḥūndi) around the neck of S]amgunu, [the second brother of Dunānu. With the spoils of the land Elam (and) the booty of the land Gamb]ulu, [which] I [captured by the command of (the god) A]ššur, with singers performing musi]c,

## Lacuna

- vii 1') Nabû-damiq stabbed himself in the stomach with his iron belt-dagger.  
 vii 2'–6') (As for) the decapitated head of Teumman, I displayed (it) opposite the Citadel Gate of Nineveh as a *spectacle* in order to show the people the might of (the god) Aššur and the goddess Ištar, my lords — the decapitated head of Teumman, the king of the land Elam.  
 vii 7'–13') (As for) Aplāya, son of Nabû-salim, grandson of Marduk-apla-iddina (II) (Merodach-baladan), (vii 10') whose father had fled to the land Elam before the father of the father who had engendered me — after I had installed Ummanigaš (Ḫumban-nikas II) as king in the land Elam, he (Ummanigaš) seized Aplāya, son of Nabû-salim, (and) sent (him) before me.  
 vii 14'–19') (As for) Dunānu (and) Samgunu, sons

vii 35–36 These now-destroyed lines correspond to text no. 8 (Prism G) vii 40'–42'.

vii 38 [aš]-bat\* “[I captur]ed”: Ex. 1 has [aš]-BI.

vii 40 [ar-pi]-<sup>r</sup>iq<sup>2</sup> “[I bea]t (it)”: So ex. 1; text no. 3 (Prism B) vi 35 has ar-pi-is “I beat (it).”

vii 42 [la] ba-še\*-e “[to na]ught”: Ex. 1 has [la] ba-MAN-e.

vii 49–50 The nine words in these two lines are not included in the earlier text nos. 3 (Prism B) and 4 (Prism D); compare, for example, text no. 3 (Prism B) vi 42.

Lacuna after vii 53 The contents of this lacuna would have duplicated text no. 7 (Prism Kh) vi 12''–22''.

- 15') DUMU.MEŠ<sup>md</sup>EN-BA-šá KUR.gam-bu-la-a-a  
 16') ša AD.MEŠ-šú-un a-na LUGAL.MEŠ AD.MEŠ-ia  
 ú-dal-li-pu-ma  
 17') [ù] ṣu<sup>1</sup>-nu ú-nàr-ri-tu e-peš LUGAL-ti-ia  
 18') [qé-reb] ṣbal-ti<sup>1</sup>.KI ù URU.LÍMMU-DINGIR  
 19') [a-na da-lál aḥ]<sup>f</sup>ra<sup>1</sup>-a-ti ú-bil-šú-nu-ti  
 20') [<sup>m</sup>ur-sa-a] LUGAL KUR.ur-ar-ṣi  
 21') [da-na-an AN.ŠĀR u<sup>d</sup>15] ṣEN.MEŠ<sup>1</sup>-ia  
 iš-me-e-ma  
 22') [pu-luḥ-ti LUGAL-ti-ia is]<sup>f</sup>hup-šú<sup>1</sup>-ma  
 23') [LÚ.MAḤ.MEŠ-šú a-na šá'-a-al šul-mi-ia iš-pu-ra  
 a-na qé]<sup>f</sup>reb<sup>1</sup> URU.LÍMMU-DINGIR.KI  
 24') [ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ ANŠE.KUNGA.MEŠ ...]  
 25') [qar-na-a-te GIŠ.GIDRU.MEŠ ...]  
 26') [GIŠ.pu-ur-ṣi-ti ta-mar-ta-šú ...]  
 27') [<sup>md</sup>AG-SIG<sub>5</sub>-iq<sup>mum</sup>ba-da-ra-a LÚ.MAḤ.MEŠ ša  
 KUR.ELAM.MA.KI]  
 28') [it-ti GIŠ.ZU.MEŠ ši-pir me-re-eḥ-ti ul-ziz ina  
 maḥ-ri-šú-un]  
 29') ša<sup>m</sup>man-nu<sup>1</sup>[ki-PAP.MEŠ LÚ.2-u šá<sup>m</sup>du-na-ni]  
 30') ù<sup>md</sup>AG-ú-ṣa<sup>1</sup>l<sup>1</sup>-[li LÚ.šá UGU URU  
 KUR.gam-bu-li]  
 31') ṣša<sup>1</sup> UGU DINGIR.MEŠ-ia ṣiq<sup>1</sup>-[bu-u šil-la-tú  
 GAL-tú]  
 32') qé-reb URU.ṣLÍMMU-DINGIR EME-šú<sup>1</sup>-[un  
 áš-lu-up]  
 33') áš-ḥu-ṣa KUŠ-šú-ṣun<sup>1</sup> ṣdu-ṣna-nu<sup>1</sup> [qé-reb  
 URU.ni-na-a]  
 34') UGU GIŠ.ma-ka-ṣa<sup>1</sup>-ṣi id-du-ṣšú-ma]  
 35') ṣi<sup>1</sup>-bu-ḥu-uš as-[liš]  
 36') ṣsi<sup>1</sup>-it-ti ŠEŠ.MEŠ-šú šá<sup>m</sup>du-na<sup>1</sup>-[ni]  
 37') ù<sup>m</sup>IBILA-ia a-ni-[ir UZU.MEŠ-šú]-nu ú-nak-kis  
 38') ú-še-bil a-na ta-mar-ti ma-ti-[tan]
- 39') ṣ<sup>md</sup>AG<sup>2</sup>-I ṣ<sup>md</sup>EN-KAR-[ir]  
 40') DUMU.MEŠ<sup>md</sup>AG-MU-KAM-eš LÚ.GÚ.ṣEN<sup>1</sup>.[NA]  
 41') ša AD ba-nu-šú-un ṣur-ta-ki id-ṣka<sup>1</sup>-[a]  
 42') a-na mit-ḥu-ṣi KUR URI.ṣKI<sup>1</sup>  
 43') GÌR.PAD.DU.<MEŠ> ṣ<sup>md</sup>AG-MU-KAM-eš ša ul-tu  
 qé-reb KUR.gam-bu-ṣli<sup>1</sup>  
 44') il-qu-ú-ni a-na KUR aš-šur.ṣKI<sup>1</sup>  
 45') GÌR.PAD.DU.MEŠ šá-a-ti-[na]  
 46') ṣmé-eḥ<sup>1</sup>-ret KÁ.GAL MURUB<sub>4</sub> ṣURU<sup>1</sup> [NINA.KI]  
 47') ú-ṣšaḥ<sup>1</sup>-ši-la [DUMU.MEŠ-šú]

48') ṣ<sup>md</sup>GIŠ.NU<sub>11</sub>-[MU]-ṣGI.NA<sup>1</sup> [...]

Lacuna

Col. viii

Lacuna

1') ṣú-kab<sup>1</sup>-[ba-su KUR.kal-du ina la i-de še-er]

of Bēl-iqīša — Gambulians whose ancestors had harassed the kings, my ancestors, and, moreover, (who) themselves disturbed my exercising the kingship — I brought them [inside] Baltil (Aššur) and the city Arbela [to praise (me) in the fut]ure.

vii 20'-28') [(As for) Rusâ], the king of the land Urartu, he heard about [the might of (the god) Aššur and the goddess Ištar], my [lo]rds, and [fear of my royal majesty overwhe]lmed him; [he (then) sent his envoys to me i]n the city Arbela [to inquire about my well-being. He ... horses, mules, ..., (vii 25') horn-shaped (drinking vessels), scepters, ..., (and) purṣtu-weapons as his audience gift(s). I made Nabû-damiq (and) Umbadarâ, envoys of the land Elam, stand with writing boards (inscribed with) insolent messages before them].

vii 29'-33'a) As for Mannu-[kī-aḥ]ḥē, the deputy of Dunānu, and Nabû-ušal[li, a city overseer of the land Gambulu], who had u[ttered grievous blasphem(ies)] against my gods, [I ripped out] the[ir] tongue(s and) flayed them inside the city Arbela.

vii 33'b-35') (As for) Dunānu, they laid [him] on a slaughtering block [inside Nineveh and sla]ughtered him [like] a la[mb].

vii 36'-38') [(As for) the r]est of the brothers of Dun[ānu] and Aplāya, I kil[l]ed (them)], chopped up [the]ir [flesh], (and) sent (them) out to be a spectacle in all of the la[nds].

vii 39'-47') (As for) Nabû-na'id (and) Bēl-ēṣ[ir], sons of Nabû-šuma-ēreš, the šandab[akku] (governor of Nipur), whose father, the one who had engendered them, had stirr[ed up] Urtaku to fight with the land Akkad — the bone<s> of Nabû-šuma-ēreš, which they had taken out of the land Gambul[u] to Assyria, (vii 45') I [ma]de [them (lit. "his sons")] crush tho[se] bones opposite the Citadel Gate of [Nineveh].

vii 48') (As for) Šamaš-[šuma]-ukīn, [...]

Lacuna

Lacuna

viii 1'-18') su[bduing Chaldea. Secretly], Ummanigaš

vii 20'-28' The report of the receipt of an audience gift from Rusâ of Urartu is not included in the earlier text nos. 3 (Prism B) and 4 (Prism D). This passage is duplicated (though without the mention of the audience gift in lines 24'-26') in an epigraph engraved on a relief in Sennacherib's "Palace Without a Rival" (South-West Palace, Room XXXIII, slab 6, upper register); see text no. 35 lines 3b-8.

Lacuna after vii 48' Part of the lacuna corresponds to text no. 7 (Prism Kh) vii 36-45, as well as text no. 3 (Prism B) vi 86-vii 5a. The exact size of the break is hard to estimate since vii 48' of this text and vii 36-45 of text no. 7 (Prism Kh) are not duplicated in text nos. 3 (Prism B) and 4 (Prism D). It is assumed that not much is missing between text no. 7 (Prism Kh) vii 45 and text no. 3 (Prism B) vi 86.

- 2') <sup>m</sup>un-<sup>r</sup>da<sup>1</sup>-[<sup>si</sup> DUMU <sup>m</sup>te-um-man LUGAL KUR.ELAM.MA.KI]
- 3') <sup>m</sup>za-za-<sup>r</sup>az<sup>1</sup> [LÚ.EN.URU KUR.pil-la-te]
- 4') <sup>m</sup>par-ru-u [LÚ.EN.URU KUR.ḥi-il-mu]
- 5') <sup>m</sup>at-ta-me-<sup>r</sup>tu<sup>1</sup> [LÚ.GAL GIŠ.PAN]
- 6') <sup>m</sup>né-e-šu a-<sup>r</sup>lik<sup>1</sup> [<sup>pa-ni</sup> ERIM.ḤI.A šá KUR.ELAM.MA.KI]
- 7') a-na re-šu-<sup>r</sup>ut<sup>1</sup>? [mdGIŠ.NU<sub>11</sub>-MU-GI.NA<sup>2</sup>]
- 8') a-na mit-ḥu-ši ERIM.[ḤI.A KUR aš-šur.KI<sup>2</sup>]
- 9') <sup>m</sup>um-man-i-gaš [<sup>ú-ma-<sup>2</sup>e-er-šú-nu-ti</sup>]
- 10') iš-kun-šú-nu-<sup>r</sup>ti<sup>1</sup> [tè-e-mu]
- 11') <sup>m</sup>um-man-i-gaš ki-<sup>r</sup>a<sup>1</sup>-[<sup>am iq-bi</sup>]
- 12') um-ma a-lik ul-[<sup>tu</sup> KUR aš-šur.KI]
- 13') ter-ra tuk-te-e [AD ba-ni-ka]
- 14') <sup>m</sup>un-da-su <sup>m</sup>za-za-az <sup>m</sup>[<sup>pa-ru-u</sup>]
- 15') <sup>m</sup>at-ta-me-tu [<sup>m</sup>né-e-šú]
- 16') it-ti LÚ.A KIN.MEŠ <sup>r</sup>šá<sup>1</sup> [mdGIŠ.NU<sub>11</sub>-MU-GI.NA]
- 17') ŠEŠ nak-ri ur-ḥu <sup>r</sup>iš<sup>1</sup>-[<sup>ba-tu-nim-ma</sup>]
- 18') uš-te-eš-šer-u-ni [<sup>ḥar-ra-nu</sup>]
- 19') <sup>r</sup>ERIM<sup>1</sup>.MEŠ MÈ-ia šá ina KUR.[<sup>man-gi-si šá qé-reb</sup> URU.su-man-dir]
- 20') x x x (x) x [...]
- Lacuna
- 1'') [DINGIR].MEŠ [tik-le-ia]
- 2'') <sup>r</sup>di<sup>1</sup>-in <sup>r</sup>kit<sup>1</sup>-[<sup>ti it-ti <sup>m</sup>um-man-i-gaš i-di-nu-in-ni</sup>]
- 3'') <sup>m</sup>tam-ma-ri-[<sup>tu</sup> EDIN-uš-šú ib-bal-kit-ma]
- 4'') šá-a-šú ga-[<sup>du kim-ti-šú ú-ra-sib-šú ina</sup> GIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ]
- 5'') <sup>m</sup>tam-ma-ri-<sup>r</sup>tu<sup>1</sup> [<sup>šá e-la <sup>m</sup>um-man-i-gaš ek-šu</sup>]
- 6'') ú-šib [<sup>ina</sup> GIŠ.GU.ZA KUR.ELAM.MA.KI]
- 7'') ki-ma šá-a-šú-<sup>r</sup>ma<sup>1</sup> [<sup>ul-tu</sup> ŠU.II mdGIŠ.NU<sub>11</sub>-MU-GI.NA]
- 8'') <sup>r</sup>ta<sup>1</sup>-a'-tú im-[<sup>ḥur ul iš-al šu-lum LUGAL-ti-ia</sup>]
- 9'') [a]-<sup>r</sup>na kit-ri<sup>1</sup> [mdGIŠ.NU<sub>11</sub>-MU-GI.NA]
- 10'') [ŠEŠ la ke-e-nu il-lik-am-ma]
- 11'') [a-na mit-ḥu-ši ERIM.ḤI.A-ia]
- 12'') [<sup>ina su-up-pe-e ša AN.ŠÁR u <sup>d</sup>15 ú-sap-pu-u</sup>]
- 13'') [<sup>un-ni-ni-ia il-qu-ú iš-mu-ú zi-kir</sup>] <sup>r</sup>NUNDUM-ia<sup>1</sup>
- 14'') ARAD.MEŠ-šú [<sup>EDIN<sup>1</sup>-[uš-šú]</sup> <sup>r</sup>ib<sup>1</sup>-bal-ki-tu-ma
- 15'') a-<sup>r</sup>ḥa<sup>1</sup>-meš ú-<sup>r</sup>ra-si<sup>1</sup>-bu EN MUNUS.ḤUL-ia
- 16'') <sup>m</sup>in<sup>1</sup>-da-bi-bi ARAD-su ša si-<sup>r</sup>ḥu<sup>1</sup>
- 17'') UGU-<sup>r</sup>šu<sup>1</sup> ú-šab-šu-ú ú-šib ina GIŠ.GU.ZA-šú
- 18'') <sup>m</sup>tam-<sup>r</sup>ma<sup>1</sup>-ri-tu MAN KUR.ELAM.<sup>r</sup>MA<sup>1</sup>.KI
- 19'') ša me-<sup>r</sup>re<sup>1</sup>-eḥ-tu iq-bu-ú
- 20'') <sup>r</sup>UGU ni<sup>1</sup>-kis SAG.DU <sup>m</sup>te-um-man
- 21'') [<sup>ša ik-ki</sup>]-<sup>r</sup>su<sup>1</sup> a-ḥu-ru-ú ERIM.ḤI.A-<sup>r</sup>ia<sup>1</sup>
- 22'') [ú ŠEŠ.MEŠ-šú] <sup>r</sup>qin<sup>1</sup>-nu-šú NUMUN É AD-<sup>r</sup>šu<sup>1</sup>
- 23'') [<sup>it-ti</sup> 85 NUN.MEŠ šá KUR].<sup>r</sup>ELAM<sup>1</sup>.MA.KI a-li-kut i-di-<sup>r</sup>i<sup>1</sup>-[šú]

(Ḥumban-nikas II) [dispatched them to] Unda[su, a son of Teumman — a (former) king of the land Elam] — (and) Zazaz, [the city ruler of the land Pillatu], Parrû, [the city ruler of the land Ḥilmu], Atta-met[u, the chief archer], (and) Nēšu, a lead[er of the troops of the land Elam], to hel[p Šamaš-šuma-ukīn] (and) to fight with the troop[s of Assyria] (and) (viii 10') he gave the[m order(s)]. Ummanigaš [said (to Undasu)] as foll[ows], saying: “Go, exact revenge fr[om Assyria] for [the father who had engendered you].” Undasu, Zazaz, [Parrû], (viii 15') Atta-metu, (and) [Nēšu], together with the messengers o[f Šamaš-šuma-ukīn], (my) hostile brother, s[et out en] route [and] took the direct [road].

viii 19'–20') My battle troops (who were stationed) in the land [Mangisu — which is inside (the territory of) the city Sumandir] — ... [...]

Lacuna

viii 1'–6'') [the god]s [who support me, rendered a] ju[st ver]dict [for me concerning Ummanigaš (Ḥumban-nikas II)]. Tammari[<sup>tu</sup> rebelled against him and struck] him, toge[ther with his family, down with the sword]. Tamarit[<sup>u</sup>, who was (even) more insolent than Ummanigaš], sat [on the throne of the land Elam].

viii 7'–17'') Just like him (Ummanigaš), he (Tamarit<sup>u</sup>) acc[epted b]ribes [from the hand of Šamaš-šuma-ukīn, did not inquire about the well-being of my royal majesty, (and) (viii 10') went t]o the aid of [Šamaš-šuma-ukīn, (my) unfaithful brother, to fight with my troops. As a result of the supplications that I had addressed to (the god) Aššur and the goddess Ištar, they accepted my prayers (and) listened to the utterance(s) of] my lip(s). His servants rebelled aga[inst him] and (viii 15'') together struck down my adversary. Indabibi, a servant of his who had incited rebell[ion] against him, sat on his throne.

viii 18'–24'') (As for) Tamarit<sup>u</sup>, the king of the land Elam who had spoken insolent word(s) on account of the cutting off of the head of Teumman — [which] a low-ranking soldier of my army [had cut o]ff — [and his brothers], his [fam]ily, (and) the seed of hi[s] father's house, [together with eighty-five nobles of the land Ela]m who march at [his] side, [who] had flo[w]

viii 7'–9' Compare text no. 3 (Prism B) vii 12–13a, which has a-na<sup>r</sup> mit<sup>1</sup>-ḥu-uš-ši it-ti ERIM.ḤI.A KUR aš-šur.KI ú-ma-<sup>2</sup>e-er-šú-nu-ti “he (Ummanigaš) dispatched them to fight with the troops of Assyria.”

Line viii 20' and lacuna The contents of the this damaged line and the subsequent gap correspond to text no. 7 (Prism Kh) vii 2'–13'.

viii 7' b-8' a In lieu of [ul-tu ŠU.II mdGIŠ.NU<sub>11</sub>-MU-GI.NA] <sup>r</sup>ta<sup>1</sup>-a'-tú im-[ḥur] (“he (Tamarit<sup>u</sup>) acc[epted b]ribes [from the hand of Šamaš-šuma-ukīn]”), text no. 3 (Prism B) vii 33 has ta-<sup>r</sup>a-a-tú im-ḥur “he accepted bribes.”

viii 11' Compare text no. 3 (Prism B) vii 36, which adds ur-ri-ḥa GIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ-šú “he hastily sent his weapons.”

24'') [ša la-pa-an GIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ AN.ŠÁR u] <sup>r</sup>d<sup>15</sup>  
ip-<sup>r</sup>par<sup>1</sup>-[šu-nim-ma]

Lacuna

1''') [...] x x [...]

2''') GIŠ.PAN.MEŠ <sup>r</sup>ša <sup>m</sup>tam-<ma>-ri-tu<sup>1</sup> [MAN  
KUR.ELAM.MA.KI] qé-reb KUR.ELAM.MA.KI

3''') <sup>r</sup>uš<sup>1</sup>-[tar-ri-ḥu ina lib-bi-ši-na] a-na mit-ḥu-ši  
[ERIM.ḪIA KUR] aš-šur.KI

4''') e-nen-na qé-reb KUR aš-šur.KI GIŠ.<sup>r</sup>PAN<sup>1</sup>. [MEŠ  
šá]-<sup>r</sup>ti<sup>1</sup>-na

5''') uq-ṭa-na-ar-ra-ba a-[na ...]-<sup>r</sup>ti<sup>1</sup>-ia

6''') AN.ŠÁR <sup>d</sup>30 <sup>d</sup>UTU <sup>d</sup>EN [<sup>d</sup>AG] <sup>d</sup>15 ša URU.NINA  
<sup>d</sup>šar-rat-kid-mu-<sup>r</sup>ri<sup>1</sup> [<sup>d</sup>15 ša

URU.LÍMMU-DINGIR].<sup>r</sup>KI<sup>1</sup>

7''') <sup>d</sup>MAŠ <sup>d</sup>nusku <sup>d</sup>U.GUR ša LÚ.KÚR.<sup>r</sup>MEŠ<sup>1</sup>-[...] x

8''') ù si-it-tu-ti im-x [...] x

9''') ú-BI-šú <sup>md</sup>GIŠ.NU<sub>11</sub>-[MU-GL.NA ...]

10''') ù UN.MEŠ KUR URL.KI ma-<sup>r</sup>la<sup>1</sup> [...]

11''') ša ia-a-ti <sup>r</sup>ú<sup>1</sup>-[maš-ši-ru-in-ni ...]

12''') it-ti <sup>m</sup>um-man-i-<sup>r</sup>gaš<sup>1</sup> [...]

13''') <sup>m</sup>in-da-bi-bi <sup>r</sup>iš<sup>1</sup>-[ku-nu ...]

14''') e-gu-ug-ma AN.<sup>r</sup>ŠÁR<sup>1</sup> [...]

15''') iq-ba-a sa-pa-<sup>r</sup>aḥ<sup>1</sup> [...]

16''') áš-šú da-na-an AN.<sup>r</sup>ŠÁR<sup>21</sup> [...]

17''') ù pu-luḥ-ta-šú KUR [...]

18''') e-mid-su še-ret-[su ...]

19''') UN.MEŠ KUR URL.KI šá x [...]

20''') NINDA.MEŠ UZU.MEŠ u <sup>r</sup>mim<sup>1</sup>-[ma ...]

21''') <sup>r</sup>ú<sup>1</sup>-šá-qir [...]

Lacuna

Col. ix

Lacuna

1') [ul] <sup>r</sup>i-ra<sup>1</sup>-[áš-ši re-e-mu]

2') <sup>r</sup>eṭ<sup>1</sup>-lu ḥi-rat-<sup>r</sup>su un-da-áš<sup>1</sup>-[šir]

3') AD e-te-zib DUMU na-ram <sup>r</sup>lib<sup>1</sup>-[bi-šú]

4') šu-ut mi-tu-tu a-ḥa-meš la na-<sup>r</sup>ṭa<sup>1</sup>-[li]

5') a-na LÚ.KÚR da-a-a-ki-<sup>r</sup>šú<sup>1</sup>

6') it-ta-din pi-i-šú

7') šib-ṭu NAM.ÚŠ.MEŠ GIG šu-ru-up-pu-u

8') <sup>r</sup>ú<sup>1</sup>-ša-aḥ-ḥi-ir UN.MEŠ KUR URL.KI DÙ-šú-un

9') [bi]-<sup>r</sup>rit<sup>1</sup> URU u EDIN iq-mur-šú-nu-ti

10') [GÍR] <sup>r</sup>AN<sup>1</sup>.BAR ḥa-an-ṭu

11') [GÌR.NÍTA] <sup>r</sup>SIPA<sup>1</sup>-šú-nu ina lib-bi-šú-nu

iz-<sup>r</sup>zi-iz-ma<sup>1</sup>

12') [ú-šam]-<sup>r</sup>qit<sup>1</sup> si-<sup>r</sup>it<sup>1</sup>-[tú]

13') [ADDA.MEŠ UN.MEŠ SILA su-lu]-<sup>r</sup>u pur<sup>1</sup>-[ru-ku]

14') [pu-uḥ-ḥu]-<sup>r</sup>ú<sup>1</sup> [KÁ.MEŠ]

15') [UGU URU u NUN] šá-qu-um-ma-<sup>r</sup>tú<sup>1</sup> [na-da-ta]

16') [šá-ḥur]-<sup>r</sup>ra<sup>1</sup>-tú tab-[kàt]

17') [ga-nun-šú]-un šu-uḥ-ru-[ub]

away from the weapons of (the god) Aššur and] the  
goddess Ištar –

Lacuna

viii 1''') [...] ... [...]

viii 2'''-9''') (As for) the archers [among] who[m]  
Tam<ma>rītu, [the king of the land Elam], had  
b[ragged] within the land Elam about fighting with  
[the troops of A]ssyria, now, inside Assyria, [tho]se  
arch[ers] (viii 5''') were repeatedly coming cl[ose to]  
my [...]. The deities Aššur, Sîn, Šamaš, Bēl (Marduk),  
[Nabû], Ištar of Nineveh, Šarrat-Kidmur[i], Ištar of Ar-  
bela], Ninurta, Nusku, (and) Nergal, who [... my] foes  
[...]. Moreover, (as for) the rest, ... [...] they (the gods)  
put (them) to shame.

viii 9''b-18''') (As for) Šamaš-[šuma-ukīn, ...], and the  
people of the land Akkad, as man[y as ...], who [had  
abandoned] me [...] with Ummanigaš (Ḫumban-nikas  
II) [...] th[ey] si[ded with] Indabibi [...]. He was angry  
and (the god) Ašš[ur ...] (viii 15''') commanded me to  
scatter [...]. On account of the might of (the god) Aššur  
[...]. Moreover, fear of him [...]. I imposed upon him  
[his] punishment [...].

viii 19'''-21''') (As for) the people of the land Akkad  
who [...] I made bread, meat, and a[ny ...] scarce (for  
them). [...]

Lacuna

Lacuna

ix 1'-12') did [not] sh[ow mercy. The yo]ung man  
aban[doned] his wife. The father left (his) son whom  
[his] he[art] loved. In order not to se[e] one another in  
a state of dying, (ix 5') a person (lit. "he") made a promise  
to an enemy, who would kill him. Plague, pestilence,  
illness, (and) the chills reduced the people of the land  
Akkad, all of them. [Betw]een the city and the steppe,  
(ix 10') [the] swift [i]ron [dagger] finished them off.  
[The governor], their [shep]herd, became angry with  
them and [cut dow]n the remain[der] (of them).

ix 13'-20') [The corpses of people] were o[bs]tructing  
the street(s) and alle[y(s)]; they [were blocking gate-  
ways]. The silenc[e (of desolation)] lay over the city  
and (its) ruler; a deathly hu]sh had been poured [out].  
The[ir storeroom(s)] were laid wa[ste], their [fields]

**Lacuna after viii 24'' and viii 1'''** The contents of the lacuna and mostly damaged line would have duplicated text no. 7 (Prism Kh) vii 42'-55'.

**viii 2'''-ix 10''** This passage, which records information about the end and aftermath of the Šamaš-šuma-ukīn rebellion and the defeat of his Elamite allies, is included for the first time in this inscription and, thus, does not appear in the earlier text nos. 3 (Prism B) and 4 (Prism D).

**Lacuna after viii 21'''** The exact size of the break is unknown since this passage is damaged in this text, text no. 7 (Prism Kh), and text no. 8 (Prism G). The gap can be partially restored from text no. 7 (Prism Kh) viii 1'-35'.

- 18') [A.GĀR.MEŠ]-<sup>r</sup>šú<sup>1</sup>-un ba-ku-u sa-<sup>r</sup>ap<sup>1</sup>-[du]  
 19') [ĪD.MEŠ]-<sup>r</sup>šú<sup>1</sup>-un šá ú-šah-bi-ba A.MEŠ [ĤÉ.NUN]  
 20') [im-la]-a sa-ki-[ka]  
 21') [<sup>md</sup>GIŠ.NU<sub>11</sub>]-<sup>r</sup>MU-GI<sup>1</sup>.NA ŠEŠ nak-<sup>r</sup>ri<sup>1</sup>  
 22') [ša a-na KUR aš-šur].<sup>r</sup>KI<sup>1</sup> ik-pu-du né-er-[tú]  
 23') [ù e-li AN].<sup>r</sup>ŠĀR<sup>1</sup> DINGIR ba-ni-<sup>r</sup>ia<sup>1</sup> [iq-bu-ú  
 šil-la-tú GAL-tú]  
 24') [mu-u-tú lem-nu i]-<sup>r</sup>šim<sup>2</sup>-šú<sup>2</sup>-ma [ina mi-qit  
<sup>d</sup>GIBIL<sub>6</sub> id-di-šu-ma]

## Lacuna

- 1'') [GIŠ.GIGIR GIŠ.šá šá-da-di ru]-<sup>r</sup>kub EN<sup>1</sup>-[ti-šú]  
 2'') [ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ ši-mit]-<sup>r</sup>ti<sup>1</sup> ni-ri-<sup>r</sup>i-šú<sup>1</sup>  
 3'') [UN.MEŠ zi-kir u sin-niš] <sup>r</sup>TUR<sup>1</sup> u GAL  
 4'') [šá la-pa-an mit-ḥu]-<sup>r</sup>ši GIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ  
 5'') [di-<sup>u</sup> šib-ṭu] <sup>r</sup>NAM<sup>1</sup>.ŪŠ.MEŠ  
 6'') [ù né-eb-re-tú] <sup>r</sup>i<sup>1</sup>-še-tu-u-ni  
 7'') [ik-šu-da ŠU.II-a-a áš-lu]-<sup>r</sup>la<sup>1</sup> a-na KUR aš-šur.KI  
 8'') [UN.MEŠ EN ḥi-iṭ-ṭi an-nu kab]-tu  
 e-mid-su-nu-ti  
 9'') [bu-un-na-an-ni-šú-nu at-bal KUŠ].MEŠ-šú-nu  
 áš-ḥu-uṭ  
 10'') [ú-nak-ki-sa] <sup>r</sup>UZU<sup>1</sup>.MEŠ-šú-un  
 11'') [<sup>m</sup>in-da-bi-bi šá EGIR] <sup>m</sup>tam-ma-ri-tu  
 12'') [ú-ši-bu ina GIŠ.GU].<sup>r</sup>ZA<sup>1</sup> KUR.ELAM.MA.KI  
 13'') [da-na-an GIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ]-<sup>r</sup>ia<sup>1</sup> e-mur-ma  
 14'') [šá ul-tú re-e-ši ú-šam-ri]-<sup>r</sup>ru UGU  
 KUR.ELAM.MA.KI<sup>1</sup>  
 15'') [DUMU.MEŠ KUR aš-šur.KI šá áš-pu-ra a-na  
 kit-ri]  
 16'') [<sup>md</sup>MUATI-EN-MU.MEŠ DUMU  
<sup>md</sup>] <sup>r</sup>AMAR.UTU-A-SUM.NA<sup>1</sup>  
 17'') [ša GIM ib-ri tap-pe-e na-šar KUR-šú  
 it]-<sup>r</sup>ta<sup>1</sup>-na-al-la-ku it-ti-<sup>r</sup>šú<sup>1</sup>  
 18'') [šá <sup>md</sup>MUATI-EN-MU.MEŠ ina] <sup>r</sup>pi<sup>1</sup>-ir-ša-a-ti  
 19'') [ina šat mu-ši uš-šab-bi-tu ik]-<sup>r</sup>lu-u<sup>1</sup> ina ki-li  
 20'') [<sup>m</sup>in-da-bi-bi LUGAL KUR.ELAM].<sup>r</sup>MA<sup>1</sup>.KI  
 21'') <sup>r</sup>ul-tú É<sup>1</sup> [ši-bit-ti ú-še]-<sup>r</sup>ša-áš-<sup>r</sup>šú-nu-ti<sup>1</sup>  
 22'') ki-i-ša-bat a-bu-[ut-ti qa]-<sup>r</sup>bé<sup>1</sup>-e MUNUS.SIG<sub>5</sub>-šú  
 23'') la ḥa-ṭe-e [mi]-<sup>r</sup>šir<sup>1</sup> KUR-šú  
 24'') ina ŠU.II LÚ.A KIN-šú <sup>r</sup>ú<sup>1</sup>-še-bi-la a-di IGI-ia  
 25'') e-li <sup>md</sup>MUATI-EN-MU.[MEŠ] DUMU  
<sup>md</sup>AMAR.UTU-A-SUM.NA  
 26'') ARAD da-gíl pa-ni-ia  
 27'') šá in-nab-tu il-<sup>r</sup>li<sup>1</sup>-ku a-na KUR.ELAM.MA.KI  
 28'') ù si-it-ti DUMU.MEŠ KUR aš-šur.KI  
 29'') <sup>r</sup>ša<sup>1</sup> <sup>md</sup>MUATI-EN-<sup>r</sup>MU<sup>1</sup>.MEŠ ina pi-ir-ša-a-ti  
 30'') <sup>r</sup>ú-šab<sup>1</sup>-bi-tu ú-bi-lu it-ti-šú  
 31'') [ina] <sup>r</sup>ŠU<sup>1</sup>.II LÚ.A <sup>r</sup>KIN<sup>1</sup>-šú a-na <sup>m</sup>in-da-bi-bi  
 32'') <sup>r</sup>ki<sup>1</sup>-a-am áš-pur-šu-ma  
 33'') [áš-šú] <sup>r</sup>UN<sup>1</sup>.MEŠ <sup>r</sup>an<sup>1</sup>-nu-te la tu-še-bi-la  
 34'') [um-ma] <sup>r</sup>al<sup>1</sup>-[la]-<sup>r</sup>kam<sup>1</sup>-ma URU.MEŠ-ka  
 a-na-qar

wept (and) mou[r]ned], (and) their [watercourses], which had (once) gushed with an [abundance of] water, [were (now) fille]d with si[lt].

ix 21'–24') [(As for) Šamaš-šu]ma-ukīn, (my) hosti[le] brother [who] had planned murd[er against Assyria and uttered grievous blasphemies against (the god) Aššur], the god who created m[e, he (the god Aššur) det]ermined for him [a cruel death; he consigned him to a conflagration and]

## Lacuna

ix 1'–7'') [chariot(s), a processional carriage, the veh]icle of [his] lordly [majesty, horses], his [harness-bro]ken (steeds), [(and) people – male and female, yo]ung (and) old – [who] had escaped [from the cla]sh of arms, (ix 5'') [di<sup>u</sup>-disease, plague], pestilence, [and hunger – I captured (them and) carried (them) o]ff to Assyria.

ix 8'–10'') [(As for) the people who were guilty], I imposed [a har]sh [punishment] upon them. [I destroyed their faces, fl]ayed them, (and) [chopped up] their [fl]esh.

ix 11'–24'') [Indabibi, who sat on the thro]ne of the land Elam [after] Tammarītu, saw [the might of m]y [weapons that had previously preva]iled over the land Elam and (ix 15'') [(as for) the Assyrians whom I had sent to aid Nabû-bēl-šumāti, son of] Marduk-apla-iddina (II) (Merodach-baladan), with [wh]om they used to [ma]rch about [protecting his land like a friend (and) ally (and) whom Nabû-bēl-šumāti had seized by gu]ile [during the night (and) confin]ed in prison, (ix 20'') [Indabibi, the king of the land Ela]m, [rele]ased them from pr[ison]. So that (they) would int[ercede (with me), sa]y good thing(s) about him, (and) in order to prevent (me) from doing harm [to the territo]ry of his land, he sent (them) before me by the hands of his messenger.

ix 25'–39'') With regard to Nabû-bēl-šum[āti], son of Marduk-apla-iddina (II) (Merodach-baladan), a servant who belonged to me who had fled (and) gone to the land Elam, and (with regard to) the rest of the Assyrians (ix 30'') whom Nabû-bēl-šumāti had seized by guile (and) taken (to Elam) with him, I sent (a message) to Indabibi [by] the hands of his messenger, (saying) [as fo]llows: “[Since] you have not sent me t[h]ose people, I will c[om]e and tear down your cities. (ix 35'') I will carry off [the people of the cities Sus]a, [Madaktu], (and) Ḥidalu. [I] will remove you [fr]om [your royal] throne and [make som]eone else [sit] on

**Lacuna after ix 24'** The contents of this lacuna are assumed to have duplicated text no. 7 (Prism Kh) viii 61'–69'.

ix 25'–52' This passage is included for the first time in this inscription and, thus, does not appear in the earlier text nos. 3 (Prism B) and 4 (Prism D).

- 35'') [UN.MEŠ URU.šu-šá]<sup>1</sup>an<sup>1</sup> [URU.ma-dak-tu]  
<sup>1</sup>URU<sup>1</sup>.hi-da-lu a-šal-lal
- 36'') [ul]-tu GIŠ.GU.ZA<sup>1</sup> [LUGAL-ti-ka  
a]<sup>1</sup>dak-ke-ka-ma<sup>1</sup>
- 37'') [šá]<sup>1</sup>nam<sup>1</sup>-ma ina GIŠ.GU.ZA-ka<sup>1</sup> [ú-še-šab]
- 38'') [ep]-šet ina IGI <sup>m</sup>te-um-man ú-šap-ri<sup>1</sup>-[ku]
- 39'') <sup>1</sup>ú-šam-ḥar-ka ka-a-<sup>1</sup>ta<sup>1</sup>
- 40'') [a]<sup>1</sup>di<sup>1</sup> LÚ.A KIN-šú ma-ḥar-šú la i-kaš-šá-du
- 41'') [la] ú-šá-an-nu-šú ši-kin ṭè-e-me-ia
- 42'') [ina tukul]<sup>1</sup>ti<sup>1</sup> AN.ŠÁR <sup>d</sup>30 <sup>d</sup>UTU <sup>d</sup>EN <sup>d</sup>AG
- 43'') [<sup>d</sup>15 šá] <sup>1</sup>NINA.KI <sup>d</sup>15 šá URU.LÍMMU-DINGIR  
<sup>d</sup>MAŠ <sup>d</sup>nusku <sup>d</sup>U.GUR
- 44'') [šá it-tal]<sup>1</sup>la<sup>1</sup>-ku Á.II-a-a i-na-ar-ru ga-re-ia
- 45'') [a-lak<sup>2</sup> LÚ]<sup>1</sup>A<sup>1</sup> KIN-ia ša a-na URU.de-ri  
áš-pu-ru
- 46'') [iš-mu-u qé]<sup>1</sup>reb<sup>1</sup> KUR.ELAM.MA.KI pu-luḥ-ti  
LUGAL-ti-ia
- 47'') [šá ú-za]<sup>1</sup>i<sup>1</sup>-nu-in-ni DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ
- 48'') [KUR.ELAM.MA]<sup>1</sup>KI<sup>1</sup> is-ḥu-up-ma
- 49'') [UN.MEŠ KUR.ELAM.MA.KI še-er <sup>m</sup>]in-da-bi<sup>1</sup>-bi  
ib-bal-ki-tu
- 50'') [i-na-ru-uš i-na] <sup>1</sup>GIŠ.TUKUL<sup>1</sup>.MEŠ
- 51'') [<sup>m</sup>um-man-al-da-si DUMU <sup>m</sup>at]<sup>1</sup>ta<sup>1</sup>-me-tu
- 52'') [ú-še-ši-bu ina GIŠ].GU.ZA-šú
- Lacuna  
Col. x  
Lacuna  
1') [(...) AN.ŠÁR <sup>d</sup>30 <sup>d</sup>UTU <sup>d</sup>EN u <sup>d</sup>]AG<sup>2</sup><sup>1</sup>  
2') [<sup>d</sup>15 šá NINA.KI <sup>d</sup>15 šá URU.LÍMMU]-<sup>1</sup>DINGIR<sup>2</sup><sup>1</sup>  
3') [DINGIR.MEŠ<sup>2</sup> GAL.MEŠ<sup>2</sup> EN.MEŠ<sup>2</sup>]-<sup>1</sup>ia<sup>2</sup><sup>1</sup>  
4') [<sup>m</sup>ia-u-ta-a' ma-ru-uš-tú im-ḥur-šú]-<sup>1</sup>ma<sup>1</sup>  
5') [e-diš-ši-šú in-na-bit a-na KUR.na-ba-a]-a-te  
6') [<sup>m</sup>a-bi-ia-te-e' DUMU <sup>m</sup>te-e']-ri  
7') [a-na NINA.KI il-li-kam-ma ú-na-áš-šiq]  
<sup>1</sup>GÌR<sup>1</sup>.II-ia  
8') [a-de-e a-na e-peš ARAD-ti-ia it-ti]-šú áš-kun  
9') [ku-um <sup>m</sup>ia-u-ta-a' áš-kun-šú a]-na LUGAL-ti  
10') [KÙ.GI NA<sub>4</sub>.IGI.II.MEŠ NA<sub>4</sub>.BABBAR.DILI  
gu]-<sup>1</sup>uḥ<sup>1</sup>-lu  
11') [ANŠE.GAM.MAL.MEŠ ANŠE.MEŠ bit]-<sup>1</sup>ru<sup>1</sup>-ti  
12') [man-da-at-tú šat-ti-šam-ma ú-kin]<sup>1</sup>EDIN<sup>1</sup>-uš-šú  
13') [<sup>m</sup>am-mu-la-di-in LUGAL KUR.qa]-<sup>1</sup>ad<sup>1</sup>-ri  
14') [ša it-ti KUR aš-šur.KI ik]-<sup>1</sup>ki<sup>1</sup>-ru  
15') [iḥ-ta-nab-ba-tú ḥu-bu-ut KUR]<sup>1</sup>MAR<sup>1</sup>.TU.KI  
16') [ina zi-kir MU-ia šá AN.ŠÁR <sup>d</sup>]30<sup>1</sup> <sup>d</sup>UTU <sup>d</sup>EN <sup>d</sup>AG  
17') [<sup>d</sup>15 ša NINA.KI <sup>d</sup>šar]-<sup>1</sup>rat<sup>1</sup>-kid-mu-ri

yo[ur] throne. [The (same) acti]ons that I used to  
thwa[rt] Teumman, I will make happen to you.”

ix 40''–52'') [Befo]re his messenger had arrived in  
his presence (and before) he could report the issuing  
of my decision to him, [with the suppor]t of the  
deities Aššur, Sîn, Šamaš, Bēl (Marduk), Nabû, [Ištar  
of Ni]neveh, Ištar of Arbela, Ninurta, Nusku, (and)  
Nergal, [who mar]ch at my side (and) kill my foes, (ix  
45'') [insid]e the land Elam, [they (the Elamites) heard  
about *the progress* of] the messenger of mine whom  
I had sent to the city Dēr. Fear of my royal majesty  
– with [which] the great gods [had end]owed me –  
overwhelmed [the land Elam] and (then) [the people  
of the land Elam] rebelled [against] Indabibi (and)  
(ix 50'') [killed him with] the sword. [They placed  
Ummanaldašu (Ḥumban-ḥaltaš III), son of Att]a-metu,  
[on] his (Indabibi's) throne.

Lacuna

Lacuna

x 1'–3') [The deities Aššur, Sîn, Šamaš, Bēl (Marduk)  
and Nab]û, [Ištar of Nineveh, (and) Ištar of Arb]ela, [the  
great gods], my [lords, decreed curses, as many as were  
written in their treaties, accordingly upon them].  
x 4'–5') [(As for) Iauta', hardship befell him an]d he  
fled alone to the land of the Naba]yateans.  
x 6'–12') [Abī-Yate', son of Te']ri, [came to Nineveh  
and kissed] my [f]eet. I concluded [a treaty with]  
him [to do obeisance to me. I installed him] as king  
[in place of Iauta'. (x 10') I imposed upo]n him  
[gold, eyestones, pappardilû-stone, ko]hl, [camels, (and)  
prime qua]lity [donkeys as annual payment].

x 13'–20') [(As for) Ammu-ladīn – the king of the  
land Qe]dar, [who had turned hosti]le [towards As-  
syria (and) repeatedly plundered the land Am]juru –  
[Kamās-ḥaltâ, the king of] the land Mo[ab, a servant  
who belonged to me who had brought about his de-

**Lacuna after ix 52''** There are approximately forty-four lines missing from the inscription. This gap corresponds to text no. 3 (Prism B) vii 77–viii 21, as well as text no. 7 (Prism Kh) ix 64''–x 27. There are about twenty-three lines missing at the end of col. ix since it is certain from a physical examination of ex. 1 that the first line preserved in col. x is about eighteen lines from the top of the column; this assumes that each column has ca. 125–130 lines. Therefore, the first war against the Elamite king Ummanaldašu (Ḥumban-ḥaltaš III) does not appear in this edition, but is described for the first time in prism inscriptions composed in the eponymy of Nabû-nādin-aḥī, governor of Kār-Shalmaneser (646); see Novotny, SAOC 62 pp. 127–135.

**Lacuna before x 1'** Based on parallels, the translation assumes that the now-missing lines before x 1' contained *ar-ra-a-ti ma-la ina a-de-šú-un šat-ru ina pi-it-ti i-ši-mu-šú-nu-ti* “decreed curses, as many as are written in their treaties, accordingly upon them.”

x 5' This text and text no. 7 (Prism Kh) x 2' add [a-na KUR.na]<sup>1</sup>ba<sup>1</sup>-a-a-ti (“[to the land of the Na]bayateans”) after *in-na-bit* (“he fled”). These two words are not included in text nos. 3 (Prism B) and 4 (Prism D); compare, for example, viii 25 of the former inscription.



- 18') [d<sup>15</sup> ša URU.LÍMMU-DINGIR d<sup>1</sup>MAŠ<sup>1</sup> d<sup>1</sup>GIŠ.BAR  
 19') [d<sup>1</sup>U.GUR ú]-šar-bu-<sup>r</sup>u<sup>1</sup>  
 20') [m<sup>1</sup>ka-ma-as-ḫal-ta-a MAN] <sup>r</sup>KUR<sup>1</sup>.ma-<sup>r</sup>a-[a-ba]

## Lacuna

- 1'') [la iš-<sup>r</sup>a-a-lu<sub>4</sub>] <sup>r</sup>šu-lum<sup>1</sup> [LUGAL-ti-ia]  
 2'') [ul-tu <sup>m</sup>ia]-u-ta-<sup>r</sup>a<sup>1</sup> [LUGAL KUR.a-ri-bi]  
 3'') [ARAD da-gíl pa-ni-ia a]-na KUR.na-ba-a-<sup>r</sup>a<sup>1</sup>-[ti]  
 4'') [in-nab-tu-ma il-li-ku] <sup>r</sup>ma<sup>1</sup>-ḫar <sup>m</sup>na-<sup>r</sup>at<sup>1</sup>-[nu]  
 5'') <sup>m</sup>f na-at<sup>1</sup>-[nu] <sup>r</sup>a<sup>1</sup>-na <sup>m</sup>ia-u-ta-<sup>r</sup>a<sup>1</sup>  
 6'') ki-a-<sup>r</sup>am<sup>1</sup> iq-bi-šú-ma  
 7'') um-ma a-na-ku <sup>r</sup>la<sup>1</sup> ŠU.II KUR aš-šur.KI  
 ul-te-zi-i-bi  
 8'') ù at-ta <sup>r</sup>taš<sup>1</sup>-kun-an-ni a-na dan-nu-ti-ka  
 9'') <sup>m</sup>na-at-nu <sup>r</sup>ip<sup>1</sup>-lāḫ-ma ir-šá-a na-kut-tu  
 10'') LÚ.A KIN.MEŠ-<sup>r</sup>šú a<sup>1</sup>-na šá-<sup>r</sup>a-al šul-mi-ia  
 11'') iš-pur-am-ma ú-na-áš-ši-qa GÌR.II-ia  
 12'') a-na šá-kan a-<sup>r</sup>de<sup>1</sup>-e su-lum-me-e  
 13'') e-peš ARAD-ti-ia  
 14'') ú-ša-na-<sup>r</sup>al-la<sup>1</sup>-a be-lu-ú-ti  
 15'') a-na-ku <sup>r</sup>ha<sup>1</sup>-[diš ap]-<sup>r</sup>pa-lis-šú-ma<sup>1</sup>  
 16'') <sup>r</sup>pa-ni<sup>1</sup>-[ia SIG<sub>5</sub>.MEŠ UGU-šú áš-kun]  
 17'') [GUN man-da-at-tu šat-ti-šam-ma]  
 18'') [ú-kin še-ru-uš-šú]

- 19'') ina <sup>r</sup>u<sub>4</sub>-me<sup>1</sup>-[šú-ma É.GAL<sup>2</sup> ma-šar-ti<sup>2</sup> ša<sup>2</sup> qé-reb<sup>2</sup>  
 NINA.KI<sup>2</sup>]  
 20'') ša <sup>m</sup>[AN.ŠÁR-PAP-AŠ MAN KUR aš-šur.KI AD  
 DÛ-ia e-pu-šú]  
 21'') <sup>r</sup>il<sup>1</sup>-[li-ka la-ba-riš ...]

## Lacuna

- 1'') [a-di gaba-dib-bé-e-šú ar-šip ú-šak]-<sup>r</sup>lil<sup>1</sup>  
 2'') [UGU šá u<sub>4</sub>-me pa-ni ú-dan-ni-na  
 tem-me]-<sup>r</sup>en<sup>1</sup>-šá  
 3'') [MU.SAR-ú ši-ṭir MU]-<sup>r</sup>ia<sup>1</sup>  
 4'') [u ta-nit-ti qar-ra]-<sup>r</sup>du-ti<sup>1</sup>-ia  
 5'') <sup>r</sup>ša<sup>1</sup> [ina tukul-ti AN.ŠÁR d<sup>30</sup> d]UTU <sup>r</sup>d<sup>EN</sup><sup>1</sup> d<sup>AG</sup>  
 6'') d<sup>r</sup>15 ša<sup>1</sup> [NINA.KI] <sup>r</sup>d<sup>15</sup> ša<sup>1</sup>  
 URU.LÍMMU-DINGIR.KI d<sup>1</sup>MAŠ<sup>1</sup> d<sup>1</sup>U.GUR  
 7'') ina KUR.KUR at-tal-la-<sup>r</sup>ku<sup>1</sup> áš-ku-nu da-<sup>r</sup>na<sup>1</sup>-nu  
 li-i-tú  
 8'') áš-tur-ma a-na aḫ-rat u<sub>4</sub>-me e-zib  
 9'') a-na EGIR u<sub>4</sub>-me <sup>r</sup>ina<sup>1</sup> LUGAL.MEŠ  
 DUMU.MEŠ-<sup>r</sup>ia<sup>1</sup>  
 10'') ša AN.ŠÁR u<sup>d</sup>15 [a-na] be-<sup>r</sup>lut KUR<sup>1</sup> [u UN.MEŠ]  
 11'') <sup>r</sup>i<sup>1</sup>-nam-bu-u [zi-kir-šú]  
 12'') [e]-<sup>r</sup>nu-ma<sup>1</sup> É.GAL<sup>1</sup> [ma-šar-te<sup>2</sup> šu-a-tú]

**Lacuna after x 20'** The translation assumes that the now-missing lines immediately following x 20' contained ARAD da-gíl pa-ni-ia ina MÈ iš-ku-nu BAD<sub>3</sub>.BAD<sub>5</sub>-šú "a servant who belonged to me, brought about his defeat in battle." The lacuna corresponds to text no. 7 (Prism Kh) x 21'-33'.

**x 18''** One expects a horizontal ruling between x 18'' and 19'', but no ruling is preserved in any exemplar, including ex. 1.

**x 19''-20''** Following the suggestion of R. Borger (BIWA p. 163), the conjectured restorations are based on the assumption that the building report describes the renovation of the armory at Nineveh and, thus, the restored text is based on text no. 3 (Prism B) viii 56-57.

**Lacuna after x 21''** Possibly restore in the break text no. 3 (Prism B) viii 58b-62 or K 30+ iv 1''-5'' (Borger, BIWA p. 163).

**Lacuna before x 1'''** The translation assumes that the now-missing line immediately before x 1''' contained ul-tu uš<sub>3</sub>-šú "from its foundation(s)."

**x 12'''** The conjectural restoration of É.GAL<sup>1</sup> [ma-šar-te<sup>2</sup>] ("arm[ory]) is based on the assumption that the building report describes the rebuilding of the armory at Nineveh.

feat in battle by invoking my name — which the deities Aššur, Sîn, Šamaš, Bēl (Marduk), Nabû, [Ištar of Nineveh, Šarr]at-Kidmuri, [Ištar of Arbela, Ninur]ta, Gira, (and) [Nergal had] made great —

## Lacuna

x 1''-18'' [he (Natnu) had never inquired about the we]ll-be[ing of my royal majesty — after Ia]uta', [the king of the land of the Arabs, a servant who belonged to me, had fled t]o the land of the Nabaya[teans and came b]efore Nat[nu], (x 5'') Nat[nu] said the followi[ng] to Iauta', saying: "Can I myself be spared from the grasp of Assyria? Nevertheless, you have made me your stronghold!" Natnu became frightened and distressed. (x 10'') He sent his messengers to me to inquire about my well-being and kissed my feet. He was constantly beseeching my lordly majesty to conclude a treaty (and) peace agreement, (and) to do obeisance to me. I myself [lo]oked with pl[easure] upon him and [turned my benevolent] face [towards him. I imposed upon him annual tribute payment].

x 19''-21'' At [that] time, [the armory that is inside Nineveh], which [Esarhaddon — king of Assyria, the father who had engendered me — had built], be[came old ...]

## Lacuna

x 1'''-2''' [I built (and) comple]ted (it) [from its foundation(s) to its crenellations. I strengthened] its [foundatio]n(s) [more than previously].

x 3'''-8''' I wrote out [an inscribed object bearing] my [name and the praise of] my [heroi]sm — with which [through the support of the deities Aššur, Sîn], Šamaš, Bēl (Marduk), Nabû, Ištar of [Nineveh], Ištar of Arbela, Ninurta, (and) Nergal, I constantly marched through the lands (and) established mighty victories — and I deposited (it) for future days.

x 9'''-21''' In the future, may o[ne] of the kings, my descendants, wh[om] (the god) Aššur and the goddess Ištar nomin[ate for] ruling over the land [and people], renov[ate] i[ts] dilapidated section(s) [w]hen [this] arm[ory be]comes o[ld and dilapidated]. (x 15'''') May

13''') [i]-<sup>r</sup>lab-bi<sup>1</sup>-[ru-ma en-na-ḥu]  
 14''') an-ḥu-us-<sup>r</sup>sa<sup>1</sup> lu-<sup>r</sup>ud<sup>1</sup>-[diš]  
 15''') MU.SAR-ú ši-<sup>r</sup>tir MU-<sup>r</sup>ia<sup>1</sup>  
 16''') šu-me <sup>m</sup>AN.ŠĀR-PAP-AŠ <sup>r</sup>AD<sup>1</sup>-ia li-mur-ma  
 17''') ĩ.MEŠ lip-šu-<sup>r</sup>uš<sup>1</sup> UDU.SISKUR liq-qí  
 18''') it-ti MU.SAR-<sup>r</sup>e<sup>1</sup> ši-<sup>r</sup>tir MU-šú liš-kun  
 19''') DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ ma-la ina <sup>r</sup>mu<sup>1</sup>-šá-re-e  
 an-né-e šat-ru  
 20''') ki-ma ia-a-ti-<sup>r</sup>ma<sup>1</sup> liš-ru-ku-šú  
 21''') da-na-a-nu <sup>r</sup>u<sup>1</sup> li-i-tu  
 22''') ša MU.SAR-ú ši-<sup>r</sup>tir MU-ia  
 23''') šu-me <sup>m</sup>AN.ŠĀR-PAP-<sup>r</sup>AŠ<sup>1</sup> AD-ia ib-ba-tú  
 24''') it-ti MU.SAR-i-<sup>r</sup>šú<sup>1</sup> la i-šak-ka-nu  
 25''') [DINGIR].MEŠ a-ši-bu-<sup>r</sup>ti AN<sup>1</sup>-e u KI-tim  
 26''') [ag]-<sup>r</sup>giš<sup>1</sup> [li-ru]-<sup>r</sup>ru<sup>1</sup>-šú  
 27''') [LUGAL-us-su lis-ki]-pu  
 28''') [MU-šú NUMUN-šú ina KUR li-ḥal-li-qu]

Date missing

he find an inscribed object bearing my name (and) the name of Esarhaddon, my [fat]her, and (then) anoint (it) with oil, make an offering, (and) place (it) with an inscribed object bearing his name. May the great gods, as many as are recorded on this inscribed object, grant him mighty victories, just like me.

x 22'''-28''') (As for) the one who destroys an inscribed object bearing my name or the name of Esarhadd[on], my father, (or) does not place (it) with an inscribed object of his (own), (x 25''') [may the god]s who reside in heaven and netherworld [angri]ly [cur]se him, [overth]row [his kingship, (and) make his name (and) seed disappear from the land].

Date missing

## 7

Numerous clay prism fragments discovered in the ruins of Ezida (“True House”), the Nabû temple at Kalḥu, bear an edition of Ashurbanipal’s annals that mostly duplicates the contents of text no. 6 (Prism C). This text’s prologue and most of its military narration, apart from one new campaign report, duplicate verbatim (with minor orthographic variants) those sections of the previous inscription (text no. 6). This Nimrud version of the annals records Ashurbanipal’s first war against the Elamite king Ummanaldašu (Ḥumban-ḥaltaš III; probably in 647) and describes the renovation of (part of) Nabû’s temple at Kalḥu; the early Neo-Assyrian king Adad-nārārī III (810–783) is named as a previous builder of Ezida. One exemplar (ex. 1) was inscribed in the post-canonical eponymy of Nabû-nādin-aḥi, governor of Kār-Shalmaneser (probably 646); for the date, see the introduction and the commentary of text no. 6 (Prism C). This text is sometimes referred to in previous scholarly literature as “Prism CKalach,” “Prism CND,” or “Prism K[alac]h”; it is designated “Prism Kh” in this volume.

## CATALOGUE

Ex.	Excavation Number	Provenance	Lines Preserved	cpn
1	ND 4306 (+) ND 4378B + ND 4378C + ND 5407 + ND 5413E + ND 5522 (BM) + ND 5518 + ND 5519 + ND 5524 + ND 5525 + ND 5520 + ND 5521 + ND 5523 + ND 5532 (IM 67611) + ND 5529 + ND 5531 (BM) + ND 5533 (BM) + ND 5537 + ND 5548 (+) Sumer 44 no. 4	Kalḥu, Nabû Temple, NTS 3; H 2, and L 1; NT 12 or 13	i 1'-68', 82'-91', ii 1'-8', 13'-37', 14''-20'', v 144-145, vi 4''-vii 14, 36'-viii 12, 91'-105', 112'-ix 15, 5''-62'', 66''-x 12, 1'-90', date	(c)

6 x 28'''' One expects a horizontal ruling after x 28''', but it not preserved in ex. 1.

2	ND 5541 (IM 67613) (+)? ND 5526	Kalḫu, Nabû Temple, NT 12	i 49'-101', ii 17''-60'', iii 5''-24'', x 41'-90', date	n
3	ND 4378 + ND 4378A + ND 4378D + ND 5409 + ND 5528 (BM) + ND 5530 + ND 5549 + ND 5536 (BM) + ND 6205A (BM)	Kalḫu, Nabû Temple, NT 12, H 2, and L 1	iii 1'-46', iv 3''-35'', 43''-71'', v 35-103, vi 1'-46'	(c)
4	ND 5411A-E (BM) + ND 5413A-D (BM) + ND 6205B-D (BM) (+)? ND 5412 (+) ND 6205E (BM)	Kalḫu, Nabû Temple, NT 12 and L 1	iv 1'-12', 7''-96'', v 1-35, 100-vi 21, 1''-vii 45	(c)
5	ND 5538 (BM) + ND 5546 + ND 5547	As ex. 2	iv 65''-74'', v 72-88, vi 21'-46', vii 19'-32'	(c)
6	ND 5406 (+)? ND 5517 (IM 67608)	As ex. 4	vii 6-11, 1'-17', viii 19'-89', ix 1''-9''	n
7	Sumer 44 no. 2 +[?] no. 3	As ex. 1c	i 1-6, viii 97'-115', ix 64''-x 18	n
8	ND 5534 (BM)	As ex. 2	ii 1''-11''	c
9	ND 5405 (BM)	Kalḫu, Nabû Temple, L 1	ii 24''-44'', iii 9''-35''	c
10	ND 5408 (BM)	As ex. 9	iii 13'-28', iv 1''-14''	c
11	ND 5410 (BM)	As ex. 9	iii 1''-13'', iv 31''-40''	c
12	ND 6206	Kalḫu, beside a gateway lion of the Ištar Temple	iv 10'-26', 91''-99''	n
13	ND 4326	Kalḫu	vii 22-34, viii 1'-18'	n
14	ND 814 (IM 56875)	Kalḫu, North-West Palace, Room OO	vii 11'-34', viii 63'-83'	n
15	ND 5527	As ex. 2	ix 19''-26''	n
16	ND 5543 (BM)	As ex. 2	x 21-27	c

## COMMENTARY

Copies of this version of Ashurbanipal's annals were inscribed on tall ten-sided clay prisms. At present, it is unclear how many different exemplars of this text are extant. There could be as many as sixteen copies of it or as few as two or three. It is certain that the following exemplars do not come from the same object: exs. 1 and 2; exs. 1 and 4; exs. 1 and 6; exs. 1 and 7; exs. 1 and 15; exs. 2 and 9; exs. 3 and 5; exs. 3 and 10; exs. 3 and 11; exs. 4 and 12; exs. 6 and 14; exs. 9 and 11; and exs. 10 and 14. R. Borger (BIWA p. 129) rightly suggests that exs. 4 and 10-11 could be parts of one and the same prism since their script (same hand), color, and composition of clay are very similar. It is likely that ND 5526, an uninscribed fragment from the bottom of a prism (Knudsen, Iraq 29 [1967] p. 67), joins ex. 2. ND 4326 (ex. 13) was identified by G. Van Buylaere in the British Museum. The authors thank her for bringing this to their attention.

Following Borger, all of the prism fragments discovered at Kalḫu are considered here as belonging to one version of Ashurbanipal's annals. Because Borger thought that the prologue and military narration of this text and text no. 6 (Prism C) were identical, he designated this inscription as "Prism CKalach" (or "Prism CND"). However, J. Novotny's (SAOC 62 p. 128) recent examination of the original of K 1794+ (text no. 6 ex. 1) has proven that this was not the case since this version of the annals

from Kalḫu contained a lengthy report of Ashurbanipal's fourth Elamite campaign, whereas that (earlier) text from Nineveh did not; for details, see the commentary of text no. 6 (Prism C). For this reason and because its building report records work on Nabû's temple Ezida, rather than the armory at Nineveh, this inscription has been assigned the new designation "Prism Kh"; "Prism K" has been intentionally avoided so that there is no confusion with A.C. Piepkorn's now-obsolete designation "Prism K" (which was used to describe K 1703, text no. 6 [Prism C] ex. 3b). A report of the first war against the Elamite king Ummanaldašu is recorded in this inscription for the first time. The prologue and military narration of this text most closely parallels those of text no. 8 (Prism G), which was also inscribed on prisms during the eponymy of Nabû-nādin-aḫi (probably 646). For details on the major differences between Prisms Kh and G, see the commentary of text no. 8, as well as Novotny, SAOC 62 pp. 130-132.

Providing a reliable edition of this inscription is hampered by the fact that over half of the published pieces are accessible only from the published copies of E.E. Knudsen (Iraq 29 [1967] pls. XIV-XXIX) and M. Mahmud and J. Black (Sumer 44 [1985-86] pp. 151-152 nos. 2-4) or from hand-written transliterations of Borger (BIWA 4<sup>e</sup>-Heft pp. 273-275). Because those fragments are housed in the collections of the Iraq Museum (Baghdad), it was not possible

to examine them from the originals. Because Knudsen did not consistently reproduce the fragments at the same scale, it is not always possible to confirm with certainty the many proposed physical or non-physical joins. The Kalḫu pieces that are in “Deposit 1307” of the British Museum (London), however, were collated against the originals. Generally speaking, based on Novotny’s examination of the fragments of this text now in the British Museum, Knudsen’s copies are reasonably reliable, which bodes well for the pieces that he copied that ended up in Baghdad. Despite these obstacles, it is possible to produce a fairly accurate, modern edition of this text.

The arrangement of text, as well as the number of lines of each column, varies between the exemplars. No exemplar is complete and the master line is a conflation of the various exemplars. The line count of this edition is based on the following exemplars: ex. 1 in i 1’-49’, ii 1’-37’, 14’’-16’’, vi 4’’-22’’, 26’’-vii 14, 35’-viii 12, 91’-104’, 112’-ix 15, 1’-19’, 7’’-x 12, 1’-63’, 65’-85’, and 87’-90’; ex. 2 in i

50’-101’, ii 17’’-60’’, iii 5’’-24’’, iv 97’’-98’’, x 64’, and 86’; ex. 3 in iii 1’-46’, iv 3’’-35’’, iv 43’’-71’’, v 35-103, and vi 1’-46’; ex. 4 in iv 1’-12’, 77’’-96’’, v 1-34, 104-vi 21, 1’’-3’’, 23’’-25’’, and vii 15-45; ex. 5 in iv 72’’-74’’ and vii 19’-31’; ex. 6 in vii 1’-17’, viii 17’-89’, and ix 1’’-6’’; ex. 7 in i 1-6, viii 105’-111’, and x 13-17; ex. 8 in ii 1’’-11’’; ex. 9 in iii 25’’-35’’; ex. 10 in iv 1’’-2’’; ex. 11 in iii 1’’-4’’ and iv 36’’-40’’; ex. 12’ in iv 13’-26’; ex. 13 in viii 1’-16’; ex. 14 in vii 18’ and 32’-34’; and ex. 16 in x 21-27. The column and line numbering of Borger’s edition of Prism Kh in BIWA generally follows that of R.D. Freedman (St. Louis); see Borger, BIWA pp. 122-123. When possible, the restorations are generally based on text nos. 6 (Prism C) and 8 (Prism G) and, when they are not, they stem from text no. 3 (Prism B). In a few places, restorations have been made from text nos. 4 (Prism D), 5 (Prism I), 10 (Prism T), and 11 (Prism A). A complete score is presented on Oracc and a list of minor (orthographic) variants is provided at the back of the book.

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## TEXT

Col. i

1) *a-na-ku* <sup>m</sup>AN.ŠĀR-DÙ-A LUGAL GAL <sup>r</sup>LUGAL<sup>1</sup> i 1-5) I, Ashurbanipal, great king, [strong] ki[ng],

i 1-101’ The prologue of this text, text no. 5 (Prism I), text no. 6 (Prism C), and text no. 8 (Prism G) are, as far as they are preserved, identical apart from orthographic variants; see respectively i 1-iv 8, i 1’-ii 3’, and i 1’-34’ of those inscriptions. Moreover, the introduction of text no. 10 (Prism T) is similar to the one included in this inscription, but it includes several minor variants, shortens several passages, and includes three additional building reports; compare i 1-iv 35 of that inscription. For information on some of the accounts of construction, see the on-page notes to text no. 5 (Prism I) i 1-iv 8 and text no. 6 (Prism C) i 1’-ii 3’.

- [*dan-nu*]  
 2) LUGAL ŠÚ LUGAL KUR *aš-šur*.KI LUGAL *kib-rat*  
 [LÍMMU-*tim*]  
 3) *ši-it lib-bi* <sup>m</sup>AN.ŠÁR-PAP-AŠ <sup>r</sup>LUGAL<sup>r</sup> [KUR  
*aš-šur*.KI]  
 4) ĞİR.NÍTA <sup>r</sup>KÁ<sup>r</sup>.DINGIR.RA.KI LUGAL KUR  
<sup>r</sup>EME<sup>r</sup>.[GI, u URI.KI]  
 5) <sup>r</sup>ŠĀ.BAL.BAL <<sup>m</sup>><sup>d</sup>30-PAP.MEŠ-SU LUGAL<sup>r</sup> [ŠÚ  
 LUGAL KUR *aš-šur*.KI]  
 6) [DINGIR.MEŠ] <sup>r</sup>GAL<sup>r</sup>.[MEŠ] *ina* [UKKIN-šú-*nu*  
*si-mat* SIG<sub>5</sub>-*tim* *i-šim-mu šim-ti*]  
 Lacuna  
 1') [*at-ru*]-<sup>r</sup>uš-*ma*<sup>r</sup> [*ú-kin ta-ra-an-šú*]  
 2') [GIŠ.GIGIR] <sup>r</sup>šir-*tu*<sup>r</sup> [*ru*]-<sup>r</sup>kub<sup>r</sup> <sup>d</sup>2'<sup>r</sup>[AMAR.UTU]  
 3') <sup>r</sup>e-*tel*<sup>r</sup>-*li* DINGIR.<sup>r</sup>MEŠ EN EN.EN<sup>r</sup>  
 4') <sup>r</sup>ina<sup>r</sup> KŪ.GI KŪ.BABBAR NA<sub>4</sub>.MEŠ *ni-siq-ti*  
*ag-mu*<sup>r</sup>-*ra nab-nit-sa*  
 5') *a-na* <sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU LUGAL *kiš-šat* <sup>r</sup>AN-*e*<sup>r</sup> u KI-*tim*  
 6') *sa-pi-in* LŪ.KŪR.MEŠ-*ia ana ši-rik-ti*<sup>r</sup> *áš-ruk*  
 7') GIŠ.NÁ GIŠ.MES.MÁ.KAN.NA *iš-ši* [*da*]-*re*-<sup>r</sup>e<sup>r</sup>  
 8') *ša pa-šal-lu lit-bu-šat* NA<sub>4</sub>.MEŠ *ni-siq-ti*<sup>r</sup>  
 [*za-a*'-*nat*]  
 9') *a-na ma-a-a-al tak-né-e* <sup>d</sup>EN u <sup>r</sup>d<sup>r</sup>[GAŠAN-MU]  
 10') *šá-kan ha-šá-di e-peš ru-*<sup>r</sup>a<sup>r</sup>-[*a-me*]  
 11') *nak-liš e-pu*-[*uš*]  
 12') *ina ká-ḫi-li-sù maš-tak* <sup>d</sup>zar-*pa-ni*<sup>r</sup>-[*tum*]  
 13') *ša ku-uz-bu sa-al-ḫu ad*-[*dí*]  
 14') 4 AM.MEŠ KŪ.BABBAR *ek-du-ú*-[*tí*]  
 15') *na-ši-ru* <sup>r</sup>ki-*bi*<sup>r</sup>-*is* LUGAL-*ti-ia*<sup>r</sup>  
 16') *ina KÁ ši-it*<sup>r</sup> <sup>d</sup>r<sup>r</sup>šam<sup>r</sup>-*ši* u KÁ <sup>d</sup>LAMMA-RA.BI  
 17') *ina KÁ é-zí*<sup>r</sup>-*da šá qé-reb bár-sipa*.KI *ul-ziz*  
 18') *é-maš-maš é-ğašan*\*-*kalam-ma*  
 19') <sup>r</sup>KŪ.BABBAR<sup>r</sup> KŪ.GI *ú-za-i-in*  
 20') *lu-le*<sup>r</sup>-*e ú-ma-al-li*  
 21') <sup>d</sup>šar-*rat*-<sup>r</sup>kid-*mu-ri*<sup>r</sup> *ša ina ug-gat lib-bi-šá*  
 22') *at-man-šá e-zí*-<sup>r</sup>bu<sup>r</sup> [*ú*]-*ši-bu a-šar la*  
*si-ma*-<sup>r</sup>ti-*šá*<sup>r</sup>  
 23') *ina BALA-ia* <sup>r</sup>dam<sup>r</sup>-*qí*  
 24') *ša AN.ŠÁR iš-ru*-<sup>r</sup>ka<sup>r</sup> [*tar*]-<sup>r</sup>šá-*a*<sup>r</sup> *sa-li-mu*  
 25') *a-na šuk-lul* DINGIR-*ti-šá* *šir-ti*  
 26') *šur-ru-ḫi mi-se-e*-[*šá*] <sup>r</sup>šu-*qu*<sup>r</sup>-*ru-ti*  
 27') *ina MÁŠ.GI* <sup>r</sup>ši-*pir*<sup>r</sup> *maḫ-ḫe-e*  
 28') *iš-ta-nap-pa-ra* <sup>r</sup>ka<sup>r</sup>-*a-a-na*  
 29') <sup>d</sup>UTU <sup>d</sup>IŠKUR <sup>r</sup>áš-*al*<sup>r</sup>-*ma*  
 30') *e-pu-lu-in-ni an-nu*<sup>r</sup> [*ke-e*]-<sup>r</sup>nu<sup>r</sup>  
 31') *si-mat* DINGIR-*ti-šá* GAL-*ti ú-šar-ri*-<sup>r</sup>iḫ<sup>r</sup>?  
 32') *ú-še-šib-ši ina BĀRA.MAḪ šu*-<sup>r</sup>bat<sup>r</sup> [*da*]-<sup>r</sup>ra<sup>r</sup>-*a*-<sup>r</sup>ti<sup>r</sup>  
 33') *par-še-e-šá šu-qu-ru*-<sup>r</sup>ti *ú*<sup>r</sup>-*kin-ma*  
 34') *ú-šal-li-ma mi-se-e-šá*  
 35') <sup>d</sup>IM.DUGUD.MUŠEN.MEŠ [GIŠ].<sup>r</sup>šu<sup>r</sup>-*ri-in-ni*  
 36') *a-na* <sup>r</sup>TI<sup>r</sup>.[LA] <sup>r</sup>ZI<sup>r</sup>.MEŠ-*ia*

king of the world, king of Assyria, king of the [four] quarters (of the world), offspring of Esarhaddon, kin[g of Assyria], governor of Babylon, king of the land of Sum[er and Akkad], descendant of Sennacherib, ki[ng of the world, king of Assyria] —

i 6) [The *gr*]e[at gods] in [their assembly determined a favorable destiny as my lot]

Lacuna

i 1') [I stretch]ed out [its covering over the god Marduk, the great lord], and (thus) [secured its roof].  
 i 2'-6') [(As for) the] exalted [chariot, *the veh*]icle of the god [Marduk], the pre-eminent one among the gods, the lord of lords, I completed its feature(s) with gold, silver, (and) precious stones. I gave (it) as a gift to the god Marduk, the king of the totality of heaven and netherworld, the one who overwhelms my enemies.

i 7'-13') I skillfully mad[e] a bed of *musukkannu*-wood, a [dur]able wood, that is clad with *pašallu*-gold (and) [studded with] precio[us] stones, as a pleasure bed for the god Bēl (Marduk) and the god[dess Bēltiya (Zarpanītu)] to carry out the wedding (and) to make lo[ve]. I pla[ced (it)] in Kaḫilisu, the bed chamber of the goddess Zarpanī[tu], which is laden with sexual charm.

i 14'-17') I stationed four fier[ce] wild bulls of silver, protectors of my royal path, in the Gate of the Rising Sun and (in) the Gate of Lamma-RA.BI, in gateway(s) of Ezida, which is inside Borsippa.

i 18'-20') I decorated Emašmaš (and) Egašankalama with silver (and) gold, (and) filled (them) with splendor.

i 21'-28') The goddess Šarrat-Kidmuri, who in her anger had abandone[d] her inner sanctum (and) had [ta]ken up residence in a place not befitting her, [rele]nted during the favorable reign (lit. "my favorable reign") that (the god) Aššur had granted m[e]. (i 25') To complete (the emblem of) [her] exalted divinity (and) to glorify [her] precious cultic rites, she constantly kept sending me (instructions) through dream(s and) message(s) from ecstasies.

i 29'-34') I asked the gods Šamaš (and) Adad and they answered me with a [fir]m "yes." I [refurbish]e[d] the emblem of her great divinity (and) made her sit upon a throne-dais as (her) [ete]rnal abo[de]. I firmly (re)-established her precious cultic ordinances and properly carried out her cultic rites.

i 35'-38') For the pre[servation of] my [li]fe, I set up lion-headed eagles (and) [div]ine emblems in the

**Lacuna after i 6** The lacuna corresponds to text no. 5 (Prism I) i 10-15, text no. 6 (Prism C) i 1'-31', and text no. 10 (Prism T) i 11-37a.

**Lacuna before i 1'** Based on parallels, the translation assumes that the now-missing line before i 1' contained *e-li* <sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU EN GAL-*e* *šu-lul-šú* "its covering over the god Marduk, the great lord."

- 37) *ina* KÁ *é*-[*g*alam-mes] <sup>É</sup>1 <sup>d</sup>U.GUR  
 38) *ša* URU.tar-<sup>r</sup>bi-<sup>š</sup>i az<sup>l</sup>-qu-up  
 39) *a-di a-di-ni a*-[*bi la*] *im*-<sup>r</sup>ma-<sup>a</sup>l<sup>l</sup>-*la-du*  
 40) *um-mi* [*a*]-<sup>r</sup>lit<sup>l</sup>-*ti* <sup>r</sup>la<sup>l</sup> [*ba-na*]-*a-ta ina* <sup>r</sup>lib<sup>l</sup>-[*bi*]  
<sup>r</sup>AMA<sup>?</sup>-šá<sup>?</sup>  
 41) *a-na e*-<sup>r</sup>peš<sup>l</sup> *é*-<sup>h</sup>ul-[<sup>h</sup>ul] <sup>r</sup>iz<sup>l</sup>-*kur ni*-<sup>r</sup>bit<sup>l</sup> [MU-*ia*]  
 42) <sup>d</sup>30 *ša* *ib-na-an*-[*ni*] <sup>r</sup>a<sup>l</sup>-*na* <sup>r</sup>LUGAL<sup>l</sup>-[*u-ti*]  
 43) *um-ma* <sup>m</sup>AN.ŠĀR-DÛ-<sup>r</sup>IBILA<sup>l</sup> [<sup>É</sup>.KUR] *šú-a-tú*  
*ip*-<sup>r</sup>pu<sup>l</sup>-[*uš-ma*]  
 44) *qé-reb-šú ú*-[*š*ar-man]-<sup>r</sup>ni<sup>l</sup> *pa-rak* <sup>r</sup>da<sup>l</sup>-[*ra-a-ti*]  
 45) *a-mat* <sup>d</sup>30 *ša* *ul-tu* [UD.MEŠ] <sup>r</sup>ru<sup>l</sup>-*qu-ti* [*iq-bu-u*]  
 46) *e-nen-na ú*-kal-[*lim UN*].MEŠ <sup>r</sup>ar<sup>l</sup>-[*ku-u-ti*]  
 47) <sup>É</sup> <sup>d</sup>30 *ša* <sup>m</sup>dšul-[*ma-nu-MAŠ A*  
<sup>m</sup>aš-šur]-PAP-<sup>r</sup>IBILA<sup>l</sup>  
 48) LUGAL *pa-ni ma*<sup>h</sup>-<sup>r</sup>ri<sup>l</sup>-[*ia e-pu-šú*]  
 49) *la-ba-riš ú*-šá-<sup>r</sup>lik<sup>l</sup>-[*ma ú-šad-gi-la pa-nu-u-a*]  
 50) <sup>É</sup>.KUR *šú-a-tu* *ša* *la-ba*-[*riš il-li-ku*]  
 51) *ina a-mat* <sup>d</sup>30 <sup>d</sup>nusku <sup>r</sup>an<sup>l</sup>-[*h*u-us-su *ad-ke*]  
 52) *e-li* *ša u*<sub>4</sub>-*me pa-ni* <sup>r</sup>šú<sup>l</sup>-[*bat-su ú-rap-piš*]  
 53) *ul-tu UŠ*<sub>8</sub>-<sup>š</sup> *a-di* GABA.DIB-<sup>r</sup>šú<sup>l</sup> *ar*-[*šip ú-šak-lil*]  
 54) *é-me-lám-an-na* <sup>É</sup> <sup>d</sup>nusku [SUKKAL MAḪ]  
 55) *ša* LUGAL *pa-ni ma*<sup>h</sup>-<sup>r</sup>ri-*ia e-pu-šú ab-na*-<sup>r</sup>a<sup>l</sup>  
[*qé-reb-šú*]  
 56) GIŠ.ÜR.MEŠ GIŠ.EREN MAḪ.MEŠ *ú-šat-ri*-[*ša*  
UGU-šú-un]  
 57) GIŠ.IG.MEŠ GIŠ.li-*ia-a-ri me-ser* [KÛ.BABBAR]  
 58) *ú-rak-kis ú-rat-ta-a* KÁ.MEŠ-<sup>r</sup>šú-un<sup>l</sup>  
 59) 2 AM.MEŠ KÛ.BABBAR *mu-nak-ki-pu ga-re-ia*  
 60) *ina at-man* <sup>d</sup>30 EN-*ia ul-ziz*  
 61) 2 <sup>d</sup>lāḫ-*me eš-ma-re-e* *ša ti-iš-bu-tú*  
GIŠ.šú-ri-in-ni  
 62) *mu-šal-li-mu kib-si* LUGAL-*ti-ia*  
 63) *mu-še-ri-bu ḫi-šib šad-de-e u tam-tim*  
 64) *ina* KÁ *é*-<sup>h</sup>ul-<sup>h</sup>ul *ul-ziz* ŠU.II <sup>d</sup>30 <sup>d</sup>nusku *aš-bat*  
 65) *ú-še-rib ú-še-šib ina* BĀRA *da-ra-a-ti*  
 66) *eš-re-e-ti* KUR *aš-šur.KI u* KUR URI.KI  
 67) *a-na si-ḫir-ti-ši-na ú-šak-lil*  
 68) *mim-ma si-mat* <sup>É</sup>.KUR *ma-la ba-šú-u* *ša*  
KÛ.BABBAR KÛ.GI *e-pu-uš*  
 69) *e-li* *ša* LUGAL.MEŠ AD.MEŠ-*ia ú-rad-di*  
 70) DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ *ti-ik-le-ia ina*  
*at-ma-ni-šú-nu ḫi-i-ri ú-še-šib-šú-nu-ti*  
 71) UDU.SISKUR.MEŠ *taš-ri-iḫ-ti ma-ḫar-šú-un aq-qí*  
*ú-šam-ḫi-ra kàd-ra-a-a*  
 72) *sat-tuk-ku gi-nu-u* UGU *ša u*<sub>4</sub>-*me ul-lu-ti*  
*ú-šá-tir-ma ar-ku-us*

gateway(s) of E[*g*allammes, the t]emple of the god Nergal of the city Tarbišu.

i 39'–49') Before [my] fa[ther] was born (and) my [bir]th-mother was [created] in *her mother's w[omb]*, the god Sîn, who created [me] to be ki[ng], named m[e] to (re)bu[ild] Eḫul[ḫul], saying: “Ashurbanip[al] will (re)bu[ild] that [temple and make m]e [dwell] therein upon an et[ernal] dais.” (i 45') The word of the god Sîn, which [he had spoken] in [di]stant [days], he now reve[aled to the peop]le of a lat[er generation]. He allow[ed] the temple of the god Sîn — which Šal[maneser (III), son of Ashur]nasirp[al (II)], a king of the past (who had come) befo[re me, had built] — to become old [and he entrusted (its renovation) to me].

i 50'–58') (As for) that temple, which [had become] ol[d, I removed its] dil[apidated section(s)] by the command of the gods Sîn (and) Nusku. [I made its] st[ructure larger] than the one in the days of the past. I bu[ilt (and) completed (it)] from its foundation(s) to its crenellations. (i 55') [Inside it], I built Emelamana, the temple of the god Nusku, [the exalted vizier], which a king of the past (who had come) before me had built. I roof[ed them] with long beams of cedar. I fastened band(s) of [silver] on doors of white cedar (and) I fixed (them) in their gateways.

i 59'–64'a) In the inner sanctum of the god Sîn, my lord, I stationed two wild bulls of silver, which gore my foes (to death). In a gateway of Eḫulḫul, I (also) stationed two long-haired heroes of *ešmarû*-metal, which grasp divine emblems, keep safe my royal path, (and) bring in the yield of mountain and sea.

i 64'b–65') I took the gods Sîn (and) Nusku by the hand, made (them) enter into (their respective temples), (and) made (them) sit on (their) eternal dais(es). i 66'–72') I completed the sanctuaries of Assyria and the land Akkad in their entirety. I made every type of temple appurtenance there is from silver (and) gold, (and) I added (them) to those of the kings, my ancestors. (i 70') I made the great gods who support me reside in their exalted inner sanctums. I offered sumptuous offerings before them (and) presented (them) with my gifts. I made regular offerings (and) contributions more plentiful than those of distant days.

i 55' Ex. 1 adds <sup>r</sup>la<sup>?</sup> (“not”) before *e-pu-šú* (“had built”). There seems to be two traditions in the inscriptions of Ashurbanipal concerning the construction of Nusku’s temple at Ḥarrān: One states that Emelamana had been built by a previous, unnamed king, while the other reports that that temple had not previously existed. Compare text no. 6 (Prism C ex. 1) i 80'–82a and this text (ex. 2) to ex. 1 of this inscription and text no. 10 (Prism T exs. 1 and 3) ii 49–51. It is possible that both versions contain some elements of truth. The former tradition presumably refers to that fact that Nusku had his own cella/shrine inside Eḫulḫul and that a previous (Assyrian) king had worked on it. The latter tradition may allude to the fact that Emelamana had not existed as a separate temple prior to the time of Ashurbanipal and because Ashurbanipal expanded the existing Nusku cult at Ḥarrān, presumably by constructing his own temple within the Eḫulḫul complex, no previous king could have undertaken construction on it. For a fuller explanation of the discrepancy in the building history of Nusku’s temple in Ḥarrān, see Novotny, Eḫulḫul pp. 161–171.

- 73') ALAM.MEŠ LUGAL-*ti-ia* ša KÙ.BABBAR KÙ.GI URUDU *nam-ri*
- 74') *ina ši-pir* <sup>d</sup>nin-á-gal <sup>d</sup>kù-si<sub>22</sub>-bàn-da
- 75') <sup>d</sup>nin-kur-ra nak-liš ú-še-piš
- 76') *a-na mu-ter-ri-ši ba-la-ti-ia*
- 77') *ma-ḥar* DINGIR.MEŠ *ti-ik-le-ia ú-kin na-an-za-sún*
- 78') *ul-tu še-ḥe-ri-ia a-di ru-bé-ia*
- 79') *áš-te-'a-a áš-rat* DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ
- 80') LÚ.šá-an-gu-ti *iḥ-šu-ḥu i-ram-mu na-dan zi-bi-ia*
- 81') <sup>d</sup>IŠKUR ŠĒG.MEŠ-šú *ú-maš-še-ra* <sup>d</sup>é-a *ú-paṭ-ṭi-ra* IDIM.MEŠ-šú
- 82') 5 KÙŠ ŠE.AM *iš-qu ina* AB.SÍN-ni-šá
- 83') *e-ri-ik šu-bu-ul-tú* 5/6<sup>2</sup> KÙŠ SI.SÁ BURU<sub>14</sub> *na-pa-áš* <sup>d</sup>nisaba
- 84') *ka-a-a-an ú-šah-na-bu gi-pa-ru*
- 85') *šip-pa-a-ti šu-um-mu-ḥa in-bu* MÁŠ.ANŠE *šu-te-šur ina ta-lit-ti*
- 86') *ina* BALA.MEŠ-*ia* ḤĒ.NUN *ṭuḥ-du ina* MU.AN.NA.MEŠ-*ia* *ku-um-mu-ru* ḤĒ.GÁL-*lum*
- 87') 12<sup>2</sup> ANŠE ŠE.PAD.MEŠ 3 ANŠE GEŠTIN.MEŠ BANMIN Ì.MEŠ GUN SÍG.MEŠ
- 88') *ina nap-ḥar* KUR-*ia* KIL.LAM *nap-šú i-šam-mu ina* 1 GÍN *kas-pi*
- 89') *šat-ti-šam-ma ina ṭuḥ-di u me-šá-ri ar-te-'a* *ba-'u-ú-lat* <sup>d</sup>EN.LÍL
- 90') DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ *šá ap-tal-la-ḥu* DINGIR-*us-su-un*
- 91') *du-un-nu zik-ru-u<sup>2</sup>-tu<sup>2</sup> e-mu-qi ši-ra-a-te* *ú-šat-li-mu-in-ni*
- 92') KUR.KUR *la ma-gi-re-ia ina* ŠU.II-*ia im-nu-ú*
- 93') *ú-šam-šu-in-ni ma-la lib-bi-ia*
- 94') *ul-tu tam-tim e-liti a-di tam-tim šap-liti*
- 95') *ša* LUGAL.MEŠ AD.MEŠ-*ia ir-te-ed-du-u a-na-ku lu-u ar-de*
- 96') <sup>r</sup>ma<sup>1</sup>-*lak* ITI UD.20.KÁM *ina* MURUB<sub>4</sub> *tam-tim u na-ba-li*
- 97') [*mi*]-<sup>r</sup>iš<sup>1</sup>-*ru e-li ša* LUGAL.MEŠ AD.MEŠ-*ia* *ú-rad-dī-ma a-bel*
- 98') [UN.MEŠ] *a-ši-bu-ti* KUR.KUR *šá-a-ti-na* *ú-šak-ni-šá ana* GIŠ.ŠUDUN-*ia*
- 99') [GUN] <sup>r</sup>man<sup>1</sup>-*da-at-tú šat-ti-šam-<ma> ú-kin* EDIN-*uš-šú-un*
- 100') [*ina qí-bit*] <sup>r</sup>AN<sup>1</sup>.ŠÁR <sup>d</sup>15 LUGAL.MEŠ *a-šib* *pa-rak-ki ú-na-áš-šá-qu* GÌR.II-*ia*
- 101') [*mal-ki* GAL.MEŠ *šá*] *ši-taš u ši-la-an ana* *kit-ri-šu-nu ú-pa-qu-u-ni*
- Col. ii  
Lacuna  
1') <sup>m</sup>[GISSU-EN LUGAL KUR.ḥa-zi-ti]
- i 73'-80') I had statues of my royal majesty skillfully made from silver, gold, (and) shiny copper through the craft of the deities Ninagal, Kusibanda, (and) Ninkurra, (and), as constant petitioners for my life, I installed (them) in their positions before the gods who support me. From my childhood until I became an adult, I was assiduous towards the sanctuaries of the great gods. They required my priestly services (and) they (now) enjoy my giving (them) food offerings.
- i 81'-86') The god Adad released his rains (and) the god Ea opened up his springs. Grain was five cubits high in its furrow (and) ear(s) of corn were *five-sixths* of a cubits long. Successful harvest(s) and) an abundance of grain enabled pasture land to continually flourish, (i 85') fruit orchards to be very lush with fruit, (and) cattle to successfully give birth to (their) young. During my reign, there was plenitude (and) abundance; during my years, bountiful produce was accumulated.
- i 87'-89') Throughout my entire land, (on account of) abundant trade, for one shekel of silver one could purchase *twelve* donkey-loads of grain, three homers of wine, two seahs of oil, (and one) talent of wool. Year after year, I shepherded the subjects of the god Enlil in prosperity and with justice.
- i 90'-101') The great gods, whose divinity I constantly revered, generously granted me power, *virility*, (and) outstanding strength. They placed lands that had not bowed down to me into my hands (and) allowed me to achieve my heart's desire. (i 95') I marched from the Upper Sea to the Lower Sea, where the kings, my ancestors, had regularly traveled. At a distance of one month (and) twenty days (journey) into the midst of the sea and on dry land, I added [terr]itory to that of the kings, my ancestors, and ruled (it). I made [the people] living in those lands bow down to my yoke (and) imposed annual [tribute payment] upon them. (i 100') [By the command of (the god) A]ššur (and) the goddess Ištar, the kings who sit upon (royal) daises kiss my feet (and) [great rulers from (both)] east and west are anxious for me to be their ally.
- Lacuna  
ii 1'-22') [Šil-Bēl, king of the land Gaza], M[itinti, king

**Lacuna before ii 1'** The now-missing contents would have duplicated text no. 6 (Prism C) ii 4'-29'.

**ii 1'-vii 35, 1'-55', viii 80'-94', and ix 64''-x 52'** Large portions of the military narration of this inscription duplicate the contents of the reports of Ashurbanipal's campaigns included in text nos. 6 (Prism C) and 8 (Prism G), as well as text nos. 3 (Prism B) and 4 (Prism D). For details on the reports of Ashurbanipal's "first" to "eighth" campaigns, see the on-page notes to text nos. 3 (Prism B) and 6 (Prism C). This text and text no. 8 (Prism G) are the first two inscriptions to include an account of the first war against the Elamite king Ummanaldašu (Ḥumban-ḥaltaš III). For details, see the on-page note to ix 10-14, as well as the note "Lacuna after ix 52'" to text no. 6 (Prism C).

- 2') <sup>m</sup>mi<sup>1</sup>-[ti-in-ti LUGAL KUR.is-qa-lu-na]  
 3') <sup>m</sup>i<sup>1</sup>-[ka-ú-su LUGAL KUR.am-qar-u-na]  
 4') <sup>m</sup>mil<sup>1</sup>-[ki-a-šá-pa LUGAL KUR.gu-ub-li]  
 5') <sup>m</sup>ia<sup>1</sup>-[ki-in-lu-ú LUGAL KUR.ar-ú-a-da]  
 6') <sup>m</sup>a-[bi-ba-a'-al LUGAL KUR.sa-am-si-mu-ru-na]  
 7') <sup>m</sup>am<sup>1</sup>-[mi-na-ad-bi LUGAL KUR.É-am-ma-na]  
 8') <sup>m</sup>[PAP-mil-ki LUGAL KUR.as-du-di]  
 9') <sup>m</sup>e-ki-iš-tu-ra LUGAL KUR.e-di-i'-li]  
 10') <sup>m</sup>pi-la-a-gu-ra-a LUGAL KUR.ki-it-ru-si]  
 11') <sup>m</sup>ki-i-su LUGAL KUR.si-lu-u-a]  
 12') <sup>m</sup>i-tu-u-an-da-ar LUGAL KUR.pa-ap-pa]  
 13') <sup>m</sup>[e-re-su LUGAL KUR.si-il-lu]  
 14') <sup>m</sup>[da-ma-su LUGAL KUR.ku-ri-i]  
 15') <sup>m</sup>ád-[me-su LUGAL KUR.ta-me-su]  
 16') <sup>m</sup>da-[mu-u-su LUGAL KUR.qar-ti-ḥa-da-as-ti]  
 17') <sup>m</sup>ú<sup>1</sup>-[na-sa-gu-su LUGAL KUR.li-di-ir]  
 18') <sup>m</sup>bu-[šu-su LUGAL KUR.nu-re-e]  
 19') ŠU.NIGIN ṽ22<sup>1</sup> [LUGAL.MEŠ ša a-ḥi tam-tim]  
 20') MURUB<sub>4</sub> tam-tim [u na-ba-li ARAD.MEŠ da-gíl  
 pa-ni-ia]  
 21') ta-mar-ṽta<sup>1</sup>-[šú-nu ka-bit-tu]  
 22') ina IGI-ia iš-ṽsu<sup>1</sup>-[nim-ma ú-na-ši-qu ĠIR.II-ia]  
 23') LUGAL.MEŠ šá-ṽa<sup>1</sup>-[tu-nu a-di e-mu-qi-šú-nu]  
 24') ĠIŠ.MÁ.MEŠ-ṽšú<sup>1</sup>-[nu ina tam-tim u na-ba-li]  
 25') it-ti ERIM.ḤI.ṽA<sup>1</sup>-[ia ur-ḥu pa-da-nu]  
 26') ú-šá-ṽaš<sup>1</sup>-[bit-su-nu-ti a-na na-ra-ru-ti]  
 27') [ḥa-mat šá LUGAL.MEŠ LÚ.qé-pa-a-ni]  
 28') ṽša<sup>1</sup> [qé-reb KUR.mu-šur ARAD.MEŠ da-gíl  
 pa-ni-ia]  
 29') ur-ṽru<sup>1</sup>-[ḥi-iš ar-de-e-ma]  
 30') al-lik [a-di URU.kar-ṽDÛ-ti]  
 31') <sup>m</sup>tar-ṽqu<sup>1</sup>-[u MAN KUR.mu-šur u KUR.ku-u-si]  
 32') qé-reb URU.me-ṽem<sup>1</sup>-[pi a-lak ger-ri-ia iš-me-ma]  
 33') a-na e-peš [MURUB<sub>4</sub> ĠIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ u MÈ]  
 34') a-na maḥ-ri-ia ṽid<sup>1</sup>-[ka-a ERIM.MEŠ MÈ-šú]  
 35') i-na tu-kul-ti ṽAN<sup>1</sup>.[ŠÁR ṽEN ù ṽAG]  
 36') ṽDINGIR<sup>1</sup>.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ ṽEN<sup>1</sup>.[MEŠ-ia a-li-kut  
 i-di-ia ina MÈ]  
 37') ṽEDIN<sup>2</sup> rap<sup>2</sup>-[ší áš-ku-na BAD<sub>5</sub>.BAD<sub>5</sub>  
 ERIM.ḤI.A-šú]

## Lacuna

- 1'') [<sup>m</sup>ni]-ṽku-ú<sup>1</sup> [LUGAL URU.me-em-pi ù  
 URU.sa-a-a]  
 2'') [<sup>m</sup>LUGAL]-ṽlu<sup>1</sup>-dà-ri [LUGAL URU.ši-i'-nu]  
 3'') [<sup>m</sup>pi-šá]-ṽan<sup>1</sup>-ḥu-ru [LUGAL URU.na-at-ḥu-ú]  
 4'') [<sup>m</sup>pa]-ṽaq<sup>1</sup>-ru-ru ṽLUGAL<sup>1</sup> [URU.šap-tú]  
 5'') [<sup>m</sup>ni<sup>2</sup>]-ḥer<sup>2</sup>-a-u LUGAL ṽURU<sup>1</sup>.[ḥa-at-ḥi-ri-bi]  
 6'') [<sup>m</sup>na]-ṽaḥ-ke<sup>1</sup>-e LUGAL URU.ḥi-[ni-in-ši]  
 7'') [LUGAL.MEŠ] an-nu-ti LÚ.NAM.MEŠ [LÚ.qe-pa-ni]  
 8'') [ša qé-reb KUR].ṽmu-šur<sup>1</sup> ú-pa-ṽqí-du<sup>1</sup> [AD  
 DÛ-u-a]  
 9'') [ša la-pa-an] ti-bu-ṽut<sup>1</sup> [<sup>m</sup>tar-qu-u]

of the land Ashkelon], I[kausu, king of the land Ekron], Mi[لكي-أشاپا, king of the land Byblos], (ii 5') Y[akīn-Lû, king of the land Arwad], A[bī-Ba'al, king of the land Samsimurruna], A[mmi-nadbi, king of the land Bīt-Ammon, Aḥī-Milki, king of the land Ashdod, Ekištura, king of the land Idalion, (ii 10') Pilagurâ, king of the land Kitrusi, Kisu, king of the land Salamis, Itūandar, king of the land Paphos, Erēsu, king of the land Soloi, Damāsu, king of the land Curium], (ii 15') Ad[mēsu, king of the land Tamassos], Da[mysos, king of the land Lidir], Bu[šusu, king of the land Nūria] – in total, twenty-[two kings of the seacoast], (ii 20') the midst of the sea, [and dry land, servants who belonged to me], carr[ried their substantial] audience gi[ft(s)] before me [and kissed my feet].

ii 23'-26'a) I made tho[se] kings, [together with their forces] (and) the[ir] boats, t[ake the road (and) path] with [my] troops [by sea and dry land].

ii 26'b-37') [I] qui[ckly advanced to support (and) aid the kings (and) officials] who [were in Egypt, servants who belonged to me, and] (ii 30') I marched [as far as the city Kār-Bāniti]. Taharq[ā, the king of Egypt and Kush, heard about the advance of my expeditionary force] (while he was) inside the city Me[mphis, and] m[ustered his battle troops] before me to wage [armed battle (and) war]. (ii 35') With the support of the gods A[ššur, Bēl (Marduk), and Nabû], the great gods, [my] lo[rds who march at my side, I brought about the defeat of his troops in a] *widesp[read] pitched [battle].*

## Lacuna

ii 1''-16'') [(As for) Ne]cho, [king of the cities Memphis and Sais, Šarru-]ū-dāri, [king of the city Pelusium, Pi-ša]n-Ḥuru, [king of the city Natho, Pa]-qruru, king of [the city (Pi)šaptu, (ii 5') In]aros ([Ni]herau), king of the city [Athribis, (and) N]aḥkê, king of the city He[racleopolis], those [kings], governors, (and) [officials whom the father who had engendered me] had appointed [in] Egypt, (ii 10'') [who] had abandoned [their post(s) in the face of Taharqā's] tactical adva[nce, (and) had gone to (lit. "filled") the country-side], where [their post(s) were, I permitted (them) to

Lacuna after ii 37' The gap corresponds to text no. 6 (Prism C) ii 67'-75'.

ii 4'' [URU.šap-tú] "[the city (Pi)šaptu]": See the on-page note to text no. 6 (Prism C) ii 79'.

ii 5'' [<sup>m</sup>ni<sup>2</sup>]-ḥer<sup>2</sup>-a-u "[In]aros ([Ni]herau)": On the reading of the name, see the on-page note to text no. 6 (Prism C) ii 80.



10'') [pi-qit-ta-šú-un] <sup>r</sup>ú<sup>1</sup>-maš-še-<sup>r</sup>ru<sup>1</sup> [im-lu-ú EDIN]  
 11'') [ú-ter-ma] <sup>r</sup>a<sup>2</sup>-šar<sup>21</sup> [pi-qit-ti-šú-un]  
 12'') [ina maš-kán-i-šú-un ul-zi-is-su-nu-ti]  
 13'') [KUR.mu-šur u KUR.ku-u-si šá AD ba-nu-u-a]  
 14'') <sup>r</sup>ik<sup>21</sup>-[šú-du a-na eš-šu-ti aš-bat]  
 15'') EN.NUN.MEŠ-[šú UGU šá u<sub>4</sub>-me pa-ni ú-dan-nin]  
 16'') ú-rak-<sup>r</sup>ki<sup>1</sup>-[sa rik-se-šú]  
 17'') it-ti hu-ub-ti ma<sup>2</sup>-a<sup>2</sup>?-[di šal-la-ti ka-bit-ti pa-an  
 GIŠ.ŠUDUN-ia ú-ter-ra-am-ma]  
 18'') šal-meš a-tu-ra a-na [KUR aš-šur.KI]  
 19'') EGIR-nu <sup>m</sup>ni-ku-ú <sup>m</sup>LUGAL-lu-dà-ri  
<sup>m</sup>pa-<sup>r</sup>aq<sup>1</sup>-[ru-ru]  
 20'') ina a-de-ia iḫ-ṭu-u la iṣ-šu-ru ma-mit  
 [DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ]  
 21'') ṭa-ab-ti im-šu-ma<sup>2</sup> lib-ba-šú-nu ik-pu-ud  
<sup>r</sup>le<sup>1</sup>-[mut-tú]  
 22'') da-bab sur-ra-a-ti id-bu-bu-<sup>r</sup>ma<sup>1</sup>  
 23'') mi-lik la ku-širi<sub>4</sub> im-li-ku ra-man-šú-un  
 24'') um-ma <sup>m</sup>tar-qu-u ul-tu qé-reb KUR.mu-šur  
 25'') i-na-saḫ-ú-ma at-tu-ni a-šá-ba-ni mi-i-nu  
 26'') e-li <sup>m</sup>tar-qu-u MAN KUR.ku-u-si  
 27'') a-na šá-kan a-de-e u sa-li-me  
 28'') ú-ma-<sup>2</sup>e-e-ru LÚ.rak-bé-šú-un  
 29'') um-ma su-lum-mu-u ina bi-ri-ni liš-šá-kin-ma  
 30'') ni-in-dag-ga-ru a-ḫa-meš  
 31'') KUR a-ḫe-en-na-a ni-zu-uz-ma  
 32'') a-a ib-ba-ši ina bi-ri-ni šá-nu-um-ma be-lum  
 33'') a-na ERIM.ḪI.A KUR aš-šur.KI e-muq EN-ti-ia šá  
 na-kas ZI-tim  
 34'') iš-te-né-<sup>2</sup>u-ú a-mat ḪUL-tim  
 35'') LÚ.šú-ut SAG.MEŠ-ia a-ma-a-ti an-na-a-ti  
 iš-mu-u-ma  
 36'') LÚ.rak-bé-šú-un a-di šip-ra-ti-šú-un  
 37'') iṣ-ba-tu-nim-ma e-mu-ru ep-šet  
 sur-ra-a-ti-šú-un  
 38'') <sup>m</sup>ni-ku-u <sup>m</sup>LUGAL-lu-dà-ri iṣ-ba-tu-ma  
 39'') ina bi-re-ti AN.BAR u iš-qa-ti AN.BAR  
 ú-tam-me-ḫu ŠU.II u ĠIR.II  
 40'') ma-mit AN.ŠÁR LUGAL DINGIR.MEŠ  
 ik-šu-us-su-nu-ti-ma  
 41'') ša iḫ-ṭu-ú ina a-de-e DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ  
 42'') ṭa-ab-ti qa-tuš-šú-un ú-ba-<sup>2</sup>i-i-ma  
 43'') ša e-pu-us-su-nu-ti du-un-qu  
 44'') ù UN.MEŠ URU.sa-a-a URU.bi-in-ṭi-ṭi  
 45'') URU.ši-i<sup>2</sup>-nu ma-la it-ti-šú-nu iš-šak-nu  
 46'') ik-pu-du le-mut-tú TUR u GAL ina  
 GIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ ú-šam-[qí-tu]  
 47'') e-du a-me-lu la e-zi-bu ina lib-[bi]  
 48'') ADDA.MEŠ-šú-nu e-lu-lu ina GIŠ.ga-[ši-ši]  
 49'') KUŠ.MEŠ-šú-nu iš-ḫu-ṭu ú-ḫal-li-pu <sup>r</sup>BÀD<sup>1</sup> [URU]

serve in their (former) positions again. I reorganized Egypt and Kush, which the father who had engendered me] had c[onquered. (ii 15'') I strengthened its] guard [more than previously (and)] conclu[ded (new) agree-ments with it].

ii 17'–18'') With mu[ch] plunder (and) [substantial booty, I turned around (lit. “I turned the front of my yoke”) and] returned safely to [Assyria].

ii 19'–34'') Afterwards, Necho, Šarru-lū-dāri, (and) Pa-[qruru] sinned against my treaty (and) did not honor the oath(s) sworn by [the great gods]. They forgot my kindness and their heart(s) plotted e[vil (deeds)]. They spoke word(s) of treachery and decided (among) themselves on a profitless decision, saying: (ii 25'') “If they remove Taharqa from Egypt, how then can we (ourselves) stay?” To establish treaties and peace, they dispatched their mounted messenger(s) to Taharqa, the king of Kush, saying: “Let peace be established between us so that (ii 30'') we can come to a mutual agreement. (Let) us divide the land among ourselves so that no other lord comes between us.” With regard to troops of Assyria, the might of my lordly majesty, they constantly sought out evil plan(s) to cut (their) throat(s).

ii 35'–43'') Eunuchs of mine heard these words; they seized their mounted messenger(s) along with their messages and (then) they saw their deceitful acts. They seized Necho (and) Šarru-lū-dāri and clamped (their) hands and feet in iron fetters and iron handcuffs. (ii 40'') The oath (sworn) by (the god) Aššur, the king of the gods, defeated them and my kindness, which I had done for them as a favor, called to account those who had sinned against the treaty (sworn) by the great gods.

ii 44'–49'') Moreover, (as for) the people of the cities Sais, Mendes, (and) Pelusium, as many as had sided with them and plotted evil (deeds), young and old, they (my troops) cut (them) do[wn] with the sword. They did not spare a single person amo[ng (them)]. They hung their corpses on po[les], flayed them, (and) draped the [city] w[all(s) with their skins].

ii 38'') Text no. 11 (Prism A) i 130b has LUGAL.MEŠ an-nu-te (“those kings”) in lieu of the names of Necho and Šarru-lū-dāri.

ii 44'') Text no. 11 (Prism A) i 134 does not include ù (“and”) before UN.MEŠ (“the people of”). URU.bi-in-ṭi-ṭi “Mendes”: The name of this city is spelled as URU.pi-in-ṭi-ṭi in text no. 11 (Prism A) i 134.

ii 45'') Text no. 11 (Prism A) ii 1 adds ù si-it-ti URU.MEŠ (“and the rest of the cities”) after URU.ši-i<sup>2</sup>-nu (“Pelusium”).

- 50'') <sup>m</sup>ni-ku-u <sup>m</sup>LUGAL-lu-dà-ri bal-tu-<sup>r</sup>us<sup>1</sup>-[su-un]  
 51'') a-na URU.NINA a-di maḥ-ri-ia ub-[lu-u-ni]  
 52'') <sup>m</sup>LUGAL-lu-dà-ri ša<sup>2</sup> MUN<sup>2</sup> la iṣ-ṣu-ru iḥ-<sup>r</sup>tu<sup>1</sup>-[u ...]  
 53'') ina ki-li a-šar ši-bit-ti da<sup>2</sup>-ri<sup>2</sup>-i<sup>2</sup> na<sup>2</sup>-[di ...]  
 54'') a-na <sup>m</sup>ni-ku-u re-e-mu ar-ši-ma ú-<sup>r</sup>bal<sup>1</sup>-[liṭ nap-šat-su]  
 55'') a-de-e UGU šá maḥ-ri ut-tir-ma it-ti-šú [áš-kun]  
 56'') lu-bul-tu bir-me ú-lab-bi-<sup>r</sup>is<sup>1</sup>-[su]  
 57'') al-lu KÙ.GI si-mat LUGAL-ti-šú áš-<sup>r</sup>kun<sup>1</sup>-[šú]  
 58'') ḪAR.MEŠ KÙ.GI ú-rak-ki-sa rit-[ti-šú]  
 59'') GĪR šib-bi šá iḥ-zu-šú <sup>r</sup>KÙ<sup>1</sup>.[GI]  
 60'') ni-bit MU-ia ina muḥ-ḫi áš-ṭur-ma [a-din-šú]

Col. iii

Lacuna

- 1') [ina tukul-ti AN.ŠĀR u <sup>d</sup>15 ik-šu-da ŠU.II]-<sup>r</sup>a-a<sup>1</sup>  
 2') [KÙ.BABBAR KÙ.GI ni-siq-ti] <sup>r</sup>NA<sub>4</sub><sup>1</sup>.MEŠ  
 3') [NÍG.ŠU É.GAL-šú ma-la] <sup>r</sup>ba<sup>1</sup>-šu-ú  
 4') [lu-bul-ti bir-me GADA.MEŠ ANŠE.KUR.RA].MEŠ GAL.MEŠ  
 5') [UN.MEŠ zík-ru] <sup>r</sup>ú<sup>1</sup> sin-niš  
 6') [2 tim-me MAḪ.MEŠ pi-ti-iq za-ḫa-le]-<sup>r</sup>e<sup>1</sup> eb-bi  
 7') [ša 2 LIM 5 ME GUN KI.LÁ-šú]-<sup>r</sup>nu<sup>1</sup>  
 8') [man-za-az KÁ É.KUR ul-tu man-zal-ti-šú]-<sup>r</sup>nu<sup>1</sup> as-<sup>r</sup>suh<sup>1</sup>-[ma]  
 9') [al-qa-a a]-<sup>r</sup>na<sup>1</sup> KUR aš-<sup>r</sup>šur<sup>1</sup>.KI  
 10') [šal-la-tu ka-bit-tu] <sup>r</sup>ina<sup>1</sup> la <sup>r</sup>mi<sup>1</sup>-ni áš-<sup>r</sup>lu<sup>1</sup>-[la]  
 11') [ul-tu qē]-<sup>r</sup>reb<sup>1</sup> URU.ni-i'  
 12') [e-li KUR.mu-šur] <sup>r</sup>ú<sup>1</sup> KUR.ku-u-si  
 13') [GIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ-ia ú-šam-ri]-<sup>r</sup>ir<sup>1</sup>-ma áš-ta-kan li-<sup>r</sup>i-tú<sup>1</sup>  
 14') [it-ti ŠU.II ma-li]-ti šal-meš a-tu-ra  
 15') [a-na NINA.KI] URU be-lu-ti-ia

- 16') [ina šal-ši] <sup>r</sup>ger-ri-ia<sup>1</sup> UGU <sup>m</sup>ba-<sup>2</sup>a-li LUGAL KUR.šur-ri  
 17') [a-šib] <sup>r</sup>MURUB<sub>4</sub><sup>1</sup> tam-(erasure)-tim lu-u al-lik  
 18') [áš-šú a]-<sup>r</sup>mat LUGAL<sup>1</sup>-[u]-<sup>r</sup>ti<sup>1</sup>-ia la iṣ-ṣu-ru  
 19') [la iš]-mu-ú <sup>r</sup>zi<sup>1</sup>-kir NUNDUM-ia  
 20') [URU.ḪAL].<sup>r</sup>ŠU<sup>1</sup>.MEŠ [e]-<sup>r</sup>li<sup>1</sup>-šú ú-rak-kis  
 21') [a-na la a]-<sup>r</sup>še<sup>1</sup>-e UN.[MEŠ-šú ú]-<sup>r</sup>dan<sup>1</sup>-nin ma-šar-tuš  
 22') [ina tam-tim u] na-ba-<sup>r</sup>li<sup>1</sup> [ger-re]-<sup>r</sup>e<sup>1</sup>-ti-šú  
 23') [ú]-šab-bit <sup>r</sup>a-lak-ta-šú ap-ru<sup>1</sup>-us  
 24') [A.MEŠ ú te-<sup>2</sup>u-ú]-<sup>r</sup>tu<sup>1</sup> ba-laṭ ZI-<sup>r</sup>ti<sup>1</sup>-šú-nu  
 25') [a-na pi-i-šú]-<sup>r</sup>nu<sup>1</sup> ú-šá-qí-ir  
 26') [ina me-se-ri dan-ni šá] la na-par-šu-di e-si-ir-šú-nu-ti  
 27') [nap-šat-su]-<sup>r</sup>nu<sup>1</sup> ú-si-iq ú-<sup>r</sup>kar<sup>1</sup>-ri

ii 50'–53') They bro[ught] Necho (and) Šarru-lū-dāri ali[ve] to Nineveh, before me. (As for) Šarru-lū-dāri, who had not honored my kindness (and) sinn[ed against ...], he was thro[wn] into confinement, a place of eternal detainment, [...].

ii 54'–60') I had mercy on Necho and I l[et him live]. I made (his) treaty more stringent than the previous one and [I established (it)] with him. I cloth[ed him] in garment(s) with multi-colored trim, plac[ed on him] a golden hoe, an insignia of his kingship, (and) fastened gold bracelets around [his] wri[sts]. On a belt-dagger with g[old] mountings, I wrote out my name and [I gave (it) to him].

Lacuna

iii 1') [With the support of (the god) Aššur and the goddess Ištar], I [conquered that city (Thebes) in its entirety].

iii 2'–15') [Silver, gold, precious st]ones, [as much property of his palace as th]ere was, [garment(s) with multi-colored trim, linen garments], large [horse]s, (iii 5') [people – male] and female – [two tall obelisks cast with] shiny [zaḫal]û-[metal, who]se [weight was 2,500 talents (and which) stood at a temple gate], I rip[ped (them) from where the]y [were erected and took (them) t]o Assy[ria]. (iii 10') I carr[ied off substantial booty, (which was) with]out number, [fro]m inside the city Thebes. [I made my weapons preva]il [over Egypt] and Kush and (thus) achieved victory. [With fu]ll [hand(s)], I returned safely [to Nineveh], my capital city.

iii 16'–28') [On] my [third ca]mpaign, I marched against Ba'alu, the king of the land Tyre [who re-sides in the mid]dle of the sea. [Because] he did not honor my ro[y]al [com]mand(s) and [did not o]bey [the pron]ouncement(s) from my lip(s), (iii 20') I set up [outpos]ts [again]st him. [To prevent his] people [from leav]ing, [I rei]nforced (its) garrison. [By sea and] dry la[nd, I] took control of (all of) his [rout]es (and thus) cut off (all) access to him. (iii 25') I made [water and food] for the preservation of their lives scarce [for the]ir [mouths]. I confined them [in a harsh imprison-ment from which] there was no escape. I constricted (and) cut short [thei]r [lives]. I made them (the people of Tyre) bow down [to] my [yoke].

ii 50'' In lieu of the names, text no. 11 (Prism A) ii 5–6 has 20.<sup>r</sup>AM<sup>1</sup>LUGAL.MEŠ an-nu-ti šá ḪUL-tu iš-te-né-<sup>2</sup>u-u a-na ERIM.ḪI.A KUR AN.ŠĀR.KI “those twenty kings who had constantly sought out evil (deeds) against the troops of Assyria.”

ii 52''–53'' These two lines are not included in text no. 11 (Prism A).

Lacuna before iii 1' The contents of this break in the inscription correspond to text no. 6 (Prism C) iii 5'–41'. The translation assumes that the now-missing line before iii 1' contained URU šu-a-tú a-na si-ḫir-ti-šú “that city (Thebes) in its entirety.”

- 28') [a-na GIŠ.ŠUDUN]-ia ú-šak-ni-is-su-<sup>r</sup>nu-ti<sup>1</sup>  
 29') [DUMU.MUNUS ši]-<sup>r</sup>it<sup>1</sup> lib-bi-šú ù DUMU.MUNUS  
 ŠEŠ.[MEŠ-šú]  
 30') [a-na e]-<sup>r</sup>peš<sup>1</sup> MUNUS.AGRIG-<sup>r</sup>ú<sup>1</sup>-[ti]  
 31') [ú-bi-la] a-di maḥ-<sup>r</sup>ri-ia<sup>1</sup>  
 32') [DUMU-šú šá ma-ti-ma] <sup>r</sup>ti<sup>1</sup>-amtu la e-bi-<sup>r</sup>ra<sup>1</sup>  
 33') [iš-šá-a a-na] <sup>r</sup>e<sup>1</sup>-peš ARAD-ti-ia  
 34') [DUMU.MUNUS-su u] <sup>r</sup>DUMU.MUNUS<sup>1</sup>  
 ŠEŠ.MEŠ-šú  
 35') [it-ti ter-ḥa-ti ma-a<sup>2</sup>]-<sup>r</sup>as<sup>1</sup>-si am-ḥur-<sup>r</sup>šú<sup>1</sup>  
 36') [re-e-mu ar]-<sup>r</sup>ši<sup>1</sup>-šú-<sup>r</sup>ma<sup>1</sup>  
 37') [DUMU ši-it lib-bi-šú ú-ter]-<sup>r</sup>ma<sup>2</sup> a<sup>2</sup>-din<sup>2</sup>-[šú]  
 38') [URU.ḪAL.ŠU.MEŠ šá UGU <sup>m</sup>ba-'a-li LUGAL  
 KUR.šur-ri]  
 39') [ú-rak-ki-su ap-ṭur]  
 40') [ina tam-tim u na-ba-li ger]-<sup>r</sup>re-ti-šú<sup>1</sup>  
 41') [ma-la ú-šab-bi-tu] <sup>r</sup>ap<sup>1</sup>-ti  
 42') [ma-da-at-ta-šú ka-bit-tú] <sup>r</sup>am<sup>1</sup>-ḥur-šú  
 43') [pa-an GIŠ.ŠUDUN-ia ú-ter-ram-ma šal-meš  
 a-tu-ra a-na NINA.KI URU be]-<sup>r</sup>lu<sup>1</sup>-ti-ia  
 44') [ma-al-ki MURUB<sub>4</sub> tam]-tim  
 45') [u LUGAL.MEŠ a-ši-bu-ti šad-de-e] šá-qu-ti  
 46') [da-na-an ep-še-ti-ia an-na]-<sup>r</sup>a-ti<sup>1</sup>

## Lacuna

- 1'') [DUMU.MUNUS.MEŠ ši-it lib-bi-šú]-<sup>r</sup>nu<sup>1</sup>  
 2'') [it-ti nu-dun-né-e ma-a<sup>2</sup>-di ù ter-ḥa-ti  
 ma-a<sup>2</sup>]-<sup>r</sup>as<sup>1</sup>-si  
 3'') [a-na e-peš MUNUS.AGRIG]-<sup>r</sup>ú<sup>1</sup>-ti  
 4'') [a-na NINA.KI ú-bi-lu-nim-ma ú-na-áš-ši]-<sup>r</sup>qu<sup>1</sup>  
 ĠİR.II-ia  
 5'') <sup>r</sup>e-li<sup>1</sup> [<sup>m</sup>mu-gal-li ANŠE.KUR.RA].<sup>r</sup>MEŠ<sup>1</sup> GAL.MEŠ  
 6'') ma-da-at-<sup>r</sup>tú<sup>1</sup> [šat-ti-šam-ma ú-kin] <sup>r</sup>EDIN<sup>1</sup>-uš-šú  
 7'') ul-tu <sup>m</sup>ia-<sup>r</sup>ki<sup>1</sup>-[in-lu-u LUGAL KUR].ar-ú-a<sup>2</sup>-da<sup>1</sup>  
 8'') il-li-ku [a-na] <sup>r</sup>šim-ti<sup>1</sup>  
 9'') <sup>m</sup>a-zi-ba-a<sup>2</sup>-al <sup>m</sup>a-bi-ba-<sup>r</sup>a<sup>2</sup>-[al  
<sup>m</sup>]<sup>r</sup>a<sup>1</sup>-du-ni-ba-a<sup>2</sup>-al  
 10'') DUMU.MEŠ <sup>m</sup>ia-ki-in-lu-[u a]-<sup>r</sup>šib<sup>1</sup> MURUB<sub>4</sub>  
 tam-tim  
 11'') ul-tu MURUB<sub>4</sub> tam-tim [e]-<sup>r</sup>lu<sup>1</sup>-nim-ma  
 12'') it-ti ta-mar-ti-šú-nu <sup>r</sup>ka<sup>1</sup>-[bit-tu il-lik-ú-nim-ma  
 ú-na-áš-ši]-<sup>r</sup>qu<sup>1</sup> ĠİR.II-ia  
 13'') <sup>m</sup>a-zi-ba-a<sup>2</sup>-al ḥa-[diš ap]-<sup>r</sup>pa-lis-ma<sup>1</sup>  
 14'') a-na LUGAL-ú-ti KUR.ar-<sup>r</sup>ú<sup>1</sup>-[a-da áš-kun]  
 15'') <sup>m</sup>a-bi-ba-a<sup>2</sup>-al <sup>m</sup>a-du-ni-[ba-a<sup>2</sup>-al] <sup>r</sup>lu<sup>1</sup>-bul-tu  
 bir-me ú-lab-biš-[ma]  
 16'') ḪAR.MEŠ KÙ.GI áš-<sup>r</sup>kun<sup>1</sup> [ina] <sup>r</sup>maḥ<sup>1</sup>-ri-ia  
 ul-<sup>r</sup>zis<sup>1</sup>-[su-nu-ti]  
 17'') <sup>m</sup>gu-ug-gu LUGAL <sup>r</sup>lu<sup>1</sup>-[ud-di]  
 18'') na-gu-ú šá né-ber-[ti A.AB.BA] áš-ru <sup>r</sup>ru<sup>1</sup>-ú-qu  
 19'') ša LUGAL.MEŠ AD.MEŠ-<sup>r</sup>ia<sup>1</sup> la iš-<sup>r</sup>mu<sup>1</sup>-ú zi-kir  
 [MU-šú]  
 20'') ni-bit LUGAL-ti-ia ina MÁŠ.<sup>r</sup>GI<sub>6</sub><sup>1</sup>  
 21'') ú-šab-ri-[šú-ma] AN.ŠÁR DINGIR [ba-nu-u-a]

iii 29'–37') [He brought] before me [(his) daughter], his [own off]spring, and the daughter(s) of [his] brother[s to serv]e as housekeep[ers]. He brought his son, who had never] cross[ed the s]ea, to do obeisance to me. (iii 35') I received from him [his daughter and] the daughter(s) of his brothers, [together with a lar]ge [marriage gift. I ha]d [mercy] on him an[d] (then) I gave [(his) son, his offspring, back to him].

iii 38'–43') [I dismantled the outposts that I had constructed against Ba'al, the king of the land Tyre. By sea and dry land, I] opened (all of) his [ro]utes, [as many as I had seized. I] received from him [his substantial payment. I turned around (lit. "I turned the front of my yoke") and returned safely to Nineveh], my [capit]al [city].

iii 44'–46') [Rulers (who reside in) the middle of the s]ea [and kings who reside in the] high [mountains saw the might of the]se [deeds of mine and]

## Lacuna

iii 1'–6'') [They brought (their) daughters, the]ir [own offspring, to Nineveh to serve as housekeep]ers, [together with a substantial dowry and a lar]ge [marriage gift, and they kisse]d my feet. [I imposed] upon [Mugallu] an [annual] payment of large [horse]s.

iii 7'–16'') After Yaki[n-Lû, the king of the land] Arwad, had gone [to] (his) fate, Azi-Ba'al, Abi-Ba'al, (and) Adûni-Ba'al, (iii 10'') the sons of Yakîn-Lû [who res]id[e in] the middle of the sea, [ca]me up from the middle of the sea, [came] with their su[bs]tantial audience gift(s), [and kisse]d my feet. [I l]ooked upon Azi-Ba'al with pl[ea]sure and [installed him] as king of the land Arw[ad]. (iii 15'') I clothed Abi-Ba'al (and) Adûni-[Ba'al in gar]ment(s) with multi-colored trim [and] place[d] gold bracelets (around their wrists). I made [them] stan[d be]fore me.

iii 17'–23'') (As for) Gyges, the king of (the land) L[ydia] – a region on the opposite sho[re of the sea], a remote place, the mention of [whose name] none of the kings, my ancestors, had (ever) heard – (iii 20'') (the god) Aššur, the god [who created me], made [him] see in a dream my royal name. On the (very) day [he

Lacuna after iii 46' The translation assumes that the first line missing line after iii 46' contained e-mu-ru-ma "they saw and." The lacuna corresponds to text no. 6 (Prism C) iii 92'–97'.

22'') u<sub>4</sub>-mu MÁŠ.GI<sub>6</sub> an-ni-<sup>r</sup>tu<sup>1</sup> [e-mu-ru]  
 23'') LÚ.rak-bu-šú iš-pu-ra ana šá-<sup>r</sup>'a-al<sup>1</sup> [šul-mì-ia]  
 24'') LÚ.gi-mir-a-a LÚ.<sup>r</sup>KÚR<sup>1</sup> [ek-šu]  
 25'') ša la ip-tal-la-<sup>h</sup>u [AD.MEŠ-ia]  
 26'') ù ia-a-ti la iš-ba-<sup>r</sup>tú GÌR<sup>1</sup>.[II LUGAL-ti-ia]  
 27'') ina tukul-ti AN.ŠÁR u <sup>d</sup>15 <sup>r</sup>EN<sup>7</sup>.[MEŠ-ia]  
 28'') ina GIŠ.ši-iš-ši šat qa-ti GIŠ.<sup>r</sup>šì<sup>1</sup>-[ga-ri]  
 29'') ú-tam-me-e<sup>h</sup>-ma it-ti ta-mar-<sup>r</sup>ti<sup>1</sup>-[šú ka-bit-ti]  
 30'') ú-še-bi-la a-di <sup>r</sup>ma<sup>h</sup><sup>1</sup>-[ri-ia]

31'') [ina] <sup>r</sup>4-e<sup>1</sup> ger-ri-ia a-na <sup>r</sup>URU<sup>1</sup>.[qir-bít]  
 32'') [šá qé]<sup>r</sup>-reb<sup>1</sup> URU.ḫa-re-e-ḫa-as-<sup>r</sup>ta<sup>1</sup> [lu al-lik]  
 33'') [ša <sup>m</sup>ta]<sup>r</sup>-an<sup>1</sup>-da LÚ.<sup>r</sup>EN<sup>1</sup>.[URU-šú-nu]  
 34'') [a-na LUGAL].<sup>r</sup>MEŠ<sup>1</sup> AD.MEŠ-ia <sup>r</sup>la<sup>1</sup> [ik-nu-šú  
 a-na GIŠ.ŠUDUN]  
 35'') [ù UN.MEŠ] <sup>r</sup>a<sup>1</sup>-ši-bu-<sup>r</sup>ti<sup>1</sup> [URU.qir-bít]

Lacuna

Col. iv

Lacuna

1') [...] <sup>r</sup>PAP<sup>2</sup> x  
 2') [... a-di a-dí?]-<sup>r</sup>ni<sup>2</sup> la <sup>r</sup>a<sup>1</sup>-la-ku  
 3') [... <sup>m</sup>]a<sup>h</sup><sup>1</sup>-še-<sup>r</sup>e<sup>1</sup>-ri MAN KUR.man-na-a-a  
 4') [... aš]-<sup>r</sup>ba<sup>2</sup>-ta ḫar-ra-nu  
 5') [... AD].MEŠ-<sup>r</sup>ia<sup>1</sup> la-<sup>r</sup>a<sup>1</sup> (erasure) kit-nu-šú  
 6') [...] da-ša-a-ti  
 7') [...] x URU.LÍMMU-DINGIR  
 8') [...] x iq-ba-a  
 9') [...] <sup>r</sup>aq<sup>2</sup>-bi-ma  
 10') [...] x <sup>r</sup>ša<sup>1</sup> [KUR].<sup>r</sup>man<sup>1</sup>-na-a-a  
 11') [...] x <sup>r</sup>ME NI<sup>1</sup> [(x)] x-nu  
 12') [...] x a-ḫa-meš  
 13') [...] <sup>r</sup>at<sup>1</sup>-ta-<sup>r</sup>i-<sup>r</sup>id<sup>1</sup>-[ma]  
 14') [ad-ke ERIM].<sup>r</sup>MEŠ<sup>1</sup> MÈ-<sup>r</sup>ia<sup>1</sup>  
 15') [a-na ka-šá-ad KUR.man-na-a-a] <sup>r</sup>uš<sup>1</sup>-te-še-ra  
 ḫar-ra-nu  
 16') [al-lik-ma qé]-<sup>r</sup>reb<sup>1</sup> URU.BÀD-aš-šur  
 17') [uš-man-nu ad-di-ma áš]-<sup>r</sup>kun<sup>1</sup> ka-ra-ši  
 18') [<sup>m</sup>a<sup>h</sup>-še-e-ri a-lak ger]-<sup>r</sup>ri-ia<sup>1</sup> iš-me-ma  
 19') [ú-ma-<sup>r</sup>e-e-ra] um-man-šú  
 20') [ina šat mu-ši ina ši]-<sup>r</sup>pir<sup>1</sup> ni-kil-ti  
 21') [a-na e-peš MÈ it]-<sup>r</sup>bu<sup>1</sup>-u-ni  
 22') [a-na mit-<sup>h</sup>u-ši] <sup>r</sup>ERIM<sup>1</sup>.ḫI.A-ia  
 23') [ERIM.MEŠ MÈ-ia it-ti-šú-un] <sup>r</sup>im<sup>1</sup>-da-ḫa-šu  
 24') [iš-ku-nu] <sup>r</sup>BAD<sub>5</sub><sup>1</sup>.BAD<sub>5</sub>-šú-un  
 25') [ma-lak 3 KASKAL.GÍD A.ŠÀ šal]-<sup>r</sup>ma-a<sup>1</sup>-te-šú-nu  
 26') [ú-mal-li EDIN] <sup>r</sup>rap<sup>1</sup>-šú

Lacuna

1'') a-<sup>r</sup>na<sup>1</sup> [URU.at-ra-a-na URU tukul-ti-šú]  
 2'') in-<sup>r</sup>na<sup>1</sup>-[bit e-<sup>h</sup>u-uz mar-qí-tu]  
 3'') URU.i-zir-[tu URU.ur-me-ia-te URU.uz]-<sup>r</sup>bi-a<sup>1</sup>

saw] thi[s] dream, he sent his mounted messenger to inquire about [my well-being].

iii 24''–30'') (As for) the Cimmerians, a [dangerous] enemy who had never feared [my ancestors], and, with regard to me, had not grasped the fee[t of my royal majesty], with the support of (the god) Aššur (and) the goddess Ištar, [my] lo[rds], he (Gyges) clamped (them) in manacles, handcuffs, (and) ne[ck-stocks] and sent (them) be[fore me], together with [his substantial] audience gift(s).

iii 31''–35'') [On] my fourth campaign, [I marched] to the city [Qirbit, which is insi]de (Mount) Ḫarēḫast[a (lit. “the city Ḫarēḫast[a]”), since Ta]ndāya, [their city] ru[ler, had] never [bowed down to the yoke of the king]s, my ancestors, [and the people] livin[g in the city Qirbit]

Lacuna

Lacuna

iv 1'–15') [...] ... [...] I did not go [... I to]ok the road [... A]ḫšēri, the king of the land Mannea. [...] who had not bowed down [to the kings], my [ancestor]s, (and) (iv 5') [who always answered with] disrespect. [...] the city Arbela [...] he commanded me [...] I said [...] and (iv 10') [...] of [the land] Mannea [...] ... [...] together. [I] was attentive [...] and I mustered] my battle [troops. I] made (them) take the direct road [to conquer the land Mannea].

iv 16'–26') [I went and (then) set up camp i]n the city Dūr-Aššur [and pitc]hed my camp (there). [Aḫšēri] heard about [the advance of] my [expeditionary] force and [dispatched] his army. (iv 20') [During the night, in a] crafty [maneu]ver, they [approach]ed [to do battle, to fight with] my [tro]ops. [My battle troops] fought [with them (and) brought about] their [def]eat. [(Over) an area (the distance of) three leagues march, they filled the] wide [steppe with] their [cor]pses.

Lacuna

iv 1''–9'') He (Aḫšēri) f[led] to [the city Atrāna, a city upon which he relied, (and) took refuge (there). I] surrounded the cities Izir[tu, Urmēte, (and) Uz]bia, [his]

**Lacuna after iii 35''** The break in the text is probably not more than a few lines. Part of the now-missing contents duplicate text no. 6 (Prism C) iv 13'–18', as well as text no. 3 (Prism B) iii 9–15. Note that this text and text no. 6 (Prism C) contain a longer description of the anti-Assyrian nature of the land Mannea than the one included in text nos. 3 (Prism B) and 4 (Prism D); compare iv 1'–13' of this inscription to text no. 3 (Prism B) iii 16–19.

**Lacuna after iv 26'** This gap corresponds to text no. 6 (Prism C) iv 10''–25''.

- 4'') URU.MEŠ *dan-[nu-ti-šú]* <sup>r</sup>al<sup>l</sup>-me  
5'') UN.MEŠ *a-ši-bu-[ti URU.MEŠ šá-a]*-<sup>r</sup>tu<sup>l</sup>-nu  
6'') *e-si-ir-ma nap-šat*-<sup>r</sup>su<sup>l</sup>-[nu ú-si]-<sup>r</sup>iq<sup>l</sup> ú-kar-ri  
7'') *na-gu-u šu-a-tu* <sup>r</sup>ak-šu-ud<sup>l</sup> ap-pul aq-qur  
8'') *ina* <sup>d</sup>GIŠ.BAR aq-mu ma-lak 10 u<sub>4</sub>-me 5 u<sub>4</sub>-me  
ú-šah-rib-ma  
9'') *šá-qu-um-ma-tú at-bu-uk*  
10'') *ina me-ti-iq ger-ri-ia* URU.MEŠ-ni šá li-me-et  
URU.pad-di-ri  
11'') *ša ina ter-ši* LUGAL.MEŠ-ni AD.MEŠ-ia  
12'') KUR.man-na-a-a e-ki-mu a-na ra-ma-ni-šú-nu  
ú-ter-ru  
13'') *ak-šu-ud ina* <sup>d</sup>GIŠ.BAR aq-mu áš<sup>r</sup>-lu-la<sup>l</sup>  
šal-la-sún  
14'') URU.MEŠ *šá-a-tu-nu a-na mi*-<sup>r</sup>šir<sup>l</sup> [KUR]  
aš-šur.KI ú-ter-ra  
15'') *na-gu-u ša* URU.ar-si-ia-ni-<sup>r</sup>iš šá<sup>l</sup> bi-rit  
URU.a-za-qa-na-ni  
16'') <sup>r</sup>ša<sup>l</sup> KUR.ḥa-ar-si šá-di-i  
17'') <sup>r</sup>ša SAG KUR<sup>l</sup>.ku-mu-ur-da-a-a <sup>r</sup>ša<sup>l</sup> qé-reb  
KUR.man-na-a-a  
18'') *as*-<sup>r</sup>pu<sup>l</sup>-un *ina* <sup>d</sup>rGIŠ<sup>l</sup>.BAR aq-mu  
19'') <sup>m</sup>ra-a-a-<sup>r</sup>di<sup>l</sup>-šá-di-i LÚ.GAL ḤAL.ŠU-šú-nu  
20'') *a-duk* <sup>r</sup>áš<sup>l</sup>-lu-la šal-lat-su  
21'') *na-gu-u ša* URU.<sup>r</sup>e<sup>l</sup>-ri-is-[te]-ia-na ak-šu-ud  
22'') URU.MEŠ-šú *as-pu-un ina* <sup>d</sup>rGIŠ.BAR<sup>l</sup> [aq]-mu  
áš-lu-la šal-la-su  
23'') *ina ti-ib* MÈ-ia [na-gu]-šú ú-šah-rib  
24'') *ú-ša-aḥ-ḥi-ir* <sup>r</sup>nap<sup>l</sup>-ḥar KUR-šú  
25'') *it-ti ḥu-ub-ti ma-a*-<sup>r</sup>di<sup>l</sup> [šal]-<sup>r</sup>la<sup>l</sup>-ti ka-bit-ti  
26'') *šal-meš a-tu-ra ak-bu*-<sup>r</sup>sa<sup>l</sup> [mi]-<sup>r</sup>šir KUR<sup>l</sup>  
aš-šur.KI  
27'') URU.bi-ru-a URU.LUGAL-iq-[bi URU.gu-si-né]-<sup>r</sup>e<sup>l</sup>  
28'') URU.MEŠ *maḥ*-<sup>r</sup>ru<sup>l</sup>-u-ti <sup>r</sup>ša<sup>l</sup> [mi-šir KUR  
aš-šur.KI]  
29'') *ša ina ter-ši* LUGAL.MEŠ AD.<sup>r</sup>MEŠ<sup>l</sup>-[ia e-ki-mu  
KUR.man-na-a-a]  
30'') *da-ád-me šá-a-tu-nu* [ak-šu-ud]  
31'') <sup>r</sup>KUR<sup>l</sup>.man-na-a-a ul-tu <sup>r</sup>lib<sup>l</sup>-[bi as-suḥ]  
32'') ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ GIŠ.til-li <sup>r</sup>ú<sup>l</sup>-[nu-ut MÈ-šú-nu]  
33'') *áš-lu-la* <sup>r</sup>a<sup>l</sup>-[na KUR aš-šur.KI]  
34'') URU.MEŠ *šá-a-tu-nu a*-<sup>r</sup>na<sup>l</sup> [eš-šu-ti aš-bat]  
35'') *ú-ter-ra* <sup>r</sup>a<sup>l</sup>-[na mi-šir KUR aš-šur.KI]  
36'') <sup>m</sup>aḥ-še-e-ri <sup>r</sup>la<sup>l</sup> [pa-liḥ EN-ti-ia]  
37'') AN.ŠÁR <sup>d</sup>15 [im-nu-šú i-na ŠU.II ARAD.MEŠ-šú]  
38'') UN.MEŠ KUR-<sup>r</sup>šú<sup>l</sup> [si-ḥu UGU-šú ú-šab-šú-u]  
39'') *ina* <sup>r</sup>SILA<sup>l</sup> [URU-šú]  
40'') <sup>r</sup>id<sup>l</sup>-[du-u ADDA-šú]  
41'') [EGIR-nu <sup>m</sup>ú-al-li-i DUMU-šú]  
42'') [ú-šib *ina* GIŠ.GU.ZA-šú]  
43'') [da-na]-<sup>r</sup>an AN<sup>l</sup>.[ŠÁR <sup>d</sup>30 <sup>d</sup>UTU <sup>d</sup>EN u <sup>d</sup>AG]  
44'') [<sup>d</sup>15<sup>l</sup> šá <sup>r</sup>NINA<sup>l</sup>.KI [<sup>d</sup>15 šá LÍMMU-DINGIR.KI]  
45'') <sup>r</sup>d<sup>l</sup>MAŠ <sup>d</sup>r<sup>l</sup>nusku<sup>l</sup> [<sup>d</sup>U.GUR DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ]  
46'') EN.MEŠ-ia e-mur-[ma ik-nu-šá a-na

for[tified] cities. (iv 5'') I confined the people livi[ng in tho]se [cities] and (thus) [constrict]ed (and) cut short the[ir] lives. I conquered, destroyed, demolished, (and) burned that district with fire. I laid waste to (an area of) fifteen days march and poured out (over it) the silence (of desolation).

iv 10''–14'') In the course of my campaign, I conquered, burned with fire, (and) plundered the cities in the environs of the city Paddiri, which the Manneans had taken away (and) appropriated for themselves in the time of the kings, my ancestors. I returned those cities to the territo[ry of] Assyria.

iv 15''–20'') I leve[l]ed (and) burned with fire the district of the city Arsiyaniš, which is between the city Azaqanani [an]d (lit. “[o]f”) Mount Ḥarsi, which is before the land of the Kumurdeans, who are in the land Mannea. I killed Rayadišadī, their fortress commander, (and) I plundered it (Arsiyaniš).

iv 21''–26'') I conquered the district of the city Eris[te]yana, flattened its villages, [bur]ned (them) with fire, (and) plundered (them). With the assault of my battle array, I laid waste to his [district] (and) made his [ent]ire land smaller. I returned safely with muc[h] plunder (and) substantial [boo]ty (and) set foo[t in] Assyrian [terr]itory.

iv 27''–35'') (As for) the cities Birrūa, Šarru-iq[bi, (and) Gusin]ê, cities that were formerly *within* [the territory of Assyria] which [the Manneans had taken away] in the time of the kings, [my] ancestors, (iv 30'') [I conquered] those settlements. [I tore] the land Mannea [apart] from wit[hin]. I carried off t[o Assyria] (their) horses, (their) equipment, (and) [their] impl[ements of war]. I reorganized] those cities (and) returned (them) t[o the territory of Assyria].

iv 36''–40'') (As for) Aḥšēri, [who did] n[ot fear my lordly majesty], (the god) Aššur (and) the goddess Ištar [placed him in the hands of his servants]. The people of hi[s] land [incited a rebellion against him] (and) th[ey cast his corpse] into a str[ee]t of his city].  
iv 41''–58'') [Afterwards, Uallī, his son, sat on his throne]. He saw [the mig]ht of the deities Aš[šur, Sîn, Šamaš, Bēl (Marduk) and Nabû, I]štar of Ninev[eh, Ištar of Arbela], Ninurta, Nus[ku, (and) Nergal, the great gods], my lords, [and bowed down to my yoke]. For the preservation of [his] (own) life, [he opened

iv 31'' <sup>r</sup>KUR<sup>l</sup>.man-na-a-a “the land Mannea”: Ex. 3 instead uses the URU determinative.

- GIŠ.ŠUDUN-ia]  
 47'') áš-šú ba-laṭ ZI-ti<sup>1</sup>-[šú up-na-a-šú ip-ta-a]  
 48'') ú-šal-la-a [EN-ú-ti]  
 49'') <sup>m</sup>e-ri-si-in-ni DUMU<sup>1</sup> [UŠ-ti-šú a-na NINA.KI]  
 50'') iš-pur-am-ma [ú-na-áš-ši-qa GİR.II-ia]  
 51'') re-e-mu ar-ši-šú LÚ<sup>1</sup>.[A KIN-ia šá šul-me]  
 52'') ú-ma-'e-er [EDIN-uš-šú]  
 53'') DUMU.MUNUS-su ši-it lib-bi<sup>1</sup>-[šú ú-še-bi-la]  
 54'') a-na e-peš [MUNUS.AGRIG-u-ti]  
 55'') ma-da-at-ta-šú maḥ-ri<sup>1</sup>-[tú ša ina ter-ši  
 LUGAL.MEŠ]  
 56'') AD.MEŠ-ia ú-šab-ṭi-lu<sup>1</sup> [iš-šu-u-ni a-di  
 maḥ-ri-ia]  
 57'') 30 ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ [UGU ma-da-at-ti-šú]  
 58'') maḥ-ri-ti ú-rad<sup>1</sup>-di<sup>1</sup>-[ma e-mi-is-su]  
 59'') [ina u<sub>4</sub>]-<sup>r</sup>me-šú<sup>1</sup> <sup>m</sup>bi<sup>1</sup>-ri-is-ḥa<sup>1</sup>-at-ri LÚ.EN.URU  
 ša mad<sup>1</sup>-[a-a]  
 60'') [<sup>m</sup>sar-a-ti] <sup>m</sup>pa-ri-ḥi<sup>1</sup>  
 61'') [2 DUMU.MEŠ <sup>m</sup>ga-a-gi] LÚ<sup>1</sup>.EN.URU KUR.sa-ḥi  
 62'') [ša iš-lu-u] GIŠ.ŠUDUN be-lu-ti-ia  
 63'') [75 URU.MEŠ-šú-nu dan-nu-ti ak-šu]-<sup>r</sup>ud  
 áš<sup>1</sup>-lu-la šal-lat-sún  
 64'') [šá-a-šú-nu bal-ṭu-us-su-nu] ina<sup>1</sup> ŠU.II aš-bat  
 65'') [ú-bi-la a-na NINA.KI URU be-lu]-<sup>r</sup>ti<sup>1</sup>-ia  
 66'') [<sup>m</sup>an-da-ri-a LÚ.tur-ta-an<sup>?</sup> KUR]-<sup>r</sup>ur<sup>1</sup>-ar-ṭi  
 67'') [ša a-na ka-šá-ad KUR.up]-<sup>r</sup>pu<sup>1</sup>-um-me [ù  
 URU.kul]-<sup>r</sup>li<sup>1</sup>-im-me-ri  
 68'') [ir-da-a il-li-ka] qe<sup>1</sup>-reb mu-ši-ti  
 69'') [UN.MEŠ a-ši-bu]-ti URU.kul-li-im-me-ri  
 70'') [ARAD.MEŠ] da<sup>1</sup>-gíl pa-ni-ia  
 71'') [ina šat mu-ši] di<sup>1</sup>-ik-ta-šú ma-a'-as-su  
 72'') [i-du-ku la] iz<sup>1</sup>-zi-bu a-a-um-ma  
 73'') [SAG.DU <sup>m</sup>an]-<sup>r</sup>da<sup>1</sup>-ri-a ik-ki-su-nim-ma  
 74'') [a-na NINA.KI] i<sup>1</sup>-na maḥ-ri-ia ú-bil-u-ni
- 
- 75'') [ina 6-ši ger-ri-ia UGU <sup>m</sup>ur-ta-ki MAN  
 KUR.ELAM.MA.KI lu-u al-lik]  
 76'') [ša MUN AD DÙ-ia la ḥa-as-su la iš-šu-ru  
 ib-ru-ti]  
 77'') ul-tu ina<sup>1</sup> [KUR.ELAM.MA.KI su-un-qu iš-ku-nu]  
 78'') ib-ba-šú-ú<sup>1</sup> [né]-<sup>r</sup>eb<sup>?</sup>-re<sup>1</sup>-[tu]  
 79'') <sup>4</sup>nisaba ba-laṭ ZI-tim (erasure?) UN<sup>1</sup>.[MEŠ]  
 80'') ú-še-bil-šu-ma aš-bat ŠU.<sup>r</sup>II<sup>1</sup>-[su]  
 81'') UN.MEŠ-šú ša la-pa-an su-<sup>r</sup>un<sup>1</sup>-[qi]  
 82'') in-nab-tu-nim-ma ú-ši-bu qe-reb KUR aš-<sup>r</sup>šur<sup>1</sup>.KI  
 83'') a<sup>1</sup>-di zu-un-nu ina KUR-šú iz-nu<sup>1</sup>-[nu]  
 84'') ib<sup>1</sup>-ba-šú-ú e-bu-[ru]  
 85'') UN<sup>1</sup>.MEŠ šá-a-tu-nu ša ina KUR-<sup>r</sup>ia<sup>1</sup>  
 86'') ib-lu-tu<sup>1</sup> ú-še-bil-šú-ma  
 87'') [LÚ.e-la-mu-ú] šá<sup>1</sup> ti-bu-us-su  
 88'') [it-ti lib-bi-ia] la<sup>1</sup> da-ab-ba-ku  
 89'') [la ḥa-as-sa]-ku še-let-su  
 90'') [<sup>m</sup>EN-BA-šá KUR.gam-bu-la]-<sup>r</sup>a<sup>1</sup>-a

up his hands to me] (and) made an appeal to [my lordly majesty]. (iv 50'') He sent Erisinni, [his] h[eir designate, to Nineveh] and [he kissed my feet]. I had mercy on him. I dispatched [my messenger with (a message of) goodwill to him. He sent me] his daughter, [his] own offspr[ing], to serve as [a housekeeper]. (iv 55'') (As for) his form[er] payment, [which] they had discontinu[ed in the time of the kings], my ancestors, [they carried (it) before me]. I add[ed] thirty horses [to his for]mer [payment and imposed (it) upon him].

iv 59''–65'') [At] that [ti]me, (as for) Birishatri, a city ruler of the Med[es, (and) Sarati] (and) Pariḥi, [two sons of Gagi], a city ruler of the land Saḥi, [who had cast off] the yoke of my lordship, [I conqu]ered (and) plundered [seventy-five of their fortified cities]. I captured [them alive (and) brought (them) to Nineveh], my [capita]l [city].

iv 66''–74'') [(As for) Andaria, the *field marshal* of the land U]rartu, [who had advanced (and) marched] during the night [to conquer the land (of the city) Upp]umu [and the city Kull]immeri, [the people livi]ng in the city Kullimmeri, (iv 70'') [servants who b]elonged to me, [inflicted a] heavy [d]efeate on him [during the night]. They did [not s]pare anyone. They cut off [the head of And]aria and they brought (it) [to Nineveh], before me.

iv 75''–95'') [On my sixth campaign, I marched against Urtaku, the king of the land Elam who did not remember the kindness of the father who had engendered me (nor) did he respect my friendship]. After [famine occurred] in [the land Elam] (and) [hun]g[er] had set in, (iv 80'') I sent to him grain, (which) sustains the live(s) of pe[ople], and (thus) held [him] by the han[d]. (As for) his people, who had fled on account of the fam[ine] (and) settled in Assy[ria] until it rain[ed] (again) in his land (and) harve[sts] grew – (iv 85'') I sent those people who had stayed alive in m[y] land (back) to him. But (as for) [the Elamite wh]ose aggression I had [n]ot tho[ught] possible (lit. “I did [n]ot speak [with my heart]”) (and) a fight with whom I had [not contemplated – (iv 90'') Bēl-iqīša, the Gambul]ian, Nabû-šuma-ēreš, the *šandabakku* (governor of Nippur), servant[s] who belonged to me, (and) Marduk-[šuma-ibni, a e]unuch of Urtaku who

iv 61'' KUR.sa-ḥi “the land Saḥi”: The copy of ex. 3, which is the only witness to this line, contains a NI sign for sa.

Ruling after iv 74'' The ruling line is not preserved on any exemplar.

- md<sub>AG</sub>-MU-URU<sub>4</sub>-eš LÚ.GÚ.EN.NA  
 91'') ʿARAD<sup>1</sup>.[MEŠ] *da-gíl pa-ni-ia*  
 92'') md<sub>AMAR</sub>.ʿUTU<sup>1</sup>-[MU-DÛ LÚ].ʿšú<sup>1</sup>-ut SAG ša  
 m<sub>ur</sub>-ta-ki  
 93'') ša it-ti-ʿšú-nu<sup>1</sup> iš-ku-nu pi-i-šú  
 94'') a-na mit-ḥu-ši ʿKUR<sup>1</sup> EME.GI<sub>7</sub> u KUR URI.KI  
 95'') ina pi-ir-ša-a-ti [id]-ʿku<sup>1</sup>-u-ni m<sub>ur</sub>-ta-ku MAN  
 KUR.ELAM.MA.ʿKI<sup>1</sup>  
 96'') m<sub>ur</sub>-ta-ku ša ʿla ag-ru-šú<sup>1</sup> qa-bal-šú id-ʿka<sup>1</sup>-[a]  
 97'') a-na KUR.kár-<sup>d</sup>dun-ía-áš ur-ʿri<sup>1</sup>-[ḥa ta-ḥa-zu]  
 98'') áš-šú ti-bu-ut LÚ.ʿe<sup>1</sup>-[la-me-e]  
 99'') [LÚ.A KIN a]-ʿna NINA<sup>1</sup>.KI ʿil<sup>1</sup>-[lik-am-ma]  
 100'') [iq-ba-a ia-a-ti a-ma-ti šá-a-ti-na ša ti-bu-ut]  
 101'') [m<sub>ur</sub>-ta-ki ul áš-du-ud ina lib-bi-ia]  
 Col. v  
 1) [šú-ut LÚ.EDIN.MEŠ-šú šá su-lum-me]-ʿe<sup>1</sup>  
 2) [iš-ta-ṇap-pa-ra ina] ʿmaḥ-ri<sup>1</sup>-ia  
 3) [a-na a-mar LUGAL] ʿKUR<sup>1</sup>.ELAM.MA.KI  
 4) [LÚ.A KIN-ia ú-ma-ʿe]-ʿer<sup>1</sup> ḥa-an-ṭiš  
 5) [il-lik i-tu-ram-ma a-ma-a-ti ka-a]-a-ma-na-a-ti  
 6) [ú-šá-an-na-a] ia-a-ti  
 7) [um-ma LÚ.e-la-mu-ú GIM] ʿti<sup>1</sup>-bu-ut  
 BURU<sub>5</sub>.ḪI.A  
 8) [ka-tim KUR] ʿURI<sup>1</sup>.KI ka-li-šá  
 9) [še-er KÁ.DINGIR.RA.KI uš-man]-ʿnu<sup>1</sup> šá-kin-ma  
 na-di ma-dak-tú  
 10) [a-na na-ra-ru-ti <sup>d</sup>]ʿEN<sup>1</sup> u <sup>d</sup>AG EN.MEŠ-ia  
 11) [ša ap-tal-la-ḥu] DINGIR-us-su-un  
 12) [ERIM.MEŠ MĒ-ia ad-ke-e-ma] ʿaš<sup>1</sup>-ba-ta  
 ḥar-ra-nu  
 13) [a-lak ger-ri-ia] iš-me-ma  
 14) [ḥat-tu is-ḥup-šú-ma i-tur] ʿa<sup>1</sup>-na KUR-šú  
 15) [EGIR-šú aš-bat a-bi-ik]-ʿta<sup>1</sup>-šú áš-kun  
 16) [aṭ-ru-us-su a-di] ʿmi<sup>1</sup>-šir KUR-šú  
 17) [m<sub>ur</sub>-ta-ku LUGAL KUR.ELAM.MA.KI ša la  
 iṣ]-ʿšú<sup>1</sup>-ru ib-ru-ti  
 18) [ina u<sub>4</sub>-me la šim-ti-šú mu]-ʿú<sup>1</sup>-tú ú-gar-ru-u  
 19) [ina ta-né-ḥi iq-tu]-ʿú<sup>1</sup> i-zu-bu  
 20) [ina qaq-qar ba-la-ṭi GİR.II-šú] ʿul<sup>1</sup> iš-ʿkun<sup>1</sup>  
 21) [ina MU.AN.NA-šú na-piš-ta-šú iq-ti il-lik]  
 ʿnam<sup>1</sup>-mu-ši-šú  
 22) [m<sub>EN</sub>-BA-šá KUR.gam-bu]-ʿla-a-a<sup>1</sup>  
 23) [ša iṣ-lu-u GIŠ.ŠUDUN be]-ʿlu<sup>1</sup>-ti-ia  
 24) [ina ni-šik] ʿPÉŠ<sup>1</sup> [iš-ta-kan] ʿna<sup>1</sup>-piš-tú  
 25) [md]ʿAG<sup>1</sup>-MU-KAM-eš LÚ.ʿGÚ<sup>1</sup>.[EN.NA la na]-ʿšir<sup>1</sup>  
 a-de-e  
 26) iš-ši a-ga-ʿnu<sup>1</sup>-[til-la]-ʿa A.MEŠ<sup>1</sup> [ma]-ʿlu<sup>1</sup>-ú-ti  
 27) md<sub>AMAR</sub>.UTU-MU-DÛ ʿLÚ<sup>1</sup>.[šú-ut] ʿSAG<sup>1</sup>-šú  
 mu-ʿšad-bi<sup>1</sup>-ib-šú  
 28) ša ḪUL-tú ʿú<sup>1</sup>-[šak-pi]-ʿdu<sup>1</sup> a-na m<sub>ur</sub>-ta<sup>1</sup>-ki  
 29) e-mi-is-su <sup>d</sup>[AMAR.UTU LUGAL] DINGIR.MEŠ  
 še-er-ʿta<sup>1</sup>-[šú GAL]-tu  
 30) ina 1-et MU.AN.ʿNA<sup>1</sup> [mé-eḥ-ret] a-ḥa-meš  
 iš-ku-nu na-ʿpiš-tú<sup>1</sup>  
 31) lib-bi ʿAN<sup>1</sup>.[ŠÁR ag-gu] ul i-nu-uḥ-šú-nu-ʿti<sup>1</sup>

had sided with them, [incit]ed Urtaku, the king of the land Elam, with lies to fight with the land of Sumer and Akkad.

iv 96''–v 9) Urtaku, whom I had not antagonized, set his attack in mo[tion] (and) has[tily brought war] to Karduniaš (Babylonia). On account of the assault of the E[lamite, a messenger] c[ame t]o Nineveh [and told me (the news)]. I was not concerned about this news of Urtaku's assault. (v 1) (Because) he had regularly sent his envoys (with messages) of peac[e] before me, [I dispatch]ed [my messenger to see the king of] the land Elam. (v 5) [He went] quickly, [returned, and reported] to me [an ac]curate report, [saying: "The Elamites cover the land Akka]d, all of it, [like a sw]arm of locusts. [Against Babylon, (his) cam]p is pitched and (his) military camp is laid."

v 10–16) [To aid the gods Bē]l (Marduk) and Nabû, lords of mine [who]se divinity [I constantly revered, I mustered my battle troops and] set out on the road. He heard about [the advance of my expeditionary force] and (then) [fear overwhelmed him and he returned] to his (own) land. (v 15) [I went after him] (and) brought about his [defeat]. [I drove him away as far as the b]order of his land.

v 17–21) [(As for) Urtaku, the king of the land Elam who had not respe]cted my friendship, [whom de]ath called [on a day (that was) not his fate, who came to an end] (and) withered away [while wailing] — he [n]o (longer) set [foot upon the land of the living. In that year, his life came to an end (and) he passed a]way.

v 22–24) [(As for) Bēl-iqīša, a Gambu]lian [who had cast off the yoke of] my [lord]ship, [he laid down (his) l]ife [through the bite of] a mouse.

v 25–26) [(As for) N]abû-šuma-ēreš, the ša[ndabakku] (governor of Nippur) who did not hono[r] (my) treaty, he suffered from dro[ps]y, (that is) "[fu]ll water."

v 27–29) (As for) Marduk-šuma-ibni, his (Urtaku's) [eunu]ch, the instigator who [had incited] Urtaku to [pl]ot evil (deeds), the god [Marduk, the king of] the gods, imposed his [griev]ous punishment upon him.

v 30–34) Within one yea[r], they (all) laid down (their) live(s) [at the same] time. The [angry] heart of (the god) Aš[šur] had not relented against the[m], nor [had the

- 32) ʿul<sup>1</sup> [ip-šah-šú-nu-ti ka-bat]-ʿti<sup>1</sup> d<sup>15</sup> šá  
ú-tak-kil-an-ni  
33) [BALA-e LUGAL-ti]-ʿšú<sup>1</sup> iš-ki-pu  
34) [be-lut KUR.ELAM.MA.KI] ʿú-šal<sup>1</sup>-qu-u  
šá-nam-ma  
35) ʿEGIR m<sup>1</sup>[te-um-man] ʿtam-šil GAL<sub>5</sub>.LÁ<sup>1</sup>  
36) ú-šib [ina GIŠ.GU.ZA m<sup>1</sup>ur-ta-ki]  
37) a-na da-a-ʿki<sup>1</sup> [DUMU.MEŠ m<sup>1</sup>ur-ta-ki]  
38) ù DUMU.ʿMEŠ<sup>1</sup> [m<sup>1</sup>um-man-al-da-a-še]  
39) ŠEŠ m<sup>1</sup>ur-ta-ʿki iš-te-né-ʿa<sup>1</sup>-[a MUNUS.ĤUL]  
40) m<sup>1</sup>um-man-i-gaš m<sup>1</sup>um-man-ap-pa  
ʿmtam-ma-ri<sup>1</sup>-[tú]  
41) DUMU.MEŠ m<sup>1</sup>ur-ta-ki LUGAL KUR.ELAM.MA.ʿKI<sup>1</sup>  
42) m<sup>1</sup>ku-dúr-ru m<sup>1</sup>pa-ru-ú DUMU.MEŠ  
m<sup>1</sup>um-man-al-da-a-še  
43) LUGAL a-lik pa-ni m<sup>1</sup>ur-ta-ki  
44) ù 60 NUMUN LUGAL ina la mi-ni LÚ.ERIM.MEŠ  
GIŠ.PAN  
45) DUMU.MEŠ ba-né-e ša KUR.ELAM.MA.KI  
46) šá la-pa-an da-a-ki m<sup>1</sup>te-um-man  
in-nab-tu-nim-ma  
47) iš-ba-tu ĜIR.II.MEŠ ʿLUGAL<sup>1</sup>-ti-ia
- 
- 48) ina 7-e ger-ri-ia UGU m<sup>1</sup>te-um-man  
49) LUGAL KUR.ELAM.MA.KI lu-u al-lik  
50) ša UGU m<sup>1</sup>um-man-i-gaš m<sup>1</sup>um-man-ap-pa  
51) m<sup>1</sup>tam-ma-ri-tú DUMU.MEŠ m<sup>1</sup>ur-ta-ki LUGAL  
KUR.ELAM.MA.KI  
52) m<sup>1</sup>ku-dúr-ru m<sup>1</sup>pa-ru-u DUMU.MEŠ  
m<sup>1</sup>um-man-al-da-a-še  
53) ŠEŠ m<sup>1</sup>ur-ta-ki LUGAL KUR.ELAM.MA.KI  
54) ʿLÚ.EDIN<sup>1</sup>.MEŠ-šú iš-ta-nap-pa-ra a-na še-bu-li  
55) UN.MEŠ šá-a-tu-nu šá in-nab-tu-nim-ma  
56) iš-ba-tu ĜIR.ʿII<sup>1</sup>-ia še-bul-šú-nu ul aq-bi-šú  
57) ina muḥ-ḥi me-re-eḥ-e-ti  
58) ina ŠU.II m<sup>1</sup>um-ba-da-ra-a ù mdAG-SIG<sub>5</sub>-iq  
59) iš-ʿta<sup>1</sup>-nap-pa-ra ar-ḥi-šam  
60) qé-ʿreb<sup>1</sup> KUR.ELAM.MA.KI uš-tar-ra-aḥ ina  
UKKIN ERIM.ĤI.A-šú  
61) um-ʿma<sup>1</sup> ul ú-maš-šar a-di al-la-ku  
62) ʿit<sup>1</sup>-ti-šú ep-pu-šú mit-ḥu-šu-tú  
63) ʿUGU<sup>1</sup> a-ma-a-ti an-na-a-ti  
64) [ša m<sup>1</sup>ʿte<sup>1</sup>-um-man iq-bu-ú  
65) [ú-šá]-ʿan<sup>1</sup>-nu-u-ni tē-e-mu  
66) [at-kil a-na AN].ʿŠÁR<sup>1</sup> d<sup>30</sup> dUTU dEN u dAG  
67) [d<sup>15</sup> šá] ʿNINA<sup>1</sup>.KI d<sup>15</sup> šá URU.LÍMMU-DINGIR šá  
ú-tak-kil-u-in-ni  
68) [qí-bit pi]-ʿi<sup>1</sup>-šú er-ḥu ul am-gúr  
69) [ul a-din-šú] ʿmun<sup>1</sup>-nab-ti šá-a-tu-nu  
70) [m<sup>1</sup>te-um-man le-mut]-ʿtu<sup>1</sup> iš-te-né-ʿi-i  
71) [d<sup>30</sup> iš-te-né-ʿa]-ʿšú<sup>1</sup> GIŠKIM.MEŠ le-mut-ti  
72) [ina ITI.ŠU AN.MI šat ur]-ʿri<sup>1</sup> EN ZÁLAG  
uš-ta-ni-iḥ-ma

moo]d of the goddess Ištar, who had encouraged me, [become tranquil towards them]. They overthrew [hi]s [royal dynasty]. They made somebody else assume [dominion over the land Elam].

v 35–47) Afterwards, [Teumman], the (very) image of a *gallû*-demon, sat [on the throne of Urtaku]. He constantly sought ou[t evil (ways)] to kil[l the children of Urtaku] and the childre[n of Ummanaldašu (Ĥumban-ḥaltaš II)], the brother of Urtaku. (v 40) Ummanigaš, Ummanappa, (and) Tammar[itu] – the sons of Urtaku, the king of the land Elam – Kudurru (and) Parrû – the sons of Ummanaldašu (Ĥumban-ḥaltaš II), the king who came before Urtaku – together with sixty members of the royal (family), countless archers, (and) nobles of the land Elam fled to me before Teumman’s slaughtering and grasped the feet of my royal majesty.

v 48–69) On my seventh campaign, I marched against Teumman, the king of the land Elam who had regularly sent his envoys to me concerning Ummanigaš, Ummanappa, (and) Tammaritu – the sons of Urtaku, the king of the land Elam – (and) Kudurru (and) Parrû – the sons of Ummanaldašu (Ĥumban-ḥaltaš II), the brother of Urtaku, (former) king of the land Elam – (asking me) to send (back) (v 55) those people who had fled to me and grasped my feet. I did not grant him their extradition. Concerning the aforementioned, he sent insults monthly by the hands of Umbadarâ and Nabû-damiq. (v 60) Inside the land Elam, he was bragging in the midst of his troops, saying: “I will not stop until I go (and) do battle [w]ith him.” [As fo]r these insolent words [that T]eumman had spoken, (v 65) they [repo]rted (this) news to me. [I trusted in the deities Aššur, Šin, Šamaš, Bēl (Marduk) and Nabû, [Ištar of Ninev]eh, (and) Ištar of Arbela, who had encouraged me. I did not comply with [the utterance(s) of] his provocative [spee]ch (lit. “[mou]th”). [I did not give him] those [fug]itives.

v 70–75a) [Teumman] constantly sought out [evi]l (deeds), (but) [the god Šin (also) sought out] inauspicious omens [for hi]m. [In the month Du’ūzu (IV), an eclipse (of the moon)] lasted longer than [the third

v 61–65 These sixteen words are not included in the report of the war against Teumman in text nos. 3 (Prism B) and 4 (Prism D); compare text no. 3 (Prism B) v 1.



- 73) [dUTU IGI-šú-ma ki-ma] ʿšú-a<sup>1</sup>-tu-ma kal u<sub>4</sub>-me uš-ta-ni-iḥ  
 74) [a-na qí]-ʿit<sup>1</sup> BALA.MEŠ mte-um-man LUGAL KUR.ELAM.MA.KI  
 75) [ZÁḪ] ʿKUR<sup>1</sup>-šú ú-kal-lim-an-ni  
 76) [GURUN] EŠ.BAR-šú šá la in-nen-nu-ú  
 77) ʿina<sup>1</sup> u<sub>4</sub>-me-šú mi-iḥ-ru im-ḥur-šú-ma  
 78) ʿNUNDUM<sup>1</sup>-su uk-tam-bil-ma IGI.II-šú is-ḥur-ma  
 79) ga-ba-šu iš-šá-kin ina lib-bi-šá  
 80) it-ʿti<sup>1</sup> ep-še-e-ti an-na-a-ti  
 81) ša<sup>d30</sup> u<sup>d15</sup> e-pu-šu-uš  
 82) ul i-ba-áš id-ka-a ERIM.ḪI.A-šú  
 83) ina ITI.NE ITI na-an-mur-ti MUL.PAN  
 84) i-sin-ni šar-ra-ti ka-bit-ti DUMU.MUNUS dEN.LÍL  
 85) a-na pa-làḥ DINGIR-ti-šá GAL-ti  
 86) áš-ba-ak ina URU.LÍMMU-DINGIR URU na-ram lib-bi-šá  
 87) áš-šú ti-bu-ut LÚ.e-la-me-e šá ba-lu DINGIR.MEŠ  
 88) it-ba-a ú-šá-an-nu-u-ni tē-e-mu  
 89) um-ma mte-um-man ki-a-ʿam<sup>1</sup> [iq]-ʿbi<sup>1</sup>  
 90) ša<sup>d15</sup> ú-šá-an-nu-u ʿmi<sup>1</sup>-[lik tē-me-šú]  
 91) ʿša iq<sup>1</sup>-bu-u um-ma ul ʿú<sup>1</sup>-[maš-šar a-di al-la-ku]  
 92) ʿit-ti-šú ep<sup>1</sup>-pu-ʿšú<sup>1</sup> [mit-ḥu-šu-tú]  
 93) šu-ut me-re-ʿeḥ-ti<sup>1</sup> [an-ni-te]  
 94) ša mte-um-man ʿiq<sup>1</sup>-[bu-u]  
 95) am-ḥur šá-qu-tú qa-rit-ʿtú<sup>1</sup> [dīš-tar]  
 96) az-zi-iz a-na tar-ši-šá ak-mi-[is šá-pal-šá]  
 97) DINGIR-us-sa ú-sap-pa-a il-ʿla<sup>1</sup>-[ka di-ma-a-a]  
 98) um-ma dbe-let [URU.LÍMMU-DINGIR.KI]  
 99) a-na-ku mAN.ŠÁR-DÛ-A ʿMAN<sup>1</sup> [KUR aš-šur.KI]  
 100) bi-nu-ut ŠU.II-ki šá iḥ-šu-ḥu-ʿšú AN<sup>1</sup>,[ŠÁR] ʿAD<sup>1</sup> [ba-nu-ki]  
 101) a-na ud-du-uš ʿeš<sup>1</sup>-[re-e-ti]  
 102) šul-lum par-še-šú-ʿun<sup>1</sup> [na-šar pi-riš-te]-ʿšú<sup>1</sup>-un  
 103) šu-tu-ʿub lib-bi<sup>1</sup>-[šú-un im-bu-u zi]-ʿkir<sup>1</sup>-šú  
 104) a-na-ku áš-re-ʿe-ki áš-te-né-ʿi<sup>1</sup>-i  
 105) al-li-ka a-na pa-laḥ DINGIR-ʿti<sup>1</sup>-[ki]  
 106) ù šul-lum par-še-e-ki ù šu-ú m[te-um-man]  
 107) LUGAL KUR.ELAM.MA.KI la ʿmu<sup>1</sup>-šá-qir ʿDINGIR<sup>1</sup>.[MEŠ]  
 108) ku-uš-šur ʿka-li<sup>1</sup> a-na mit-ḥu-ši ERIM.ḪI.A-ia  
 109) um-ma at-ti ʿd<sup>1</sup>be-let be-le-e-ti  
 110) i-ʿlat MURUB<sub>4</sub> ʿ[be-let MÊ] ʿma<sup>1</sup>-li-kàt DINGIR.MEŠ AD.MEŠ-šá  
 111) [ša ina ma-ḥar AN.ŠÁR] ʿAD<sup>1</sup> ba-ni-ki  
 112) [MUNUS.SIG<sub>5</sub> taq-bi-i ina ni]-ʿiš<sup>1</sup> IGI.II-šú KÛ.MEŠ  
 113) [iḥ-šu-ḥa-an-ni a]-ʿna<sup>1</sup> LUGAL-ú-ti  
 114) [áš-šú mte-um-man] LUGAL KUR.ELAM.MA.KI  
 115) [ša a-na AN.ŠÁR] LUGAL DINGIR.MEŠ  
 116) [AD ba-ni-ki iḥ<sup>1</sup>]-ʿtu<sup>1</sup>-u bil-tú  
 117) [id-ka-a ERIM.ḪI.A-šú ik]-ʿšu<sup>1</sup>-ra ta-ḥa-zu

watch of the nig]ht, until daylight, [the god Šamaš saw it, and] it lasted [like] this the entire day, (thus signifying) [the en]d of the reign of Teumman, the king of the land Elam, (and) [the destruction of] his land.

v 75b-82) [“The Fruit” (the god Sîn)] revealed to me his decision, which cannot be changed. A[t] that time, a mishap befell him: His l[i]p became paralyzed, his eyes turned back, and a seizure had taken place inside him. He was not ashamed by these measures that the god Sîn and the goddess Ištar had taken against him, (and) he mustered his troops.

v 83-92) During the month Abu (V) – the month of the heliacal rising of the Bow Star, the festival of the honored queen, the daughter of the god Enlil (the goddess Ištar) – (v 85) to revere her great divinity, I resided in the city Arbela, the city that her heart loves, (when) they reported to me news concerning an Elamite attack, which he (Teumman) had started against me without divine approval, saying: (v 90) “Teumman, who[se] ju[dgement] the goddess Ištar had clouded (lit. “altered”), [spok]e as follo[ws], (the words) th[at] he had said, saying: ‘I [will] not [stop until I go] (and) do [battle] with him.’”

v 93-98a) On account of [these] insolent words that Teumman h[ad spoken], I made an appeal to the sublime heroic [goddess Ištar]. I stood before her, knelt do[w]n at her feet, (and) made an appeal to her divinity, while [my tears] were flo[wing], saying:

v 98b-108) “O Divine Lady of [the city Arbela!] I, Ashurbanipal, ki[ng of Assyria], the creation of your hands whom (the god) Aš[šur] – the father [who had engendered you] – requires, whose [na]me [he has called] to restore san[ctuaries], to successfully complete their rituals, [to protect] their [secret(s)], (and) to please [their] hearts: I am assiduous towards your places (of worship). (v 105) I have come to revere [your] divinit[y] and successfully complete your rituals. However, he, [Teumman], the king of the land Elam who does not respect the go[ds], is fully prepared to fight with my troops.”

v 109-118) “You, the divine lady of ladies, the goddess of war, [the lady of battle, the ad]visor of the gods – her ancestors – [the one who speaks good thing(s)] about me before (the god) Aš[šur] – the father who had engendered you – [(so that) at the glan]ce of his pure eyes [he desired me to b]e king – [with regard to Teumman], the king of the land Elam (v 115) [who plac]ed a burden [on (the god) Aš[šur] – the king of the gods, [the father who had engendered you] – he mustered his troops, prep]ared for battle, (and) is sharpening [his weapons in ord]er to march

v 81 <sup>d30</sup> “the god Sîn”: Text no. 3 (Prism B) v 14 has AN.ŠÁR “(the god) Aš[šur]”; note that ex. 5 of that inscription has <sup>d30</sup>.

v 91 ʿša iq<sup>1</sup>-bu-u “[th]at he had said”: These words are not included in text no. 3 (Prism B) v 23.

- 118) ú-šá-'a-<sup>1</sup>a-la<sup>1</sup> [GIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ-šú a]-<sup>1</sup>na<sup>1</sup> a-lak  
KUR aš-šur.KI
- 119) um-ma at-ti [qa-rit]-ti DINGIR.MEŠ
- 120) GIM GUN ina MURUB<sub>4</sub> tam-ḥa-<sup>1</sup>ri<sup>1</sup>  
[pu]-<sup>1</sup>uṭ<sup>1</sup>-ṭi-ri-šú-ma
- 121) di-kiš-šú me-ḥu-<sup>1</sup>ú<sup>1</sup> IM lem-nu
- 122) in-ḥe-ia šu-nu-ḥu-u-<sup>1</sup>ti<sup>1</sup> [<sup>d</sup>]15<sup>1</sup> iš-me-e-ma
- 123) la ta-pal-laḥ iq-ba-[a] <sup>1</sup>ú<sup>1</sup>-šar-ḥi-ša-an-ni lib-bu
- 124) a-na ni-iš ŠU.II-<sup>1</sup>ka ša<sup>1</sup> taš-šá-a
- 125) IGI.II-ka im-la-a di-im-tú <sup>1</sup>ar-ta<sup>1</sup>-ši ARḪUŠ
- 126) ina šat mu-ši šu-a-tu <sup>1</sup>šá am<sup>1</sup>-ḥu-<sup>1</sup>ru<sup>1</sup>-ši
- 127) 1-en (erasure) šab-ru-u ú-tu-<sup>1</sup>ul-ma i<sup>1</sup>-na-aṭ-<sup>1</sup>ṭal  
MÁŠ<sup>1</sup>.GI<sub>6</sub>
- 128) i-gi-il-ti-ma tab-rit mu-ši
- 129) ša <sup>d</sup>15 ú-šab-ru-u-<sup>1</sup>šú<sup>1</sup> ú<sup>1</sup>-šá-an-na-a ia-a-ti
- 130) um-ma <sup>d</sup>15 a-ši-bat URU.LÍMMU-<sup>1</sup>DINGIR<sup>1</sup>  
e-ru-ba-am-ma
- 131) 15 u 2.30 tul-la-a-<sup>1</sup>ta<sup>1</sup> iš-pa-a-ti
- 132) tam-ḥa-at GIŠ.PAN <sup>1</sup>ina<sup>1</sup> i-di-šá
- 133) šal-pat nam-ša-ru zaq-[tú] šá e-peš MÈ
- 134) ma-ḥar-šá ta-zi-iz <sup>1</sup>ši<sup>1</sup>-i ki-i AMA
- 135) a-lit-ti i-tam-ma-a it-ti-ka
- 136) il-si-ka <sup>d</sup>15 šá-qu-ut DINGIR.<sup>1</sup>MEŠ<sup>1</sup> i-šá-kan-ka  
ṭè-e-mu
- 137) um-ma ta-na-aṭ-ṭa-la <sup>1</sup>a<sup>1</sup>-na e-peš šá-áš-me
- 138) a-šar pa-nu-u-<sup>1</sup>a<sup>1</sup> šak-<sup>1</sup>nu<sup>1</sup> te-ba-ku a-na-ku
- 139) at-ta ta-qab-bi-ši um-<sup>1</sup>ma<sup>1</sup> a-šar tal-la-ki
- 140) <sup>1</sup>it-ti-ki <sup>1</sup>lul-lik be<sup>1</sup>-let GAŠAN.MEŠ
- 141) <sup>1</sup>ši-i tu-šá-an-nak-ka um<sup>1</sup>-[ma at]-<sup>1</sup>ta a-kan<sup>1</sup>-na
- 142) lu-u áš-ba-a-ta <sup>1</sup>a-šar<sup>1</sup> maš-kán-i-<sup>1</sup>ka<sup>1</sup>
- 143) a-kul a-ka-lu ši-ti ku-ru-un-<sup>1</sup>nu<sup>1</sup>
- 144) nin-gu-tú šu-<sup>1</sup>kun<sup>1</sup> nu-<sup>1</sup>i-id DINGIR-u-ti
- 145) a-di al-la-ku šip-ru šú-a-tú ep-pe-šú
- 146) ú-šak-šá-du šu-um-me-rat lib-bi-ka
- Col. vi
- 1) pa-nu-ka ul ur-raq ul i-nàr-ru-ṭa GÌR.II-ka
- 2) ul ta-šam-maṭ zu-ut-ka MURUB<sub>4</sub> tam-ḥa-ri
- 3) ina ki-rim-mi-šá DÙG.GA taḥ-ši-in-ka-ma
- 4) taḥ-ti-na gi-mir la-a-ni-ka
- 5) <sup>1</sup>pa<sup>1</sup>-nu-uš-šá <sup>d</sup>GIŠ.BAR in-na-pi-iḥ
- 6) ez-zi-iš nam-ri-ri-iš È-ma
- 7) <sup>1</sup>a<sup>1</sup>-na ka-šá-ad LÚ.KÚR-šá DU-ik
- 8) [e]-<sup>1</sup>li<sup>1</sup> <sup>m</sup>te-um-man LUGAL KUR.ELAM.MA.KI
- 9) [ša] <sup>1</sup>ug<sup>1</sup>-ga-at pa-nu-uš-šá taš-kun
- 10) [ina ITI].<sup>1</sup>KIN<sup>1</sup> ši-pir <sup>d</sup>INANNA.MEŠ i-sin-ni  
AN.ŠÁR ši-i-ri
- 11) [ITI <sup>d</sup>30] <sup>1</sup>na<sup>1</sup>-an-nàr AN-e u KI-tim
- 12) [at-kil a]-<sup>1</sup>na<sup>1</sup> EŠ.BAR <sup>d</sup>ŠEŠ.KI-ri nam-ri
- 13) [ù ši-pir] <sup>d</sup>15<sup>1</sup> GAŠAN-ia ša la in-nen-nu-u
- 14) [ad-ke ERIM.MEŠ] <sup>1</sup>MÈ<sup>1</sup>-ia mun-daḥ-še
- 15) [ša ina qí-bit AN.ŠÁR] <sup>d</sup>30<sup>1</sup> u <sup>d</sup>15
- 16) [it-ta-na-áš-ra-bi]-<sup>1</sup>ṭu<sup>1</sup> MURUB<sub>4</sub> tam-ḥa-ri
- 17) [e-li <sup>m</sup>te-um-man] <sup>1</sup>MAN KUR.ELAM<sup>1</sup>.MA.KI
- 18) [ur-ḥu aš-bat-ma uš-te-še-ra ḥar]-<sup>1</sup>ra<sup>1</sup>-nu

to Assyria.”

v 119–121) “You, [the heroic] one of the gods, [dri]ve him away like a ... in the thick of batt[le] and (then) raise a storm, an evil wind, against him.”

v 122–125) [The goddess] Ištar heard my sorrow[ul] plight and said to [me] “Fear not!” She gave me confidence, (saying): “Because of your entreaties, which you directed towards me, (and because) your eyes were filled with tear(s), I had mercy (on you).”

v 126–130a) During the course of the night that I had appealed to her, a dream interpreter lay down and saw a dream. He woke up and (then) reported to me the night vision that the goddess Ištar had shown him, saying:

v 130b–vi 9) “The goddess Ištar who resides in the city Arbe[li]a entered and she had quivers hanging on the right and left. She was holding a bow [a]t her side (and) she was unsheathing a sha[rp] sword that (was ready) to do battle. You (Ashurbanipal) stood before her (and) (v 135) she was speaking to you like (your own) birth-mother. The goddess Ištar, the sublime one of the gods, called out to you, instructing you, saying: ‘You are looking forward to waging war (and) I myself am about to set out towards my destination (the battlefield).’ You (then) said to her, say[in]g: (v 140) ‘Let me go with you, wherever you go, O Lady of Ladies!’ She replied to you, say[ing]: ‘Y]ou will stay in the place where you are (currently) residing. Eat food, drink wine, make music, (and) revere my divinity. In the meantime, I will go (and) accomplish this task, (thus) I will let (you) achieve your heart’s desire. (vi 1) Your face will not become pale, your feet will not tremble, you will not wipe off your sweat in the thick of battle.’ She took you into her sweet embrace and protected your entire body. (vi 5) Fire flared up in front of her. She came out furiously (and) splendidly and went to conquer her enemy. She directed her attention [towar]ds Teumman, the king of the land Elam [with whom] she was [a]ngry.”

vi 10–18) [In the month Ul]ūlu (VI), “the work of the goddesses,” the festival of the exalted (god) Aššur, [the month of the god Sîn, the l]ight of heaven and netherworld, [I trusted i]n the decision of the bright divine light (Sîn) [and the message of] the goddess Ištar, my lady, which cannot be changed. [I mustered] my [bat]tle [troops], warriors (vi 15) [who dart abo]ut in the thick of battle [by the command of the deities Aššur], Sîn, and Ištar. [I set out on the path against Teumman, the k]ing of the land Elam, [and took the

- 19) [el-la-mu-u-a <sup>m</sup>te-um-man MAN  
KUR.ELAM].<sup>r</sup>MA<sup>1</sup>.KI
- 20) [ina URU.É.<sup>m</sup>im-bi-i na-di ma]-<sup>r</sup>dak<sup>1</sup>-tu
- 21) [e-reb LUGAL-ti-ia šá qé-reb BĀD.AN].<sup>r</sup>KI<sup>1</sup>
- Lacuna
- 1') <sup>r</sup>qé-reb<sup>1</sup> [DU<sub>6</sub>-URU.tu-ba BAD<sub>5</sub>.BAD<sub>5</sub>-šú-nu  
áš-kun]
- 2') ina ADDA.[MEŠ-šú-nu ÍD.ú-la-a-a as-ki-ir]
- 3') šal-ma-a-te-<sup>r</sup>šú<sup>1</sup>-[nu GIM GIŠ.DÌĤ u GIŠ.KIŠI<sub>16</sub>]
- 4') ú-mal-la-[a ta-mir-ti URU.šu-šá-an]
- 5') SAG.DU <sup>m</sup>te<sup>1</sup>-[um-man LUGAL KUR.ELAM.MA.KI]
- 6') ina qí-bit AN.<sup>r</sup>ŠĀR<sup>1</sup> [u <sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU DINGIR.MEŠ  
GAL.MEŠ]
- 7') EN.MEŠ-<sup>r</sup>ia KUD<sup>1</sup>-[is ina UKKIN ERIM.ĤI.A-šú]
- 8') mé-lam-me AN.[ŠĀR u <sup>d</sup>15 KUR.ELAM.MA.KI]
- 9') is-ĥu-up-ma <sup>r</sup>ik<sup>1</sup>-[nu-šú a-na ni-ri-ia]
- 10') <sup>m</sup>um-man-i-gaš [šá in-nab-tu iṣ-ba-tu ĜIR.II-ia]
- 11') ina GIŠ.GU.ZA-šú [ú-še-šib]
- 12') <sup>m</sup>tam-ma-ri-tu <sup>r</sup>ŠEŠ<sup>1</sup>-[šú šal-šá-a-a]
- 13') ina URU.ĥi-da-lu [a-na LUGAL-ú-ti áš-kun]
- 14') GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ GIŠ.šum<sup>1</sup>-[bi ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ  
ANŠE.KUNGA.MEŠ]
- 15') ši-mit-ti ni-<sup>r</sup>i<sup>1</sup>-[ri GIŠ.til-li si-mat MÈ]
- 16') ša ina tu-kul-ti <sup>r</sup>AN<sup>1</sup>.[ŠĀR <sup>d</sup>15 DINGIR.MEŠ  
GAL.MEŠ]
- 17') bi-rit URU.šu-šá-[an u ÍD.ú-la-a-a]
- 18') ik-šu-da [ŠU.II-a-a]
- 19') ina qí-bit AN.<sup>r</sup>ŠĀR<sup>1</sup> [u <sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU]
- 20') DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ EN.MEŠ-<sup>r</sup>ia<sup>1</sup> ul-<sup>r</sup>tu<sup>1</sup> [qé-reb  
KUR.ELAM.MA.KI]
- 21') ĥa-diš [ú-ša-am-ma]
- 22') a-na ġi-mir ERIM.ĤI.[A-ia šá-lim-tu šak-na-at]
- 23') ina 8-e ger-ri-<sup>r</sup>ia<sup>1</sup> UGU <sup>m</sup>du-na-ni
- 24') DUMU <sup>m</sup>dEN-BA-šá a-na KUR.gam-bu-li lu-u  
<sup>r</sup>al<sup>1</sup>-[lik]
- 25') ša a-na LUGAL KUR.ELAM.MA.KI it-tak-lu
- 26') la ik-nu-šú ana GIŠ.<sup>r</sup>ŠUDUN<sup>1</sup>-[ia]
- 27') ta-ĥa-zi dan-nu KUR.gam-bu-lu a-na si-ĥir-ti-šú
- 28') GIM im-ba-ri [ak-tùm]
- 29') URU.šá-pi-i-<sup>d</sup>EN URU dan-nu-ti-<sup>r</sup>šú<sup>1</sup>
- 30') ša qé-reb ÍD.MEŠ na-da-at šu-bat-su ak-šu-ud
- 31') <sup>m</sup>du-na-nu ŠEŠ.MEŠ-šú ul-tu qé-reb URU šú-a-tu
- 32') bal-tu-us-su-un ú-še-ša-a
- 33') DAM-su DUMU.MEŠ-šú DUMU.MUNUS.MEŠ-šú
- 34') MUNUS.sek-re-ti-šú LÚ.NAR.MEŠ  
MUNUS.NAR.MEŠ
- 35') ú-še-ša-am-ma šal-la-tiš am-nu
- 36') KÛ.BABBAR KÛ.GI NÍG.ŠU na-kám-ti É.GAL-šú

direct ro]ad.

vi 19–21) [Before me, Teumman, the king of the land  
Elam, [set up cam]p [in the city Bīt-Imbî. He heard  
about the entry of my royal majesty into (the city)  
Dēr and]

Lacuna

vi 1'–9') [I brought about their defeat] inside [(the  
city) Tīl-Tūba. I blocked up the Ulāya River] with  
[their] corpse[s] (and) fille[d the plain of the city  
Susa] with the[ir] bodies [like *baltu*-plant(s) and *ašagu*-  
plant(s)]. (vi 5') By the command of the gods Ašš[ur  
and Marduk, the great gods], my lords, [in the midst of  
his troops], I cut off[f] the head of T[eu]mman, the king  
of the land Elam]. The brilliance of (the god) Ašš[ur  
and the goddess Ištar] overwhelmed [the land Elam]  
and th[ey (the Elamites) bowed down to my yoke].

vi 10'–22') [I placed] Ummanigaš (Ĥumban-nikas II),  
[who had fled to me (and) had grasped my feet], on  
his (Teumman's) throne. [I installed] Tammarītu, [his  
third] br[other, as king] in the city Ĥidalu. (With)  
the chariots, wa[gons, horses, mules], (vi 15') harness-  
brok[en (steeds), (and) equipment suited for war] that  
[I] captured between the city Sus[a and the Ulāya  
River] with the support of (the god) Ašš[ur (and) the  
goddess Ištar, the great gods], by the command of  
(the god) Ašš[ur and the god Marduk], (vi 20') the  
great gods, m[y] lords, [I] joyfully [came] out [of the  
land Elam and salvation was established for my] entire  
army.

vi 23'–30') On m[y] eighth campaign, I m[arched]  
against Dunānu, son of Bēl-iqīša, to the land Gambulu,  
which had put its trust in the king of the land Elam  
(and) had not bowed down to [my] y[oke]. With my  
mighty battle array, [I covered] the land Gambulu in  
its entirety like a fog. I conquered the city Ša-pî-Bēl,  
hi[s] fortified city, whose location is situated between  
rivers.

vi 31'–46') I brought Dunānu (and) his brothers out  
of that city alive. I brought out his wife, his sons,  
his daughters, his (palace) women, male singers, (and)  
female singers and I counted (them) as booty. I  
brought out silver, gold, property, (and) the treasures  
of his palace and I counted (them) as booty. (vi 40') I  
brought out eunuchs, his attendants, engineers, (and)

**Lacuna after vi 21** Based on parallels, the translation assumes that the first line missing line after vi 21 contained *iš-me-e-ma* “he heard and.” The now-missing contents would have duplicated text no. 6 (Prism C) vi 25'–36'.

**vi 19'** Following K 3040+ iv 7' (Winckler, Sammlung 3 p. 73), this inscription probably adds <sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU (“the god Marduk”) after AN.ŠĀR u (“(the god) Aššur and”); see Borger, BIWA p. 105.

**vi 23'** *ger-ri-ia* “m[y] campaign”: Although this word is undamaged in the copy of ex. 5, that copy reads *ger-ri-e*. Thus, the master text follows ex. 3.

- 37') *ú-še-ša-am-ma šal-la-tiš am-nu*  
 38') LÚ.šu-ut SAG.MEŠ LÚ.man-za-az pa-ni-šú  
 39') LÚ.kit-ki-tu-ú mu-šá-ki-le-e-šú  
 40') *ú-še-ša-am-ma šal-la-tiš am-nu*  
 41') *gi-mir um-ma-ni ma-la ba-šú-u mar-kas* URU u  
 EDIN  
 42') *ú-še-ša-am-ma šal-la-tiš am-nu*  
 43') GU<sub>4</sub>.MEŠ še-e-ni ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ  
 ANŠE.KUNGA.MEŠ  
 44') *ša ni-ba la i-šú-u ú-še-ša-am-ma šal-la-tiš*  
*am-nu*  
 45') UN.MEŠ KUR-šú zik-ra u sin-niš TUR u GAL e-du  
 ul e-zib  
 46') *ú-še-ša-am-ma šal-la-tiš am-nu*  
 Lacuna  
 1'') <sup>1</sup>na-gu<sup>1</sup>-[u šu-a-tu ú-šaḥ-rib]  
 2'') ri-gim a-[me-lu-ti ap-ru-sa EDIN-uš-šú]  
 3'') <sup>1</sup>ina<sup>1</sup> tu-kul-ti [DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ  
 LÚ.KÚR.MEŠ-ia a-ni-ir]  
 4'') <sup>1</sup>ša<sup>1</sup>-meš <sup>1</sup>a-tu-ra<sup>1</sup> [a-na NINA.KI]  
 5'') SAG.DU <sup>m</sup>te-<sup>1</sup>um<sup>1</sup>-man <sup>1</sup>MAN<sup>1</sup> [KUR.ELAM.MA.KI]  
 6'') ina GÚ <sup>m</sup>du-na-nu [a-lul]  
 7'') SAG.DU <sup>m</sup>dīš-tar-na-an-di ina GÚ  
<sup>m</sup>sa<sup>1</sup>-[am-gu-nu]  
 8'') <sup>1</sup>šeš <sup>m</sup>du-na-nu tar-den-nu [a-lul]  
 9'') it-ti ki-šit-ti KUR.<sup>1</sup>ELAM<sup>1</sup>.<sup>1</sup>MA.KI šal]-<sup>1</sup>la<sup>1</sup>-at  
 KUR.gam-<sup>1</sup>bu<sup>1</sup>-[li]  
 10'') *ša ina qí-bit AN.ŠÁR ik-šu-da* <sup>1</sup>šU<sup>1</sup>.<sup>1</sup>[II-a-a]  
 11'') <sup>1</sup>it<sup>1</sup>-ti LÚ.NAR.MEŠ e-piš nin-<sup>1</sup>gu<sup>1</sup>-[ti]  
 12'') a-na NINA.KI e-ru-ub ina HÚL.<sup>1</sup>MEŠ<sup>1</sup>  
 13'') <sup>m</sup>um-ba-da-ra-a <sup>m</sup>dAG-SIG<sub>5</sub>-iq  
 14'') LÚ.MAḤ.MEŠ šá <sup>m</sup>te-um-man MAN  
 KUR.ELAM.MA.KI  
 15'') *ša* <sup>m</sup>te-um-man ina ŠU.II-šú-nu  
 16'') <sup>1</sup>iš<sup>1</sup>-pu-ra ši-pir me-re-eḥ-ti  
 17'') *ša ina maḥ-ri-ia ak-lu-ú*  
 18'') *ú-qa-'u-u pa-an ši-kin tē-e-me-ia*  
 19'') ni-kis SAG.DU <sup>m</sup>te-um-man (erasure) EN-šú-nu  
 20'') qé-reb NINA.KI e-mu-ru-ma  
 21'') šá-né-e tē-e-me iṣ-bat-su-nu-ti  
 22'') <sup>m</sup>um-ba-da-ra-a ib-qu-ma ziq-na-a-<sup>1</sup>šú<sup>1</sup>  
 23'') <sup>m</sup>dAG-SIG<sub>5</sub>-iq ina GÍR <sup>1</sup>AN<sup>1</sup>.<sup>1</sup>[BAR šīb-bi-šú is-ḥu-la  
 kar-as-su]  
 24'') ni-kis SAG.DU <sup>m</sup>te-um-man <sup>1</sup>ina<sup>1</sup> [GABA KÁ.GAL  
 MURUB<sub>4</sub> URU ša NINA.KI]  
 25'') *ú-maḥ-ḥi-ra [maḥ-ḥu-riš]*  
 26'') *áš-šú da-na-an* AN.ŠÁR u <sup>d</sup>15<sup>1</sup> [EN.MEŠ-ia  
 UN.MEŠ kul-lu-me]  
 27'') ni-kis SAG.DU <sup>m</sup>te-um-man <sup>1</sup>LUGAL  
 KUR.ELAM.MA.KI<sup>1</sup>  
 28'') <sup>m</sup>IBILA-ia DUMU <sup>m</sup>dAG-sa-lim  
 29'') <sup>1</sup>DUMU<sup>1</sup> DUMU <sup>m</sup>dAMAR.UTU-A-AŠ  
 30'') *ša la-pa-an* AD AD ba-ni-ia

his food preparers and I counted (them) as booty. I brought out all of (his) artisans, as many as there were, the bond of city and steppe, and I counted (them) as booty. I brought out oxen, sheep and goats, horses, (and) mules, which were without number, and I counted (them) as booty. (vi 45') I did not leave a single person of his land — male and female, young and old — (and) I brought (them) out and counted (them) as booty.

Lacuna

vi 1''–4'') [I laid waste that] distri[ct (and) cut off] the clamor of h[umans from it. W]ith the support of [the great gods, I killed my enemies] (and) returned [s]afely [to Nineveh].

vi 5''–12'') [I hung] the head of Teumman, the k[ing of the land Elam], around the neck of Dunānu. [I hung] the head of Ištar-nandi (Šutur-Naḥūndi) around the neck of Sa[mgunu], the second brother of Dunānu. With the spoils of the land Ela[m (and) the bo]oty of the land Gambu[lu], (vi 10'') which [I] captured by the command of (the god) Aššur, with singers performing mus[ic], I entered Nineveh in (the midst of) celebration.

vi 13''–23'') (As for) Umbadarâ (and) Nabû-damiq, the envoys of Teumman — the king of the land Elam — by whose hands Teumman sent insolent message(s), whom I had detained before me by making (them) wait for the issuing of my decision, they saw the decapitated head of Teumman, their lord, in Nineveh and madness took hold of them. Umbadarâ pulled out his (own) beard (and) Nabû-damiq [stabbed himself in the stomach] with [his] i[ron belt]-dagger.

vi 24''–27'') (As for) the decapitated head of Teumman, I displayed (it) o[pposite the Citadel Gate of Nineveh as a spectacle] in order [to show the people] the might of (the god) Aššur and the goddess Iš[tar, my lords] — the decapitated head of Teumman, the king of the land Elam.

vi 28''–vii 2) (As for) Aplāya, son of Nabû-salim, [gran]dson of Marduk-apla-iddina (II) (Merodach-baladan), whose father had fled to the land Elam be-

Lacuna after vi 46' The break in the text corresponds to text no. 6 (Prism C) vii 35–42.  
 vi 4'' Or possibly restore KUR aš-šur "Assyria" at the end of the line.

- 31'') AD-šú *in-nab-tu a-na* KUR.ELAM.MA.KI  
 32'') *ul-tu* <sup>m</sup>um-man-i-gaš *qé-reb* KUR.ELAM.MA.KI  
 33'') *áš-ku-nu a-na* LUGAL-ú-ti  
 Col. vii  
 1) <sup>m</sup>IBILA-ia DUMU <sup>md</sup>AG-sa-lim  
 2) *iš*-[bat *ú-še-bi-la a-dí*] <sup>r</sup>IGI<sup>1</sup>-ia  
 3) <sup>m</sup>du-na-nu <sup>m</sup>sa-am-gu-nu  
 4) DUMU.MEŠ [<sup>md</sup>EN-BA-šá KUR.gam-bu]-<sup>r</sup>la<sup>1</sup>-a-a  
 5) ša AD.MEŠ-šú-nu a-na LUGAL.MEŠ  
 6) AD.MEŠ-<sup>r</sup>ia<sup>1</sup> [*ú-dal*]-<sup>r</sup>li<sup>1</sup>-pu-ma  
 7) <sup>r</sup>ú šu-nu *ú-nàr<sup>1</sup>-ri-tu*  
 8) [*e-peš*] <sup>r</sup>LUGAL<sup>1</sup>-ti-ia  
 9) *qé-reb bal-til*.KI <sup>r</sup>ú<sup>1</sup> URU.LÍMMU-DINGIR  
 10) *a-na da-lál aḫ-ra-a-ti ú-bil<sup>1</sup>-šú-nu-ti*  
 11) <sup>m</sup>ur-sa-a <sup>r</sup>MAN<sup>1</sup> [KUR].<sup>r</sup>ur<sup>1</sup>-ar-ṭi  
 12) *da-na-an* AN.ŠÁR u <sup>d</sup>15  
 13) EN.<sup>r</sup>MEŠ<sup>1</sup>-[*ia iš-me-e*]-ma  
 14) *pu-luḫ-ti* LUGAL-ti-ia [*iš-ḫup*]-<sup>r</sup>šú<sup>21</sup>-ma  
 15) LÚ.MAḫ.MEŠ-šú a-na šá'-a-al šul-mi-<sup>r</sup>ia<sup>1</sup>  
 [*iš-pu-ra a-na qé-reb* URU.LÍMMU-DINGIR.KI]  
 16) ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ ANŠE.KUNGA.MEŠ [...]  
 17) *qar-na-a-te* GIŠ.GIDRU.MEŠ [...]  
 18) GIŠ.pu-ur-ṭi-i ta-mar-ta-<sup>r</sup>šú<sup>1</sup> [...]  
 19) <sup>md</sup>AG-SIG<sub>5</sub>-iq <sup>m</sup>um-ba-da-<sup>r</sup>ra<sup>1</sup>-[a LÚ.MAḫ.MEŠ ša  
 KUR.ELAM.MA.KI]  
 20) *it-ti* GIŠ.ZU.MEŠ *ši-pir me-re-ḫeḫ<sup>1</sup>*-[*ti ul-ziz ina*  
*maḫ-ri-šú-un*]  
 21) ša <sup>m</sup>man-nu-ki-PAP.MEŠ LÚ.[2-u šá <sup>m</sup>du-na-ni]  
 22) <sup>r</sup>ú <sup>md</sup>AG<sup>1</sup>-ú-šal-li LÚ.šá UGU URU KUR.gam-bu-li  
 23) ša UGU DINGIR.MEŠ-<sup>r</sup>ia<sup>1</sup> iq-<sup>r</sup>bu<sup>1</sup>-u šil-la-tú  
 GAL-tú  
 24) *qé-reb* URU.LÍMMU-DINGIR EME-šú-<sup>r</sup>un  
*áš<sup>1</sup>*-[*lu*]-<sup>r</sup>up<sup>1</sup> *áš-ḫu-ṭa* KUŠ-šú-un  
 25) <sup>m</sup>du-na-nu <sup>r</sup>qé-reb<sup>1</sup> URU.ni-na-a  
 26) e-li GIŠ.ma-ka-ši <sup>r</sup>id<sup>1</sup>-du-šú-ma  
 27) *iṭ-bu-ḫu-uš as-liš*  
 28) *si-it-ti* ŠEŠ.MEŠ-<sup>r</sup>šú<sup>1</sup> [šá] <sup>m</sup>du-na-ni  
 29) <sup>m</sup>IBILA-ia a-ni-<sup>r</sup>ir<sup>1</sup> [UZU.MEŠ]-<sup>r</sup>šú<sup>1</sup>-nu  
*ú-nak-kis*  
 30) *ú-še-bil a-na ta-<sup>r</sup>mar<sup>1</sup>*-[*ti*] <sup>r</sup>ma<sup>1</sup>-ti-tan  
 31) <sup>md</sup>AG-I <sup>md</sup>EN-KAR-<sup>r</sup>ir DUMU<sup>1</sup>.MEŠ  
<sup>md</sup>AG-MU-KAM-eš LÚ].<sup>r</sup>GÚ<sup>1</sup>.EN.NA  
 32) ša AD *ba-nu-šú-un* <sup>m</sup>ur-ta-[*ki id*]-<sup>r</sup>ka<sup>1</sup>-a [*a-na*  
*mit-ḫu-ši* KUR] <sup>r</sup>URI<sup>1</sup>.KI  
 33) GÌR.PAD.DU.MEŠ <sup>md</sup>AG-MU-[KAM-eš ša *ul-tu*  
*qé-reb* KUR.gam]-<sup>r</sup>bu<sup>1</sup>-li  
 34) *il-qu-u-ni a-na* KUR aš-<sup>r</sup>šur<sup>1</sup>.KI [GÌR.PAD.DU.MEŠ  
*šá-a-ti*]-<sup>r</sup>na<sup>1</sup>  
 35) *mé-eh-ret* KÁ.GAL MURUB<sub>4</sub> URU [NINA.KI  
*ú-šaḫ-ši-la* DUMU.MEŠ-šú]  
 36) <sup>md</sup>GIŠ.NU<sub>11</sub>-MU-GI.<sup>r</sup>NA<sup>1</sup> [...]  
 37) *áš-ku-nu-uš* <sup>r</sup>a<sup>21</sup>-[*na* ...]  
 38) *ú-nak-ki-sa su-lum<sup>1</sup>*-[*mu*]-<sup>r</sup>ú<sup>1</sup> [...]

fore the father of the father who had engendered me — after I had installed Ummanigaš (Ḫumban-nikas II) as king in the land Elam, (vii 1) he (Ummanigaš) se[ized] Aplāya, son of Nabû-salim, [(and) sent (him) befo]re me.

vii 3–10) (As for) Dunānu (and) Samgunu, sons of [Bēl-iqīša — Gambul]ians whose ancestors had [harass]ed the kings, m[y] ancestors, and, moreover, (who) themselves disturbed my [exercising the kingsh]ip — I br[ou]ght them inside Baltil (Aššur) and the city Arbela to praise (me) in the future.

vii 11–20) (As for) Rusâ, the k[ing of the land] Urartu, [he heard about] the might of (the god) Aššur and the goddess Ištar, [my] lords, and fear of my royal majesty [overwhelmed h]i[m]; (vii 15) [he (then) sent] his envoys [to me in the city Arbela] to inquire about m[y] well-being. [He ...] horses, mules, [...], horn-shaped (drinking vessels), scepters, [...], (and) *puṭû*-weapons as h[is] audience gift(s). [I made] Nabû-damiq (and) Umbadar[â, envoys of the land Elam, stand] with writing boards (inscribed with) insol[ent] messages [before them].

vii 21–24) As for Mannu-kī-aḫḫē, [the deputy of Dunānu], and Nabû-ušalli, a city overseer of the land Gambulu, who had uttered grievous blasphem(ies) against my gods, I rip[ped ou]t their tongue(s) and flayed them inside the city Arbela.

vii 25–27) (As for) Dunānu, they laid him on a slaughtering block inside Nineveh and slaughtered him like a lamb.

vii 28–30) (As for) the rest of the brothers [of] Dunānu and Aplāya, I kill[ed (them)], chopped up [t]heir [flesh], (and) sent (them) out to be a spect[acle] in all of [the l]ands.

vii 31–35) (As for) Nabû-na'id (and) Bēl-ēṭir, s[ons of Nabû-šuma-ēreš, the šan]dabakku (governor of Nippur), whose father, the one who had engendered them, [had stirr]ed up Urta[ku to fight with the land Akka]d — the bones of Nabû-šuma-ēreš, which] they had taken [out of the land Gambulu to Assyria, I made them (lit. “his sons”) crush thos]e [bones] opposite the Citadel Gate of [Nineveh].

vii 36–45) (As for) Šamaš-šuma-ukī[n, ...], whom I had installed a[s king ...], he severed the p[ea]c[e] (that was between us) [...] the city gates of Babylo[n].

vii 36–45 This passage does not appear in text nos. 3 (Prism B) and 4 (Prism D). Part of vii 36 is duplicated in text no. 6 (Prism C) vii 48'.

- 39) KÁ.GAL.MEŠ KÁ.DINGIR.<sup>r</sup>RA<sup>1</sup>.KI [x (x)] TA [...]  
 40) <sup>m</sup>um-man-i-<sup>r</sup>gaš<sup>1</sup> [(...) ARAD] da-gíl pa-[ni-ia]  
 41) ša a-na LUGAL-[u-ti] <sup>r</sup>áš<sup>1</sup>-ku-nu ina  
 KUR.e-<sup>r</sup>lam<sup>1</sup>-[ti]  
 42) it-ti-ia [(...)] <sup>r</sup>ú<sup>1</sup>-šam-kír-šú-<sup>r</sup>ma<sup>1</sup>  
 43) <sup>r</sup>ú<sup>1</sup>-šá-aš-[li-šú] <sup>r</sup>GIŠ<sup>1</sup>.ŠUDUN be-lu-ti-[ia]  
 44) <sup>r</sup>NÍG<sup>1</sup>.GA é-<sup>r</sup>sag<sup>1</sup>-[íl u é-zi<sup>1</sup>]-<sup>r</sup>da<sup>1</sup> it-<sup>r</sup>bal<sup>1</sup>-[ma<sup>1</sup>?]  
 45) <sup>r</sup>ú<sup>1</sup>-še-<sup>r</sup>bil<sup>1</sup> [...] x [...]

## Lacuna

- 1') [ERIM.MEŠ MÈ-ia šá ina KUR.man-gi-si šá qé-reb  
 URU.su-man]-<sup>r</sup>dir<sup>1</sup>  
 2') [EDIN-uš-šú-un e-lu-nim]-<sup>r</sup>ma<sup>1</sup>  
 3') [iš-ku-nu taḥ-ta-šú]-un  
 4') [ša <sup>m</sup>un-da-si DUMU <sup>m</sup>te-um-man LUGAL  
 KUR.ELAM].<sup>r</sup>MA<sup>1</sup>.KI  
 5') [ša <sup>m</sup>za-za-az <sup>m</sup>par-ru-ú <sup>m</sup>at]-<sup>r</sup>ta<sup>1</sup>-me-tu  
 6') [SAG.DU.MEŠ-šú-nu ik-ki-su]-<sup>r</sup>nim<sup>1</sup>-ma  
 7') [ú-bil-u-ni a-di maḥ-ri]-ia  
 8') [šú-ut a-ma-a-ti an-na-a]-ti  
 9') [LÚ.A KIN-ia ú-ma-<sup>r</sup>e-er še-er <sup>m</sup>um-ma]-ni<sup>2</sup>-gaš<sup>1</sup>?  
 10') [LÚ.šú-ut SAG-ia šá áš-pu-ru ik]-<sup>r</sup>la<sup>1</sup>-ma  
 11') [la ú-ter-ra tur-tú a-mat]-ia  
 12') [AN.ŠÁR <sup>d</sup>30 <sup>d</sup>UTU <sup>d</sup>EN <sup>d</sup>AG<sup>1</sup>  
 13') [<sup>d</sup>MAŠ <sup>d</sup>nusku<sup>1</sup>] <sup>d</sup>U.GUR  
 14') [DINGIR.MEŠ tik]-<sup>r</sup>le<sup>1</sup>-ia  
 15') [di-in kit-ti it-ti <sup>m</sup>um-man-i]-gaš  
 16') [i-di]-<sup>r</sup>nu<sup>1</sup>-in-ni  
 17') [<sup>m</sup>tam-ma-ri-tu EDIN-uš-šú ib-bal]-kit-ma  
 18') [šá-a-šú ga-du kim-ti-šú ú-ra-sib]-<sup>r</sup>šú<sup>1</sup> ina  
 GIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ  
 19') [<sup>m</sup>tam-ma<sup>1</sup>-ri-tu šá e-la <sup>m</sup>um-man]-<sup>r</sup>i<sup>1</sup>-gaš ek-šu  
 20') ú-<sup>r</sup>šib<sup>1</sup> [ina GIŠ.GU].<sup>r</sup>ZA<sup>1</sup> KUR.ELAM.MA.KI  
 21') ki-ma šá-a-šú-<sup>r</sup>ma<sup>1</sup> [ul-tu ŠU.II  
<sup>m</sup>dGIŠ.NU<sub>11</sub>-MU-GI].NA  
 22') ṭa-<sup>r</sup>a-a-tú im-ḥur  
 23') ul iš-al [šú-lum] <sup>r</sup>LUGAL<sup>1</sup>-ti-ia  
 24') a-na kit-ri [<sup>m</sup>dGIŠ].<sup>r</sup>NU<sub>11</sub><sup>1</sup>-MU-GI.NA  
 25') ŠEŠ la ke-[e-nu] <sup>r</sup>il<sup>1</sup>-lik-am-ma  
 26') a-na mit-ḥu-[ši] ERIM.ḪI.A-ia  
 27') ina su-up-<sup>r</sup>pe-e<sup>1</sup> ša AN.ŠÁR u <sup>d</sup>15 ú-sap-pu-u  
 28') un-ni-ni-ia il-qu-<sup>r</sup>ú<sup>1</sup>  
 29') iš-mu-<sup>r</sup>ú<sup>1</sup> zi-kir NUNDUM-ia  
 30') ARAD.MEŠ-šú EDIN-uš-šú ib-bal-ki-tu-ma  
 31') a-ḥa-meš ú-ra-si-bu EN ḪUL-ti-ia  
 32') <sup>m</sup>in-da-bi-bi ARAD-su ša si-ḥu  
 33') [UGU-šú ú-šab-šú-ú] <sup>r</sup>ú<sup>1</sup>-šib ina GIŠ.GU.ZA-šú  
 34') [<sup>m</sup>tam-ma-ri-tu MAN KUR.ELAM].<sup>r</sup>MA.KI<sup>1</sup>  
 35') [ša me-re-ḥu-tu iq-bu-ú]  
 36') <sup>r</sup>e<sup>1</sup>-[li ni-kis SAG.DU <sup>m</sup>te-um-man]  
 37') <sup>r</sup>ša<sup>1</sup> ik-<sup>r</sup>ki<sup>1</sup>-[su a-ḥu-ru-ú ERIM.ḪI.A-ia]  
 38') <sup>r</sup>ú<sup>1</sup> ŠEŠ.<sup>r</sup>MEŠ<sup>1</sup>-[šú qin-nu-šú NUMUN É AD-šú]  
 39') it-ti <sup>r</sup>85<sup>1</sup> [NUN.MEŠ šá KUR.ELAM.MA.KI]

Ummanigaš (Ḫumban-nikas II), (...) a servant] who belon[ged to me], whom [I] had installed as kin[g] in the land Ela[m], incited him to become hostile towards me a[nd] to cast [off] the yoke of [my] lordship. He took a[way] the property of Esa[gil and Ezid]a [and] sen[t (it) ...]

## Lacuna

vii 1'-7') [My battle troops (who were stationed) in the land Mangisu – which is inside (the territory of) the city Sumandi]r – [came up against them an]d [brought about the]ir [defeat. They cut off]f [the heads of Undasu, a son of Teumman – a (former) king of the land Ela]m – [Zazaz, Parrû, (and) Att]a-metu and [they brought (them) before] me.

vii 8'-11') [I dispatched my messenger to Umma]nigaš (Ḫumban-nikas II) [regarding the]se [matters. He detain]ed [the eunuch of mine whom I had sent (Marduk-šarru-ušur)] and [did not give a reply to] my [word(s)].  
 vii 12'-20') [The gods Aššur, Sîn, Šamaš, Bēl (Marduk), Na]bû, [Ninurta, Nusku] (and) Nergal, [the gods who suppo]rt me, [render]ed [a just verdict] for me [concerning Ummani]gaš (Ḫumban-nikas II). [Tammarītu rebel]led [against him] and [struck] him, [together with his family, down] with the sword. Tamma[ritu, who was (even) more] insolent [than Umman]igaš, sat [on the thron]e of the land Elam.

vii 21'-33') Just like him (Ummanigaš), he (Tammarītu) accepted bribes [from the hand of Šamaš-šuma-uk]in, did not inquire about [the well-being of] my [ro]yal majesty, (and) (vii 25') went to the aid of [Šamaš-šuma-ukin, (my) unfai]t[hful] brother, to fig[ht with] my troops. As a result of the supplications that I had addressed to (the god) Aššur and the goddess Ištar, they accepted my prayers (and) listened to the utterance(s) of my lip(s). (vii 30') His servants rebelled against him and together struck down my adversary. Indabibi, a servant of his who [had incited] rebellion [against him], sat on his throne.

vii 34'-46') [(As for) Tammarītu, the king of the land Ela]m [who had spoken insolent word(s)] on ac[count of the cutting off of the head of Teumman – wh]ich [a low-ranking soldier of my army] had cu[t off] – and [his] brothers, [his family, (and) the seed of his father's house], together with eighty-[five nobles of

**Lacuna after vii 45** Part of the lacuna corresponds to text no. 6 (Prism C) viii 1'-18', as well as text no. 3 (Prism B) vi 86-vii 19. The exact size of the break is hard to estimate since vii 36-45 of this inscription are not duplicated in text nos. 3 (Prism B) and 4 (Prism D). It is assumed that not much is missing between text no. 7 (Prism Kh) vii 45 and text no. 3 (Prism B) vi 86.

- 40') *a-li-kut* [i-di-i-šú]  
 41') *ša la-pa-an* GIŠ.†TUKUL.MEŠ<sup>1</sup> [AN.ŠÁR u <sup>d</sup>15  
*ip-par-šu-nim-ma*  
 42') *a-na da-lál* DINGIR-ti-†šú<sup>1</sup>-[nu GAL-ti]  
 43') †it<sup>1</sup>-ti <sup>md</sup>AMAR.UTU-MAN-†PAP<sup>1</sup> [LÚ.šu-ut SAG-ia]  
 44') †ša<sup>1</sup> ib-ši-mu-šú [ina da-na-ni]  
 45') [mi]-†ra<sup>1</sup>-nu-uš-šú-un [ina UGU lib-bi-šu-nu]  
 46') [ip]-†ši<sup>1</sup>-lu-[nim-ma iṣ-ba-tu GİR.II LUGAL-ti-ia]  
 47') [†tam]-†ma-ri<sup>1</sup>-[tu a-na e-peš ARAD-ti-ia]  
 48') †ra<sup>1</sup>-man-šú [im-nu-ma]  
 49') *a-na kàt-a-†ri<sup>1</sup>-šú ú-šal-la-a* EN-u-ti]  
 50') *šu-ut 1-en* LÚ.[šu-ut SAG-ia]  
 51') AN.ŠÁR <sup>d</sup>30 <sup>d</sup>UTU [<sup>d</sup>EN <sup>d</sup>AG <sup>d</sup>MAŠ<sup>?</sup> <sup>d</sup>nusku<sup>?</sup>  
<sup>d</sup>U.GUR<sup>?</sup>]  
 52') DINGIR.MEŠ ti-†ik<sup>1</sup>-[le-ia]  
 53') 1 LIM-A.A ri-bi-ia [i-ri]-†bu-ú<sup>1</sup>-[ni]  
 54') <sup>m</sup>tam-ma-ri-tu UN.MEŠ †ma-la it<sup>1</sup>-ti-šú  
 55') †qé<sup>1</sup>-reb É.GAL-ia †u<sup>1</sup>-zi-†is<sup>1</sup>-su-nu-ti

Col. viii

- 1) GIŠ.†PAN<sup>1</sup>[MEŠ *ša m*tam-ma-ri-tu MAN  
 KUR.ELAM.MA.KI]  
 2) *qé<sup>1</sup>-reb<sup>1</sup>* [KUR.ELAM.MA.KI *uš-tar-ri-ḥu* ina  
*lib-bi-ši-na*]  
 3) *a-na †mit<sup>1</sup>-[ḥu-ši* ERIM.ḪI.A KUR *aš-šur.KI*]  
 4) *e-nen-[na qé<sup>1</sup>-reb* KUR *aš-šur.KI*]  
 5) GIŠ.†PAN<sup>1</sup>[MEŠ *šá-ti-na*]  
 6) *uq-†ta<sup>1</sup>-[na-ar-ra-ba a-na<sup>?</sup> ...]*  
 7) AN.ŠÁR †d<sup>1</sup>[30 <sup>d</sup>UTU <sup>d</sup>EN <sup>d</sup>AG]  
 8) <sup>d</sup>15 [ša URU.NINA <sup>d</sup>šar-rat-kid-mu-ri]  
 9) <sup>d</sup>r15<sup>1</sup> [ša URU.LÍMMU-DINGIR.KI]  
 10) <sup>d</sup>rMAŠ<sup>1</sup> [<sup>d</sup>nusku <sup>d</sup>U.GUR]  
 11) *ša* [LÚ.KÚR.MEŠ-ia ...]  
 12) †ù<sup>1</sup> [si-it-tu-ti im-...]

Lacuna

- 1') *ú-ša-am-ma* x [...]  
 2') *lu-bu-uš-tú* [...]  
 3') *a-na gat-ti-šú* [...]  
 4') *ub-bu-ṭu* [...]  
 5') *mu-ut ú-bi-x* [...]  
 6') *ir-ku-us* [...]  
 7') NÍG.ŠU.MEŠ-šú-†nu<sup>1</sup> [...]  
 8') NÍG.GA.MEŠ-šú-nu *gam<sup>?</sup>-†lu<sup>?</sup>-ú-ti a<sup>?</sup>-[na a-ki-li]*  
 9') *ina un-ši né-eb-re-ti †la<sup>1</sup> [ig-mì-lu]*  
 10') *e-ku-lu* UR.GI<sub>7</sub>.MEŠ <sup>d</sup>[NIN.KILIM.MEŠ]  
 11') NÍG.GIG-šú-nu [ra-bu-u]  
 12') *ina šam-mu pi-i-šú-nu [ig-mu-ru]*  
 13') MUŠ GÍR.TAB *nam-maš-ti qa-q[qa-ri ma-la*  
*ba-šú-u]*  
 14') *zer-man-du †iq<sup>1</sup>-[ti-šú-nu-ti]*  
 15') *ik-su-su gi-†il<sup>1</sup>-[du ku-ru-us-su]*

the land Elam] (vii 40') who march at [his side], who [had flown away] from the weapons of [(the god) Aššur and the goddess Ištar] — to praise t[heir great] divinity, they [craw]led [nak]ed [on their bellies, to]gether with Marduk-šarru-ušur, a eunuch of mine w[hom] they had taken away (with them) [by force, and they grasped the feet of my royal majesty].

vii 47'–55') [Tam]marī[tu handed] himself [over to do obeisance to me and made an appeal to my lordly majesty] to be [his] ally. (vii 50') For just one [eunuch of mine], the gods Aššur, Sîn, Šamaš, [Bēl (Marduk), Nabû, Ninurta, Nusku, (and) Nergal], the gods who sup[port me, comp]ensated [me] a thousand fold. I allowed Tammaritu (and) as many people as (there were) with him to stay in my palace.

viii 1–12) (As for) the arch[ers among whom Tammaritu, the king of the land Elam, had bragged] wi[thin the land Elam about] fig[h]ting with the troops of Assyria, no[w, inside Assyria, (viii 5) those] arch[ers] were repe[atedly coming close to my ...]. The deities Aššur, [Sîn, Šamaš, Bēl (Marduk), Nabû], Ištar [of Nineveh, Šarrat-Kidmuri], Iš[tar of Arbela], (viii 10) Nin[urta, Nusku, (and) Nergal], who [... my foes ...]. Moreover, [(as for) the rest, ...]

Lacuna

viii 1'–6') he came out and [...] clothing [...] to/for his form [...] famine [...] death ... [...] he tied [...].

viii 7'–22') Thei[r] possessions [were ...] (and) their ... property f[or (something to) eat. They could] n[ot satisfy] (their) starvation (and) hunger (viii 10') (so) they ate dogs (and) [mongooses]. Their sin [was great]. They [ate] grass. (As for) the snake(s and) scorpion(s), [as many] creatures [that there are] on ea[rth], (and) rodents, *they bro[ught them to an end]*. (viii 15') They gnawed on anim[al hides, (leather) straps], shoes [and sandals. T]o (fight) thei[r] hunger, [they slaughtered (their) sons], daughter[s, brothers, sisters, ..., all of]

**Lacuna after viii 12** The contents of the first part of the gap would have duplicated text no. 6 (Prism C) viii 9'''–21'''. The size of the gap between viii 12 and 1' cannot be determined with certainty since this part of the report of events in Babylon is completely missing in this text, text no. 6 (Prism C), and text no. 8 (Prism G). The authors' provisional minimum estimated gap is about thirty lines.

**viii 14'** †iq<sup>1</sup>-[ti-šú-nu-ti] “they bro[ught them to an end]”: The verb, which is restored from text no. 8 (Prism G) viii 10''', appears to be *qatû* (“to end”); however, one does not expect the G stem of that verb to take a direct object. R. Borger (BIWA p. 230) translates this passage as “ging ihnen aus.”

- 16') KUŠ.DA.E.SIR.MEŠ [u KUŠ.E.SÍR.MEŠ]  
 17') [a]-<sup>r</sup>na<sup>1</sup> bu-ri-šú-<sup>r</sup>nu<sup>1</sup> [ú-<sup>r</sup>ta-ab-bi-<sup>r</sup>hu]  
 18') [DUMU.MEŠ] DUMU.<sup>r</sup>MUNUS<sup>1</sup>. [MEŠ ŠEŠ.MEŠ  
 NIN<sub>9</sub>.MEŠ]  
 19') [... DÙ]-<sup>r</sup>šú-un UZU.MEŠ<sup>1</sup> [DUMU.MEŠ-šú-nu]  
 20') [e-ku-lu] ku-<sup>r</sup>um<sup>1</sup> [NINDA.MEŠ]  
 21') [ÚŠ.MEŠ] <sup>r</sup>DUMU<sup>1</sup>.MUNUS.MEŠ-šú-nu  
 iš-<sup>r</sup>ta<sup>1</sup>-[at-tu-u]  
 22') [ku-um] ši-<sup>r</sup>ka<sup>1</sup>-[ri]  
 23') [ina la] <sup>r</sup>ma<sup>1</sup>-ka-le-e iq-ta-a [i-zu-ba]  
 24') [meš]-<sup>r</sup>re<sup>1</sup>-e-ti-šú-nu e-mu-u [šá-lam-tiš]  
 25') <sup>r</sup>zi<sup>1</sup>-i-me UN.MEŠ ku-ri u ni-[is-sa-ti]  
 26') iq-<sup>r</sup>tu-ru GIM <sup>r</sup>qut<sup>1</sup>-[ri]  
 27') e<sup>r</sup>-lu ša ar-[da-ti]  
 28') ar-da-tu ša [e<sup>r</sup>-li]  
 29') ina re-bet URU i-na-a<sup>r</sup>-<sup>r</sup>ta-lu pu-<sup>r</sup>zur<sup>1</sup>-[šùn]  
 30') ša la šu-ba-ti na-an-<sup>r</sup>du<sup>1</sup>-[qu?]  
 31') <sup>r</sup>te<sup>1</sup>-di-iq EN ar-ni ba-šá-mu u x [...]  
 32') i<sup>r</sup>-šú-<sup>r</sup>hu UN.MEŠ- [...]  
 33') mi-tu-tu GIM <sup>r</sup>HAL<sup>1</sup> [...]  
 34') re-e-me UN.MEŠ IG- [...]  
 35') AD a-na DUMU-šú AMA a-na  
<sup>r</sup>DUMU<sup>1</sup>. [MUNUS-šá]  
 36') <sup>r</sup>ul<sup>1</sup> i-ra-áš-ši re-[e-mu?]  
 37') <sup>r</sup>e<sup>r</sup>-lu<sup>1</sup> <sup>r</sup>hi-rat-su un-da-<sup>r</sup>áš<sup>1</sup>-[šir]  
 38') AD <sup>r</sup>e<sup>1</sup>-te-zib DUMU na-ram [lib-bi-šú]  
 39') šu<sup>2</sup>-ut? <sup>r</sup>mi-tu<sup>1</sup>-tu a-<sup>r</sup>ha-meš la <sup>r</sup>na<sup>1</sup>-[ta-li]  
 40') a-na LÚ.KÚR [da-a]-<sup>r</sup>a-ki<sup>1</sup>-šú <sup>r</sup>it-ta-din<sup>1</sup> [pi-i-šú]  
 41') šib-<sup>r</sup>tu NAM.ÚŠ. [MEŠ GIG šu-ru-up-pu-u]  
 42') ú-ša-<sup>r</sup>hir UN.MEŠ [KUR URI.KI DÛ-šú-un]  
 43') bi-rit URU u EDIN <sup>r</sup>ig<sup>1</sup>-[mur-šú-nu-ti]  
 44') GÍR AN.BAR <sup>r</sup>ha-<sup>r</sup>an-<sup>r</sup>tu<sup>1</sup>  
 45') GÍR.NÍTA SIPA-šú-nu ina ŠÀ-šú-nu e-zi-iz-<sup>r</sup>ma<sup>1</sup>  
 46') ú-šam-qit si-it-tú  
 47') ADDA.MEŠ UN.MEŠ SILA su-lu-u pur-ru-ku  
 48') pu-u<sup>r</sup>-<sup>r</sup>hu-ú KÁ.MEŠ  
 49') UGU URU u NUN šá-qu-um-ma-tú na-da-ta  
 50') šá-<sup>r</sup>hur-ra-tu tab-kàt  
 51') ga-nun-šú-un šu-u<sup>r</sup>-ru-ub  
 52') A.GÀR. [MEŠ<sup>2</sup>]-šú-un ba-ku-u sa-ap-du  
 53') ÍD.MEŠ-šú-un ša ú-šah-bi-ba A.MEŠ HÉ.NUN  
 54') im-la-a sa-ki-ka  
 55') <sup>md</sup>GÍŠ.NU<sub>11</sub>-MU-GI.NA ŠEŠ nak-ri  
 56') ša a-na KUR aš-šur.KI ik-pu-du né-er-ti  
 57') ù e-li AN.ŠÁR DINGIR ba-ni-ia  
 58') iq-bu-ú šil-la-tú GAL-tú  
 59') mu-u-tú lem-nu i-šim-šú-ma  
 60') ina mi-qit <sup>d</sup>GIBIL<sub>6</sub> id-di-šú-ma  
 61') ú-<sup>r</sup>hal-li-qa nap-šat-su  
 62') LÚ.ERIM.MEŠ e-piš si-<sup>r</sup>hi bar-ti  
 63') ma-la it-ti-šú šak-nu e-du ul ip-par-šid  
 64') mul-ta<sup>r</sup>-<sup>r</sup>tu ul ú-š<sup>r</sup>i ina ŠU.II-ia  
 65') lu-bul-tu šu-kut-tú a-qar-tú mim-ma si-mat  
 LUGAL-<sup>r</sup>ti<sup>1</sup>  
 66') <sup>r</sup>hi-ših-ti É.GAL-šú ma-la ba-šú-<sup>r</sup>ú<sup>1</sup>

them. (viii 20') Instead of [bread, they ate] the flesh of [their sons. Instead of] be[er], th[ey] dr[ank the blood of] their daughters.

viii 23'-34') [From lack of fo]od, their [lim]bs stopped working (lit. "came to an end") (and) [withered away]; they became [like corpse(s). The f]aces of the people darkened as (if by) s[moke] with depression and mo[urn]ing. In the square(s) of the city, the young man saw the concealed par[t(s)] of the you[ng woman], (and) the young woman the concealed par[t(s)] of [the young man]. (viii 30') Those without clothing don[ned] garment(s) of criminal(s), sackcloth and [...]. The people desired [...] of the dead. Like [...] the mercy on people [...].

viii 35'-46') A father did not show m[er]cy to his son, (nor) a mother to [her] dau[ghter]. The young man aband[oned] his wife. The father left (his) son whom [his heart] loved. In order not to se[e] one another in a state of dying, (viii 40') a person (lit. "he") made [a promise] to an enemy, [who wou]ld kill him. Plague, pestilence, [illness, (and) the chills] reduced the people of [the land Akkad, all of them]. Between the city and the steppe, the swift iron dagger fin[ished] them off. (viii 45') The governor, their shepherd, became angry with them and cut down the remainder (of them).

viii 47'-54') The corpses of people were obstructing the street(s) and alley(s); they were blocking gateways. The silence (of desolation) lay over the city and (its) ruler; (viii 50') a deathly hush had been poured out. Their storeroom(s) were laid waste, their field[s] wept (and) mourned, (and) their watercourses, which had (once) gushed with an abundance of water, were (now) filled with silt.

viii 55'-61') (As for) Šamaš-šuma-ukin, (my) hostile brother who had planned murder against Assyria and uttered grievous blasphemies against (the god) Aššur, the god who created me, he (the god Aššur) determined for him a cruel death; (viii 60') he consigned him to a conflagration and destroyed his life.

viii 62'-74') (As for) the soldiers who had perpetrated sedition (and) rebellion, as many as had made common cause with him, not a single one (of them) escaped; (anyone) who tried to get away did not escape my grasp. (viii 65') (As for) clothing (and) precious jewelry, every roya[l] appurtenance, the necessities of his



- 67') MUNUS.sek-re-ti-šú GAL.MEŠ-šú LÚ.šú-ut  
SAG.MEŠ-šú<sup>1</sup>
- 68') ù UN.MEŠ li-bit É.GAL-šú
- 69') KÛ.BABBAR KÛ.GI NÍG.ŠU NÍG.GA
- 70') GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ GIŠ.šá šá-da-di ru-kub EN-ú-ti-šú
- 71') ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ ši-mit-ti ni-i-ri-šú<sup>1</sup>
- 72') UN.MEŠ zi-kir u sin-niš TUR u GAL šá la-pa-an  
mit-ḥu-ši GIŠ.TUKUL.<sup>1</sup>MEŠ<sup>1</sup>
- 73') di-<sup>2</sup>u šib-tu NAM.ÚŠ.MEŠ ù né-eb-re-tú i-še-tu-ni
- 74') ik-šu-da ŠU.II-a-a áš-lu-la a-na KUR aš-šur.KI
- 75') UN.MEŠ EN ḥi-iṭ-ṭi
- 76') an-nu kab-tu e-mid-su-nu-ti
- 77') bu-un-na-an-ni-šú-nu at-bal
- 78') KUŠ.MEŠ-šú-nu áš-ḥu-uṭ
- 79') ú-nak-ki-sa UZU.MEŠ-šú-un
- 80') <sup>m</sup>in-da-bi-bi šá EGIR <sup>m</sup>tam-ma-ri-<sup>r</sup>ti<sup>1</sup>
- 81') ú-ši-bu ina GIŠ.GU.ZA KUR.ELAM.MA.KI
- 82') da-na-an GIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ-ia e-mur-ma
- 83') <sup>r</sup>šá ul<sup>1</sup>-tú re-e-ši ú-šam-ri-ru UGU  
KUR.ELAM.MA.<sup>r</sup>KI<sup>1</sup>
- 84') [DUMU].MEŠ KUR aš-šur.KI šá áš-pu-ru
- 85') [a-na kit]-<sup>r</sup>ri<sup>1</sup> <sup>md</sup>AG-EN-MU.MEŠ DUMU  
<sup>md</sup>AMAR.UTU-A<sup>2</sup>-[AŠ]
- 86') [ša GIM] <sup>r</sup>ib<sup>1</sup>-ri tap-pe-e na-šar KUR-[šú]
- 87') [it-ta-na]-<sup>r</sup>al<sup>1</sup>-la-ku it-ti-[šú]
- 88') [šá <sup>md</sup>AG-EN]-MU.MEŠ ina pi-<sup>r</sup>ir<sup>1</sup>-[ša-a-ti]
- 89') [ina šat mu-ši] uš-<sup>r</sup>šab<sup>1</sup>-[bi-tu ik-lu-u ina ki-li]
- 90') [<sup>m</sup>in-da-bi-bi LUGAL KUR.ELAM.MA.KI]
- 91') [ul-tú É ši-bit-ti ú-še-ša-áš-šú-nu]-<sup>r</sup>ti<sup>1</sup>
- 92') [ki-i ša-bat a-bu-ut-ti qa-bé-e MUNUS.SIG<sub>5</sub>]-<sup>r</sup>šú<sup>1</sup>
- 93') [la ḥa-ṭe-e mi-šir KUR]-šú
- 94') [ina ŠU.II LÚ.A KIN-šú ú-še-bi-la a-di IGI]-<sup>r</sup>ia<sup>1</sup>
- 95') [e-li <sup>md</sup>AG-EN-MU.MEŠ DUMU  
<sup>md</sup>]<sup>r</sup>AMAR.UTU<sup>1</sup>-A-AŠ
- 96') [ARAD da-gíl pa]-<sup>r</sup>ni<sup>1</sup>-ia
- 97') [šá in-nab-tu] <sup>r</sup>il-li<sup>1</sup>-[ku] <sup>r</sup>a-na<sup>1</sup>  
[KUR].<sup>r</sup>ELAM<sup>1</sup>.MA.KI
- 98') <sup>r</sup>ù si-it-ti<sup>1</sup> DUMU.MEŠ KUR aš-šur.KI
- 99') <sup>r</sup>šá<sup>1</sup> <sup>md</sup>AG-EN-MU.MEŠ ina pi-ir-ša-a-ti
- 100') <sup>r</sup>ú<sup>1</sup>-šab-bi-tu ú-bi-lu it-ti-šú
- 101') <sup>r</sup>ina<sup>1</sup> ŠU.II LÚ.A KIN.MEŠ-šú a-na <sup>m</sup>in-da-bi-bi
- 102') [ki]-a-am áš-pur-šu-ma
- 103') [áš]-<sup>r</sup>šú<sup>1</sup> UN.MEŠ an-nu-u-ti la tu-še-bi-la
- 104') [um]-<sup>r</sup>ma<sup>1</sup> al-la-kam-ma URU.MEŠ-ka a-<sup>r</sup>na<sup>1</sup>-qar
- 105') [UN.MEŠ URU].<sup>r</sup>šú<sup>1</sup>-šá-an URU.ma-dak-tu  
URU.ḥi-da-lu a-šal-<sup>r</sup>lal<sup>1</sup>
- 106') [ul-tu GIŠ].<sup>r</sup>GU<sup>1</sup>.ZA LUGAL-ti-ka a-dak-ke-ka-<sup>r</sup>ma<sup>1</sup>
- 107') [šá-nam-ma ina GIŠ].<sup>r</sup>GU<sup>1</sup>.ZA-ka ú-še-<sup>r</sup>šab<sup>1</sup>
- 108') [ep-šet ina IGI <sup>m</sup>te-um-man ú]-<sup>r</sup>šap<sup>1</sup>-ri-ku  
ú-šam-ḥar-ka ka-<sup>r</sup>a<sup>1</sup>-ta
- 109') [a-di LÚ.A KIN-šú ma-ḥar]-<sup>r</sup>šú la<sup>1</sup> i-kaš-šá-du
- 110') [la ú-šá-an-nu-šú ši-kin] <sup>r</sup>ṭe<sup>1</sup>-e-me-ia
- 111') [ina tukul-ti AN.ŠAR <sup>d</sup>30 <sup>d</sup>UTU <sup>d</sup>EN] <sup>d</sup>AG
- 112') <sup>r</sup>d<sup>15</sup> šá NINA.KI <sup>d</sup>15 šá URU.LÍMMU-DINGIR<sup>1</sup>
- 113') <sup>d</sup>MAŠ <sup>d</sup>r<sup>n</sup>usku<sup>1</sup> <sup>d</sup>U.GUR

palace, as much as there was, his palace women, his nobles, hi[s] eunuchs, and (other) people associated with his palace, silver, gold, possessions, property, (viii 70') chariot(s), a processional carriage, the vehicle of his lordly majesty, horses, hi[s] harness-broken (steeds), (and) people — male and female, young and old — who had escaped from the clash of arms, di'u-disease, plague, pestilence, and hunger — I captured (them and) carried (them) off to Assyria.

viii 75'–79') (As for) the people who were guilty, I imposed a harsh punishment upon them. I destroyed their faces, flayed them, (and) chopped up their flesh.

viii 80'–94') Indabibi, who sat on the throne of the land Elam after Tammarit[*u*], saw the might of my weapons that had previously prevailed over the land Elam and (as for) [the As]syrians whom I had sent (viii 85') [to ai]d Nabû-bēl-šumāti, son of Marduk-apla-iddina (II) (Merodach-baladan), with [whom] they [used to ma]rch [about] protecting [his] land [like a fr]iend (and) ally (and) [whom Nabû-bēl]-šumāti had se[ized] by gu[ile] during the night (and) confined in prison, (viii 90') Indabibi, the king of the land Elam, released the[m] [from prison. So that (they) would intercede (with me), say good thing(s) about h]im, [(and) in order to prevent (me) from doing harm to the territory of] his [land, he sent (them) before m]e [by the hands of his messenger].

viii 95'–108') [With regard to Nabû-bēl-šumāti, son of Ma]rduk-apla-iddina (II) (Merodach-baladan), [a servant who belonge]d to me [who had fled] (and) go[ne t]o [the land E]lam, and (with regard to) the rest of the Assyrians [wh]om Nabû-bēl-šumāti (viii 100') had seized by guile (and) taken (to Elam) with him, I sent (a message) to Indabibi [b]y the hands of his messengers, (saying) [as f]ollows: “[Sin]ce you have not sent me those people, I will come and tear down your cities. (viii 105') I will carry o[ff] the people of the cities S]usa, Madaktu, (and) Ḥidalu. I will remove you [from] your royal [th]rone and make [someone else] sit [on] your [th]rone. [The (same) actions that I used to th]wart [Teumman], I will make happen to you.”

viii 109'–ix 9) [Before his messenger] had arrived [in] his [presence (and before) he could report the issuing of] my [de]cision [to him, with the support of the deities Aššur, Sîn, Šamaš, Bēl (Marduk)], Nabû, Ištār of Nineveh, Ištār of Arbela, Ninurta, Nusku,

114') *ša it-tal-la-ku* Á.II-a-a115') *i-na-ar-ru ga-re-ia*

Col. ix

- 1) [a-lak<sup>2</sup>] ᵀLÚ<sup>1</sup>.A KIN-ia ša a-na URU.de-ri  
 2) [áš-pu]-ᵀru<sup>1</sup> iš-mu-u qé-reb KUR.ELAM.MA.KI  
 3) [pu-luḥ]-ᵀti<sup>1</sup> LUGAL-ti-ia  
 4) [ša ú-za]-ᵀi<sup>1</sup>-nu-in-ni DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ  
 5) [KUR.ELAM.MA.KI] ᵀis<sup>1</sup>-ḥup-ma UN.MEŠ  
 KUR.ELAM.MA.KI  
 6) [še-er<sup>min</sup>]-ᵀda-bi<sup>1</sup>-bi ib-bal-ki-tu  
 7) [i-na-ru-uš]-ᵀi<sup>1</sup>-na GIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ  
 8) [ᵀum-man-al-da-si DUMU] ᵀat-ta-me-tu  
 9) [ú-še-ši-bu] ina GIŠ.GU.ZA-šú

- 10) [i-na 10-e<sup>2</sup> ger]-ᵀri<sup>1</sup>-ia  
 11) [a-na KUR.ELAM.MA.KI<sup>2</sup> lu] al-lik  
 12) [ina me-ti-iq ger]-ᵀri<sup>1</sup>-ia  
 13) [URU.É-ᵀim-bi-i (URU tukul-ti  
 KUR.ELAM.MA.KI<sup>2</sup>) ak<sup>2</sup>]-ᵀšú<sup>21</sup>-ud  
 14) [...] x-šú  
 15) [...] x x

Lacuna

- 1') [...] x x [x (x)]  
 2') [...] x DIŠ x [x]  
 3') [...] x ša KUR.ELAM.ᵀMA.KI<sup>1</sup>  
 4') [...] x iš-pu-ra-áš-šú  
 5') [...] ᵀ<sup>md</sup>GIŠ.NU<sup>11</sup>-MU-GL.NA  
 6') [...] ᵀMÈ<sup>21</sup>-ia ina ú-ši maḥ-šu  
 7') [... la<sup>2</sup> iq]-tu-ú nap-šat-su  
 8') [... la]-ᵀpa<sup>1</sup>-an GIŠ.TUKUL <<MEŠ>> AN.ŠÁR la  
 pa-de-e  
 9') [a]-ᵀna<sup>1</sup> da-la-li ta-nit-ti AN.ŠÁR u ᵀ15  
 EN.MEŠ-ia  
 10') ᵀe<sup>1</sup>-diš-ši-šú in-nab-tu ana KUR.ELAM.MA.KI  
 11') ᵀ<sup>m</sup>ᵀbar<sup>2</sup>-bu-ru DUMU-šú ᵀul<sup>1</sup>-tu URU.É-ᵀim-bi-i  
 12') ᵀú<sup>1</sup>-še-ša-am-ma KUŠ-šú áš-ḥu-uṭ  
 13') ᵀ<sup>m</sup>ᵀtam-ma-ri-tu MAN KUR.ELAM.MA.KI  
 mun-nab-tu  
 14') ᵀša ul-tu<sup>1</sup> qé-reb KUR aš-šur.KI  
 15') [it-bu<sup>2</sup>]-ᵀú<sup>2</sup> il<sup>1</sup>-li-ku ana KUR.ELAM.MA.KI  
 16') [ti-ib MÈ]-ᵀia<sup>1</sup> dan-ni  
 17') [...] x GIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ-ia  
 18') [ša UGU<sup>2</sup> KUR.ELAM.MA.KI<sup>2</sup> ú-šam]-ᵀri-ru<sup>1</sup>  
 e-mur-ma  
 19') [...] x (x) [x (x)]

Lacuna

(and) Nergal, who march at my side (and) kill my foes, (ix 1) inside the land Elam, they (the Elamites) heard about [*the progress of*] the messenger of mine whom [I had sent] to the city Dēr. [Fear of] my royal majesty — with [which] the great gods [had end]owed me — (ix 5) overwhelmed [the land Elam] and (then) the people of the land Elam rebelled [against In]dabibi (and) [killed him] with the sword. [They placed Ummanaldašu (Ḥumban-ḥaltaš III), son of] Atta-metu, on his (Indabibi's) throne.

ix 10–15) [On] my [tenth campai]gn, I marched [to the land Elam. In the course of] my [campai]gn, [I conqu]red [the city Bīt-Imbī, (a city upon which the land Elam relied). ...] it [...] ...

Lacuna

ix 1'–12') [...] ... [...] ... [...] of the land Elam [...] he sent him. [...] Šamaš-šuma-ukin, [...] of] my combat [...] was struck by an arrow, [...] his life [did not com]e to an end. [...] fro]m the merciless weapon of (the god) Aššur, [t]o sing the praise(s) of (the god) Aššur and the goddess Ištar, my lords, had fled alone to the land Elam — I brought Barburu, his son, out of the city Bīt-Imbī and flayed him.

ix 13'–19') (As for) Tammarītu, king of the land Elam, a fugitive who [had set ou]t from Assyria (and) gone (back) to the land Elam, he saw [the assault of m]y mighty [battle array (and) the ... of] my weapons [that had prev]ailed [over the land Elam] and [...] ... [...]

Lacuna

**ix 10–14** These lines duplicate text no. 8 (Prism G) ix 29'–31''a. It is possible that ix 10 has 11-e<sup>2</sup> (“eleventh”) instead of 10-e<sup>2</sup> (“tenth”); R. Borger (BIWA p. 158), however, proposes that it was the ninth campaign. The first war against the Elamite king Ummanaldašu (Ḥumban-ḥaltaš III) is recorded for the first time in this text and text no. 8 (Prism G). It is not included in text no. 6 (Prism C), as previously thought; for details, see Novotny, SAOC 62 pp. 127–135. Reports of this campaign also appear in text no. 9 (Prism F) iii 33–iv 16 and text no. 11 (Prism A) iv 110–v 62.

**ix 14** Possibly restore the line as UN.MEŠ a-šib lib-bi-šú “the people living inside it”; see text no. 8 (Prism G) ix 31''a.

**ix 15 and lacuna** Part of the now-missing text can be filled by text no. 8 (Prism G) ix 31'–b–8'', which more or less duplicate text no. 9 (Prism F) iii 49b–61. Because ix 1'–10' are not duplicated in other texts, as far as they are preserved, it is not possible to estimate accurately the size of this lacuna; however, based on text no. 8 (Prism G), it is certain that at least fifteen lines of text are missing between ix 15 and ix 1'. See also the comments of Borger in BIWA (p. 159).

**ix 13'–19'** Compare text no. 9 (Prism F) iii 70–81 and 11 (Prism A) v 21–40. Note that the capture of Tammarītu in those inscriptions appears after the passages concerning Ummanaldašu (Ḥumban-ḥaltaš III) and Umba-LAGABua.

**ix 19' and lacuna** The now-missing contents corresponds to text no. 8 (Prism G) x 5'–b–12'.

- 1'') URU.<sup>1</sup>ma<sup>1</sup>-[*dak-tú* URU LUGAL-ti-šú  
ú-maš-šir-ma]  
2'') in-na-[*bit-ma* KUR-šú e-li]  
3'') <sup>m</sup>am-ba-<sup>r</sup>LAGAB<sup>1</sup>-[*u-a šá mé-eh-ret*  
<sup>m</sup>um-man-al-da-si]  
4'') áš-bu [*ina* GIŠ.GU.ZA KUR.ELAM.MA.KI (...)]  
5'') ú-<sup>r</sup>šú<sup>1</sup>-[...] x IA x [...]  
6'') URU.bu-<sup>r</sup>bi<sup>1</sup>-[*lu*] <sup>r</sup>URU<sup>21</sup> mu-šab EN-ti-šú  
[ú-maš-šir-ma]  
7'') ki<sup>2</sup>-[*ma* KU<sub>6</sub>.MEŠ<sup>2</sup>] <sup>r</sup>šú<sup>1</sup>-pul A.MEŠ iš-<sup>r</sup>bat<sup>1</sup>-[*ma*]  
8'') <sup>r</sup>in<sup>1</sup>-[*na-bit*?] a-na ru-qé-e-[*ti*]  
9'') <sup>r</sup>ina<sup>1</sup> [*ta-a-a-ar*]-<sup>r</sup>ti<sup>21</sup>-ia URU.ga-tu-<sup>r</sup>du<sup>1</sup>  
10'') [URU.ga-tu-du]-<sup>r</sup>ma<sup>1</sup> URU.da-e-ba  
11'') [URU.na-di]-<sup>r</sup>i<sup>21</sup> URU.BĀD-am-na-ni  
12'') [URU.BĀD-am-na-ni]-<sup>r</sup>ma<sup>1</sup> URU.ḫa-ma-nu  
13'') [URU.ta-ra]-<sup>r</sup>qu<sup>21</sup> URU.ḫa-a-a-ú-si  
14'') [...] URU.ḫa-ra-a'  
15'') [URU.É-<sup>m</sup>im-bi]-<sup>r</sup>i<sup>21</sup> URU.ma-dak-tu  
16'') [URU.šú-šá]-an URU.bu-bé-e  
17'') [URU.ŠE-<sup>md</sup>šú]-MAN-a-ni URU.ur-da-li-ka  
18'') [URU.al-ga]-<sup>r</sup>ri<sup>1</sup>-gi URU.tu-u-bu  
19'') [URU.du]-<sup>r</sup>un<sup>21</sup>-LUGAL URU.BĀD-<sup>m</sup>un-da-si  
20'') [URU.BĀD-<sup>m</sup>]un-da<sup>1</sup>-si-ma URU.bu-bi-lu  
21'') [URU.sa]-<sup>r</sup>am<sup>1</sup>-ú-<sup>r</sup>nu<sup>1</sup> URU.É-<sup>m</sup>bu-na-ki  
22'') [...] <sup>r</sup>URU.qa-ba<sup>1</sup>-ri-na  
23'') [URU.qa-ba-ri-na-ma] <sup>r</sup>URU<sup>1</sup>.MEŠ <sup>r</sup>šú<sup>1</sup>-nu-ti  
24'') [ap]-<sup>r</sup>pu<sup>1</sup> aq-qur [*ina*] <sup>r</sup>d<sup>1</sup>GIŠ.BAR <sup>r</sup>aq<sup>1</sup>-mu  
25'') [UN<sup>2</sup>].<sup>r</sup>MEŠ-šú<sup>1</sup>-nu GU<sub>4</sub>.MEŠ-[šú-nu]  
še-e-ni-<sup>r</sup>šú<sup>1</sup>-nu  
26'') [NÍG.ŠU]-<sup>r</sup>šú<sup>1</sup>-nu<sup>1</sup> NÍG.GA-<sup>r</sup>šú<sup>1</sup>-nu  
27'') [GIŠ].šú-um-<sup>r</sup>bi.MEŠ ANŠE<sup>1</sup>.KUR.RA.<sup>r</sup>MEŠ<sup>1</sup>  
28'') <sup>r</sup>ANŠE<sup>1</sup>.KUNGA.MEŠ <sup>r</sup>GIŠ.til-li ú-nu-ut MÈ<sup>1</sup>  
29'') <sup>r</sup>áš<sup>1</sup>-lu-la a-na KUR aš-šur.KI  
30'') UN.MEŠ KUR.ELAM.MA.KI ša <sup>md</sup>30-PAP.MEŠ-SU  
31'') <sup>r</sup>AD<sup>1</sup> AD ba-ni-ia ina MURUB<sub>3</sub> ta-ḫa-zi  
32'') NUNDUM.MEŠ-šú-un ip-ru-<sup>2</sup>u-ú-ma  
33'') <sup>r</sup>it<sup>1</sup>-ba-lu bu-un-na-an-ni-šú-un  
34'') [šá<sup>2</sup>] ul-tu bi-rit ADDA.MEŠ  
35'') [BAD<sub>3</sub>].<sup>r</sup>BAD<sub>3</sub><sup>21</sup> KUR.ELAM.MA.KI in-nab-tu  
36'') [a-na] šu-zu-ub ZI-ti-šú-un  
37'') [*ina* tukul]-ti AN.ŠĀR ù <sup>d</sup>iš-tar  
38'') [qa-a]-<sup>r</sup>ti<sup>1</sup> ik-šu-us-su-nu-ti  
39'') [a]-<sup>r</sup>na<sup>1</sup> KUR aš-šur.KI ú-ra-a  
40'') [áš]-<sup>r</sup>ḫu<sup>1</sup>-ṭa KUŠ-šú-un  
41'') [UN].<sup>r</sup>MEŠ<sup>1</sup> UNUG.KI NIBRU.KI UD.UD.AG.KI

ix 1''-2'') [he (Ummanaldašu) abandoned] the city M[adaktu, a royal city of his, and (then)] fl[ed and took to the mountains (lit. "ascended his mountain")].  
ix 3''-8'') (As for) Amba-LA[GABua (Umba-LAGABua), who] sat [on the throne of the land Elam in opposition to Ummanaldašu, (...)] (ix 5'') ... [...] ... [...] he abandoned] the city Bub[ilu, a cit]y that was a lordly residence of his, [and], li[ke fish], he to[ok to the d]epths of the waters [and] fl[ed] far awa[y].

ix 9''-29'') O[n] my [return mar]ch, the cities Gatud[u, Gatudu agai]n, Daeba, [Nad]i', Dūr-Amnani, [Dūr-Amnani agai]n, Ḫamānu, [Taraq]u, Ḫayyūsi, [...], Ḫara', (ix 15'') [Bīt-Imb]î, Madaktu, [Sus]a, Bubê, [Kapar-Marduk]-šarrāni, Urdalika, [Algar]iga, Tūbu, [Du]n-šarri, Dūr-Undāsi, (ix 20'') [Dūr]-Undāsi again, Bubilu, [Sa]mu[n]u, Bīt-Bunaki, [...], Qabrīna, (and) [Qabrīna again] – (as for) those [c]ities, [I destr]oyed, demolished, (and) burned (them) [with] fire. (ix 25'') [I] carried off to Assyria, their [peopl]e, [their] oxen, their sheep and goats, their [possessions], their property, wagons, horses, mules, equipment, (and) implements of war.

ix 30''-40'') (As for) the people of Elam whose lips Sennacherib, the father of the father who had engendered me, had cut off in the thick of battle, whose faces [he] had destroyed, (and) (ix 35'') [who, to] save their (own) live(s), had fled from among the corpses of (those who had fallen during) [the defe]at of the land Elam – [I] captured them [with the suppo]rt of (the god) Aššur and the goddess Ištar. I brought (them) [t]o Assyria (and) [fla]yed them.

ix 41''-50'') [(As for) the peopl]e of Uruk, Nippur,

ix 3''-8'' Compare text no. 9 (Prism F) iii 66-69 and text no. 11 (Prism A) v 15-20.

ix 9''-29'' Compare text no. 9 (Prism F) iii 82-iv 16 and text no. 11 (Prism A) v 41-62. Note in particular that the list of cities deviates slightly in those two inscriptions; see ix 14'' and 22''. Moreover, there are several cities in the list that are mentioned a second time and end with -ma, which are translated "GN again." Presumably, one implication of this notation may be that Ashurbanipal attacked these locations twice during the course of the campaign, or perhaps on consecutive days. Alternatively, in the case of Gatudu, Dūr-Amnani, and Qabrīna, there may have been two different cities with the exact same name.

ix 14'' Ex. 15 places the city Ḫara' at the very end of the list, just as it is in text nos. 9 (Prism F) and 11 (Prism A). Ex. 1, places it immediately before the city Bīt-Imbî. The name of the city that appears before Ḫara' in ex. 1 is not known since it is not mentioned in later inscriptions.

ix 22'' The name of the city that appears before Qabrīna in ex. 1 is not known since it is not mentioned in later inscriptions. Qabrīna follows Bīt-Bunaki in text no. 9 (Prism F) iv 10 and text no. 11 (Prism A) v 55-56.

ix 25'' Text no. 9 (Prism F) iv 13 and text no. 11 (Prism A) v 59 add DINGIR.MEŠ-šú-nu ("their gods") before UN.MEŠ-šú-nu ("their people").

ix 30''-50'' This passage is presently known only from this inscription.

42'') [KUR.É-<sup>m</sup>] dak<sup>1</sup>-ku-ri KUR.É-<sup>m</sup>a-muk-ka-ni  
 43'') [...] (x) x-ti KUR aš-šur.KI i-ḥar-ra-šu  
 44'') ṛi<sup>1</sup>-[tap]-ṛpu<sup>1</sup>-ú a-na KUR.ELAM.MA.KI  
 45'') ṛit<sup>1</sup>-[ti] ṛšal<sup>1</sup>-lat KUR.ELAM.MA.KI  
 46'') áš-<sup>1</sup>lu<sup>1</sup>-la a-na KUR aš-šur.KI  
 47'') e-<sup>1</sup>li UN<sup>1</sup>.MEŠ šá-a-tu-nu  
 48'') áš-<sup>1</sup>al<sup>1</sup> uš-ši-iš  
 49'') ki-i ṛhi-iṛ<sup>1</sup>-ti-šu-nu-ma  
 50'') a-nir-<sup>1</sup>šú<sup>1</sup>-[nu]-ṛti<sup>1</sup> ina GIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ  
 51'') UN.MEŠ ṛú<sup>1</sup> [šal]-la-at KUR.ELAM.MA.KI  
 52'') ša ina qí-[bit AN.ŠÁR] ṛd<sup>1</sup>30 ṛUTU ṛEN ṛAG  
 53'') ṛ15 ṛša<sup>1</sup> [NINA].ṛKI<sup>1</sup> ṛšar-rat-kid-mu-ri  
 54'') ṛ15 ṛša<sup>1</sup> [URU.LÍMMU-DINGIR.KI] ṛMAŠ u ṛU.GUR  
 55'') ṛaḥ<sup>1</sup>-bu-[ta] ṛre<sup>1</sup>-še-e-ti  
 56'') [a-na DINGIR.MEŠ-ia] ṛáš<sup>1</sup>-ruk  
 57'') [ERIM.MEŠ GIŠ.PAN] GIŠ.a-ri-tu  
 58'') [...] ṛak<sup>1</sup>-šur  
 59'') [e-li ki-šir LUGAL-ti]-ṛia<sup>1</sup> ú-rad-di  
 60'') [si-it-tu-ti a-na] ṛLÚ<sup>1</sup>.NAM.MEŠ-ia  
 61'') [LÚ.GAL.MEŠ-ia ma]-ṛḥa<sup>1</sup>-za-ni-ia  
 62'') [...] x-ia  
 63'') [ki-ma še-e-ni ú-za-<sup>1</sup>i-iz<sup>2</sup>]

64'') [ṛ<sup>m</sup>ia-u-ta]-ṛa<sup>1</sup> DUMU ṛḥa-za-a-DINGIR  
 65'') [LUGAL KUR.qa-ad-ri] ṛe<sup>1</sup>-piš ARAD-ti-ia  
 66'') ṛáš<sup>1</sup>-[šú DINGIR.MEŠ-šú] im-ḥur-an-ni-ma  
 67'') ú-šal-<sup>1</sup>la<sup>1</sup>-[a] ṛEN<sup>1</sup>-ú-ti  
 68'') MU DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ ṛú-šá<sup>1</sup>-az-kír-šú-u-ma  
 69'') ṛa-tar-sa-ma-ṛin<sup>1</sup> [ú-ter]-ṛma<sup>1</sup> a-din-ṛšú<sup>1</sup>

Col. x

1) ar-ka-nu ina a-de-ṛia<sup>1</sup> [iḥ-ṛti-ma]  
 2) ṛa-ab-ti ṛla<sup>1</sup> [iṣ-šur-ma]  
 3) iṣ-la-a GIŠ.ṛŠUDUN<sup>1</sup> [be-lu-ti-ia]  
 4) a-na šá-<sup>1</sup>a-al ṛšul<sup>1</sup>-[mì-ia]  
 5) GÌR.II-šú ip-[ru-us-ma]  
 6) ik-la-a [ta-mar-ti]  
 7) UN.MEŠ KUR.a-ri-bi it-[ti-šú]  
 8) ú-šá-ṛbal<sup>1</sup>-kit-[ma] iḥ-ta-nab-ba-tú  
 9) ḥu-bu-ṛut<sup>1</sup> [KUR MAR.TU.KI]  
 10) ERIM.ḤI.A-ia šá ina mi-ṛšir<sup>1</sup> [KUR-šú áš-bu]  
 11) ú-ma-<sup>1</sup>e-e-ṛra<sup>1</sup> [še-ru-uš-šú]  
 12) BAD<sub>5</sub>.BAD<sub>5</sub>-šú-[nu iṣ-ku-nu]  
 13) UN.MEŠ KUR.a-ri-bi ṛma<sup>1</sup>-[la it-bu-u-ni]  
 14) ú-ra-si-bu [ina GIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ]  
 15) É EDIN kul-ta-ṛri<sup>1</sup> [mu-šá-bi-šú-nu]  
 16) IZI ú-šá-ḥi-zu ip-[qí-du a-na ṛGIŠ.BAR]  
 17) GU<sub>4</sub>.MEŠ ṛše<sup>1</sup>-e-ni [ANŠE.MEŠ  
 ANŠE.GAM.MAL.MEŠ]  
 18) [a-me-lu-tu iṣ-lu-lu-u-ni ina la mì-ni]  
 19) [se-ḥe-ep KUR ka-la-mu a-na si-ḥir-ti-šú]  
 20) [un-da-al-lu-u a-na paṛ gim-ri-šá]

Larak, [Bīt]-Dakkūri, (and) Bīt-Amukāni, [who] had broken away [from the] ... of Assyria (and) [attac]hed (themselves) to the land Elam, (ix 45'') I carr[ie]d (them) off to Assyria, toge[ther with bo]oty of the land Elam. With regard to those people, I questioned and interrogated (them). I killed t[h]em with the sword because of their crime(s).

ix 51''-63'') (As for) the people and [the bo]oty of the land Elam, which I had plunde[red] by the comm[and] of the deities [Aššur], Sîn, Šamaš, Bēl (Marduk), Nabû, Ištar of [Nineveh], Šarrat-Kidmuri, Ištar of [Arbela], Ninurta, and Nergal – (ix 55'') [I] gave [the b]est (of them) [to my gods. I] conscripted [archers], shield [bearers, ...] (and) added (them) [to m]y [royal] contingent. *I divided up the rest like sheep and goats among* my governors, [my nobles], my [cult ce]nters, [...], (and) my [...].

ix 64''-x 9) [Iaut]a<sup>1</sup>, son of Hazael, [the king of the land Qedar] who does obeisance to me, approached me abo[ut his gods] and implore[d] my [lordly] majesty. I made him swear an oath by the great gods and (then) I gave the god Atar-samay[īn] back to him. (x 1) Afterwards, [he sinned against] m[y] treaty, [did] n[ot respect] my kindness, [and] cast off the yok[e of my lordship]. He ref[rained] from inquiring about [my] we[ll-being] and [withheld] audience gift(s) from me. He incited the people of the land of the Arabs to rebel w[ith him] and they were repeatedly plundering [the land Amurru].

x 10-16) I sent troops of mine who [were stationed] on the bord[er] of his land against him (and) they brought about] the[ir] defeat. They struck down [with the sword] the people of the land of the Arabs, as m[any as had risen up against me], (and) (x 15) set fire to pavilion(s) and tent[s, their abodes], (and thus) cons[igned] (them) to the god Gīra].

x 17-27) [They carried off without number] oxen, sheep and goats, [donkeys, camels, (and) people. They filled (with them) the whole extent of the land, in its entirety, to all of its border(s)]. I apportioned [ca]mels li[ke sheep and goats (and) divided (them) amo]ng the

ix 51''-63'' Compare text no. 9 (Prism F) vi 12-21 and text no. 11 (Prism A) vi 125-vii 8; both of those later inscriptions include this passage with the report of the second war against Ummanaldašu (Ḥumban-ḥaltaš III). The contents of this passage were inspired by inscriptions of Sennacherib; compare, for example, Grayson and Novotny, RINAP 3/1 p. 66 no. 4 lines 59-60.

ix 68'' ṛú-šá<sup>1</sup>-az-kír-šú-u-ma "I made him swear and": Except for the initial ú, this word is only preserved in ex. 7, but the copy has a KI sign in lieu of u-ma.

- 21) [ANŠE].<sup>1</sup>GAM<sup>1</sup>.MAL.<sup>1</sup>MEŠ ki<sup>1</sup>-[ma še-e-ni]  
 22) <sup>1</sup>ú<sup>1</sup>-par-ri-is [ú-za-<sup>2</sup>i-iz]  
 23) [a]-<sup>1</sup>na<sup>1</sup> UN.MEŠ [KUR aš-šur.KI]  
 24) [qa-bal]-ti KUR-ia [ANŠE.GAM.MAL]  
 25) [ina] <sup>1</sup>GÍN<sup>1</sup> ina 1/2 <sup>1</sup>GÍN<sup>1</sup> [kas-pi]  
 26) [i-šam]-<sup>1</sup>mu<sup>1</sup> [ina KÁ ma-<sup>1</sup>hi-ri]  
 27) [MUNUS.áš-tam]-<sup>1</sup>mu<sup>1</sup> [ina ni-id-ni LÚ.LÚNGA  
 ina DUG.ḥa-bé-e]

## Lacuna

- 1') [<sup>m</sup>ia-u-ta-a' ma-ru-uš-tú im]-<sup>1</sup>hur-šu-ma<sup>1</sup>  
 2') [e-diš-ši-šú in-na-bit a-na KUR.na]-<sup>1</sup>ba<sup>1</sup>-a-a-ti  
 3') <sup>m</sup>a-<sup>1</sup>bi<sup>1</sup>-[ia-te-e' DUMU] <sup>1</sup>m<sup>1</sup>te-e'-ri  
 4') a-na <sup>1</sup>NINA<sup>1</sup>.KI [il]-<sup>1</sup>li<sup>1</sup>-kam-ma  
 5') ú-na-<sup>1</sup>áš<sup>1</sup>-[šiq] <sup>1</sup>GİR<sup>1</sup>.II-ia  
 6') a-de-e [a-na e-peš] <sup>1</sup>ARAD<sup>1</sup>-ti-ia  
 7') it-ti-šú <sup>1</sup>áš<sup>1</sup>-kun  
 8') ku-um <sup>m</sup>ia-u-<sup>1</sup>ta<sup>1</sup>-[a' áš]-kun-šú a-na LUGAL-u-ti  
 9') KÙ.GI NA<sub>4</sub>.IGI.II.<sup>1</sup>MEŠ<sup>1</sup> [NA<sub>4</sub>.BABBAR.DILI]  
 gu-uḥ-lu  
 10') ANŠE.GAM.MAL.MEŠ [ANŠE.MEŠ] bit-ru-ú-ti  
 11') man-da-at-<sup>1</sup>tú<sup>1</sup> [šat]-<sup>1</sup>ti<sup>1</sup>-šam-ma  
 12') ú-kin <sup>1</sup>EDIN<sup>1</sup>-uš-šú  
 13') <sup>m</sup>am-mu-la-<sup>1</sup>di-in LUGAL KUR<sup>1</sup>.qa-ad-ri  
 14') ša it-ti KUR <sup>1</sup>aš-šur<sup>1</sup>.KI <sup>1</sup>ik-ki-ru<sup>1</sup>  
 15') iḥ-ta-nab-ba-tú ḥu-bu-ut KUR MAR.TU.KI  
 16') ina zi-<sup>1</sup>kir MU-ia šá<sup>1</sup> AN.ŠÁR <sup>d</sup>30 <sup>d</sup>UTU  
 17') <sup>d</sup>EN <sup>d</sup>[AG] <sup>d</sup>15 ša NINA.KI  
 18') <sup>d</sup>šar<sup>1</sup>-[rat-kid-mu]-ri <sup>d</sup>15 ša URU.LÍMMU-DINGIR  
 19') <sup>d</sup>MAŠ<sup>1</sup> [<sup>d</sup>nusku<sup>2</sup>] <sup>d</sup>U.GUR ú-šar-bu-u  
 20') <sup>m</sup>ka<sup>1</sup>-[ma-as-ḥal-ta]-<sup>1</sup>a<sup>1</sup> MAN KUR.ma-<sup>2</sup>a-a-ba  
 21') [ARAD da-gíl] pa-ni-ia  
 22') [ina MÈ iš]-<sup>1</sup>ku<sup>1</sup>-nu BAD<sub>5</sub>.BAD<sub>5</sub>-šú  
 23') [<sup>m</sup>am-mu-la-di si]-it-ti UN.MEŠ-šú  
 24') [ša la-pa-an da-a-ki] <sup>1</sup>i<sup>1</sup>-še-tu-ú-ni  
 25') [ú-šab-bit ina ŠU.II] <sup>1</sup>ŠU<sup>1</sup>.II u GİR.II  
 26') [bi-re-tú AN.BAR id-di-ma a]-<sup>1</sup>na<sup>1</sup> NINA.KI  
 27') [a-di maḥ-ri-ia ú-še]-bi-la  
 28') [<sup>m</sup>na-at-nu LUGAL KUR.na-ba]-<sup>1</sup>a<sup>1</sup>-a-ti  
 29') [ša a-šar-šú ru]-<sup>1</sup>ú-qu<sup>1</sup>  
 30') [iš-ma-a da-na-an AN.ŠÁR u] <sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU  
 31') [ša ú-tak-kil-ú]-in-ni  
 32') [ša ma-ti-ma a-na] <sup>1</sup>LUGAL<sup>1</sup>.<MEŠ> AD.MEŠ-ia  
 33') [LÚ.A KIN-šú la] iš-pu-ra  
 34') [la iš-<sup>1</sup>a-a-lu<sub>4</sub> šu]-lum LUGAL-ti-ia  
 35') [ul-tu <sup>m</sup>ia-u-ta]-<sup>1</sup>a<sup>1</sup> <sup>1</sup>LUGAL KUR.a-ri-bi  
 36') [ARAD da-gíl] pa-ni-ia  
 37') a-na KUR.na-ba-a-a-ti in-nab-tu-ma  
 38') il-li-ku <sup>1</sup>ma<sup>1</sup>-ḥar <sup>m</sup>na-at-nu  
 39') <sup>m</sup>na-at-nu a-na <sup>m</sup>ia-u-ta-a' ki-a-am iq-bi-šú  
 40') um-ma a-na-ku <sup>1</sup>la<sup>1</sup> ŠU.II KUR aš-šur.KI  
 41') ul-te-zi-<sup>1</sup>i<sup>1</sup>-bi  
 42') ù at-ta taš-kun-an-ni <sup>1</sup>a-na<sup>1</sup> dan-nu-ti-ka  
 43') <sup>m</sup>na-at-nu ip-làḥ-ma ir-<sup>1</sup>šá-a na<sup>1</sup>-kut-tu  
 44') LÚ.A KIN.MEŠ-šú a-na šá-<sup>2</sup>a-al šul-<sup>1</sup>mi<sup>1</sup>-ia

people of [Assyria (so that) with]in my country (x 25)  
 they (the Assyrians) [could purchas]e [a camel for one  
 shek]el (or even ) a half sh[ekel of silver at the market  
 gate. The female tavern keep]er [for a *serv*ing, the beer  
 brewer for a jug (of beer)],

## Lacuna

x 1'-2') [(As for) Iauta', hardship be]fell him and [he  
 fled alone to the land of the Na]bayateans.  
 x 3'-12') Abī-[Yate', son of] Te'ri, [ca]me to Nin[evēh]  
 and kis[sed] my [f]eet. [I] concluded a treaty with  
 him [to do obe]isance to me. [I insta]lled him as king  
 in place of Iaut[a']. (x 10') I imposed [upo]n him  
 gold, eyestones, [pappardilû-stone], kohl, camels, (and)  
 prime quality [donkeys] as [ann]ual paymen[t].

x 13'-27') (As for) Ammu-ladīn — the king of the land  
 Qedar, who had turned hostile towards Assyria (and)  
 repeatedly plundered the land Amurru — Ka[mās-  
 ḥalt]â, the king of the land Moab, [a servant who  
 belong]ed to me [who had brought] about his de-  
 feat [in battle] by invoking my name — which the  
 deities Aššur, Sîn, Šamaš, Bēl (Marduk), [Nabû], Ištar  
 of Nineveh, Š[ar]rat-Kidmu[ri], Ištar of Arbela, Ni[nur]ta,  
 Nusku], (and) Nergal had made great — (x 25') [cap-  
 tured Ammu-ladī(n and) the r]est of his people [who]  
 had escaped [the slaughter. He placed (their) ha]nds  
 and feet [in iron fetters and se]nt (them) [t]o Nineveh,  
 [before me].

x 28'-52') [Natnu, the king of the land of the  
 Nab]ayateans — [whose location is re]mote — [heard  
 about the might of the gods Aššur and] Marduk, [who  
 had encouraged] me. [The one who had never] sent  
 [his messenger to the kin]g-s-, my ancestors, [and  
 had never inquired about the well]-being of my royal  
 majesty — (x 35') [after Iaut]a', the king of the land of  
 the Arabs, [a servant who belon]ged to me, had fled to  
 the land of the Nabayateans and came [b]efore Natnu,  
 Natnu said the following to Iauta', (x 40') saying: "Can  
 I myself be spared from the grasp of Assyria? *Never-*  
*theless*, you have made me your stronghold!" Natnu  
 became frightened and distressed. (x 45') He sent his  
 messengers to me to inquire about my well-being  
 and kissed my feet. He was constantly beseeching my  
 lordly majesty to conclude a treaty (and) peace agree-  
 ment, (and) to do obeisance to me. I myself looked

- 45') *iš-pur-am-ma ú-na-áš-ši-qa* GÌR.II-ia  
 46') *a-na šá-kan a-de-e su-lum-me-e*  
 47') *e-peš* ARAD-ti-ia  
 48') *ú-ša-na-al-la-a be-lu-u-ti*  
 49') *a-na-ku ha-diš ap-pa-lis-šu-ma*  
 50') *pa-ni-ia* SIG<sub>5</sub>.MEŠ UGU-šú *áš-kun*  
 51') GUN *man-da-at-tu šat-ti-šam-ma*  
 52') *ú-kin še-ru-uš-šú*
- 
- 53') [ina] *u<sub>4</sub>-me-šú-ma É* <sup>d</sup>AG *ša qé-reb* URU.kàl-*ha*  
 54') <sup>r</sup>ša<sup>1</sup> <sup>m</sup>dIŠKUR-ERIM.TÁḪ DUMU <sup>m</sup>šam-ši-<sup>d</sup>IŠKUR  
 MAN KUR *aš-šur.KI*  
 55') LUGAL *pa-ni maḥ-ri-ia e-pu-šú*  
 56') *il-li-ka la-ba-riš*  
 57') *an-ḫu-us-su ad-ke-e-ma*  
 58') *ina* KAŠ.SAG u GEŠTIN.MEŠ *ab-lu-la ka-lak-ku*  
 59') *za-<sup>r</sup>bil<sup>1</sup> tup-šik-ki ina me-lu-li il-bi-nu li-bit-tú*  
 60') *ina za-<sup>r</sup>ma<sup>1</sup>-ri ḪŪL.MEŠ u ri-šá-a-ti*  
 61') *ul-tu UŠ<sub>8</sub>-šú a-dí* GABA.DIB-šú  
 62') *ar-šip ú-šak-lil*  
 63') GIŠ.ÜR.MEŠ GIŠ.EREN MAḪ.MEŠ *ú-šat-ri-ša*  
 UGU-šú  
 64') [x x x (x)] <sup>r</sup>us<sup>1</sup>-*si-ma gi-mir pa-áš-qí-šú*  
 65') MU.SAR-ú *ši-ṭir* MU-ia  
 66') *ta-nit-ti qar-ra-du-ti-ia*  
 67') *ša ina tukul-ti* AN.ŠÁR <sup>d</sup>30 <sup>d</sup>UTU  
 68') <sup>d</sup>EN u <sup>d</sup>AG <sup>d</sup>15 *ša* NINA.KI  
 69') <sup>d</sup>15 *ša* URU.LÍMMU-DINGIR <sup>d</sup>MAŠ <sup>d</sup>nusku <sup>d</sup>U.GUR  
 70') *ina* KUR.KUR *at-tal-la-ku*  
 71') *áš-ku-nu da-na-nu u li-i-tú*  
 72') *áš-ṭur-ma e-zi-ba aḫ-ra-taš*  
 73') *a-na* EGIR *u<sub>4</sub>-me ina* LUGAL.MEŠ DUMU.MEŠ-ia  
 74') *ša* AN.ŠÁR <sup>r</sup>ú<sup>1</sup> [<sup>d</sup>r<sup>15</sup>?]  
 75') *a-na be-lut* KUR u UN.MEŠ *i-nam-bu-<sup>r</sup>ú<sup>1</sup>*  
*zi-kir-šú*  
 76') MU.SAR *ši-ṭir* MU-ia *li-mur-ma*  
 77') <sup>l</sup>.GIŠ *lip-šú-uš* UDU.<sup>r</sup>SISKUR<sup>1</sup> *liq-qí*  
 78') *it-ti* MU.SAR-*e ši-ṭir* MU-šú *liš-kun*  
 79') DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ *ma-<sup>r</sup>la<sup>1</sup> [ina* MU.SAR]<sup>r</sup>-*e<sup>1</sup>*  
 80') *an-né-e šat-ru*  
 81') *ki-i ia-a-ti-ma* <sup>r</sup>liš<sup>1</sup>-[*ru-ku-šú*]  
 82') *da-na-nu u li-i-tú*  
 83') *ša* MU.SAR-ú *ši-<sup>r</sup>ṭir<sup>1</sup>* MU-ia  
 84') *šu-me* <sup>m</sup>AN.ŠÁR-PAP-AŠ AD-ia  
 85') <sup>u</sup> <sup>m</sup>d30-PAP.MEŠ-SU AD <sup>r</sup>AD<sup>1</sup>-ia *ib-ba-tú*  
 86') [*it-ti* MU.SAR-*e-šú la i*]<sup>r</sup>-šak<sup>1</sup>-ka-nu  
 87') DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ *a-ši-<sup>r</sup>bu-ut<sup>1</sup>* AN-[*e u*]  
 KI-tim  
 88') *ag-giš* <sup>r</sup>li-ru<sup>1</sup>-[*ru-šú*]  
 89') LUGAL-us-<sup>r</sup>su<sup>1</sup> *lis-ki-pu*  
 90') MU-šú NUMUN-<sup>r</sup>šú<sup>1</sup> *ina* KUR *li-<sup>r</sup>ḫal<sup>1</sup>-[li]-qu*

with pleasure upon him and (x 50') turned my benevolent face towards him. I imposed upon him annual tribute payment.

x 53'-64') [At] that time, the temple of the god Nabû that is inside Kalḫu (Calah), [wh]ich Adad-nārārī (III), son of Šamšī-Adad (V), king of Assyria, a king of the past who came before me, had built, had become old. I removed its dilapidated section(s) and (then) I mixed (its) *kalakku*-mortar with beer and wine. Basket carriers made bricks while playing. (x 60') While there was singing (and) joyous celebration, I built (and) completed (it) from its foundation(s) to its crenellations. I roofed it with long beams of cedar. [I] decorated all its copings [...].

x 65'-72') I wrote out an inscribed object bearing my name (and) the praise of my heroism — with which through the support of the deities Aššur, Šîn, Šamaš, Bēl (Marduk) and Nabû, Ištar of Nineveh, Ištar of Arbela, Ninurta, Nusku, (and) Nergal, I constantly marched through the lands (and) established mighty victories — and I deposited (it) for future days.

x 73'-82') In the future, may one of the kings, my descendants, whom (the god) Aššur and [the goddess Iš]ar nominate for ruling over the land and people, find an inscribed object bearing my name, and (then) anoint (it) with oil, make an offer[ing], (and) place (it) with an inscribed object bearing his name. May the great gods, as many as (x 80') are recorded [on] this [inscribed obje]ct, g[rant him] mighty victories, just like me.

x 83'-90') (As for) the one who destroys an inscribed object be[ari]ng my name, the name of Esarhaddon, my father, or (the name of) Sennacherib, my grandfa[ther], (or) does not pl[ace] (it) [with an inscribed object of his (own)], may the great gods who reside in heave[n and] netherworld angrily cur[se him], overthrow his kingship, (and) make his name (and) seed di[sappe]ar from the land.

x 54' Ex. 1 omits MAN KUR aš-šur.KI "king of Assyria."

x 64' This line only appears in ex. 2.

x 86' This line only appears in ex. 2.

## Date ex. 1

- 91') [ITL.x (x x)] ʾUD<sup>1</sup>.25.KÁM *lim-mu*  
 mdAG-ʾAŠ<sup>1</sup>-[PAP]  
 92') ʾLÚ<sup>1</sup>.x x URU.kar-mdšùl-ma-nu-ʾMAŠ<sup>1</sup>

## Date ex. 1

- x 91'-92') [...], the twenty-fifth [d]ay, eponymy of  
 Nabû-nā[din-aḫi], *governor* of the city Kār-Shalmaneser  
 (646).

## 8

A Nineveh version of the annals that is similar to text no. 7 (Prism Kh) is known from five or six fragmentary, ten-sided clay prisms. In addition to some alterations in the military report – including the reordering of the reports of Ashurbanipal's first war against the Elamite king Ummanaldašu (Ḫumban-ḫaltaš III) and his skirmishes with various Arab groups – this inscription includes a brief description of the defeat and capture of the Arabian queen Adiya. The building report states that Ashurbanipal rebuilt and widened Nineveh's wall, just like he did in text no. 4 (Prism D). The best preserved exemplar (ex. 1) was inscribed sometime during the post-canonical eponymy of Nabû-nādin-aḫi, governor of Kār-Shalmaneser (probably 646). Although the month (and day) that the prism was written are completely missing, it is assumed that this recension of the annals was issued shortly after that of text no. 7 (Prism Kh). This suggestion is based on the editorial changes in the descriptions of Ashurbanipal's victories, including the addition of the account of Adiya's capture into the narrative of the events in Arabia of this text. In more recent scholarly publications (starting in 1996), this inscription is occasionally referred to as "Prism G."

## CATALOGUE

Ex.	Museum Number	Excavation/ Registration No.	Provenance	Lines Preserved	cpn
1	A 7960 + A 8003 + A 11867 (+) A 7982 + A 7985 + A 8012 + A 8107 + A 8117 + A 8151 + A 8162 (+) A 8011 (+) A 8104 (+) A 8137 (+) A 8106 (+) A 8111 (+)? BM 134436 (+) A 8150 + A 8159 (+) A 11870A	1932-12-12,431 (TM 1931-2,26)	Purchased by E. Chiera and A.C. Piepkorn in Mosul	i 1'-34', ii 1'-33', iii 1'-45', iv 1'-4', 1''-22'', v 1'-12', vii 2'-41', 47'-54', viii 1'-8', 1''-34'', 1''''-41''', ix 1'-27', 1''-37'', 1''-8''', x 6'-13', 1''-20'', 1''-6''', date	c
2	A 7988 + A 8004 + A 8094	—	As ex. 1	vii 39'-51', viii 14''-28''	c
3	A 8109	—	As ex. 1	vii 1''-17'', viii 8''-22''	c
4	K 13778	—	Probably Nineveh	x 1'-16'	c
5	A 8149	—	As ex. 1	x 7'-10'	c

7 x 92' The translation assumes that ʾLÚ<sup>1</sup>.x x should tentatively be read ʾLÚ<sup>1</sup>.GAR<sup>2</sup>.KUR<sup>2</sup> "governor."

## CATALOGUE OF UNCERTAIN EXEMPLARS

Ex.	Museum Number	Excavation/ Registration No.	Provenance	Lines Preserved	cpn
1*	A 8128	—	As ex. 1	viii 1'''-20''', ix 29'-40'	c

## COMMENTARY

Like the previous two inscriptions, copies of this text were inscribed on large ten-sided clay prisms. This edition of Ashurbanipal's annals was first correctly identified by R. Borger (BIWA pp. 130-131). He gave it the designation "Prism G"; this newly-assigned designation should not be confused with T. Bauer's "Prism G" (= K 1703; *Asb.* [1933] p. 28), which is actually an exemplar of text no. 6 ([Prism C] ex. 3b). M. Cogan and H. Tadmor (*Orientalia NS* 50 [1981] pp. 229-240) assigned A 8111 (+) BM 134436 (ex. 1) as an exemplar of their "Prism K" (= Bauer's "Prism G"), but as Borger has already confirmed, those fragments are actually pieces of this text's principal exemplar (ex. 1). For further information on the classification of K 1703, see the commentary of text no. 6 (Prism C) and Borger, BIWA pp. 126 and 130-131.

A careful re-examination of the contents of this inscription and text nos. 6 (Prism C) and 7 (Prism Kh), reveals that the military narration of this text most closely parallels that of text no. 7, but with a few minor and major alterations; these were recently noted by J. Novotny (SAOC 62 pp. 130-132). The more notable textual alterations are: (1) the scholar(s) responsible for this edition added one line to the description of the torture of Mannu-kî-aḥḥē and Nabû-ušalli in Arbela, as well as expanding the statement about the Gambulian ruler Dunānu's execution in Nineveh (vii 1''-9''); (2) this text provides some additional information on why the Elamite king Tamaritu was deposed (viii 23''b-32''); (3) this version of Ashurbanipal's annals adds a short passage stating that the Arabian queen Adiya was defeated and captured (ix 1''-6''); and (4) the order of the reports of the first war against the Elamite king Ummanaldas (Humban-ḫaltaš III) and the Arabian campaigns were switched by placing the former after the latter.

With respect to ex. 1, the majority of its fragments come from the lower half of the prism, especially A 8011 (+) A 8104 (+) A 8137 since the base is partially preserved. A 7982 + A 7985 + A 8012 + A 8107 + A 8117 + A 8151 + A 8162 appears to have been part of the upper half or middle of the object, as suggested by the estimated lacuna between the various fragments; the sizes of the gaps are based on

the line counts of the better preserved text nos. 6 (Prism C) and 7 (Prism Kh). After examining both BM 134436 and A 8111 of ex. 1, the authors (especially Novotny) are less certain about the proposed non-physical join. Nevertheless, both pieces are tentatively regarded here as belonging together. Most of the text of A 8107, what little is preserved, is unreadable. Because its contents cannot be identified or firmly placed within the inscription, this piece is not included in the edition. Note that all of the ex. 1 fragments remain unjoined in the Oriental Institute (Chicago); gluing them together would not only be very problematic, but also impractical and would likely further damage the pieces.

Ex. 2 also comes from the lower portion of a large prism; this is certain because its base is partially preserved. Although ex. 3 does not duplicate ex. 1, this piece clearly does not come from the same object since the space between its columns is too wide and since the lines of col. i' are written askew, at an angle of approximately 9-11 degrees.

In general, the lineation and master text follow ex. 1. When possible, the restorations are generally based on text nos. 6 (Prism C) and 7 (Prism Kh) and, when they are not, they stem from text no. 3 (Prism B). In a few places, restorations have been made from text nos. 4 (Prism D) and 10 (Prism T). Scores of vii 40'-51', viii 15''-29'', viii 1'''-22''', and x 1'-16' are provided on Oracc. The few attested orthographic variants are noted at the back of the book.

In addition to the five certain exemplars, there are numerous other prism fragments that might bear copies of this inscription. One of these (A 8128) is edited here as ex. 1\*. Because the contents of col. i' are not preserved in text no. 6 (Prism C), but partially duplicate the preserved text of ex. 3, that fragment is edited here rather than with that earlier version of Ashurbanipal's annals. In addition, text no. 3 (Prism B) exs. 138\*-144\*, text no. 4 (Prism D) ex. 13, and text no. 6 (Prism C) exs. 1\*-16\* may be exemplars of this inscription, rather than some (earlier or later) inscription. For further details, see the catalogue of those texts.



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## TEXT

## Col. i

## Lacuna

- 1') [ŠU.II d<sup>30</sup> d<sup>nusku aš</sup>]-<sup>r</sup>bat<sup>1</sup> ú-<sup>r</sup>še-rib ú-še-šib ina<sup>1</sup> [BÁRA]  
 2') [da-ra-a-ti eš-re-e-ti] KUR aš-šur.KI <sup>r</sup>u<sup>?</sup> KUR<sup>1</sup> [URI.KI]  
 3') [a-na si-<sup>h</sup>ir]-<sup>r</sup>ti<sup>1</sup>-ši-na ú-šak-[li]  
 4') [mim-ma si-mat É].<sup>r</sup>KUR<sup>1</sup> ma-la ba-šú-u šá KÙ.BABBAR KÙ.GI e-<sup>r</sup>pu<sup>1</sup>-[uš]  
 5') [e-li ša LUGAL].MEŠ AD.MEŠ-ia ú-rad-<sup>r</sup>di<sup>1</sup>  
 6') [DINGIR].<sup>r</sup>MEŠ<sup>1</sup> GAL.MEŠ ti-ik-le-<sup>r</sup>ia<sup>1</sup>  
 7') [ina at-ma-ni]-šú-nu ši-i-ri ú-še-šib-šú-nu-<sup>r</sup>ti<sup>1</sup>  
 8') [UDU.SISKUR.MEŠ] taš-ri-i<sup>h</sup>-ti ma-<sup>h</sup>ar-šú-un aq-<sup>r</sup>qi<sup>1</sup>  
 9') <sup>r</sup>ú-šam<sup>1</sup>-<sup>h</sup>i-ra kàd-ra-a-a  
 10') sat-tuk-<sup>r</sup>ku<sup>1</sup> gi-nu-ú UGU šá u<sub>4</sub>-me ul-lu-ti  
 11') ú-šá-tir-ma ar-ku-us  
 12') <sup>r</sup>ALAM<sup>1</sup>.MEŠ LUGAL-ti-ia šá KÙ.BABBAR KÙ.GI URUDU nam-ri  
 13') ina <sup>r</sup>ši<sup>1</sup>-pir d<sup>nin-á-gal</sup> d<sup>kù-si<sub>22</sub></sup>-<sup>r</sup>bàn<sup>1</sup>-[da]  
 14') <sup>r</sup>d<sup>1</sup>nin-kur-ra nak-liš ú-še-<sup>r</sup>piš-ma<sup>?</sup>  
 15') [a-na] mu-ter-ri-ši <sup>r</sup>TI.LA<sup>1</sup>-ia  
 16') [ma]-<sup>r</sup>har<sup>1</sup> DINGIR.MEŠ ti-ik-le-<sup>r</sup>ia<sup>1</sup> [ú-kin na-an-za]-<sup>r</sup>sún<sup>1</sup>  
 17') <sup>r</sup>ul<sup>1</sup>-tu še-<sup>h</sup>e-ri-<sup>r</sup>ia<sup>1</sup> [a-di ru-bé-ia]  
 18') [áš]-te-<sup>r</sup>a-<sup>r</sup>a áš-rat<sup>1</sup> [DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ]  
 19') <sup>r</sup>LÚ<sup>1</sup>.šá-<sup>r</sup>an<sup>1</sup>-[gu-ti i<sup>h</sup>-šu-<sup>h</sup>u]

## Lacuna

- i 1'–2'a) [I too]k [the gods Sîn (and) Nusku by the hand], made (them) enter into (their respective temples), (and) made (them) sit on [(their) eternal dais(es)].  
 i 2'b–11') I comp[leted the sanctuaries] of Assyria and the lan[d Akkad in] their [entire]ty. I ma[de every type of te]mple [appurtenance] there is from silver (and) gold, (and) (i 5') I add[ed (them) to those of the king]s, my ancestors. I made [the] great [god]s who support me reside [in] their exalted [inner sanctums]. I offer[ed] sumptuous [offerings] before them (and) presented (them) with my gifts. (i 10') I made regular offerin[gs] (and) contributions more plentiful than those of distant days.  
 i 12'–20') I had statues of my royal majesty skillfully made from silver, gold, (and) shiny copper through [the c]raft of the deities Ninagal, Kusiba[nda], (and) Ninkurra, and, (i 15') [as] constant petitioners for my life, [I installed (them) in their] [positions befor]e the gods who support m[e. F]rom m[ay] childhood [until I became an adult, I was ass]iduous towards the sanctuaries of [the great gods. They required my] priestly ser[vices] (and) th[ey] (now) enj[oy my giving (them) food offerings].

- 20') <sup>r</sup>i-ram<sup>1</sup>-[mu na-dan zi-bi-ia]  
 21') <sup>d</sup>1ŠKUR [ŠĒG.MEŠ-šú ú-maš-še-ra]  
 22') <sup>d</sup>1é-[a ú-paṭ-ṭi-ra IDIM.MEŠ-šú]  
 23') [5] <sup>r</sup>KÜŠ ŠĒ<sup>1</sup>. [AM iš-qu ina AB.SĪN-ni-šá]  
 24') [e-ri-ik šu-bul-tú 5/6 KÜŠ]  
 25') [SI.SÁ BURU<sub>14</sub> na-pa-áš <sup>d</sup>nisaba]  
 26') <sup>r</sup>ka<sup>1</sup>-[a-a-an ú-šaḥ-na-bu gi-pa-ru]  
 27') <sup>r</sup>šip-pa<sup>1</sup>-[a-ti šu-um-mu-ḥa in-bu]  
 28') MÁŠ.ANŠE <sup>r</sup>šú<sup>1</sup>-[te-šur ina ta-lit-ti]  
 29') ina BALA.<sup>r</sup>MEŠ<sup>1</sup>-[ia HĒ.NUN ṭuḥ]-du  
 30') ina MU.<sup>r</sup>AN.NA<sup>1</sup>.MEŠ<sup>1</sup>-ia<sup>1</sup> [ku-um-mu-ru]  
<sup>r</sup>HĒ<sup>1</sup>.GÁL-lum  
 31') <sup>r</sup>12<sup>1</sup> ANŠE ŠE.PAD.[MEŠ 3 ANŠE] GEŠTIN.MEŠ  
 32') BANMIN Ī.MEŠ [GUN] <sup>r</sup>SĪG<sup>1</sup>.MEŠ  
 33') ina <sup>r</sup>nap-ḥar<sup>1</sup> KUR.<sup>r</sup>ia<sup>1</sup> [KILAM] nap-šú  
 34') i-<sup>r</sup>šam<sup>1</sup>-mu <sup>r</sup>ina<sup>1</sup> [1 GĪN] <sup>r</sup>kas<sup>1</sup>-pi  
 Col. ii  
 Lacuna  
 1') <sup>r</sup>ša la<sup>1</sup>-[pa-an ti-bu-ut <sup>m</sup>tar-qu-u]  
 2') pi-qit-<sup>r</sup>ta<sup>1</sup>-[šú-un ú-maš-še-ru im-lu-ú EDIN]  
 3') ú-<sup>r</sup>ter<sup>1</sup>-[ma a-šar pi-qit-ti-šú-un]  
 4') ina maš-kán-<sup>r</sup>i<sup>1</sup>-[šú-nu ul-zi-is-su-nu-ti<sup>2</sup>]  
 5') KUR.mu-šur u <sup>r</sup>KUR<sup>1</sup>. [ku-u-si šá AD ba-nu-u-a]  
 6') ik-šú-du <sup>r</sup>a<sup>1</sup>-[na eš-šú-ti aš-bat]  
 7') EN.NUN.MEŠ-šú UGU <sup>r</sup>šá<sup>1</sup> [u<sub>4</sub>-me pa-ni  
 ú-dan-nin]  
 8') ú-rak-ki-<sup>r</sup>sa<sup>1</sup> [rik-se-šú]  
 9') it-ti ḥu-<sup>r</sup>ub<sup>1</sup>-[ti ma-a<sup>2</sup>-di]  
 10') šal-la-ti [ka-bit]-<sup>r</sup>ti<sup>1</sup>  
 11') pa-an GIŠ.ŠUDUN-ia <sup>r</sup>ú<sup>1</sup>-[ter]-<sup>r</sup>ra<sup>1</sup>-am-ma  
 12') šal-meš a-tu-[ra a]-<sup>r</sup>na<sup>1</sup> KUR aš-šur.KI  
 13') EGIR-nu <sup>m</sup>ni-ku-<sup>r</sup>ú<sup>2</sup>1 [mLUGAL]-lu-dà-ri  
 14') [m]<sup>r</sup>pa<sup>1</sup>-aq-ru-ru <sup>r</sup>ina<sup>1</sup> [a-de]-<sup>r</sup>ia<sup>1</sup> iḥ-ṭu-u  
 15') [la iṣ]-šú-<sup>r</sup>ru ma<sup>1</sup>-[mit DINGIR].MEŠ GAL.MEŠ  
 16') [ṭa-ab-ti] im-šú-[ma lib-ba-šú-nu] <sup>r</sup>ik<sup>1</sup>-pu-ud  
 HUL-tú  
 17') [da-bab sur-ra-a-ti id]-bu-bu-ma  
 18') [mì-lik la ku-širi<sub>4</sub> im-li-ku ra]-man-šú-un  
 19') [um-ma <sup>m</sup>tar-qu-u ul-tu qé-reb] <sup>r</sup>KUR<sup>1</sup>.mu-šur  
 20') [i-na saḥ-ú-ma at-tu-ni a-šá-ba-ni] <sup>r</sup>mi<sup>1</sup>-i-nu  
 21') [e-li <sup>m</sup>tar-qu-u MAN KUR.ku]-u-si  
 22') [a-na šá-kan a-de-e u sa]-<sup>r</sup>li<sup>1</sup>-me  
 23') [ú-ma-'e-e-ru LÚ.rak-bé-šú-un]  
 24') <sup>r</sup>um-ma su<sup>1</sup>-[lum-mu-u ina bi-ri-ni  
 liš-šá-kin-ma]  
 25') ni-in-dag-<sup>r</sup>ga<sup>1</sup>-[ra a-ḥa-meš]  
 26') KUR a-ḥe-en-na-<sup>r</sup>a<sup>1</sup> [ni-zu-uz-ma]  
 27') a-a ib-ba-ši [ina bi-ri-ni]  
 28') šá-nu-um-ma [be-lum]  
 29') a-na ERIM.HĪ.A KUR aš-šur.[KI e-muq EN-ti-ia]

i 21'–30') The god Adad [released his rains (and)] the god E[a opened up his springs]. Gra[in was five] cubits [high in its furrow (and) ear(s) of corn were five-sixths of a cubits long. (i 25') Successful harvest(s) and) an abundance of grain enabled pasture land to] co[n]tinually flourish], fruit orch[ards to be very lush with fruit], (and) cattle to su[ccessfully give birth to (their) young]. During [my] reign, [there was plenitude (and) abund]ance; during m[y] years, [boun]tiful produce [was accumulated].

i 31'–34') Throughout m[y] entire land, (on account of) abundant [trade], fo[r one shekel of si]lver one could pur[ch]ase twelve donkey-loads of grain, [three homers of] wine, two seahs of oil, [(and one) talent of w]ool.

Lacuna

ii 1'–8') who [had abandoned their] pos[t(s)] in the fa[ce of Taharqa's tactical advance, (and) had gone to (lit. "filled") the countryside, where their post(s) were, I permitted (them) to serve] in [their] (former) positions aga[in. (ii 5') I reorganized] Egypt and [Kush, which the father who had engendered me] had conquered. [I strengthened] its guard more th[an previously] (and) conclude[d (new) agreements with it].

ii 9'–12') With [much] plun[der (and) substanti]al booty, I [turn]ed around (lit. "I [turn]ed the front of my yoke") and retur[ned] safely [t]o Assyria.

ii 13'–30') Afterwards, Necho, [Šarru]-lū-dāri, (and) [P]a-gruru sinned against [m]y [treaty (and) did not h]onor the oa[th(s) sworn] by the] great [god]s. They forgot [my kindness and their heart(s)] plotted evil (deeds). They [s]poke [word(s) of treachery] and [de]cided (among) the]mselves [on a profitless decision, saying: (ii 20') "If they remove Taharqa from] Egypt, [ho]w then [can we (ourselves) stay?"] To establish treaties and pea[ce, [they dispatched their mounted messenger(s) to Taharqa, the king of K]ush, saying: ["Let] pe[ace be established between us so that] (ii 25') we can come to a [mutual] agree[ment. (Let) us divide] the land among ourselves [so that] no other [lord] comes [between us]."] With regard to troops of Assyria, [the might of my lordly majesty], th[ey] constantly soug[ht out evil plan(s)] to cut (their) throat(s).

**Lacuna before ii 1'** The now-missing contents of col. ii would have duplicated text no. 6 (Prism C) i 7''–ii 83' and text no. 7 (Prism Kh) i 89'–ii 8''.

**ii 1'–x 16'** Large portions of the military narration of this inscription duplicate the contents of the reports of Ashurbanipal's campaigns included in text nos. 6 (Prism C) and 7 (Prism Kh), as well as text nos. 3 (Prism B) and 4 (Prism D). For details on the reports of Ashurbanipal's "first" to "eighth" campaigns, see the on-page notes to text nos. 3 (Prism B) and 6 (Prism C). For the "eleventh" campaign, see the on-page notes to text no. 7 (Prism Kh). The major textual differences between this inscription and earlier annalistic texts are noted here.

- 30') *šá na-kas* ZI-tim iš-te-<sup>r</sup>ne<sup>1</sup>-[<sup>r</sup>u-ú a-mat HUL-tim]  
 31') LÚ.šú-ut SAG.MEŠ-ia a-<sup>r</sup>ma<sup>1</sup>-[a-ti an-na-a-ti  
 iš-mu-u-ma]  
 32') LÚ.rak-bé-šú-un a-di šip-ra-[ti-šú-un]  
 33') (blank) iš-<sup>r</sup>ba<sup>1</sup>-[tu-nim-ma]

Col. iii

Lacuna

- 1') [a-na e-peš MUNUS.AGRIG-ú-ti ú-bi-la a]-<sup>r</sup>di<sup>2</sup>  
 ma<sup>h</sup><sup>2</sup>-[ri-ia]  
 2') [DUMU-šú ma-ti-ma ti]-<sup>r</sup>amtu<sup>2</sup> la <sup>r</sup>e<sup>1</sup>-[bi-ra]  
 3') [iš-šá-a a]-<sup>r</sup>na<sup>1</sup> e-peš ARAD-<sup>r</sup>ti<sup>1</sup>-[ia]  
 4') [DUMU.MUNUS-su] ù DUMU.MUNUS  
 ŠEŠ.<sup>r</sup>MEŠ<sup>1</sup>-[šú]  
 5') [it-ti] <sup>r</sup>ter<sup>1</sup>-<sup>h</sup>a-ti ma-a<sup>2</sup>-as-si am-<sup>r</sup>hur<sup>1</sup>-[šú]  
 6') [re-e]-<sup>r</sup>mu<sup>1</sup> ar-ši-šú-<sup>r</sup>ma<sup>1</sup>  
 7') [DUMU ši]-it lib-bi-šú ú-ter-ma a-<sup>r</sup>din-šú<sup>1</sup>  
 8') [URU.ĪHAL].<sup>r</sup>ŠU<sup>1</sup>.MEŠ šá UGU <sup>m</sup>ba-'a-<sup>r</sup>li<sup>1</sup>  
 9') [LUGAL KUR].<sup>r</sup>šur<sup>1</sup>-ri ú-rak-ki-su ap-tur  
 [ina tam]-<sup>r</sup>tim<sup>1</sup> u na-ba-li ger-re-te-e-<sup>r</sup>šú<sup>1</sup>  
 10') [ma]-<sup>r</sup>la<sup>1</sup> ú-šab-bi-tu ap-<sup>r</sup>ti<sup>1</sup>  
 11') [ma-da]-<sup>r</sup>at<sup>1</sup>-ta-šú ka-bit-tu am-<sup>r</sup>hur<sup>1</sup>-[šú]  
 12') [pa-an GIŠ].<sup>r</sup>ŠUDUN<sup>1</sup>-ia ú-ter-ram-<sup>r</sup>ma<sup>1</sup>  
 13') [šal-meš a]-tu-ra a-na KUR aš-šur.<sup>r</sup>KI<sup>1</sup>  
 14') [ma-al-ki] MURUB<sub>4</sub> tam-tim [u]  
 15') [LUGAL.MEŠ a-šib] <sup>r</sup>šad<sup>1</sup>-de-e šá-qu-u-<sup>r</sup>ti<sup>1</sup>  
 16') <sup>r</sup>da-na-an<sup>1</sup> [ep-še-ti]-<sup>r</sup>ia<sup>1</sup> an-na-a-ti  
 17') e-mu-ru-ma <sup>r</sup>ip-la-<sup>h</sup>u EN<sup>1</sup>-u-<sup>r</sup>ti<sup>1</sup>  
 18') <sup>m</sup>ia-ki-in-lu-u LUGAL KUR.<sup>r</sup>ar-ú-a<sup>1</sup>-[da]  
 19') <sup>m</sup>mu-gal-lu LUGAL KUR.tab-a-<sup>r</sup>la<sup>1</sup>  
 20') <sup>m</sup>sa-an-di-šar-me KUR.ĥi-lak-ka-a-a  
 21') ša a-na LUGAL.MEŠ AD.MEŠ-ia la kan-šú  
 22') ik-nu-šú a-na GIŠ.ŠUDUN-ia  
 23') DUMU.MUNUS.MEŠ ši-it lib-bi-šú-nu  
 24') it-ti nu-dun-né-e ma-a<sup>2</sup>-di  
 25') ù ter-<sup>h</sup>a-ti ma-a<sup>2</sup>-as-si  
 26') a-na e-peš MUNUS.AGRIG-ú-ti  
 27') a-na NINA.KI ú-bi-lu-nim-ma  
 28') ú-na-áš-ši-qu ĠIR.II-ia  
 29') e-li <sup>m</sup>mu-gal-lu ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ  
 30') ma-da-at-tu šat-ti-šam-ma ú-kin EDIN-uš-šú  
 31') ul-tu <sup>m</sup>ia-ki-in-lu-u LUGAL KUR.ar-ú-a-da  
 32') il-li-ku a-na šim-ti  
 33') [<sup>m</sup>]<sup>r</sup>a<sup>1</sup>-zi-ba-a<sup>2</sup>-al [<sup>m</sup>a-bi-ba-a<sup>2</sup>-al  
 34') [<sup>m</sup>]<sup>r</sup>a<sup>1</sup>-du-ni-ba-a<sup>2</sup>-al  
 35') [DUMU].<sup>r</sup>MEŠ<sup>1</sup> <sup>m</sup>ia-ki-in-lu-u a-šib MURUB<sub>4</sub>  
 tam-tim  
 36') [u]-<sup>r</sup>tu<sup>1</sup> MURUB<sub>4</sub> tam-tim e-lu-nim-ma  
 37') [it]-ti ta-mar-ti-šú-nu ka-bit-ti  
 38') [il]-<sup>r</sup>lik<sup>1</sup>-ú-nim-ma ú-na-áš-ši-qu ĠIR.II-ia  
 39') [<sup>m</sup>a]-<sup>r</sup>zi<sup>1</sup>-ba-a<sup>2</sup>-al <sup>h</sup>a-diš ap-pa-lis-ma  
 40') [a-na] <sup>r</sup>LUGAL<sup>1</sup>-ti KUR.a-ru-ad-da áš-kun  
 41')

ii 31'-33') Eunuchs of mine [heard these] wor[ds];  
 th[ey] sei[zed] their mounted messenger(s) along with  
 [their] messa[ges and]

Lacuna

iii 1'-7') [He brought b]efor[e me (his) daughter, his  
 own offspring, and the daughter(s) of his brothers to  
 serve as housekeepers. He brought his son, who had]  
 ne[ver] c[rossed the se]a, [t]o do obeisan[ce to me].  
 (iii 5') I recei[ved from him his daughter] and the  
 daughter(s) of [his] brothers, [together with a] large  
 [marr]riage gift. I had [merc]y on him an[d] (then) I  
 gave [(his) son], his [off]spring, back to him.

iii 8'-14') I dismantled [the outpos]ts that I had  
 constructed against Ba'al, [the king of the land T]yre.  
 (iii 10') [By se]a and dry land, I open[ed] (all of) his  
 routes, [as many] as I had seized. I received [from  
 him] his substantial [paym]ent. I turned [arou]nd (lit.  
 "I turned [the front of] my [y]oke") an[d] returned  
 [safely] to Assyria.

iii 15'-31') [Rulers (who reside in)] the middle of the  
 sea [and kings who reside in the] high [mo]untains  
 saw the might of these [deeds of mi]ne and became  
 frightened of my lordly majesty. (As for) Yakīn-Lû, the  
 king of the land Arwa[d], (iii 20') Mugallu, the king of  
 the land Tabal, (and) Sanda-šarme of the land Ĥilakku  
 (Cilicia), who had not bowed down to the kings, my  
 ancestors, they bowed down to my yoke. (iii 25')  
 They brought (their) daughters, their own offspring,  
 to Nineveh to serve as housekeepers, together with a  
 substantial dowry and a large marriage gift, and they  
 kissed my feet. (iii 30') I imposed upon Mugallu an  
 annual payment of large horses.

iii 32'-45') After Yakīn-Lû, the king of the land Arwad,  
 had gone to (his) fate, Azi-Ba'al, Abī-Ba'al, (and)  
 Adūnī-Ba'al, [the son]s of Yakīn-Lû who reside in the  
 middle of the sea, came up [fro]m the middle of the  
 sea, [ca]me [wi]th their substantial audience gift(s),  
 and kissed my feet. (iii 40') I looked upon [Az]i-Ba'al  
 with pleasure and installed (him) [as ki]ng of the  
 land Arwad. I clot[hed Abī-B]a'al (and) Adūnī-Ba'al  
 [in garment(s) with mu]lti-colored trim [and] pla[ced  
 gol]d [bracelets (around their wrists)]. I made th[em]  
 stand [before me].

**Lacuna before iii 1'** Based on parallels, the translation assumes that the now-missing line before iii 1' contained DUMU.MUNUS-su ši-it lib-bi-šú ù DUMU.MUNUS ŠEŠ.MEŠ-šú "his daughter, his own offspring, and the daughter(s) of his brothers." The contents now missing from col. iii would have duplicated text no. 6 (Prism C) iii 1'-73' and text no. 7 (Prism Kh) ii 37' b-iii 29'.

**iii 14'** KUR aš-šur.<sup>r</sup>KI<sup>1</sup> "Assyria": Earlier inscriptions have NINA.KI URU be-lu-ti-ia "Nineveh, my capital city"; compare, for example, text no. 6 (Prism C) iii 88'.

- 42') [m<sup>a</sup>-bi]-[ba<sup>1</sup>-a<sup>2</sup>-al m<sup>a</sup>-du-ni-ba-<sup>a</sup>-al<sup>1</sup>  
 43') [lu-bul-tu] [bir<sup>1</sup>-me ú-lab-[biš-ma]  
 44') [ḪAR.MEŠ KÙ].<sup>1</sup>GI<sup>1</sup> aš-<sup>1</sup>kun<sup>1</sup>  
 45') [ina maḥ-ri-ia] [ul-zis-su<sup>1</sup>-[nu-ti]

Lacuna

Col. iv

Lacuna

- 1') <sup>1</sup>ša<sup>1</sup> [ina ter-ši LUGAL.MEŠ AD.MEŠ-ia e-ki-mu  
 KUR.man-na-a-a]  
 2') <sup>1</sup>da<sup>1</sup>-[ád-me šá-a-tu-nu ak-šu-ud]  
 3') KUR.<sup>1</sup>man<sup>1</sup>[na-a-a ul-tu lib-bi as-suḥ]  
 4') <sup>1</sup>ANŠE<sup>1</sup>.<sup>1</sup>[KUR.RA.MEŠ GIŠ.til-li ú-nu-ut MÈ-šú-nu]

Lacuna

- 1'') <sup>1</sup>ú<sup>1</sup>-[šib ina GIŠ.GU.ZA-šú]  
 2'') da-na-an <sup>1</sup>AN<sup>1</sup>.<sup>1</sup>[ŠÁR <sup>d</sup>30 <sup>d</sup>UTU <sup>d</sup>EN <sup>d</sup>AG]  
 3'') <sup>d</sup>15 šá NINA.<sup>1</sup>KI<sup>1</sup> [<sup>d</sup>15 šá LÍMMU-DINGIR.KI <sup>d</sup>MAŠ  
<sup>d</sup>nusku <sup>d</sup>U.GUR]  
 4'') DINGIR.<sup>1</sup>MEŠ<sup>1</sup> [GAL.MEŠ EN.MEŠ-ia e-mur-ma]  
 5'') ik-<sup>1</sup>nu<sup>1</sup>-[šá a-na GIŠ.ŠUDUN-ia]  
 6'') áš-šú<sup>1</sup> [ba<sup>1</sup>-[laṭ ZI-ti-šú up-na-a-šú ip-ta-a]  
 7'') ú-<sup>1</sup>ša<sup>1</sup>-[la-a EN-ú-ti]  
 8'') m<sup>e</sup>-<sup>1</sup>ri<sup>1</sup>-[si-in-ni DUMU] <sup>1</sup>UŠ-ti<sup>1</sup>-šú  
 9'') a-na <sup>1</sup>NINA<sup>1</sup>.KI <sup>1</sup>iš<sup>1</sup>-pur-am-ma  
 10'') ú-<sup>1</sup>na<sup>1</sup>-[áš-ši-qa] GĪR.II.MEŠ-ia  
 11'') re-e-<sup>1</sup>mu<sup>1</sup> ar-ši-šú  
 12'') LÚ.A šip-<sup>1</sup>ri<sup>1</sup>-[ia] <sup>1</sup>ša<sup>1</sup> šul-me  
 13'') ú-ma-e-<sup>1</sup>er EDIN<sup>1</sup>-uš-šú  
 14'') DUMU.MUNUS ši-it <sup>1</sup>lib<sup>1</sup>-[bi-šú] <sup>1</sup>ú<sup>1</sup>-še-bi-la  
 15'') a-na e-peš <sup>1</sup>MUNUS<sup>1</sup>.AGRIG-ú-ti  
 16'') ma-da-ta-šú <sup>1</sup>maḥ<sup>1</sup>-ri-tú  
 17'') ša ina ter-ši LUGAL.<sup>1</sup>MEŠ<sup>1</sup> AD.MEŠ-ia  
 18'') ú-šab-ṭi-lu iš-šu-u-ni <sup>1</sup>a<sup>1</sup>-di IGI-ia  
 19'') 30 <sup>1</sup>ANŠE<sup>1</sup>.KUR.RA.MEŠ  
 20'') UGU ma-da-at-<sup>1</sup>ti<sup>1</sup>-[šú] <sup>1</sup>maḥ<sup>1</sup>-ri-ti  
 21'') ú-rad-di-<sup>1</sup>ma<sup>1</sup> [e-mi]-<sup>1</sup>is<sup>1</sup>-su  
 22'') [ina] <sup>1</sup>u<sup>4</sup>-me-šú <sup>m</sup>bi-ri-is<sup>1</sup>-[ḫa-at-ri LÚ.EN.URU  
 ša] <sup>1</sup>mad-a-a<sup>1</sup>

Lacuna

Col. v

Lacuna

- 1') <sup>m</sup>2<sup>1</sup>[te-um-man le-mut-tu iš-te-né-<sup>2</sup>i-i]  
 2') <sup>d</sup>1<sup>1</sup>[30 iš-te-né-<sup>2</sup>a-šú GIŠKIM.MEŠ le-mut-ti]  
 3') ina <sup>1</sup>ITI<sup>1</sup>.<sup>1</sup>[ŠU AN.MI šat ur-ri EN ZÁLAG  
 uš-ta-ni-iḫ-ma]  
 4') <sup>d</sup>[UTU IGI-šú-ma ki-ma šu-a-tu-ma]  
 5') kal <sup>1</sup>u<sup>4</sup>-<sup>1</sup>[me uš-ta-ni-iḫ]  
 6') a-na qí-[it BALA.MEŠ <sup>m</sup>te-um-man LUGAL  
 KUR.ELAM.MA.KÍ]  
 7') ZÁḪ KUR-šú [ú-kal-lim-an-ni]

Lacuna

Lacuna

iv 1'–4') which [the Manneans had taken away in the time of the kings, my ancestors, I conquered those] set[tlements. I tore] the land M[annea apart from within. I carried off to Assyria (their) ho[r]ses, (their) equipment, (and) their implements of war].

Lacuna

iv 1'–21'') [Afterwards, Uallí, his son], s[at on his throne. He saw] the might of the deities A[ššur, Sîn, Šamaš, Bēl (Marduk), Nabû], Ištar of Nineveh, [Ištar of Arbela, Ninurta, Nusku, (and) Nergal], the [great] gods, [my lords, and] (iv 5'') bow[ed down to my yoke]. For the pre[servation of his (own) life, he opened up his hands to me] (and) ma[de an appeal to my lordly majesty. He] sent Er[isinni], his [heir des]ignate, to Nine[veh] and (iv 10'') he k[issed] my feet. I had mercy on him. I dispatched [my] messen[ger wi]th (a message of) goodwill to him. He sent me (his) daughter, [his] own offsp[ring], (iv 15'') to serve as a housekeeper. (As for) his fo[r]mer payment, which they had discontinued in the time of the kings, my ancestors, they carried (it) before me. I added thirty ho[r]ses to [his fo]rmer paymen[t] and [imposed] (it) upon him.

iv 22'') [At] that time, (as for) Biris[ḫatri, a city ruler of] the Medes,

Lacuna

Lacuna

v 1'–7'a) [Teumman constantly sought out evil (deeds), (but)] the god [Sîn (also) sought out inauspicious omens for him]. In the month [Du'ūzu (IV), an eclipse (of the moon) lasted longer than the third watch of the night, until daylight, the god Šamaš saw it, and it lasted like this] the entire d[ay], (thus signifying) the en[d of the reign of Teumman, the king of the land Elam], (and) the destruction of his land.  
 v 7'b–12') “The Fruit” (the god Sîn) [revealed to me

**Lacuna after iii 45'** This break in the inscription duplicates text no. 6 (Prism C) iv 1'–60'' and text no. 7 (Prism Kh) iii 17'–iv 28''.

**Lacuna after iv 4'** The translation assumes that the now-missing line after iv 1' contained áš-lu-la ana KUR aš-šur.KI “I carried off to Assyria.” This short gap corresponds to text no. 6 (Prism C) iv 66''–73'' and text no. 7 (Prism Kh) iv 33''–41''.

**Lacuna before iv 1''** The translation assumes that the now-missing line immediately before iv 1'' contained EGIR-nu <sup>m</sup>ú-al-li-i DUMU-šú “Afterwards, Uallí, his son”; see text no. 3 (Prism B) iii 80, text no. 4 (Prism D) iii 2', text no. 6 (Prism C) iv 73'', and text no. 7 (Prism Kh) iv 41''.

**Lacuna after iv 22''** The contents of this long gap would have duplicated text no. 6 (Prism C) v 7–2' and text no. 7 (Prism Kh) iv 60''–v 69.

- 8') GURUN EŠ.BAR-[šú šá la in-nen-nu-ú]  
 9') ina u<sub>4</sub>-me-šú [mi-iḫ-ru im-ḫur-šú-ma]  
 10') NUNDUM-su ṽuk<sup>1</sup>-[tam-bil-ma IGI.II-šú  
 is-ḫur-ma]  
 11') it-ṽti<sup>1</sup> [ep-še-e-ti an-na-a-ti]  
 12') šá ṽd<sup>1</sup>[30 u ṽ15 e-pu-šu-uš]

Lacuna

Col. vi completely missing

Col. vii

Lacuna

- 1') [ṽtam-ma-ri-tu ŠEŠ-šú šal-šá-a-a]  
 2') [ina URU.ḫi-da-lu a-na LUGAL-ú-ti áš]-kun?  
 3') [GIŠ].ṽGIGIR<sup>1</sup>.[MEŠ GIŠ.šu-um-bi  
 ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ ANŠE].ṽKUNGA<sup>1</sup>.MEŠ  
 4') ši-mit-ṽti<sup>1</sup> [ni-i-ri GIŠ.til-li si-mat] MÈ  
 5') ṽša<sup>1</sup> ina tu-ṽkul-ti<sup>1</sup> [AN.ŠÁR ṽ15 DINGIR.MEŠ  
 GAL].MEŠ  
 6') ṽbi<sup>1</sup>-rit URU.ṽšu<sup>1</sup>-[šá-an u ÍD.ú-la]-a-a  
 7') [ik]-šu-da [ŠU.II-a]-ṽa<sup>1</sup>  
 8') [ina qí-bit] ṽAN.ŠÁR<sup>1</sup> u DINGIR.[MEŠ GAL.MEŠ  
 EN.MEŠ-ia ul-tu qé-reb]  
 9') [KUR.ELAM].ṽMA<sup>1</sup>.KI [ḫa-diš ú-ša-am-ma]  
 10') [a-na] ṽgi-mir<sup>1</sup> [ERIM.ḫI.A-ia šá-lim-tu  
 šak-na]-ṽat<sup>1</sup>

- 11') [ina] ṽ8<sup>1</sup>-e [ger-ri]-ṽia<sup>1</sup>  
 12') [UGU ṽm]ṽdu<sup>1</sup>-na-ṽnu<sup>1</sup> [DUMU ṽdEN-BA]-ṽšá<sup>1</sup>  
 13') [a-na KUR].gam-bu-ṽli<sup>1</sup>? [lu-u al]-ṽlik<sup>1</sup>  
 14') [ša a-na] ṽLUGAL<sup>1</sup> KUR.ṽELAM<sup>1</sup>.[MA.KI it-tak]-lu?  
 15') [la-a ik]-ṽnu<sup>1</sup>-šú [ana GIŠ.ŠUDUN]-ṽia<sup>1</sup>  
 16') [ta-ḫa]-ṽzi<sup>1</sup> [dan-nu]  
 17') [KUR.gam-bu-lu a-na si-ḫir]-ṽti<sup>2</sup>-šú<sup>1</sup>  
 18') [GIM MURU, ak]-ṽtùm<sup>1</sup>?  
 19') [URU.šá-pi-i-ṽdEN URU dan-nu-ti]-ṽšú<sup>1</sup>  
 20') [ša qé-reb ÍD.MEŠ na-da-at šu-bat-su] ak-šú<sup>2</sup>-ud  
 21') [ṽdu-na-nu ŠEŠ.MEŠ-šú ul-tu qé-reb URU  
 šú]-ṽa<sup>1</sup>-tu  
 22') [bal-tu-us-su-un ú-še-ša]-ṽa<sup>1</sup>  
 23') [DAM-su DUMU.MEŠ-šú DUMU.MUNUS.MEŠ]-ṽšú<sup>1</sup>  
 24') [MUNUS.sek-re-ti-šú LÚ.NAR.MEŠ  
 MUNUS.NAR].ṽMEŠ<sup>1</sup>  
 25') [ú-še-ša-am-ma šal-la-tiš am]-ṽnu<sup>1</sup>  
 26') [KÛ.BABBAR KÛ.GI NÍG.ŠU na-kám-ti] É.GAL-šú  
 27') [ú-še-ša-am-ma šal-la-tiš am]-ṽnu<sup>1</sup>  
 28') [LÚ.šu-ut SAG.MEŠ LÚ.man-za-az pa-ni]-ṽšú<sup>1</sup>?  
 29') [LÚ.kit-ki-tu-ú mu-šá-ki-le]-e-ṽšú<sup>1</sup>  
 30') [ú-še-ša-am-ma šal-la-tiš] ṽam<sup>1</sup>-nu  
 31') [gi-mir um-ma-a-ni ma-la] ṽba<sup>1</sup>-šu-u  
 32') [mar-kas URU u] EDIN  
 33') [ú-še-ša-am-ma šal-la-tiš am]-nu

his] decision, [which cannot be changed]. At that time, [a mishap befell him]: (v 10') His lip b[ecame paralyzed and his eyes turned back. He was not ashamed] b[ly these measures] that the god [Šin and the goddess Ištar had taken against him].

Lacuna

Col. vi completely missing

Lacuna

vii 1'-10') [I ins]talled [Tammaritu, his third brother, as king in the city Ḫidalu. (With) the ch]ari[ots, wagons, horses, mu]les, harness-br[oken (steeds), (and) equipment suited for] war (vii 5') [th]at I [cap]tured [be]tween the city S[usa and the U]āya [River] with the support of [(the god) Aššur (and) the goddess Ištar, the great gods, by the command of] (the god) Aššur and the [great] god[s, my lords, I joyfully came out of the land Ela]m [and salvation was establis]hed [for my] entire [army].

vii 11'-20') [On] my eighth [campaign, I mar]ched [against] Dunān[u, son of Bēl-iqī]ša, [to the land] Gambul[u, which had put its tru]st [in] the king of the land Ela[m (vii 15') (and) had not bow]ed down [to] my [yoke. With] my [mighty battle array, I cove]red [the land Gambulu in] its [entir]jety [like a fog]. I conquered [the city Ša-pī-Bēl], his [fortified city, whose location is situated between rivers].

vii 21'-39') [I brough]t [Dunānu (and) his brothers out of th]at [city alive. I brought out his wife, his sons], his [daughters, his (palace) women, male singers, (and) female singer]s [and I cou]nted (them) [as booty. I brought out silver, gold, property, (and) the treasures of] his palace [and I cou]nted (them) [as booty. (vii 30') I brought out eunuchs], his [attendants, engineers, (and)] his [food preparer]s [and I] counted (them) [as booty. I brought out all of (his) artisans, as many as th]ere were, [the bond of city and] steppe, [and I cou]nted (them) [as booty. (vii 35') I brought out oxen, sheep and goats, horses, (and) m]ules, [which we]re [with]out [number, and I cou]nted (them) [as booty]. I did [not] leave [a single person of his land — male and female, young] and old — (and) [I brought

v 10' There is not sufficient space to restore *ga-ba-šu iš-šá-kin ina lib-bi-šá* ("a seizure had taken place inside him") at the end of the line (cf. text no. 3 [Prism B] v 13 and text no. 7 [Prism Kh] v 79).

Lacuna after v 12' The translation assumes that the now-missing line after v 12' contained *ul i-ba-áš* "he was not ashamed" (see text no. 3 [Prism B] v 15 and text no. 7 [Prism Kh] v 82). The now-missing contents of this long break in the text correspond to text no. 6 (Prism C) vi 1'-vii 1 and text no. 7 (Prism Kh) v 82-vi 11'.

vii 8' Compare text no. 7 (Prism Kh) vi 19', which appears to add ṽAMAR.UTU ("the god Marduk") before DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ ("the great gods").

- 34') [GU<sub>4</sub>.MEŠ *še-e-ni* ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ ANŠE].KUNGA.MEŠ (them) out and] counted (them) [as boo]ty.
- 35') [ša ni-ba la i]-<sup>r</sup>šú<sup>71</sup>-u
- 36') [ú-še-ša-am-ma šal-la-tiš am]-nu
- 37') [UN.MEŠ KUR-šú zik-ra u sin-niš TUR] u<sup>2</sup> GAL
- 38') [e-du ul] <sup>r</sup>e<sup>1</sup>-zib
- 39') [ú-še-ša-am-ma šal-la]-<sup>r</sup>tiš<sup>2</sup> am<sup>1</sup>-nu
- 40') [<sup>m</sup>mas-si-ra-a] <sup>r</sup>LÚ.GAL<sup>1</sup> [GIŠ].PAN
- 41') [šá <sup>m</sup>te-um-man] <sup>r</sup>LUGAL<sup>1</sup> KUR.ELAM.<sup>r</sup>MA.KI<sup>1</sup>
- 42') [šá a-na kit-ri] KUR.gam-bu-<sup>r</sup>li<sup>1</sup>
- 43') [ma-šar-tu <sup>m</sup>du-na]-<sup>r</sup>nu<sup>1</sup> áš-bu
- 44') [qé-reb URU.šá]-<sup>r</sup>pi<sup>1</sup>-i-<sup>d</sup>EN
- 45') [bal-tu-us-su ina qa-ti] <sup>r</sup>aš<sup>1</sup>-bat
- 46') [SAG.DU-su ak-kís it-ti pa-ni] <sup>m</sup>du-<sup>r</sup>na-nu<sup>1</sup>
- 47') [kit-ri la mu-še-zib-i-šú] <sup>r</sup>ar<sup>71</sup>-pi-is
- 48') [URU šu-a-tu ap-pul] <sup>r</sup>aq<sup>1</sup>-qur
- 49') [ina A.MEŠ uš-<sup>h</sup>ar-miṭ a-di la ba-še-e] <sup>r</sup>ú<sup>1</sup>-šá-lik
- 50') [na-gu-u šu-a-tu ú]-<sup>r</sup>šah<sup>1</sup>-rib
- 51') [ri-gim a-me-lu-ti ap-ru-sa EDIN]-<sup>r</sup>uš<sup>1</sup>-šú
- 52') [ina tu-kul-ti DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ LÚ.KÚR.MEŠ-ia a]-<sup>r</sup>ni<sup>71</sup>-ir<sup>2</sup>
- 53') [šal-meš a-tu-ra a]-<sup>r</sup>na<sup>1</sup> KUR aš-šur
- 54') [SAG.DU <sup>m</sup>te-um-man MAN KUR.ELAM.MA].<sup>r</sup>KI<sup>1</sup>
- vii 40'–47') [I] captured [alive Massirâ], the chief [a]rcher [of Teumman, the ki]ng of the land Elam, [who] was stationed [inside the city Ša-p]i-Bēl [to provide support to] the land Gambulu (and) [to guard Dunān]u. [I cut off his head] (and) beat (it) [a]gainst the face of] Dunānu, [the ally who could not save him].
- vii 48'–53') [(As for) that city, I destroyed], demolished, [(and) dissolved (it) with water]; I annihilated (it). (vii 50') I laid] waste [that district (and) cut off the clamor of humans from] it. [With the support of the great gods, I ki]lled [my enemies (and) returned safely t]o Assyria.
- vii 54') [I hung the head of Teumman, the king of the land Elam, around the neck of Dunānu].
- Lacuna
- 1'') [...] <sup>r</sup>iq<sup>1</sup>-bu-[u]
- 2'') [... la?] <sup>r</sup>ta<sup>1</sup>-a-bu
- 3'') [qé-reb URU.LÍMMU-DINGIR EME-šú-un] áš-lu-up
- 4'') [áš-<sup>h</sup>u-<sup>ta</sup> KUŠ]-šú-un
- 5'') [<sup>m</sup>du-na-nu ... <sup>h</sup>i-ri]-<sup>r</sup>iš<sup>1</sup> GAL<sub>5</sub>.LÁ.MEŠ
- 6'') [...] <sup>r</sup>la<sup>71</sup> e-peš ARAD-ti-ía
- 7'') [... meš-re-ti-šú?] ú-par-ri-is
- 8'') [...] LUGAL.MEŠ a-šib pa-rak-ki
- 9'') [...] <sup>r</sup>ú<sup>1</sup>-še-bil
- 10'') [si-it-ti ŠEŠ.MEŠ-šú šá <sup>m</sup>du<sup>1</sup>-na-nu
- 11'') [ú <sup>m</sup>BILA-a]-<sup>r</sup>a<sup>71</sup> a-ni-ir
- 12'') [UZU.MEŠ-šú-nu ú-nak-kis ú-še-bil a-na ta-mar-ti] ma-ti-tan
- 13'') [<sup>md</sup>AG-I <sup>md</sup>EN-KAR-ir DUMU.MEŠ <sup>md</sup>AG]-<sup>r</sup>MU<sup>1</sup>-KAM-eš LÚ.GÚ.EN.NA
- 14'') [ša AD ba-nu-šú-un <sup>m</sup>ur-ta-ki] <sup>r</sup>id<sup>1</sup>-ka-a
- 15'') [a-na mit-<sup>h</sup>u-ši KUR] URI.KI
- 16'') [GÌR.PAD.DU.MEŠ <sup>md</sup>AG-MU-KAM]-eš
- 17'') [ša ul-tu qé-reb KUR.gam-bu-li il-qu-u-ni a-na KUR aš]-<sup>r</sup>šur<sup>1</sup>.KI
- vii 1'–4'') [... w]ho uttered [... un]kind [...], I ripped out [their tongue(s and) flayed] them [inside the city Arbela].
- vii 5'–9'') [(As for) Dunānu, ..., the (very) image] of a gallû-demon, [...] did [n]ot do obeisance to me, [...], I had [his limbs] cut off. [...] kings who sit upon (royal) daises, [...] I sent [...].
- vii 10'–12'') [(As for) the rest of the brothers of D]unānu [and Aplāy]a, I killed (them), [chopped up their flesh, (and) sent (them) out to be a spectacle] in all of the lands.
- vii 13'–17'') [(As for) Nabû-na'id (and) Bēl-ēṭir, sons of Nabû-šu]ma-ēreš, the šandabakku (governor of Nippur), [whose father, the one who had engendered them], had stirred up [Urtaku to fight with the land] Akkad – [the bones of Nabû-šuma-ēr]eš, [which they had taken out of the land Gambulu to Assy]ria,
- Lacuna
- Col. viii
- Lacuna
- Lacuna

vii 53' KUR aš-šur "Assyria": Text no. 6 (Prism C) vii 46 has NINA.<sup>r</sup>KI<sup>1</sup> "Nineveh."

**Lacuna after vii 54'** The translation assumes that the now-missing line after vii 54' contained *ina GÚ <sup>m</sup>du-na-nu a-lul* "I hung around the neck of Dunānu" (see text no. 3 [Prism B] vi 42, text no. 4 [Prism D] vi 45, text no. 6 [Prism C] vii 48, and text no. 7 [Prism Kh] vi 6'). The now-missing contents of this lacuna would have duplicated text no. 6 (Prism C) vii 47–31' and text no. 7 (Prism Kh) vi 6'–vii 23.

**vii 1'–9'** The passage recording the punishments of the Gambulian ruler Dunānu and his collaborators Mannu-kī-aḥḥē and Nabû-ušalli is longer in this inscription than in earlier texts; compare, for example, text no. 7 (Prism Kh) vii 21–27.

**Lacuna after vii 17'** The gap corresponds to text no. 6 (Prism C) vii 45'–viii 12' and text no. 7 (Prism Kh) vii 34b–45.

- 1') [ter-ra tuk-te-e AD ba-ni-ka]  
 2') <sup>m</sup>[un-da-su <sup>m</sup>za-za-az <sup>m</sup>pa-ru-u]  
 3') <sup>m</sup>[at-ta-me-tu <sup>m</sup>né-e-šú]  
 4') [it-ti LÚ.A KIN.MEŠ šá <sup>md</sup>GIŠ.NU<sub>11</sub>-MU-GI.NA]  
 5') <sup>r</sup>ŠEŠ nak<sup>21</sup>-[ri ur-<sup>h</sup>u i<sup>s</sup>-ba-tu-nim-ma]  
 6') <sup>r</sup>uš-te<sup>1</sup>-[eš-šer-u-ni <sup>h</sup>ar-ra-nu]  
 7') <sup>r</sup>ERIM.MEŠ MĒ<sup>1</sup>-[ia šá ina KUR.man-gi-si]  
 8') <sup>r</sup>ša<sup>21</sup> [qé-reb URU.su-man-dir]

## Lacuna

- 1'') <sup>r</sup>ú-ma<sup>21</sup>-[<sup>r</sup>e-er še-er <sup>m</sup>um-man-i-gaš]  
 2'') <sup>r</sup>LÚ<sup>21</sup>.[šú-ut SAG-ia šá]  
 3'') <sup>r</sup>aš-pu<sup>21</sup>-[ra ik-la-ma]  
 4'') <sup>r</sup>la ú<sup>21</sup>-[ter-ra tur-tú a-mat-ia]  
 5'') <sup>r</sup>AN<sup>1</sup>.[ŠÁR <sup>d</sup>30 <sup>d</sup>UTU <sup>d</sup>EN <sup>d</sup>AG <sup>d</sup>U.GUR]  
 6'') <sup>r</sup>DINGIR<sup>1</sup>.[MEŠ tik-le-ia]  
 7'') [di-in kit-ti it-ti <sup>m</sup>um-man-i-gaš i-di-nu-in-ni]  
 8'') [<sup>m</sup>tam-ma-ri-tu EDIN-uš-šú ib-bal-kit]-<sup>r</sup>ma<sup>1</sup>  
 9'') <sup>r</sup>ša-a<sup>1</sup>-[šú ga-du kim-ti-šú ú-ra-sib-šú ina  
 GIŠ.TUKUL].MEŠ  
 10'') <sup>m</sup>tam-<sup>r</sup>ma<sup>1</sup>-[ri-tu šá e-la <sup>m</sup>um-man-i-gaš ek]-<sup>r</sup>šú<sup>1</sup>  
 11'') ú-<sup>r</sup>šib<sup>1</sup> [ina GIŠ].<sup>r</sup>GU.ZA KUR.ELAM.<sup>r</sup>MA.KI<sup>1</sup>  
 12'') ki-<sup>r</sup>ma<sup>1</sup> šá-<sup>r</sup>a<sup>1</sup>-[šú-ma ul-tu ŠU.II]  
<sup>md</sup>GIŠ.NU<sub>11</sub>-MU-GI.NA<sup>1</sup>  
 13'') <sup>r</sup>ta-<sup>r</sup>a<sup>1</sup>-[a-tú im-<sup>h</sup>ur ul] <sup>r</sup>iš-al šu-lum  
 LUGAL-ti-ia<sup>1</sup>  
 14'') <sup>r</sup>a-na kit<sup>1</sup>-[ri <sup>md</sup>GIŠ].<sup>r</sup>NU<sub>11</sub>-MU-GI<sup>1</sup>.NA  
 15'') ŠEŠ la [ke-e-nu il-lik-am]-<sup>r</sup>ma<sup>1</sup>  
 16'') a-na mit-<sup>r</sup>hu<sup>1</sup>-[ši ERIM.ĤI].<sup>r</sup>A-ia<sup>1</sup>  
 17'') ina su-<sup>r</sup>up-pe<sup>1</sup>-[e ša AN.ŠÁR u <sup>d</sup>15  
 ú]-<sup>r</sup>sap<sup>1</sup>-pu-<sup>r</sup>u<sup>1</sup>  
 18'') un-ni-ni-ia [il]-<sup>r</sup>qu-ú<sup>21</sup>  
 19'') iš-mu-u <sup>r</sup>zi<sup>1</sup>-[kir NUNDUM]-ia  
 20'') ARAD.MEŠ-šú EDIN-<sup>r</sup>uš<sup>1</sup>-[šú ib-bal-ki]-tu-ma  
 21'') a-<sup>h</sup>a-meš ú-<sup>r</sup>ra<sup>1</sup>-[si-bu EN MUNUS].<sup>r</sup>ĤUL<sup>1</sup>-ia  
 22'') <sup>m</sup>in-da-bi-bi ARAD-su [ša si-<sup>h</sup>u UGU]-šú  
<sup>r</sup>ú-šab<sup>1</sup>-šú-u  
 23'') ú-šib ina GIŠ.[GU.ZA-šú] <sup>m</sup>tam-ma-ri-tu [MAN  
 KUR].<sup>r</sup>ELAM.MA<sup>1</sup>.KI  
 24'') <sup>r</sup>ša<sup>1</sup> UGU ni-<sup>r</sup>kis<sup>1</sup> [SAG.DU <sup>m</sup>te-um-man]  
 me-re-<sup>r</sup>eh-tu<sup>1</sup>  
 25'') <sup>r</sup>iq-bu<sup>1</sup>-u šá ik-ki-su a-<sup>h</sup>u-ru-[ú] <sup>r</sup>ERIM.<sup>r</sup>ĤI.A-ía  
 26'') um-ma i-nak-ki-su-u <sup>r</sup>SAG<sup>1</sup>.[DU MAN

viii 1'–6') “[Go, exact revenge from Assyria for the father who had engendered you.” Undasu, Zazaz, Parrû, Atta-metu, (and) Nēšu, together with the messengers of Šamaš-šuma-ukîn], (my) *hos[ile]* brother, [set out en route and] too[k the direct road].

viii 7'–8') [My] battle troops [(who were stationed) in the land Mangisu] — *which* [is inside (the territory of) the city Sumandir] —

## Lacuna

viii 1'–4'') I di[spatched my messenger to Ummanigaš (Ĥumban-nikas II) regarding these matters. He detained] the [eunuch of mine whom] *I had se[nt* (Marduk-šarru-ušur) and did] not [give a reply to my word(s)].

viii 5'–11'') [The gods] Aš[šur, Sîn, Šamaš, Bēl (Marduk), Nabû, (and) Nergal], the god[s who support me, rendered a just verdict for me concerning Ummanigaš (Ĥumban-nikas II). Tammarîtu rebelled against him an[d struck] hi[m, together with his family, down with the sword]. (viii 10'') Tamm[arîtu, who was (even) more insolent [than Ummanigaš], sa[t on the t]hrone of the land Elam.

viii 12'–23'') Just like hi[m (Ummanigaš), he (Tammarîtu) accepted] bri[bes from the hand of] Šamaš-šuma-ukîn, did [not] inquire about the well-being of my royal majesty, (and) (viii 15'') [went] to the ai[d of Šamaš-šuma-ukîn, (my) un[faithful] brother, to fig[ht with] my [troop]s. As a result of the supplication[s that I] had addressed [to (the god) Aššur and the goddess Ištar], they [accepted] my prayers (and) listened to the ut[terance(s) of] my [lip(s)]. (viii 20'') His servants [rebell]ed against [him] and *together* str[uck down] my [adversar]y. Indabibi, a servant of his [who] had incited [rebellion against] him, sat on [his throne].

viii 23'–34'') (As for) Tammarîtu, [the king of the land] Elam [w]ho had spoken insolent word(s) on account of the cutting [off of the head of Teumman] — *which* a low-ranking sol[dier of] my [ar]my had cut off — saying: “Will they cut off the h[ead of the king of the land Ela]m in his (own) land, in the midst of

**Lacuna before viii 1'** The translation assumes that the now-missing line before viii 1' contained *ul-tu* KUR aš-šur.KI “from Assyria” (see text no. 3 [Prism B] vii 15, text no. 4 [Prism D] vii 15, and text no. 6 [Prism C] viii 12').

**Lacuna after viii 8'** The now-missing contents of this short break in the inscription would have duplicated text no. 7 (Prism Kh) vii 2'–9'a.

**Lacuna before viii 1''** The translation assumes that the now-missing line before viii 1'' contained *šú-ut a-ma-a-ti an-na-a-ti* LÚ.A KIN-ia “regarding these matters, my messenger” (see text no. 3 [Prism B] vii 25, text no. 4 [Prism D] vii 26–27a), and text no. 7 [Prism Kh] vii 8'–9').

**viii 3''** If text no. 19 proves to be an exemplar of this inscription, then *a-na šá-al šul-mi-šú* (“to inquire about his well-being”) should be restored at the end of this line (see text no. 19 line 12').

**viii 5''** Following text no. 7 (Prism Kh) vii 13', possibly restore <sup>d</sup>MAŠ <sup>d</sup>nusku (“the gods Ninurta (and) Nusku”) before <sup>d</sup>U.GUR (“the god Nergal”). Moreover, if text no. 19 turns out to be an exemplar of this inscription, then the list of gods would be much longer than is currently restored. If so, the damaged DINGIR sign at the beginning of line 6'' could possibly be the determinative of one of those deities since there may not have been enough space in line 5'' to include them all.

**viii 23'–32''** The passage recording Tammarîtu's hostilities towards Ashurbanipal is more detailed in this inscription than it is in earlier prism inscriptions; compare, for example, text no. 7 (Prism Kh) vii 34'–40'.

- KUR.ELAM].<sup>1</sup>MA<sup>1</sup>.KI  
 27'') *ina qé-reb* KUR-šú *ina* <sup>1</sup>UKKIN<sup>1</sup> [ERIM.ĪIA-šú  
 šá-ni-ia-a-nu iq-bi] <sup>1</sup>ú<sup>1</sup> m<sup>1</sup>um<sup>1</sup>-man-i-gaš  
 28'') *ke-e* <sup>1</sup>ú-na<sup>1</sup>-[áš-šiq qaq-qa-ru *ina pa-an* LÚ.A]  
<sup>1</sup>KIN<sup>1</sup>.MEŠ  
 29'') <sup>1</sup>ša m<sup>1</sup>aš-šur<sup>1</sup>-DÛ-A MAN [KUR AN.ŠÁR.KI *bi-nu-ut*  
 AN.ŠÁR u<sup>2</sup> d<sup>1</sup>NIN<sup>1</sup>.LÍL  
 30'') <sup>1</sup>UGU<sup>1</sup> [*a-ma-a-ti an-na-a-ti šá il-zi-nu* AN.ŠÁR u  
 d<sup>1</sup>NIN.LÍL<sup>2</sup> e-ri]-<sup>1</sup>hu<sup>1</sup>-šú-ma  
 31'') <sup>1</sup>m<sup>1</sup>tam-ma<sup>1</sup>-[ri-tú ŠEŠ.MEŠ-šú *qin-nu-šú* NUMUN  
 Ê] <sup>1</sup>AD<sup>1</sup>-šú  
 32'') <sup>1</sup>it-ti<sup>1</sup> [85 NUN.MEŠ *a-li-kut i*]-<sup>1</sup>di<sup>1</sup>-šú  
 33'') [...] x x  
 34'') [...] x

## Lacuna

- 1'') [...] x x [x (x)]  
 2'') [...] x u [x (x)]  
 3'') [...] x u [x]  
 4'') [...] *a-na a-ki*-<sup>1</sup>li<sup>2</sup>?  
 5'') [*ina un-ši né-eb-re*]-<sup>1</sup>ti<sup>1</sup> *la ig-mì-lu*  
 6'') [*e-ku-lu* UR.G<sub>7</sub>].<sup>1</sup>MEŠ<sup>1</sup> d<sup>1</sup>NIN.KILIM.MEŠ  
 7'') [NÍG.GIG-šú-nu] <sup>1</sup>ra<sup>1</sup>-bu-u  
 8'') <sup>1</sup>ina<sup>1</sup> [*šam-mu pi-i-šú*]-<sup>1</sup>nu<sup>1</sup> *ig-mu-ru*  
 9'') MUŠ.<sup>1</sup>MEŠ<sup>1</sup> [GÍR.TAB.MEŠ *nam-maš*]-<sup>1</sup>ti<sup>1</sup>  
*qaq-qa-ri ma-la ba-šú-u*  
 10'') *zer-man*-<sup>1</sup>du<sup>1</sup> *iq-ti-šú-nu-ti*  
 11'') *ik-su-su* <sup>1</sup>gi-il<sup>1</sup>-*du ku-ru-us-su*  
 12'') <sup>1</sup>KUŠ<sup>1</sup>.DA.E.SIR.MEŠ u KUŠ.E.SÍR.MEŠ  
 13'') *a-na bu-ri-šú-nu ú-ṭa-ba-bi-ḫu*  
 14'') DUMU.MEŠ DUMU.MUNUS.MEŠ ŠEŠ.MEŠ  
 NIN<sub>6</sub>.MEŠ [...]ME DÛ-šú-un  
 15'') UZU.MEŠ DUMU.MEŠ-šú-nu *e-ku-lu* <sup>1</sup>ku<sup>1</sup>-[um]  
 NINDA.MEŠ  
 16'') ÚŠ.MEŠ DUMU.MUNUS.MEŠ-šú-nu *iš-ta-at-tu-u*  
 [ku-um] *ši-ka-ri*  
 17'') *ina la ma-ka-le-e iq-ta-a i-zu-ba*  
 18'') *meš-re-ti-šú-nu e-mu-u šá-lam-tiš*  
 19'') *zi-i-me* UN.MEŠ *ina ku-ú*-<sup>1</sup>ri<sup>1</sup> u *ni-is-sa*-<sup>1</sup>ti<sup>1</sup>  
 20'') *iq-ṭu-ru ki-ma qut*-[ri]  
 21'') [eṭ]-<sup>1</sup>lu<sup>1</sup> šá *ar-da-ti ar-da-tu šá* <sup>1</sup>eṭ<sup>1</sup>-[li]  
 22'') [*ina re-bet* URU *i-na*]-<sup>1</sup>aṭ-ṭa-lu *pu-zur*-[šùn]

## Lacuna

- 1'') [AD *e-te-zib*] <sup>1</sup>DUMU<sup>1</sup> *na-ram* <sup>1</sup>lib<sup>1</sup>-[bi-šú]  
 2'') [*šu-ut mī-tu*]-<sup>1</sup>tu<sup>1</sup> *a-ḫa-meš la na-ṭa*-<sup>1</sup>li<sup>2</sup>?  
 3'') [*a-na* LÚ.KÚR *da-a*]-<sup>1</sup>a<sup>1</sup>-ki-šú *it-ta-din pi-i*-<sup>1</sup>šú<sup>1</sup>  
 4'') [*šib-tu* NAM.ÚŠ].<sup>1</sup>MEŠ<sup>1</sup> GIG *šu-ru-up-pu-u*  
 5'') [*ú-ša-ḫir*] <sup>1</sup>UN<sup>1</sup>.MEŠ KUR URI.KI DÛ-šú-un  
 6'') [*bi-rit* URU u EDIN *ig*]-*mur-šú-nu-ti* GÍR AN.BAR  
<sup>1</sup>ḫa-an-ṭu  
 7'') [GÍR.NÍTA SIPA-šú]-<sup>1</sup>nu<sup>1</sup> *ina lib-bi-šú-nu*

[his troops?" He spoke a second time]: "Moreover, how could Ummanigaš k[iss the ground before the messen]gers of Ashurbanipal, king of [Assyria, the creation of (the god) Aššur and the goddess] Mullissu?" (viii 30'') On account of [these words that he had slanderously uttered, (the god) Aššur and the goddess Mullissu attacke]d him and (then) Tamma[ritu, his brothers, his family, (and) the seed of] his father's [house, toget]her with [eighty-five nobles who march at] his [si]de, [...] ... [...]

## Lacuna

viii 1'""-16'") [...] ... [...] ... [...] ... [...] for (something to) e[at]. (viii 5'") They could not satisfy [(their) starvation (and) hunger (so) they ate dog]s (and) mongooses. [Their sin] was great. They ate [grass]. (As for) the snakes (and) [scorpions], as many [creature]s that there are on earth, (viii 10'") (and) rodent[s], they brought them to an end. They gnawed on animal hides, (leather) straps, shoes and sandals. To (fight) their hunger, they slaughtered (their) sons, daughters, brothers, sisters, [...], all of them. (viii 15'") I[instead of] bread, they ate the flesh of their sons. [Instead of] beer, they drank the blood of their daughters.

viii 17'""-22'") From lack of food, their limbs stopped working (lit. "came to an end") (and) withered away; they became like corpse(s). The faces of the people darkened as (if by) smo[ke] with depression and mournin[g]. In the square(s) of the city, the young m[an] [s]aw the concealed part(s) of the young woman, (and) the young woman the concealed part(s) of the yo[ung man].

## Lacuna

viii 1'""-8'") [The father left (his) s]on whom [his] h[ear]t loved. [In order] not to see one another [in a state of dyin]g, a person (lit. "he") made a promise [to an enemy, who would ki]ll him. [Plague, pestilence], illness, (and) the chills (viii 5'") [reduced the peo]ple of the land Akkad, all of them. [Between the city and the steppe], the swift iron dagger [fin]ished them off. [The governor, thei]r [shepherd], became angry with

viii 33'""-34'"" , lacuna, and viii 1'""-4'"" This section of Ashurbanipal's annals is not fully preserved in this text, text no. 6 (Prism C), and text no. 7 (Prism Kh). For some of the contents of this lacuna, see text no. 6 (Prism C) viii 24'""-21'"" and text no. 7 (Prism Kh) vii 41'-viii 8'.  
 Lacuna after viii 22'"" This short gap corresponds to text no. 7 (Prism Kh) viii 30'-37'.



- iz-zi-iz-ma  
 8<sup>'''</sup>) [ú-šam]-<sup>r</sup>qit<sup>1</sup> si-it-tú  
 9<sup>'''</sup>) [ADDA.MEŠ UN.MEŠ] <sup>r</sup>SILA<sup>1</sup> u su-lu-u pur-ru-ku  
 10<sup>'''</sup>) [pu-uḫ-ḫu-ú] KÁ.MEŠ  
 11<sup>'''</sup>) [UGU URU u NUN šá]-<sup>r</sup>qu<sup>1</sup>-um-ma-tu na-da-at  
 12<sup>'''</sup>) [šá-ḫur-ra-tu] tab-kàt  
 13<sup>'''</sup>) [ga-nun-šú]-<sup>r</sup>un<sup>1</sup> šu-uḫ-ru-bu  
 14<sup>'''</sup>) [A.GĀR.MEŠ-šú]-<sup>r</sup>un<sup>1</sup> ba-ku-u sa-ap-du  
 15<sup>'''</sup>) [ÍD.MEŠ-šú]-<sup>r</sup>un<sup>1</sup> šá ú-šah-bi-ba A.MEŠ ḪÉ.NUN  
 16<sup>'''</sup>) [im-la-a sa-ki-ka] <sup>r</sup>m<sup>1d</sup>GIŠ.NU<sub>11</sub>-MU-GI.NA ŠEŠ  
 nak-ri  
 17<sup>'''</sup>) [ša a-na KUR aš-šur].KI ik-pu-du né-er-tú  
 18<sup>'''</sup>) [ù e-li AN.ŠĀR DINGIR] ba-ni-ia iq-bu-ú šil-la-tu  
 GAL-tu  
 19<sup>'''</sup>) [mu-u-tú lem-nu i]-šim-šú-u-ma ina mi-qit  
<sup>d</sup>GIBIL<sub>6</sub> i-di-šu-ma  
 20<sup>'''</sup>) [ú-ḫal]-<sup>r</sup>li<sup>1</sup>-qa nap-šat-su  
 21<sup>'''</sup>) [LÚ.ERIM.MEŠ] e-piš si-ḫi bar-ti  
 22<sup>'''</sup>) [ma-la it]-<sup>r</sup>ti<sup>1</sup>-šú šak-nu e-du ul ip-par-šid  
 23<sup>'''</sup>) [mul-tah]-<sup>r</sup>tu<sup>1</sup> ul ú-ši ina ŠU.II-ia  
 24<sup>'''</sup>) [lu-bul-tu šú]-<sup>r</sup>kut<sup>1</sup>-tu a-qar-tu mim-ma si-mat  
 LUGAL-ti  
 25<sup>'''</sup>) [ḫi-ših]-<sup>r</sup>ti<sup>1</sup> É.GAL-šú ma-la ba-šú-u  
 26<sup>'''</sup>) [MUNUS.sek-re]-<sup>r</sup>ti<sup>1</sup>-šú GAL.MEŠ-šú LÚ.šú-ut  
 SAG.MEŠ-šú  
 27<sup>'''</sup>) [ù UN.MEŠ] <sup>r</sup>li<sup>1</sup>-me-et É.GAL-šú KÙ.BABBAR  
 KÙ.GI NÍG.ŠU NÍG.GA  
 28<sup>'''</sup>) [GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ GIŠ.šá] šá-da-di ru-kub  
 be-lu-ú-ti-šú  
 29<sup>'''</sup>) [ANŠE.KUR.RA].MEŠ ši-mit-ti ni-i-ri-šú  
 30<sup>'''</sup>) [UN.MEŠ] <sup>r</sup>zi<sup>1</sup>-kir u sin-niš TUR u GAL  
 31<sup>'''</sup>) [šá la-pa]-an mit-ḫu-ši GIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ  
 32<sup>'''</sup>) [di-<sup>u</sup> šib-ṭu] <sup>r</sup>NAM.ÚŠ<sup>1</sup>.MEŠ u né-<sup>r</sup>eb-re<sup>1</sup>-tú  
 i-še-tu-u-ni  
 33<sup>'''</sup>) [ik-šu-da ŠU.II]-<sup>r</sup>a<sup>1</sup>-a áš-lu-la a-na KUR aš-šur.KI  
 34<sup>'''</sup>) [UN.MEŠ EN ḫi-iṭ-ṭi] <sup>r</sup>an<sup>1</sup>-nu <sup>r</sup>kab<sup>1</sup>-tu  
 e-mid-su-nu-ti  
 35<sup>'''</sup>) [bu-un-na-an-ni-šú-nu] <sup>r</sup>at-ba<sup>1</sup> KUŠ.MEŠ-šú-nu  
 áš-ḫu-uṭ  
 36<sup>'''</sup>) [ú-nak-ki-sa UZU].<sup>r</sup>MEŠ<sup>1</sup>-šú-un  
 37<sup>'''</sup>) [<sup>m</sup>in-da-bi-bi šá EGIR] <sup>r</sup>m<sup>1</sup>tam<sup>1</sup>-ma-ri-tú  
 38<sup>'''</sup>) [ú-ši-bu ina GIŠ.GU.ZA KUR].<sup>r</sup>ELAM<sup>1</sup>.MA.KI  
 39<sup>'''</sup>) [da-na-an GIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ-ia e]-<sup>r</sup>mur<sup>1</sup>-ma  
 40<sup>'''</sup>) [šá ul-tu re-e-ši ú-šam-ri-ru UGU  
 KUR].<sup>r</sup>ELAM<sup>1</sup>.KI  
 41<sup>'''</sup>) [DUMU.MEŠ KUR aš-šur.KI] <sup>r</sup>šá<sup>1</sup>  
 Lacuna  
 Col. ix  
 Lacuna  
 1<sup>'</sup>) <sup>m</sup>in<sup>21</sup>-[da-bi-bi LUGAL KUR.ELAM.MA.KI]  
 2<sup>'</sup>) ul-<sup>r</sup>tu<sup>1</sup> [É ši-bit-ti ú-še-ša-áš-šú-nu-ti]  
 3<sup>'</sup>) <sup>r</sup>ki-i ša<sup>1</sup>-[bat a-bu-ut-ti qa-bé-e MUNUS.SIG<sub>5</sub>-šú]

them and [cut dow]n the remainder (of them).

viii 9<sup>'''</sup>–16<sup>'''</sup>a) [The corpses of people] were obstructing [the stre]et(s and) alley(s); [they were blocking] gateways. [The si]lence (of desolation) lay [over the city and (its) ruler; a deathly hush] had been poured out. [Thei]r [storeroom(s)] were laid waste, [thei]r [fields] wept (and) mourned, (and) (viii 15<sup>'''</sup>) [thei]r [watercourses], which had (once) gushed with an abundance of water, [were (now) filled with silt].  
 viii 16<sup>'''</sup>b–20<sup>'''</sup>) (As for) Šamaš-šuma-ukīn, (my) hostile brother [who] had planned murder [against Assyria and] uttered grievous blasphemies [against (the god) Aššur, the god] who created me, [he] (the god Aššur) determined for him [a cruel death]; he consigned him to a conflagration and [destro]yed his life.

viii 21<sup>'''</sup>–33<sup>'''</sup>) [(As for) the soldiers] who had perpetrated sedition (and) rebellion, [as many as] had made common cause [wit]h him, not a single one (of them) escaped; [(anyone) who tried to get aw]ay did not escape my grasp. [(As for) clothing (and)] precious [jewel]ry, every royal appurtenance, (viii 25<sup>'''</sup>) [the necessit]ies of his palace, as much as there was, his [palace wome]n, his nobles, his eunuchs, [and (other) people as]sociated with his palace, silver, gold, possessions, property, [chariot(s), a pro]fessional carriage, the vehicle of his lordly majesty, [horse]s, his harness-broken (steeds), (viii 30<sup>'''</sup>) [(and) people – m]ale and female, young and old – [who] had escaped [fro]m the clash of arms, [di<sup>u</sup>-disease, plague], pestilence, and hunger – I [captured (them and)] carried (them) off to Assyria.

viii 34<sup>'''</sup>–36<sup>'''</sup>) [(As for) the people who were guilty], I imposed [a] harsh [pun]ishment upon them. I destroyed [their faces], flayed them, (and) [chopped up] their [fle]sh.

viii 37<sup>'''</sup>–41<sup>'''</sup>) [Indabibi, who sat on the throne of the land E]lam [after] Tammari<sup>1</sup>tu, [sa]w [the might of my weapons that had previously prevailed over the land] Elam and [(as for) the Assyrians] whom

Lacuna

Lacuna

ix 1<sup>'</sup>–5<sup>'</sup>) In[dabibi, the king of the land Elam, released them] from [prison]. So that (they) would inte[r]cede (with me), say good thing(s) about him], (and) in order

Lacuna after viii 41<sup>'''</sup> This short break in the inscription would have duplicated text no. 6 (Prism C) ix 15<sup>'</sup>b–19<sup>'</sup> and text no. 7 (Prism Kh) viii 84<sup>'</sup>b–89<sup>'</sup>.

- 4) <sup>r</sup>la ḥa-ṭe<sup>1</sup>-[e mi-šir KUR-šú]  
 5) <sup>r</sup>ina ŠU.II LÚ.A<sup>1</sup> [KIN-šú ú-še-bi-la a-di IGI-ia]  
 6) <sup>r</sup>e-li<sup>1</sup> [<sup>md</sup>AG-EN-MU.MEŠ DUMU  
<sup>md</sup>AMAR.UTU-A-AŠ]  
 7) <sup>r</sup>ARAD<sup>1</sup> [da-gíl pa-ni-ia]  
 8) <sup>r</sup>šá in-nab-tu<sup>1</sup> [il-li-ku a-na KUR.ELAM.MA.KI]  
 9) <sup>r</sup>ú si-it<sup>1</sup>-[ti DUMU.MEŠ KUR aš-šur.KI]  
 10) <sup>r</sup>ša <sup>md</sup>AG<sup>2</sup>-EN<sup>1</sup>-[MU.MEŠ ina pi-ir-ša-a-ti]  
 11) <sup>r</sup>ú-šab-bi<sup>1</sup>-[tu ú-bi-lu it-ti-šú]  
 12) <sup>r</sup>ina ŠU.II LÚ.A KIN<sup>1</sup>-[šú a-na <sup>m</sup>in-da-bi-bi]  
 13) <sup>r</sup>ki-a-am<sup>1</sup> [áš-pur-šu-ma]  
 14) <sup>r</sup>áš-šú UN.MEŠ<sup>1</sup> [an-nu-u-ti la tu-še-bi-la]  
 15) <sup>r</sup>um-ma<sup>1</sup> al<sup>1</sup>-la<sup>1</sup>-[kam-ma URU.MEŠ-ka a-na-qar]  
 16) UN.MEŠ [URU.šu-šá-an]  
 17) URU.ma-dak-tú [URU.ḥi-da-lu a-šal-lal]  
 18) ul-tu GIŠ.GU.ZA <sup>r</sup>LUGAL<sup>1</sup>-[ti-ka a-dak-ke-ka-ma]  
 19) šá-nam-ma ina [GIŠ.GU.ZA-ka ú-še-šab]  
 20) ep-šet ina IGI <sup>r</sup>m<sup>1</sup>[te-um-man ú-šap-ri-ku]  
 21) ú-šam<sup>1</sup>-[ḥar-ka ka-a-ta]  
 22) a-di LÚ.[A KIN-šú ma-ḥar-šú la i-kaš-šá-du]  
 23) la ú-[šá-an-nu-šú ši-kin ṭè-e-me-ia]  
 24) ina tukul-ti <sup>r</sup>AN<sup>1</sup>.[ŠÁR <sup>d</sup>30 <sup>d</sup>UTU <sup>d</sup>EN <sup>d</sup>AG]  
 25) <sup>d</sup>15 <sup>r</sup>šá<sup>1</sup> [NINA.KI <sup>d</sup>15 šá URU.LÍMMU-DINGIR  
<sup>d</sup>MAŠ <sup>d</sup>nusku <sup>d</sup>U.GUR]  
 26) <sup>r</sup>ša<sup>1</sup> [it-tal-la-ku Á.II-a-a]  
 27) <sup>r</sup>i<sup>1</sup>-[na-ar-ru ga-re-ia]  
 28) [a-lak<sup>2</sup> LÚ.A KIN-ia ša a-na URU.de-ri áš-pu-ru]  
 29) <sup>r</sup>iš<sup>1</sup>-[mu-u qé-reb KUR.ELAM.MA.KI pu-luḥ-ti  
LUGAL-ti-ia]  
 30) <sup>r</sup>šá<sup>1</sup> [ú-za-<sup>2</sup>i-nu-in-ni DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ]  
 31) KUR.[ELAM.MA.KI is-ḥu-up-ma]  
 32) <sup>r</sup>UN<sup>1</sup>.[MEŠ KUR.ELAM.MA.KI]  
 33) <sup>r</sup>še<sup>1</sup>-[er <sup>m</sup>in-da-bi-bi]  
 34) <sup>r</sup>ib<sup>1</sup>-[bal-ki-tu]  
 35) <sup>r</sup>i<sup>1</sup>-[na-ru-uš i-na GIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ]  
 36) <sup>m</sup>um<sup>1</sup>-[man-al-da-si DUMU <sup>m</sup>at-ta-me-tu]  
 37) <sup>r</sup>ú<sup>1</sup>-[še-ši-bu ina GIŠ.GU.ZA-šú]

- 38) <sup>m</sup>[ia-u-ta-a' DUMU <sup>m</sup>ḥa-za-a-DINGIR]  
 39) <sup>r</sup>LUGAL<sup>1</sup> [KUR.qa-ad-ri e-piš ARAD-ti-ia]  
 40) <sup>r</sup>áš<sup>1</sup>-[šú DINGIR.MEŠ-šú im-ḥur-an-ni-ma]

## Lacuna

- 1'') <sup>r</sup>1a-[di-ia-a šar-rat KUR.a-ri-bi]  
 2'') di-ik-<sup>r</sup>ta<sup>1</sup>-[šá ma-a'-as-su a-duk]  
 3'') kul-ta-re-e-<sup>r</sup>šá<sup>1</sup> [ina <sup>d</sup>GIŠ.BAR aq-mu]  
 4'') šá-a-šá bal-ṭu-us-[sa ina ŠU.II aš-bat]  
 5'') it-ti ḥu-bu-ut [KUR-šá<sup>2</sup>]  
 6'') al-qa-dš-ši [a-na KUR aš-šur.KI]  
 7'') <sup>m</sup>na-at-nu LUGAL KUR.na-ba-a-a-[ti ša a-šar-šú

to prevent (me) from doing ha[rm to the territory of his land, he sent (them) before me] by the hands of [his] mes[senger].

ix 6'-21') With regard to [Nabû-bêl-šumâti, son of Marduk-apla-iddina (II) (Merodach-baladan)], a servant [who belonged to me] who had fled (and) [gone to the land Elam], and (with regard to) the re[st of the Assyrians] (ix 10') whom Nabû-bêl-[šumâti] had seiz[ed by guile (and) taken (to Elam) with him, I sent (a message) to Indabibi] by the hands of [his] messenger, (saying) as follows: "Since [you have not sent me those] people, (ix 15') I will com[e and tear down your cities. I will carry off] the people of [the cities Susa], Madaktu, (and) [Ḥidalu. I will remove you] from [your] ro[yal] throne [and make] someone else [sit] on [your throne]. The (same) actions that [I used to thwart Teumman], I will make ha[ppen to you]."

ix 22'-37') Before [his messenger had arrived in his presence] (and before) he co[uld report the issuing of my decision to him], with the support of the deities A[ššur, Sîn, Šamaš, Bêl (Marduk), Nabû], (ix 25') Ištar o[f Nineveh, Ištar of Arbela, Ninurta, Nusku, (and) Nergal], who [march at my side (and) kill my foes, inside the land Elam], th[ey (the Elamites)] h[ear]d about *the progress* of the messenger of mine whom I had sent to the city Dêr. Fear of my royal majesty – (ix 30') with] which [the great gods had endowed me – overwhelmed] the land [Elam and (then)] the peop[le of the land Elam] reb[elled] aga[inst Indabibi] (and) (ix 35') ki[lled him with the sword]. Th[ey placed] Um[manaldašu (Ḥumban-ḥaltaš III), son of Atta-metu, on his (Indabibi's) throne].

ix 38'-40') [Iauta', son of Hazael], the k[ing of the land Qedar who does obeisance to me, approached me] ab[out his gods and]

## Lacuna

ix 1''-6'') [I inflicted a heavy] defeat on A[diya, the queen of the land of the Arabs. I burned] her tents [with fire. I captured] her alive (and) brought her [to Assyria], together with the plunder of [her land].

ix 7''-28'') Natnu, the king of the land of the

ix 38'-28'' Unlike text no. 7 (Prism Kh), as well as earlier inscriptions, the military narration of this text does not end with reports of Ashurbanipal's wars and dealings with the Arabs. Instead, the scribe(s) responsible for this version of Ashurbanipal's annals placed them before the description of the first war against the Elamite king Ummanaldašu (Ḥumban-ḥaltaš III).

Lacuna after ix 40' For the now-missing contents, see text no. 7 (Prism Kh) ix 67''-x 27'.

ix 1''-6'' The report of the capture of the Arabian queen Adiya is not included in earlier inscriptions, including text no. 7 (Prism Kh), which was written in the same year as this text.

- ru-ú-qu]
- 8'') iš-ma-a da-na-<an> AN.ŠÁR <sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU [ša ú-tak-kil-ú-in-ni]
- 9'') šá ma-te<sub>9</sub>-e-ma a-<sup>r</sup>na<sup>1</sup> [LUGAL.MEŠ AD.MEŠ-ia]
- 10'') LÚ.A KIN-šú [la iš-pu-ra]
- 11'') la iš-'a-a-lu<sub>4</sub> šu-<sup>r</sup>lum<sup>1</sup> [LUGAL-ti-ia]
- 12'') ul-tu <sup>m</sup>ia-u-ta-<sup>r</sup>a<sup>1</sup> [LUGAL KUR.a-ri-bi]
- 13'') <sup>r</sup>ARAD<sup>1</sup> da-gíl [pa-ni-ia]
- 14'') a-na KUR.na-ba-a-a-te [in-nab-tu-ma]
- 15'') il-li-ku ma-<sup>r</sup>har<sup>1</sup> [<sup>m</sup>na-at-nu]
- 16'') <sup>m</sup>na-at-nu a-na <sup>m</sup>[ia-u-ta-a<sup>1</sup>]
- 17'') ki-a-am [iq-bi-šú-ma]
- 18'') um-ma a-na-ku la ŠU.II KUR aš-<sup>r</sup>šur<sup>1</sup>. [KI ul-te-zi-i-bi]
- 19'') ù at-ta taš-kun-an-ni [a-na dan-nu-ti-ka]
- 20'') <sup>m</sup>na-at-nu ip-làh-<sup>r</sup>ma<sup>1</sup> [ir-šá-a na-kut-tu]
- 21'') LÚ.A KIN.MEŠ-šú a-na šá-<sup>r</sup>'a<sup>1</sup>-[al šul-mì-ia]
- 22'') iš-pur-am-ma ú-na-áš-ši-[qa GÌR.II-ia]
- 23'') a-na šá-kan a-de-e [su-lum-me-e]
- 24'') e-peš ARAD-ti-ia ú-ša-na-<sup>r</sup>al<sup>1</sup>-[la-a be-lu-u-ti]
- 25'') a-na-ku ha-diš ap-<sup>r</sup>pa<sup>1</sup>-[lis-šu-ma]
- 26'') pa-ni-ia SIG<sub>5</sub>.MEŠ [UGU-šú áš-kun]
- 27'') GUN [man-da-at-tu]
- 28'') šat-ti-šam-ma <sup>r</sup>ú<sup>1</sup>-[kin še-ru-uš-šú]
- 
- 29'') i-na 11-e ger-ri-ia <sup>r</sup>a<sup>1</sup>-[na KUR.ELAM.MA.KI lu al-lik ina me-ti-iq ger-ri-ia]
- 30'') URU.É-<sup>m</sup>im-bi-i URU tukul-<sup>r</sup>ti<sup>1</sup> [KUR.ELAM.MA.KI ak]-<sup>r</sup>šú<sup>1</sup>-ud
- 31'') UN.MEŠ a-šib lib-bi-šú šá [la ú]-<sup>r</sup>šú<sup>1</sup>-nim-ma
- 32'') la iš-'a-a-lu<sub>4</sub> šu-lum <sup>r</sup>LUGAL<sup>1</sup>-[ti-ia] a-nir
- 33'') SAG.DU.MEŠ-šú-nu ak-kis <sup>r</sup>NUNDUM<sup>1</sup>. [MEŠ-šú]-<sup>r</sup>nu<sup>1</sup> ap-ru-u<sup>1</sup>
- 34'') a-na ta-mar-ti UN.MEŠ KUR-ia <sup>r</sup>al<sup>1</sup>-[qa]-<sup>r</sup>a<sup>1</sup> a-na KUR aš-šur.KI
- 35'') <sup>m</sup>im-ba-ap-pi LÚ.GAL GIŠ.[PAN šá KUR.ELAM.MA].<sup>r</sup>KI<sup>1</sup>
- 36'') šá ina URU.É-<sup>m</sup>im-bi-i<sup>1</sup> pa-aq-[du a-na EN.NUN-u-ti]
- 37'') bal-<sup>r</sup>tu<sup>1</sup>-[us-su ...] x x [...]
- Lacuna
- 1'') <sup>r</sup>MUNUS<sup>1</sup>. [É.GAL DUMU.MEŠ-šú šá <sup>m</sup>]te-um-man<sup>1</sup> [MAN KUR.ELAM.MA.KI]
- 2'') [šá ina na-áš-par]-<sup>r</sup>ti<sup>1</sup> AN.ŠÁR <sup>d</sup>EN [<sup>d</sup>AG]
- 3'') [i-na ger-ri-ia maḥ-re-e ak-ki-su] <sup>r</sup>SAG.DU-su<sup>1</sup>
- 4'') [it-ti si-it-ti UN.MEŠ a]-<sup>r</sup>šú<sup>1</sup>-bu-ti URU.É-<sup>m</sup>im-bi-i
- 5'') [ú-še-ša-am-ma šal]-la-tiš am-nu
- 6'') [...] <sup>r</sup>LÚ<sup>1</sup>.3.U<sub>3</sub>.MEŠ
- 7'') [...] LÚ.NAR.MEŠ] <sup>r</sup>MUNUS<sup>1</sup>.NAR.MEŠ

Nabaya[teans — whose location is remote] — heard about the migh<t of> the gods Aššur (and) Marduk, [who had encouraged me]. The one who (ix 10'') had [n]ever [sent] his messenger t[o the kings, my ancestors], and had never inquired about the well-bein[g of my royal majesty] — after Iauta', [the king of the land of the Arabs], a servant who belonged [to me, had fled] to the land of the Nabayateans [and] (ix 15'') came befor[e Natnu], Natnu [said] the following to [Iauta'], saying: “[Can] I myself [be spared] from the grasp of Assyria? Nevertheless, you have made me [your stronghold]!” (ix 20'') Natnu became frightened an[d distressed]. He sent his messengers to me to inquire ab[out my well-being] and kiss[ed my feet]. He was constantly besee[ching my lordly majesty] to conclude a treaty (and) [peace agreement], (and) to do obeisance to me. (ix 25'') I myself loo[ked] with pleasure [upon him and turned] my benevolent face [towards him]. I [imposed upon him] annual tribute [payment].

ix 29''–34'') On my eleventh campaign, [I marched] t[o the land Elam. In the course of my campaign, I conqu[ered the city Bīt-Imbī, a city upon which [the land Elam] relie[d]. (As for) the people living inside it, who [had not co]me out and inquired about the well-being of [my] royal ma[jesty], I killed (them). I cut off their heads, sliced off [thei]r lip[s], (and) t[oo]k (them) to Assyria to be a spectacle for the people of my land.

ix 35''–37'') (As for) Imbappi, the chief ar[cher of the land Elam], who was statio[ned as a guard] in the city Bīt-Imbī, [I brought him out of that city] ali[ve. ...]

Lacuna

ix 1'''–8'') [I brought out a palace] w[oman (and) the sons of] Teumman — [the king of the land Elam wh]ose head [I had cut off during a previous campaign on the instructio]n(s) of the gods Aššur, Bēl (Marduk), (and) [Nabû — together with the rest of the people liv]ing in the city Bīt-Imbī [and] I counted (them) as [bo]oty. [...] third-men, [...] male singers], female singers. [...], his [...]

ix 29''–31''a These lines also appear in text no. 7 (Prism Kh) ix 10–14; compare text no. 9 (Prism F) iii 46–48.

ix 31''–37'' This passage also appears in text no. 9 (Prism F) iii 49–55a and text no. 11 (Prism A) iv 133–v 3a.

ix 37'' Based on parallels, the translation assumes that the damaged section of ix 37'' (and possibly the beginning of the now-missing ix 38'') contained ul-tu qe-reb URU šu-a-tu ú-še-ša-am-ma “I brought him out of that city.” The lacuna between ix 37'' and 1''' is probably not more than a few lines and likely duplicated text no. 9 (Prism F) iii 56b–57a and text no. 11 (Prism A) v 3b–5.

ix 1'''–5''' This passage also appears in text no. 9 (Prism F) iii 57b–61 and text no. 11 (Prism A) v 6–10.

8'') [...]e<sup>1</sup>-šú

Lacuna

Col. x

Lacuna

1') [... a-na KUR.e]<sup>1</sup>lam<sup>1</sup>-ti [m<sup>2</sup>bar<sup>2</sup>-bu-ru DUMU-šú ul-tu URU.É-mim-bi-í]2') [ú]<sup>1</sup>še<sup>1</sup>-ša-am-ma KUŠ-šú<sup>1</sup> áš-ḫu-uṭ [mtam-ma-ri-tu MAN KUR.ELAM.MA.KI mun-nab-tu]3') ša ul<sup>1</sup>-tú qé-reb KUR AN.ŠÁR.KI it<sup>1</sup>-[bu-ú il-li-ku ana KUR.ELAM.MA.KI]4') ti-ib MÈ-ia dan<sup>1</sup>-ni x TA<sup>1</sup> [... GIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ-ia šá UGU<sup>2</sup> KUR.ELAM.MA.KI<sup>2</sup>]5') ú<sup>1</sup>-šam-ri-ru e<sup>1</sup>-mur-ma x [...]6') ḫi-il-li-mu-ú<sup>1</sup>-tu e-re- [...]7') qé-reb x [...] x-ia<sup>1</sup>8') ru-ku-<sup>1</sup>bi-šú<sup>1</sup> [...] ip<sup>1</sup>-pal-si-ih<sup>1</sup>-ma9') LÚ.šú-ut SAG<sup>1</sup>-[...] x-šú10') m<sup>m</sup>um-man-al<sup>1</sup>da<sup>1</sup>-[si] MAN<sup>1</sup> KUR.ELAM.MA.KI11') e-reb<sup>1</sup> LÚ.ERIM-ia [ša qé-reb KUR.ELAM.MA.KI]

12') [e-ru]-bu [iš-me-e-ma]

13') URU<sup>1</sup>.ma-dak<sup>1</sup>-tu URU<sup>2</sup> [LUGAL-ti-šu ú-maš-šir-ma in-na-bit-ma KUR-šú e-li]14') [m]<sup>m</sup>um<sup>1</sup>-ba-<sup>1</sup>LAGAB<sup>1</sup>-[u-a šá mé-eh-ret m<sup>m</sup>um-man-al-da-sí]15') [áš]<sup>1</sup>-bu<sup>1</sup> ina GIŠ<sup>1</sup>. [GU.ZA KUR.ELAM.MA.KI ki-ma šá-a-šú-ma iš-me-e-ma]16') [URU]<sup>1</sup>.bu-bi<sup>1</sup>-[lu URU mu-šab EN-ti-šú ú-maš-šir-ma (...)]

Lacuna

1'') d<sup>d</sup>[...]2'') ina KUR.KUR at-<sup>1</sup>tal<sup>1</sup>-[la-ku áš-ku-nu da-na-nu u li-i-tú]3'') áš-ṭur-<sup>1</sup>ma<sup>1</sup> [a-na aḫ-rat u<sub>4</sub>-me e-zib]4'') a-na EGIR u<sub>4</sub><sup>1</sup>-[me DUMU.DUMU DUMU DUMU.DUMU]5'') u DUMU.MEŠ LUGAL<sup>1</sup>. [MEŠ DUMU.MEŠ-ia]6'') ša aš-šur u d<sup>d</sup>15 a-na be<sup>1</sup>-[lut KUR u UN.MEŠ]

7'') i-nam-bu-ú [zi-kir-šú]

8'') e-nu-ma BĀD šu-a-tu i-lab-<sup>1</sup>bi<sup>1</sup>-[ru-ma in-na-ḫu]9'') an<sup>1</sup>-<ḫu>-us-su lu<sup>1</sup>-[ud-diš]

Lacuna

Lacuna

x 1'-2'a) [... to the land El]am — [I br]ought [Barburu, his son], out [of the city Bīt-Imbī] and flayed him.

x 2'b-9') [(As for) Tammariṭu, king of the land Elam, a fugitive] who had [set out] from Assyria [(and) gone (back) to the land Elam], he saw the assault of my mighty battle array (and) the ... [... of my weapons that] had prevailed [over the land Elam] and [...] ... [...] inside [...] my [...] his vehicle [...], he threw himself on the gro[und] and [...] eunuch[... his [...]

x 10'-13') (As for) Ummanald[ašu (Ḫumban-ḫaltaš III), the ki]ng of the land Elam, [he heard about] the entry of my troops, [who had ent]ered [inside the land Elam; he abandoned] the city Madaktu, [a royal] city [of his, and (then) fled and took to the mountains (lit. "ascended his mountain")].

x 14'-16') (As for) Umba-LA[GABua, who sa]t on the [throne of the land Elam in opposition to Ummanaldašu, he, like him (Ummanaldašu) heard about (the advance of my army) and abandoned the city] Bub[īlu, a city that was a lordly residence of his, and (...)]

Lacuna

x 1''-3'') I wrote out [an inscribed object bearing my name and the praise of my heroism — with which through the support of] the deit[ies Aššur, Sîn, Šamaš, Bēl (Marduk) and Nabû, Ištar of Nineveh, Ištar of Arbela, Ninurta, Nusku, (and) Nergal], I con[stantly] ma[r]ched] through the lands (and) [established mighty victories] — an[d I deposited (it) for future days].

x 4''-12'') In the fut[ure], may [one of the sons, grandsons], or (great grand)sons, (one of) the kin[gs, my descendants], whom (the god) Aššur and the goddess Ištar nom[inate] for ru[l]ing over the land and people], r[enovate] its dil&lt;api&gt;dated section(s) when this wall becomes o[ld and dilapidated]. (x 10'') May h[e find an insc]ribed object bearing my name, [and]

**Lacuna after ix 8'''** This part of the report of the first war against the Elamite king Ummanaldašu (Ḫumban-ḫaltaš III) is not fully preserved in this text and text no. 7 (Prism Kh) and, therefore, the size of the lacuna cannot be estimated with certainty. The end of the gap can be restored from text no. 7 (Prism Kh) ix 1'-10' a.

x 6' The CAD (Ḫ p. 184 sub *ḫilammu*) very tentatively relates *ḫi-il-li-mu-ú<sup>1</sup>-tu* to a type of locust and restores *e-re- [...]* as *e-ri-bi*, another Akkadian word for locust.

x 10'-16' Compare text no. 9 (Prism F) iii 62-69a and text no. 11 (Prism A) v 11-19.

**Lacuna after x 16'** For the rest of the report of this campaign against Elam, see text no. 7 (Prism Kh) ix 7''-63''. For the conjectured contents of the building report and the depositing of royal monuments, see text no. 4 (Prism D) viii 61-74.

**Lacuna before x 1'' and line''** The translation assumes that x 1'' and the lines immediately before it contained MU.SAR-ú šī-tīr MU-ia u ta-nit-ti qar-ra-du-ti-ia šá ina tukul-ti AN.ŠÁR d<sup>d</sup>30 d<sup>d</sup>UTU d<sup>d</sup>EN d<sup>d</sup>AG d<sup>d</sup>15 šá NINA.KI d<sup>d</sup>15 šá URU.LÍMMU-DINGIR d<sup>d</sup>MAŠ d<sup>d</sup>nusku d<sup>d</sup>U.GUR "an inscribed object bearing my name and the praise of my heroism — with which through the support of the deities Aššur, Sîn, Šamaš, Bēl (Marduk), Nabû, Ištar of Nineveh, Ištar of Arbela, Ninurta, Nusku, (and) Nergal."

- 10'') [MU].<sup>r</sup>SAR<sup>1</sup>-ú šī-<sup>r</sup>tīr MU-ia <sup>r</sup>li<sup>1</sup>-[mur-ma]  
 11'') [Ī.MEŠ] <sup>r</sup>lip<sup>1</sup>-šu-uš UDU.<sup>r</sup>SISKUR BAL<sup>1</sup>-[qī]  
 12'') [a-na] áš-ri-šú <sup>r</sup>lu<sup>1</sup>-[ter]  
 13'') [ki-i ša] a-na-ku MU.<sup>r</sup>SAR<sup>1</sup>-[u]  
 14'') [šī-<sup>r</sup>tīr šu-me <sup>m</sup>] <sup>d</sup>30-PAP<sup>2</sup>.MEŠ<sup>2</sup>-SU<sup>1</sup> [AD AD  
 DÜ-ia]  
 15'') <sup>r</sup>a-mu<sup>1</sup>-[ru Ī.MEŠ ap-šu-šú UDU.SISKUR aq-qu-u]  
 16'') it-<sup>r</sup>ti MU<sup>1</sup>.<sup>r</sup>[SAR-e šī-<sup>r</sup>tīr MU-ia áš-ku-nu]  
 17'') at-ta <sup>r</sup>ki<sup>1</sup>-[i ia-a-ti-ma MU.SAR-e]  
 18'') šī-<sup>r</sup>tīr<sup>1</sup> [MU-ia a-mur-ma Ī.MEŠ pu-šu-uš]  
 19'') UDU.<sup>r</sup>SISKUR<sup>1</sup> [BAL-qī it-ti MU.SAR-e]  
 20'') <sup>r</sup>šī<sup>1</sup>-[tīr MU-ka šu-kun]

## Lacuna

- 1'') [ib-ba-tu ina mim-ma šī-pir ni-kil]-ti  
<sup>r</sup>ú<sup>1</sup>-[ḫal-la-qu]  
 2'') [it-ti MU.SAR]<sup>r</sup>e šī-<sup>r</sup>tīr<sup>1</sup> [MU-šú]  
 3'') [la i]<sup>r</sup>šak<sup>1</sup>-ka-[nu]  
 4'') [DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ šá] <sup>r</sup>AN<sup>1</sup>-e u <sup>r</sup>KI<sup>1</sup>-[tim]  
 5'') [LUGAL-us-su] <sup>r</sup>lis-ki-pu<sup>1</sup>  
 6'') [MU-šú NUMUN-šú ina KUR] <sup>r</sup>lu<sup>2</sup>-ḫal-li-qu<sup>1</sup>

## Date ex. 1

- 7'') [...] <sup>r</sup>UD.10<sup>2</sup>.KÁM<sup>1</sup>  
 8'') [lim-mu <sup>md</sup>AG]-AŠ-PAŠ  
 9'') [LÚ.x x URU.kar-<sup>m</sup>] <sup>d</sup>šul-ma-nu-MAŠ<sup>1</sup>

(then) anoint (it) [with oil], ma[ke] an offering, (and) r[eturn (it) to] its place.

x 13''–20'') [Just as] I fou[nd] an inscribed obj[ect bearing the name of] *Sennacherib*, [the father of the father who had engendered me, anointed (it) with oil, made an offering, (and) placed (it)] with an inscribed object bearing my name], you should be ju[st like me, find an inscribed object] bear[ing my name and (then) anoint (it) with oil, make] an of[fering (and) place (it) with an inscribed object] be[aring your name].

## Lacuna

x 1'''–6''') [(As for) the one who destroys an inscribed object bearing my name (...)], mak[es (it) disappear by some craf]ty [device, (or) does not p]la[ce (it) with an inscribed obje]ct bearing [his name], may [the great gods of] heaven and nether[world] overthrow [his kingship] (and) make [his name (and) seed] disappear [from the land].

## Date ex. 1

x 7'''–9''') [...], the *tenth* day, [eponymy of Nabû]-nādin-aḫi, [governor of the city Kār]-Shalmaneser (646).

## 9

The inscription generally referred to as “Prism F” (“Prism A<sup>a</sup>” in earlier literature) is one of the best known and most cited versions of Ashurbanipal’s annals. This text is presently attested on two nearly complete clay prisms and approximately two hundred fragments of clay prisms and vertical cylinders discovered at Nineveh and Aššur; the latter object type is not otherwise attested as a medium for Assyrian royal inscriptions (see the commentary for details). The king’s scribe(s) responsible for the composition of this inscription reworked the contents of all of the earlier reports of the military campaigns, greatly abridging the contents of those passages; moreover, for the first time (as far as it is possible to tell), entire campaign accounts were omitted (see below). In addition, the lengthy prologue that had been used for many inscriptions during the previous three years (648–646) was abandoned in favor of a shorter introduction that solely provided details about Ashurbanipal’s nomination as heir designate of Assyria and his royal

**8 x 17''b–18''a** [MU.SAR-e] šī-<sup>r</sup>tīr<sup>1</sup> [MU-ia] “[an inscribed object] bear[ing my name]”: Compare text no. 4 (Prism D) viii 84, which has MU.SAR-a-a “an inscribed object of mine.”

**8 Lacuna after x 20''** For the now-missing contents, see text no. 4 (Prism D) viii 86–88.

**8 Line before x 1''' and line 1'''** Based on parallels, the translation assumes that the now-line missing line immediately before x 1''' contained ša MU.SAR-ú šī-<sup>r</sup>tīr MU-ia (...) “(As for) the one who (destroys) an inscribed object bearing my name (...).” It is uncertain if anything should be restored between šī-<sup>r</sup>tīr MU-ia (“bearing my name”) and the *ib-ba-tu* (“destroys”) of line 1'''. For example, following text no. 4 (Prism D) viii 88, possibly restore also u šu-me AD AD DÜ-ia “or the name of the father of the father who had engendered me” since this inscription records work on the citadel wall of Nineveh.

**8 x 9'''** The translation assumes that the restored LÚ.x x (based on text no. 7 [Prism Kh] x 92') should tentatively be read <sup>r</sup>LÚ<sup>1</sup>.GAR<sup>2</sup>.KUR<sup>2</sup> “governor.”



Figure 6. Cols. vi and i–ii of AO 19939 (text no. 9 ex. 1), a six-sided prism inscribed with an annalistic text of Ashurbanipal recording his victories on the battlefield, including the sack of the Elamite city Susa in 646. © Collection of Antiquités Orientales of the Musée du Louvre.



Figure 7. Cols. iii–v of AO 19939 (text no. 9 ex. 1). This face (col. iv) of the prism records some details about Ashurbanipal's campaign against the Elamite king Ummanaldašu (Ḫumban-ḫaltaš III). © Collection of Antiquités Orientales of the Musée du Louvre.

training in the House of Succession; for example, compare i 1–33 of this inscription to text no. 6 (Prism C) i 1'–ii 3' and text no. 7 (Prism Kh) i 1–101'. The reworked and updated military narration was divided into six campaign reports. These are: (1) the second Egyptian campaign, during which Tanutamón was defeated and Thebes was thoroughly plundered; (2) the forcing of Ba'alu of Tyre into submission, along with the voluntary submission of several Anatolian and Levantine rulers (including Gyges); (3) the conquest of several important Mannean cities, which brought about a coup against their ruler Aḫšēri; (4) the defeat and beheading of the Elamite king Teumman, the capture of the Gambulian capital Ša-pī-Bēl, and the violent dethronements of Ummanigaš (Ḫumban-nikas II) and Tammarītu in Elam; and (5–6) the two wars against Ummanaldašu (Ḫumban-ḫaltaš III) of Elam, during the second of which the Elamite royal city Susa was looted and destroyed. Accounts of the first Egyptian campaign (against Taharqa), the conquest of the city Qirbit, the war against Urtaku of Elam, the Šamaš-šuma-ukīn rebellion, and the battles against various Arabian rulers were not included in the narrative. With regard to the second war against Ummanaldašu (the fifth Elamite campaign; probably 646), Ashurbanipal states that he brought out of Susa a statue of the goddess Nanāya — along with numerous other royal and divine objects looted from Babylonia or sent there as bribes by former kings of Babylon, including his own brother Šamaš-šuma-ukīn — returned her to her rightful place in Uruk, and (re)installed her in her temple Eḫiliana (“House of the Luxuriance of Heaven”). Nanāya is reported to have resided in Elam 1,635 years, which would imply that her statue had been carried off during the Old Akkadian period. The revamped prologue, which borrows some of its material from texts composed during Ashurbanipal's first decade as king (including text nos. 1 [Prism E<sub>1</sub>] and 2 [Prism E<sub>2</sub>]), directly ties into the focus of the building report: the construction of a replacement House of Succession at Nineveh. In addition to providing numerous details about the new palace, including the construction of a Syrian-style portico (a *bīt-ḫilāni*), Ashurbanipal claims to have created a botanical garden, just as his father Esarhaddon and his grandfather Sennacherib had done when they had built palaces. Numerous exemplars (including exs. 1–2) are dated to the post-canonical eponymy of Nabû-šar-aḫḫēšu, governor of Samaria (probably 645). As far as the dates are preserved, the prisms and cylinders were inscribed during the second to fifth months of the year (from Ayyāru to Abu).

## CATALOGUE

Ex.	Museum Number	Excavation/ Registration No.	Provenance	Lines Preserved	cpn
1	AO 19939 (+) BM 128303 (+) A 11870	1932-12-10,560	Acquired by the Louvre; Nineveh; purchased by A.C. Piepkorn in Mosul	i 1–iv 74, v 1–vi 73, date	c



2	BM 105315 + BM 105316 + BM 105317 + BM 105318 + BM 105319 + BM 105320 + BM 105321 + BM 105322 + BM 105324 + BM 105326 + BM 105327 (+) BM 105328 (+) BM 105328B (+) BM 117901 + BM 117903 + BM 117904 + BM 117905 + BM 117906 (+) BM 138183 (+) A 8063 (+) A 8072 (+) A 16917 (+) ÉB 131	1913-4-16,147 + 1913-4-16,148 + 1913-4-16,149 + 1913-4-16,150 + 1913-4-16,151 + 1913-4-16,152 + 1913-4-16,153 + 1913-4-16,154 + 1913-4-16,156 + 1913-4-16,158 + 1913-4-16,159 (+) 1913-4-16,160 (+) 1913-4-16,160B (+) 1926-2-15,21 + 1926-2-15,23 + 1926-2-15,24 + 1926-2-15,25 + 1926-2-15,26 + 1932-12-12,910	Nineveh; purchased by E. Chiera in Mosul	i 1-vi 73, date	c
3	Rm 16 + BM 127890	1929-10-12,546	Nineveh	i 71-ii 1, date	c
4	Rm 2,231 (+) BM 128226	1932-12-10,483	As ex. 3	ii 19-58, iii 28-38	c
5	—	80-7-19,8 + 80-7-19,298	Probably Nineveh	vi 47-61	c
6	BM 121008 + BM 127870 + BM 127871 + BM 134438 (+) A 8062	1929-10-12,4 + 1929-10-12,526 + 1929-10-12,527 + 1932-12-12,433 (TM 1931-2,5)	Nineveh, Area SH; purchased by E. Chiera in Mosul	i 18-76, ii 24-42, 49-61, iii 26-44, iv 23-48, v 33-63, vi 45-73, date	c
7	BM 121010 + BM 127878 + BM 127991 (+) A 11852	1929-10-12,6 + 1929-10-12,534 + 1929-10-12,647	As ex. 3	iii 10-11, iv 24-38, v 32-40	c
8	BM 121013 + BM 127843	1929-10-12,9 + 1929-10-12,499	As ex. 3	iii 39-40, iv 29-42, v 33-54, vi 60-73	c
9	BM 127842 + BM 127847 + BM 127962 + BM 128313 (+) A 11864	1929-10-12,498 + 1929-10-12,503 + 1929-10-12,618 + 1932-12-10,570	Nineveh; purchased by A.C. Piepkorn in Mosul	i 1-3, i 77-ii 15, 66-76, iii 63-iv 5, v 9-31, vi 13-32	c
10	BM 127850 + BM 128002	1929-10-12,506 + 1929-10-12,658	As ex. 3	ii 24-36, 44-49, iii 17-58, iv 44-58	c
11	BM 127860 + BM 127904	1929-10-12,516 + 1929-10-12,560	As ex. 3	i 15-42, vi 43-55, 60-64	c
12	BM 127862 + BM 127891 + BM 127930 + BM 128326 (+) A 8068	1929-10-12,518 + 1929-10-12,547 + 1929-10-12,586 + 1932-12-10,583	As ex. 2	i 47-52, ii 11-19, iii 10-29, iv 7-30, v 4-9, 15-60, vi 24-57	c
13	BM 127864 + BM 127935	1929-10-12,520 + 1929-10-12,591	As ex. 3	i 33-50, v 13-25, vi 16-41	c
14	BM 127884 + BM 128078 (+) LB 1313	1929-10-12,540 + 1929-10-12,734	As ex. 3	iv 9-50	c
15	BM 127892 + BM 127944	1929-10-12,548 + 1929-10-12,600	Nineveh, Area SH	iii 14-40, iv 15-37	c
16	BM 127894 + BM 134558	1929-10-12,550 + 1932-12-12,553	As ex. 3	i 14-32, 73-ii 9	c
17	BM 127906 + BM 127925	1929-10-12,562 + 1929-10-12,581	As ex. 3	i 1-26, ii 7-18	c
18	BM 127920 (+) MAH 15849	1929-10-12,576	As ex. 3	i 62-72, ii 52-68, date	c
19	BM 127938 (+) A 8049	1929-10-12,594	As ex. 2	ii 70-iii 4, 69-iv 2	c
20	BM 127947 + BM 127959 (+) A 8070	1929-10-12,603 + 1929-10-12,615	As ex. 2	v 19-40, vi 22-38	c
21	BM 127957 (+) A 8019	1929-10-12,613	As ex. 2	i 5-26, v 34-46, vi 33-44	c
22	BM 127960 + BM 128039	1929-10-12,616 + 1929-10-12,695	As ex. 15	ii 41-48, iii 34-45	c
23	BM 127988 (+) BM 134483	1929-10-12,644 (+) 1932-12-12,478	Nineveh, Kuyunjik	iv 20-23, v 25-40, vi 22-30	c
24	BM 128134 + BM 128227 (+) LB 1311	1929-10-12,790 + 1932-12-10,484	As ex. 15	i 74-ii 4, 57-73, iii 52-71	c
25	BM 128224 + BM 128235 + BM 128236 + BM 134434 + BM 134450 (+)? A 8144	1932-12-10,481 + 1932-12-10,492 + 1932-12-10,493 + 1932-12-12,429 + 1932-12-12,445	As ex. 6	i 14-27, 34-40, iii 33-71, iv 22-68, v 30-62, vi 31-59	c

26	BM 128231 + BM 128234 + BM 128251 + BM 128259 + BM 128272 + BM 128309 + BM 134453 + BM 134474 (+) BM 134459 (+) BM 134484	1932-12-10,488 + 1932-12-10,491 + 1932-12-10,508 + 1932-12-10,516 + 1932-12-10,529 + 1932-12-10,566 + 1932-12-12,448 + 1932-12-12,469 (+) 1932-12-12,454 (+) 1932-12-12,479	As ex. 15	i 9-33, ii 64-74, iv 68-76, v 56-vi 8, 41-58	c
27	BM 128239 + BM 128247 + BM 128262 + BM 128308 + BM 128325 (+) A 11866 (+) LB 1314	1932-12-10,496 + 1932-12-10,504 + 1932-12-10,519 + 1932-12-10,565 + 1932-12-10,582	Nineveh, Area SH; purchased by A.C. Piepkorn in Mosul	ii 45-52, iii 51-iv 2, 34-v 6, 37-67, vi 39-55	c
28	BM 128261 + BM 128294	1932-12-10,518 + 1932-12-10,551	As ex. 3	i 1-5, v 19-27, vi 22-28	c
29	BM 128330 + BM 134447 + BM 134463	1932-12-10,587 + 1932-12-12,442 (TM 1931-2,16) + 1932-12-12,458	As ex. 15	i 60-ii 4, iii 5-18, date	c
30	BM 134467 + BM 124485	1932-12-12,462 + 1932-12-12,480	As ex. 15	ii 44-52	c
31	BM 138182 + BM 138194 (+) A 8018	1932-12-12,909 + 1932-12-12,921	As ex. 2	i 3-7, 12-54, 64-ii 52, 61-iii 50, 82-iv 31, vi 42-70	c
32	A 7945 + A 8052 (+) BM 121009 + BM 134460 + BM 134470 + BM 134472 + BM 134473	1929-10-12,5 + 1932-12-12,455 + 1932-12-12,465 + 1932-12-12,467 (TM 1931-2,-) + 1932-12-12,468	As ex. 6	i 1-30, 73-ii 32, 41-48, iii 6-74, iv 10-v 14, 25-67, vi 42-60	c
33	A 8013 (+) LB 1310		As ex. 2	i 1-7, 65-ii 7, 64-iii 6, vi 27-31	c
34	A 8016 (+) A 8058 (+) A 8067 (+) A 8075 (+) A 8085 (+) BM 138187	1932-12-12,914	As ex. 2	i 1-28, 65-ii 8, 55-72, iii 9-39, 51-79, iii 82-iv 17, 35-65, 73-v 25, 40-41, vi 12-28, 33-35	c
35	A 8017 (+) BM 134466	1932-12-12,461	As ex. 2	i 1-29; v 61-70, vi 35-70	c
36	A 8022	—	Purchased by E. Chiera in Mosul	i 23-66, vi 37-71	c
37	A 8026 + A 8044 + A 11857	—	As ex. 36	i 33-40, ii 15-21, 29-46, 79-iii 33	c
38	A 8027 + A 8079 (+) BM 127849	1929-10-12,505	Purchased by E. Chiera in Mosul; Nineveh, Chol	i 24-28, 37-48, v 60-vi 19, 34-73	c
39	A 8030 + A 11851	—	As ex. 36	i 46-64, vi 57-73	c
40	A 8037 (+) BM 134495	1932-12-12,490	As ex. 2	i 64-76, ii 61-67, vi 56-73, date	c
41	A 8038 (+)? BM 127852	1929-10-12,508	As ex. 6	i 64-66, ii 61-63, iii 56-58, iv 32-41, v 37-41, vi 17-23	c
42	A 8041 + A 8080 (+) BM 127901 + BM 127922 + BM 127990 + BM 128105 (+) ÉB 132	1929-10-12,557 + 1929-10-12,578 + 1929-10-12,646 + 1929-10-12,761	As ex. 2	i 33-iv 72, v 14-48, vi 56-73, date	c
43	A 8043 + A 8045 + A 8048	—	As ex. 36	i 21-51, ii 15-22, 37-39, 44-56, 76-iii 34, 76-iv 40, v 18-40	c
44	A 8046 + A 8078 + 8147 (+) Ki 1902-5-10,8 + BM 127854 + BM 128246 + BM 128283	1929-10-12,510 + 1932-12-10,503 + 1932-12-10,540	As ex. 2	i 18-70, ii 37-69, iii 1-55, 71-iv 27, 68-v 57, 71-vi 73, date	c
45	A 8051 (+) BM 121051	1929-10-12,47	As ex. 2	iii 3-25	c
46	A 8064 (+) BM 127981	1929-10-12,637	As ex. 2	iv 44-55, v 52-57	c
47	A 8076 (+) ÉB 133	—	As ex. 36	i 1-2, iv 34-71, v 41-68, vi 28-51	c
48	A 8077 (+) BM 128267	1932-12-10,524	As ex. 2	i 5-46, ii 6-37, 41-51, 67-iii 33, 64-iv 25, 56-v 33, 62-vi 56	c

49	A 8087 (+) BM 127911	1929-10-12,567	As ex. 2	iii 43-67, iv 32-66, v 48-61	c
50	A 11868 (+) BM 127946	1929-10-12,602	As ex. 9	iv 71-v 14, 61-vi 8	c
51	IM — (+) BM 127993	1929-10-12,649	As ex. 3	i 3-49, iv 55-v 3, 48-68, vi 26-65	(c)
52	K 1855	—	—	iii 82-iv 5, v 4-9	p
53	K 8015	—	As ex. 5	iv 12-21	p
54	K 15355	—	As ex. 5	iii 53-60	p
55	Sm 2032	—	As ex. 5	iv 52-57, v 63-vi 5, 65-73	p
56	Rm 12	—	As ex. 5	ii 43-51, iii 37-44	p
57	Rm 19	—	As ex. 5	ii 19-32	p
58	Rm 22	—	As ex. 5	i 5-16, vi 38-41	p
59	Rm 2,70	—	As ex. 5	iv 17-40, v 29-37	p
60	Rm 2,183	—	As ex. 5	v 61-74	p
61	BM 30422	76-11-17,145	As ex. 5	iv 16-28, v 19-32	c
62	BM 30425	76-11-17,148	As ex. 5	i 55-63, ii 37-42	p
63	—	79-7-8,308	As ex. 5	ii 79-iii 24, 77-iv 8	p
64	—	83-1-18,603	As ex. 5	iv 4-9, 71-v 4	c
65	—	83-1-18,604	As ex. 5	ii 52-57, iii 45-52	c
66	—	Bu 91-5-9,77	As ex. 5	i 25-26, ii 14-24	c
67	—	Bu 91-5-9,195	As ex. 5	ii 77-iii 12	c
68	BM 25026	98-2-16,80	As ex. 5	iii 81-iv 9, v 3-21	c
69	BM 94436	1901-10-12,89	As ex. 3	iii 38-49	c
70	BM 121021	1929-10-12,17	As ex. 3	ii 47-71, iii 54-75	c
71	BM 121023	1929-10-12,19	As ex. 3	i 1-8, vi 11-20	c
72	BM 127841	1929-10-12,497	As ex. 15	i 36-56, ii 17-46, iii 15-46, vi 64-73, date	c
73	BM 127853	1929-10-12,509	As ex. 3	ii 20-31, iii 16-33, iv 9-29	c
74	BM 127855	1929-10-12,511	As ex. 15	v 41-66, vi 45-57	c
75	BM 127856	1929-10-12,512	As ex. 15	v 42-56, vi 27-44	c
76	BM 127859	1929-10-12,515	As ex. 3	ii 57-65, iii 55-59	c
77	BM 127863	1929-10-12,519	As ex. 3	i 65-ii 10, vi 70-72	c
78	BM 127866	1929-10-12,522	As ex. 3	iv 68-v 11, vi 4-16	c
79	BM 127868	1929-10-12,524	As ex. 3	iv 2-18, v 5-21	c
80	BM 127869	1929-10-12,525	As ex. 3	ii 21-49	c
81	BM 127874	1929-10-12,530	As ex. 3	iv 56-71, v 58-71	c
82	BM 127880	1929-10-12,536	As ex. 3	vi 13-31, 68-73	c
83	BM 127881	1929-10-12,537	As ex. 15	v 19-36, vi 2-14	c
84	BM 127883	1929-10-12,539	As ex. 3	iii 18-40, iv 23-35	c
85	BM 127895	1929-10-12,551	As ex. 3	ii 79-iii 1, iv 1-7, v 17-18	c
86	BM 127898	1929-10-12,554	As ex. 3	i 77-ii 19, 70-iii 10	c
87	BM 127900	1929-10-12,556	As ex. 3	ii 16-34, iii 11-28	c
88	BM 127905	1929-10-12,561	As ex. 3	v 24-32, vi 30-34	c
89	BM 127907	1929-10-12,563	As ex. 3	ii 26-43	c
90	BM 127908	1929-10-12,564	As ex. 3	v 23, vi 18-21	c
91	BM 127910	1929-10-12,566	As ex. 3	ii 69-71, iii 79-iv 2	c
92	BM 127915	1929-10-12,571	As ex. 3	ii 4-8, vi 71-73, date	c
93	BM 127917	1929-10-12,573	As ex. 3	iii 76-81, iv 69-76	c
94	BM 127921	1929-10-12,577	As ex. 3	i 42-51, vi 55-63	c
95	BM 127927	1929-10-12,583	As ex. 3	ii 4-15, 79-iii 13	c
96	BM 127928	1929-10-12,584	As ex. 3	vi 7-13	c
97	BM 127933	1929-10-12,589	As ex. 3	v 67-71	c
98	BM 127943	1929-10-12,599	As ex. 3	iv 52-56, 59-63	c
99	BM 127945	1929-10-12,601	As ex. 3	i 51-63, vi 64-68	c
100	BM 127948	1929-10-12,604	As ex. 3	iv 77-v 12, 60-vi 5	c
101	BM 127949	1929-10-12,605	As ex. 3	iii 36-47, iv 18-27	c
102	BM 127954	1929-10-12,610	As ex. 3	vi 15-25, date	c
103	BM 127955	1929-10-12,611	As ex. 3	i 1-8	c
104	BM 127963	1929-10-12,619	As ex. 3	iii 37-47, iv 30-35	c

105	BM 127965	1929-10-12,621	As ex. 3	i 32-37, vi 35-42	c
106	BM 127967	1929-10-12,623	As ex. 3	ii 79-iii 4	c
107	BM 127968	1929-10-12,624	As ex. 3	ii 56-67, iii 66-71	c
108	BM 127971	1929-10-12,627	As ex. 3	iv 5-10, v 23-33	c
109	BM 127973	1929-10-12,629	As ex. 3	i 1-9, ii 10-18	c
110	BM 127983	1929-10-12,639	As ex. 3	i 42-46, ii 29-39	c
111	BM 127984	1929-10-12,640	As ex. 3	iii 32-35	c
112	BM 127989	1929-10-12,645	As ex. 3	vi 1-9, vi 56-60	c
113	BM 128000	1929-10-12,656	As ex. 3	vi 50-58	c
114	BM 128003	1929-10-12,659	As ex. 3	ii 23-29, iii 12-22	c
115	BM 128006	1929-10-12,662	As ex. 3	ii 52-57	c
116	BM 128013	1929-10-12,669	As ex. 3	v 64-68	c
117	BM 128021 + BM 128286	1929-10-12,677 + 1932-12-10,543	As ex. 15	ii 70-iii 3	c
118	BM 128031	1929-10-12,687	As ex. 3	v 70-vi 5	c
119	BM 128044	1929-10-12,700	As ex. 3	ii 37-45	c
120	BM 128098	1929-10-12,754	As ex. 15	iii 9-16	p
121	BM 128102	1929-10-12,758	As ex. 3	i 37-44	p
122	BM 128249	1932-12-10,506	As ex. 3	i 45-56, ii 34-48	c
123	BM 128253	1932-12-10,510	As ex. 15	iv 36-39, v 40-43	c
124	BM 128254 + BM 128257 + BM 128258 + BM 128278	1932-12-10,511 + 1932-12-10,514 + 1932-12-10,515 + 1932-12-10,534	As ex. 3	i 5-25, ii 3-22	c
125	BM 128264	1932-12-10,521	As ex. 15	v 64-vi 7	c
126	BM 128270	1932-12-10,527	As ex. 3	iv 58, 65-74, v 63-65	c
127	BM 128281	1932-12-10,538	As ex. 3	iii 28-39	c
128	BM 128284	1932-12-10,541	As ex. 3	iii 48-64	p
129	BM 128291	1932-12-10,548	As ex. 15	i 61-72	p
130	BM 128293	1932-12-10,550	As ex. 15	ii 57-61, iii 56-69	c
131	BM 128299	1932-12-10,556	As ex. 3	ii 21-35	p
132	BM 128300	1932-12-10,557	As ex. 3	iii 64-73, iv 67-70	c
133	BM 128301	1932-12-10,558	As ex. 3	v 39-54, vi 45-54	p
134	BM 128304	1932-12-10,561	As ex. 3	iii 47-53, iv 35-47	c
135	BM 128310	1932-12-10,567	As ex. 15	i 28-37, vi 38-50	c
136	BM 128312	1932-12-10,569	As ex. 3	iii 44-53	c
137	BM 128315	1932-12-10,572	As ex. 3	iv 17-27	c
138	BM 128320	1932-12-10,577	As ex. 3	ii 59-66, iii 58-63	c
139	BM 128328	1932-12-10,585	As ex. 3	vi 42-46	c
140	BM 134431	1932-12-12,426 (TM 1931-2,19)	As ex. 15	i 63-ii 10, 65-iii 10, 79-iv 11, vi 62-73, date	c
141	BM 134433	1932-12-12,428	As ex. 3	i 1-18, 64-ii 23, 64-iii 22, iv 1-6	c
142	BM 134437	1932-12-12,432 (TM 1931-2,25)	As ex. 15	v 69-vi 22, 57-73	c
143	BM 134440	1932-12-12,435	As ex. 3	iii 50-53, iv 28-38, v 36-43, vi 19-25, date	c
144	BM 134443	1932-12-12,438 (TM 1931-2,10)	As ex. 15	i 6-27, ii 21-24	c
145	BM 134444	1932-12-12,439 (TM 1931-2,12)	As ex. 15	vi 3-27, 63-73, date	c
146	BM 134471	1932-12-12,466	As ex. 15	i 1-9	c
147	BM 134478	1932-12-12,473	As ex. 15	iii 32-40, iv 42-54	c
148	BM 134493	1932-12-12,488	As ex. 15	v 3-13	p
149	BM 134516	1932-12-12,511	As ex. 15	vi 8-19	p
150	BM 134547	1932-12-12,542	As ex. 15	iii 14-18	c
151	BM 138186	1932-12-12,913	As ex. 15	i 8-15, vi 35-42	c
152	—	Ki 1902-5-10,11	As ex. 3	iii 78-iv 2	c
153	—	Ki 1902-5-10,18	As ex. 3	i 78-ii 8, iii 3-9	c
154	—	Ki 1902-5-10,22	As ex. 3	iii 42-49	c
155	BM 99321	Ki 1904-10-9,354	As ex. 3	iii 44-51	c
156	A 8014	—	As ex. 36	i 1-19, 68-ii 8, vi 28-40	c
157	A 8015	—	As ex. 36	i 1-22, vi 5-25	c
158	A 8021	—	As ex. 36	i 16-26, ii 11-22	c
159	A 8023	—	As ex. 36	i 28-33	c
160	A 8024	—	As ex. 36	i 30-37, ii 37-48	c

161	A 8025	—	As ex. 36	i 32-60, ii 25-70, iii 52-54, 72-iv 5	c
162	A 8028	—	As ex. 36	i 45-56, vi 68-73, date	c
163	A 8029	—	As ex. 36	i 46-53, vi 54-60	c
164	A 8031	—	As ex. 36	i 52-63, vi 62-73, date	c
165	A 8032	—	As ex. 36	i 58-61, ii 46-52	c
166	A 8033	—	As ex. 36	i 59-63, ii 53-57, iii 51-57, iv 36-41, v 41-46	c
167	A 8034	—	As ex. 36	i 58-64, ii 50-57	c
168	A 8035	—	As ex. 36	i 58-ii 6, 68-iii 8, vi 66-73, date	c
169	A 8036	—	As ex. 36	i 61-74, ii 51-65	c
170	A 8039	—	As ex. 36	i 73-ii 19, iii 3-15	c
171	A 8040	—	As ex. 36	i 73-ii 1	c
172	A 8042	—	As ex. 36	ii 14-26	c
173	A 8047	—	As ex. 36	ii 50-57, iii 40-50	c
174	A 8050	—	As ex. 36	ii 76-iii 9, 79-iv 4	c
175	A 8053	—	As ex. 36	iii 16-50, 64-iv 28, 69-v 31, 64-vi 26, 47-54, 60-73, date	c
176	A 8054	—	As ex. 36	iii 43-51, iv 29-35, v 38-40	c
177	A 8055	—	As ex. 36	iii 53-66, iv 33-47	c
178	A 8056	—	As ex. 36	iii 69-74, v 1-5, vi 10-12	c
179	A 8057	—	As ex. 36	iii 83-iv 8, v 1-11	c
180	A 8061	—	As ex. 36	iv 24-38, v 40-54	c
181	A 8065	—	As ex. 36	iv 70-v 7, 71-vi 8	c
182	A 8066	—	As ex. 36	iv 73-v 7, 63-73	c
183	A 8069	—	As ex. 36	v 21-24, vi 16-23	c
184	A 8071	—	As ex. 36	v 32-42, vi 23-34	c
185	A 8073	—	As ex. 36	v 50-57	c
186	A 8074	—	As ex. 36	vi 13-20	c
187	A 8081	—	As ex. 36	iii 52-63, iv 48-58	c
188	A 8082	—	As ex. 36	iv 7-34, v 16-48	c
189	A 8083	—	As ex. 36	v 9-16, vi 4-11	c
190	A 8084	—	As ex. 36	v 12-23, vi 5-15	c
191	A 8086	—	As ex. 36	iii 31-53, iv 40-71	c
192	A 8102	—	As ex. 36	i 76-ii 12, iii 13-25, iv 13-16, date	c
193	A 8124	—	As ex. 36	i 66	c
194	A 8139	—	As ex. 36	i 25-30	c
195	A 8145	—	As ex. 36	iv 53-58, v 60-63	c
196	"A 10622"	—	As ex. 36	iv 46-72	n
197	"A 10623"	—	As ex. 36	iii 56-76	n
198	A 11848	—	As ex. 36	iii 43-47, iv 28-29	c
199	A 11849	—	As ex. 36	iii 18-37	c
200	A 11863	—	Purchased by A.C. Piepkorn in Mosul	i 25-46, ii 26-63, iii 49-73	c
201	A 11869	—	As ex. 200	i 37-69, ii 46-74	c
202	HSM 890.3.7	—	As ex. 5	ii 56-67, iii 42-59	c
203	LB 1312	—	As ex. 5	ii 71-79, iii 65-iv 1	c
204	YBC 7128	—	As ex. 5	i 44-52	c
205	YBC 7651	—	As ex. 5	v 62-72	c
206	A 647	Ass 825a	Aššur, near the south-west corner of Temple A	i 58, iv 72-v 38, vi 4-30, 71-73, date	n
207	A 647	Ass 825b	As ex. 206	v 44-64, vi 35-54	p
208	VA 8434	Ass 9892	Aššur, in the lower town	i 34-38	c

209	—	Ass 19286	As ex. 208	iii 65–75	p
210	VA 8429	Ass 19397	Aššur, Area gB5III, near the south-east corner of the Old Palace	iii 64–73, iv 44–57	c
211	K 1816	—	As ex. 5	v 20–24, vi 12–22	p

## CATALOGUE OF UNCERTAIN EXEMPLARS

Ex.	Museum Number	Excavation/ Registration No.	Provenance	Lines Preserved	cpn
1*	K 11367	—	As ex. 5	vi 6–10	c
2*	BM 128277	1932-12-10,534	As ex. 3	vi 5–11	c
3*	BM 138190	1932-12-12,917	As ex. 3	vi 6–11, date	c
4*	BM 128075	1929-10-12,731	As ex. 3	vi 3–6	c
5*	K 1820	—	As ex. 5	v 36–41	p
6*	K 10012	—	As ex. 5	iv 30–38	p
7*	K 12008	—	As ex. 5	ii 77–iii 3	p
8*	K 13282	—	As ex. 5	iv 26–30	p
9*	K 13754	—	As ex. 5	v 5–12	p
10*	K 16018	—	As ex. 5	iv 21–27	p
11*	K 16030	—	As ex. 5	vi 9–18	p
12*	K 16907	—	As ex. 5	ii 35–38	p
13*	K 16962	—	As ex. 5	v 60–66	p
14*	K 17212	—	As ex. 5	v 10–16	p
15*	K 17471	—	As ex. 5	v 56–60	p
16*	K 22109	—	As ex. 5	ii 77–iii 1	p
17*	K 22111	—	As ex. 5	i 5–7	p
18*	Sm 581	—	As ex. 5	iv 57–62	p
19*	Sm 2044	—	As ex. 5	iv 69–v 6	p
20*	Sm 2117	—	As ex. 5	iv 39–45	p
21*	Rm 35	—	As ex. 5	iv 50–64	p
22*	Rm 2,182	—	As ex. 5	v 56–65	p
23*	Rm 2,397	—	As ex. 5	ii 73–79	p
24*	—	79-7-8,284	As ex. 5	iv 26–37	p
25*	—	81-7-27,15	As ex. 5	iv 25–34	p
26*	BM 105325A	1913-4-16,157A	As ex. 3	v 56–60	c
27*	BM 121078	1929-10-12,74	As ex. 3	vi 31–44	c
28*	BM 127978	1929-10-12,634	As ex. 3	iii 40–46	c
29*	BM 127982	1929-10-12,638	As ex. 3	v 49–55	c
30*	BM 127986	1929-10-12,642	As ex. 3	iv 20–25	c
31*	BM 127992	1929-10-12,648	As ex. 15	vi 57–61	c
32*	BM 128005	1929-10-12,661	As ex. 3	v 54–62	c
33*	BM 128011	1929-10-12,667	As ex. 3	ii 58–63	c
34*	BM 128058	1929-10-12,714	As ex. 3	iv 34–44	c
35*	BM 128100	1929-10-12,756	As ex. 3	v 36–39	c
36*	A 8020	—	As ex. 36	i 12–22	c
37*	A 8059	—	As ex. 36	iv 4–11	c
38*	A 8060	—	As ex. 36	iv 10–20	c
39*	A 8126	—	As ex. 36	vi 8–12	c
40*	A 8156	—	As ex. 5	iv 72–v 1	c
41*	YBC 7116	—	As ex. 5	vi 61–68	c

## COMMENTARY

Copies of this inscription, just like text nos. 6 (Prism C) and 11 (Prism A), were discovered at Nineveh and Aššur. Most of the certain exemplars are written on six-, seven-, and eight-sided clay prisms; the best known copy (ex. 1, the “Louvre Prism”) is a hexagon. However, fifteen copies (exs. 7, 29, 32, 35–36, 57, 96, 146–147, 154, 160–161, 164, 172, and 204) are found on (hollow) vertical cylinders, an unusual medium for Assyrian royal inscriptions that perfectly blends the format of the prism with that of the horizontal cylinder; that format is presently only attested for this text. Like prisms, the basic shape of the vertical cylinders was created using a coil technique. R. Borger (BIWA 4<sup>o</sup>-Heft p. 87) did not regard ex. 36 (A 8022) as a proper cylinder, stating: “Oberfläche stark gewölbt, obwohl kein richtiger Zylinder.” This assessment is not correct and A 8022, in the authors’ opinion, should be regarded as a vertical cylinder. Why the medium did not catch on or why it was used in the first place cannot be answered at this time. Ex. 6 (BM 121008+) is a little unusual in shape: its ends (at least its bottom) are slightly tapered, giving the prism a slightly ‘barrel’ shape. Ex. 26 (BM 128231+) is also not a standard-shaped prism: its columns are slightly curved and its base is very rounded, so much so that this prism would not have been able to stand upright, as already noted by Borger (BIWA 4<sup>o</sup>-Heft p. 425). Note that the surfaces of the columns of text no. 4 (Prism D) ex. 17 are also slightly curved.

The three fragments published by V. Scheil (Prisme pp. 43–44 and 48, and pls. 6–7; = exs. 36, 44, and 48) in 1914 were classified by M. Streck (Asb. pp. CDLXXXI and 834–835) as “Prism F” in 1916. In 1933, when T. Bauer published his edition and copy of ex. 2 (Asb. pp. 3–8 and 30 and pls. 1–5), the inscription’s designation was changed to “Prism A<sup>a</sup>” since this version of the annals was regarded as a later, highly abbreviated recension of text no. 11 (Prism A). Later that same year, using numerous fragments in the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago that E. Chiera had purchased from a dealer in Mosul, A.C. Piepkorn (Asb. pp. IX, 3, and 8) was able to establish that Streck’s “Prism F” was the same text as Bauer’s “Prism A<sup>a</sup>” “down to a few signs”; he even identified several sub-editions (which he labelled F, F<sub>2</sub>, F<sub>3</sub>, F<sub>4</sub>, and F<sub>5</sub>). A few years later, E. Weidner (AfO 13 [1939–41] pp. 207–210) correctly pointed out that Prism F was composed earlier than text no. 11 (Prism A), and not after it, as Bauer had thought. Weidner postulated that this inscription had been written about eight to ten years earlier than text no. 11 (Prism A). Most scholars today,

however, generally think that not more than one to three years separate the two inscriptions; for details, see the Dating and Chronology section.

Compared to many of the extant prism inscriptions of this Assyrian king, most of which are badly damaged, this text appears to have an unusually large number of exemplars that contain significant textual variants; a few of these were first recognized by Piepkorn (Asb. pp. IX, 3 and 8). M. Cogan (JCS 29 [1977] pp. 97–107; JCS 35 [1983] p. 146) proposed that there were seven recensions of Prism F, including the main version. He labeled these F and F<sub>2</sub>–F<sub>7</sub>; these should not be confused with Piepkorn’s similarly labeled F<sub>2</sub>–F<sub>5</sub>. All of the textual variants noted by Cogan occur in the prologue (i 1–33) and in the report of the second war against the Elamite king Ummanaldašu (Ḫumban-ḫaltaš III) (iv 17–vi 21). F<sub>2</sub> is represented by exs. 17, 21, 26, 48, 144, and 156; F<sub>3</sub> by exs. 42, 47, 49, and 210; F<sub>4</sub> by exs. 2, 79, and 206; F<sub>5</sub> by exs. 32 and 98; F<sub>6</sub> by ex. 191; and F<sub>7</sub> by K 3404+ (a multi-column tablet edited in Part 2). However, J. Jeffers (ZA 108 [forthcoming]) provides a critical and thorough evaluation of Cogan’s recensions of this text. He notes that Cogan omits numerous exemplars that belong as witnesses to more than one proposed “recension” group (particularly with his F<sub>3</sub> and F<sub>4</sub> categories), and that Cogan’s assessment is hindered by the fact that he only evaluates the passages in Prism F containing a major departure from the master text without including several other places in the inscription in which smaller, but important textual variations occur. Jeffers shows that all of the passages attesting to significant variation from the master text are shared among a specific group of exemplars, and he argues that these exemplars represent a first version of Prism F that was then updated and expanded in order to create the final version of Prism F (as represented by the master text). Thus, the materials that are lacking in these exemplars are not “deletions” or “omissions” (as they are commonly described), rather they represent an original, shorter version of the inscription that was then edited into its final version. The exemplars he ascribes to this first version of Prism F are: 2, 10, 26, 34, 38, 47, 49–51, 79, 82, 142, 145, 149, 175, 206, 210–211, and possibly 46, 126, and 196. His discussion of these variants to the master text is found in the on-page notes.

The arrangement of text, as well as the number of lines of each column, varies significantly between the numerous exemplars. Because exs. 1 and 2 are fairly complete, the master text is generally based on those two exemplars. The line count in cols. i and

iii differs marginally from earlier editions, including Borger's (BIWA pp. 14–76); for details, see the concordance of line numbers at the back of the book. A complete score of the text, including the exemplars of uncertain attribution (see below), is presented on Oracc. The many orthographic variants that appear in this text are listed at the back of the book.

Numerous other prism fragments may be inscribed with copies of this text, rather than some other (earlier or later) inscription of Ashurbanipal. Forty-one of those are edited here as exs. 1\*–41\*.

Exs. 1\*–3\* could also be exemplars of text nos. 10 (Prism T) or 11 (Prism A); and exs. 4\*–41\* might be inscribed with copies of text no. 11 (Prism A). Four other prism fragments might contain this text; these are edited as text no. 3 (Prism B) exs. 143\*–146\*. For further details, see the catalogue of that text. Exs. 1\*–41\*, despite their uncertain attribution to this inscription, are included in the score and their minor (orthographic) variants are noted with this text.

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Figure 8. A 8087 (text no. 9 ex. 49a), a fragment of a vertical cylinder inscribed with a copy of Ashurbanipal Prism F. © Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago. Reproduced with the permission of the Oriental Institute and CDLI.

## TEXT

### Col. i

- 1) *a-na-ku* <sup>m</sup>AN.ŠÁR-DÛ-A *bi-nu-ut* AN.ŠÁR u  
dNIN.LÍL
- 2) DUMU LUGAL GAL-u ša É UŠ-ú-ti
- 3) ša <sup>d</sup>30 ul-tu UD.MEŠ SÛ.MEŠ
- 4) ina ŠÀ AMA-šú iz-ku-ru-uš a-na SIPA-ut KUR

i 1–5) I, Ashurbanipal, the creation of (the god) Aššur and the goddess Mullissu, the senior son of the king of the House of Succession, the one whom the god Šîn nominated in distant days, while (he was) in the womb of his mother, for shepherding Assyria

i 4 *ina* “in”: Ex. 1 reads TA “from.”

- AN.ŠÁR.KI  
 5) ù <sup>d</sup>UTU <sup>d</sup>IŠKUR ina EŠ.BAR-šú-nu ke-e-nu  
 iq-bu-u e-peš LUGAL-ú-ti-šú  
 6) <sup>m</sup>AN.ŠÁR-PAP-AŠ MAN KUR AN.ŠÁR.KI AD  
 ba-nu-u-a  
 7) a-mat DINGIR.MEŠ ti-ik-le-šú it-ta-’i-id  
 8) ša iq-bu-u-šú e-peš LUGAL-u-ti-ia  
 9) ina ITL.GU<sub>4</sub> ITI <sup>d</sup>é-a EN te-né-še-e-ti  
 10) UD.12.KÁM UD ŠE.GA SUM.NINDA ša <sup>d</sup>gu-la  
 11) ú-pa-ħir UN.MEŠ KUR AN.ŠÁR.KI TUR u GAL  
 12) ša tam-tim e-li-ti u šap-li-ti  
 13) a-na na-šir DUMU LUGAL-ti-ia  
 14) ù EGIR-nu LUGAL-ut KUR AN.ŠÁR.KI e-pe-e-še  
 15) a-de-e ni-iš DINGIR.MEŠ ú-šá-az-ki-ir-šú-nu-ti
- 16) ú-dan-ni-na rik-sa-a-ti ina ĤÚL.MEŠ ri-šá-a-ti  
 e-ru-ub  
 17) ina É ri-du-ti áš-ru nak-lu mar-kás LUGAL-ú-ti  
 18) ša <sup>m</sup>d30-PAP.MEŠ-SU AD AD a-lid-di-ia  
 19) DUMU LUGAL-tú u LUGAL-tú e-pu-šú ina  
 lib-bi-šú  
 20) a-šar <sup>m</sup>AN.ŠÁR-PAP-AŠ AD ba-nu-u-a  
 21) qé-reb-šú ib-bi-šú-u ir-bu-u e-pu-šú be-lut KUR  
 AN.ŠÁR.KI  
 22) gi-mir mal-ki ir-du-u kim-tu ú-rap-pi-šú  
 23) ik-šu-ru ni-šu-tú sa-la-tu

and (the one for whom) the gods Šamaš (and) Adad declared the exercising of its kingship through their firm decision(s) —

i 6–16a) Esarhaddon, king of Assyria, the father who had engendered me, carefully observed the word(s) of the gods who supported him, (and) who instructed him about my exercising the kingship. In the month Ayyāru (II), the month of the god Ea — the lord of humankind — (i 10) on the twelfth day — an auspicious day, (the day of) the *bread donation(s)* to the goddess Gula — he assembled the people of Assyria — young and old — (and) of the Upper and Lower Sea(s). In order to protect my (position as) heir designate and afterwards (my) exercising the kingship of Assyria, (i 15) he made them swear to a treaty, an oath bound by the gods; he made the agreements strong.

i 16b–23) In (the midst of) joyous celebration, I entered the House of Succession, a sophisticated place, the mooring place of kingship, inside of which Sennacherib — the father of the father who had begotten me — had performed (his duties) as heir designate and king, (i 20) the place in whose midst Esarhaddon — the father who had engendered me — was born, grew up, exercised dominion over Assyria, led all of the rulers, expanded (his) family, (and) bonded with relatives (and) kin.

i 5 ù <sup>d</sup>UTU <sup>d</sup>IŠKUR “and (the one whom) the gods Šamaš (and) Adad”: Ex. 1 has <sup>d</sup>UTU u <sup>r</sup>d[IŠKUR] “(and the one whom) the gods Šamaš and [Adad].” Additionally, the scribes of a few of the other exemplars seem to have been confused as to which deities were to be written here. The scribe of ex. 156 wrote <sup>d</sup>30 “the god Šin” instead of <sup>d</sup>UTU. The scribe of ex. 146 appears to have initially written <sup>d</sup>IŠKUR in place of <sup>d</sup>UTU, and then later erased it, even though he did not write UTU over the erasure. However, the scribe did then write IŠKUR in its proper place after the second DINGIR sign, though that IŠKUR sign was itself written over an erasure. Finally, the scribe of ex. 35 erased this entire portion of the line, and over that erasure wrote <sup>d</sup>UTU <sup>d</sup>IŠKUR u <sup>d</sup>15 “(and the one whom) the deities Šamaš, Adad, and Ištar.” Although ex. 35 is the only exemplar of Prism F to include Ištar after the other two gods, the scribes of text no. 11 (Prism A) adopted this exact wording in i 6.

i 10 Exs. 17, 48, 58, 144, and 156 attest to another reading for this line: UD.18.KÁM i-sin-ni ĥu-un-ti ša <sup>d</sup>UTU qu-ra-a-di “on the eighteenth day — the ĥuntu-festival of the god Šamaš, the warrior” (with orthographic variants of <sup>d</sup>šá-maš for <sup>d</sup>UTU; šá for ša, and qu-ra-di for qu-ra-a-di). M. Cogan (JCS 29 [1977] pp. 98–99) labeled these exemplars (including also ex. 26, but lacking ex. 58) as his F<sub>2</sub> recension. Noting that the eighteenth day of the month Ayyāru (II) is attested as the date for some copies of Esarhaddon’s succession treaties from Kalĥu, he suggests that all the texts with such a date were celebrating the end of the succession treaty festival instead of its commencement on the twelfth of that month; for additional information, see p. 13 n. 86 of the Introduction. Furthermore, he observed that this line in exs. 2, 32, 124, and 141 had been erased, which he took as a sign that there had been an effort to bring “copies of Prism F into line with a particular tradition” (JCS 29 [1977] p. 102). Later, his examination of ex. 21 (JCS 35 [1983] p. 146) revealed that the alternate date containing the Šamaš hemerological data had been erased and written over with the Gula hemerological data, which he interpreted as confirmation of the idea that “F<sub>2</sub>’s non-conformist dating of Ashurbanipal’s accession was brought into line with the majority of manuscripts.” However, this is not the case (as initially pointed out by R. Borger [BIWA p. 15]; see also Jeffers, ZA 108 [forthcoming]). It appears that the date containing the Šamaš hemerological information was the original reading of this line in the Prism F tradition (rather than an aberrant tradition), for which a decision was made at a later point to use the date containing the Gula hemerological information instead, thus requiring the Prism F exemplars to be updated. At present, all exemplars attesting to this line originally contained the Šamaš dating. In the five exemplars cited at the beginning of this note, the date is uncorrected. But in the rest of the exemplars that preserve this line (exs. 1, 2, 21, 26, 32, 34–35, 51, 124, 141, 151, and 157), the Šamaš data has been erased to the point of almost complete illegibility or, in the majority of cases, been erased and then written over with the more current Gula information (which would also be adopted in text no. 11 [Prism A] i 12). Yet, when this editing occurred, the scribes did not completely eradicate the old information, namely the reference to the eighteenth day of the month that was associated with the festival of Šamaš. In many of the exemplars, the eighteenth day is uncorrected, even after the scribes had erased the Šamaš hemerological data and replaced it with that of Gula. Only in exs. 35, 124, and 157 have the scribes written the number 2 over the 8 in 18 to change the date from the eighteenth day to the twelfth day, the latter being the day appropriately connected with Gula’s cultic activity. Currently, the master text of line 10 is not attested as an original reading in any exemplar, but only as text written over erasures of an original date referring to the festival of Šamaš. Presumably then, the five exemplars with this Šamaš dating intact were written and released for their intended use as foundation documents before the decision was made to change the date of this line, which allowed them to escape the scribal edit. SUM.NINDA “*bread donation(s)*”: The reading and tentative interpretation follow Livingstone, CUSAS 25 p. 254.

i 13 a-na na-šir “in order to protect”: For this form of the infinitive construct, see the on-page note to text no. 2 (Prism E<sub>2</sub>) i 2’.

i 20 Ex. 26 repeats line 19 — a statement about his grandfather Sennacherib carrying out his duties as heir designate and king — after line 20, thus applying that sentiment to his father Esarhaddon as well.

- 24) *ù a-na-ku* <sup>m</sup>AN.ŠÁR-DÛ-A *qé-reb-šú a-ḥu-uz*  
 25) *né-me-qi* <sup>d</sup>AG *kul-lat ṭup-šar-ru-ti*  
 26) *šá gi-mir um-ma-ni ma-la ba-šu-u iḥ-ze-šú-nu*  
*a-ḥi-iṭ*  
 27) *al-ma-ad šá-le-e* GIŠ.PAN *ru-kub ANŠE.KUR.RA*  
 28) GIŠ.GIGIR *ša-bat KUŠ.a-šá-a-ti ina a-me-lu-ti*  
 29) LUGAL.MEŠ *ina ú-ma-me la-ab-bu la i-ši-ḥu ina*  
 IGI GIŠ.PAN-ia  
 30) *i-de e-peš* MURUB<sub>4</sub> MÈ  
 31) *kul-lu-ma-ku se-de-ru mit-ḥu-šu-u-tu*  
 32) *zi-ka-ru qar-du na-ram* AN.ŠÁR u <sup>d</sup>iš-tar  
 33) *li-ip-li-pi* LUGAL-ú-ti *a-na-ku*  
 34) *re-eš* LUGAL-ti-ia *ina maḥ-re-e ger-ri-ia*  
 35) *a-na* KUR.má-kan-na u KUR.me-luḥ-ḥa  
*uš-te-eš-še-ra ḥar-ra-nu*  
 36) <sup>m</sup>UR-da-am-ma-né-e' LUGAL KUR.mu-šur u  
 KUR.ku-u-si  
 37) *a-lak ger-ri-ia iš-me-e-ma ša ak-bu-su mi-šir*  
 KUR.mu-šur  
 38) URU.me-em-pi *ú-maš-šir-ma a-na šu-zu-ub*  
 ZI-ti-šú  
 39) *in-na-bit a-na qé-reb* URU.ni-i'  
 40) LUGAL.MEŠ LÚ.NAM.MEŠ LÚ.qé-pa-a-ni *ša*  
<sup>m</sup>AN.ŠÁR-PAP-AŠ MAN KUR AN.ŠÁR.KI  
 41) AD *ba-nu-u-a iš-tak-ka-nu qé-reb* KUR.mu-šur  
 42) *ina ir-ti-ia il-li-ku-nim-ma ú-na-áš-ši-qu*  
 ĞIR.II-ia  
 43) EGIR <sup>m</sup>UR-da-ma-né-e *ḥar-ra-nu aš-bat*  
 44) *al-lik a-di* URU.ni-i' URU *dan-nu-ti-šú*  
 45) *ti-ib* MÈ-ia *dan-ni e-mur-ma* URU.ni-i' *ú-maš-šir*  
 46) *in-na-bit a-na* URU.ki-ip-ki-pi  
 47) *ina tukul-ti* AN.ŠÁR <sup>d</sup>30 <sup>d</sup>UTU <sup>d</sup>EN <sup>d</sup>AG  
 48) <sup>d</sup>15 *šá* NINA.KI <sup>d</sup>15 *šá* LÍMMU-DINGIR.KI <sup>d</sup>MAŠ  
<sup>d</sup>U.GUR u <sup>d</sup>nusku  
 49) URU.ni-i' URU.ú-nu *a-na si-ḥir-ti-šú ik-šu-da*  
 ŠU.II-a-a  
 50) KÛ.BABBAR.MEŠ KÛ.GI.MEŠ *ni-siq-ti* NA<sub>4</sub>.MEŠ  
 NÍG.ŠU.MEŠ NÍG.GA URU *šu-a-tu ma-la ba-šú-u*  
 51) *lu-bul-ti bir-me* GADA.MEŠ ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ  
 GAL.MEŠ UN.MEŠ *zik-ra u sin-niš*  
 52) 2 *tim-me* MAḤ.MEŠ *pi-tiq za-ḥa-le-e eb-bi*  
 53) *ša* 2 LIM 5 ME GUN KI.LÁ-šú-nu *man-za-az KÁ*  
 É.KUR  
 54) *ul-tu man-zal-ti-šú-nu as-suḥ-ma al-qa-a a-na*  
 KUR AN.ŠÁR.KI
- 
- 55) *i-na 2-e ger-ri-ia* UGU <sup>m</sup>ba-'a-li LUGAL  
 KUR.šur-ri  
 56) *a-šib* MURUB<sub>4</sub> *tam-tim al-lik ša a-mat*  
 LUGAL-ti-ia *la iṣ-šu-ru*  
 57) *la iš-mu-u zi-kir šap-ti-ia*  
 58) URU.ḤAL.ŠU.MEŠ UGU-šú *ú-rak-kis*

i 24–31) Furthermore, I, Ashurbanipal, learned inside it the wisdom of the god Nabû, all of the scribal arts. I investigated the precepts of every type of scholar there is, learned how to shoot a bow, ride a horse (and) chariot, (and) take hold of (their) reins. Kings among mankind (and) lions among the animals could not grow powerful before my bow. (i 30) I know how to wage war (and) battle; I am experienced in forming a battle line (and) fighting.

i 32–33) Heroic male, beloved of (the god) Aššur and the goddess Ištar, descendant of kingship, I –

i 34–42) At the beginning of my kingship, on my first campaign, I took the direct road to Makan (Egypt) and Meluḥḥa (Ethiopia). Tanutamón, the king of Egypt and Kush, heard about the advance of my expeditionary force and that I had set foot on Egyptian territory, he abandoned the city Memphis and, in order to save his (own) life, he fled inside the city Thebes. (i 40) The kings, governors, (and) officials whom Esarhaddon – king of Assyria, the father who had engendered me – had stationed in Egypt came to meet me and kissed my feet.

i 43–49) I took the road in pursuit of Tanutamón (and) I marched as far as the city Thebes, his fortified city. (i 45) He saw the assault of my mighty battle array and abandoned the city Thebes; he fled to the city Kipkipi. With the support of the deities Aššur, Sîn, Šamaš, Bēl (Marduk), Nabû, Ištar of Nineveh, Ištar of Arbela, Ninurta, Nergal, and Nusku, I conquered Thebes (and) Heliopolis in their (lit. “its”) entirety.

i 50–54) Silver, gold, precious stones, possessions, (and) property of that city, as much as there was, garment(s) with multi-colored trim, linen garments, large horses, people – male and female – two tall obelisks cast with shiny zaḥalû-metal, whose weight was 2,500 talents (and which) stood at a temple gate, I ripped (them) from where they were erected and took (them) to Assyria.

i 55–61) On my second campaign, I marched against Ba'alu, the king of the land Tyre who resides in the middle of the sea. Because he did not honor my royal command(s) and did not obey the pronouncement(s) from my lips, I set up outposts against him. By sea and dry land, I took control of (all of) his routes. (i 60)

i 29 *la i-ši-ḥu* “could not grow powerful”: CAD Š/1 p. 107 (sub šāḥu A) suggests emending the verb to *i-ši-tu* “could not escape.”

i 45 *MÈ-ia dan-ni* “my mighty battle array”: Ex. 42 omits *dan-ni* “mighty.”

i 46 *in-na-bit* “abandoned”: Ex. 1 mistakenly has *NI-na-bit*.

i 48 <sup>d</sup>U.GUR u <sup>d</sup>nusku “the god Nergal and the god Nusku”: Ex. 122 reverses the order of these two deities.

- 59) *ina tam-tim u na-ba-li ger-re-te<sub>9</sub>-e-šú ú-šab-bit*  
 60) *nap-šat-su-nu ú-si-iq ú-kar-ri*  
 61) *a-na GIŠ.ŠUDUN-ia ú-šak-ni-is-su-nu-ti*  
 62) DUMU.MUNUS *ši-it lib-bi-šú ù*  
 DUMU.MUNUS.MEŠ ŠEŠ.MEŠ-šú  
 63) *a-na e-peš MUNUS.AGRIG-ú-ti ú-bi-la a-di*  
*maḥ-ri-ia*  
 64) DUMU-šú *ša ma-te<sub>9</sub>-e-ma ti-amtu la e-bi-ra*  
 65) *iš-te-niš ú-še-bi-la a-na e-peš ARAD-ti-ia*  
 66) DUMU.MUNUS-su ù DUMU.MUNUS.MEŠ  
 ŠEŠ.MEŠ-šú *it-ti ter-ḥa-ti*  
 67) *ma-a'-a-si am-ḥur-šú re-e-mu ar-ši-šú-ma*  
 68) DUMU *ši-it lib-bi-šú ú-ter-ma a-din-šú*  
 69) <sup>m</sup>ia-ki-in-lu-u LUGAL URU.a-ru-ú-ad-da a-šib  
 MURUB<sub>4</sub> *tam-tim*  
 70) <sup>m</sup>mu-gal-lu LUGAL KUR.tab-URU  
<sup>m</sup>sa-an-di-šar-me KUR.ḥi-lak-ka-a-a  
 71) *ša a-na LUGAL.MEŠ AD.MEŠ-ia la kan-šú*  
*ik-nu-šú a-na GIŠ.ŠUDUN-ia*  
 72) DUMU.MUNUS.MEŠ *ši-it lib-bi-šú-nu it-ti*  
*nu-dun-né-e ma-a'-di*  
 73) *a-na e-peš MUNUS.AGRIG-ú-ti a-na NINA.KI*  
 74) *ú-bi-lu-nim-ma ú-na-áš-ši-qu ĞİR.II-ia*  
 75) *e-li <sup>m</sup>mu-gal-li ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ*  
 76) *ma-da-at-tu šat-ti-šam-ma ú-kin EDIN-uš-šú*  
 77) *ul-tu <sup>m</sup>ia-ki-in-lu-u LUGAL URU.ar-ú-ad-da*  
 78) *il-li-ku a-na šim-ti*

## Col. ii

- 1) <sup>m</sup>a-zi-ba-a'-al <sup>m</sup>a-bi-ba-a'-al <sup>m</sup>a-du-ni-ba-a'-al  
 2) DUMU.MEŠ <sup>m</sup>ia-ki-in-lu-u a-šib MURUB<sub>4</sub> *tam-tim*  
 3) *ul-tú MURUB<sub>4</sub> tam-tim e-lu-nim-ma*  
 4) *it-ti ta-mar-ti-šú-nu ú-na-áš-ši-qu ĞİR.II-ia*  
 5) <sup>m</sup>a-zi-ba-a'-al *ḥa-diš ap-pa-lis-ma*  
 6) *a-na LUGAL-u-ti KUR.a-ru-ad-da áš-kun*  
 7) <sup>m</sup>a-bi-ba-a'-al <sup>m</sup>a-du-ni-ba-a'-al  
 8) *lu-bul-tu bir-me ú-lab-biš ḤAR.MEŠ KÛ.GI*  
*áš-kun*  
 9) *ina maḥ-ri-ia ul-zi-is-su-nu-ti*  
 10) <sup>m</sup>gu-ug-gu LUGAL KUR.lu-ud-di  
 11) *na-gu-ú šá né-ber-ti A.AB.BA áš-ru ru-u-qu*  
 12) *ša LUGAL.MEŠ AD.MEŠ-ia la iš-mu-u zi-kir*  
 MU-šú  
 13) *ni-bit LUGAL-ti-ia ina MÁŠ.GI<sub>6</sub> ú-šab-ri-šú-ma*  
 AN.ŠÁR DÛ-u-a  
 14) *u<sub>4</sub>-mi MÁŠ.GI<sub>6</sub> an-ni-ta e-mu-ra*

I constricted (and) cut short their lives. I made them (the people of Tyre) bow down to my yoke.

i 62–68) He brought before me (his) daughter, his own offspring, and the daughters of his brothers to serve as housekeepers. (i 65) He sent at the same time his son, who had never crossed the sea, to do obeisance to me. I received from him his daughter and the daughters of his brothers, together with a large marriage gift. I had mercy on him and (then) I gave (his) son, his offspring, back to him.

i 69–76) (As for) Yakīn-Lû, the king of the city Arwad, who resides in the middle of the sea, Mugallu, the king of the land Tabal, (and) Sanda-šarme of the land Ḥilakku (Cilicia), who had not bowed down to the kings, my ancestors, they bowed down to my yoke. They brought (their) daughters, their own offspring, to Nineveh to serve as housekeepers, together with a substantial dowry, and they kissed my feet. I imposed upon Mugallu an annual payment of large horses.

i 77–ii 9) After Yakīn-Lû, the king of the city Arwad, had gone to (his) fate, (ii 1) Azi-Ba'al, Abi-Ba'al, (and) Adūni-Ba'al, the sons of Yakīn-Lû who reside in the middle of the sea, came up from the middle of the sea with their audience gift(s), and kissed my feet. (ii 5) I looked upon Azi-Ba'al with pleasure and installed (him) as king of the land Arwad. I clothed Abi-Ba'al (and) Adūni-Ba'al in garment(s) with multi-colored trim (and) placed gold bracelets (around their wrists). I made them stand before me.

ii 10–15) (As for) Gyges, the king of the land Lydia — a region on the opposite shore of the sea, a remote place, the mention of whose name none of the kings, my ancestors, had (ever) heard — (the god) Aššur, (the god) who created me, made him see in a dream my royal name. On the (very) day he saw this dream, he sent his mounted messenger to inquire about my well-

i 63 *ú-bi-la* “he brought”: Ex. 168 has this verb in the Š stem, *ú-še-bi-la* “he sent.”

i 65 *ú-še-bi-la* “he sent”: Exs. 2, 31, 34, and 141 have this verb in the G stem, *ú-bi-la* “he brought.”

ii 1 <sup>m</sup>a-zi-ba-a'-al <sup>m</sup>a-bi-ba-a'-al “Azi-Ba'al, Abi-Ba'al”: These two names are not preserved in ex. 1 and are reversed in ex. 2, so the reading of the master text follows the order preserved in the other exemplars.

ii 2 *a-šib MURUB<sub>4</sub> tam-tim* “dwells in the midst of the sea”: Ex. 26 replaces this statement about Yakīn-Lû with the king's title MAN KUR.[a-ru?]-*ú-da* “king of the land [Ar]wad,” which appears two times earlier in this episode in lines 69 and 77 of col. i.

ii 4 *ta-mar-ti-šú-nu* “their audience gift(s)”: Only exs. 26, 29, and 32 include *ka-bit-ti* “substantial” as an adjective modifying this noun. The adjective *kabattu* is frequently written together with *tāmartu* in Ashurbanipal's inscriptions, including even a few lines later in ii 20 of this inscription.

ii 5 *ḥa-diš* “with pleasure”: Ex. 2 mistakenly has *ḥa-an-ḫiš* “quickly.”

ii 10 KUR.lu-ud-di “Lydia”: Since ex. 1 omits KUR, the master text follows the other exemplars.

ii 13 AN.ŠÁR DÛ-u-a “Aššur, who created me”: Numerous exemplars add DINGIR before *bānūya*, “Aššur, the god who created me.”

- 15) LÚ.rak-bu-šú iš-pu-ra a-na šá-'a-al šul-mì-ia  
 16) LÚ.gi-mir-a-a LÚ.KÚR ek-šu ša la ip-tal-la-ḫu  
 AD.MEŠ-ia  
 17) ù at-tu-u-a la iš-ba-tú GÌR.II LUGAL-ti-ia  
 18) ina tukul-ti AN.ŠÁR u <sup>d</sup>15 EN.MEŠ-ia  
 19) ina GIŠ.ši-iš-ši šat qa-ti GIŠ.ši-ga-ri  
 ú-tam-me-eḫ-ma  
 20) it-ti ta-mar-ti-šú ka-bit-ti ú-še-bi-la a-di  
 maḫ-ri-ia
- 
- 21) i-na šal-ši ger-ri-ia UGU <sup>m</sup>aḫ-še-e-ri LUGAL  
 KUR.man-na-a-a  
 22) uš-te-eš-še-ra ḫar-ra-nu  
 23) ina qí-bit AN.ŠÁR <sup>d</sup>30 <sup>d</sup>UTU <sup>d</sup>EN <sup>d</sup>AG  
 24) <sup>d</sup>15 šá NINA.KI <sup>d</sup>15 šá LÍMMU-DINGIR.KI <sup>d</sup>MAŠ  
<sup>d</sup>U.GUR <sup>d</sup>nusku  
 25) qé-reb KUR.man-na-a-a e-ru-ub-ma at-tal-lak  
 šal-tiš  
 26) URU.MEŠ-šú dan-nu-ti a-di še-eḫ-ru-ti ša ni-i-ba  
 la i-šu-u  
 27) a-di qé-reb URU.i-zir-ti ak-šu-ud  
 28) ap-pul aq-qur ina <sup>d</sup>GIŠ.BAR aq-mu  
 29) UN.MEŠ ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ ANŠE.MEŠ GU<sub>4</sub>.MEŠ u  
 US<sub>5</sub>.UDU.ḪI.A  
 30) ul-tu qé-reb URU.MEŠ šá-a-tu-nu  
 31) ú-še-ša-am-ma šal-la-tiš am-nu  
 32) <sup>m</sup>aḫ-še-e-ri a-lak ger-ri-ia iš-me-e-ma  
 33) ú-maš-šir URU.i-zir-tu URU LUGAL-ti-šú  
 34) a-na URU.at-ra-a-ni URU tukul-ti-šú  
 35) in-na-bit-ma e-ḫu-uz mar-qí-tu  
 36) na-gu-ú šu-a-tu ak-šu-ud  
 37) ma-lak 10 u<sub>4</sub>-me 5 u<sub>4</sub>-me ú-šaḫ-ri-ib-ma  
 šá-qu-um-ma-tu at-bu-uk  
 38) <sup>m</sup>aḫ-še-e-ri la pa-liḫ EN-ti-ia AN.ŠÁR u <sup>d</sup>15  
 im-nu-šú ina ŠU.II ARAD.MEŠ-šú  
 39) UN.MEŠ KUR-šú si-ḫu e-li-šú ú-šab-šu-ú  
 40) ina SILA URU-šú id-du-ú ADDA-šú
- 41) EGIR-nu <sup>m</sup>ú-al-li-i DUMU-šú ú-šib ina  
 GIŠ.GU.ZA-šú  
 42) da-na-an AN.ŠÁR <sup>d</sup>30 <sup>d</sup>UTU <sup>d</sup>EN <sup>d</sup>AG  
 43) <sup>d</sup>15 šá NINA.KI <sup>d</sup>15 šá LÍMMU-DINGIR.KI <sup>d</sup>MAŠ  
<sup>d</sup>U.GUR <sup>d</sup>nusku  
 44) DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ EN.MEŠ-ia e-mur-ma  
 ik-nu-šá a-na GIŠ.ŠUDUN-ia  
 45) áš-šú ba-laṭ ZI-ti-šú up-na-šú ip-ta-a  
 ú-ša-al-la-a EN-ú-ti  
 46) <sup>m</sup>e-ri-si-in-ni DUMU ri-du-ti-šú  
 47) a-na NINA.KI iš-pur-am-ma ú-na-áš-ši-qa

being.

ii 16–20) (As for) the Cimmerians, a dangerous enemy who had never feared my ancestors, and, with regard to me, had not grasped the feet of my royal majesty, with the support of (the god) Aššur and the goddess Ištar, my lords, he (Gyges) clamped (them) in manacles, handcuffs, (and) neck-stocks and sent (them) before me, together with his substantial audience gift(s).

ii 21–31) On my third campaign, I took the direct road against Aḫšēri, the king of the land Mannea. By the command of the deities Aššur, Šin, Šamaš, Bēl (Marduk), Nabû, Ištar of Nineveh, Ištar of Arbela, Ninurta, Nergal, (and) Nusku, (ii 25) I entered the land Mannea and marched about triumphantly. I conquered, destroyed, demolished, (and) burned with fire his fortified cities, together with small(er settlements), which were without number, as far as the city Izirtu. I brought people, horses, donkeys, oxen, and sheep and goats out of those cities and I counted (them) as booty.

ii 32–37) Aḫšēri heard about the advance of my expeditionary force and abandoned the city Izirtu, his royal city. He fled to the city Atrāna, a city upon which he relied, and took refuge (there). I conquered that district. I laid waste to (an area of) fifteen days march and poured out (over it) the silence (of desolation).

ii 38–40) (As for) Aḫšēri, who did not fear my lordly majesty, (the god) Aššur and the goddess Ištar placed him in the hands of his servants. The people of his land incited a rebellion against him (and) they cast his corpse into a street of his city.

ii 41–52) Afterwards, Uallî, his son, sat on his throne. He saw the might of the deities Aššur, Šin, Šamaš, Bēl (Marduk), Nabû, Ištar of Nineveh, Ištar of Arbela, Ninurta, Nergal, (and) Nusku, the great gods, my lords, and bowed down to my yoke. (ii 45) For the preservation of his (own) life, he opened up his hands to me (and) made an appeal to my lordly majesty. He sent Erisinni, his heir designate, to Nineveh and he kissed my feet. I had mercy on him. I dispatched my messenger with (a message of) goodwill to him. He sent me (his) daughter, his own offspring, to serve as a

ii 24 <sup>d</sup>nusku “the god Nusku”: Exs. 2, 4, 31, and 72 erroneously omit this deity from the list.

ii 25 qé-reb “inside”: The master text follows the common writing for this word rather than the peculiar writing qé-ru-ub that is preserved in exs. 1 and 6.

ii 26 a-di še-eḫ-ru-ti “together with small(er settlements)”: Several exemplars add URU.MEŠ before še-eḫ-ru-ti “together with small(er) settlements.”

ii 32 iš-me-e-ma “he heard and”: Ex. 2 erroneously omits this word from the line.

ii 45 ip-ta-a “he opened”: The <sup>r</sup>up<sup>1</sup>-ta-a that is preserved in ex. 1 might be a scribal error prompted by the initial up syllable of the previous word in the sentence, up-na-šú “his palms.”

- GİR.II-ia  
 48) *re-e-mu ar-ši-šú-ma LÚ.A šip-ri-ia ša šul-me  
 ú-ma-’e-er EDIN-uš-šú*  
 49) *DUMU.MUNUS ši-it lib-bi-šú ú-še-bi-la a-na  
 e-peš MUNUS.AGRIG-ú-ti*  
 50) *ma-da-at-ta-šú maḥ-ri-ti*  
 51) *ša ina ter-ši LUGAL.MEŠ AD.MEŠ-ia ú-šab-ṭi-lu  
 iš-šu-u-ni a-di maḥ-ri-ia*  
 52) *30 ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ UGU ma-da-at-ti-šú  
 maḥ-ri-ti ú-rad-di-ma e-mì-is-su*

- 53) *i-na 4-e ger-ri-ia a-na KUR.ELAM.MA.KI*  
 54) *uš-te-eš-še-ra ḥar-ra-nu*  
 55) *ina qí-bit AN.ŠĀR <sup>d</sup>30 <sup>d</sup>UTU <sup>d</sup>EN <sup>d</sup>AG*  
 56) *<sup>d</sup>15 šá NINA.KI <sup>d</sup>15 šá LÍMMU-DINGIR.KI <sup>d</sup>MAŠ  
<sup>d</sup>U.GUR <sup>d</sup>nusku*  
 57) *ina ITL.KIN-<sup>d</sup>INANNA ši-pir <sup>d</sup>INANNA.MEŠ ITI  
 LUGAL DINGIR.MEŠ AN.ŠĀR*  
 58) *AD DINGIR.MEŠ <sup>d</sup>nun-nam-nir*  
 59) *GIM ti-ib me-ḥe-e ez-zi*  
 60) *ak-tùm KUR.ELAM.MA.KI a-na si-ḥir-ti-šá*  
 61) *ak-kis SAG.DU <sup>m</sup>te-um-man LUGAL-šú-nu  
 mul-tar-ḥu šá ik-pu-da ḤUL-tu*  
 62) *ina la mî-ni a-duk qu-ra-de-e-šú*  
 63) *ina ŠU.II TI.MEŠ ú-šab-bit mun-daḥ-še-e-šú*  
 64) *šal-ma-a-ti-šú-nu GIM GIŠ.DÌḤ GIŠ.KIŠI<sub>16</sub>  
 ú-mal-la-a ta-mir-ti URU.šú-šá-an*  
 65) *ÚŠ.MEŠ-šú-nu ÍD.ú-la-a-a ú-šar-di*  
 66) *A.MEŠ-šá aš-ru-up GIM na-ba-as-si*  
 67) *<sup>m</sup>um-man-i-gaš DUMU <sup>m</sup>ur-ta-ki MAN  
 KUR.ELAM.MA.KI*  
 68) *ša la-pa-an <sup>m</sup>te-um-man a-na KUR AN.ŠĀR.KI  
 in-nab-tu iṣ-ba-tu GİR.II-ia*  
 69) *it-ti-ia ú-bil-šú a-na KUR.ELAM.MA.KI  
 ú-še-šib-šú ina GIŠ.GU.ZA <sup>m</sup>te-um-man*  
 70) *<sup>m</sup>tam-ma-ri-tu ŠEŠ-šú šal-šá-a-a šá it-ti-šú  
 in-nab-ta*  
 71) *ina URU.ḥi-da-la áš-kun a-na LUGAL-u-ti*  
 72) *ul-tu GIŠ.TUKUL AN.ŠĀR u <sup>d</sup>15 UGU  
 KUR.ELAM.MA.KI ú-šam-ri-ru*  
 73) *áš-tak-ka-nu da-na-nu u li-i-tu*  
 74) *ina ta-a-a-ar-ti-ia UGU <sup>m</sup>du-na-ni*  
 75) *KUR.gam-bu-la-a-a ša a-na KUR.ELAM.MA.KI  
 it-tak-lu*  
 76) *áš-ku-na pa-ni-ia*  
 77) *URU.šá-pi-i-<sup>d</sup>EN URU tukul-ti KUR.gam-bu-li  
 ak-šú-ud*  
 78) *qé-reb URU šu-a-tu e-ru-ub UN.MEŠ-šú as-liš  
 ú-ṭab-bi-iḥ*  
 79) *<sup>m</sup>du-na-nu <sup>m</sup>sa-am-gu-nu mu-nàr-ri-ṭu e-peš  
 LUGAL-ti-ia*

housekeeper. (ii 50) (As for) his former payment, which they had discontinued in the time of the kings, my ancestors, they carried (it) before me. I added thirty horses to his former payment and imposed (it) upon him.

ii 53–66) On my fourth campaign, I took the direct road to the land Elam. By the command of the deities Aššur, Sîn, Šamaš, Bēl (Marduk), Nabû, Ištar of Nineveh, Ištar of Arbela, Ninurta, Nergal, (and) Nusku, in the month Ulūlu (VI) — “the work of the goddesses,” the month of the king of the gods, (the god) Aššur, the father of the gods, the god Nunnamir — like the assault of a fierce storm, (ii 60) I covered the land Elam in its entirety. I cut off the head of Teumman, their presumptuous king who had plotted evil (deeds). I slew his warriors without number. I captured his fighting men alive. I filled the plain of the city Susa with their bodies like *baltu*-plant(s) and *ašāgu*-plant(s). I made the Ulāya River flow with their blood; I dyed its water red like a red-dyed wool.

ii 67–71) I took Ummanigaš (Ḥumban-nikas II), a son of Urtaku — a (former) king of the land Elam — who had fled from Teumman to Assyria (and) had grasped my feet, with me to the land Elam (and) I placed him on Teumman’s throne. I installed Tammarītu, his third brother who had fled to me with him, as king in the city Ḥidalu.

ii 72–iii 5) After I had made the weapon(s) of (the god) Aššur and the goddess Ištar prevail over the land Elam (and) had continually established mighty victories, on my return march, (ii 75) I set out towards Dunānu, a Gambulian who had put his trust in the land Elam. I conquered the city Ša-pī-Bēl, a city upon which the land Gambulu relied. I entered that city (and) slaughtered its people like lambs. (As for) Dunānu (and) Samgunu, the ones who had disturbed my exercising the kingship, (iii 1) I clamped (their) hands and feet in iron manacles (and) handcuffs (and) iron fetters. I carried off people, oxen and sheep and goats, donkeys, horses, (and) mules out of the land

ii 48 LÚ.A šip-ri-ia “my messenger”: Exs. 2, 31, and 200 offer the variant LÚ.A KIN-ia, while ex. 44 has [LÚ].<sup>1</sup>DUMU šip<sup>1</sup>-ri-ia. In contrast, ex. 4 contains a corrupted reading, DUMU.A šip-ri-[ia].

ii 64 GIŠ.DÌḤ GIŠ.KIŠI<sub>16</sub> “*baltu*-plant(s) and *ašāgu*-plant(s)”: Ex. 44 contains an extraneous Ú between these two nouns. Although this is most likely a scribal error, it is possible that the sign is functioning as a conjunction, which would be a rare usage of Ú. Cf. exs. 42 and 201, which have the conjunctions ù and u, respectively, in this location.

Col. iii

- 1) *ina* GIŠ.š<sub>i</sub>-iš-š<sub>i</sub> iš-qa-ti AN.BAR *bi-re-ti* AN.BAR  
 2) *ú-tam-me-ḥa* ŠU.II u GÌR.II  
 3) UN.MEŠ GU<sub>4</sub>.MEŠ u še-e-ni ANŠE.MEŠ  
 ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ ANŠE.KUNGA.MEŠ  
 4) *ul-tu qé-reb* KUR.gam-bu-li áš-lu-la a-na KUR  
 AN.ŠÁR.KI  
 5) URU.šá-pi-i-<sup>d</sup>EN URU *tukul-ti-šú ap-pul aq-qur*  
*ina* A.MEŠ *uš-ḥar-miṭ*  
 6) <sup>m</sup>um-man-i-gaš šá MUN *ma-a'-as-su e-pu-šú*  
 7) *qé-reb* KUR.ELAM.MA.KI áš-ku-nu-uš a-na  
 LUGAL-u-ti  
 8) *ša a-de-ia la iš-šu-ru*  
 9) *it-ti* <sup>md</sup>GIŠ.NU<sub>11</sub>-MU-GI.NA ŠEŠ *nak-ri iš-ku-na*  
*pi-i-šú*  
 10) <sup>m</sup>tam-ma-ri-tu EDIN-uš-šú *ib-bal-kit-ma*  
 11) *šá-a-šú ga-du kim-ti-šú ú-ra-as-sib ina*  
 GIŠ.TUKUL  
 12) <sup>m</sup>tam-ma-ri-tu *ša* EGIR <sup>m</sup>um-man-i-gaš  
 13) *ú-ši-bu ina* GIŠ.GU.ZA KUR.ELAM.MA.KI  
 14) *ša a-na re-šu-ti* <sup>md</sup>GIŠ.NU<sub>11</sub>-MU-GI.NA  
 15) ŠEŠ *la ke-e-nu il-lik-am-ma*  
 16) *a-na mit-ḥu-ši* ERIM.ḪI.A.MEŠ-ia *ur-ri-ḥa*  
 GIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ-šú  
 17) *ina su-up-pe-e šá* AN.ŠÁR u <sup>d</sup>15 *ú-sap-pu-u*  
 18) *iš-mu-ú un-ni-ni-ia*  
 19) <sup>m</sup>in-da-bi-bi ARAD-su EDIN-uš-šú *ib-bal-kit-ma*  
 20) *ina* MÈ EDIN BAD<sub>5</sub>.BAD<sub>5</sub>-šú *iš-kun ú-šib ina*  
 GIŠ.GU.ZA-šú  
 21) <sup>m</sup>tam-ma-ri-tu ŠEŠ.MEŠ-šú *qin-nu-šú* NUMUN É  
 AD-šú  
 22) *it-ti* 85 NUN.MEŠ *a-li-kut Á.II-šú*  
 23) *la-pa-an* <sup>m</sup>in-da-bi-bi ARAD-šú  
 24) *mi-ra-nu-uš-šú-un ina* UGU *lib-bi-šú-nu*  
 25) *ip-ši-lu-nim-ma a-na* KUR AN.ŠÁR.KI  
 26) *in-nab-tu-nim-ma iš-ba-tú* GÌR.II-ia  
 27) <sup>m</sup>tam-ma-ri-tu *a-na e-peš* ARAD-ti-ia *ra-man-šú*  
*im-nu-u-ma*  
 28) *áš-šú e-peš di-ni-šú a-lak* Á.TAḪ-šú  
 29) *ina qí-bit* AN.ŠÁR u <sup>d</sup>15 *ú-šal-la-a* EN-ú-ti  
 30) *ina maḥ-ri-ia i-zi-iz-ma*  
 31) *i-dal-la-la qur-di* DINGIR.MEŠ-ia *dan-nu-ti*

Gambulu to Assyria. (As for) Ša-pī-Bēl, the city upon which he (Dunānu) relied, I destroyed, demolished, (and) dissolved (it) with water.

iii 6–11) (As for) Ummanigaš (Ḫumban-nikas II), for whom I had performed many act(s) of kindness (and) whom I had installed as king in the land Elam, who did not honor my treaty (and) sided with Šamaš-šuma-ukīn — (my) hostile brother — Tammarītu rebelled against him and struck him, together with his family, down with the sword.

iii 12–20) (As for) Tammarītu, who sat on the throne of the land Elam after Ummanigaš (Ḫumban-nikas II) (and) who came to the aid of Šamaš-šuma-ukīn — (my) unfaithful brother — he hastily sent his weapons to fight with my troops. As a result of the supplications that I had addressed to (the god) Aššur and the goddess Ištar, they accepted my prayers. Indabibi, a servant of his, rebelled against him and brought about his defeat in a pitched battle. He sat on his throne.

iii 21–26) Tammarītu, his brothers, his family, (and) the seed of his father's house, together with eighty-five nobles who march at his side, (fled) from Indabibi — his (Tammarītu's) servant — crawled naked on their bellies and (then) fled to Assyria and grasped my feet.

iii 27–32) Tammarītu handed himself over to do obeisance to me and, by the command of (the god) Aššur and the goddess Ištar, he made an appeal to my lordly majesty to decide his case (and) to come to his aid. He stood before me and was singing the praises of the valor of my mighty gods, who had come to my

iii 3 Ex. 1 does not appear to have *u* after GU<sub>4</sub>.MEŠ, which is located at the edge of a break. Rather, the traces look like the beginning of US, for US<sub>5</sub>.UDU.ḪI.A.

iii 5 URU.šá-pi-i-<sup>d</sup>EN “Ša-pī-Bēl”: Ex. 1 omits DINGIR from this city name. URU *tukul-ti-šú* “the city upon which he (Dunānu) relied”: Ex. 168 instead has URU *tukul-ti* KUR.gam-<sup>r</sup>bu<sup>1</sup>-[li] “the city upon which the land Gamb[ulu] relied.”

iii 9 <sup>md</sup>GIŠ.NU<sub>11</sub>-MU-GI.NA “Šamaš-šuma-ukīn”: Ex. 44 writes the name as [<sup>md</sup>GIŠ].NU<sub>11</sub>.<<GAL>>-MU-GI.NA. See the on-page note to text no. 3 (Prism B) vii 35.

iii 14 <sup>md</sup>GIŠ.NU<sub>11</sub>-MU-GI.NA “Šamaš-šuma-ukīn”: Ex. 48 writes the name as <sup>md</sup>GIŠ.NU<sub>11</sub>.<<GAL>>-MU-GI.NA<sup>1</sup>. See the on-page note to text no. 3 (Prism B) vii 35.

iii 16 *ana mit-ḥu-ši* “to fight”: Ex. 1 has a-<sup>r</sup>na<sup>1</sup>[mit-ḥu]-<sup>r</sup>šu<sup>1</sup>, and this phrase is not preserved in ex. 2. The master text follows the reading found in the majority of the remaining exemplars, though exs. 63, 114, 141, 150, and 192 have *mit-ḥu-uš* and ex. 31 has *mit-ḥu-uš-ši*.

iii 23 *la-pa-an* <sup>m</sup>in-da-bi-bi ARAD-šú “(fled) from Indabibi — his (Tammarītu's) servant”: Compare iii 38. Furthermore, compare the parallel passage in text no. 11 (Prism A) iv 25 where the verb *in-nab-tu-nim-ma* (“they fled to me”) of line 26 has been moved to this line and has replaced ARAD-šú “his servant.”

iii 28 *a-lak* “to come to”: Exs. 1, 10, 32, 44, 48, 87, and 199 instead write the infinitive construct as *a-lik* (for this form, see the on-page note to text no. 2 [Prism E<sub>2</sub>] i 2’).

- 32) *ša il-li-ku re-šu-u-ti*
- 33) *i-na 5-ši ger-ri-ia ina* ITI.SIG<sub>4</sub> ITI <sup>d</sup>30  
 34) EN.EŠ.BAR-*e* DUMU *reš-tu-u a-ša-re-du šá*  
<sup>d</sup>EN.LÍL
- 35) *ad-ke* ERIM.ĪA-*ia* EDIN <sup>m</sup>*um-man-al-da-si* MAN  
 KUR.ELAM.MA.KI
- 36) *uš-te-eš-še-ra ħar-ra-nu*
- 37) *ú-bil it-ti-ia* <sup>m</sup>*tam-ma-ri-tu* MAN  
 KUR.ELAM.MA.KI
- 38) *ša la-pa-an* <sup>m</sup>*in-da-bi-bi* ARAD-šú *in-nab-tú-ma*  
*iš-ba-ta* ĠĪR.II-*ia*
- 39) UN.MEŠ URU.Īi-*il-me* URU.ṗil-*la-ti*
- 40) *ti-ib MÈ-ia dan-ni iš-mu-u šá al-la-ku a-na*  
 KUR.ELAM.MA.KI
- 41) *nam-ri-ri* AN.ŠÁR u <sup>d</sup>15 EN.MEŠ-*ia*
- 42) *pu-luḫ-ti* LUGAL-*ti-ia is-ḫup-šú-nu-ti*
- 43) *šu-nu* UN.MEŠ-šú-*nu* GU<sub>4</sub>.MEŠ-šú-*nu*  
 US<sub>5</sub>.UDU.ĪA.MEŠ-šú-*nu*
- 44) *a-na e-peš* ARAD-*ti-ia a-na* KUR AN.ŠÁR.KI
- 45) *im-qu-tú-nim-ma iš-ba-tú* ĠĪR.II LUGAL-*ti-ia*
- 46) *ina me-ti-iq ger-ri-ia* URU.É-<sup>m</sup>*im-bi-i* URU  
 LUGAL-*ti*
- 47) É *tuk-la-a-te šá* KUR.ELAM.MA.KI
- 48) ŠÁ GIM BĀD GAL-*e pa-an* KUR.ELAM.MA.KI  
*par-ku ak-šu-ud*
- 49) UN.MEŠ *a-šib lib-bi-šú šá la ú-šu-nim-ma*
- 50) *la iš-’a-a-lu šu-lum* LUGAL-*ti-ia a-nir*
- 51) SAG.DU.MEŠ-šú-*nu ak-kis* NUNDUM.MEŠ-šú-*nu*  
*ap-ru-u’*
- 52) *a-na ta-mar-ti* UN.MEŠ KUR-*ia al-qa-a a-na* KUR  
 AN.ŠÁR.KI
- 53) <sup>m</sup>*im-ba-ap-pi* LÚ.GAL ĠIŠ.PAN ŠÁ  
 KUR.ELAM.MA.KI
- 54) *ša ina* URU.É-<sup>m</sup>*im-bi-i pa-aq-du a-na*  
 EN.NUN-*u-ti*
- 55) *bal-ṭu-us-su ul-tu qé-reb* URU šu-*a-tu*
- 56) *ú-še-ša-am-ma* ŠU.II u ĠĪR.II *bi-re-tú* AN.BAR  
*ad-di-šú-ma*
- 57) *ú-ra-a a-na* KUR AN.ŠÁR.KI MUNUS.É.GAL  
 DUMU.MEŠ-šú
- 58) *ša* <sup>m</sup>*te-um-man* LUGAL KUR.ELAM.MA.KI ŠÁ *ina*  
*na-áš-par-ti* AN.ŠÁR
- 59) *i-na ger-ri-ia maḫ-re-e ak-ki-su* SAG.DU-*su*
- 60) *it-ti si-it-ti* UN.MEŠ *a-ši-bu-ti* URU.É-<sup>m</sup>*im-bi-i*
- 61) *ú-še-ša-am-ma šal-la-tiš am-nu*
- 62) <sup>m</sup>*um-man-al-da-si* LUGAL KUR.ELAM.MA.KI *e-reb*  
 ERIM.ĪA-*ia*

aid.

iii 33–45) On my fifth campaign, in the month Simānu (III), the month of the god Sîn — the lord of oracular decisions, the eldest (and) foremost son of the god Enlil — (iii 35) I mustered my troops (and) took the direct road against Ummanaldašu (Ḫumban-ḫaltaš III), the king of the land Elam. I took with me Tammariṭu, the (former) king of the land Elam who had fled from Indabibi — his servant — and who had grasped my feet. (iii 40) The people of the cities Īilmu (and) Pillatu heard about the assault of my mighty battle array as I was marching to the land Elam. The awe-inspiring radiance of (the god) Aššur and the goddess Ištar, my lords, (and) fear of my royal majesty overwhelmed them. They, their people, their oxen, (and) their sheep and goats, (iii 45) arrived in Assyria to do obeisance to me and they grasped the feet of my royal majesty.

iii 46–52) In the course of my campaign, I conquered the city Bīt-Imbî, a royal city (and) residence upon which the land Elam relied that blocks the approach to the land Elam like a great wall. (As for) the people living inside it, who had not come out and (iii 50) inquired about the well-being of my royal majesty, I killed (them). I cut off their heads, sliced off their lips, (and) took (them) to Assyria to be a spectacle for the people of my land.

iii 53–57a) (As for) Imbappi, the chief archer of the land Elam, who was stationed as a guard in the city Bīt-Imbî, I brought him out of that city alive. I placed (his) hands and feet in iron fetters and brought (him) to Assyria.

iii 57b–61) I brought out a palace woman (and) the sons of Teumman — a (former) king of the land Elam whose head I had cut off during a previous campaign on the instructions of (the god) Aššur — (iii 60) together with the rest of the people living in the city Bīt-Imbî and I counted (them) as booty.

iii 62–65) (As for) Ummanaldašu (Ḫumban-ḫaltaš III), the king of the land Elam, he heard about the entry of

iii 42 *is-ḫup-šú-nu-ti* “overwhelmed them”: Ex. 104 instead employs the relatively synonymous verb *ik-tùm-šú-nu-ti* “overwhelmed them.”

iii 43 Ex. 175 has UN.MEŠ-šú-*nu* “their people” after GU<sub>4</sub>.MEŠ-šú-*nu* “their oxen.”

iii 51 NUNDUM.MEŠ-šú-*nu* “their lips”: R. Borger (BIWA, p. 46) asserts that the reading EME.MEŠ-šú-*nu* “their tongues” preserved in ex. 1 cannot be accurate as he argues that the sign is likely a poorly formed NUNDUM. However, given that exemplars 2, 10, and 42 also contain this reading and that the EME sign is written clearly in ex. 1, it appears that EME.MEŠ-šú-*nu* is an authentic variant to NUNDUM.MEŠ-šú-*nu* in this line within the Prism F corpus.

iii 56 *ú-še-ša-am-ma* “I brought out of and”: Ex. 2 erroneously omits this word from the line. *bi-re-tú* AN.BAR “iron fetters”: Ex. 2 omits AN.BAR “iron.”

iii 58 AN.ŠÁR “Aššur”: Ex. 42 omits this deity.



- 63) *šá qé-reb* KUR.e-lam-ti e-ru-bu iš-me-e-ma  
 64) URU.ma-dak-tu URU LUGAL-ti-šú ú-maš-šir-ma  
 65) in-na-bit-ma KUR-šú e-li
- 66) <sup>m</sup>um-ba-LAGAB-u-a šá mé-eḫ-ret  
<sup>m</sup>um-man-al-da-si
- 67) áš-bu ina GIŠ.GU.ZA KUR.e-lam-ti ki-ma  
 šá-a-šú-ma
- 68) iš-me-e-ma URU.bu-bi-lu URU mu-šab EN-ti-šú  
 69) ú-maš-šir-ma ki-ma KU<sub>6</sub>.ḪI.A iṣ-bat šu-pul  
 A.MEŠ ru-qu-ti
- 70) <sup>m</sup>tam-ma-ri-tu šá in-nab-ta iṣ-ba-tú GÌR.II-ia  
 71) qé-reb URU.šú-šá-an ú-še-rib áš-kun-šú a-na  
 LUGAL-ti
- 72) SIG<sub>5</sub>-tu e-pu-šú-uš šá áš-pu-ru Á.TAḪ-su  
 73) in-ši-ma iš-te-né-'a-a ḪUL-tú  
 74) a-na ka-šad ERIM.ḪI.A-ia AN.ŠÁR u <sup>d</sup>15 šá  
 Á.II-a-a il-li-ku
- 75) ú-šá-zi-zu-in-ni EDIN ga-re-ia  
 76) lib-bi <sup>m</sup>tam-ma-ri-tu ek-šu ba-ra-nu-u  
 77) ib-ru-ú-ma ú-ba-'u-ú qa-tuš-šú  
 78) ul-tu GIŠ.GU.ZA LUGAL-ti-šú id-ku-niš-šum-ma  
 79) ú-ter-ru-niš-šú šá-ni-a-nu ú-šak-ni-šú-uš a-na  
 GÌR.II-ia
- 80) ina li-i-ti da-na-a-ni šá DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ  
 EN.MEŠ-ia
- 81) qé-reb KUR.e-lam-ti e-ru-ub-ma at-tal-lak šal-ṭiš  
 82) ina ta-a-a-ar-ti-ia šá šul-me-e ŠU.II ma-li-ti  
 83) pa-an GIŠ.ŠUDUN-ia ú-ter-ra a-na KUR  
 AN.ŠÁR.KI
- Col. iv
- 1) URU.ga-tu-du URU.ga-tu-du-ma URU.da-e-ba  
 2) URU.na-di-i' URU.BĀD-<sup>m</sup>am-na-ni  
 URU.BĀD-<sup>m</sup>am-na-ni-ma
- 3) URU.ḫa-ma-nu URU.ta-ra-qu URU.ḫa-a-a-ú-si  
 4) URU.É-NA<sub>4</sub>.KIŠIB-É-su URU.É-<sup>m</sup>ar-ra-bi  
 5) URU.É-<sup>m</sup>im-bi-i URU.ma-dak-tu URU.šú-šá-an  
 6) URU.bu-bé-e URU.ŠE-<sup>m</sup>dšú-MAN-a-ni  
 URU.ur-da-li-ka
- 7) URU.al-ga-ri-ga URU.tu-ú-bu URU.DU<sub>6</sub>-tu-ú-bu  
 8) URU.du-un-LUGAL URU.BĀD-<sup>m</sup>un-da-si  
 9) URU.BĀD-<sup>m</sup>un-da-si-ma URU.bu-bi-lu  
 URU.sa-am-u-nu
- 10) URU.É-<sup>m</sup>bu-na-ki URU.qa-ab-ri-na  
 URU.qa-ab-ri-na-ma
- 11) URU.ḫa-ra-a' URU.MEŠ šú-nu-ti KUR-ud  
 12) ap-pul aq-qur ina <sup>d</sup>GIŠ.BAR aq-mu  
 13) DINGIR.MEŠ-šú-nu UN.MEŠ-šú-nu GU<sub>4</sub>.MEŠ-šú-nu

my troops, who had entered inside the land Elam; he abandoned the city Madaktu, a royal city of his, and (then) fled and took to the mountains (lit. “ascended his mountain”).

iii 66–69) (As for) Uмба-LAGABua, who sat on the throne of the land Elam in opposition to Ummanaldašu, he, like him (Ummanaldašu) heard about (the advance of my army) and abandoned the city Bubilu, a city that was a lordly residence of his, and, like fish, he took to the depths of far away waters.

iii 70–71) (As for) Tammarītu, who had fled to me (and) grasped my feet, I brought him into the city Susa (and) I installed him as king.

iii 72–81) He forgot the kindness that I had done for him, in having sent aid to him, and constantly sought out evil (ways) to conquer my troops. (The god) Aššur and the goddess Ištar, who marched at my side (and) (iii 75) allowed me to stand over my foes, saw the dangerous (and) rebellious thought(s) of Tammarītu and called him to account: They removed him from his royal throne and (then) they made him return (and) bow down at my feet for a second time. Through the mighty victories of the great gods, my lords, I entered the land Elam and marched about triumphantly.

iii 82–iv 16) On my successful return march, I turned back (lit. “I turned the front of my yoke”) to Assyria with full hand(s). (iv 1) (As for) the cities Gatudu, Gatudu again, Daeba, Nadi', Dūr-Amnani, Dūr-Amnani again, Ḫamānu, Taraqu, Ḫayyūsi, Bīt-kunukki-bīssu, Bīt-Arrabi, (iv 5) Bīt-Imbī, Madaktu, Susa, Bubê, Kapar-Marduk-šarrāni, Urdalika, Algariga, Tūbu, Tīl-Tūba, Dun-šarri, Dūr-Undāsi, Dūr-Undāsi again, Bubilu, Samunu, (iv 10) Bīt-Bunaki, Qabrīna, Qabrīna again, (and) Ḫara', I conquered those cities; I destroyed, demolished, (and) burned (them) with fire. I carried off to Assyria their gods, their people, their oxen, their sheep and goats, their possessions, their property, wagons, horses, mules, equipment, (and) implements of war.

iv 1–10 For the cities in this list that are mentioned a second time and end with -ma, see the on-page note to text no. 7 (Prism Kh) ix 9'–29'.  
 iv 6 URU.bu-bé-e “the city Bubê”: This city is not preserved in ex. 1, and ex. 2 writes it as URU.bu-bi-i; the master text follows the rest of the exemplars.

iv 9 URU.bu-bi-lu “the city Bubilu”: Ex. 79 erroneously omits this city from the list.

iv 10 URU.qa-ab-ri-na-ma “Qabrīna again”: Ex. 1 employs the GA sign to write the phoneme qa. The reading qá for GA is not common in the Neo-Assyrian period.

iv 11 Ex. 79 separates the list of cities in iv 1–11a from the subsequent statement concerning their defeat and despoiling in iv 11b–16 by adding a horizontal ruling after URU.ḫa-ra-a', which is located at the end of a line in that exemplar.

iv 13 Exs. 42 and 48 add <sup>d</sup>15.MEŠ-šú-nu “their goddesses” after DINGIR.MEŠ-šú-nu “their gods.”

- US<sub>5</sub>.UDU.ĪI.A-šú-nu  
 14) NÍG.ŠU.MEŠ-šú-nu NÍG.GA.MEŠ-šú-nu  
 GIŠ.šu-um-bi  
 15) ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ ANŠE.KUNGA.MEŠ GIŠ.til-li  
 ú-nu-ut MÈ  
 16) áš-lu-la a-na KUR AN.ŠÁR.KI
- 
- 17) ina 6-ši ger-ri-ia ina qí-bit AN.ŠÁR u <sup>d</sup>iš-tar  
 ad-ke ERIM.ĪI.A.MEŠ-ia  
 18) še-er <sup>m</sup>um-man-al-da-si LUGAL KUR.ELAM.MA.KI  
 19) uš-te-eš-še-ra ħar-ra-nu  
 20) URU.É-<sup>m</sup>im-bi-i ša ina ger-ri-ia maḥ-re-e  
 ak-šú-du  
 21) e-nen-na KUR.ra-a-ši KUR.ħa-ma-nu a-di  
 na-ge-šú ak-šú-ud  
 22) ù šu-ú <sup>m</sup>um-man-al-da-si MAN KUR.ELAM.MA.KI  
 23) ka-šad KUR.ra-a-ši KUR.ħa-ma-nu iš-me-e-ma  
 24) pu-luḥ-ti AN.ŠÁR u <sup>d</sup>15 a-li-kut Á.II-ia  
 is-ħu-pu-šú-ma  
 25) URU.ma-dak-tu URU LUGAL-ti-šú ú-maš-šir-ma  
 26) in-na-bit a-na URU.BĀD-<sup>m</sup>un-da-si  
 27) ÍD.id-id-e e-bir-ma ÍD šú-a-tú a-na dan-nu-ti-šú  
 iš-kun  
 28) uk-ta-ta-šar a-na šal-ti-ia  
 29) URU.na-di-tu URU LUGAL-ú-ti a-di na-ge-šú  
 ak-šú-ud  
 30) URU.É-<sup>m</sup>bu-na-ku URU LUGAL-ú-ti a-di na-ge-šú  
 ak-šú-ud  
 31) URU.ħar-tap-pa-ni URU LUGAL-ú-ti a-di  
 na-ge-šú ak-šú-ud  
 32) URU.tu-ú-bu a-di na-ge-šú ak-šú-ud  
 33) bi-rit ÍD ka-la-mu  
 34) URU.ma-dak-tu URU MAN-ti a-di na-ge-šú  
 ak-šú-ud  
 35) URU.ħal-te-ma-áš URU LUGAL-ú-ti-šú ak-šú-ud  
 36) URU.šu-šá-an URU LUGAL-ú-ti-šú ak-šú-ud  
 37) URU.di-in-LUGAL URU.su-mu-un-tu-na-áš URU  
 MAN-ti-šú ak-šú-ud  
 38) URU.pi-di-il-ma URU LUGAL-ti-šú ak-šú-ud  
 39) URU.bu-bi-lu URU LUGAL-ti-šú ak-šú-ud  
 40) URU.ka-bi-in-ak URU LUGAL-ti-šú ak-šú-ud  
 41) ina tukul-ti AN.ŠÁR u <sup>d</sup>15 ar-de-e-ma al-lik  
 42) še-er <sup>m</sup>um-man-al-da-si MAN KUR.ELAM.MA.KI  
 43) ša la ik-nu-šú a-na GIŠ.ŠUDUN-ia
- 44) ina me-ti-iq ger-ri-ia URU.BĀD-<sup>m</sup>un-da-si  
 45) URU LUGAL-ti-šú ak-šú-ud  
 46) 1-en u<sub>4</sub>-me 2 u<sub>4</sub>-me ul ú-qi pa-an ar-ke-e ul

iv 17–28) On my sixth campaign, by the command of (the god) Aššur and the goddess Ištar, I mustered my troops (and) I took the direct road against Ummanaldašu (Ḫumban-ḫaltaš III), the king of the land Elam. (iv 20) (Like) the city Bīt-Imbí, which I had conquered during a previous campaign of mine, I now conquered (the rest of) the lands Rāši (and) Ḫamānu, along with their (lit. “its”) district(s). Moreover, he, Ummanaldašu, the king of the land Elam, heard about the conquest of the lands Rāši (and) Ḫamānu and fear of (the god) Aššur and the goddess Ištar, who march at my side, overwhelmed him and (iv 25) (then) he abandoned the city Madaktu, a royal city of his, and fled to the city Dūr-Undāsi. He crossed the Idide River and established that river as his defensive position. He prepared himself to fight with me.

iv 29–32) I conquered the city Nadītu, a royal city, along with its district. I conquered the city Bīt-Bunaki, a royal city, along with its district. I conquered the city Ḫartappānu, a royal city, along with its district. I conquered the city Tūbu, along with its district.

iv 33–40) (As for) entire (area) between the (Ulāya and Idide) river(s), I conquered the city Madaktu, a royal city, along with its district. (iv 35) I conquered the city Ḫaltemaš, a royal city of his. I conquered the city Susa, a royal city of his. I conquered the cities Dīn-šarri (and) Sumuntunaš, royal cit(ies) of his. I conquered the city Pidilma, a royal city of his. I conquered the city Bubilu, a royal city of his. (iv 40) I conquered the city Kabinak, a royal city of his.

iv 41–43) With the support of (the god) Aššur and the goddess Ištar, I advanced and marched against Ummanaldašu (Ḫumban-ḫaltaš III), the king of the land Elam who had not bowed down to my yoke.

iv 44–45) In the course of my campaign, I conquered the city Dūr-Undāsi, a royal city of his.

iv 46–47a) I did not wait one day (or) two days, nor

iv 27 ÍD.id-id-e “the Idide River”: A few exemplars, including ex. 1, omit e.

iv 33 ÍD “river”: Ex. 2 omits this word.

iv 37 URU MAN-ti-šú “a royal city of his”: Exs. 1 and 14 omit šú.

iv 40 Ex. 134 omits this line. Interestingly, it appears that either the scribe who composed the exemplar or another individual checking the text’s accuracy noticed the missing line. The exemplar has a short, horizontal stroke that begins in the middle of the margin between the exemplar’s columns and extends to the right into the column itself by a full sign’s length. This short stroke has been inserted exactly between lines 5’ and 6’ of col. ii’ in the exemplar (corresponding to lines 39 and 41 of the master text, respectively), apparently marking where the absent material should have been located.

iv 42 še-er “against”: Ex. 1 is the only exemplar that uses the logogram EDIN, though the first half of the sign is damaged.

*ad-gul*

- 47) *ina u<sub>4</sub>-me-šú-ma e-bir* ÍD 14 URU.MEŠ *dan-nu-ti mu-šab* LUGAL-ti-šú  
 48) *a-di* URU.MEŠ TUR.MEŠ *ša ni-ba la i-šu-ú*  
 49) *ù 12 na-ge-e šá qé-reb* KUR.ELAM.MA.KI *ka-li-šá ak-šú-ud*  
 50) *ap-pul aq-qur ina* <sup>d</sup>GIŠ.BAR *aq-mu*  
 51) *a-na* DU<sub>6</sub> *u kar-me ú-ter*  
 52) *ina la-a mi-ni a-duk qu-ra-de-e-šú ina* GIŠ.TUKUL *ú-ra-sib*  
 53) *mun-daḥ-še-e-šú ši-ru-ti* <sup>m</sup>um-man-al-da-si  
 54) LUGAL KUR.ELAM.MA.KI *me-ra-nu-uš-šú in-na-bit-ma iṣ-ba-ta* KUR-ú  
 55) URU.ba-nu-nu *a-di na-ge-e ša* URU.ta-sa-ar-ra  
 56) *ka-la-mu ak-šú-ud*  
 57) 20.ÀM URU.MEŠ *ina na-ge-e ša* URU.ḥu-un-nir  
 58) *ina* UGU *mi-iṣ-ri ša* URU.ḥi-da-lu *ak-šú-ud*  
 59) URU.ba-ši-mu *ù* URU.MEŠ *šá li-me-ti-šú ap-pul aq-qur*  
 60) *ša* UN.MEŠ *a-šib lib-bi-šú-un ka-mar-šú-nu áš-kun*  
 61) *ú-šab-bir* DINGIR.MEŠ-šú-un  
 62) *ú-šap-ši-iḥ ka-bat-ti* EN EN.EN  
 63) DINGIR.MEŠ-šú <sup>d</sup>15.MEŠ-šú NÍG.ŠU-šú NÍG.GA-šú  
 64) UN.MEŠ TUR *u* GAL *áš-lu-la a-na* KUR AN.ŠÁR.KI  
 65) 60 KASKAL.GÍD *qaq-qa-ru ina a-mat* AN.ŠÁR *u* <sup>d</sup>15 *ša ú-ma-'e-er-u-in-ni*  
 66) *qé-reb* KUR.e-lam-ti *at-tal-lak šal-tiš*

did I wait for the rear guard. I crossed the river on the (very) day (I reached it).

iv 47b–53a) I conquered, destroyed, demolished, (and) burned with fire fourteen fortified cities, his royal residence(s), together with small(er) settlements, which were without number, and twelve districts that were in the land Elam, all of it. I turned (them) into mounds of ruins (lit. “mound(s) and ruin(s)”). I slew his warriors without number. I struck down his elite fighting men with the sword.

iv 53b–54) Ummanaldašu (Ḫumban-ḫaltaš III), the king of the land Elam, fled naked and took to the mountain(s).

iv 55–59) I conquered the city Banunu, together with the district of the city Tasarra, all (of it). I conquered twenty villages in the district of the city Ḫunnir, (which is) on the border of the city Ḫidalu. I destroyed (and) demolished the city Bašimu and the villages in its environs.

iv 60–66) As for the people living inside them, I annihilated them. I smashed their gods (and thus) placated the mood of the lord of lords. I carried off to Assyria its gods, its goddesses, its possessions, (and) its property, (as well as) people, young and old. (iv 65) (Over) an area of sixty leagues, by the command that (the god) Aššur and the goddess Ištar had given to me, I marched about triumphantly inside the land Elam.

iv 47 *dan-nu-ti* “fortified”: Exs. 2, 34, 49, and 210 omit this word. These exemplars belong to the first version of Prism F (see the commentary), and so this word was added as an editorial expansion in creating the final version of this inscription.

iv 49–56, 61, and 63–64 Ex. 191 omits lines 49–56 and changes the *a-di* of line 48 to *ù* and adds *a-di* at the beginning of line 57 in order to join these lines. Then, the exemplar also omits lines 63–64. M. Cogan (JCS 29 [1977] pp. 100–101) labeled this exemplar as his F<sub>6</sub> recension.

iv 55–64 Lines 55 and 59–64: Exs. 2, 10, 34, 47, 49, 51, and 210 take URU.ba-ši-mu “the city Bašimu” from line 59 and insert it at the beginning of line 55 before URU.ba-nu-nu “the city Banunu,” and they then omit the rest of line 59 and lines 60–64 entirely (note that K 3404+ v 18–21 contains this variant tradition as well). M. Cogan (JCS 29 [1977] pp. 99–100) labeled these exemplars as his F<sub>3</sub> recension, though he only included exs. 47, 49, and 210 in his categorization (he also included ex. 42 [but see below] and classified K 3404+ as a witness to his F<sub>7</sub> recension alone). Instead, all of these exemplars belong to the first version of Prism F (see the commentary), and the scribes later separated the cities of Bašimu and Banunu in order to provide them with their own entry while adding lines 60–64 as an editorial expansion in creating the final version of this inscription. Lines 55–59: Another recensional tradition is also attested by exs. 32 and 98, which offer a conflated reading of lines 55–56 and 59 and a different location for lines 57–58. In ex. 32 (the more complete exemplar), lines 42–44 of col. iv have: URU.ba-ši-mu <sup>r</sup>URU<sup>1</sup>.[ba-nu]-nu *u* URU.MEŠ *ša li-me-ti-šú-nu a-di na-ge-e 'ša' [URU].<sup>r</sup>ta<sup>1</sup>-sa-ar-ri ka-la-mu 'ak<sup>1</sup>-šú-ud ap-pul aq-qur<sup>1</sup> ina <sup>d</sup>GIŠ.BAR 'aq<sup>1</sup>-mu*, “I conquered the city Bašimu, the city Banunu, and the cities in their environs, together with the district of the city Tasarra, all (of it). I destroyed, demolished, (and) burned (them) with fire.” Then, ex. 32 and presumably also ex. 98 (though the exemplar is not preserved at that point) place lines 57–58 of the master text after line 64. Cogan (JCS 29 [1977] p. 100; JCS 35 [1983] p. 146) labeled these two exemplars as his F<sub>5</sub> recension. Additional witnesses to one or both of these recensional traditions are found in exs. 46 and 126, though it is impossible to ascertain which tradition each of these exemplars contained. Ex. 46 i' 13' has [URU].<sup>r</sup>ba-ši-mu URU.ba-nu-nu<sup>1</sup> [...], but since the text breaks off at this point, it is uncertain if it contained the variant tradition discussed for lines 55 and 59–64 or the one for lines 55–59. Similarly, col. i' of ex. 126 begins with [...] *ak-šú-ud<sup>1</sup>*, which is the end of line 58 of the master text, and is then followed by line 65. Thus, this exemplar could also belong either to the recension presented for lines 55 and 59–64 or to the one for lines 55–59. Given that multiple exemplars attest to the former tradition while only two certain exemplars attest to the later one, exs. 46 and 126 are tentatively edited as witnesses to the variant tradition found in lines 55 and 59–64 — the first version of Prism F. With respect to ex. 42, it contains a slightly conflated reading that is certainly a scribal error. That exemplar follows the master text in every way except one: it adds the city Bašimu before the city Banunu in the manner of the variant versions discussed here, resulting in the city of Bašimu being mentioned twice in the exemplar. Finally, Cogan (JCS 29 [1977] p. 100 n. 18) reports that ex. 196 contains URU.ba-nu-nu KUR URU.ba-nu-nu, which would associate this text with either the first version of Prism F or Cogan's F<sub>5</sub> class. However, his reading cannot be confirmed since no object with the designation “A 10622” could be found in the collection of the Oriental Institute Museum (Borger, BIWA p. 379).

iv 61 DINGIR.MEŠ-šú-un “their gods”: Ex. 1 preserves the third person singular pronominal suffix on the noun, which R. Borger (BIWA p. 52) considers a probable mistake, though this reading is also contained in ex. 42 and possibly ex. 48. Instead of a mistake, the reading might be an anticipation of the singular suffixes on the nouns of line 63. In a similar manner, the scribes of exs. 32 and 98 appear to have been uncomfortable with the shift from a plural suffix in lines 60–61 to a singular suffix in line 63 since they wrote plural suffixes on the nouns of the latter line.

- 67) *ina ta-a-a-ar-ti-ia šá* AN.ŠÁR u <sup>d</sup>15  
 68) *ú-šá-zi-zu-in-ni* EDIN *ga-re-ia*  
 69) URU.šu-šá-an *ma-ḥa-zu* GAL-u *mu-šab*  
 DINGIR.MEŠ-šú-un  
 70) *a-šar pi-riš-ti-šú-un ak-šu-ud ina a-mat* AN.ŠÁR  
 u <sup>d</sup>15  
 71) *qé-reb* É.GAL.MEŠ-šú *e-ru-ub ú-šib ina* ḤÚL.MEŠ  
 72) *ap-te-e-ma É na-kam-a-te-šú-nu šá*  
 KÙ.BABBAR.MEŠ KÙ.GI.MEŠ  
 73) NÍG.ŠU.MEŠ NÍG.GA.MEŠ *nu-uk-ku-mu*  
*qé-reb-šú-un*  
 74) *ša* LUGAL.MEŠ KUR.ELAM.MA.KI *maḥ-ru-ú-ti*  
 75) *a-di* LUGAL.MEŠ *šá a-di lib-bi u<sub>4</sub>-me an-né-e*  
 76) *ú-paḥ-ḥi-ru iš-ku-nu*  
 77) *ša* LÚ.KÚR *šá-nam-ma*

Col. v

- 1) UGU *a-a-ši* ŠU.II-su *la ú-bi-lu ina lib-bi*  
 2) *ú-še-ša-am-ma šal-la-tiš am-nu*  
 3) KÙ.BABBAR.MEŠ KÙ.GI.MEŠ NÍG.ŠU.MEŠ NÍG.GA  
*šá* KUR.EME.GI, URI.KI  
 4) KUR.kár-<sup>d</sup>*dun-ía-àš ka-la-mu šá* LUGAL.MEŠ  
 KUR.ELAM.MA.KI  
 5) *maḥ-ru-u-te a-di* 7-šú *iš-lu-lu ú-bi-la qé-reb*  
 KUR.ELAM.MA.KI  
 6) *ša-ri-ru ḥuš-šu-u eš-ma-ru-u eb-bu ni-siq-ti*  
 NA<sub>4</sub>.MEŠ  
 7) *šu-kut-tu a-qar-tu si-mat* LUGAL-u-ti  
 8) *šá* LUGAL.MEŠ KUR.URI.KI *maḥ-ru-ti ù*  
<sup>md</sup>GIŠ.NU<sub>11</sub>-MU-GI.NA  
 9) *a-na kit-ri-šú-nu ip-šu-ru a-na* KUR.e-lam-ti  
 10) *lu-bul-tú šu-kut-tú si-mat* MAN-ti-šú GIŠ.til-li  
*qa-ra-bi*  
 11) *si-ma-nu-u mim-ma e-peš* MÈ *si-mat qa-ti-šú*  
 12) *ú-nu-ut mut-tab-bil-ti* É.GAL.MEŠ-šú *ka-la-mu*  
 13) *šá ina muḥ-ḥi ú-ši-bu it-ti-lu ina lib-bi e-ku-lu*  
 14) *iš-tu-ú ir-mu-ku ip-pa-áš-šu*  
 15) GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ GIŠ.šá *šá-da-di* GIŠ.šu-um-bi.MEŠ  
 16) *šá iḥ-zu-ši-na ša-ri-ru za-ḥa-lu-u*  
 17) ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ ANŠE.KUNGA.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ  
 18) *šá tal-lul-ta-šú-nu* KÙ.GI KÙ.BABBAR *áš-lu-la*

iv 67–v 2) On my return march, (during) which (the god) Aššur and the goddess Ištar made me stand over my foes, I conquered the city Susa, a great cult center, the residence of their gods, a place of their secret lore. (iv 70b) By the command of (the god) Aššur and the goddess Ištar, I entered its palaces (and) stayed (inside them) during celebrations. I opened up their treasuries, inside which silver, gold, possessions, (and) property had been stored — which the former kings of the land Elam down to the kings of this time had collected (and) deposited — (and) wherein no other enemy (v 1) apart from me had laid his hands, and I brought (all of this) out and counted (it) as booty.

v 3–18) Silver, gold, possessions, (and) property of the land of Sumer (and) Akkad — Karduniaš (Babylonia), all (of it) — that the former kings of the land Elam (v 5) had carried off seven times (and) brought inside the land Elam; red *šariru*-gold, shiny *ešmarû*-metal, precious stones, valuable jewelry, (and) royal appurtenance(s) that the former kings of the land Akkad and Šamaš-šuma-ukīn had squandered on the land Elam to help them; (v 10) clothing, jewelry, his royal appurtenance(s), equipment suited for battle, instruments, anything used for waging war, (and) gear suited for his hands; *movable* furnishings of his palaces, all (of it), on which he sat (and) lay down, from which he ate, drank, bathed, (and) was anointed; (v 15) chariots, processional carriage(s), (and) wagons whose fittings are (made of) *šariru*-gold (and) *zaḥalû*-metal; large horses (and) mules whose trappings are (made of) gold (and) silver — I carried off (all of this) to Assyria.

iv 70 *pi-riš-ti-šú-un* “their secret lore”: This word is not preserved in ex. 1, and ex. 2 writes it as *pi-riš-ti-šú-nu*. The master text follows the rest of the exemplars. Additionally, ex. 19\* appears to have a unique reading for this line, but due to damage only the signs *iš-šá-an-na*<sup>1</sup>[...] are preserved.

iv 75 *a-di lib-bi u<sub>4</sub>-me an-né-e* “of this time”: Ex. 1 is not preserved and ex. 2 omits *lib-bi*, so the master text follows the other exemplars.

v 3 *šá* “of”: Ex. 1 and several others do not include the determinative particle *ša*. EME.GI, “Sumer”: Ex. 2 mistakenly has EME.KI.

v 4 LUGAL.MEŠ “kings”: Ex. 44 mistakenly has LÚ.MEŠ “people.”

v 8 <sup>md</sup>GIŠ.NU<sub>11</sub>-MU-GI.NA “Šamaš-šuma-ukīn”: Exs. 2, 44, and 48 write the name as <sup>md</sup>GIŠ.NU<sub>11</sub>.<<GAL>>-MU-GI.NA. See the on-page note to text no. 3 (Prism B) vii 35.

v 11 Ex. 2 omits MÈ *si-mat* from *mim-ma e-peš* MÈ *si-mat qa-ti-šú* “anything used for waging war, (and) gear suited for his hands,” ultimately making this sentence more generic in the exemplar, “anything used by his hands.”

v 13 *it-ti-lu* “laid down”: E. Weidner (AfO 13 p. 208) notes the presence of the variant *e-te-lu* for *it-ti-lu* in ex. 206. This unusual orthography cannot be confirmed since these lines are illegible in the Assur excavation photographs of this prism fragment. The variant was initially supplied to Weidner by L. Messerschmidt, who examined the piece in the Istanbul Museum.

v 15–18a Exs. 2, 34, 79, 175, and 206 do not contain these lines detailing further tribute carried off from the city Susa. M. Cogan (JCS 29 [1977] p. 100) labeled these as his F<sub>4</sub> recension, though he only included exs. 2, 79, and 206 in his categorization. Instead, all of these exemplars belong to the first version of Prism F (see the commentary), and the longer list of tribute was added as an editorial expansion in creating the final version of this inscription. These lines were possibly inserted to make the list of tribute enumerated here include elements that had appeared in other lists of Elamite tribute (see, for example, iv 14–15).

- a-na* KUR AN.ŠÁR.KI  
 19) *ziq-qur-rat* URU.Šu-šá-an ša ina *a-gúr-ri*  
 NA<sub>4</sub>.ZA.GIN  
 20) *šu-pu-šat ub-bit ú-kap-pi-ra* SI.MEŠ-šá  
 21) *ša pi-tiq* URUDU *nam-ri* <sup>d</sup>MÜŠ.ŠÉŠ DINGIR  
*pi-riš-ti-šú-un*  
 22) *ša áš-bu ina pu-uz-ra-a-ti šá mam-ma-an la*  
*im-ma-ru*  
 23) *ep-šet* DINGIR-ti-šú <sup>d</sup>Šu-mu-du <sup>d</sup>la-ga-ma-ru  
 24) <sup>d</sup>pa-ar-ti-ki-ra <sup>d</sup>am-man-ka-si-MAŠ  
 25) <sup>d</sup>ú-du-ra-an <sup>d</sup>sa-pa-ag <sup>d</sup>ra-gi-ba  
 26) <sup>d</sup>su-un-GAM-sa-ra-a <sup>d</sup>ka-ar-sa  
 27) <sup>d</sup>ki-ir-sa-ma-as <sup>d</sup>šú-da-a-nu  
 28) <sup>d</sup>a-a-pa-ag-si-na <sup>d</sup>bi-la-la  
 29) <sup>d</sup>pa-ni-in-tim-ri <sup>d</sup>si-la-ga-ra-a  
 30) <sup>d</sup>na-ab-sa-a <sup>d</sup>na-bir-tu  
 31) <sup>d</sup>ki-in-da-kar-bu DINGIR.MEŠ <sup>d</sup>15.MEŠ šá-a-tu-nu  
 32) *it-ti šu-kut-ti-šú-nu* NÍG.GA-šú-nu  
*ú-na-a-ti-šú-nu*  
 33) *a-di* LÚ.šá-an-ge-e bu-uḫ-la-le-e áš-lu-la *a-na*  
 KUR AN.ŠÁR.KI  
 34) 32 ALAM.MEŠ LUGAL.MEŠ *pi-tiq* KÛ.GI  
 KÛ.BABBAR URUDU NA<sub>4</sub>.GIŠ.NU.GAL  
 35) *ul-tu qé-reb* URU.Šu-šá-an URU.ma-dak-tu  
 URU.ḫu-ra-di  
 36) *a-di* ALAM <sup>m</sup>um-man-i-gaš DUMU  
<sup>m</sup>um-ba-da-ra-a  
 37) ALAM <sup>md</sup>iš-tar-na-an-ḫu-un-di ALAM <sup>m</sup>ḫal-lu-si  
 38) *ù* ALAM <sup>m</sup>tam-ma-ri-tu EGIR-ú  
 39) *šá ina qí-bit* AN.ŠÁR u <sup>d</sup>15 *e-pu-šú* ARAD-ú-ti  
*al-qa-a a-na* KUR AN.ŠÁR.KI  
 40) *ad-ka-a* <sup>d</sup>ALAD.MEŠ <sup>d</sup>LAMMA.MEŠ EN.NUN.MEŠ  
*šu-ut* É.KUR *ma-la ba-šú-u*  
 41) *ú-na-as-si-ḫa* AM.MEŠ *na-ad-ru-ti si-mat*  
 KÁ.MEŠ-ni  
 42) *eš-re-e-ti* KUR.e-lam-ti *a-di la ba-še-e ú-šal-pit*  
 43) DINGIR.MEŠ-šú <sup>d</sup>15.MEŠ-šú *am-na-a a-na*  
*za-qí-qí*  
 44) GIŠ.TIR.MEŠ-šú-nu *pa-az-ra-a-ti*  
 45) *šá mám-ma a-ḫu-u la ú-šar-ru ina lib-bi*  
 46) *la i-kab-ba-su i-ta-šin*  
 47) ERIM.MEŠ MÈ-ia *qé-reb-šin e-ru-bu*

v 19–21a) (As for) the ziggurat of the city Susa, which had been constructed with baked bricks (colored with) lapis lazuli, I destroyed (it); I stripped off its horns, which were cast with shiny copper.

v 21b–33) (As for) the deities Inšušinak — the god of their secret lore who lives in seclusion (and) whose divine acts have never been seen by anyone — Šumudu, Lagamaru, Partikira, Amman-kasiMAŠ, (v 25) Uduuran, Sapag, Ragiba, SunGAMSarā, Karsa, Kirsamas, Šudānu, Ayapagsina, Bilala, Panintimri, Silagarā, (v 30) Nabsā, Nabirtu, (and) Kindakarbu — I carried off to Assyria those gods (and) goddesses together with their jewelry, their property, (and) their equipment, along with šangû-priests (and) buḫlalû-priests.

v 34–39) Thirty-two statues of kings fashioned from gold, silver, copper, (and) alabaster from inside the cities Susa, Madaktu, (and) Ḫurādu, along with a statue of Ummanigaš (Ḫumban-nikas I), son of Umbadarā, a statue of Ištar-nanḫundi (Šutur-Naḫūndi II), a statue of Ḫallušu (Ḫallušu-Inšušinak I), and a statue of the later Tammaritu, who did obeisance to me by the command of (the god) Aššur and the goddess Ištar — I took (them) to Assyria.

v 40–48) I removed šēdus (and) lamassus, as many protectors of the temple as there were. I ripped out the raging wild bulls that adorned gateways. I had the sanctuaries of the land Elam utterly destroyed (and) I counted its gods (and) its goddesses as ghosts. (As for) their secret groves, (v 45) into which no outsider has (ever) gazed (or) set foot within their borders, my battle troops entered inside them, saw their secrets, (and) burned (them) with fire.

v 25 <sup>d</sup>ú-du-ra-an “the god Uduuran”: Both exs. 1 and 2 have defective writings for this deity name; ex. 1 omits *ú* and ex. 2 omits *du*. The master text follows the spelling preserved in the other exemplars.

v 26 <sup>d</sup>su-un-GAM-sa-ra-a “the god SunGAMSarā”: Ex. 1 writes this deity name as <sup>d</sup>su-mu-un-GAM-sa-ra-a.

v 33 LÚ.šá-an-ge-e bu-uḫ-la-le-e “šangû-priests (and) buḫlalû-priests”: The scribe of ex. 42 wrote the title of the first temple official as LÚ.sa-an-gu-ge-e (see also ex. 8 <sup>r</sup>LÚ.sa<sup>1</sup>[...]). R. Borger (BIWA p. 54) suggests that *sangugê buḫlalê* was the original reading found in this inscription that preserved the Elamite designations for both groups of temple personnel whom Ashurbanipal deported, but the former term was confused with and replaced by the Akkadian word, *šangû*.

v 34 KÛ.GI KÛ.BABBAR “gold, silver”: This reading is only preserved in ex. 1. All other exemplars contain the more common order KÛ.BABBAR KÛ.GI “silver, gold.” NA<sub>4</sub>.GIŠ.NU.GAL “alabaster”: This spelling for alabaster is only preserved in exs. 1 and 43 (the latter without the determinative NA<sub>4</sub>). All other exemplars contain the more common spelling NA<sub>4</sub>.GIŠ.NU<sub>11</sub>.GAL.

v 39 *e-pu-šú* ARAD-ú-ti “who did obeisance to me”: Almost all of the exemplars have *ardūti* in the accusative case as the object of the verb *ēpušu*, but exs. 1 and 27 put it in the genitive, *ardūtiya* (ARAD-ia and [ARAD]-ia respectively). Given that the phrase *ana epēš ardūtiya* occurs in three places earlier in the inscription (i 65, iii 27, 44), it is possible that the scribes of these two exemplars had this phrase in mind and carelessly wrote the genitival form of the noun here as well.

- 48) *e-mu-ru pu-uz-ra-šin iq-mu-u ina* <sup>d</sup>GIŠ.BAR  
 49) *ki-maḥ-ḥi* LUGAL.MEŠ-šú-nu *maḥ-ru-ti u*  
 EGIR.MEŠ  
 50) *la pa-li-ḥu-ti* <sup>d</sup>15 GAŠAN-ia  
 51) *mu-nār-ri-ṭu* LUGAL.MEŠ AD.MEŠ-ia  
 52) *aḫ-pul aq-qur* <sup>d</sup>UTU *ú-kal-lim*  
 53) GİR.PAD.DU.MEŠ-šú-nu *al-qa-a a-na* KUR  
 AN.ŠÁR.KI  
 54) *e-ṭém-me-šú-nu la ṣa-la-lu e-mì-id ki-is-pu naq*  
*me-e ú-za-am-me-šú-nu-ti*  
 55) *ma-lak* ITI 25 UD.MEŠ *na-ge-e* KUR.ELAM.MA.KI  
*ú-šah-rib*  
 56) MUN.MEŠ *Ú.saḥ-le-e ú-sap-pi-ḥa* EDIN-uš-šú  
 57) DUMU.MUNUS.MEŠ LUGAL.MEŠ NIN<sub>9</sub>.MEŠ  
 LUGAL.MEŠ *a-di qi-in-ni maḥ-ri-ti*  
 58) *ù ar-ki-ti šá* LUGAL.MEŠ KUR.ELAM.MA.KI  
 59) LÚ.*qé-pa-a-ni* LÚ.*ḥa-za-na-a-ti*  
 60) *ša* URU.MEŠ *šá-a-tu-nu ma-la ak-šu-du* LÚ.GAL  
 GIŠ.PAN.MEŠ  
 61) LÚ.GAR-nu.MEŠ LÚ.*mu-kil* KUŠ.PA.MEŠ  
 LÚ.3.U<sub>5</sub>.MEŠ LÚ.*šá pét-ḥal*  
 62) LÚ.ERIM.MEŠ GIŠ.PAN LÚ.SAG.MEŠ  
 LÚ.*kit-kit-tu-u*  
 63) *gi-mir um-ma-ni ma-la ba-šú-u* UN.MEŠ NITA *u*  
 MUNUS TUR *u* GAL  
 64) ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ ANŠE.KUNGA.MEŠ ANŠE.MEŠ  
 GU<sub>4</sub>.MEŠ *u* US<sub>5</sub>.UDU.ḪI.A  
 65) *šá* UGU BURU<sub>5</sub>.MEŠ *ma-a' du áš-lu-la a-na* KUR  
 AN.ŠÁR.KI  
 66) SAḪAR.ḪI.A URU.*šu-šá-an* URU.*ma-dak-tu*  
 URU.*ḥal-te-ma-áš*  
 67) *ù si-it-ti ma-ḥa-ze-e-šú e-si-pa al-qa-a a-na* KUR  
 AN.ŠÁR.KI  
 68) ANŠE.EDIN.NA MAŠ.DÀ.MEŠ *ú-ma-am* EDIN *ma-la*  
*ba-šú-u*  
 69) *par-ga-niš ú-šar-bi-ša qé-reb-šú-un*  
 70) *ri-gim a-me-lu-ti ki-bi-is* GU<sub>4</sub>.MEŠ *u še-e-ni*  
 71) *ši-si-it* <sup>d</sup>a-la-la DÜG.GA *ú-za-am-ma-a*  
 A.GÀR.MEŠ-šú  
 72) <sup>d</sup>na-na-a *ša* 1 LIM 6 ME 30.ÀM 5 MU.AN.NA.MEŠ  
 73) *ta-as-bu-su tal-li-ku tu-ši-bu qé-reb*  
 KUR.*e-lam-ti*

v 49–54) I destroyed (and) demolished the tombs of their earlier and later kings, (men) who had not revered the goddess Ištar, my lady, (and) who had disturbed the kings, my ancestors; I exposed (them) to the sun (lit. “the god Šamaš”). I took their bones to Assyria. I prevented their ghosts from sleeping (and) deprived them of funerary libations.

v 55–56) On a march of one month (and) twenty-five days, I devastated the districts of the land Elam (and) scattered salt (and) cress over them (lit. “it”).

v 57–65) The daughters of kings, the sisters of kings, along with earlier and later family of the kings of the land Elam, officials (and) mayors (v 60) of those cities, as many as I had conquered, chief archers, captains, charioteers, third men (of chariot crews), cavalymen, archers, eunuchs, engineers, every kind of artisan there was, people — male and female, young and old — horses, mules, donkeys, oxen, and sheep and goats, which were more numerous than locusts — I carried (them) off to Assyria.

v 66–71) I gathered earth from the cities Susa, Madaktu, Ḫaltemaš, and the rest of his cult centers (and) took (it) to Assyria. I allowed onager(s) and gazelles, as many beasts of the steppe as there are, to dwell inside them (the cities) as if on a meadow. (v 70) I deprived his fields of the clamor of humans, (the sound of) the treading of oxen, sheep and goats, (and) the cr(ies) of pleasant work song(s).

v 72–vi 5) (As for) the goddess Nanāya, who 1,635 years (ago) became angry (and) went to live in the land Elam, a place not befitting her, (vi 1) *then*, at that time

v 50 <sup>d</sup>15 GAŠAN-ia “the goddess Ištar, my lady”: Ex. 25 instead reads <sup>d</sup>GAŠAN NIN-ia “the Lady, my lady,” which is also likely the reading of ex. 27, [<sup>d</sup>GAŠAN]<sup>r</sup> NIN<sup>l</sup>-ia.

v 61 LÚ.šá *pét-ḥal* “cavalymen”: The master text follows ex. 2 given that the final signs of this phrase are not preserved in ex. 1. All of the other exemplars that attest to this phrase, however, explicitly indicate the plural by adding either MEŠ or *li* after *pét-ḥal* (for details, see the minor variants section).

v 63 NITA *u* MUNUS “male and female”: Ex. 1 is the only certain Prism F exemplar containing this line that lacks the U sign (ex. 13\* also omits the sign).

v 68 ANŠE.EDIN.NA “onager(s)”: Ex. 1 omits NA.

v 72 1 LIM 6 ME 30.ÀM 5 MU.AN.NA.MEŠ “1,635 years”: Exs. 2, 26, 38, 50, 142, and 175 lack the number 5 after 30.ÀM. All of these exemplars belong to the first version of Prism F (see the commentary), and the 5 was added as an editorial update in creating the final version of this inscription. There is a slight variation, however, in recording which century Nanāya went to Elam. Of the exemplars belonging to the first version of Prism F, only ex. 26 records the variant 5 ME, though what this number is in exs. 38 and 175 cannot be known as it is located inside breaks in those exemplars. Exs. 48, 55, and 125, which belong to the final version of Prism F, also preserve the variant 5 ME. Furthermore, ex. 125 records an unexpected 30.ÀM A for 30.ÀM 5. With respect to the tablets that will be edited in Part 2, K 2628 obv. 4', K 2638 line 11', K 3101A rev. 10, K3404+ vi 12, and K 4455+ ii 7' have 5 ME, while K 3404+ additionally lacks the number 5 after 30.ÀM. Finally, as for orthographic variation, text no. 20 ii' 10' writes the number 1,635 with GĒŠ.U GĒŠ.U 7 UŠ 15 (600+600+420+15).

- 74) *a-šar la si-ma-ti-šá*  
Col. vi  
1) *ù ina u<sub>4</sub>-me-šú ši-i ù DINGIR.MEŠ AD.MEŠ-šá*  
2) *tab-bu-u šu-mì a-na be-lut KUR.KUR*  
3) *ta-a-a-rat EN-ti-šá tu-šad-gi-la pa-nu-u-a*  
4) *um-ma <sup>m</sup>AN.ŠÁR-DÛ-A ul-tu qé-reb KUR.e-lam-ti*  
*lem-né-ti*  
5) *ú-še-ša-an-ni-ma ú-še-rab-an-ni qé-reb é-an-na*  
6) *a-mat qí-bit DINGIR-ti-šá šá ul-tu u<sub>4</sub>-me SÛ.MEŠ*  
*taq-bu-u*  
7) *e-nen-na tu-kal-lim UN.MEŠ EGIR.MEŠ ŠU.II*  
*DINGIR-ti-šá GAL-ti*  
8) *at-mu-uḫ ḫar-ra-nu i-šir-tu šá ul-lu-uš lib-bi*  
9) *ta-aš-ba-ta a-na é-an-na*  
10) *ina qé-reb UNUG.KI ú-še-rib-ši-ma ina*  
*é-ḫi-li-an-na*  
11) *šá ta-ram-mu ú-šar-mì-iš BÁRA da-ra-a-te*  
12) *UN.MEŠ ù šal-lat KUR.ELAM.MA.KI ša ina qí-bit*  
*AN.ŠÁR <sup>d</sup>30 <sup>d</sup>UTU <sup>d</sup>EN <sup>d</sup>AG*  
13) *<sup>d</sup>15 šá NINA.KI <sup>d</sup>šar-rat-kid-mu-ri*  
14) *<sup>d</sup>15 šá LÍMMU-DINGIR.KI <sup>d</sup>MAŠ <sup>d</sup>U.GUR <sup>d</sup>nusku*  
15) *aḫ-bu-ta re-še-e-ti a-na DINGIR.MEŠ-ia áš-ruk*  
16) *ERIM.MEŠ GIŠ.PAN GIŠ.a-rit LÚ.um-ma-ni*  
*LÚ.kit-kit-tu-u*  
17) *šá áš-lu-la ul-tu qé-reb KUR.ELAM.MA.KI*  
18) *UGU ki-šir LUGAL-ti-ia ú-rad-di*  
19) *si-it-tu-ti a-na LÚ.NAM.MEŠ-ia*  
20) *LÚ.GAL.MEŠ-ia ma-ḫa-za-ni-ia gi-mir KARAŠ-ia*  
21) *GIM še-e-ni ú-za-iz*
- 
- 22) *ina u<sub>4</sub>-me-šú É ri-du-ti te-né-e É.GAL šá qé-reb*  
*NINA.KI*  
23) *URU ši-i-ru na-ram <sup>d</sup>NIN.LÍL*  
24) *šá <sup>m</sup>d30-PAP.MEŠ-SU MAN KUR AN.ŠÁR.KI*  
25) *AD AD ba-ni-ia ud-dī-šú a-na mu-šab*

(when) she — and the gods, her fathers — nominated me for ruling over the lands, she entrusted me with the return of her lordly majesty, saying: “Ashurbanipal will bring me out of the evil land Elam and make me enter Eanna (again).”

vi 6–11) The word(s) of her divine command that she had spoken in distant days, she now disclosed to the people of a later generation. I grasped the hand of her great divinity. She took the direct path, which pleases the heart, to Eanna. I made her enter into Uruk and made (her) dwell on (her) eternal dais in Eḫiliana, which she loves.

vi 12–21) (As for) the people and the booty of the land Elam, which I had plundered by the command of the deities Aššur, Šîn, Šamaš, Bēl (Marduk), Nabû, Ištar of Nineveh, Šarrat-Kidmuri, Ištar of Arbela, Ninurta, Nergal, (and) Nusku — (vi 15) I gave the best (of them) to my gods. I added the archers, shield bearers, artisans, (and) engineers whom I had carried off from the land Elam to my royal contingent. I divided up the rest like sheep and goats among my governors, my nobles, my cult centers, (and) my entire camp.

vi 22–27a) At that time, the replacement House of Succession, the palace that is inside Nineveh — the exalted city loved by the goddess Mullissu — which Sennacherib, king of Assyria, the father of the father who had engendered me, had renovated to be his

v 74 *la si-ma-ti-šá* “not befitting her”: Ex. 26 erroneously omits the negative particle *la*.

vi 1 *ši-i ù DINGIR.MEŠ AD.MEŠ-šá* “she — and the gods, her fathers”: Exs. 2, 26, 50, and 142 do not contain this phrase. Due to space considerations, exs. 38 and 175 also do not contain it, though the sections containing this missing phrase are located inside breaks in those exemplars. All of these exemplars belong to the first version of Prism F (see the commentary), and the phrase was added as an editorial expansion in creating the final version of this inscription. Unlike the other editorial improvements used in crafting the text’s final version, this passage contains a grammatical element confirming that the phrase “she and the gods, her fathers” was added to a first version of the inscription rather than being omitted as an accidental error or purposeful deletion on the part of the scribes (see also Worthington, *Textual Criticism* p. 141). The subject “she and the gods” is followed by *tab-bu-u šu-mì* “she nominated me.” The verb is an Assyrian form for a 3fs subject, demonstrating that these exemplars preserve a correct syntax in which Nanāya alone is the subject of the verb. Later, when the text was edited to include a mention of the gods alongside Nanāya in selecting Ashurbanipal to rule the lands, the verb was not updated to reflect the change in subject. In text no. 10 (Prism T) v 16, this grammatical inconsistency was fixed as the text reads *ib-bu-u šu-mì* “they nominated me.” However, text no. 11 (Prism A) vi 111 retains the incorrect verbal form, possibly suggesting that the scribes copied this passage directly from Prism F without critique in their efforts to compile Prism A.

vi 3–5 As far as it is preserved, ex. 44 has a blank line after line 3 and before line 5. It appears that the scribe attempted to include both lines 3 and 4 of the master text in a single line of the exemplar and ran out of space, forcing him to write the remainder of line 4 on a new line. However, since the scribe did not start the new line for this overflow material at the left margin of the column, it created a blank space at the beginning of the unplanned line. Unfortunately, the right side of the column is broken off in this section of the exemplar making it impossible to know how much of line 4 was written at the end of the new line, but a similar phenomenon appears two other times in this column of ex. 44; see the on-page notes to vi 48b–49a and vi 64–65a.

vi 4 *ul-tu qé-reb KUR.e-lam-ti lem-né-ti* “out of the evil land Elam”: Ex. 50 omits *qé-reb* and ex. 175 omits *lem-né-ti* “evil.”

vi 13 *<sup>d</sup>šar-rat-kid-mu-ri* “Šarrat-Kidmuri”: Exs. 2, 82, 142, 145, 149, 175, and 206 do not have *<sup>d</sup>šar-rat-kid-mu-ri*. Due to space considerations, exs. 34, 38, and 211 also do not include this deity, though the sections containing this missing name are located inside breaks in those exemplars. All of these exemplars belong to the first version of Prism F (see the commentary), and Šarrat-Kidmuri was added as an editorial expansion in creating the final version of this inscription.

vi 20 *ma-ḫa-za-ni-ia* “my cult centers”: Exs. 1 and 41 have the spelling *ma-ḫa-zi-ni-ia*, but the master text follows the more common spelling that is found in the rest of the exemplars.

- LUGAL-ti-šú  
 26) É ri-du-ti šú-a-tú ina HÚL.MEŠ ri-šá-a-ti  
 la-ba-riš il-lik  
 27) e-na-ḥa É.GAR<sub>8</sub>.MEŠ-šú a-na-ku maš-šur-DÙ-A  
 LUGAL GAL-u  
 28) LUGAL dan-nu LUGAL ŠÚ LUGAL KUR AN.ŠĀR.KI  
 LUGAL kib-rat LÍMMU-tim  
 29) áš-šú qé-reb É ri-du-ti šú-a-tú ar-ba-a  
 30) <sup>d</sup>ALAD.MEŠ-šú <sup>d</sup>LAMMA.MEŠ-šú iṣ-šu-ru DUMU  
 LUGAL-ú-ti  
 31) ù <sup>d</sup>GAŠAN-GARZA ṣu-lul-šá DÙG.GA AN.DÙL-ša šá  
 ša-la-me  
 32) ta-at-ru-ša UGU-ia  
 33) ul-tu ina GIŠ.GU.ZA AD DÙ-ia ú-ši-bu  
 i-te-né-ep-pu-šú be-lut KUR.KUR  
 34) ù UN.MEŠ DAGAL.MEŠ ka-a-a-an pu-us-su-rat  
 ḥa-de-e  
 35) ša ka-šad LÚ.KÚR.MEŠ-ia ú-pa-sa-ru-in-ni ina  
 lib-bi-šú  
 36) ina ma-a-a-al mu-ši du-um-mu-qa  
 MÁŠ.GI<sub>6</sub>.MEŠ-ia  
 37) ina šá še-e-ri ba-nu-u ger-ru-u-a  
 38) maš-ta-ku šu-a-tu mu-šal-li-mu EN-šú  
 šu-tu-u-ma  
 39) DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ ši-mat-su i-šim-mu a-na  
 SIG<sub>5</sub>-tim  
 40) an-ḥu-us-su ad-ke  
 41) áš-šú ru-up-pu-uš tal-lak-ti-šú a-na si-ḥir-ti-šú  
 aq-qur  
 42) 50.ĀM ti-ik-pi maš-kán ši-kit-ti-šú  
 43) pi-ti-iq-ti ap-ti-iq tam-la-a ú-mal-li  
 44) ina ITI DÙG.GA u<sub>4</sub>-me še-me-e še-er tam-le-e  
 šú-a-tú  
 45) UŠ<sub>8</sub>-šú ad-di ú-kin lib-na-as-su  
 46) ina KAŠ.SAG GEŠTIN ka-lak-ka-šú ab-lu-ul  
 am-ḥa-ša šal-la-ar-šú  
 47) la-bi-in SIG<sub>4</sub>.ḪI.A-šú za-bi-lu tup-šik-ki-šú  
 48) ina e-le-li ni-gu-tú ú-bal u<sub>4</sub>-um-šú  
 49) ina HÚL.MEŠ ri-šá-a-ti ul-tu UŠ<sub>8</sub>-šú a-di  
 gaba-dib-bé-e-šú ar-šip  
 50) e-li ša LUGAL.MEŠ AD.MEŠ-ia šu-bat-su ú-rap-piš  
 ú-šar-ri-ḥa ep-še-ti-šú  
 51) GIŠ.ÜR.MEŠ GIŠ.EREN.MEŠ MAḪ.MEŠ tar-bit  
 KUR.si-ra-ra KUR.lab-na-ni

royal residence — that House of Succession became old during joyous celebrations, (and) its walls had become dilapidated.

vi 27b–41) I, Ashurbanipal, great king, strong king, king of the world, king of Assyria, king of the four quarters (of the world) — because I had grown up inside this House of Succession, (vi 30) (because) its *šēdus* (and) *lamassus* had protected my (position as) heir designate, and the goddess Bēlet-paršē had stretched out her benevolent protection (and) her beneficent aegis over me, (because) after I had sat on the throne of the father who had engendered me (and) had continuously exercised dominion over (all of) the lands and (their) widespread population, (vi 35) good news about the conquest of my enemies was brought to me there, (because) my dreams in bed at night were auspicious (and) my *egirru*-oracles were positive in the morning, (because) that very dwelling keeps its owner(s) in good health, (and because) the great gods determined good thing(s) as its fate, (vi 40) I removed its dilapidated section(s). In order to widen the approach to it, I demolished (it) in its entirety.

vi 42–50) On the site of its (original) structure, I fashioned its brickwork fifty courses of brick (high). I filled in the terrace. In a favorable month, (on) an auspicious day, (vi 45) I laid its foundation(s) on that terrace (and thereby) secured its brickwork. I mixed its *kalakku*-mortar with beer and wine; I blended its *šallaru*-plaster. Its brick maker(s) and hod carrier(s) spent their days in rejoicing (and) singing. While there were joyous celebrations, I built (it) from its foundation(s) to its crenellations. (vi 50) I made its structure larger (and) its workmanship more splendid than the one of the kings, my ancestors.

vi 51–58a) I roofed it with long beams of cedar grown on Mount Sirāra (and) Mount Lebanon. I fastened

vi 29 É ri-du-ti “House of Succession”: Ex. 51 erroneously omits É.

vi 30–31 Ex. 44 omits DUMU LUGAL-ú-ti ù “my (position as) heir designate, and,” leaving the verb *iṣṣuru* without an object in the sentence and a conjunction for the next clause.

vi 31 ṣu-lul-šá DÙG.GA “her benevolent protection”: Ex. 44 appears to have ṣu-lul-šá <sup>f</sup>ṭa<sup>2</sup>-bu<sup>21</sup> DÙG.GA, which would have the adjective repeated. AN.DÙL-ša šá ša-la-me “her beneficent aegis”: The sequence of three *ša* syllables in a row may have confused the scribe of ex. 156 who seems to have erased a likely *ša* or *šá* sign that stood between AN.DÙL-ša and *šá-la-me* in the exemplar.

vi 38 Ex. 48 apparently has a dividing sign between its *šu-tu*-<sup>f</sup>ma<sup>1</sup> and <sup>f</sup>DINGIR.MEŠ<sup>1</sup> to denote the end of the clause after *šu-tu-ma*. However, the dividing sign is oddly written as two vertical wedges on top of each other instead of the usual two oblique wedges (see Borger, MZ p. 379 no. 592).

vi 48b–49a The scribe of ex. 44 attempted to include all the material from *ú-bal* of line 48 to *gaba-dib-bé-e-šú* of line 49a in a single line. However, he ran out of space and decided to divide the word *gaba-dib-bé-e-šú* over two lines rather than continuing it in the margin. He wrote the signs *-e-šú* on a new line underneath *gaba-dib-bé-* on the right side of the column, resulting in the entire line preceding those signs to be blank. This phenomenon occurs two other times in this column of ex. 44; see the on-page notes to vi 3–5 and vi 64–65a.



- 52) *ú-šat-ri-ša* UGU-šú  
 53) GIŠ.IG.MEŠ *li-a-a-ri šá e-re-si-na* DÛG.GA  
 54) *me-se-ri* ZABAR *ú-rak-kis ú-rat-ta-a* KÁ.MEŠ-šú  
 55) GIŠ.*tim-me* MAḪ.MEŠ URUDU *nam-ru*  
*ú-ḫal-lip-ma ḫi-it-ti* KÁ  
 56) É *ḫi-le-ni-šú e-mi-id* É UŠ-u-ti *šu-a-tu*  
 57) *na-šir* LUGAL-ti-ia *a-na si-ḫir-ti-šú ú-šak-lil*  
 58) *lu-le-e ú-ma-al-li* GIŠ.KIRI<sub>6</sub>.MAḪ *šá gi-mir*  
 GIŠ.MEŠ  
 59) GURUN NÍG.SA.SA.ḪI.A *ka-la-mu az-qu-pa*  
*i-ta-te-e-šú*  
 60) *ši-pir ep-še-te-e-šú ag-mur-ma* UDU.SISKUR.MEŠ  
*taš-ri-iḫ-ti aq-qa-a a-na* DINGIR.MEŠ EN.MEŠ-ia  
 61) *ina* ḪÚL.MEŠ *ri-šá-a-te ú-šar-ri-šú e-ru-ub*  
*qé-reb-šú ina za-mar tak-né-e*  
 62) *a-na* EGIR UD.MEŠ *ina* LUGAL.MEŠ DUMU.MEŠ-ia  
*šá* AN.ŠÁR u <sup>d</sup>15  
 63) *a-na be-lut* KUR u UN.MEŠ *i-nam-bu-u zi-kir-šú*  
 64) *e-nu-ma* É UŠ-u-ti *šu-a-tú i-lab-bi-ru-ma*  
*e-na-ḫu*  
 65) *an-ḫu-us-su lu-ud-diš* MU.SAR-ú *ši-ṭir* MU-ia  
 AD-ia  
 66) AD AD-ia NUMUN *da-ru-u šá* LUGAL-ti  
*li-mur-ma*  
 67) Ì.GIŠ *lip-šu-uš* UDU.SISKUR BAL-*qí it-ti* MU.SAR-e  
 68) *ši-ṭir* MU-šú *liš-kun* DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ *ma-la*  
*ina* MU.SAR-e *an-né-e šaṭ-ru*  
 69) *ki-ma ia-a-ti-ma liš-ru-ku-šu da-na-nu u li-i-tu*  
 70) *ša* MU.SAR-ú *ši-ṭir* MU-ia AD-ia AD AD-ia  
*ib-ba-tú*  
 71) *it-ti* MU.SAR-i-šú *la i-šak-ka-nu*  
 72) DINGIR.MEŠ *a-ši-bu-ti* AN-e KI-tim *ag-giš*  
*li-ru-ru-uš*  
 73) LUGAL-us-su *lis-ki-pu* MU-šú NUMUN-šú *ina*  
 KUR *li-ḫal-li-qu*

**Date ex. 1**

- 74A) [... UD.x.KÁM *lim-mu* <sup>md</sup>]AG<sup>1</sup>-MAN-PAP.MEŠ-šú  
 75A) [LÚ.EN.NAM] ṚURU<sup>1</sup>.sa-Ṛmir<sup>1</sup>-i-na

band(s) of bronze on doors of white cedar, whose scent is sweet, (and) fixed (them) in its gateways. (vi 55) I covered tall columns with shiny copper and positioned the architrave(s) of the gate(s) of its *bīt-ḫilāni* (on them). I completed that House of Succession, the protector of my royal majesty, in its entirety. I filled (it) with splendor.

vi 58b–59) I planted alongside it (the palace) a botanical garden, which has all (types of) trees, (and) every fruit (and) vegetable.

vi 60–61) I completed the work of its construction and (then) offered sumptuous offerings to the gods, my lords. During joyous celebrations, I inaugurated it. I entered inside it amidst song(s) of praise.

vi 62–69) In the future, may one of the kings, my descendants, whom (the god) Aššur and the goddess Ištar nominate for ruling over the land and people, renovate its dilapidated section(s) when this House of Succession becomes old and dilapidated. May he find an inscribed object bearing my name, (the name of) my father, (and the name of) my grandfather — the eternal seed of kingship — and (then) anoint (it) with oil, make an offering, (and) place (it) with an inscribed object bearing his name. May the great gods, as many as are recorded on this inscribed object, grant him mighty victories, just like me.

vi 70–73) (As for) the one who destroys an inscribed object bearing my name, (the name of) my father, (and the name of) my grandfather, (or) does not place (it) with an inscribed object of his (own), may the gods who reside in heaven and netherworld angrily curse him, overthrow his kingship, (and) make his name (and) seed disappear from the land.

**Date ex. 1**

- vi 74A–75A) [..., the ... day, eponymy of] Nabû-šar-ahḫēšu, [governor of] the city Samaria (645).

vi 56 É UŠ-u-ti “House of Succession”: Ex. 2 instead has É LUGAL-u-ti, “House of Kingship.”

vi 62 *a-na* EGIR UD.MEŠ “In the future”: Ex. 2 has *ina* for *a-na*.

vi 64–65a The scribe of ex. 44 attempted to include all of line 64 and the first half of line 65 in a single line of the exemplar, though he ran out of space. Instead of starting a new line at the left side of the column, the scribe wrote *lu-ud-diš* of line 65 underneath *an-ḫu-us-su*, leaving the entirety of the line before *lu-ud-diš* blank. This phenomenon occurs two other times in this column of ex. 44; see the on-page notes to vi 3–5 and vi 48b–49a.

vi 65–66 MU-ia AD-ia AD AD-ia “my name, (the name of) my father, (and the name of) my grandfather”: Exs. 38, 142, and 175 have MU-ia MU AD-ia AD AD-ia “my name (and) the name of my father (and) my grandfather.” Ex. 2 is damaged, but appears to have [MU-ia] / [MU] ṚAD<sup>1</sup>-ia MU AD AD-ia “[my name, the name of] my [fathe]r, (and) the name of my grandfather.” These exemplars belong to the first version of Prism F (see the commentary), and so this wording was modified during the editorial process in creating the final version of the inscription. See also the on-page note to vi 70.

vi 66 NUMUN *da-ru-u šá* LUGAL-ti “the eternal seed of kingship”: Ex. 2 has LUGAL.MEŠ for LUGAL-ti, thus “the eternal seed of kings.”

vi 70 MU-ia AD-ia AD AD-ia “my name, (the name of) my father, (and the name of) my grandfather”: Exs. 2, 6, 38, 40, 44, 55, 72, 82, 142, and probably 175 have MU-ia MU AD-ia AD AD-ia “my name (and) the name of my father (and) my grandfather” (with an orthographic variant in ex. 142 of AD AD-MU for AD AD-ia). Ex. 145 has [...] MU-ia AD AD-ia, but the *ia* on MU has been erased, resulting in “[...], (and) the name of my grandfather.” See also the on-page note to vi 65–66.

vi 71 After *it-ti* MU.SAR-i-šú “with an inscribed object of his,” ex. 82 adds the relatively repetitive phrase *ši-ṭir* MU-šú “bearing his name.”

vi 72 Ex. 145 adds GAL.MEŠ “great” after DINGIR.MEŠ “gods.” *ag-giš li-ru-ru-uš* “angrily curse him”: Ex. 140 omits this phrase. Also, ex. 1 erroneously has *li-LI-ru-uš*.

**Date ex. 2**

- 74B) ITI.SIG<sub>4</sub> UD.21.KÁM *lim-mu*  
<sup>md</sup>MUATI-MAN-PAP.MEŠ-šú  
 75B) LÚ.EN.NAM URU.*sa-mir-i-na*

**Date ex. 3**

- 74C) [... UD.x.KÁM *lim-mu*  
<sup>md</sup>AG<sup>1</sup>-MAN-PAP.<sup>r</sup>MEŠ<sup>1</sup>-[šú]  
 75C) [LÚ.EN.NAM URU].<sup>r</sup>*sa-mir<sup>1</sup>-i-na*

**Date ex. 6**

- 74D) [... UD].x.KÁM <sup>r</sup>*lim-mu<sup>1</sup>* [...] (traces)  
 75D) [...]

**Date ex. 18**

- 74E) [... UD.x.KÁM *lim-mu* <sup>md</sup>AG-MAN-PAP].MEŠ-šú  
 75E) [LÚ.EN.NAM] URU.*sa-me-ri-na*

**Date ex. 29**

- 74F) [... UD.x.KÁM *lim-mu* <sup>md</sup>AG-MAN]-<sup>r</sup>PAP.MEŠ<sup>1</sup>-[šú]  
 75F) [LÚ.EN].<sup>r</sup>NAM<sup>1</sup> URU.*sa<sup>2</sup>-<sup>r</sup>mir<sup>2</sup>-i<sup>1</sup>-na* (over erasure)

**Date ex. 40**

- 74G) [... UD.x.KÁM *lim-mu* <sup>md</sup>AG-MAN-PAP.MEŠ<sup>1</sup>-[šú  
 LÚ.EN.NAM] KUR.*sa-mir-i-na*

**Date ex. 42**

- 74H) ITI.ŠU.GAR.NUMUN.NA [UD.x.KÁM *lim-mu*  
<sup>md</sup>AG-MAN-PAP.MEŠ-šú]  
 75H) LÚ.<EN>.NAM URU.[*sa-mir-i-na*]

**Date ex. 44**

- 74I) [...] x [(x)] x [(...)]  
 75I) [...]

**Date ex. 72**

- 74J) [... UD.x.KÁM] <sup>r</sup>*lim<sup>1</sup>-mu*  
<sup>md</sup>MUATI-MAN-PAP.MEŠ-šú  
 75J) [LÚ.EN.NAM URU].<sup>r</sup>*sa<sup>1</sup>-mir-i-na*

**Date ex. 92**

- 74K) [... UD.x].<sup>r</sup>KÁM<sup>1</sup> *lim-mu* <sup>md</sup>AG-LUGAL-PAP.MEŠ-šú  
 75K) [LÚ.EN.NAM] <sup>r</sup>URU<sup>1</sup>.*sa-mir-i-na*

**Date ex. 102**

- 74L) [... UD.x.KÁM] <sup>r</sup>*li-mu<sup>1</sup>* [...]  
 75L) LÚ.EN.<sup>r</sup>NAM<sup>1</sup> [...]

**Date ex. 140**

- 74M) [ITI.ŠU.GAR.NUMUN].<sup>r</sup>NA<sup>1</sup> UD.23.KÁM  
 75M) [*lim-mu* <sup>md</sup>AG<sup>1</sup>-MAN-ŠEŠ.MEŠ-šú  
 76M) LÚ.GAR.KUR KUR.*sa-mir-i-na*

**Date ex. 143**

- 74N) [...]  
 75N) LÚ.<sup>r</sup>EN<sup>1</sup>.[NAM ...]

**Date ex. 2**

vi 74B–75B) Simānu (III), the twenty-first day, eponymy of Nabû-šar-aḥḥēšu, governor of the city Samaria (645).

**Date ex. 3**

vi 74C–75C) [..., the ... day, eponymy of N]abû-šar-aḥḥē[ēšu, governor of the city] Samaria (645).

**Date ex. 6**

vi 74D–75D) [..., the] ... [day], eponymy of [...] ... [...].

**Date ex. 18**

vi 74E–75E) [..., the ... day, eponymy of Nabû-šar-aḥḥē]ēšu, [governor of] the city Samaria (645).

**Date ex. 29**

vi 74F–75F) [..., the ... day, eponymy of Nabû-šar]-aḥḥē[šu, gove]rnor of the city Samaria (645).

**Date ex. 40**

vi 74G) [..., the ... day, eponymy of] Nabû-šar-aḥḥē[ē]šu, governor of] the land Samaria (645).

**Date ex. 42**

vi 74H–75H) Du'ūzu (IV), [the ... day, eponymy of Nabû-šar-aḥḥē]ēšu, <gove>rnor of the city [Samaria] (645).

**Date ex. 44**

vi 74I–75I) [...]

**Date ex. 72**

vi 74J–75J) [..., the ... day], eponymy of Nabû-šar-aḥḥē]ēšu, [governor of the city] Samaria (645).

**Date ex. 92**

vi 74K–75K) [..., the ... day], eponymy of Nabû-šar-aḥḥē]ēšu, [governor of] the city Samaria (645).

**Date ex. 102**

vi 74L–75L) [..., the ... day], eponymy of [...], gover[nor of ...].

**Date ex. 140**

vi 74M–76M) [Du'ūz]u (IV), the twenty-third day, [eponymy of Na]bû-šar-aḥḥē]ēšu, governor of the land Samaria (645).

**Date ex. 143**

vi 74N–75N) [..., the ... day, eponymy of...], gove[rnor of ...].

**Date ex. 145**

- 74O) ITI.GU<sub>4</sub> UD.<sup>r</sup>27<sup>r</sup>.1.[KÁM *lim-mu* ...]  
 75O) LÚ.EN.NAM [...]

**Date ex. 162**

- 74P) [... UD.x.KÁM *lim-mu* <sup>md</sup>AG-MAN]-<sup>r</sup>ŠEŠ.MEŠ<sup>1</sup>-šú  
 75P) [LÚ.EN.NAM URU.sa-mir]-<sup>r</sup>i-na<sup>1</sup>

**Date ex. 164**

- 74R) [ITI].<sup>r</sup>NE<sup>1</sup> li-i-<sup>r</sup>mu<sup>1</sup> [<sup>md</sup>AG]-<sup>r</sup>LUGAL<sup>1</sup>-ŠEŠ.MEŠ-šú  
 75R) [LÚ.EN.NAM URU.sa-mir]-i-na

**Date ex. 168**

- 74S) [...] UD.12.KÁM *lim-mu* <sup>md</sup>AG-MAN-PAP.MEŠ-šú  
 75S) [LÚ.EN].<sup>r</sup>NAM<sup>1</sup> URU.sa-mir-i-na

**Date ex. 175**

- 74T) <sup>r</sup>ITI.ŠU<sup>1</sup>.[GAR.NUMUN.NA UD.x.KÁM *lim-mu* ...]  
 75T) [...]

**Date ex. 192**

- 74U) [... UD.x.KÁM *lim-mu* <sup>md</sup>AG-MAN-PAP.MEŠ-šú]  
 75U) [LÚ.EN.NAM URU.sa-mir]-i-na

**Date ex. 206**

- 74V) ITI.GU<sub>4</sub> UD.24.KÁM *lim-mu*  
<sup>md</sup>MUATI-MAN-PAP.<sup>r</sup>MEŠ<sup>1</sup>-[šú]  
 75V) LÚ.EN.NAM URU.sa-mir-[i-na]

**Date ex. 3\***

- 74W) [ITI.ŠU].<sup>r</sup>GAR<sup>1</sup>.NUMUN.NA [UD.x.KÁM]  
 75W) [*lim-mu* <sup>m</sup>]<sup>r</sup>d<sup>1</sup>AG-<sup>r</sup>LUGAL-PAP<sup>1</sup>.[MEŠ-šú]  
 76W) [LÚ.EN.NAM] <sup>r</sup>URU.sa<sup>1</sup>-[mir-i-na]

**Date ex. 145**

vi 74O–75O) Ayyāru (II), the *twenty-seventh* day, [eponymy of ...], governor of [...].

**Date ex. 162**

vi 74P–75P) [..., the ... day, eponymy of Nabû-šar]-aḫḫēšu, [governor of the city Samar]ia (645).

**Date ex. 164**

vi 74R–75R) [A]bu (V), epon[ym]y of [Nabû-š]ar-aḫḫēšu, [governor of the city Samar]ia (645).

**Date ex. 168**

vi 74S–75S) [...], the twelfth day, eponymy of Nabû-šar-aḫḫēšu, [gover]nor of the city Samaria (645).

**Date ex. 175**

vi 74T–75T) Du[’ūzu (IV), the ... day, eponymy of ..., governor of ...].

**Date ex. 192**

vi 74U–75U) [..., the ... day, eponymy of Nabû-šar-aḫḫēšu, governor of the city Samar]ia (645).

**Date ex. 206**

vi 74V–75V) Ayyāru (II), the *twenty-fourth* day, eponymy of Nabû-šar-aḫḫē[šu], governor of the city Samar[ia] (645).

**Date ex. 3\***

vi 74W–76W) [Du]’ūzu (IV), [the ... day, eponymy of] Nabû-šar-aḫḫ[ēšu], governor of] the city Sa[maria] (645).

## 10

One nearly complete clay prism and fragments of several other prisms discovered at Nineveh are all inscribed with an inscription of Ashurbanipal recording some of his building activities in Assyria and Babylonia, information about his second war against the Elamite king Ummanaldašu (Ḫumban-ḫaltaš III), including the return of Nanāya to her temple in Uruk, and the rebuilding of one of the *akītu*-houses (New Year’s temples) at Nineveh. Unlike the previous inscription (text no. 9 [Prism F]), this text’s prologue utilized the temple-building prologues of several earlier inscriptions (text nos. 5–8), but with some omissions, abbreviations, and additions. The most notable changes are: (1) the passages describing how the gods endowed Ashurbanipal with extraordinary intelligence and how he completed temples begun by his father Esarhaddon were omitted; (2) the report describing the wealth of abundance during Ashurbanipal’s reign was significantly abbreviated; (3) a ten-word account of the reconstruction of Edimgalkalama (“House, Great Bond of the Land”), the temple of Great Anu (Ištarān) at Dēr, was added; and (4) the building report of text no. 5 (Prism I), which records the construction of the Sîn-Šamaš temple at Nineveh, was incorporated. The sole report

of Ashurbanipal's victories on the battlefield included in this inscription, an account of his fifth Elamite campaign, is a greatly abbreviated version of the report that had been composed anew for text no. 9 (Prism F). Apart from the mention of Nanāya returning to her temple Eḫiliana ("House of the Luxuriance of Heaven"), no reference is made to the vindictive destruction and plundering of Susa. The building report states that Ashurbanipal had one of the *akītu*-houses of Iṣtar/Mullissu at Nineveh rebuilt and lavishly decorated; the New Year's temple in question was the one that was inside the citadel and that had been last renovated by his great grandfather Sargon II, and not Ešaḫulezenzāgmukam ("House of Joy and Gladness for the Festival of the Beginning of the Year"), the entirely new *akītu*-house that his grandfather Sennacherib had starting building outside the city wall, just north of the Nergal Gate. Two exemplars (exs. 1–2) bear dates stating that they were inscribed in the post-canonical eponymy of Nabû-šar-aḫḫēšu, governor of Samaria (probably 645), during the fifth (Abu) and sixth (Ulūlu) months of the year. This inscription is commonly referred to by scholars as "Prism T[hompson]."

## CATALOGUE

Ex.	Museum Number	Registration Number	Provenance	Lines Preserved	cpn
1	BM 121006 + BM 127889	1929-10-12,2 + 1929-10-12,545	Nineveh, Nabû Temple, beneath the floor of the SE door; Asn. Palace, Square B	i 1–ii 35, 40–vi 51, date	c
2	K 1729	—	Probably Nineveh	i 46–ii 6, v 1–7, 51–vi 10, 47–51, date	c
3	K 1769 + DT 100 + Sm 2111 + DT 160 + 81-2-4,43 + 81-2-4,343 + 81-7-27,112 + 81-7-27,250	81-2-4,43 + 81-2-4,343 + 81-7-27,112 + 81-7-27,250	As ex. 2	i 19–24, 27–ii 8, 49–iii 28, iv 23–34, 38–v 6, 44–vi 27	c
4	K 1830	—	As ex. 2	ii 32–42, iii 34–44	c
5	K 1837 + K 16020 + 81-2-4,167	81-2-4,167	As ex. 2	iii 19–36, iv 25–45	c
6	K 3061A + K 20616	—	As ex. 2	ii 15–24	c
7	K 15331	—	As ex. 2	i 30–34	c
8	DT 94 + 81-2-4,176	81-2-4,176	As ex. 2	i 6–26, ii 21–37	c
9	—	80-7-19,284	As ex. 2	vi 44–51	c
10	—	81-2-4,177	As ex. 2	v 25–28, vi 28–43	c
11	—	82-5-22,6	As ex. 2	i 4–29, vi 15–35	c
12	BM 127912 + BM 134480	1929-10-12,568 + 1932-12-12,475	Nineveh, Iṣtar Temple, Squares HH and NN	i 14–23; ii 8–31, iii 17–32	c
13	BM 128263	1932-12-10,520	Nineveh	iii 2–18	c
14	BM 134491	1932-12-12,486	Nineveh, Chol	i 7–13, vi 23–31	c
15	BM 134509	1932-12-12,504	Nineveh, Area SH	ii 17–26	c
16	BM 134579	1932-12-12,574	As ex. 13	i 44–51, ii 44–45	c
17	K 6383	—	As ex. 2	iv 40–47	c
18	Rm 2,79	—	As ex. 2	v 20–34, 39, 42–44, vi 26–40	c

## CATALOGUE OF UNCERTAIN EXEMPLARS

Ex.	Museum Number	Registration Number	Provenance	Lines Preserved	cpn
1*	K 6381	—	As ex. 2	vi 33–37	c

## COMMENTARY

The inscription's principal exemplar (ex. 1, the so-called "Thompson Prism") appears to have been broken in antiquity, possibly before reaching its intended destination, one of the *akītu*-houses of the goddess Ištar/Mullissu at Nineveh (the one in the citadel renovated by Sargon II). Most of the fragments that make up BM 121006 were discovered beneath the floor of the southeast door of the Nabû temple (Ezida, "True House"), except for BM 127889, which comes from the palace of Ashurnasirpal II (Ap. B. 33), near the lower fall. Details on the two *akītu*-houses will appear in the introduction of Part 2; some information is provided in Frahm, NABU 2000 pp. 75–79 no. 66, and Grayson and Novotny, RINAP 3/1 p. 22. For details on the date with which exs. 1 and 2 were inscribed (the eponymy of Nabû-šar-aḫḫēšu, governor of Samaria), see the Dating and Chronology section of the book's introduction.

Like text no. 5 (Prism I), copies of this inscription of Ashurbanipal were written on pentagonal and hexagonal prisms. As one expects, the arrangement

of text, as well as the number of lines of each column, varies between the exemplars. The master text generally follows ex. 1 (the "Thompson Prism"), with help from the other exemplars or from text nos. 5 (Prism I), 6 (Prism C), 7 (Prism Kh), and 9 (Prism F). A score of the text is presented on Oracc and the minor (orthographic) variants are listed at the back of the book. The few attested major variants, including one in the building report of ex. 18, are mentioned in the on-page notes, along with other comments about the editorial history of Ashurbanipal's annals and summary inscriptions.

Ex. 1\* is a small prism fragment that could belong to a text of either Ashurbanipal or Sennacherib, though the lineation fits best with this inscription of Ashurbanipal. A few other prism fragments may be inscribed with copies of this text, rather than some other (earlier or later) inscription of Ashurbanipal. These are edited as text no. 9 (Prism F) exs. 1\*–3\*. For further details, see the catalogues and commentaries of those inscriptions.

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1933 Piepkorn, Asb. pp. 4–6 n. 17 (exs. 2–3, 10–11, 18, partial transliteration; exs. 1–3, 5, 8, 10–11, 18, study)  
1956 Borger, Asarh. p. 66 n. 1 (vi 16–27, transliteration; exs. 1, 3, 11, 18, study)  
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## TEXT

## Col. i

- 1) *a-na-ku* <sup>m</sup>AN.ŠĀR-DÛ-A LUGAL GAL-u  
 2) LUGAL *dan-nu* LUGAL ŠÚ LUGAL KUR AN.ŠĀR.KI<sup>1</sup>  
 3) LUGAL *kib-rat* LÍMMU-tim  
 4) È *lib-bi* <sup>m</sup>AN.ŠĀR-PAP-AŠ MAN KUR AN.ŠĀR.KI  
 5) ĠİR.NÍTA KÁ.DINGIR.RA.KI  
 6) LUGAL KUR EME.GI<sub>7</sub> ù URI.KI  
 7) ŠĀ.BAL.BAL <sup>md</sup>30-PAP.MEŠ-SU  
 8) LUGAL ŠÚ LUGAL KUR AN.ŠĀR.KI  
 9) DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ *ina* UKKIN-šú-nu  
 10) *ši-mat* SIG<sub>5</sub>-tim *i-ši-mu* šim-ti  
 11) *e-li* LUGAL.MEŠ *a-šib pa-rak-ki*  
 12) *zi-kir* MU-ia *ú-šar-ri-ḫu*  
 13) *ú-šar-bu-ú be-lu-ú-ti*  
 14) *é-ḫur-sag-gal-kur-kur-ra*  
 15) É AN.ŠĀR EN-ia *ú-šak-lil*  
 16) É.GAR<sub>8</sub>.MEŠ-šú *ú-šal-bi-šá* KÛ.GI KÛ.BABBAR  
 17) ĠIŠ.tim-me MAḪ.MEŠ *me-ser* KÛ.BABBAR *ú-rak-kis*  
 18) *ina* KÁ *ḫi-šib* KUR.KUR *az-qu-up*  
 19) AN.ŠĀR *ina é-ḫur-sag-gu-la ú-še-rib-ma*  
 20) *ú-šar-ma-a BĀRA da-ra-a-ti*  
 21) *é-sag-il* É.GAL DINGIR.MEŠ DÛ-uš  
 22) *ú-šak-li-la* ĠIŠ.ḪUR.MEŠ-šú  
 23) <sup>d</sup>EN <sup>d</sup>GAŠAN-MU <sup>d</sup>be-let-KÁ.DINGIR.RA.KI  
 24) <sup>d</sup>é-a <sup>d</sup>DI.KU<sub>5</sub> ul-<sup>r</sup>tu *qé<sup>1</sup>-[reb]* *é-šár-ra*  
 25) *ú-bil ú-še-rib<sup>1</sup>*  
 26) *qé-reb* šu-an-<sup>r</sup>na<sup>1</sup>.KI  
 27) BĀRA.MAḪ-ḫu šu-[bat] DINGIR-ti-šú *šir-ti*  
 28) 50 GUN <sup>r</sup>za-ḫa-lu<sup>1</sup>-ú *eb-bu*

i 1–8) I, Ashurbanipal, great king, strong king, king of the world, king of Assyria, king of the four quarters (of the world), offspring of Esarhaddon, king of Assyria, governor of Babylon, king of the land of Sumer and Akkad, descendant of Sennacherib, king of the world, king of Assyria —

i 9–13) The great gods in their assembly determined a favorable destiny as my lot (and) they glorified the mention of my name (and) made my lordship greater than (those of all other) kings who sit on (royal) daises.

i 14–20) I completed Eḫursaggalkurkurra, the temple of (the god) Aššur, my lord, (and) I clad its walls with gold (and) silver. I fastened band(s) of silver on tall columns (and) I erected (them) at the Gate of the Abundance of the Lands. I made (the god) Aššur enter into Eḫursaggula and made (him) reside on (his) eternal dais.

i 21–26) I (re)built Esagil, the palace of the gods, (and) completed its designs. I brought the deities Bēl (Marduk), Bēltiya (Zarpanitu), the Lady of Babylon, Ea, (and) Mandānu out o[f] Ešarra (and) made (them) en[te]r into Šuanna (Babylon).

i 27–30) (As for) the throne-dais, the se[at of] his (Marduk's) exalted divinity, [I] cast fifty talents

i 1–iv 35 The prologue of this text is similar to those of text nos. 5 (Prism I), 6 (Prism C), 7 (Prism Kh), and 8 (Prism G); compare respectively i 1–iv 8, i 1'–ii 3', i 1–101', and i 1'–34' of those inscriptions. The major differences between this inscription and those four earlier texts are noted in the on-page notes below. For other details, see the on-page notes to text no. 5 (Prism I) i 1–iv 8 and text no. 6 (Prism C) i 1'–ii 3'.

i 9–10 This inscription does not include *uz-nu ra-pa-āš-tum iš-ru-ku-u-ni kul-lat tup-šar-ru-ti ú-šá-ḫi-zu ka-ra-ši* “they granted me a broad mind (and) allowed my mind to learn all of the scribal arts.” Compare text no. 5 (Prism I) i 10–12 and text no. 6 (Prism C) i 1'.

i 13 Unlike earlier texts, this inscription does not include in its prologue *eš-re-e-ti KUR aš-šur.KI KUR URI.KI ša* <sup>m</sup>AN.ŠĀR-PAP-AŠ LUGAL KUR aš-šur.KI ad *ba-ni-ia tem-me-en-šú-un id-du-ú la ig-mu-ru ši-pir-šú-un e-nen-na a-na-ku ina qí-bit* DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ EN.MEŠ-ia *ag-mu-ra ši-pir-šun* “(As for) the sanctuaries of Assyria (and) the land Akkad whose foundation(s) Esarhaddon, king of Assyria, the father who had engendered me, had laid, but whose construction he had not finished, I myself now completed their work by the command of the great gods, my lords.” Compare text no. 6 (Prism C) i 5'–10'.

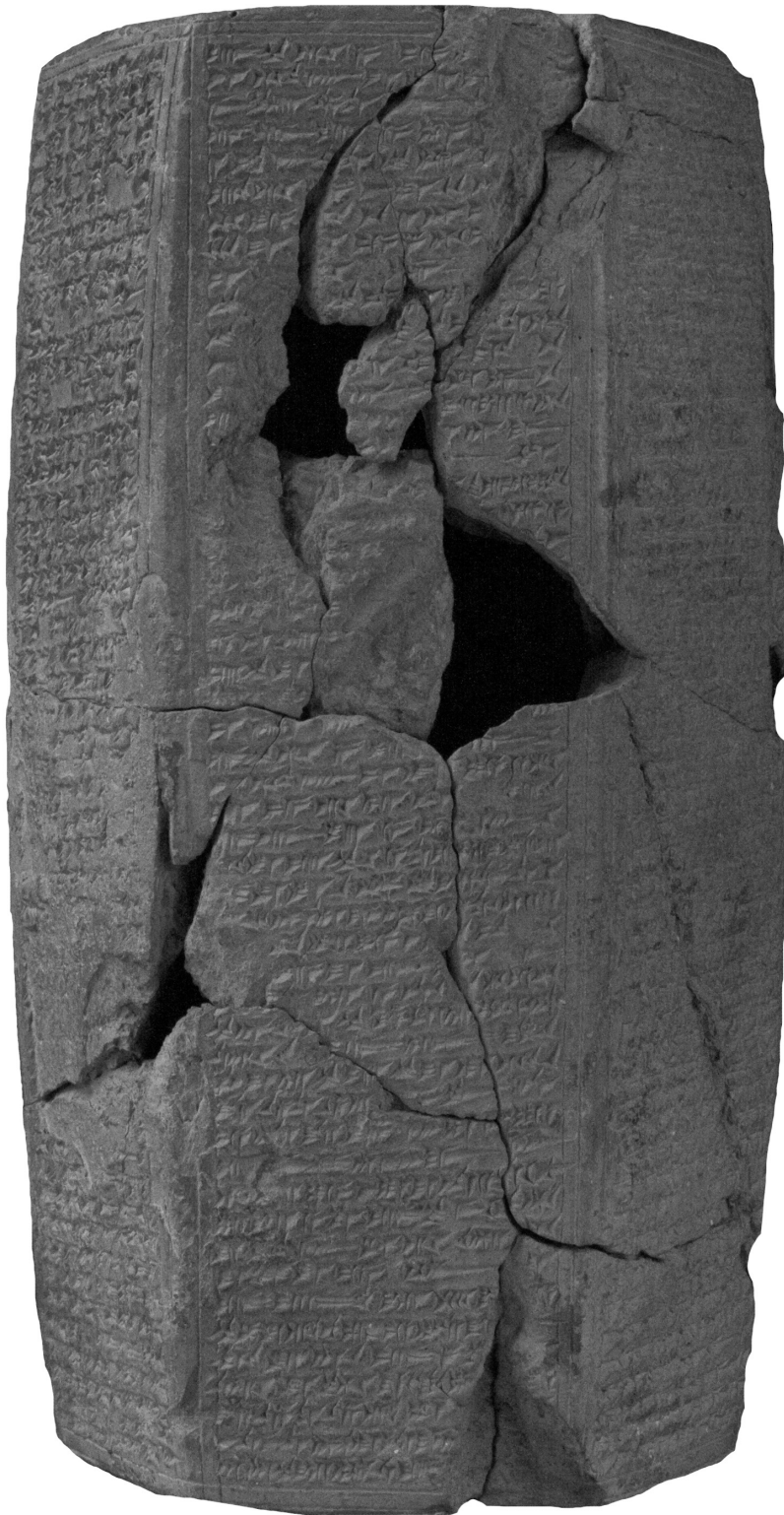


Figure 9. Cols. ii–iv of BM 121006 + 127889 (text no. 10 ex. 1), a six-sided prism of Ashurbanipal that describes numerous building activities of his in Assyria and Babylonia, as well as his second war against the Elamite king Ummanaldašu. © Trustees of the British Museum.



Figure 10. Cols. iv–vi of BM 121006 + 127889 (text no. 10 ex. 1). This face (col. v) of the so-called Thompson Prism (Prism T) describes the rebuilding of one of the *akītu*-houses of the goddess Ištar at Nineveh. © Trustees of the British Museum.





Figure 11. Cols. v–vi and i of BM 121006 + 127889 (text no. 10 ex. 1). This face (col. vi) of the so-called Thompson Prism (Prism T) is inscribed with the concluding formulae and date of the inscription. © Trustees of the British Museum.

- 29) ʿa<sup>1</sup>-[na a-gúr-ri] ʿap<sup>1</sup>-ti-iq-ma  
 30) ʿú-rab<sup>1</sup>-ba-ʿa<sup>1</sup> EDIN-uš-šú  
 31) ʿú<sup>1</sup>-še-piš-ma GIŠ.ʿer<sup>1</sup>-me a-nu  
 GIŠ.MES.MÁ.KAN.NA  
 32) ʿiṣ<sup>1</sup>-ši da-re-e šá šit-nu-nu šá-ma-me-eš  
 33) ʿ34<sup>1</sup> GUN 20 MA.NA KÙ.GI ʰUŠ.A  
 34) ʿkip-pat<sup>1</sup>-su ú-šal-biš  
 35) ú-ʿdan-ni-na<sup>1</sup> rik-se-e-šú  
 36) ʿe<sup>1</sup>-li <sup>d</sup>AMAR<sup>1</sup>.UTU EN GAL-e  
 37) ʿšu-lul<sup>1</sup>-šú at-ru-uš-ma  
 38) ú-kin ta-ra-an-šú  
 39) [GIŠ.GIGIR] ʿšir<sup>1</sup>-tu ru-kub <sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU  
 40) [e]-ʿte<sup>1</sup>-li DINGIR.MEŠ EN EN.EN  
 41) [ina] ʿKÙ<sup>1</sup>.GI KÙ.BABBAR NA<sub>4</sub>.MEŠ ni-siq-ti  
 42) [ag]-mu-ra nab-nit-sa  
 43) [a-na] ʿ<sup>d</sup>AMAR<sup>1</sup>.UTU LUGAL kiš-šat AN-e u  
 KI-tim  
 44) [sa]-ʿpi<sup>1</sup>-in LÚ.KÚR.MEŠ-ia  
 45) [a-na] ʿšir<sup>1</sup>-rik-ti áš-ruk  
 46) ʿGIŠ<sup>1</sup>.[NÁ] ʿGIŠ<sup>1</sup>.MES.MÁ.KAN.NA iṣ-ši da-re-e  
 47) ša ʿpa-šal<sup>1</sup>-lu lit-bu-šat  
 48) NA<sub>4</sub>.MEŠ [ni]-ʿsiq<sup>1</sup>-ti za-a<sup>1</sup>-na-at  
 49) a-na ma-a-a-al tak-né-e <sup>d</sup>EN <sup>d</sup>GAŠAN-MU  
 50) šá-kan ʰa-šá-di e-peš ru-ʿa-a-me  
 51) nak-liš e-pu-uš  
 52) ina ʿká<sup>1</sup>-[hi]-ʿli<sup>1</sup>-sù maš-tak <sup>d</sup>zar-pa-ni-tum  
 53) ša ku-uz-bu sa-al-ʰu  
 54) ad-di  
 Col. ii  
 1) 4 AM.MEŠ KÙ.BABBAR ek-du-u-ti  
 2) na-ši-ru ki-bi-is LUGAL-u-ti-ia  
 3) ina KÁ ši-it <sup>d</sup>UTU-ši  
 4) ina KÁ <sup>d</sup>LAMMA-RA.BI  
 5) ina KÁ é-zi-da šá qé-reb  
 6) bár-sipa.KI ul-ziz  
 7) é-maš-maš é-gašan-kalam-ma KÙ.BABBAR KÙ.GI  
 8) ú-za-ʿi-in lu-le-e ú-mal-li  
 9) <sup>d</sup>šar-rat-kid-mu-ri šá ina ug-gat lib-bi-šá  
 10) at-man-šá e-zi-bu  
 11) ú-ši-bu a-šar la si-ma-a-ti-šá  
 12) ina BALA-ia dam-qí šá AN.ŠÁR iš-ru-ka  
 13) tar-šá-a sa-li-mu  
 14) a-na šuk-lul DINGIR-ti-šá šir-ti  
 15) šur-ru-ʰu mi-se-e-šá šu-qu-ru-ti  
 16) ina MÁŠ.GI<sub>6</sub> ši-pir maḥ-ḥe-e  
 17) iš-ta-nap-pa-ra ka-a-a-na  
 18) <sup>d</sup>UTU ù <sup>d</sup>IŠKUR áš-al-ma  
 19) e-pu-lu-in-nu an-nu ke-e-nu  
 20) si-mat DINGIR-ti-šá GAL-ti ú-šar-ri-iḥ  
 21) ú-še-šib-ši ina BÁRA.MAḥ-ḥi  
 22) šu-bat da-ra-a-ti  
 23) par-še-e-šá šu-qu-ru-ti ú-kin-ma  
 24) ú-šal-li-ma mi-se-e-šá

of shiny zah[al]û-silver in[to bricks] and (thereby) en[la]rged it.

i 31–38) I had a c[a]nopy, which rivals the heavens, made from musukkannu-wood, a durable wood. I clad its pe[r]imeter with thirty-four talents (and) twenty minas of reddish gold (and thereby) reinforced its bonds. I stretched out its covering over the god Ma[r]duk, the great lord, and (thus) secured its roof.

i 39–45) (As for) the exalted [chariot], the vehicle of the god Marduk, [the pre-emin]ent one among the gods, the lord of lords, [I com]pleted its feature(s) [with g]old, silver, (and) precious stones. I gave (it) [as a g]ift [to] the god Marduk, the king of the totality of heaven and netherworld, [the one who overwhe]lms my enemies.

i 46–54) I skillfully made a [bed of] musukkannu-[woo]d, a durable wood, that is clad with pa[ša]llu-gold (and) studded with [pre]cious stones, as a pleasure bed for the god Bēl (Marduk) (and) the goddess Bēltiya (Zarpanītu) to carry out the wedding (and) to make love. I placed (it) in Ka[hil]isu, the bed chamber of the goddess Zarpanītu, which is laden with sexual charm.

ii 1–6) I stationed four fierce wild bulls of silver, protectors of my royal path, in the Gate of the Rising Sun (and) in the Gate of Lamma-RA.BI, in gateway(s) of Ezida, which is inside Borsippa.

ii 7–8) I decorated Emašmaš (and) Egašankalama with silver (and) gold, (and) filled (them) with splendor.

ii 9–17) The goddess Šarrat-Kidmuri, who in her anger had abandoned her inner sanctum (and) had taken up residence in a place not befitting her, relented during the favorable reign (lit. “my favorable reign”) that (the god) Aššur had granted me. To complete (the emblem of) her exalted divinity (and) to glorify her precious cultic rites, she constantly kept sending me (instructions) through dream(s) and message(s) from ecstasies.

ii 18–24) I asked the gods Šamaš and Adad and they answered me with a firm “yes.” I refurbished the emblem of her great divinity (and) made her sit upon a throne-dais as (her) eternal abode. I firmly (re)-established her precious cultic ordinances and properly carried out her cultic rites.

ii 4 ina “in”: Text no. 6 (Prism C) i 46’ and text no. 7 (Prism Kh) i 16’ have u “and.”

- 25) <sup>d</sup>IM.DUGUD.MUŠEN.MEŠ GIŠ.šu-ri-in-ni  
 26) a-na TI.LA ZI.MEŠ-ia  
 27) ina KÁ é-galam-<sup>r</sup>mes<sup>1</sup>  
 28) É <sup>d</sup>U.GUR šÁ URU.tar-bi-ši <sup>r</sup>az<sup>1</sup>-qu-up  
 29) a-di a-di-ni a-bi la im-ma-al-la-du  
 30) um-mi a-lit-ti la ba-na-at ina <sup>r</sup>lib<sup>1</sup>-[bi] AMA-šÁ  
 31) a-na e-peš é-<sup>h</sup>ul-<sup>h</sup>ul <sup>r</sup>iz-kur ni<sup>1</sup>-bit MU-ia  
 32) <sup>d</sup>30 šÁ ib-na-an-ni a-<sup>r</sup>na<sup>1</sup> LUGAL-u-ti  
 33) um-ma <sup>m</sup>AN.ŠÁR-DÛ-A É.KUR <sup>r</sup>šú<sup>1</sup>-a-tu  
 34) <sup>r</sup>ip<sup>1</sup>-[pu-uš-ma] <sup>r</sup>qé-reb<sup>1</sup>-šú  
 35) ú-šar-man-ni [pa-rak] <sup>r</sup>da<sup>1</sup>-ra-a-<sup>r</sup>ti<sup>1</sup>  
 36) [a-mat <sup>d</sup>30<sup>1</sup> šÁ ul-tu UD.MEŠ SÛ.<sup>r</sup>MEŠ<sup>1</sup>  
 37) [iq-bu-u e]nen-<sup>r</sup>na<sup>1</sup> [ú]-<sup>r</sup>kal<sup>1</sup>-[lim]  
 38) <sup>r</sup>UN<sup>1</sup>.MEŠ EGIR.<sup>r</sup>MEŠ<sup>1</sup>  
 39) [É <sup>d</sup>30 šÁ <sup>m</sup>d<sup>r</sup>šú<sup>1</sup>l<sup>1</sup>-ma-nu-MAŠ  
 40) [A <sup>m</sup>aš-šur-PAP-IBILA] <sup>r</sup>LUGAL<sup>1</sup> pa-ni  
 41) maḥ-<sup>r</sup>ri-ia<sup>1</sup> [e]-<sup>r</sup>pu-šú<sup>1</sup>  
 42) la-ba-riš ú-šá-lik-ma  
 43) ú-šad-gi-la pa-nu-u-a  
 44) ina a-mat <sup>d</sup>30 <sup>d</sup>r<sup>r</sup>nusku<sup>1</sup> an-ḥu-us-su  
 45) ad-ke e-li ša u<sub>4</sub>-me pa-ni  
 46) šu-bat-su ú-rap-piš  
 47) ul-tu UŠ<sub>8</sub>-šú a-di gaba-dib-bé-e-šú  
 48) ar-šip ú-šak-lil  
 49) é-me-lám-an-na É <sup>d</sup>nusku SUKKAL MAḤ  
 50) ša LUGAL pa-ni maḥ-ri-ia la e-pu-šú  
 51) ab-na-a qé-<sup>r</sup>reb<sup>1</sup>-šú  
 52) GIŠ.ÛR.MEŠ GIŠ.EREN MAḤ.MEŠ  
 Col. iii  
 1) ú-šat-ri-ša e-<sup>r</sup>li<sup>1</sup>-[šú-un]  
 2) GIŠ.IG.MEŠ GIŠ.li-ia-a-<sup>r</sup>ri<sup>1</sup>  
 3) me-ser KÛ.BABBAR <sup>r</sup>ú<sup>1</sup>-rak-[kis]  
 4) ú-rat-ta-a KÁ.<sup>r</sup>MEŠ-šú-un<sup>1</sup>  
 5) 2 AM.MEŠ KÛ.BABBAR mu-nak-<sup>r</sup>ki<sup>1</sup>-[pu]  
 6) ga-re-<sup>r</sup>ia<sup>1</sup> ina at-man <sup>d</sup>30  
 7) EN-ia <sup>r</sup>ul<sup>1</sup>-ziz 2 <sup>d</sup>lāḥ-<sup>r</sup>me<sup>1</sup>  
 8) eš-ma-<sup>r</sup>re<sup>1</sup>-e šá ti-iš-<sup>r</sup>bu<sup>1</sup>-[tú]  
 9) GIŠ.šu-ri-in-ni  
 10) mu-šal-li-mu kib-si <sup>r</sup>LUGAL-ti<sup>1</sup>-ia  
 11) mu-še-ri-bu ḥi-šib KUR-i u tam-tim  
 12) ina KÁ é-<sup>h</sup>ul-<sup>h</sup>ul ul-ziz  
 13) ŠU.II <sup>d</sup>30 <sup>d</sup>r<sup>r</sup>nusku<sup>1</sup> aš-bat  
 14) ú-še-rib ú-še-šib ina <sup>r</sup>BÁRA<sup>1</sup> da-ra-a-ti  
 15) é-dim-gal-kalam-ma É AN.GAL  
 16) <sup>r</sup>šá<sup>1</sup> qé-reb BÂD.DINGIR.KI  
 17) a-na si-ḥi-ir-<sup>r</sup>ti<sup>1</sup>-šú <sup>r</sup>ar<sup>1</sup>-šip ú-šak-lil  
 18) É <sup>d</sup>30 <sup>d</sup>nin-<sup>r</sup>gal <sup>d</sup>UTU <sup>d</sup>1a-a

ii 25–28) For the preservation of my life, [I] set up lion-headed eagles (and) divine emblems in the gateway(s) of Egallamme[s], the temple of the god Nergal of the city Tarbišu.

ii 29–43) Before my father was born (and) my birth-mother was created in her mother’s wo[mb], the god Sîn, who created me to be king, named me to (re)build Eḥulḥul, saying: “Ashurbanipal will (re)b[uild] that temple [and] (ii 35) make me dwell therein upon [an e]ternal [dais.” The word of the god Sîn, which [he had spoken] in distant days, [he n]ow revealed to the people of a later generation. He allowed [the temple of the god Sîn – which] Shalmaneser (III), [son of Ashurnasirpal (II)], a king of the past (who had come) before [m]e, [had b]ui[t] – to become old and he entrusted (its renovation) to me.

ii 44–iii 4) I removed its dilapidated section(s) by the command of the gods Sîn (and) Nusku. I made its structure larger than the one in the days of the past. I built (and) completed (it) from its foundation(s) to its crenellations. Inside it, I built Emelamana, the temple of the god Nusku, the exalted vizier, which no king of the past (who had come) before me had built. I roofed [them] with long beams of cedar. I faste[ned] band(s) of silver on doors of white ceda[r] (and) I fixed (them) in their gateways.

iii 5–12) In the inner sanctum of the god Sîn, my lord, I stationed two wild bulls of silver, which gor[e] my foes (to death). In a gateway of Eḥulḥul, I (also) stationed two long-haired heroes of ešma[r]û-metal, which gra[sp] divine emblems, keep safe my [r]oyal path, (and) bring in the yield of mountain and sea.

iii 13–14) I took the gods Sîn (and) Nusku by the hand, made (them) enter into (their respective temples), (and) made (them) sit on (their) eternal dais(es).

iii 15–17) In its entire[t]y, I built (and) completed Edimgalkalama, the temple of Great Anu that is inside (the city) Dēr.

iii 18–35a) The temple of the deities Sîn, Ningal,

ii 25 <sup>d</sup>IM.DUGUD.MUŠEN.MEŠ “lion-headed eagles”: Ex. 1 lacks MEŠ.

ii 44 Text no. 5 (Prism I) ii 15’, text no. 6 (Prism C) i 76’, and text no. 7 (Prism Kh) i 50’ add É.KUR šu-a-tú šá la-ba-riš il-li-ku (“(As for) that temple, which had become old”) before ina a-mat <sup>d</sup>30 <sup>d</sup>nusku (“by the command of the gods Sîn (and) Nusku”).

ii 49–51 See the on-page note to text no. 7 (Prism Kh) i 55’.

iii 2 Ex. 13 adds [ša e-re-si-na] <sup>r</sup>fa<sup>1</sup>-a-bu, “[whose fragrance] is pleasant,” after GIŠ.li-a-a-<sup>r</sup>ri<sup>1</sup> (“white cedar”).

iii 15–17 This passage does not appear in the prologues of earlier inscriptions. For a study of Ashurbanipal’s building activities at Dēr, see Frahm, *Studies Parpola* pp. 51–64.

iii 18–35a This passage was borrowed directly from the building report of text no. 5 (Prism I); see iv 9–27 of that inscription. The incorporation of the report of the rebuilding of the Sîn-Šamaš temple at Nineveh into the prologue of this text may suggest that construction on that temple had come to an end before this inscription was composed.

- 19) ʿša<sup>1</sup> qé-reb NINA.KI ša <sup>m</sup>AN.ŠÁR-PAP-AŠ  
 20) MAN KUR AN.ŠÁR.KI AD DÙ-ia e-pu-šú  
 21) il-li-ku la-ʿba<sup>1</sup>-riš É.KUR šú-a-tú  
 22) e-na-aḫ-ma i-qu-pa É.GAR<sub>8</sub>.ʿMEŠ<sup>1</sup>-šú  
 23) É.KUR šu-a-tú a-na si-ḫir-ti-šú  
 24) ar-šip ú-šak-lil ul-la-a re-ši-šú  
 25) GIŠ.ÜR.MEŠ GIŠ.ŠUR.MĪN MAḪ.MEŠ  
 26) ú-šat-ri-ša ta-ra-an-šú  
 27) GIŠ.IG.MEŠ GIŠ.li-ia-a-ri  
 28) ʿša<sup>1</sup> e-re-si-na DÙG.GA  
 29) ú-rat-ta-a KÁ.MEŠ-šú  
 30) ul-tu É.KUR šú-a-tú ú-šak-li-lu  
 31) ʿú<sup>1</sup>-qat-tu-u aq-mu-ra ši-pir-šú  
 32) [d]30 <sup>d</sup>nin-gal <sup>d</sup>nusku ʿd<sup>1</sup>UTU u <sup>d</sup>a-a  
 33) [DINGIR].ʿMEŠ<sup>1</sup> tik-le-ia ina qer-bi-šú  
 34) ʿú<sup>1</sup>-še-rib-ma ú-ʿšar<sup>1</sup>-me  
 35) ʿBÁRA<sup>1</sup> da-ra-a-ti ʿeš<sup>1</sup>-re-e-ti  
 36) KUR AN.ŠÁR.ʿKI<sup>1</sup> KUR URI.KI ana ʿsi-ḫir<sup>1</sup>-te-ši-na  
 37) ar-šip ú-šak-lil  
 38) mim-ma si-mat É.KUR ma-la GÁL-u  
 39) ša KÙ.BABBAR KÙ.GI e-pu-uš  
 40) e-ʿli<sup>1</sup> ša LUGAL.MEŠ AD.MEŠ-ia  
 41) ʿú-rad<sup>1</sup>-di DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ  
 42) ʿtik-le<sup>1</sup>-ia ina at-ma-na-a-te-šú-nu  
 43) ši-ra-a-te ú-še-šib-šú-ʿnu<sup>1</sup>-ti  
 44) UDU.SISKUR.MEŠ taš-ri-iḫ-ʿti<sup>1</sup>  
 45) ma-ḫar-šu-un aq-qí  
 46) ú-šam-ḫi-ra kàd-ʿra<sup>1</sup>-[a]-a  
 47) sat-tuk-ku gi-nu-ú e-li ša [u<sub>4</sub>]-ʿme<sup>1</sup>  
 48) ul-lu-ti ú-šá-ʿtir-ma<sup>1</sup>  
 49) ar-ku-us ALAM LUGAL-[ti]-ʿia<sup>1</sup>  
 50) ša KÙ.BABBAR KÙ.GI URUDU ʿnam-ri<sup>1</sup>  
 51) ina ši-pir <sup>d</sup>nin-á-gal ʿd<sup>1</sup>[kù-si<sub>22</sub>-bàn-da]  
 52) <sup>d</sup>nin-kur-ra nak-liš ú-ʿše<sup>1</sup>-[piš-ma]  
 Col. iv  
 1) a-na mu-ter-ri-ši TILA-ʿia<sup>1</sup>  
 2) ma-ḫar DINGIR.MEŠ ti-ik-le-ʿia<sup>1</sup>  
 3) ú-kin na-an-za-ʿsún<sup>1</sup>  
 4) ul-tu še-ḫe-ri-ia a-di ra-bé-ia  
 5) áš-te-ʿa-a áš-rat DINGIR.MEŠ ʿGAL.MEŠ<sup>1</sup>  
 6) LÚ.šá-an-gu-ti iḫ-šu-ʿḫu<sup>1</sup>  
 7) i-ram-mu na-dan zi-bi-ʿia<sup>1</sup>  
 8) <sup>d</sup>IŠKUR ŠÈG.MEŠ-šú ú-maš-ši-ra  
 9) <sup>d</sup>é-a ú-paṭ-ṭi-ra IDIM.MEŠ-ʿšú<sup>1</sup>  
 10) šat-ti-šam-ma ina tuḫ-di mi-šá-ʿri<sup>1</sup>  
 11) ar-te-ʿa-a ba-ʿu-lat <sup>d</sup>EN.ʿLÍL<sup>1</sup>  
 12) DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ šá ap-tal-la-ḫu  
 DINGIR-us-ʿsu<sup>1</sup>-[un]  
 13) dun-nu zik-ru-ú-[tu]  
 14) e-mu-qí ši-ra-a-ʿti<sup>1</sup>  
 15) ú-šat-*<li>*-mu-in-ni  
 16) KUR.KUR la ma-gi-re-ʿia<sup>1</sup>

Šamaš, (and) Aya that is inside Nineveh (and) which Esarhaddon, king of Assyria, the father who had engendered me, had built, had become old — that temple had become dilapidated and its walls had buckled. I built (and) completed that temple in its entirety (and) I raised up its superstructure. (iii 25) I roofed it with long beams of cypress (and) fixed doors of white cedar, whose fragrance is sweet, in its gateways. After I had thoroughly completed that temple (and) finished its construction, I brought the deities Šin, Ningal, Nusku, Šamaš, and Aya, [the god]s who support me, inside it and ma[de] (them) dwell (on their) eternal dais(es).

iii 35b–49a) I built (and) completed the sanctuaries of Assyria (and) the land Akkad in their en[ti]rety. I made every type of temple appurtenance there is from silver (and) gold, (and) I a[d]ded (them) to those of the kings, my ancestors. I made the great gods who support me reside in their exalted inner sanctums. I offered sumptuous offerings before them (and) presented (them) with my gif[ts]. I made regular offerings (and) contributions more plenti[ful] than those of distant [day]s.

iii 49b–iv 7) I had statue(s) of [m]y royal maje[sty] skillfully ma[de] from silver, gold, (and) [shi]ny copper through the craft of the deities Ninagal, [Kusibanda], (and) Ninkurra, [and], as constant petitioners for my [l]ife, I installed (them) in their positions before the gods who support me. From my childhood until I became an adult, I was assiduous towards the sanctuaries of the grea[t] gods. Th[ey] required my priestly services (and) they (now) enjoy m[y] giving (them) food offerings.

iv 8–11) The god Adad released his rains (and) the god Ea opened up his springs. Year after year, I shepherded the subjects of the god Enl[il] in prosperity (and) with justic[e].

iv 12–35) The great gods, who[se] divinity I constantly revered, generously gr<ant>ed me power, virili[ty], (and) outstandi[ng] strength. They placed lands that had not bowed down to m[e] into my hands (and) allowed me to achieve [my] heart's desire. I marched from the Upper Sea to the Lower Sea, where the kings,

iii 37 Earlier inscriptions have only ú-šak-lil “I completed”; compare text no. 6 (Prism C) i 95’ and text no. 7 (Prism Kh) i 67’.

iv 8–9 Compare the longer “topos of abundance” reports in text no. 5 (Prism I) iii 9’–23’, text no. 6 (Prism C) i 1’–8’, text no. 7 (Prism Kh) i 81’–88’, and text no. 8 (Prism G) i 21’–34’.

- 17) *ina* ŠU.II-*ia im-nu*-<sup>1</sup>ú<sup>1</sup>  
 18) *ú-šam-šu-in-ni ma-la lib-bi*-[*ia*]  
 19) *ul-tu tam-tim e*-<sup>1</sup>liti<sup>1</sup>  
 20) *a-di tam-tim šap*-<sup>1</sup>liti<sup>1</sup>  
 21) *ša* LUGAL.MEŠ AD.MEŠ-<sup>1</sup>ia<sup>1</sup>  
 22) *ir-te-ed-du-ú a-na-ku lu-u* <sup>1</sup>ar<sup>1</sup>-*de*  
 23) <sup>1</sup>ma<sup>1</sup>-*lak* ITI UD.20.<sup>1</sup>KÁM<sup>1</sup>  
 24) *ina* MURUB<sub>4</sub> *tam-tim u na-ba*-[*li*]  
 25) *mi-iš-ru e-li ša* LUGAL.MEŠ <sup>1</sup>AD<sup>1</sup>.[MEŠ-*ia*]  
 26) *ú-rad-di-ma a*-[*bel*]  
 27) UN.MEŠ *a-ši-bu-ti* KUR.KUR *ša-a-ti-na*  
 28) *ú-šak-ni-ša a-na* GIŠ.ŠUDUN-*ia*  
 29) GUN *man-da-at-tú šat-ti-šam-ma*  
 30) *ú*-<sup>1</sup>kin<sup>1</sup> EDIN-uš-šú-un  
 31) *ina qí-bit* AN.ŠÁR <sup>d</sup>NIN.LÍL  
 32) LUGAL.MEŠ *a-šib pa-rak-ki*  
 33) *ú-na-áš-ša-qu* GÌR.II-*ia*  
 34) *ma-al-ki* GAL.MEŠ *ša ši-taš u ši-la-an*  
 35) *a-na kit-ri-šú-nu ú-pa-qu-u-ni*  
 36) *ina tukul-ti* DINGIR.<sup>1</sup>MEŠ<sup>1</sup> [GAL].MEŠ EN.MEŠ-*ia*  
 37) *qé-reb* KUR.ELAM.<sup>1</sup>MA.KI<sup>1</sup> *e-ru-ub*  
 38) BAD<sub>5</sub>.BAD<sub>5</sub>-šú-nu *ina la mi-ni*  
 39) *áš-kun at-tal-lak šal-tiš*  
 40) <sup>m</sup>um-*man-al-da-si ti-ib*  
 41) MÈ-*ia dan-ni e-dur-ma*  
 42) *me-ra-nu-uš-šú in-na-bit-ma*  
 43) *iš-ba-ta šá-da-a*  
 44) 14 URU.MEŠ *dan-nu-ti mu-šab* LUGAL-*ti-šú*  
 45) *ù* URU.MEŠ TUR.MEŠ *ša ni-i-ba la i-šu-ú*  
 46) *a-di* 20.ÀM URU.MEŠ  
 47) *ina na-ge-e šá* URU.ḥu-un-<sup>1</sup>nir<sup>1</sup>  
 48) *ina* UGU *mi-iš-ri šá* URU.ḥi-da-lu  
 49) *ak-šu-ud* URU.ba-šim-*mu*  
 50) *ù* URU.MEŠ *šá li-me-ti-šú*  
 51) *ap-pul aq-qur šá* UN.MEŠ *a-šib*  
 52) *lib-bi-šú-un ka-mar-šú-nu áš*-<sup>1</sup>kun<sup>1</sup>

Col. v

- 1) *ú-šab-bir* DINGIR.MEŠ-šú-un  
 2) *ú-šap-ši-iḥ ka-bat-ti* EN EN.EN  
 3) DINGIR.MEŠ-šú <sup>d</sup>15.MEŠ-šú NÍG.ŠU-šú NÍG.GA-šú  
 4) UN.MEŠ TUR *u* GAL *áš-lu-la ana* KUR AN.ŠÁR.KI  
 5) 60 KASKAL.GÍD *qaq-qa-ru*  
 6) *qé-reb* KUR.ELAM.MA.KI *ú-šaḥ-rib*  
 7) MUN Ú.ZAG.ḤI.LI.SAR  
 8) *ú-sap-pi-ḥa* <sup>1</sup>EDIN-uš<sup>1</sup>-šú-un  
 9) <sup>d</sup>na-na-<a> *ša* <sup>1</sup>1<sup>1</sup> LIM 6 ME <sup>1</sup>30.ÀM<sup>1</sup> 5  
 10) MU.AN.<sup>1</sup>NA.MEŠ<sup>1</sup> *ta-as-bu-su-ma*  
 11) *tal*-<sup>1</sup>li<sup>1</sup>-[*ku*] *tu-ši-bu*  
 12) [*qé-reb* KUR].<sup>1</sup>ELAM<sup>1</sup>.MA.KI *a-šar*  
 13) [*la si*]-<sup>1</sup>ma<sup>1</sup>-*a-te<sub>9</sub>-e-ša*  
 14) *ù* *ina* u<sub>4</sub>-*me-šú-ma ši-i*

my ancestors, had regularly traveled. [At a] distance of one month (and) twenty days (journey) into the midst of the sea and on dry la[nd], (iv 25) I added territory to that of the kings, [my] ance[stors], and [ruled (it)]. I made the people living in those lands bow down to my yoke (and) [imp]osed upon them annual tribute payment. By the command of (the god) Aššur (and) the goddess Mullissu, the kings who sit upon (royal) daises kiss my feet (and) great rulers from (both) east and west are anxious for me to be their ally.

iv 36–43) With the support of the [great] gods, my lords, I entered the land Ela[m], brought about their (the Elamites') defeat countless (times), (and) marched about triumphantly. Ummanaldašu (Ḥumban-ḥaltaš III) became frightened by the assault of my mighty battle array, fled naked, and took to the mountain(s).

iv 44–51a) I conquered fourteen fortified cities, his royal residence(s), and small(er) settlements, which were without number, together with twenty villages, in the district of the city Ḥunn[ir], (which is) on the border of the city Ḥidalu. I destroyed (and) demolished the city Bašimu and the villages in its environs.

iv 51b–v 8) As for the people living inside them, I annihilated them. I smashed their gods (and thus) placated the mood of the lord of lords. I carried off to Assyria its gods, its goddesses, its possessions, (and) its property, (as well as) people, young and old. I devastated an area of sixty leagues inside the land Elam (and) scattered salt (and) cress over them.

v 9–23) (As for) the goddess Nanā<ya>, who 1,635 years (ago) became angry and we[nt] to live [in the land El]am, a place [not befit]ting her, *then*, at that time (when) she and the gods, her fathers, nominated me for ruling over the lands, she entrusted me with the return of her lordly majesty, saying: “Ashurbanipal

iv 36–v 32 Compare the much longer version of the second war against the Elamite king Ummanaldašu (Ḥumban-ḥaltaš III) in text no. 9 (Prism F) iv 17–vi 21 and text no. 11 (Prism A) v 63–vii 81.

iv 45 *i-šu-ú* “were”: Ex. 1 has [i]-<sup>1</sup>šú<sup>1</sup>-*u*. The master text follows ex. 3.

v 9 See the on-page note to text no. 9 (Prism F) v 72.

15) ù DINGIR.MEŠ AD.MEŠ-šá  
 16) *ib-bu-u šu-mì ana be-<sup>r</sup>lut<sup>1</sup>* KUR.KUR  
 17) *ta-a-a-rat* EN-u-ti-šá  
 18) *tu-šad-gi-la pa-<sup>r</sup>nu<sup>1</sup>-u-a*  
 19) *um-ma* <sup>m</sup>AN.ŠÁR-DÛ-A  
 20) *ul-tú qé-reb* KUR.ELAM.MA.KI  
 21) *ú-še-ša-an-ni-ma*  
 22) *ú-še-rab-an-ni*  
 23) *<sup>r</sup>qé<sup>1</sup>-reb é-an-na*  
 24) *<sup>r</sup>a<sup>1</sup>-mat qí-bit* DINGIR-ti-šú-un  
 25) *ša ul-tú* UD.MEŠ SÛ.MEŠ *iq-bu-u*  
 26) *<sup>r</sup>e-nen<sup>1</sup>-na ú-<sup>r</sup>ka<sup>1</sup>-li-mu* UN.MEŠ EGIR.MEŠ  
 27) ŠU.II DINGIR-ti-šá GAL-ti at-mu-uḫ  
 28) *ḫar-ra-nu i-šir-tu šá ul-lu-uṣ*  
 29) *lib-bi ta-aṣ-ba-ta a-na é-an-na*  
 30) *ina qé-reb* UNUG.KI *ú-še-rib-ši-ma*  
 31) *ina é-ḫi-li-an-na šá ta-ram-mu*  
 32) *ú-šar-me-ši pa-rak da-<sup>r</sup>ra<sup>1</sup>-a-ti*

33) *ina u<sub>4</sub>-me-šú É á-ki-it* <sup>d</sup>15 GAŠAN-ia  
 34) *ša qé-reb* NINA.KI  
 35) *ša ki-ma* AMA a-lit-ti tu-<sup>r</sup>rab<sup>1</sup>-ba-an-ni  
 36) LÚ.KÚR.MEŠ-ia i-<sup>r</sup>na-ru<sup>1</sup>  
 37) *gi-mir ma-al-ki ú-šak-<sup>r</sup>ni<sup>1</sup>-šá*  
 38) *a-na* <sup>r</sup>GIR<sup>1</sup>.II-ia ša <sup>m</sup>LUGAL-GI.<sup>r</sup>NA<sup>1</sup>  
 39) AD AD AD DÛ-ia  
 40) ŠÁ.BAL.BAL <sup>m</sup>EN<sup>1</sup>-ba-ni DUMU <sup>m</sup>a-da-si  
 41) *ša du-ru-<sup>r</sup>ug<sup>1</sup>-šú bal-til.KI*  
 42) *e-pu-šú <sup>r</sup>la-ba<sup>1</sup>-riš il-lik*  
 43) *mi-qit-[ta]-šá ad-ke*  
 44) *ina* ITI <sup>r</sup>šal-me<sup>1</sup> u<sub>4</sub>-me še-me-e  
 45) *at-ta-ad-<sup>r</sup>di<sup>1</sup> tem-me-en-šá*  
 46) *ina a-gúr-ri* NA<sub>4</sub>ZÚ NA<sub>4</sub>.ZA.GÌN  
 47) É á-ki-it šú-a-tu  
 48) *a-na si-ḫir-ti-šá ar-šip*  
 49) *ú-šak-lil lu-le-e ú-mal-<sup>r</sup>li<sup>1</sup>*  
 50) AN.ŠÁR u <sup>d</sup>NIN<sup>1</sup>.LÍL DINGIR.MEŠ *tik-le-ia*  
 51) *mu-šam-šu-ú ma-la lib-bi-ia*

Col. vi

1) *qé-reb-šá ú-še-rib-ma*  
 2) *ú-še-pi-<sup>r</sup>šá<sup>1</sup> i-sin-ni É á-ki-it*  
 3) UDU.SISKUR.MEŠ *taš-ri-iḫ-ti*  
 4) *ma-ḫar-šu-un aq-qí*  
 5) *ú-šam-ḫi-ra kàd-ra-a-a*  
 6) AN.ŠÁR ù <sup>d</sup>NIN.LÍL  
 7) *ša ul-tu še-ḫe-ri-ia*  
 8) *ú-rab-bu-in-ni*  
 9) *iṣ-šu-ru* LUGAL-u-ti  
 10) *qé-reb É á-ki-it šú-a-tú ir-ru-bu-ma*  
 11) *ip-pu-šú i-sin-ni* ḪÚL.MEŠ  
 12) *ina bu-un-ni-šú-nu nam-ru-ti*

will bring me out of the land Elam and make me enter Eanna (again).”

v 24–32) The word(s) of their divine command that they had spoken in distant days, they now disclosed to the people of a later generation. I grasped the hand of her great divinity. She took the direct path, which pleases the heart, to Eanna. I made her enter into Uruk and made her dwell on (her) eternal dais in Eḫiliana, which she loves.

v 33–42) At that time, the *akītu*-house of the goddess Ištar, my lady, that is inside Nineveh — (the goddess) who rai[s]ed me like (my own) birth-mother, ki[ll]ed my enemies, (and) made all of the rulers bow down at my feet — (and) which Sargon (II) — the grandfather of the father who had engendered me, descendant of Bē[il]-bāni, son of Adāsi, whose ultimate place of [or]igin is Baltil (Aššur) — had built, had become o[ff]d.

v 43–49) I removed its collapsed sec[ti]on(s). In a favorable month, (on) an auspicious day, I (re)laid its foundation(s). In its entirety, I built (and) completed that *akītu*-house with baked bricks (colored with) obsidian (and) lapis lazuli. I filled (it) with splendor.

v 50–vi 11) I made (the god) Aššur and the goddess Mullissu, the gods who support me (and) fulfill my heart’s desire, enter inside and mad[e] (them) celebrate an *akītu*-festival. I offered sumptuous offerings before them (and) presented (them) with my gifts. (The god) Aššur and the goddess Mullissu, who raised me from childhood (and) protected my kingship, will enter that *akītu*-house and celebrate joyous festivals.

vi 12–27) With their radiant faces (and) the gaze

v 32 *ú-šar-me-ši* “made her dwell”: Ex. 1 has *ú-šar-me-UD*. The master text follows ex. 18.

v 33 For details on this *akītu*-house at Nineveh, see the introduction, as well as Frahm, NABU 2000 pp. 75–79 no. 66 and Grayson and Novotny, RINAP 3/1 p. 22.

v 35–42a In lieu of these lines, ex. 18 has [šá? <sup>m</sup>LUGAL-GI.NA?] MAN KUR <sup>r</sup>AN.ŠÁR.KI<sup>1</sup> [AD<sup>2</sup> AD<sup>2</sup> AD<sup>2</sup> DÛ-ia?] <sup>r</sup>e<sup>1</sup>-pu-šú<sup>1</sup>, “[which Sargon (II)], king of Assyria, [the grandfather of the father who engendered me], had built.”

- 13) *ina ni-iš* IGI.II.MEŠ-šú-nu SIG<sub>5</sub>.MEŠ  
 14) *šá i-bar-ra-a* <sup>1</sup>kib<sup>1</sup>-ra-a-ti  
 15) <sup>m</sup>AN.ŠÁR-[DÛ-A] <sup>1</sup>LUGAL<sup>1</sup> *mi-gir lib-bi-šú-nu*  
 16) *e-<sup>1</sup>piš<sup>1</sup>* [É á-ki-it] *šu-a-tu*  
 17) *ḥa-<sup>1</sup>diš<sup>1</sup>* [lit]-*tap-la-su*  
 18) UD.[MEŠ-ia li]-šá-ri-ku  
 19) <sup>1</sup>lu<sup>1</sup>-[uš-bi] <sup>1</sup>bu<sup>1</sup>-<sup>2</sup>a-a-ru  
 20) SUḪUŠ GIŠ.[GU.ZA LUGAL-ti]-<sup>1</sup>ia<sup>1</sup> *lu-kin-nu*  
 21) *lu-šal-<sup>1</sup>bi<sup>1</sup>-[ru]* BALA.MEŠ-ia  
 22) LÚ.KÚR.MEŠ-[ia li]-né-e-ru  
 23) *li-šam-qí-<sup>1</sup>tu<sup>1</sup>* *ga-re-ia*  
 24) *ina tukul-ti-šú-nu ra-bi-ti*  
 25) *e-ma a-qab-bu-u la-be-el*  
 26) *a-šar ú-šar-ra-mu*  
 27) *lik-šu-da* ŠU.II-a-a  
 28) *a-na* <sup>1</sup>EGIR<sup>1</sup> *u<sub>4</sub>-me* DUMU.MEŠ DUMU DUMU.MEŠ  
 29) DUMU.MEŠ ù DUMU.MEŠ  
 30) *ina* LUGAL.MEŠ DUMU.MEŠ-ia  
 31) *šá* AN.ŠÁR u <sup>d</sup>NIN.LÍL *ut-tu-šu-ma*  
 32) *a-na be-lut* KUR u <sup>1</sup>UN<sup>1</sup>.MEŠ  
 33) *i-nam-bu-ú* <sup>1</sup>zi-kir<sup>1</sup>-šú  
 34) *e-nu-ma* É á-ki-<sup>1</sup>it <sup>1</sup>šu<sup>1</sup>-a-tú  
 35) *i-lab-bi-ru-ma* <sup>1</sup>in<sup>1</sup>-na-ḥu  
 36) *an-ḥu-us-su lu-ud-diš*  
 37) MU.SAR-ú *ši-ṭir* MU-ia  
 38) *li-mur-ma* Ì.GIš *lip-šu-<sup>1</sup>uš<sup>1</sup>*  
 39) UDU.SISKUR BAL-[qí]  
 40) *a-na áš-ri-šú* lu-<sup>1</sup>ter<sup>1</sup>  
 41) DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ *ma-la ina* MU.SAR-e  
*an-<sup>1</sup>né<sup>1</sup>-[e šá-aṭ-ru]*  
 42) LUGAL-ut-ka *lik-tar-<sup>1</sup>ra-bu<sup>1</sup>*  
 43) <sup>1</sup>li<sup>1</sup>-iṣ-šu-<sup>1</sup>ru BALA<sup>1</sup>.[MEŠ-ka]  
 44) <sup>1</sup>ša MU<sup>2</sup>.SAR<sup>2</sup>-[u ši]-<sup>1</sup>ṭir<sup>1</sup> [MU-ia *ib-ba-tú*]  
 45) *ina mím-ma* <sup>1</sup>ši<sup>1</sup>-[pir] <sup>1</sup>ni<sup>1</sup>-kil-<sup>1</sup>ti<sup>1</sup> *ú-ḥal-<sup>1</sup>la<sup>1</sup>-[qu]*  
 46) *it-ti* MU.SAR-[e]  
 47) *ši-ṭir* MU-šú *la i-šak-<sup>1</sup>ka-nu<sup>1</sup>*  
 48) DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ  
 49) *ša* AN-e ù KI-tim  
 50) LUGAL-us-su *lis-ki-pu*  
 51) MU-šú NUMUN-šú *ina* KUR *lu-ḥal-li-qu*

**Date ex. 1**

- 52A) ITI.KIN UD.24.[KÁM]  
 53A) *lim-me* <sup>md</sup>MUATI-MAN-PAP.MEŠ-šú LÚ.[NAM]  
 54A) KUR.sa-mir-i-[na]

**Date ex. 2**

- 52B) ITI.NE.NE.NÍG UD.6.KÁM  
 53B) *lim-me* <sup>md</sup>MUATI-MAN-PAP.MEŠ-<sup>1</sup>šú<sup>1</sup>  
 54B) <sup>1</sup>LÚ<sup>1</sup>.NAM KUR.<sup>1</sup>sa-mir-i-na<sup>1</sup>

of their favorable eyes, which watch over the (four) quarters (of the world), [may] they [I]look [with] pleasu[re] upon (me), Ashur[banipal], the king who is the favorite of their hearts, the builde[r of] this [akitu-house. May] they lengthen [my] day[s] (so that) I may [be fully satisfied with (my) g]ood fortune. (vi 20) May they make the foundation(s) of m[<sup>y</sup> royal throne] endure (and) make my reign last for a lo[ng] time. May] they kill [my] enemies, (and) cut dow[n] my foes. With their great support, may I rule wherever I desire (lit. “I say”) (and) achieve whatever (lit. “the place”) I strive for.

vi 28–43) In the future, may (one of) the sons, grandsons, (great grand)sons, or (great, great grand)sons, one of the kings, my descendants, whom (the god) Aššur and the goddess Mullissu choose and nomi[na]te for ruling over the land and [peo]ple, renovate its dilapidated section(s) when [t]his *aki[tu]*-house becomes old and d[il]apidated. May he find an inscribed object bearing my name, anoint (it) with oil, ma[ke] an offering, (and) re[turn] (it) to its place. May the great gods, as many as [are recorded] on th[is] inscribed object, constantly bl[es]s your kingship (and) protect [your] rel[ign].

vi 44–51) (As for) the one who [destroys] *an i[nscribed] obj[ect]* bear[ing] [my name], makes (it) disap[pear] by some [c]raft[y] de[vice], (or) does not place (it) with an inscribed obj[ect] bearing his name, may the great gods of heaven and netherworld overthrow his kingship (and) make his name (and) seed disappear from the land.

**Date ex. 1**

vi 52A–54A) Ulūlu (VI), the twenty-four[th] day, eponymy of Nabû-šar-aḥḥēšu, [governor of] the land Samari[a] (645).

**Date ex. 2**

vi 52B–54B) Abu (V), the sixth day, eponymy of Nabû-šar-aḥḥēšu, governor of the land Samaria (645).

# 11

The most famous and frequently cited inscription of Ashurbanipal is the annals edition that is generally designated in scholarly publications as “Prism A” or the “Rassam Prism” (the latter specifically referring to ex. 1). This text is the longest extant late Neo-Assyrian inscription (ca. 1,300 lines) and, at present, is inscribed on two damaged, but mostly complete, ten-sided clay prisms and approximately one hundred and eighty prism fragments. The scribe(s) responsible for its composition not only made full use of the contents of earlier inscriptions — especially text nos. 6 (Prism C), 7 (Prism Kh), and 9 (Prism F) — but also wrote out a great deal of new material, even for accounts of the king’s earliest campaigns. Unlike text no. 9, this version of the annals included reports of every campaign led by the king or one of his eunuchs, at least those that had been deemed worthy of recording in official texts. In addition to the events described in the military narration of text nos. 1–4 and 6–10, this inscription recorded significant achievements that had taken place after (or perhaps even simultaneous with) the fifth Elamite campaign, including the voluntary submission of the Elamite king Pa’e, the capture of the fugitive Elamite ruler Ummanaldašu (Ḫumban-ḫaltaš III), and the successful expedition against the Arabs, during which the troublemakers Uaite’, Abī-Yate’, and Aya-ammu were taken captive, brought back to Assyria, and punished; the Urartian king Ištar-dūrī (Sarduri III) is also reported to have made friendly overtures by sending gifts and cordial letters. Ashurbanipal had his (team of) scribe(s) also include a few details about an *akītu*-festival (New Year’s celebration) held at Nineveh: He states that he had three Elamite kings (Tammarītu, Pa’e, and Ummanaldašu) and one Arabian leader (Uaite’) hitched up like horses to his processional carriage and had them pull it to the main gateway of temple of Ištar/Mullissu (Emašmaš). The inscription’s prologue and building report respectively concern themselves with Ashurbanipal’s appointment as Esarhaddon’s successor in Assyria and the construction of a new House of Succession at Nineveh, which he transformed into his own palace. The text’s composer(s) reworked and expanded material in both passages that had been composed anew for text no. 9 (Prism F). A few new details are provided about Ashurbanipal’s efforts to build himself a new royal residence: Workmen used wagons that had been brought back as plunder from Elam to transport bricks and several unnamed Arabian kings are said to have served as common laborers. Four exemplars (exs. 1–4) preserve dates and at least three of them were inscribed in the post-canonical eponymy of Šamaš-da’ inanni, governor of Akkad/Babylon, during the first (Nisannu), second (Ayyāru), and sixth (Ulūlu) months of the year. It is uncertain, however, if Šamaš-da’ inanni’s eponymy immediately followed that of Nabû-šar-aḫḫēšu or whether it was separated from it by one or two years; thus, “Prism A” could have been written on clay prisms during either 644, 643, or 642.



## CATALOGUE

Ex.	Museum Number	Registration Number	Provenance	Lines Preserved	cpn
1	K 15110 + Rm 1	—	Nineveh, North Palace, wall of Room H	i 1-x 120, date	c
2	K 1678 + K 1706C-L + K 1708A-J + K 1747A-E + K 1754A + K 1762A-G + K 1763A + K 1763C-F + K 1763H-T + K 1775A + K 1775C-F + K 7563 + K 7564 + K 7565 + K 7566 + K 7567 + K 7568 + K 7569 + K 8537 (BM 91086) + K 16019 + K 16032 + K 16777 + K 16779 (+) K 1763B	—	Nineveh, North Palace	i 1-26, 35-37, 48-64, 70-76, 79-134, ii 48-90, 109-iii 64, 73-ix 27, 65-x 56, 62-120, date	c
3	K 1697 + K 1817 + K 1818A (BM 93010) + K 6376 + K 15352 + Rm 2,49 + Rm 2,61 + Rm 2,67 + Rm 2,74 + Rm 2,84 (+) 80-7-19,7	80-7-19,7	Probably Nineveh	i 101-ii 14, 96-132, iii 88-iv 1, 87-134, v 87-vi 8, 117-vii 44, viii 43-95, ix 52-84, x 22-44, 103-120, date	c
4	K 1698 (BM 93009) + Th 1905-4-9,446 (BM 98940) (+) K 1790	Th 1905-4-9,446	As ex. 3	v 16-59, vi 20-73, vii 42-92, viii 91-ix 14, 102-x 26, 109-120, date	c
5	K 1706A + K 1719+ K 1720 + K 1721 + K 1736 + K 1739 + K 1742 + K 1746 + K 1761A + K 1795 + K 15348 + Rm 2,46 + Rm 2,51 + Rm 2,57 + Rm 2,59 + Rm 2,63 + Rm 2,64 + Rm 2,65 + Rm 2,68 + Rm 2,604 (+) Rm 2,593	—	As ex. 3	i 1-70, 78-93, 112-119, ii 22-42, 48, 65-75, 83-90, 127-iii 18, 33-68, 96-iv 66, 86-v 15, 20-25, 40-58, 86-vi 1, 19-47, 79-81, 117-vii 66, 89-103, viii 29-105, 112-ix 17, 55-60, 71-103, x 22-31, 39-50, 54-62, 67-76, 87-91, 115-120	c
6	K 1712 (+) K 1712A + K 1763G (+) K 1712B (+) Rm 2,73	—	As ex. 3	i 82-1131, ii 74-80, 86-110, iii 79-87, ix 109-112, x 112-120	c
7	K 1722 + K 1724	—	As ex. 3	ii 82-90, iii 49-69, iv 64-74	p
8	K 1730 + K 1738 + K 1768 + Sm 1888	—	As ex. 3	iii 113-135, iv 114-v 7, 98-vi 3, 125-vii 1	c
9	K 1758A + K 1823 + 82-5-22,5	—	As ex. 3	vi 18-39, vii 41-68, viii 49-68	p
10	K 1777 + K 1819 + K 1827	—	As ex. 3	v 93-111, vi 106-126	c
11	K 1780 + K 1783 + K 1793 + K 1829 + K 1842 + K 1850A + Sm 2023	—	As ex. 3	ii 113-122, iii 92-iv 32, iv 95-v 13, 104-127, vi 10-31, vii 47-54	c
12	K 1785 + 76-11-17,146 (BM 30423)	76-11-17,146	As ex. 3	iii 52-61, iv 22-51	p
13	K 1800 + 82-5-22,1	82-5-22,1	As ex. 3	iii 78-87, 95-97, iv 72-99	p
14	K 1805 + Sm 1 + Sm 2018 + 82-5-22,4	82-5-22,4	As ex. 3	i 70-83, ii 13-28, 100-119, iii 78-105, 111-123, iv 71-122, v 112, 125-vi 26	c

15	K 1822 + K 3058 + Sm 2046 + 81-2-4,491 + 82-3-23,76	81-2-4,491 + 82-3-23,76		v 3-93, vi 86-97, 119-vii 36, viii 96-105	c
16	K 1824 + 81-2-4,181	81-2-4,181	As ex. 3	vii 6-34, viii 20-47	p
17	K 1831 + Rm 8 + Rm 2,76 + Rm 2,78 + Rm 2,573	—	As ex. 3	ii 116-iii 10, 80-iv 3, 6-10, iv 65-v 6, 56-vi 12, 71-vii 26, 103-viii 25, 32-77, ix 9-36, 45-61, 75-81, x 25-26, 31-34	c
18	K 1840 + K 1841	—	As ex. 3	ix 106-117, x 70-96	p
19	K 6378 (+) Sm 2114	—	As ex. 3	v 10-16, v 130-vi 11	p
20	K 19681 + DT 162	—	As ex. 3	ix 99-110, x 109-120	p
21	Rm 2 + Rm 5 + Rm 6 + Rm 7 + Rm 9 + Rm 11 + Rm 14 + Bu 89-4-26,153	Bu 89-4-26,153	As ex. 3	i 1-56, 131-ii 18, 21-27, 114-131, iii 105-114, iv 94-112, v 98-126, vi 99-122, vii 1-19, 116-viii 19, 26-61, ix 17-45, 47-70, x 30-78	c
22	Rm 2,55 + 81-7-27,11	81-7-27,11	As ex. 3	v 53-62, vi 46-57	c
23	Rm 2,89 + BM 127893	1929-10-12,549	Nineveh, Asn. Palace, Square D, outside the palace	ix 89-106, x 60-75	p
24	79-7-8,9 + BM 134494	79-7-8,9 + 1932-12-12,489	As ex. 3	i 59-78, x 80-104	p
25	—	79-7-8,12 + 80-7-19,274	As ex. 3	iii 107-117, iv 80-90	p
26	BM 117902 + BM 127836	1929-10-12,492	Nineveh, Area SH	i 103-105, ii 100-112, iii 106-125, iv 98-111, v 95-113, vi 120-vii 6, viii 2-16	c
27	BM 123411 + BM 123440	1932-12-10,354 + 1932-12-10,383	Nineveh, Iṣtar Temple, Squares K and W	iii 88-121, iv 97-117	p
28	BM 123419 + BM 123424	1932-12-10,362 + 1932-12-10,367	Nineveh, Iṣtar Temple, Squares K and W; Asn. Palace	viii 45-65, ix 48-73, x 56-80	c
29	A 8092 + A 8148	—	Purchased by E. Chiera in Mosul	iii 113-130, iv 103-113	c
30	A 8093 + A 8096	—	As ex. 29	iv 8-28, v 2-12	c
31	A 8098 + Rm 17	—	Purchased by E. Chiera in Mosul; probably Nineveh	vii 28-40, viii 69-78, ix 109-121	c
32	A 8099 + A 8100	—	As ex. 29	vii 41-59	c
33	A 8122 + A 8155 + A 8160 (+) A 8152	—	As ex. 29	iv 122-135	c
34	K 1701	—	As ex. 3	iv 53-69, v 39-52	p
35	K 1706B	—	As ex. 3	i 97-99, ii 59-60	p
36	K 1723 + K 1734	—	As ex. 3	iii 6-15, iii 114-133	p
37	K 1726	—	As ex. 3	ii 41-56, iii 11-25	p
38	K 1727	—	As ex. 3	iii 55-73, iv 40-53	p
39	K 1735	—	As ex. 3	vii 82-90, viii 93-108	p
40	K 1744	—	As ex. 3	iv 70-75, v 66-74	p
41	K 1745	—	As ex. 3	ix 61-73, x 71-80	p
42	K 1758B	—	As ex. 3	iii 19-24, iii 137-iv 4	c
43	K 1764	—	As ex. 3	ix 46-52, x 55-56	c
44	K 1766	—	As ex. 3	vii 101-109	p
45	K 1770	—	As ex. 3	ix 55-85, x 57-90	c
46	K 1771	—	As ex. 3	vi 92-106, vii 110-viii 27, ix 73-86	c
47	K 1772	—	As ex. 3	ii 28-54, iii 10-36	c
48	K 1773	—	As ex. 3	ix 70-84	c
49	K 1774	—	As ex. 3	i 115-116, ii 73-80	c

50	K 1775B	—	As ex. 3	iii 92-99	p
51	K 1778	—	As ex. 3	viii 19-36	p
52	K 1781	—	As ex. 3	ii 23-33, 124-iii 10	p
53	K 1782	—	As ex. 3	i 92-99, x 115-120	p
54	K 1784	—	As ex. 3	i 121-133, ii 93-98	p
55	K 1787	—	As ex. 3	x 31-51	p
56	K 1788	—	As ex. 3	i 36-51, ii 16-23	c
57	K 1789	—	As ex. 3	i 102-119, x 110-120	p
58	K 1791	—	As ex. 3	i 97-105	p
59	K 1792	—	As ex. 3	viii 30-45, ix 73-85	p
60	K 1797	—	As ex. 3	i 118-123, ii 102-110	p
61	K 1798	—	As ex. 3	ix 100-110, x 99-103	p
62	K 1825	—	As ex. 3	v 22-33	p
63	K 1826	—	As ex. 3	viii 40-64, ix 107-114	p
64	K 1833 + 81-7-27,13	81-7-27,13	As ex. 3	vi 42-59, vii 101-104	p
65	K 1851	—	As ex. 3	ix 30-38, x 43-57	p
66	K 2734	—	As ex. 3	ii 116-123	p
67	K 2735	—	As ex. 3	ix 48-57	p
68	K 2737	—	As ex. 3	viii 49-55, ix 70-72	p
69	K 2738	—	As ex. 3	vii 99-108	p
70	K 2739	—	As ex. 3	viii 63-76	p
71	K 2750	—	As ex. 3	vi 40-63, vii 66-105	p
72	K 3057	—	As ex. 3	iii 13-22	p
73	K 3407	—	As ex. 3	i 117-123	c
74	K 6377	—	As ex. 3	iv 4-10	p
75	K 14435	—	As ex. 3	ii 3-9, ii 109-114	p
76	K 15149	—	As ex. 3	ii 129-iii 1	p
77	K 15199	—	As ex. 3	ii 73-78	p
78	K 16778	—	As ex. 3	ii 28-32	p
79	K 16986	—	As ex. 3	ii 111-115	p
80	K 18813	—	As ex. 3	ix 64-70	p
81	K 19424	—	As ex. 3	ii 85-90	p
82	K 19670	—	As ex. 3	iv 126-130	p
83	K 20749	—	As ex. 3	ii 78-82	p
84	K 21389 + K 21813 (+) K 21417	—	As ex. 3	ii 3-13	p
85	Sm 2024	—	As ex. 3	x 17-31	p
86	Sm 2031	—	As ex. 3	ii 30-40, 134-iii 17	p
87	Sm 2036	—	As ex. 3	ii 16-23, ii 119-125	p
88	Sm 2038	—	As ex. 3	iv 37-45, v 26-35	p
89	Sm 2048	—	As ex. 3	iii 97-111	p
90	Sm 2053	—	As ex. 3	i 2-13, x 40-45	p
91	Sm 2104	—	As ex. 3	vii 101-107	p
92	Sm 2110	—	As ex. 3	i 33-38, ii 11-15	p
93	DT 158	—	As ex. 3	ii 134-iii 10, 119-132	p
94	DT 159	—	As ex. 3	i 50-58, x 55-64	p
95	Rm 10	—	As ex. 3	vii 44-59, viii 63-84	p
96	Rm 20 + Rm 2,66	—	As ex. 3	i 84-93, x 60-64, date	p
97	Rm 23	—	As ex. 3	i 69-71, x 111-114	p
98	Rm 29	—	As ex. 3	iv 122-131, v 130-vi 7	p
99	Rm 32	—	As ex. 3	i 63-66, ii 75-83	p
100	Rm 33	—	As ex. 3	v 12-24	p
101	Rm 34	—	As ex. 3	x 55-66	p
102	Rm 36	—	As ex. 3	viii 46-50, ix 37-44	p
103	Rm 496	—	As ex. 3	ii 90-95, iii 67-69	p
104	Rm 2,58	—	As ex. 3	viii 100-108, ix 99-112	p
105	Rm 2,62	—	As ex. 3	ix 40-42	p
106	Rm 2,77	—	As ex. 3	i 51-59, x 74-83	p
107	Rm 2,81	—	As ex. 3	ix 25-46, x 44-52	p
108	BM 32646	76-11-17,2413	As ex. 3	x 99-108	c
109	BM 32649	76-11-17,2416	As ex. 3	vi 36-43	c
110	—	79-7-8,1	As ex. 3	i 33-40, ii 14-28	p

111	—	79-7-8,13	As ex. 3	i 24-43	p
112	—	79-7-8,279	As ex. 3	ii 132-iii 6	p
113	—	80-7-19,6	As ex. 3	ix 122-x 3, 94-99	p
114	—	80-7-19,278	As ex. 3	viii 107-117	p
115	—	81-2-4,180	As ex. 3	ii 81-88, iii 57-67	p
116	—	81-2-4,325	As ex. 3	iii 17-22, iv 25-43	p
117	—	81-7-27,14	As ex. 3	ii 18-26, ii 122-132	p
118	—	82-5-22,3	As ex. 3	i 54-70, ii 36-49	p
119	—	82-5-22,9	As ex. 3	x 10-28	c
120	—	82-5-22,11	As ex. 3	viii 104-121, ix 107-117	p
121	—	82-5-22,14	As ex. 3	ii 126-130	p
122	—	82-5-22,16	As ex. 3	i 11-23	p
123	—	82-5-22,17	As ex. 3	vii 75-86	p
124	—	82-5-22,20	As ex. 3	ii 52-61, iii 12-23	p
125	—	82-5-22,530	As ex. 3	ix 10-17	p
126	—	Bu 89-4-26,47	As ex. 3	ix 99-105	c
127	—	Bu 91-5-9,129 + Bu 91-5-9,175 + Bu 91-5-9,200	As ex. 3	viii 99-107, ix 123-x 11, 98-107	c
128	—	Bu 91-5-9,190	As ex. 3	ii 14-21, 128-iii 1	c
129	—	Ki 1902-5-10,12	Nineveh	vii 1-8, viii 50-58	c
130	BM 99045	Ki 1904-10-9,74	As ex. 129	iv 106-118, v 107-118	c
131	BM 99049	Ki 1904-10-9,78	As ex. 129	i 63-75, ii 20-31	c
132	BM 99052	Ki 1904-10-9,81	As ex. 129	viii 59-65, ix 74-89	c
133	BM 99059	Ki 1904-10-9,88	As ex. 129	iv 97-117, v 108-114	c
134	BM 99060	Ki 1904-10-9,89	As ex. 129	ix 74-81, x 75-84	c
135	BM 99322	Ki 1904-10-9,355	As ex. 129	viii 35-45	c
136	BM 99330	Ki 1904-10-9,363	As ex. 129	viii 85-92	c
137	BM 98569	Th 1905-4-9,75	As ex. 129	viii 54-60, ix 71-74	c
138	BM 98689	Th 1905-4-9,195	As ex. 129	iv 134-v 3	c
139	BM 121012	1929-10-12,8	As ex. 129	i 106-122, ii 93-100	c
140	BM 121014	1929-10-12,10	As ex. 129	v 61-73, vi 80-106, vii 116-viii 6	c
141	BM 122621	1930-5-8,10	As ex. 129	v 8-13, v 130-132	p
142	BM 123405	1932-12-10,348	As ex. 129	x 43-50	p
143	BM 123420	1932-12-10,363	As ex. 142 = Nineveh, Ištar Temple, Square W	vii 13-44	p
144	BM 123423	1932-12-10,366	Nineveh, Chol	ii 93-102, iii 69-76	p
145	BM 123426	1932-12-10,369	Nineveh, Ištar Temple, Square Q	ii 67-72, iii 32-45	p
146	BM 123429	1932-12-10,372	Nineveh, Ištar Temple, Square S	ii 89-99, iii 53-65	p
147	BM 123434	1932-12-10,377	As ex. 144	ii 121-127	p
148	BM 123437	1932-12-10,380	As ex. 129	i 17-24, x 9-14	p
149	BM 127858	1929-10-12,514	As ex. 129	iii 23-45, iv 20-27	c
150	BM 127885	1929-10-12,541	As ex. 129	ii 47-51, iii 19-34	c
151	BM 127897	1929-10-12,553	As ex. 129	iv 112-130, v 106-124	c
152	BM 127913	1929-10-12,569	As ex. 129	iv 46-58	c
153	BM 127937	1929-10-12,593	As ex. 129	iv 91-109, v 104-119	c
154	BM 127977	1929-10-12,633	As ex. 129	v 42-44	c
155	BM 127980	1929-10-12,636	As ex. 129	iv 26-42	c
156	BM 127995	1929-10-12,651	As ex. 129	iv 91-97	c
157	BM 128113	1929-10-12,769	As ex. 129	vii 39-53	p
158	BM 128121	1929-10-12,777	As ex. 144	i 53-58	p
159	BM 128233	1932-12-10,490	As ex. 26	x 11-27, 118-120	c
160	BM 134607	1932-12-12,602	As ex. 129	ii 23-29, iii 1-3	c
161	BM 134608	1932-12-12,603	As ex. 129	v 116-128	c
162	BM 134824	1932-12-12,619	As ex. 129	iv 35-40	c
163	A 8088	—	As ex. 29	i 77-94	c
164	A 8091	—	As ex. 29	iii 17-32, iv 16-25	c
165	A 8095	—	As ex. 29	iv 76-85	c

166	A 8097	—	As ex. 29	vi 51–63, vii 58–74, viii 73–93	c
167	A 8101	—	As ex. 29	ix 68–72	c
168	A 8103	—	As ex. 29	i 102–105, ii 78–97, iii 67–88	c
169	A 8120	—	As ex. 29	i 18–21, x 80–83	c
170	A 8129	—	As ex. 29	i 10–23	c
171	A 11850	—	As ex. 29	ii 22–37	c
172	A 11854	—	As ex. 29	x 53–64	c
173	A 11860	—	Purchased by A.C. Piepkorn in Mosul	v 72–84, vi 56–70	c
174	VAT 4104	—	Nineveh or Aššur	ii 28–45	
175	YBC 7133	—	As ex. 3	iii 116–125	c
176	BM 127987	1929-10-12,643	As ex. 129	i 33–41	c
177	K 11715	—	As ex. 3	vi 127–vii 6	p
178	K 18164	—	As ex. 3	viii 2–11	c
179	K 20076	—	As ex. 3	x 6–10	c
180	DT 293	—	As ex. 3	x 23–32	c

## CATALOGUE OF UNCERTAIN EXEMPLARS

Ex.	Museum Number	Registration Number	Provenance	Lines Preserved	cpn
1*	K 14981	—	As ex. 3	ii 9–14	c

## COMMENTARY

Although this inscription has several exemplars that contain textual variants, especially in the description of the construction of the king's new palace at Nineveh, there are significantly fewer variants attested for this text than for text no. 9 (Prism F). Even when variants are attested, these alterations are relatively minor. The non-orthographic variants are noted in the on-page notes; as usual, the plethora of orthographic variants are listed at the back of the book. A full score of the inscription is presented on Oracc.

The identification of the House of Succession (*bīt ridûti*) with the North Palace stems from W.K. Loftus' (1854) and H. Rassam's (1878) discovery of two nearly perfect prisms in the ruins of that poorly preserved royal residence. Ex. 1 (the so-called "Rassam Cylinder") was transported to the British Museum (London) more or less undamaged, but ex. 2 (which is also known as "Cylinder A") broke into numerous fragments en route to London; a considerable portion of that exemplar has been lost. For details on the discovery of these two large ten-sided prisms, see, for example, Rassam, *Asshur* pp. 33–34 and 221; G. Smith, *Records of the Past* 1 p. 57; G. Smith, 3 R p. 7; and Borger, *BIWA* pp. 1–3.

R. Borger (*BIWA* p. 323) edits K 1706F, K 1706G, K 1706I, and K 1706K as independent fragments.

However, J. Jeffers was able to join K 1706I and K 1706K to ex. 2; the former at x 48'–50' of the exemplar [= x 105–106 of the master text], and the latter at i 6'''–8''' [= i 74–76 of the master text]. Furthermore, given that so many of the fragments containing the identification "K 1706" belong with ex. 2, the fragments K 1706F and K 1706G are tentatively edited with ex. 2 as well.

The small prism fragment K 14981 is edited with this text (ii 9–14) as ex. 1\*, though its contents also parallel text no. 2 (Prism E<sub>2</sub>) v 11–12, text no. 6 (Prism C) iii 1'–5', and text no. 7 (Prism Kh) ii 55''–60'' (cf. the Large Egyptian Tablets Inscription obv. 58'–63' [Novotny, *SACT* 10 pp. 82–83 no. 20]); thus, it may belong to one of those inscriptions instead. Exs. 178–179 and 1\* were identified by E. Jiménez in the British Museum. The authors thank him for bringing them to their attention.

Numerous other prism fragments may be inscribed with copies of this text, rather than some other (earlier) version of Ashurbanipal's annals. These are edited as text no. 3 (Prism B) exs. 138\*–144\* and 147\*, text no. 6 (Prism C) exs. 12\*–16\*, and text no. 9 (Prism F) exs. 1\*–41\*. For further details, see the catalogues and commentaries of those inscriptions.

For some details about a few non-standard sign forms used by Ashurbanipal's scribes — especially the SAR, BÂD, and NUNDUM signs in ex. 1 — see Borger, BIWA pp. 1–2. Following the model of earlier RINAP and RIM publications, the edition and score of this text does not differentiate between normal SAR signs (those starting with three horizontal wedges) and those written using the EZEN sign (which starts with two horizontal wedges), the BÂD sign when it begins with three horizontal wedges (rather than with two), the NUNDUM sign (KA×NUN) when it is written using the SU<sub>6</sub> sign (KA×SA), and the normal

DU<sub>6</sub> sign when it is written as DUL (which omits the winkelhaken). Those interested in these minor paleographic variants (where they occur and in which exemplars), can consult Borger, BIWA pp. 14–76 (and *passim* in the microfiches).

As mentioned in the Dating and Chronology section of the book's introduction, as well as in the introduction to this text (see above), there is no scholarly consensus on when Šamaš-da'inanni, governor of Akkad/Babylon, was eponym. For further details, along with the relevant bibliographical information, see the introduction.

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- 2002 Durand, *Studies Parrot* p. 47 with n. 19 (ix 106–107, edition, study)
- 2002 Holloway, *Aššur is King* pp. 101, 107, 110 no. 4, 118 no. 2, 143–144 nos. 52–55, 185, 250 no. 27, 268 nos. 24–25, 283 no. 21, 326, 330, 381, and 413 (study)
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- 2003 Novotny, *Ēḫulḫul* pp. 120, 211, and *passim* (x 51–56, 85–96, translation; study)
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- 2004 Bahrani, *Iraq* 66 p. 116 (iii 29–36, study)
- 2004 Bonatz, *Iraq* 66 p. 100 (iv 16–17, vii 46b, translation; vii 46–47, study)
- 2004 Liverani, *Myth and Politics* pp. 164 and 175 (ii 49–57, partial translation; vii 46, translation; study)
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- 2004 Ryholt, *Studies Larsen* pp. 484–490 (i 90–116a, study)
- 2004 Thomason, *Iraq* 66 pp. 153 and 158 (ii 41a, x 107b, edition, study)
- 2005 Cogan, *Textus* 22 pp. 5–8 and 10–18 (i 12, 57a, 64b–66a, 113b, ii 6a, 28b, 59b, iii 2b–3b, 9, iv 10, vii 37, 90, 122, x 23, edition; study)
- 2005 Hecker, *TUAT*<sup>2</sup> 2 pp. 74–81 no. 3.10A (i 1–34, 41–47, 52–ii 21, 95–125, iii 70–iv 95, translation, study)
- 2005 Frame and George, *Iraq* 67/1 p. 280 (i 31–33, translation)
- 2005 Radner, *Macht des Namens* p. 34 with n. 191, pp. 202–203 n. 1082, p. 204, and p. 227 n. 1127 (i 2, x 108–113, edition; i 23–34, ii 41–43, study)
- 2005 Reade, *Iraq* 67/1 p. 381 (study)
- 2005 Potts, *IrAnt* 40 pp. 168, 171, and 174 (v 81a, edition; v 63–82, translation; v 115–116, study)
- 2006 Bagg, *SAAB* 15 p. 190 (x 98, study)
- 2006 Melville in Chavalas, *ANE* pp. 363–367 (i 1–ii 33, iii 27–49, 70–135, iv 41b–109, v 63–65, vi 77–124, translation)
- 2006 Ponchia, *SAAB* 15 pp. 257–262 and n. 264 (v 13–14, edition; v 111–112, vii 12–15, partial edition; ii 130–131, 134b–iii 1a, normalization; viii 73–ix 114, study)
- 2006 Pongratz-Leisten, *JCSMS* 1 p. 24 (v 95–103, translation, study)
- 2006 Radner, *Bagh. Mitt.* 37 p. 188 n. 12 (ix 79–80, edition)
- 2006 Radner, *SAAB* 15 pp. 298–299 with n. 135 (viii 108–110, edition; viii 119–ix 8, study)
- 2006 Radner and Kroll, *ZA* 96 p. 217 n. 20 (ii 12b–13, edition)
- 2006 Waters, *IrAnt* 41 p. 63 (v 6–10, study)
- 2007 Aster, *JAOS* 127 p. 252 n. 19 and p. 266 (i 85–86, iii 37, edition)
- 2007 Carter, *Studies Adams* p. 154 (vi 70–76, partial translation)
- 2008 Cogan, *Raging Torrent* pp. 149–157 no. 36 and pp. 160–161 no. 38 (i 52–ii 48, ix 115–128, translation, study)
- 2008 Frame, *JCSMS* 3 p. 30 (iv 86–96, translation)
- 2008 Fuchs, *WO* 38 p. 66 n. 19 (iii 27–49, study)
- 2008 Nadali, *Iraq* 70 p. 100 (vi 125–vii 8, study)
- 2008 Novotny and Watanabe, *Iraq* 70 pp. 105 n. 2, 110, 112–120, and 122 no. 6 (iv 64–65, edition; iv 46–52, vi 60b–61, translation; iv 9–41, study)
- 2009 Álvarez-Mon, *IrAnt* 44 p. 131 and p. 147 n. 28 (vi 77–95, translation; v 1–10, study)
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- 2009 Meinhold, *Ištar* pp. 51, 59, 160–161, 190–191, 198–203, 227, 233–234, and 236–237 with nn. 1125, 1178, 1184, 1197, 1206, and 1420 (i 1b, viii 91b–92, ix 75–89, x 26b–27, 51b–52, edition; study)
- 2010 Barbato, *Kaskal* 7 p. 188 (viii 10–110, x 51–120, study)
- 2010 Fuchs, *Interkulturalität* pp. 410–415 and 419–421 (ii 95–125, study)
- 2010 Novotny, *Studies Ellis* p. 118 n. 54 (x 51–108, study)
- 2010 Potts, *Studies Ellis* pp. 57–58 (vi 27–29, 65–66, study)
- 2011 Talon, *Annales Assyriennes* 1 pp. 145–187 (ex. 1, edition); and 2 pp. 131–170 (ex. 1, copy)
- 2012 May, *CRRA* 54 pp. 479–480 (x 17–31, edition)
- 2012 Worthington, *Textual Criticism* pp. 58, 77, 98, 117, 121–122, 124, 141–144, 151–152, 180, 184, 189, 195–196, 226–228, and 285–286 with nn. 501–502, 505, and 610 (study; exs. 1, 21, study)
- 2013 Baruchi-Unna, *CRRA* 56 pp. 615–616 and 621 n. 46 (ii 111–120a, iv 86–91, translation, study)
- 2013 May, *CRRA* 56 pp. 199–201 and 208 (i 23–34, edition, study)
- 2014 Cogan, *Orient* 49 pp. 69–82 (ii 63–80, 102–103, 111–125, iii 4–9, 118–127, v 95–103, vi 107–124, ix 53–74, edition; study)
- 2014 May, *CRRA* 55 pp. 718–722 (vi 27–32, 44–76, vii 16–50, edition, study)
- 2014 Novotny, *JCS* 66 p. 111 and p. 120 n. 70 (x 51–56, 95–96, study)
- 2016 Sano, *UF* 47 pp. 252–253, 255–258, and 261–262 no. 9 (i 90–113, translation; i 52–61, 118–134, ii 8–19, 22–48, 114–115, study)
- 2017 Baruchi-Unna, *JCS* 69 pp. 207–208 (i 66, 81–82, ii 111–120, study)
- 2017 Hurowitz in *COS* 4 pp. 182–196 (i 1–x 120, translation; ex. 1, study)
- 2017 Liverani, *Assyria* p. 27, 47, 51, 74–76, 86–87, 136–137, 141, 147, 150, 213–214, 224–225, and 231–232 (partial translation)

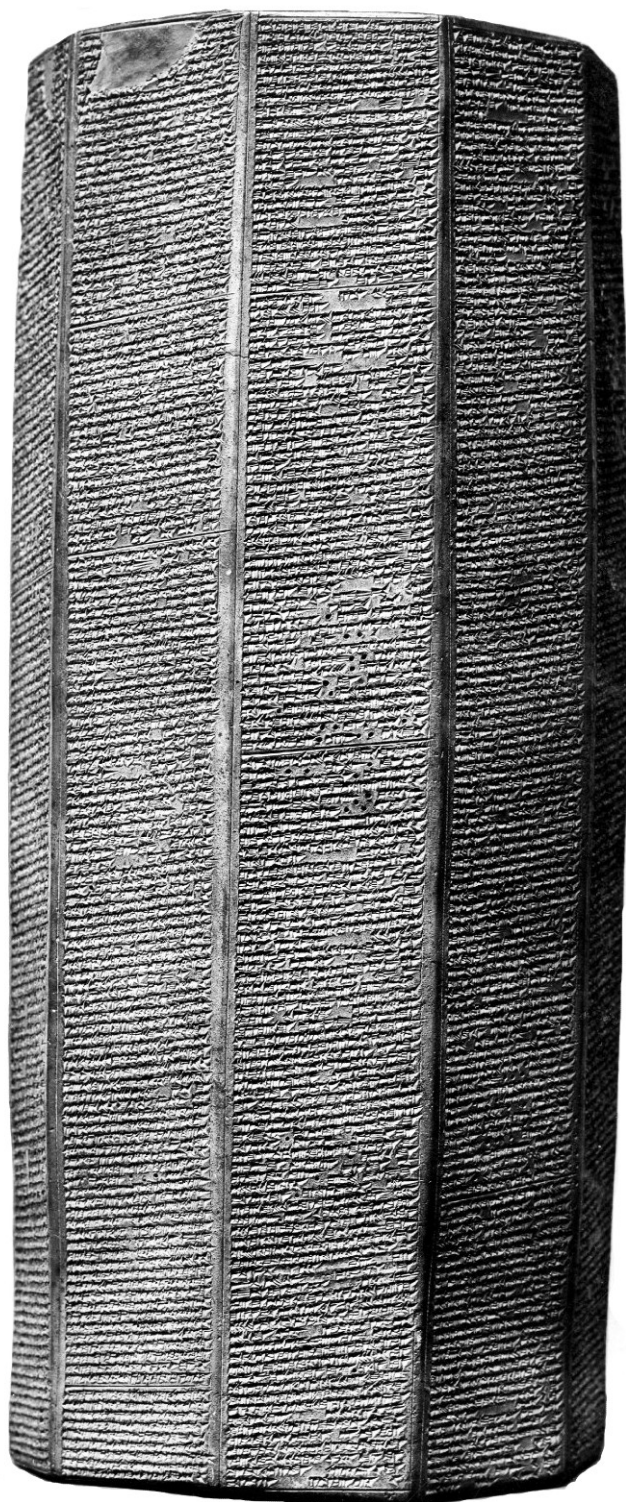


Figure 12. Rm 1 (text no. 11 ex. 1), the so-called Rassam Prism which records numerous military victories of Ashurbanipal and a description of the construction of an elaborately decorated palace at Nineveh. © Trustees of the British Museum.



## TEXT

## Col. i

- 1) *a-na-ku* <sup>m</sup>AN.ŠÁR-DÛ-A *bi-nu-tu* AN.ŠÁR u  
<sup>d</sup>NIN.LÍL  
2) DUMU LUGAL GAL-ú *ša É ri-du-u-ti*  
3) *ša* AN.ŠÁR u <sup>d</sup>30 EN AGA *ul-tu* UD.MEŠ SÛ.MEŠ  
4) *ni-bit* MU-šú *iz-ku-ru a-na* LUGAL-u-ti  
5) *ù ina* ŠĀ AMA-šú *ib-nu-šú a-na* SIPA-ut KUR  
AN.ŠÁR.KI  
6) <sup>d</sup>UTU <sup>d</sup>IŠKUR u <sup>d</sup>15 *ina* EŠ.BAR-šú-nu *ke-e-ni*  
7) *iq-bu-ú e-peš* LUGAL-ti-ia  
8) <sup>m</sup>AN.ŠÁR-PAP-SUM.NA MAN KUR AN.ŠÁR.KI AD  
*ba-nu-u-a*  
9) *a-mat* AN.ŠÁR u <sup>d</sup>NIN.LÍL DINGIR.MEŠ  
*ti-ik-le-e-šú it-ta-id*  
10) *ša iq-bu-u-šú e-peš* LUGAL-ti-<sup>r</sup>ia<sup>1</sup>  
11) *ina* ITL.GU<sub>4</sub> ITI <sup>d</sup>é-a EN *te-né-še-e-ti*  
12) UD.12.KAM UD ŠE.GA SUM.NINDA *ša* <sup>d</sup>gu-la  
13) *ina e-peš pi-i mut-tal-li*  
14) *ša* AN.ŠÁR <sup>d</sup>NIN.LÍL <sup>d</sup>30 <sup>d</sup>UTU <sup>d</sup>IŠKUR  
15) <sup>d</sup>EN <sup>d</sup>AG <sup>d</sup>15 *ša* NINA.KI  
16) <sup>d</sup>šar-rat-kid-mu-ri <sup>d</sup>15 *ša* LÍMMU-DINGIR.KI  
17) <sup>d</sup>MAŠ <sup>d</sup>U.GUR <sup>d</sup>nusku *iq-bu-ú*  
18) *ú-paḥ-ḥir* UN.MEŠ KUR AN.ŠÁR.KI TUR u GAL  
19) *ša tam-tim e-li-ti ù šap-liti*  
20) *a-na na-šir* DUMU LUGAL-ti-ia *ù EGIR-nu*  
21) LUGAL-tu KUR AN.ŠÁR.KI *e-pe-še a-de-e* MU  
DINGIR.MEŠ  
22) *ú-šá-az-kír-šú-nu-ti ú-dan-ni-na rik-sa-a-te*  
23) *ina* ḤÚL.MEŠ *ri-šá-a-te e-ru-ub ina É UŠ-u-ti*  
24) *áš-ru nak-lu mar-kas* LUGAL-u-ti  
25) *ša* <sup>md</sup>30-PAP.MEŠ-SU AD AD *a-li-di-ia*  
26) DUMU LUGAL-tú *ù LUGAL-tú e-pu-šú ina*  
*lib-bi-šú*  
27) *a-šar* <sup>m</sup>AN.ŠÁR-PAP-AŠ AD DÛ-u-a *qé-reb-šú*  
*i'-al-du*  
28) *ir-bu-u e-pu-šú be-lut* KUR AN.ŠÁR.KI  
29) *gi-mir ma-al-ki ir-du-u kim-tú ú-rap-pi-šú*  
30) *ik-šu-ru ni-šu-tú u sa-la-tú*  
31) *ù a-na-<sup>r</sup>ku<sup>1</sup>* <sup>m</sup>AN.ŠÁR-DÛ-A *qé-reb-šú a-ḥu-uz*  
*né-me-qí* <sup>d</sup>AG  
32) *kul-lat ṭup-šar-ru-u-ti šá gi-mir um-ma-ni*  
33) *ma-la ba-šu-ú iḥ-ze-šú-nu a-ḥi-iṭ*  
34) *al-ma-ad šá-le-e* GIŠ.PAN *ru-kub* ANŠE.KUR.RA  
GIŠ.GIGIR *ša-bat* KUŠ.a-šá-a-te  
35) *ina qí-bit* DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ *ša az-ku-ra*  
*ni-bit-sún*

i 1-7) I, Ashurbanipal, the creation of (the god) Aššur and the goddess Mullissu, the senior son of the king of the House of Succession, the one whom (the god) Aššur and the god Sîn — the lord of the (lunar) crown — nominated in distant days to be king (i 5) and created in the womb of his mother for shepherding Assyria, (and the one for whom) the deities Šamaš, Adad, and Ištar declared my exercising the kingship through their firm decision(s) —

i 8-22) Esarhaddon, king of Assyria, the father who had engendered me, carefully observed the word(s) of (the god) Aššur and the goddess Mullissu, the gods who supported him, (i 10) (and) who instructed him about my exercising the kingship. In the month Ayyāru (II), the month of the god Ea — the lord of humankind — on the twelfth day — an auspicious day, (the day of) the *bread donation*(s) to the goddess Gula — in order to perform the noble command of the deities Aššur, Mullissu, Sîn, Šamaš, Adad, (i 15) Bēl (Marduk), Nabû, Ištar of Nineveh, Šarrat-Kidmuri, Ištar of Arbela, Ninurta, Nergal, (and) Nusku, he assembled the people of Assyria — young and old — (and) of the Upper and Lower Sea(s). (i 20) In order to protect my (position as) heir designate and afterwards (my) exercising the kingship of Assyria, he made them swear to a treaty, an oath bound by the gods; he made the agreements strong.

i 23-30) In (the midst of) joyous celebration, I entered the House of Succession, a sophisticated place, the mooring place of kingship, inside of which Sennacherib — the father of the father who had begotten me — had performed (his duties) as heir designate and king, the place in whose midst Esarhaddon — the father who had engendered me — was born, grew up, exercised dominion over Assyria, led all of the rulers, expanded (his) family, (and) bonded with relatives and kin.

i 31-34) Furthermore, I, Ashurbanipal, learned inside it the wisdom of the god Nabû, all of the scribal arts. I investigated the precepts of every type of scholar there is, learned how to shoot a bow, ride a horse (and) chariot, (and) take hold of (their) reins.

i 35-38) By the command of the great gods, whose name(s) I invoked, whose praise I speak about, (and)

i 12 SUM.NINDA “bread donation”: The reading and tentative interpretation follow Livingstone, CUSAS 25 p. 254.

i 20 *a-na na-šir* “in order to protect”: For this form of the infinitive construct, see the on-page note to text no. 2 (Prism E.) i 2’.

i 21 Ex. 2 adds GAL.MEŠ<sup>1</sup> “great” after DINGIR.MEŠ “gods.”

i 27 *i'-al-du* “was born”: Ex. 21 has *im-al-du*, for which it appears that the scribe mistook the A’ sign for the IM sign. M. Worthington (Textual Criticism pp. 142-144) argues that the misidentification or hypercorrection of signs found here and in several other places in ex. 21 are the kind of visual errors that suggest the scribe was copying the inscription from a separate written source rather than obtaining it through means of dictation (see also the on-page notes to ii 124, iv 99, and viii 2).

- 36) *a-da-bu-ba ta-nit-ta-šú-un iq-bu-u e-peš*  
LUGAL-ti-ia
- 37) *za-nin eš-re-e-ti-šú-un ú-šad-gi-lu pa-nu-u-a*
- 38) *ke-mu-u-a e-tap-pa-lu EN šal-ti-ia i-na-ru*  
*ga-re-ia*
- 39) *zi-ka-ru qar-du na-ram AN.ŠÁR u* <sup>d</sup>15
- 40) *li-ip-li-pi LUGAL-u-ti a-na-ku*
- 41) *ul-tu AN.ŠÁR* <sup>d</sup>30 <sup>d</sup>UTU <sup>d</sup>ŠKUR <sup>d</sup>EN <sup>d</sup>AG
- 42) <sup>d</sup>15 *šá NINA.KI* <sup>d</sup>šar-rat-kid-mu-ri
- 43) <sup>d</sup>15 *šá LÍMMU-DINGIR.KI* <sup>d</sup>MAŠ <sup>d</sup>U.GUR <sup>d</sup>nusku
- 44) *ta-biš ú-še-ši-bu-in-ni ina GIŠ.GU.ZA AD DÛ-ia*
- 45) <sup>d</sup>ŠKUR ŠĒG.MEŠ-šú *ú-maš-še-ra* <sup>d</sup>é-a *ú-paṭ-ṭi-ra*  
IDIM.MEŠ-šú
- 46) 5 1.KÛŠ ŠE.AM *iš-qu ina AB.SÍN-ni-šú*
- 47) *e-ri-ik šu-bul-tu 5/6 1.KÛŠ*
- 48) SI.SÁ BURU<sub>14</sub> *na-pa-áš* <sup>d</sup>nisaba
- 49) *ka-a-a-an ú-šah-na-bu gi-pa-ru*
- 50) *šip-pa-a-ti šu-um-mu-ḥa in-bu MÁŠ.ANŠE*  
*šu-te-šur ina ta-lit-ti*
- 51) *ina BALA-ia ḤÉ.NUN tuḥ-du ina*  
MU.AN.NA.MEŠ-ia *ku-um-mu-ru ḤÉ.GÁL-lum*
- 
- 52) *ina maḥ-re-e ger-ri-ia a-na KUR.má-kan u*  
KUR.me-luḥ-ḥa *lu al-lik*
- 53) <sup>m</sup>tar-qu-ú MAN KUR.mu-šur u KUR.ku-u-si
- 54) *ša* <sup>m</sup>AN.ŠÁR-PAP-AŠ MAN KUR AN.ŠÁR.KI AD  
DÛ-u-a
- 55) BAD<sub>5</sub>.BAD<sub>5</sub>-šú *iš-ku-nu i-be-lu KUR-su* *ù šu-u*  
<sup>m</sup>tar-qu-u
- 56) *da-na-an AN.ŠÁR* <sup>d</sup>15 u DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ  
EN.MEŠ-ia *im-ši-ma*
- 57) *it-ta-kil a-na e-muq ra-man-i-šú e-li LUGAL.MEŠ*
- 58) LÚ.qé-pa-a-ni *šá qé-reb KUR.mu-šur ú-pa-qí-du*  
AD DÛ-u-a
- 59) *a-na da-a-ki ḥa-ba-a-te ù e-kem KUR.mu-šur*  
*il-li-ka*
- 60) EDIN-uš-šú-un *e-ru-um-ma ú-šib qé-reb*  
URU.me-em-pi
- 61) URU *šá AD DÛ-u-a ik-šu-du a-na mi-šir KUR*  
AN.ŠÁR.KI *ú-ter-ru*
- 62) *al-la-ku ḥa-an-tu qé-reb NINA.KI il-lik-am-ma*
- 63) *ú-šá-an-na-a ia-a-ti UGU ep-še-e-ti an-na-a-ti*
- 64) *lib-bi e-gug-ma iš-ša-ru-uḥ ka-bit-ti*
- 65) *áš-ši ŠU.II-ia ú-šal-li AN.ŠÁR u* <sup>d</sup>15 *aš-šur-i-tú*
- 66) *ad-ke-e-ma e-mu-qí-ia ši-ra-a-te šá AN.ŠÁR u*  
<sup>d</sup>15
- 67) *ú-mal-lu-u ŠU.II-u-a a-na KUR.mu-šur u*  
KUR.ku-u-si
- 68) *uš-te-eš-še-ra ḥar-ra-nu ina me-ti-iq ger-ri-ia*
- 69) 20.ÀM 2 LUGAL.MEŠ *šá a-ḥi tam-tim MURUB<sub>4</sub>*  
*tam-tim u na-ba-li*
- 70) ARAD.MEŠ *da-gíl pa-ni-ia ta-mar-ta-šú-nu*  
*ka-bit-tú*
- 71) *ina maḥ-ri-ia iš-šu-nim-ma ú-na-áš-ši-qu*  
GİR.II-ia
- 72) LUGAL.MEŠ *šá-a-tú-nu a-di e-mu-qí-šú-nu*

who commanded my exercising the kingship, they entrusted me to be the provider of their sanctuaries. In my stead, they always answer my adversar(ies and) kill my foes.

i 39–40) Heroic male, beloved of (the god) Aššur and the goddess Ištar, descendant of kingship, I —  
i 41–51) After the deities Aššur, Sîn, Šamaš, Adad, Bēl (Marduk), Nabû, Ištar of Nineveh, Šarrat-Kidmuri, Ištar of Arbela, Ninurta, Nergal, (and) Nusku gladly made me sit on the throne of the father who had engendered me, (i 45) the god Adad released his rains (and) the god Ea opened up his springs. Grain was five cubits high in its furrow (and) ear(s) of corn were five-sixths of a cubits long. Successful harvest(s and) an abundance of grain enabled pasture land to continually flourish, fruit orchards to be very lush with fruit, (and) cattle to successfully give birth to (their) young. During my reign, there was plenitude (and) abundance; during my years, bountiful produce was accumulated.

i 52–68a) On my first campaign, I marched to Makan (Egypt) and Meluḥḥa (Ethiopia). (As for) Taharqa, the king of Egypt and Kush, whose defeat Esarhaddon — king of Assyria, the father who had engendered me — had brought about (and) (i 55b) whose land he ruled over, he, Taharqa, forgot the might of (the god) Aššur, the goddess Ištar, and the great gods, my lords, and trusted in his own strength. He marched against the kings (and) officials, whom the father who had engendered me had appointed inside Egypt, to kill (and) rob (them) and to take away Egypt (from them). (i 60b) He entered and resided in the city Memphis, a city that the father who had engendered me had conquered (and) made part of the territory of Assyria. A fast messenger came to Nineveh and reported (this) to me. My heart became enraged about these deeds and my temper turned hot. (i 65) I raised up my hands (and) made an appeal to (the god) Aššur and the Assyrian Ištar. I mustered my elite forces that (the god) Aššur and the goddess Ištar had placed in my hands (and) I made (them) take the direct road to Egypt and Kush.

i 68b–71) In the course of my campaign, twenty-two kings of the seacoast, the midst of the sea, and dry land, servants who belonged to me, carried their substantial audience gift(s) before me and kissed my feet.

i 72–74) I made those kings, together with their forces

- GIŠ.MÁ.MEŠ-šú-nu  
 73) *ina tam-tim u na-ba-li it-ti* ERIM.ĪI.A-ia  
 74) *ur-ĥu pa-da-nu ú-šá-aš-bit-su-nu-ti*  
 75) *a-na na-ra-ru-u-ti šá* LUGAL.MEŠ LÚ.qé-pa-a-ni  
 76) *šá qé-reb* KUR.mu-šur ARAD.MEŠ-ni *da-gíl*  
*pa-ni-ia*  
 77) *ur-ru-ĥi-iš ar-de-e-ma al-lik a-di* URU.kar-<sup>d</sup>DÛ-ti  
 78) <sup>m</sup>tar-qu-ú MAN KUR.mu-šur u KUR.ku-u-si  
*qé-reb* URU.me-em-pi  
 79) *a-lak ger-ri-ia iš-me-ma a-na e-peš* MURUB<sub>4</sub>  
 GIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ  
 80) *ù MÈ ina maĥ-ri-ia id-ka-a* LÚ.ERIM.MEŠ MÈ-šú  
 81) *ina tukul-ti* AN.ŠÁR <sup>d</sup>EN <sup>d</sup>AG DINGIR.MEŠ  
 GAL.MEŠ EN.MEŠ-ia  
 82) *a-li-kut Á.II-ia ina MÈ* EDIN *rap-ši áš-ku-na*  
 BAD<sub>5</sub>.BAD<sub>5</sub> ERIM.ĪI.A-šú  
 83) <sup>m</sup>tar-qu-u *ina qé-reb* URU.me-em-pi *iš-ma-a*  
*taĥ-te-e* ERIM.ĪI.A-šú  
 84) *nam-ri-ri* AN.ŠÁR u <sup>d</sup>15 *is-ĥu-pu-šú-ma il-li-ka*  
*maĥ-ĥu-tiš*  
 85) *me-lam-me* LUGAL-ti-ia *ik-tu-mu-šú-ma*  
 86) *ša ú-za-’i-nu-in-ni* DINGIR.MEŠ *šu-ut* AN KI  
 87) *URU.me-em-pi ú-maš-šir-ma a-na šu-zu-ub*  
 ZI-ti-šú  
 88) *in-na-bit a-na qé-reb* URU.ni-i’  
 89) *URU šú-a-tú aš-bat* ERIM.ĪI.A-ia *ú-še-riḫ*  
*ú-še-šib ina lib-bi*  
 90) <sup>m</sup>ni-ku-ú LUGAL URU.me-em-pi u URU.sa-a-a  
 91) <sup>m</sup>LUGAL-lu-dà-ri LUGAL URU.ši-i’-nu  
 92) <sup>m</sup>pi-šá-an-ĥu-ru LUGAL URU.na-at-ĥu-ú  
 93) <sup>m</sup>pa-aq-ru-ru LUGAL URU.pi-šap-tú  
 94) <sup>m</sup>bu-uk-ku-na-an-ni-i’-pi LUGAL  
 URU.ĥa-at-ĥi-ri-bi  
 95) <sup>m</sup>na-aĥ-ke-e LUGAL URU.ĥi-ni-in-ši  
 96) <sup>m</sup>pu-tu-biš-ti LUGAL URU.ša-a’-nu  
 97) <sup>m</sup>ú-na-mu-nu LUGAL URU.na-at-ĥu-ú  
 98) <sup>m</sup>ĥur-si-ia-e-šú LUGAL URU.šab-nu-ti  
 99) <sup>m</sup>pu-ú-a-a-ma LUGAL URU.pi-in-ṭi-ṭi  
 100) <sup>m</sup>su-si-in-qu LUGAL URU.pu-ši-ru  
 101) <sup>m</sup>tap-na-aĥ-ti LUGAL URU.pu-nu-bu  
 102) <sup>m</sup>bu-uk-ku-na-an-ni-i’-pi LUGAL URU.aĥ-ni  
 103) <sup>m</sup>ep-ti-mur-ṭe-e-šú LUGAL  
 URU.pi-ĥa-at-ti-ĥu-ru-un-pi-ki  
 104) <sup>m</sup>na-aĥ-ti-ĥu-ru-an-si-ni LUGAL  
 URU.pi-šap-di-’a-a  
 105) <sup>m</sup>bu-kur-ni-ni-ip LUGAL URU.pa-aĥ-nu-ti  
 106) <sup>m</sup>ši-ĥa-a LUGAL URU.ši-ia-a-u-tú  
 107) <sup>m</sup>la-mi-in-tú LUGAL URU.ĥi-mu-ni  
 108) <sup>m</sup>iš-pi-ma-ṭu LUGAL URU.ta-a-a-ni  
 109) <sup>m</sup>ma-an-ti-me-an-ĥe-e LUGAL URU.ni-i’  
 110) LUGAL.MEŠ *an-nu-ti* LÚ.NAM.MEŠ LÚ.qé-pa-a-ni  
*šá qé-reb* KUR.mu-šur  
 111) *ú-pa-qí-du* AD *ba-nu-u-a šá la-pa-an ti-bu-ut*  
<sup>m</sup>tar-qu-u  
 112) *pi-qit-ta-šú-un ú-maš-še-ru im-lu-ú* EDIN

(and) their boats, take the road (and) path with my troops by sea and dry land.

i 75–82) I quickly advanced to support the kings (and) officials who were in Egypt, servants who belonged to me, and I marched as far as the city Kār-Bānīti. Taharqa, the king of Egypt and Kush, heard about the advance of my expeditionary force (while he was) inside the city Memphis, and (i 80) mustered his battle troops before me to wage armed battle and war. With the support of the gods Aššur, Bēl (Marduk), (and) Nabû, the great gods, my lords who march at my side, I brought about the defeat of his troops in a widespread pitched battle.

i 83–89) Taharqa heard about the defeat of his troops while (he was) inside the city Memphis. The awe-inspiring radiance of (the god) Aššur and the goddess Ištar overwhelmed him and he went into a frenzy. (i 85) The brilliance of my royal majesty, with which the gods of heaven and netherworld had endowed me, covered him; he abandoned the city Memphis and, in order to save his (own) life, he fled inside the city Thebes. I seized that city (Memphis) (and then) made my troops enter (and) reside there.

i 90–116a) (As for) Necho, king of the cities Memphis and Sais, Šarru-lū-dāri, king of the city *Pelusium*, Pi-šan-Ĥuru, king of the city *Natho*, Pa-qruru, king of the city *Pišaptu*, Bokennife (Bukkunanni’pi), king of the city *Athribis*, (i 95) Naĥkê, king of the city *Heraclaeopolis*, Puṭu-Bāšti, king of the city *Tanis*, Unamunu, king of the city *Natho*, Ĥur-ši-Ēšu, king of the city *Sebennytos*, Pūiama, king of the city *Mendes*, (i 100) Sheshonq, king of the city *Busiris*, Tap-naĥte, king of the city *Punubu*, Bokennife (Bukkunanni’pi), king of the city *Aĥni*, Eptimu-rṭešu, king of the city *Trenuthis*, Naĥti-ĥuru-ansini, king of the city *Pišapdi’a*, (i 105) Bukurninip, king of the city *Paĥnutu*, Ši-ĥû, king of the city *Siut*, Lamintu, king of the city *Hermopolis*, Išpimāṭu, king of the city *Thinis*, (and) *Monthemhet*, king of the city *Thebes*, (i 110) those kings, governors, (and) officials whom the father who had engendered me had appointed in Egypt, who had abandoned their post(s) in the face of Taharqa’s tactical advance, (and) had gone to (lit. “filled”) the countryside, where their post(s) were, I reappointed them in their (former) positions. I reorganized Egypt and Kush, which the father who had engendered me had conquered. (i 115) I strengthened (its) guard more than previously and concluded (new) agreements (with it).

- 113) *ú-ter-ma a-šar pi-qit-ti-šú-un ina  
maš-kán-i-šú-un ap-qid-su-nu-ti*
- 114) KUR.mu-šur u KUR.ku-u-su šá AD DÛ-u-a  
*ik-šu-du a-na eš-šu-ti aš-bat*
- 115) EN.NUN.MEŠ UGU šá u<sub>4</sub>-me pa-ni ú-dan-nin-ma  
*ú-rak-ki-sa*
- 116) *rik-sa-a-te it-ti ħu-ub-ti ma-a'-di šal-la-ti*
- 117) *ka-bit-ti šal-meš a-tu-ra a-na NINA.KI*
- 118) EGIR-nu LUGAL.MEŠ an-nu-ti ma-la ap-qí-du ina  
*a-de-ia iḥ-tu-u*
- 119) *la iṣ-šu-ru ma-mit DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ MUN  
e-pu-us-su-nu-ti im-šú-ma*
- 120) *lib-ba-šú-nu ik-pu-ud ḪUL-tú da-bab sur-ra-a-te  
id-bu-bu-ma*
- 121) *mi-lik la ku-širi<sub>4</sub> im-li-ku ra-man-šú-un um-ma  
m<sup>tar</sup>-qu-u*
- 122) *ul-tú qé-reb KUR.mu-šur i-na-saḥ-u-ma at-tu-ni  
a-šá-ba-ni mi-i-nu*
- 123) *e-li m<sup>tar</sup>-qu-u MAN KUR.ku-u-si a-na šá-kan  
a-de-e u sa-li-me*
- 124) *ú-ma-'e-e-ru LÚ.rak-bé-e-šú-un um-ma  
su-lum-mu-u*
- 125) *ina bi-ri-ni liš-šá-kin-ma ni-in-dag-ga-ra  
a-ḥa-meš*
- 126) KUR a-ḥe-en-na-a ni-zu-uz-ma a-a ib-ba-ši ina  
*bi-ri-ni šá-nu-um-ma be-lum*
- 127) *a-na ERIM.ḪI.A KUR AN.ŠÁR.KI e-muq EN-ti-ia  
šá a-na kit-ri-šú-nu uš-zi-zu*
- 128) *iš-te-né-'u-u a-mat ḪUL-tím LÚ.šu-ut  
SAG.MEŠ-ia a-ma-a-te an-na-a-te*
- 129) *iš-mu-u LÚ.rak-bé-e-šú-un a-di šip-ra-a-te-šú-un  
iṣ-bat-u-nim-ma*
- 130) *e-mu-ru ep-šet sur-ra-a-te-šú-un LUGAL.MEŠ  
an-nu-te iṣ-bat-u-nim-ma*
- 131) *ina bi-re-ti AN.BAR iš-qa-ti AN.BAR  
ú-tam-me-ḥu ŠU.II u ĞIR.II*
- 132) *ma-mit AN.ŠÁR MAN DINGIR.MEŠ  
ik-šu-su-nu-ti-ma šá iḥ-tu-u ina a-de-e*
- 133) DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ MUN ŠU.II-šú-un  
*ú-ba-'i-i-ma šá e-pu-us-su-nu-ti*
- 134) *du-un-qu UN.MEŠ URU.sa-a-a URU.pi-in-ṭi-ṭi  
URU.ši-i'-nu*
- Col. ii
- 1) *ù si-it-ti URU.MEŠ ma-la it-ti-šú-nu šak-nu  
ik-pu-du ḪUL-tú*
- 2) TUR u GAL ina GIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ *ú-šam-qí-tu  
'e-du' a-me-lu la e-zi-bu ina lib-bi*
- 3) ADDA.MEŠ-šú-nu e-lu-lu ina GIŠ.ga-ši-ši
- 4) KUŠ.MEŠ-šú-nu iš-ḥu-ṭu ú-ḥal-li-pu BĀD URU
- 5) 20.ĀM<sup>1</sup> LUGAL.MEŠ an-nu-ti šá ḪUL-tu  
*iš-te-né-'u-u*
- 6) *a-na ERIM.ḪI.A KUR AN.ŠÁR.KI bal-ṭu-us-su-nu*

i 116b–117) With much plunder (and) substantial booty, I returned safely to Nineveh.

i 118–128a) Afterwards, those kings, as many as I had appointed, sinned against my treaty (and) did not honor the oath(s) sworn by the great gods. They forgot the kindness that I had done for them and (i 120) their heart(s) plotted evil (deeds). They spoke word(s) of treachery and decided (among) themselves on a profitless decision, saying: “If they remove Taharqa from Egypt, how then can we (ourselves) stay?” To establish treaties and peace, they dispatched their mounted messenger(s) to Taharqa, the king of Kush, saying: (i 125) “Let peace be established between us so that we can come to a mutual agreement. (Let) us divide the land among ourselves so that no other lord comes between us.” With regard to troops of Assyria, the might of my lordly majesty that I had stationed (there) to help them, they constantly sought out evil plan(s).

i 128b–134a) Eunuchs of mine heard these words; they seized their mounted messenger(s) along with their messages and (i 130) (then) they saw their deceitful acts. They seized those kings and clamped (their) hands and feet in iron fetters (and) iron handcuffs. The oath (sworn) by (the god) Aššur, the king of the gods, defeated them and my kindness, which I had done for them as a favor, called to account those who had sinned against the treaty (sworn) by the great gods.

i 134b–ii 4) (As for) people of the cities Sais, Mendes, Pelusium, and the rest of the cities, as many as had sided with them (and) plotted evil (deeds), young and old, they (my troops) cut (them) down with the sword. They did not spare a single person among (them). They hung their corpses on poles, flayed them, (and) draped the city wall(s) with their skins.

ii 5–7) (As for) those twenty kings who had constantly sought out evil (deeds) against the troops of Assyria, they brought (them alive) to Nineveh, before me.

i 118 *ina a-de-ia* “my treaty”: Ex. 3 omits these two words.

i 119 *e-pu-us-su-nu-ti* “I had done for them”: Ex. 1 erroneously omits *nu* from this word.

i 131 *ina bi-re-ti AN.BAR iš-qa-ti AN.BAR* “in iron fetters (and) iron handcuffs”: Ex. 6 omits the second AN.BAR “iron.”

- 7) *a-na* NINA.KI *a-di maḥ-ri-ia ú-bil-u-ni*  
 8) *a-na* <sup>m</sup>*ni-ku-u TA bi-ri-šú-nu re-e-mu ar-ši-ma*  
*ú-bal-liṭ nap-šat-su*  
 9) *a-de-e* UGU *ša maḥ-ri ú-ša-tir-ma it-ti-šú áš-kun*  
 10) *lu-bul-tu bir-me ú-lab-bi-su al-lu KÙ.GI*  
 11) *si-mat* LUGAL-ti-šú *áš-kun-šú* ḪAR.MEŠ KÙ.GI  
*ú-rak-ki-sa*  
 12) *rit-te-e-šú* GÍR AN.BAR *šib-bi šá iḫ-zu-šú KÙ.GI*  
 13) *ni-bit* MU-ia *ina muḥ-ḫi áš-ṭur-ma ad-din-šú*  
 14) GÍŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ  
 ANŠE.KUNGA.MEŠ *a-na ru-kub* EN-ti-šú *a-qis-su*  
 15) LÚ.šú-ut SAG.MEŠ-ia LÚ.NAM.MEŠ *a-na kit-ri-šú*  
*it-ti-šú áš-pur*  
 16) *a-šar* AD DÛ-u-a *ina URU.sa-a-a a-na* LUGAL-ti  
*ip-qid-du-uš*  
 17) *a-na maš-kán-i-šú ú-ter-šú ù*  
<sup>md</sup>MUATI-še-zib-an-ni DUMU-šú  
 18) *a-na* URU.ḫa-at-ḫa-ri-ba *ap-qid* MUN SIG<sub>5</sub>-tu  
 19) *e-li šá* AD DÛ-ia *ú-ša-tir-ma e-pu-us-su*  
 20) <sup>m</sup>*tar-qu-ú a-šar in-nab-tu ra-šub-bat* GÍŠ.TUKUL  
 AN.ŠÁR EN-ia  
 21) *is-ḫu-up-šú-ma il-lik nam-mu-ši-šú*  
 22) EGIR-nu <sup>m</sup>UR-da-ma-né-e DUMU <sup>m</sup>šá-ba-ku-u  
*ú-šib ina* GÍŠ.GU.ZA LUGAL-ti-šú  
 23) URU.ni-i' URU.ú-nu *a-na dan-nu-ti-šú iš-kun*  
*ú-paḥ-ḫi-ra el-lat-su*  
 24) *a-na mit-ḫu-ši* ERIM.ḪIA DUMU.MEŠ KUR  
 AN.ŠÁR.KI  
 25) *ša qé-reb* URU.me-em-pi *id-ka-a qa-bal-šú*  
 26) UN.MEŠ *šá-a-tu-nu e-si-ir-ma iš-ba-ta*  
*mu-uš-ša-šú-un*  
 27) LÚ.A KIN *ḫa-an-tu a-na* NINA.KI *il-lik-am-ma*  
*iq-ba-a ia-a-ti*
- 
- 28) *ina 2-e ger-ri-ia a-na* KUR.mu-šur u KUR.ku-u-si  
*uš-te-še-ra ḫar-ra-nu*  
 29) <sup>m</sup>UR-da-ma-né-e *a-lak ger-ri-ia iš-me-ma*  
 30) *ša ak-bu-su mi-šir* KUR.mu-šur URU.me-em-pi  
*ú-maš-šir-ma*  
 31) *a-na šu-zu-ub* ZI-ti-šú *in-na-bit a-na qé-reb*  
 URU.ni-i'  
 32) LUGAL.MEŠ LÚ.NAM.MEŠ LÚ.qé-pa-a-ni *ša qé-reb*  
 KUR.mu-šur *áš-ku-nu*  
 33) *ina* GABA-ia *il-li-ku-ú-nim-ma ú-na-áš-ši-qu*  
 GÍR.II-ia  
 34) EGIR <sup>m</sup>UR-da-ma-né-e *ḫar-ra-nu aš-bat*  
 35) *al-lik a-di* URU.ni-i' URU *dan-nu-ti-šú*  
 36) *ti-ib* MÈ-ia *dan-ni e-mur-ma* URU.ni-i' *ú-maš-šir*  
 37) *in-na-bit a-na* URU.ki-ip-ki-pi URU *šu-a-tú a-na*  
*si-ḫir-ti-šú*  
 38) *ina tukul-ti* AN.ŠÁR u <sup>d</sup>15 *ik-šu-da* ŠU.II-a-a

ii 8–17a) Among them, I had mercy on Necho and I let him live. I made (his) treaty more stringent than the previous one and I established (it) with him. (ii 10) I clothed him in garment(s) with multi-colored trim, placed on him a golden hoe, an insignia of his kingship, (and) fastened gold bracelets around his wrists. On an iron belt-dagger with gold mountings, I wrote out my name and I gave (it) to him. I presented him with chariots, horses, (and) mules to be his lordly transport. (ii 15) I sent with him eunuchs of mine (and) governors to help him. Where the father who had engendered me had appointed him as king, in the city Sais, I returned him to his position.

ii 17b–19) Moreover, I appointed Nabû-šēzibanni, his son, in the city Athribis. I performed more kind (and) good deed(s) for him than the father who had engendered me.

ii 20–21) (As for) Taharqa, in the place where he had fled, the awesome terror of the weapon of (the god) Aššur, my lord, overwhelmed him and he passed away. ii 22–27) Afterwards, Tanutamon, the son of Shabako, sat upon his royal throne. He made the cities Thebes (and) Heliopolis his fortresses (and) assembled his forces. To fight against the Assyrian troops (ii 25) who were inside the city Memphis, he mobilized his battle array, confined those people, and cut off their escape route. A fast messenger came to Nineveh and told (this) to me.

ii 28–33) On my second campaign, I took the direct road to Egypt and Kush. Tanutamon heard about the advance of my expeditionary force and that I had set foot on Egyptian territory, he abandoned the city Memphis and, in order to save his (own) life, he fled inside the city Thebes. The kings, governors, (and) officials whom I had stationed in Egypt came to meet me and kissed my feet.

ii 34–38) I took the road in pursuit of Tanutamon (and) I marched as far as the city Thebes, his fortified city. He saw the assault of my mighty battle array and abandoned the city Thebes; he fled to the city Kipkipi. With the support of (the god) Aššur and the goddess Ištar, I conquered that city (Thebes) in its entirety.

ii 9–10 Ex. 1\* appears to contain an additional line located between lines 9 and 10 of the master text, though only [...] x ũ x at the end of that line on the prism fragment (line 3') is preserved. Cf. the Large Egyptian Tablets Inscription obv. 59' (Novotny, SAACT 10 pp. 82 and 101 no. 20), which adds *lib-bu ú-šar-ḫi-is-su-ma* "I gave him confidence and" before *lu-[bul-tú bir-me ú-lab]-bi-is-su* "[I dre]ssed him in a [multi-colored] r[obe]."

ii 12 GÍR AN.BAR *šib-bi* "iron belt-dagger": Ex. 84 omits AN.BAR "iron" from this phrase.

- 39) KÙ.BABBAR KÙ.GI *ni-siq-ti* NA<sub>4</sub>.MEŠ NÍG.ŠU  
É.GAL-šú *ma-la ba-šú-u*  
40) *lu-bul-ti bir-me* GADA.MEŠ ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ  
GAL.MEŠ UN.MEŠ *zik-ru u sin-niš*  
41) *2 tim-me* MAḪ.MEŠ *pi-tiq za-ḥa-le-e eb-bi*  
42) *ša 2 LIM 5 ME GUN KI.LÁ-šú-nu man-za-az KÁ*  
É.KUR  
43) *ul-tu man-za-al-ti-šú-nu as-suḥ-ma al-qa-a a-na*  
KUR AN.ŠÁR.KI  
44) *šal-la-tú ka-bit-tú ina la mi-ni áš-lu-la ul-tú*  
*qé-reb URU.ni-i'*  
45) *e-li* KUR.mu-šur ù KUR.ku-ú-si  
46) GIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ-ia *ú-šam-ri-ir-ma áš-ta-kan*  
*li-i-tu*  
47) *it-ti qa-ti ma-li-ti šal-meš a-tu-ra*  
48) *a-na* NINA.KI URU EN-ti-ia

- 49) *i-na šal-ši ger-ri-ia* UGU <sup>m</sup>ba-'a-li MAN  
KUR.šur-ri  
50) *a-šib* MURUB<sub>4</sub> *tam-tim lu-u al-lik*  
51) *ša a-mat LUGAL-ti-ia la iṣ-šu-ru la iṣ-mu-u*  
*zi-kir šap-te-ia*  
52) URU.ḪAL.ŠU.MEŠ *e-li-šú ú-rak-kis*  
53) *ina tam-tim ù na-ba-li ger-re-e-ti-šú ú-šab-bit*  
54) *nap-šat-su-nu ú-si-iq ú-kar-ri*  
55) *a-na* GIŠ.ŠUDUN-ia *ú-šak-ni-su-nu-ti*  
56) DUMU.MUNUS *ši-it lib-bi-šu ù*  
DUMU.MUNUS.MEŠ ŠEŠ.MEŠ-šú  
57) *a-na e-peš* MUNUS.AGRIG-ti *ú-bi-la a-di*  
*maḥ-ri-ia*  
58) <sup>m</sup>ia-ḥi-mil-ki DUMU-šú *šá ma-te-ma ti-amtu la*  
*e-bi-ra*  
59) *iš-te-niš ú-še-bi-la a-na e-peš* ARAD-ti-ia  
60) DUMU.MUNUS-su ù DUMU.MUNUS.MEŠ  
ŠEŠ.MEŠ-šú  
61) *it-ti ter-ḥa-ti ma-a'-as-si am-ḥur-šú*  
62) *re-e-mu ar-ši-šú-ma* DUMU *ši-it ŠÀ-šú ú-ter-ma*  
*a-din-šú*  
63) <sup>m</sup>ia-ki-in-lu-u MAN KUR.a-ru-ad-da *a-šib*  
MURUB<sub>4</sub> *tam-tim*  
64) *ša a-na* LUGAL.MEŠ AD.MEŠ-ia *la kan-šú*  
*ik-nu-šá a-na* GIŠ.ŠUDUN-ia  
65) DUMU.MUNUS-su *it-ti nu-dun-né-e ma-a'-di*  
66) *a-na e-peš* MUNUS.AGRIG-u-ti *a-na* NINA.KI  
67) *ú-bil-am-ma ú-na-áš-ši-qa* ĞİR.II-ia  
68) <sup>m</sup>mu-gal-lu MAN KUR.tab-URU *šá it-ti*  
LUGAL.MEŠ AD.MEŠ-ia  
69) *id-bu-bu da-ša-a-ti*  
70) *bi-in-tú ši-it lib-bi-šú it-ti ter-ḥa-ti*  
71) *ma-a'-as-si a-na e-peš* MUNUS.AGRIG-ti *a-na*  
NINA.KI  
72) *ú-bil-am-ma ú-na-áš-šiq* ĞİR.II-ia  
73) UGU <sup>m</sup>mu-gal-li ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ  
74) *man-da-at-tú šat-ti-šam-ma ú-kin* EDIN-uš-šú  
75) <sup>m</sup>sa-an-da-šar-me KUR.ḥi-lak-ka-a-a  
76) *ša a-na* LUGAL.MEŠ AD.MEŠ-ia *la ik-nu-šú*

ii 39–48) Silver, gold, precious stones, as much property of his palace as there was, garment(s) with multi-colored trim, linen garments, large horses, people — male and female — two tall obelisks cast with shiny *zaḥalû*-metal, whose weight was 2,500 talents (and which) stood at a temple gate, I ripped (them) from where they were erected and took (them) to Assyria. I carried off substantial booty, (which was) without number, from inside the city Thebes. (ii 45) I made my weapons prevail over Egypt and Kush and (thus) achieved victory. With full hand(s), I returned safely to Nineveh, my capital city.

ii 49–55) On my third campaign, I marched against Ba'alu, the king of the land Tyre who resides in the middle of the sea. Because he did not honor my royal command(s) and did not obey the pronouncement(s) from my lips, I set up outposts against him. By sea and dry land, I took control of (all of) his routes. I constricted (and) cut short their lives. I made them (the people of Tyre) bow down to my yoke.

ii 56–62) He brought before me (his) daughter, his own offspring, and the daughters of his brothers to serve as housekeepers. He sent at the same time Yāḥi-Milki, his son, who had never crossed the sea, to do obeisance to me. (ii 60) I received from him his daughter and the daughters of his brothers, together with a large marriage gift. I had mercy on him and (then) I gave (his) son, his offspring, back to him.

ii 63–67) (As for) Yakīn-Lû, the king of the land Arwad, who resides in the middle of the sea (and) who had not bowed down to the kings, my ancestors, he bowed down to my yoke. He brought to Nineveh his daughter, together with a substantial dowry, to serve as a housekeeper, and he kissed my feet.

ii 68–74) (As for) Mugallu, the king of the land Tabal who had spoken with disrespect to the kings, my ancestors, he brought to Nineveh (his) daughter, his own offspring, together with a large marriage gift, to serve as a housekeeper, and he kissed my feet. I imposed upon Mugallu an annual payment of large horses.

ii 75–80) (As for) Sanda-šarme of the land Ḫilakku (Cilicia), who had not bowed down to the kings, my

- 77) *la i-šu-tu ab-šá-an-šú-un*  
 78) DUMU.MUNUS *ši-it lib-bi-šú it-ti nu-dun-né-e ma-a'-di*  
 79) *a-na e-peš MUNUS.AGRIG-u-ti a-na NINA.KI*  
 80) *ú-bil-am-ma ú-na-áš-šiq GÌR.II-ia*  
 81) *ul-tú<sup>m</sup>ia-ki-in-lu-u MAN KUR.a-ru-ad-da e-mì-du KUR-šú*  
 82) *<sup>m</sup>a-zi-ba-al <sup>m</sup>a-bi-ba-al <sup>m</sup>a-du-ni-ba-a'-al*  
 83) *<sup>m</sup>sa-pa-ṭi-ba-al <sup>m</sup>bu-di-ba-al <sup>m</sup>ba-a'-al-ia-šu-pu*  
 84) *<sup>m</sup>ba-a'-al-ḥa-nu-nu <sup>m</sup>ba-al-ma-lu-ku <sup>m</sup>a-bi-mil-ki <sup>m</sup>PAP-mil-ki*  
 85) DUMU.MEŠ *<sup>m</sup>ia-ki-in-lu-u a-šib MURUB<sub>4</sub> tam-tim*  
 86) *ul-tú MURUB<sub>4</sub> tam-tim e-lu-nim-ma it-ti ta-mar-ti-šú-nu ka-bit-ti*  
 87) *il-li-ku-ú-nim-ma ú-na-áš-šiq GÌR.II-ia*  
 88) *<sup>m</sup>a-zi-ba-a'-al ḥa-diš ap-pa-lis-ma*  
 89) *a-na LUGAL-ti KUR.a-ru-ad-da áš-kun-šú*  
 90) *<sup>m</sup>a-bi-ba-al <sup>m</sup>a-du-ni-ba-al <sup>m</sup>sa-pa-ṭi-ba-al*  
 91) *<sup>m</sup>bu-di-ba-al <sup>m</sup>ba-a'-al-ia-šu-pu <sup>m</sup>ba-al-ḥa-nu-nu*  
 92) *<sup>m</sup>ba-al-ma-lu-ku <sup>m</sup>a-bi-mil-ki <sup>m</sup>a-ḥi-mil-ki*  
 93) *lu-bul-ti bir-me ú-lab-biš ḪAR.MEŠ KÙ.GI ú-rak-ki-sa*  
 94) *rit-te-e-šú-un ina maḥ-ri-ia ul-zis-su-nu-ti*  
 95) *<sup>m</sup>gu-ug-gu MAN KUR.lu-ud-di na-gu-u šá né-ber-ti A.AB.BA*  
 96) *áš-ru ru-u-qu šá LUGAL.MEŠ AD.MEŠ-ia la iš-mu-u zi-kir MU-šú*  
 97) *ni-bit MU-ia ina MÁŠ.GI<sub>6</sub> ú-šab-ri-šú-ma AN.ŠÁR DINGIR ba-nu-u-a*  
 98) *um-ma GÌR.II <sup>m</sup>AN.ŠÁR-DÛ-A MAN KUR AN.ŠÁR.KI ṣa-bat-ma*  
 99) *ina zi-kir MU-šú ku-šu-ud LÚ.KÚR.MEŠ-ka*  
 100) *u<sub>4</sub>-mu MÁŠ.GI<sub>6</sub> an-ni-tú e-mu-ru LÚ.rak-bu-šú iš-pu-ra*  
 101) *a-na šá-'a-al šul-mì-ia MÁŠ.GI<sub>6</sub> an-ni-tú šá e-mu-ru*  
 102) *ina ŠU.II LÚ.A KIN-šú iš-pur-am-ma ú-šá-an-na-a ia-a-ti*  
 103) *ul-tú ŠA u<sub>4</sub>-me šá iš-ba-tú GÌR.II LUGAL-ti-ia*  
 104) *LÚ.gi-mir-a-a mu-dal-li-pu UN.MEŠ KUR-šú*  
 105) *šá la ip-tal-la-ḥu AD.MEŠ-ia ù at-tu-u-a la iš-ba-tú*  
 106) *GÌR.II LUGAL-ti-ia ik-šu-ud*  
 107) *ina tukul-ti AN.ŠÁR u<sup>d</sup>15 DINGIR.MEŠ EN.MEŠ-ia TA ŠÀ LÚ.EN.URU.MEŠ*  
 108) *ša LÚ.gi-mir-a-a šá ik-šu-du 2 LÚ.EN.URU.MEŠ*  
 109) *ina GIŠ.ši-iš-ši iš-qa-ti AN.BAR bi-re-ti ú-tam-me-eḥ-ma*  
 110) *it-ti ta-mar-ti ka-bit-te ú-še-bi-la a-di maḥ-ri-ia*  
 111) *LÚ.rak-bu-šú šá a-na šá-'a-al šul-mì-ia*

ancestors, (and) had not pulled their yoke, he brought to Nineveh (his) daughter, his own offspring, together with a substantial dowry, to serve as a housekeeper, and he kissed my feet.

ii 81–94) After Yakīn-Lû, the king of the land Arwad, had disappeared, Azi-Ba'al, Abī-Ba'al, Adūnī-Ba'al, Sapaṭ-Ba'al, Būdi-Ba'al, Ba'al-iašūpu, Ba'al-ḥanūnu, Ba'al-maluku, Abī-Milki, (and) Aḥī-Milki, (ii 85) the sons of Yakīn-Lû who reside in the middle of the sea, came up from the middle of the sea, came with their substantial audience gift(s), and kissed my feet. I looked upon Azi-Ba'al with pleasure and installed him as king of the land Arwad. (ii 90) I clothed Abī-Ba'al, Adūnī-Ba'al, Sapaṭ-Ba'al, Būdi-Ba'al, Ba'al-iašūpu, Ba'al-ḥanūnu, Ba'al-maluku, Abī-Milki, (and) Aḥī-Milki in garment(s) with multi-colored trim (and) fastened gold bracelets around their wrists. I made them stand before me.

ii 95–102) (As for) Gyges, the king of the land Lydia — a region on the opposite shore of the sea, a remote place, the mention of whose name none of the kings, my ancestors, had (ever) heard — (the god) Aššur, the god who created me, made him see in a dream the mention of my name, saying: “Grasp the feet of Ashurbanipal, king of Assyria, and conquer your enemies through the mention of his name.” (ii 100) On the (very) day he saw this dream, he sent his mounted messenger to inquire about my well-being. (As for) this dream that he had seen, he sent (a message about it) by the hands of a messenger of his and he reported (it) to me.

ii 103–110) From the day that he grasped the feet of my royal majesty, he conquered the Cimmerians, who were disturbing the people of his land, had never feared my ancestors, and, with regard to me, had not grasped the feet of my royal majesty. With the support of (the god) Aššur and the goddess Ištar, my lords, he (Gyges) clamped two city rulers from among the city rulers of the Cimmerians that he had conquered in manacles, iron handcuffs, (and) fetters and sent (them) before me, together with (his) substantial audience gift(s).

ii 111–118) He allowed an interruption (in the sending

ii 97 *ni-bit MU-ia* “the mention of my name”: Ex. 139 instead has *ni-bit* <sup>r</sup>LUGAL<sup>1</sup>-[ti-ia] “the mention of [my] royal [majesty].”

ii 109 *ina GIŠ.ši-iš-ši iš-qa-ti AN.BAR bi-re-ti* “in manacles, iron handcuffs, (and) fetters”: So ex. 1; all the other exemplars, when preserved, add AN.BAR after *bi-re-ti*, “iron fetters” (cf. iii 59 where this line is repeated verbatim and AN.BAR is included after *bi-re-ti* in all the exemplars, including ex. 1). For a slightly different phrasing of this line in the earlier prism inscriptions, see text no. 3 (Prism B) iii 2, text no. 6 (Prism C) iv 5', and text no. 9 (Prism F) ii 19.

- ka-a-a-an iš-ta-ṅap-pa-ra*  
 112) *ú-šar-šá-a ba-ṭi-il-tú áš-šú šá a-mat* AN.ŠÁR  
 DINGIR DÛ-ia  
 113) *la iš-šu-ru a-na e-muq ra-man-i-šú it-ta-kil-ma*  
*ig-pu-uš lib-bu*  
 114) *e-mu-qé-e-šú a-na kit-ri* <sup>m</sup>pi-šá-mì-il-ki MAN  
 KUR.mu-šur  
 115) *ša iš-lu-u* GIŠ.ŠUDUN EN-ti-ia *iš-pur-ma a-na-ku*  
*áš-me-e-ma*  
 116) *ú-šal-li* AN.ŠÁR u <sup>d</sup>15 *um-ma pa-an* LÚ.KÚR-šú  
*pa-gar-šú li-na-di-ma*  
 117) *liš-šu-u-ni* ĞIR.PAD.DU.MEŠ-šú *ki-i šá a-na*  
 AN.ŠÁR *am-ḥu-ru iš-lim-ma*  
 118) *pa-an* LÚ.KÚR-šú *pa-gar-šú in-na-di-ma*  
*iš-šu-u-ni* ĞIR.PAD.DU.MEŠ-šú  
 119) LÚ.gi-mir-a-a *šá ina ni-bit* MU-ia *šá-pal-šú*  
*ik-bu-su*  
 120) *it-bu-nim-ma is-pu-nu gi-mir* KUR-šú EGIR-šú  
 DUMU-šú *ú-šib ina* GIŠ.GU.ZA-šú  
 121) *ep-šet* ḤUL-tim *šá ina ni-iš* ŠU.II-ia DINGIR.MEŠ  
*tik-le-ia*  
 122) *ina pa-an* AD DÛ-šú *ú-šap-ri-ku ina* ŠU.II LÚ.A  
 KIN-šú *iš-pur-am-ma*  
 123) *iš-ba-ta* ĞIR.II LUGAL-ti-ia *um-ma* LUGAL *šá*  
 DINGIR *i-du-u-šú at-ta*  
 124) AD-u-a *ta-ru-ur-ma* MUNUS.ḤUL *iš-šá-kin ina*  
*pa-ni-šú*  
 125) *ia-a-ti* ARAD *pa-liḥ-ka kur-ban-ni-ma la-šu-ṭa*  
*ab-šá-an-ka*
- 
- 126) *ina 4-e ger-ri-ia ad-ke* ERIM.ḤI.A-ia UGU  
<sup>m</sup>aḥ-še-e-ri  
 127) MAN KUR.man-na-a-a *uš-te-še-ra ḥar-ra-nu ina*  
*qí-bit* AN.ŠÁR <sup>d</sup>30 <sup>d</sup>UTU  
 128) <sup>d</sup>IŠKUR <sup>d</sup>EN <sup>d</sup>AG <sup>d</sup>15 *šá* NINA.KI  
<sup>d</sup>GAŠAN-kid-mu-ri <sup>d</sup>15 *šá* URU.LÍMMU-DINGIR  
 129) <sup>d</sup>MAŠ <sup>d</sup>U.GUR <sup>d</sup>nusku *qé-reb* KUR.man-na-a-a  
*e-ru-ub it-ta-lak šal-ṭiš*  
 130) URU.MEŠ-šú *dan-nu-ti a-di* TUR.MEŠ *šá ni-i-ba*  
*la i-šu-u*  
 131) *a-di qé-reb* URU.i-zir-ti KUR-ud *ap-pul aq-qur*  
*ina* <sup>d</sup>GIŠ.BAR *aq-mu*  
 132) UN.MEŠ ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ ANŠE.MEŠ GU<sub>4</sub>.MEŠ u  
*še-e-ni* TA *qé-reb* URU.MEŠ *šá-a-tú-nu*  
 133) *ú-še-ša-am-ma šal-la-tiš am-nu* <sup>m</sup>aḥ-še-e-ri *a-lak*  
*ger-ri-ia*  
 134) *iš-me-ma ú-maš-šir* URU.i-zir-tu URU  
 LUGAL-ti-šú  
 Col. iii

of) his mounted messenger(s), whom he used to constantly send to inquire about my well-being. Because he did not honor the word(s) of (the god) Aššur, the god who created me, he trusted in his own strength and (his) heart became proud. (ii 115) He sent his forces to aid Psammetichus (I), the king of Egypt who had cast off the yoke of my lordly majesty, and (then) I myself heard about (this) and made an appeal to (the god) Aššur and the goddess Ištar, saying: “Let his corpse be cast down before his enemy and let them carry away his bones.” Just as I had appealed to (the god) Aššur, it was fulfilled and his corpse was cast down before his enemy and they carried away his bones.

ii 119–125) The Cimmerians whom he (Gyges) had trampled down through the mention of my name, attacked and flattened his entire land. Afterwards, his son, sat on his throne. (As for) the evil deed(s), which through my entreaties, the gods who support me had obstructed the father who had engendered him, he sent (a message about it) by the hands of his messenger and (then) he grasped the feet of my royal majesty, saying: “You are the king whom the god recognizes. You cursed my father and evil befell him. Pray for me, the servant who reveres you, so that I can pull your yoke.”

ii 126–133a) On my fourth campaign, I mustered my troops (and) took the direct road against Aḥšēri, the king of the land Mannea. By the command of the deities Aššur, Sîn, Šamaš, Adad, Bēl (Marduk), Nabû, Ištar of Nineveh, Šarrat-Kidmuri, Ištar of Arbela, Ninurta, Nergal, (and) Nusku, I entered the land Mannea (and) marched about triumphantly. (ii 130) I conquered, destroyed, demolished, (and) burned with fire his fortified cities, together with small(er) settlements), which were without number, as far as the city Izirtu. I brought people, horses, donkeys, oxen, and sheep and goats out of those cities and I counted (them) as booty.

ii 133b–iii 3) Aḥšēri heard about the advance of my expeditionary force and abandoned the city Izirtu, his royal city. He fled to the city Ištatti, a city upon which he relied, and took refuge (there). I conquered that district. I laid waste to (an area of) fifteen days march

ii 114 <sup>m</sup>pi-šá-mì-il-ki MAN KUR.mu-šur “Psammetichus (I), the king of Egypt”: The correct spelling for the name of this king of Egypt is only found in ex. 2. Exs. 1, 3, 14, and 79 instead have <sup>m</sup>TU-šá-mì-il-ki, which appears to be a corrupt reading (see Worthington, Textual Criticism p. 77). However, ex. 2 erroneously omits MAN “the king of.”

ii 116 *pa-an* LÚ.KÚR-šú “before his enemy”: Ex. 14 erroneously omits *pa-an*.

ii 124 AD-u-a “my father”: Ex. 21 has *at-tu-u-a* “belonging to me.” M. Worthington (Textual Criticism p. 144) suggests that the scribe did not recognize AD as a Sumerogram for “father” as he was copying the text and so interpreted the signs as a defective spelling for *attūya*, leading him to correct the orthography in his copy (see also the on-page notes to i 27, iv 99, and viii 2).



- 1) *a-na URU.iš-ta-at-ti URU tukul-ti-šú*  
*in-na-bit-ma e-ḫu-uz*
- 2) *mar-qí-tú na-gu-u šu-a-tú ak-šu-ud ma-lak 10*  
*u<sub>4</sub>-me 5 u<sub>4</sub>-me*
- 3) *ú-šaḫ-rib-ma šá-qu-um-ma-tú at-bu-uk*
- 4) *<sup>m</sup>aḫ-še-e-ri la pa-liḫ EN-ti-ia ina a-mat <sup>d</sup>15*
- 5) *a-ši-bat URU.LÍMMU-DINGIR šá TA re-e-ši*  
*taq-bu-ú*
- 6) *um-ma ana-ku mi-tu-tu <sup>m</sup>aḫ-še-e-ri MAN*  
*KUR.man-na-a-a*
- 7) *ki-i šá aq-bu-u ep-pu-uš ina ŠU.II ARAD.MEŠ-šú*  
*tam-nu-šu-u-ma*
- 8) *UN.MEŠ KUR-šú si-ḫu UGU-šú ú-šab-šú-u ina*  
*SILA URU-šú LÚ.šá-lam-ta-šú*
- 9) *id-du-u in-da-áš-šá-ru pa-gar-šú*
- 10) *ŠEŠ.MEŠ-šú qin-nu-šú NUMUN É AD-šú*  
*ú-šam-qí-tú ina GIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ*
- 11) *EGIR-nu <sup>m</sup>ú-al-li-i DUMU-šú ú-šib ina*  
*GIŠ.GU.ZA-šú*
- 12) *da-na-an AN.ŠÁR <sup>d</sup>30 <sup>d</sup>UTU <sup>d</sup>ŠKUR <sup>d</sup>EN <sup>d</sup>AG*
- 13) *<sup>d</sup>15 šá NINA.KI <sup>d</sup>šar-rat-kid-mu-ri*
- 14) *<sup>d</sup>15 šá LÍMMU-DINGIR.KI <sup>d</sup>MAŠ <sup>d</sup>U.GUR <sup>d</sup>nusku*
- 15) *DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ EN.MEŠ-ia e-mur-ma*
- 16) *ik-nu-šá a-na GIŠ.ŠUDUN-ia*
- 17) *áš-šú ba-laṭ ZI-ti-šú up-na-a-šú ip-ta-a*  
*ú-šal-la-a EN-u-ti*
- 18) *<sup>m</sup>e-ri-si-in-ni DUMU ri-du-ti-šú*
- 19) *a-na NINA.KI iš-pur-am-ma ú-na-áš-ši-qa*  
*GÌR.II-ia*
- 20) *re-e-mu ar-ši-šu-u-ma*
- 21) *LÚ.A KIN-ia šá šul-me ú-ma-'e-er EDIN-uš-šú*
- 22) *DUMU.MUNUS ši-it lib-bi-šú ú-še-bi-la a-na*  
*e-peš MUNUS.AGRIG-u-ti*
- 23) *ma-da-ta-šú maḫ-ri-tú šá ina ter-ši LUGAL.MEŠ*  
*AD.MEŠ-ia*
- 24) *ú-šab-ṭi-lu iš-šu-u-ni a-di maḫ-ri-ia*
- 25) *30 ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ e-li ma-da-ti-šú maḫ-ri-ti*
- 26) *ú-rad-di-i-ma e-mì-is-su*
- 
- 27) *ina 5-ši ger-ri-ia a-na KUR.ELAM.MA.KI*
- 28) *uš-te-eš-še-ra ḫar-ra-nu*
- 29) *ina qí-bit AN.ŠÁR <sup>d</sup>30 <sup>d</sup>UTU <sup>d</sup>ŠKUR <sup>d</sup>EN <sup>d</sup>AG*
- 30) *<sup>d</sup>15 šá NINA.KI <sup>d</sup>šar-rat-kid-mu-ri*
- 31) *<sup>d</sup>15 šá LÍMMU-DINGIR.KI <sup>d</sup>MAŠ <sup>d</sup>U.GUR <sup>d</sup>nusku*
- 32) *ina ITI.KIN ši-pir <sup>d</sup>INANNA.MEŠ ITI LUGAL*  
*DINGIR.MEŠ AN.ŠÁR*
- 33) *AD DINGIR.MEŠ <sup>d</sup>nun-nam-nir*
- 34) *ki-ma ti-ib me-ḫe-e ez-zi*
- 35) *ak-tu-um KUR.ELAM.MA.KI a-na si-ḫir-ti-šá*
- 36) *ak-kis SAG.DU <sup>m</sup>te-um-man LUGAL-šú-nu*
- 37) *mul-tar-ḫu šá ik-pu-da ḫUL-tu*
- 38) *ina la mî-ni a-duk qu-ra-de-e-šú*
- 39) *ina ŠU.II TI.LA.MEŠ ú-šab-bit mun-daḫ-še-e-šú*
- 40) *šal-ma-a-ti-šú-nu ki-ma GIŠ.DÌḫ u GIŠ.KIŠ<sub>16</sub>*
- 41) *ú-mal-la-a ta-mir-ti URU.šu-šá-an*
- 42) *ÚŠ.MEŠ-šú-nu ÍD.ú-la-a-a ú-šar-di*

and poured out (over it) the silence (of desolation).

iii 4-10) (As for) Aḫšēri, who did not fear my lordly majesty — by the command of the goddess Ištar who resides in the city Arbela, which she had said from the beginning, saying: “I myself, just as I have commanded, will bring about the death of Aḫšēri, the king of the land Mannea” — she (Ištar) placed him in the hands of his servants and (then) the people of his land incited a rebellion against him. They cast his corpse into a street of his city (and) dragged his body to and fro. They cut down with the sword his brothers, his family, (and) the seed of his father’s house.

iii 11-26) Afterwards, Uallí, his son, sat on his throne. He saw the might of the deities Aššur, Sîn, Šamaš, Adad, Bēl (Marduk), Nabû, Ištar of Nineveh, Šarrat-Kidmuri, Ištar of Arbela, Ninurta, Nergal, (and) Nusku, the great gods, my lords, and bowed down to my yoke. For the preservation of his (own) life, he opened up his hands to me (and) made an appeal to my lordly majesty. He sent Erisinni, his heir designate, to Nineveh and he kissed my feet. (iii 20) I had mercy on him and (then) I dispatched my messenger with (a message of) goodwill to him. He sent me (his) daughter, his own offspring, to serve as a housekeeper. (As for) his former payment, which they had discontinued in the time of the kings, my ancestors, they carried (it) before me. (iii 25) I added thirty horses to his former payment and imposed (it) upon him.

iii 27-43) On my fifth campaign, I took the direct road to the land Elam. By the command of the deities Aššur, Sîn, Šamaš, Adad, Bēl (Marduk), Nabû, (iii 30) Ištar of Nineveh, Šarrat-Kidmuri, Ištar of Arbela, Ninurta, Nergal, (and) Nusku, in the month Ulūlu (VI) — “the work of the goddesses,” the month of the king of the gods, (the god) Aššur, the father of the gods, the god Nunnamnir — like the assault of a fierce storm, (iii 35) I covered the land Elam in its entirety. I cut off the head of Teumman, their presumptuous king who had plotted evil (deeds). I slew his warriors without number. I captured his fighting men alive. (iii 40) I filled the plain of the city Susa with their bodies like *baltu*-plant(s) and *ašāgu*-plant(s). I made the Ulāya River flow with their blood; I dyed its water red like a red-dyed wool.

- 43) A.MEŠ-šá aš-ru-up ki-ma na-ba-as-si  
 44) <sup>m</sup>um-man-i-gaš DUMU <sup>m</sup>ur-ta-ki MAN  
 KUR.ELAM.MA.KI  
 45) ša la-pa-an <sup>m</sup>te-um-man a-na KUR AN.ŠÁR.KI  
 in-nab-ta iš-ba-ta ĠİR.II-ia  
 46) it-ti-ia ú-bil-šú a-na KUR.ELAM.MA.KI  
 47) ú-še-šib-šú ina ĠIŠ.GU.ZA <sup>m</sup>te-um-man  
 48) <sup>m</sup>tam-ma-ri-tú ŠEŠ-šú šal-šá-a-a šá it-ti-šú  
 in-nab-ta  
 49) ina URU.ĥi-da-lu áš-kun-šú a-na LUGAL-u-ti  
 50) ul-tú ĠIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ AN.ŠÁR u <sup>d</sup>15 UGU  
 KUR.ELAM.MA.KI ú-šam-ri-ru  
 51) áš-tak-ka-nu da-na-nu u li-i-tu  
 52) ina ta-a-a-ar-ti-ia UGU <sup>m</sup>du-na-ni  
 KUR.gam-bu-la-a-a  
 53) ša a-na KUR.ELAM.MA.KI it-tak-lu áš-ku-na  
 pa-ni-ia  
 54) URU.šá-pi-i-<sup>d</sup>EN URU tukul-ti KUR.gam-bu-li  
 ak-šu-ud  
 55) qé-reb URU šu-a-tú e-ru-ub  
 56) UN.MEŠ-šú as-liš ú-ṭab-bi-iḥ  
 57) <sup>m</sup>du-na-nu <sup>m</sup>sa-am-gu-nu  
 58) mu-nàr-ri-ṭu e-peš LUGAL-ti-ia  
 59) ina ĠIŠ.ši-iš-ši iš-qa-ti AN.BAR bi-re-ti AN.BAR  
 60) ú-tam-me-ḥa ŠU.II u ĠİR.II  
 61) si-it-ti DUMU.MEŠ <sup>m</sup>EN-BA-šá qin-nu-šú NUMUN  
 É AD-šú  
 62) ma-la ba-šú-u <sup>md</sup>MUATI-I <sup>m</sup>EN-KAR-ir  
 63) DUMU.MEŠ <sup>md</sup>MUATI-MU-KAM-eš LÚ.GÚ.EN.NA  
 64) ù ĠİR.PAD.DU.MEŠ AD ba-ni-šú-nu  
 65) it-ti LÚ.ur-bi LÚ.te-bé-e UN.MEŠ KUR.gam-bu-li  
 66) GU<sub>4</sub>.MEŠ še-e-ni ANŠE.MEŠ ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ  
 ANŠE.KUNGA.MEŠ  
 67) ul-tú qé-reb KUR.gam-bu-li áš-lu-la a-na KUR  
 AN.ŠÁR.KI  
 68) URU.šá-pi-i-<sup>d</sup>EN URU tukul-ti-šú  
 69) ap-pul aq-qur ina A.MEŠ uš-ḥar-miṭ  
 70) ina u<sub>4</sub>-me-šú <sup>md</sup>ĠIŠ.NU<sub>11</sub>-MU-ĠI.NA ŠEŠ la  
 ke-e-nu  
 71) šá MUN e-pu-šu-uš  
 72) áš-ku-nu-uš a-na LUGAL-ut KÁ.DINGIR.RA.KI  
 73) mim-ma par-su si-ma-a-te šá LUGAL-ti  
 e-pu-uš-ma a-din-šú  
 74) LÚ.ERIM.MEŠ ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ ĠIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ  
 75) ak-šur-ma ú-mal-la-a qa-tuš-šú  
 76) URU.MEŠ A.ŠÁ.MEŠ ĠIŠ.KIRI<sub>6</sub>.MEŠ UN.MEŠ a-šib  
 lib-bi-šú-un  
 77) ú-šá-tir-ma UGU šá AD DÙ-ia iq-bu-u a-din-šú  
 78) ù šu-u MUNUS.SIG<sub>5</sub> an-ni-tú e-pu-šu-uš  
 im-ši-ma

iii 44–49) I took Ummanigaš (Ḥumban-nikas II), a son of Urtaku — a (former) king of the land Elam — who had fled to me from Teumman to Assyria (and) had grasped my feet, with me to the land Elam (and) I placed him on Teumman’s throne. I installed Tammarītu, his third brother who had fled to me with him, as king in the city Ḥidalu.

iii 50–69) After I had made the weapons of (the god) Aššur and the goddess Ištar prevail over the land Elam (and) had continually established mighty victories, on my return march, I set out towards Dunānu, a Gambulian who had put his trust in the land Elam. I conquered the city Ša-pī-Bēl, a city upon which the land Gambulu relied. (iii 55) I entered that city (and) slaughtered its people like lambs. (As for) Dunānu (and) Samgunu, the ones who had disturbed my exercising the kingship, (iii 60) I clamped (their) hands and feet in iron manacles (and) handcuffs (and) iron fetters. (As for) the rest of the sons of Bēl-iqīša, his family, the seed of his father’s house, as many as there were, Nabû-na’id (and) Bēl-ēṭir, sons of Nabû-šuma-ēreš, the šandabakku (governor of Nippur), and the bones of the father who had engendered them (Nabû-šuma-ēreš), (iii 65) I carried (them) off together with auxiliary forces, rebels, the people of the land Gambulu, oxen, sheep and goats, donkeys, horses, (and) mules out of the land Gambulu to Assyria. (As for) Ša-pī-Bēl, the city upon which he (Dunānu) relied, I destroyed, demolished, (and) dissolved (it) with water.

iii 70–77) At that time, (as for) Šamaš-šuma-ukīn, (my) unfaithful brother for whom I performed (many acts of) kindness (and) whom I had installed as king of Babylon — I made and gave him anything that is *distinctive*, appurtenances of kingship. (iii 75) I assembled soldiers, horses, (and) chariots and placed (them) in his hands. I gave him more cities, fields, orchards, (and) people to live inside them than the father who had engendered me had commanded.

iii 78–86) However, he forgot these (acts of) kindness that I had done for him and constantly sought out evil

iii 65 LÚ.ur-bi “auxiliary forces”: CAD U/W p. 213 sub *urbī*, following I. Eph’al and N. Na’aman, suggests “(a band of mercenaries).” For discussions (with previous literature) on whether *urbī* is a designation for a military unit/group or a gentilic, see Eph’al, JAOS 94 (1974) pp. 110–111 n. 16; Frahm, Sanherib pp. 104–105; Elat, Studies Kallai pp. 232–238; Na’aman, JAOS 120 (2000) pp. 621–624; Lipiński, Aramaeans p. 423 n. 75; Bagg, WO 40 (2010) pp. 206–207; and Fales, Studies Lanfranchi pp. 215–216.

iii 69 Ex. 1 inserts a horizontal ruling after line 69, and then omits the one after line 127.

- 79) *iš-te-né-'a-a le-mut-tú*  
 80) *e-liš ina šap-te-e-šú i-tam-ma-a tu-ub-ba-a-ti*  
 81) *šap-la-nu lib-ba-šú ka-šir né-er-tu*  
 82) DUMU.MEŠ KÁ.DINGIR.RA.KI *šá ina UGU KUR AN.ŠÁR.KI am-ru*  
 83) ARAD.MEŠ *da-gíl pa-ni-ia ip-ru-uš-ma*  
 84) *da-bab la kit-te id-bu-ba it-ti-šú-un*  
 85) *ina ši-pir ni-kil-ti a-na šá-'a-al šul-mì-ia*  
 86) *a-na NINA.KI a-di maḥ-ri-ia iš-pu-ra-áš-šú-nu-ti*  
 87) *a-na-ku* <sup>m</sup>AN.ŠÁR-DÛ-A MAN KUR AN.ŠÁR.KI  
 88) *ša DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ ši-mat SIG<sub>5</sub>-tim i-ši-mu-uš*  
 89) *ib-nu-u-šú ina kit-te u mi-šá-ri*  
 90) DUMU.MEŠ KÁ.DINGIR.RA.KI *šu-nu-ti ina GIŠ.BANŠUR tak-né-e*  
 91) *ul-zis-su-nu-ti lu-bul-ti bir-me*  
 92) *ú-lab-bi-su-nu-ti* ḤAR.MEŠ KÛ.GI *ú-rak-kis*  
 93) *rit-te-e-šú-un a-di DUMU.MEŠ KÁ.DINGIR.RA.KI šu-nu-ti*  
 94) *qé-reb* KUR AN.ŠÁR.KI *ú-šu-uz-zu*  
 95) *i-dag-ga-lu pa-an šá-kan tèt-me-ia*  
 96) *ù šu-u* <sup>md</sup>GIŠ.NU<sub>11</sub>-MU-GL.NA *šEŠ la ke-e-nu*  
 97) *ša la iš-šu-ru a-de-ia* UN.MEŠ KUR URI.KI *KUR.kal-du*  
 98) *KUR.a-ra-mu KUR tam-tim ul-tú URU.a-qa-ba*  
 99) *a-di URU.KÁ-sa-li-me-ti ARAD.MEŠ da-gíl pa-ni-ia*  
 100) *uš-bal-kit ina ŠU.II-ia* <sup>m</sup>um-man-i-gaš  
 101) *mun-nab-tu šá iš-ba-tú* ĞIR.II LUGAL-ti-ia  
 102) *ša qé-reb* KUR.ELAM.MA.KI *áš-ku-nu-uš a-na LUGAL-u-ti*  
 103) *ù LUGAL.MEŠ KUR.gu-te<sub>9</sub>-e.KI KUR MAR.TU-e.KI KUR.me-luḥ-ḥe-e*  
 104) *ša ina qí-bit* AN.ŠÁR u <sup>d</sup>NIN.LÍL *iš-tak-ka-na ŠU.II-a-a*  
 105) *nap-ḥar-šú-nu it-ti-ia ú-šam-kír-ma*  
 106) *it-ti-šú iš-ku-nu pi-i-šú-nu*  
 107) KÁ.GAL.MEŠ ZIMBIR.KI KÁ.DINGIR.RA.KI *bár-sipa.KI*  
 108) *ú-dil-ma ip-ru-sa* ŠEŠ-u-tu  
 109) *e-li* BÀD URU.MEŠ *šá-a-tu-nu*  
 110) *mun-daḥ-še-e-šú ú-še-li-i-ma*  
 111) *it-ti-ia e-te-né-ep-pu-šú* MÈ  
 112) *e-peš* UDU.SISKUR.MEŠ-ia *la-pa-an* <sup>d</sup>EN DUMU <sup>d</sup>EN  
 113) *nu-úr* DINGIR.MEŠ <sup>d</sup>UTU u *qu-ra-di* <sup>d</sup>er-ra  
 114) *ik-la-ma ú-šab-ti-la na-dan zi-bi-ia*  
 115) *a-na e-kem ma-ḥa-zi šu-bat* DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ  
 116) *ša eš-re-e-ti-šú-nu ud-di-šú ú-za-'i-i-nu* KÛ.GI

(deeds). (iii 80) Aloud, with his lips, he was speaking friendship, (but) deep down, his heart was scheming for murder. He lied to the citizens of Babylon who had been devoted to Assyria, servants who belonged to me, and he spoke words of deceit with them. (iii 85) In a crafty maneuver, he sent them to Nineveh, before me, to inquire about my well-being.

iii 87–93a) I, Ashurbanipal, king of Assyria, for whom the great gods determined a favorable destiny, whom they created in truth and justice, convened those citizens of Babylon at a sumptuous banquet, clothed them in garment(s) with multi-colored trim, (and) fastened gold bracelets around their wrists.

iii 93b–100a) While those citizens of Babylon stayed in Assyria obediently awaiting my decisions, he, Šamaš-šuma-ukīn, (my) unfaithful brother who did not honor my treaty, incited the people of the land Akkad, Chaldea, Aram, (and) the Sealand, from the city Aqaba to the city Bāb-salimēti, servants who belonged to me, to rebel against me.

iii 100b–106) Moreover, (as for) Ummanigaš (Ḥumbanikas II), a fugitive who had grasped the feet of my royal majesty (and) whom I had installed as king in the land Elam, as well as the kings of the land Gutium, the land Amurru, and Meluḥḥa (Ethiopia), whom I had installed (as rulers) by the command of (the god) Aššur and the goddess Mullissu, he (Šamaš-šuma-ukīn) made all of them become hostile towards me and they sided with him.

iii 107–117) He (Šamaš-šuma-ukīn) locked the (city) gates of Sippar, Babylon, (and) Borsippa and (then) broke off (our) brotherly relations. On the wall(s) of those cities, (iii 110) he posted his fighting men and they were constantly doing battle with me. He withheld the performing of my offerings before the gods Bēl (Marduk), Son-of-Bēl (Nabû), the light of the gods — Šamaš — and the warrior — Erra — and he discontinued my giving (them) food offerings. (iii 115) He plotted evil (ways) to deprive (me) of the cult centers, the dwelling place(s) of the great gods whose sanctuaries I had renovated (and) decorated with gold (and) silver, (and) in whose midst I constantly

iii 83 *ip-ru-uš-ma* “he lied and”: The reading follows Streck, *Asb.* p. 28 and CAD P p. 178 sub *parāšu* A 2. Borger, *BIWA* pp. 39 and 233 has *ip-ru-us-ma* “isolierte er” (“he isolated”).

iii 99 URU.KÁ-sa-li-me-ti “the city Bāb-salimēti”: Ex. 1 omits the determinative URU before the name of the city.

iii 112 DUMU <sup>d</sup>EN “Son-of-Bēl (Nabû)”: Ex. 26 has instead DUMU <sup>d</sup>AG “son of Nabû.” It appears that the scribe of the exemplar translated this idiom for Nabû mentally, but then accidentally wrote the sign AG for Nabû in the phrase itself rather than the necessary sign EN for Bēl.

- KÛ.BABBAR
- 117) *qé-reb-šú-nu áš-tak-ka-nu si-ma-a-te ik-pu-ud*  
 ̩UL-tú
- 118) *ina u<sub>4</sub>-me-šú 1-en LÚ.GURUŠ*
- 119) *ina šat mu-ši ú-tul-ma*
- 120) *i-na-aṭ-ṭa-al MÁŠ.GI<sub>6</sub>*
- 121) *um-ma ina UGU ki-gal-li šá<sup>d30</sup> šá-ṭir-ma*
- 122) *ma-a šá it-ti* <sup>AN.ŠÁR-DÛ-A MAN KUR</sup>  
 AN.ŠÁR.KI
- 123) *ik-pu-du MUNUS.̩UL ip-pu-šú še-lu-ú-tú*
- 124) *mu-u-tu lem-nu a-šar-rak-šu-nu-ti*
- 125) *ina GÍR AN.BAR ḥa-an-ṭi mi-qit* <sup>dGIŠ.BAR SU.GU<sub>7</sub></sup>
- 126) *TAG-it* <sup>dèr-ra ú-qát-ta-a nap-šat-su-un</sup>
- 127) *an-na-a-te áš-me-e-ma at-kil a-na a-mat* <sup>d30</sup>  
 EN-ia
- 
- 128) *ina 6-ši ger-ri-ia ad-ke* ERIM.̩I.A-ia
- 129) *EDIN* <sup>mdGIŠ.NU<sub>11</sub>-MU-GI.NA uš-te-eš-še-ra</sup>  
 ḥar-ra-nu
- 130) *qé-reb* ZIMBIR.KI KÁ.DINGIR.RA.KI *bár-sipa.KI*  
 GÚ.DU<sub>8</sub>.A.KI
- 131) *šá-a-šú ga-du mun-daḥ-še-e-šú e-si-ir-ma*
- 132) *ú-šab-bi-ta mu-uš-ša-šú-un*
- 133) *qé-reb* URU u EDIN *ina la mî-ni áš-tak-ka-na*  
 BAD<sub>5</sub>.BAD<sub>5</sub>-šú
- 134) *si-it-tu-u-ti ina TAG-it* <sup>dèr-ra</sup>
- 135) *su-un-qu bu-bu-ti iš-ku-nu na-piš-tu*
- 136) <sup>mum-man-i-gaš</sup> MAN KUR.ELAM.MA.KI *ši-kin*  
 ŠU.II-ia
- 137) *ša ṭa-'a-a-tu im-ḥu-ru-šú-ma*
- 138) *it-ba-a a-na kit-ri-šú*
- Col. iv
- 1) <sup>mtam-ma-ri-tú</sup> EDIN-uš-šú *ib-bal-kit-ma*
- 2) *šá-a-šú ga-du kim-ti-šú ú-ras-sib ina*  
 GIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ
- 3) EGIR <sup>mtam-ma-ri-tú šá</sup> EGIR <sup>mum-man-i-gaš</sup>
- 4) *ú-ši-bu ina* GIŠ.GU.ZA KUR.ELAM.MA.KI
- 5) *la iš-a-lu šu-lum* LUGAL-ti-ia
- 6) *a-na re-šu-ut* <sup>mdGIŠ.NU<sub>11</sub>-MU-GI.NA ŠEŠ nak-ri</sup>
- 7) *il-lik-am-ma a-na mit-ḥu-ši* ERIM.̩I.A-ia
- 8) *ur-ri-ḥa* GIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ-šú
- 9) *ina su-up-pe-e šá* AN.ŠÁR u <sup>d15</sup> *ú-sap-pu-ú*

established appropriate procedures.

iii 118–127) At that time, one young man lay down during the night and saw a dream, saying: “On a socle of the god Sîn, it is written ‘I will grant a cruel death to those who have plotted evil (deeds and) initiated sedition against Ashurbanipal, the king of Assyria. I will bestow on them a horrible death by a swift iron dagger, fire, famine, (and) plague.’” I heard these (words) and I trusted in the word(s) of the god Sîn, my lord.

iii 128–135) On my sixth campaign, I mustered my troops (and) took the direct road against Šamaš-šuma-ukîn. I confined him, together with his fighting men, inside Sippar, Babylon, Borsippa, (and) Cutha, and I cut off their escape route(s). I brought about his defeat countless (times) in city and steppe. (As for) the rest, they laid down their live(s) through plague, famine, (and) starvation.

iii 136–iv 2) (As for) Ummanigaš (Ḥumban-nikas II), the king of the land Elam installed by me (lit. “my hand”), who had accepted bribes from him (Šamaš-šuma-ukîn) and set out to help him, Tammarîtu rebelled against him and struck him, together with his family, down with the sword.

iv 3–12a) Afterwards, Tammarîtu, who sat on the throne of the land Elam after Ummanigaš (Ḥumban-nikas II) (and) who did not inquire about the well-being of my royal majesty, came to the aid of Šamaš-šuma-ukîn — (my) hostile brother — and hastily sent his weapons to fight with my troops. As a result of the supplications that I had addressed to (the god) Aššur

iii 117 *ik-pu-ud* ̩UL-tú “He plotted evil (ways)”: Ex. 26 instead employs the verb *iq-bu-u* “He spoke evil (things).”

iii 121 *um-ma ina* UGU *ki-gal-li šá<sup>d30</sup> šá-ṭir-ma* “saying: ‘On a socle of the god Sîn, it is written’”: Exs. 5, 14, 17, and 93 offer the variant reading *um-ma* <sup>dAG</sup> *ṭup-šar gim-ri ši-pir* DINGIR-ti-šú *ú-šu-uz-ma iš-ta-na-sa-a mal-ṭa-ru ki-gal-li* <sup>d30</sup> “saying: ‘Nabû, the scribe of everything, erected the message of his god and he keeps on reading the inscription on the socle of the god Sîn’” (with an orthographic variant).

iii 123 *ik-pu-du* MUNUS.̩UL “have plotted evil (deeds)”: Exs. 5, 17, and 93 (and probably also ex. 14, although the text is not preserved; see iii 121) offer the variant reading *a-ḥi-iz né-me-qi-ia* “learned my wisdom” (with an orthographic variant).

iii 125 The scribe of ex. 26 appears to have written this line in the small space at the end of the column beneath the horizontal ruling marking the column’s conclusion and just above the bottom edge of the prism using tiny cuneiform characters, although only the first few signs are legible, with the remainder of the presumed line heavily damaged. It may be that after the scribe had already started to copy the subsequent column, he realized that he had omitted a line and was then forced to add it in the only place that it would fit.

iii 127 *a-na a-mat* <sup>d30</sup> “in the word(s) of the god Sîn”: Exs. 5 and 17 instead record that Ashurbanipal trusted in the words of <sup>dAG</sup> “the god Nabû.” Ruling after iii 127: Although ex. 17 follows the master text with regard to the insertion of horizontal rulings to divide the sections (at least where the exemplar is preserved), it does not have a ruling line here between lines 127 and 128 (corresponding to ii’ 48–49 of the exemplar). However, there is a small gap of blank clay between said lines in the exemplar that visually separates them, suggesting that the scribe was aware of the fact that there should be a section break at this point, though he did not actually inscribe the ruling line itself. Ex. 1 also omits the horizontal ruling line after line 127, but this is likely due to the fact that the scribe of that exemplar had already inserted an additional ruling line earlier in the column (see the on-page note to iii 69).

- 10) *un-nin-ni-ia il-qu-u iš-mu-ú zi-kir* NUNDUM.II-ia  
 11) *ᵐin-da-bi-bi* ARAD-su EDIN-uš-šú *ib-bal-kit-ma*
- 12) *ina MÈ EDIN iš-ku-na* BAD<sub>5</sub>.BAD<sub>5</sub>-šú  
<sup>m</sup>*tam-ma-ri-tu*
- 13) MAN KUR.ELAM.MA.KI šá UGU *ni-kis* SAG.DU  
<sup>m</sup>*te-um-man*
- 14) *mé-re-eḫ-tu iq-bu-ú*
- 15) *ša ik-ki-su a-ḫu-ur-ru-u* ERIM.ḪI.A-ia
- 16) *um-ma i-nak-ki-su-u* SAG.DU MAN  
 KUR.ELAM.MA.KI
- 17) *qé-reb* KUR-šú *ina* UKKIN ERIM.ḪI.A-šú
- 18) *šá-ni-ia-a-nu iq-bi* ù <sup>m</sup>*um-man-i-gaš*
- 19) *ke-e ú-na-áš-šiq qa-q-ru*
- 20) *ina pa-an* LÚ.A KIN šá <sup>m</sup>AN.ŠÁR-DÛ-A MAN KUR  
 AN.ŠÁR.KI
- 21) UGU *a-ma-a-ti an-na-a-te šá il-zi-nu*
- 22) AN.ŠÁR u <sup>d</sup>15 *e-ri-ḫu-šú-ma*
- 23) <sup>m</sup>*tam-ma-ri-tú* ŠEŠ.MEŠ-šú *qin-nu-šú* NUMUN É  
 AD-šú
- 24) *it-ti* 85 NUN.MEŠ *a-li-kut i-di-šú*
- 25) *la-pa-an* <sup>m</sup>*in-da-bi-bi in-nab-tú-nim-ma*
- 26) *mi-ra-nu-uš-šú-un ina* UGU ŠÀ.MEŠ-šú-nu
- 27) *ip-ši-lu-nim-ma il-lik-u-ni a-di* NINA.KI
- 28) <sup>m</sup>*tam-ma-ri-tu* ĜIR.II LUGAL-ti-ia *ú-na-áš-šiq-ma*
- 29) *qa-q-ru-ru ú-še-šir ina ziq-ni-šú*
- 30) *man-ra-az* ĜIŠ.ma-gar-ri-ia *iš-bat-ma*
- 31) *a-na e-peš* ARAD-ti-ia *ra-man-šú im-nu-ma*
- 32) *áš-šú e-peš di-ni-šú a-lak re-šu-ti-šú*
- 33) *ina qí-bit* AN.ŠÁR u <sup>d</sup>15 *ú-šal-la-a* EN-u-ti
- 34) *ina maḫ-ri-ia i-zi-zu-u-ma*
- 35) *i-dal-la-lu qur-di* DINGIR.MEŠ-ia *dan-nu-ti*
- 36) *ša il-li-ku re-šu-ú-ti*
- 37) *a-na-ku* <sup>m</sup>AN.ŠÁR-DÛ-A *lib-bu rap-šú*
- 38) *la ka-šir ik-ki mu-pa-si-su ḫi-ṭa-a-te*
- 39) *a-na* <sup>m</sup>*tam-ma-ri-tú re-e-mu ar-ši-šú-ma*
- 40) *šá-a-šú ga-du* NUMUN É AD-šú *ina qé-reb*  
 É.GAL-ia
- 41) *ul-zis-su-nu-ti ina* u<sub>4</sub>-*me-šú* UN.MEŠ KUR URI.KI
- 42) *ša it-ti* <sup>md</sup>GIŠ.NU<sub>11</sub>-MU-GI.NA *iš-šak-nu*
- 43) *ik-pu-du* ḪUL-tú *né-eb-re-e-tú iš-bat-su-nu-ti*
- 44) *a-na bu-ri-šú-nu* UZU DUMU.MEŠ-šú-nu  
 DUMU.MUNUS.MEŠ-šú-nu
- 45) *e-ku-lu ik-su-su ku-ru-us-su*
- 46) AN.ŠÁR <sup>d</sup>30 <sup>d</sup>UTU <sup>d</sup>IŠKUR <sup>d</sup>EN <sup>d</sup>AG
- 47) <sup>d</sup>15 šá NINA.KI <sup>d</sup>šar-rat-kid-mu-ri
- 48) <sup>d</sup>15 šá URU.LÍMMU-DINGIR <sup>d</sup>MAŠ <sup>d</sup>U.GUR <sup>d</sup>nusku
- 49) *ša ina maḫ-ri-ia il-li-ku i-na-ru ga-re-ia*
- 50) <sup>md</sup>GIŠ.NU<sub>11</sub>-MU-GI.NA ŠEŠ *nak-ri šá i-gi-ra-an-ni*
- 51) *ina mi-qit* <sup>d</sup>GIŠ.BAR *a-ri-ri id-du-šú-ma*
- 52) *ú-ḫal-li-qu nap-šat-su*
- 53) ù UN.MEŠ šá *a-na* <sup>md</sup>GIŠ.NU<sub>11</sub>-MU-GI.NA
- 54) ŠEŠ *nak-ri ú-šak-pi-du*

and the goddess Ištar, (iv 10) they accepted my prayers (and) listened to the utterance(s) of my lips. Indabibi, a servant of his, rebelled against him and brought about his defeat in a pitched battle.

iv 12b–27) (As for) Tammarītu, the king of the land Elam who had spoken insolent word(s) on account of the cutting off of the head of Teumman — which a low-ranking soldier of my army had cut off — saying: “Will they cut off the head of the king of the land Elam in his (own) land, among his assembled troops?” He spoke a second time: “Moreover, how could Ummanigaš kiss the ground (iv 20) before a messenger of Ashurbanipal, king of Assyria?” On account of these words that he had slanderously uttered, (the god) Aššur and the goddess Ištar attacked him and (then) Tammarītu, his brothers, his family, (and) the seed of his father’s house, together with eighty-five nobles who march at his side, fled to me from Indabibi, and (then) crawled naked on their bellies and came to Nineveh.

iv 28–36) Tammarītu kissed the feet of my royal majesty and swept the ground with his beard. He took hold of the platform of my chariot and (then) handed himself over to do obeisance to me. By the command of (the god) Aššur and the goddess Ištar, he made an appeal to my lordly majesty to decide his case (and) to come to his aid. They (the fugitive Elamites) stood before me and (iv 35) were singing the praises of the valor of my mighty gods, who had come to my aid.

iv 37–41a) I, Ashurbanipal, the magnanimous (and) forbearing one who abolishes sins, had mercy on Tammarītu and allowed him, together with the seed of his father’s house to stay in my palace.

iv 41b–45) At that time, (as for) the people of the land Akkad who had sided with Šamaš-šuma-ukīn (and) plotted evil (deeds), hunger took hold of them. They ate the flesh of their sons (and) their daughters on account of their hunger; they gnawed on (leather) straps.

iv 46–52) The deities Aššur, Sīn, Šamaš, Adad, Bēl (Marduk), Nabû, Ištar of Nineveh, Šarrat-Kidmuri, Ištar of Arbela, Ninurta, Nergal, (and) Nusku, who march before me (and) kill my foes, consigned Šamaš-šuma-ukīn, (my) hostile brother who had started a fight against me, to a raging conflagration and destroyed his life.

iv 53–63) Moreover, (as for) the people who had incited Šamaš-šuma-ukīn, (my) hostile brother, (so

iv 32 *a-lak* “to come to”: Ex. 12 instead writes the infinitive construct as *a-lik* (for this form, see the on-page note to text no. 2 [Prism E<sub>2</sub>] i 2’).

- 55) *ep-še-e-tú an-ni-tú* ̕UL-tú *e-pu-šú*  
 56) *ša mi-tu-tu ip-la-ḫu nap-šat-su-nu*  
*pa-nu-uš-šú-un*  
 57) *te-qir-u-ma it-ti* <sup>md</sup>GIŠ.NU<sub>11</sub>-MU-GI.NA  
 58) EN-šú-nu *la im-qu-tú ina* <sup>d</sup>GIŠ.BAR  
 59) *ša la-pa-an ni-kis* GÍR AN.BAR *su-un-qí bu-bu-ti*  
 60) <sup>d</sup>GIŠ.BAR *a-ri-ri i-še-tu-u-ni e-ḫu-zu mar-qí-i-tú*  
 61) *sa-par* DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ EN.MEŠ-ia *šá la*  
*na-par-šu-di*  
 62) *is-ḫu-up-šú-nu-ti e-du ul ip-par-šid*  
 63) *mul-taḫ-ṭu ul ú-ši ina* ŠU.II-ia *im-nu-u* ŠU.II-u-a  
 64) GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ GIŠ.šá *šá-da-di* GIŠ.šá *šil-li*  
 MUNUS.sek-re-e-ti-šú  
 65) NÍG.GA É.GAL-šú *ú-bil-u-ni a-di maḫ-ri-ia*  
 66) LÚ.ERIM.MEŠ *šá-a-tú-nu šil-la-tú pi-i-šú-nu*  
 67) *šá ina* UGU AN.ŠÁR DINGIR-ia *šil-la-tú iq-bu-u*  
 68) *ù ia-a-ti* NUN *pa-liḫ-šú ik-pu-du-u-ni* ̕UL-tú  
 69) *pi-i-šú-nu áš-lu-uq* BAD<sub>5</sub>.BAD<sub>5</sub>-šú-nu *áš-kun*  
 70) *si-it-ti* UN.MEŠ *bal-ṭu-sún ina* <sup>d</sup>ALAD.<sup>d</sup>LAMMA  
 71) *ša* <sup>md</sup>30-PAP.MEŠ-SU AD AD DÛ-ia *ina lib-bi*  
*is-pu-nu*  
 72) *e-nen-na a-na-ku ina ki-is-pi-šú*  
 73) UN.MEŠ *šá-a-tu-nu ina lib-bi as-pu-un*  
 74) UZU.MEŠ-šú-nu *nu-uk-ku-su-u-ti*  
 75) *ú-šá-kil* UR.GI<sub>7</sub>.MEŠ ŠAḪ.MEŠ *zi-i-bi*  
 76) TI<sub>8</sub>.MUŠEN.MEŠ MUŠEN.MEŠ AN-e KU<sub>6</sub>.MEŠ  
*ap-se-e*  
 77) *ul-tú ep-še-e-ti an-na-a-ti e-te-ep-pu-šú*  
 78) *ú-ni-iḫ-ḫu lib-bi* DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ EN.MEŠ-ia  
 79) ADDA.MEŠ UN.MEŠ *šá* <sup>d</sup>ÈR-ra *ú-šam-qí-tú*  
 80) *ù šá ina su-un-qí bu-bu-ti iš-ku-nu na-piš-tú*  
 81) *ri-ḫe-et ú-kul-ti* UR.GI<sub>7</sub>.MEŠ ŠAḪ.MEŠ  
 82) *ša* SILA.MEŠ *pur-ru-ku ma-lu-u re-ba-a-te*  
 83) GÍR.PAD.DU.MEŠ-šú-nu *ul-tú qé-reb*  
 KÁ.DINGIR.RA.KI  
 84) GÚ.DU<sub>8</sub>.A.KI ZIMBIR.KI *ú-še-ši-ma*  
 85) *at-ta-ad-dí a-na ka-ma-a-ti*  
 86) *ina ši-pir i-šip-pu-ti* BÁRA.MEŠ-šú-nu *ub-bi-ib*  
 87) *ul-li-la su-le-e-šú-nu lu-u-u-ti*  
 88) DINGIR.MEŠ-šú-nu *ze-nu-u-ti* <sup>d</sup>15.MEŠ-šú-nu  
*šab-sa-a-te*  
 89) *ú-ni-iḫ ina taq-rib-ti u* ÉR.ŠÀ.ḪUN.GÁ  
 90) *sat-tuk-ki-šú-un šá i-me-šu ki-ma šá* u<sub>4</sub>-me  
*ul-lu-ti*  
 91) *ina šal-me ú-ter-ma ú-kin*  
 92) *si-it-ti* DUMU.MEŠ KÁ.DINGIR.RA.KI GÚ.DU<sub>8</sub>.A.KI  
 ZIMBIR.KI

that) he performed this evil deed, who feared death, whose lives were precious to them, and who did not fall into the fire with Šamaš-šuma-ukīn, their lord, (and) those who had escaped the cut of an iron dagger, famine, starvation, (iv 60) (and) raging fire, (and) had taken refuge — the net of the great gods, my lords, from which there is no escape, overwhelmed them. Not a single one (of them) escaped; (anyone) who tried to get away did not escape my grasp; they (the gods) placed (them) in my hands.

iv 64–69) They brought before me chariots, a processional carriage, a parasol, his palace women, (and) property of his palace. (As for) those soldiers with blasphemous mouths who had uttered blasphemy against (the god) Aššur, my god, and had plotted evil (deeds) against me, the ruler who reveres him, I slit open their mouths (and) brought about their defeat.

iv 70–76) (As for) the rest of the people, those (still) alive, at the bull colossus where they had laid flat Sennacherib — the father of the father who had engendered me — I myself now laid flat those people there as a funerary-offering for him. I fed their dismembered flesh to dogs, pigs, vultures, eagles, birds of the heavens, (and) fish of the *apsú*.

iv 77–91) After I had performed these deeds (and) pacified the heart(s) of the great gods, my lords, I brought out of Babylon, Cutha, (and) Sippar the bones of the people's corpses that the god Erra had cut down and those who had laid down (their) live(s) from famine (and) starvation, the remnants of meal(s) for dogs (and) pigs, which were obstructing the streets (and) filling the squares, and (iv 85) I cast (them) outside. Through the craft of the purification priest, I purified their daises; I cleansed their sullied streets. Through *taqribtu*-ritual(s) and *eršangû*-ritual(s), I appeased their angry gods (and) their furious goddesses. (As for) their regular offerings, which had diminished, I confirmed (them) in full again, just as (they were) in distant days.

iv 92–109) (As for) rest of the citizens of Babylon, Cutha, (and) Sippar who had escaped plague, slaugh-

iv 59–60) *ša la-pa-an ni-kis* GÍR AN.BAR ... *i-še-tu-u-ni* “those who had escaped the cut of an iron dagger”: Ex. 34 omits *ša* and *la* from this phrase.  
 iv 71–73) Or possibly “where Sennacherib ... had laid (them) flat”; see also Borger, BIWA p. 235. Much ink has been spilled over the interpretation of this difficult passage, which either refers to the location where Ashurbanipal's grandfather Sennacherib was murdered or where this Assyrian king had disloyal/rebellious Babylonians put to death. Depending on what Ashurbanipal's scribes had in mind, Sennacherib is either the subject or object of the verb *ispunu/ispunū*. For details, see in particular Frahm, Sanherib p. 19; Grayson and Novotny, RINAP 3/2 p. 29; Landsberger and Bauer, ZA 37 (1926) pp. 215–222; von Soden, NABU 1990 pp. 16–17 no. 22; Tsukimoto, Totenpflege p. 112–113; and Ungnad, ZA 35 (1924) pp. 50–51.

iv 75) *zi-i-bi* “vultures”: Given that exs. 2 and 13 have MUŠEN after *zi-i-bi*, the translation of “vultures” is preferred to that of “jackals.”

iv 91) *ú-ter-ma* “again”: Ex. 156 apparently places this verb in the Š stem *ú-šá-[ter]* “I sent [back],” which is almost certainly an error as this stem for *tāru* only appears in the Amarna texts according to CAD T pp. 250 and 278.

- 93) *ša ina šib-ṭi šag-gaš-ti ù né-eb-re-e-ti*  
 94) *i-še-tu-u-ni re-e-mu ar-ši-šú-nu-ti*  
 95) *ba-laṭ na-piš-ti-šú-nu aq-bi*  
 96) *qé-reb KÁ.DINGIR.RA.KI ú-še-šib-šú-nu-ti*  
 97) UN.MEŠ KUR URL.KI *ga-ḏu KUR.kal-du*  
 KUR.a-ra-mu KUR tam-tim  
 98) *ša<sup>md</sup>GIŠ.NU<sub>11</sub>-MU-GI.NA ik-ter-u-ma*  
 99) *a-na 1-en pi-i ú-ter-ru*  
 100) *a-na pa-ra-as ra-ma-ni-šú-nu ik-ki-ru it-ti-ia*  
 101) *ina qí-bit AN.ŠÁR u<sup>d</sup>NIN.LÍL DINGIR.MEŠ*  
*tik-le-ia*  
 102) *a-na paṭ gim-ri-šú-nu ak-bu-us*  
 103) *GIŠ.ŠUDUN AN.ŠÁR šá iṣ-lu-u e-mid-su-nu-ti*  
 104) *LÚ.GAR.KUR.MEŠ LÚ.TIL.GÍD.MEŠ ši-kin ŠU.II-ia*  
 105) *áš-tak-ka-na e-li-šú-un*  
 106) *SÁ.DUG<sub>4</sub>.MEŠ gi-né-e SAG.MEŠ AN.ŠÁR<sup>d</sup>NIN.LÍL*  
 107) *ù DINGIR.MEŠ KUR AN.ŠÁR.KI ú-kin*  
 EDIN-uš-šú-un  
 108) *bil-tu man-da-at-tú EN-ti-ia*  
 109) *šat-ti-šam-ma la na-par-ka-a e-mid-su-nu-ti*
- 
- 110) *ina 7-e ger-ri-ia ina ITI.SIG<sub>4</sub> ITI<sup>d30</sup> EN EŠ.BAR*  
 111) *DUMU reš-tu-u a-šá-re-ḏu šá<sup>d</sup>EN.LÍL*  
 112) *ad-ke ERIM.ḪI.A-ia EDIN<sup>m</sup>um-man-al-da-si*  
 113) *MAN KUR.ELAM.MA.KI uš-te-eš-še-ra ḫar-ra-nu*  
 114) *ú-bil it-ti-ia<sup>m</sup>tam-ma-ri-tú MAN*  
 KUR.ELAM.MA.KI  
 115) *ša la-pa-an<sup>m</sup>in-da-bi-bi ARAD-šú*  
*in-nab-tam-ma iṣ-ba-ta ĜIR.II-ia*  
 116) UN.MEŠ URU.ḫi-il-mu URU.pil-la-ti  
 URU.ḏu-mu-qu  
 117) *URU.su-la-a-a URU.la-ḫi-ra-di-bi-ri-i-na*  
 118) *tí-ib MÈ-ia dan-ni iṣ-mu-u šá al-la-ku a-na*  
 KUR.ELAM.MA.KI  
 119) *nam-ri-ri AN.ŠÁR u<sup>d15</sup> EN.MEŠ-ia*  
 120) *pu-luḫ-ti LUGAL-ti-ia is-ḫu-up-šú-nu-ti*  
 121) *šú-nu UN.MEŠ-šú-nu GU<sub>4</sub>.MEŠ-šú-nu*  
*še-e-ni-šú-nu*  
 122) *a-na e-peš ARAD-ti-ia a-na KUR AN.ŠÁR.KI*  
*im-qut-nim-ma*  
 123) *iṣ-ba-tú ĜIR.II LUGAL-ti-ia URU.É-<sup>m</sup>im-bi-i*  
*maḫ-ru-u*  
 124) *URU LUGAL-u-ti É tuk-la-a-te šá*  
 KUR.ELAM.MA.KI  
 125) *ša ki-ma BÀD GAL-e pa-an KUR.ELAM.MA.KI*  
*par-ku*  
 126) *ša<sup>md30</sup>PAP.MEŠ-SU MAN KUR AN.ŠÁR.KI AD AD*  
*DÛ-ia*  
 127) *il-la-mu-u-a ik-šú-ḏu ù šu-u e-la-mu-ú*  
 128) *URU mé-eḫ-ret URU.É-<sup>m</sup>im-bi-i maḫ-re-e*

ter, and famine, I had mercy on them; I commanded the preservation of their lives. I settled them inside Babylon. (As for) the people of the land Akkad, together with (those of) Chaldea, Aram, (and) the Sealand, whom Šamaš-šuma-ukīn got as help and united, (iv 100) (and) who decided on their own to become hostile towards me, by the command of (the god) Aššur and the goddess Mullissu, the gods who support me, I subdued (them) to their full extent. I imposed upon them the yoke of (the god) Aššur that they had cast off. (iv 105) I installed over them governors (and) officials appointed by me (lit. “my hand”). I confirmed regular offerings (and) contributions as first-fruits offerings for (the god) Aššur, the goddess Mullissu, and the gods of Assyria. I imposed upon them tribute payment (in recognition) of my dominion (to be delivered) yearly (and) without interruption.

iv 110–123a) On my seventh campaign, in the month Simānu (III), the month of the god Sīn – the lord of oracular decisions, the eldest (and) foremost son of the god Enlil – I mustered my troops (and) took the direct road against Ummanaldašu (Ḫumban-ḫaltaš III), the king of the land Elam. I took with me Tammaritu, the (former) king of the land Elam (iv 115) who had fled to me from Indabibi – his servant – and who had grasped my feet. The people of the cities Ḫilmu, Pillatu, Dummuqu, Sulāya, (and) Laḫīra-Dibirīna heard about the assault of my mighty battle array as I was marching to the land Elam. The awe-inspiring radiance of (the god) Aššur and the goddess Ištar, my lords, (iv 120) (and) fear of my royal majesty overwhelmed them. They, their people, their oxen, (and) their sheep and goats, arrived in Assyria to do obeisance to me and they grasped the feet of my royal majesty.

iv 123b–137) (As for) the earlier city Bīt-Imbī, a royal city (and) residence upon which the land Elam relied that blocks the approach to the land Elam like a great wall, which Sennacherib – king of Assyria, the father of the father who had engendered me – had conquered before my time, and (where) he, the Elamite (Ummanaldašu) had built another city opposite the earlier city Bīt-Imbī and (then) strengthened its (city) wall, (iv 130) raised its outer wall high, (and) named it (the new city) Bīt-Imbī – I conquered (it) in the course

iv 96 Ex. 17 omits this line.

iv 99 *a-na 1-en pi-i ú-ter-ru* “unified”: Literally, “returned to one mouth.” Ex. 21 contains the variant *u<sub>4</sub>-me* “day” for *pi-i* “mouth,” which is a misreading of the signs in his source document that renders this idiom for unification nonsensical (see Worthington, Textual Criticism p. 143 and the on-page notes to i 27, ii 124, and viii 2).

iv 101 Exs. 2, 3, and 17 add *GAL.MEŠ* “great” after *DINGIR.MEŠ* “gods.”

iv 112 *EDIN* “against”: Ex. 17 omits this word.

- 129) *šá-nam-ma e-pu-šú-ma BÂD-šú ú-dan-nin-u-ma*  
 130) *ú-zaq-qí-ru šal-ḥu-u-šu*  
 131) URU.É-<sup>m</sup>im-bi-i iz-ku-ru ni-bit-su  
 132) *ina me-ti-iq ger-ri-ia ak-šu-ud*  
 133) UN.MEŠ *a-šib lib-bi-šú šá la ú-šu-ú-nim-ma*  
 134) *la iš-a-lu šu-lum LUGAL-ti-ia a-nir*  
 135) SAG.DU.MEŠ-šú-nu ak-kis NUNDUM.MEŠ-šú-nu  
*ap-ru-u'*  
 136) *a-na ta-mar-ti UN.MEŠ KUR-ia*  
 137) *al-qa-a a-na KUR AN.ŠÁR.KI*  
 Col. v  
 1) <sup>m</sup>im-ba-ap-pi LÚ.ḡe-e-pu URU.É-<sup>m</sup>im-bi-i  
 2) LÚ.ḡa-tan <sup>m</sup>um-man-al-da-si MAN  
 KUR.ELAM.MA.KI  
 3) *bal-tu-us-su ul-tú qé-reb URU šu-a-tú*  
 4) *ú-še-ša-am-ma ŠU.II u GÌR.II bi-re-tú AN.BAR*  
 5) *ad-di-šú-u-ma ú-ra-a-šú a-na KUR AN.ŠÁR.KI*  
 6) MUNUS.É.GAL ù DUMU.MEŠ-šú šá <sup>m</sup>te-um-man  
 7) MAN KUR.ELAM.MA.KI šá *ina na-áš-par-ti*  
 AN.ŠÁR  
 8) *ina ger-ri-ia maḥ-re-e ak-ki-su SAG.DU-su*  
 9) *it-ti si-it-ti UN.MEŠ a-ši-bu-ti URU.É-<sup>m</sup>im-bi-i*  
 10) *ú-še-ša-am-ma šal-la-tiš am-nu*  
 11) <sup>m</sup>um-man-al-da-si MAN KUR.ELAM.MA.KI  
 12) *e-reb ERIM.ḤI.A-ia šá qé-reb KUR.ELAM.MA.KI*  
*e-ru-bu iš-me-ma*  
 13) URU.ma-dak-tú URU LUGAL-ti-šú *ú-maš-šir-ma*  
 14) *in-na-bit-ma KUR-šú e-li*  
 15) <sup>m</sup>um-ba-LAGAB-u-a šá ul-tú KUR.ELAM.MA.KI  
 16) *ta-se-ḥu-u a-na URU.bu-bi-lu in-nab-tu-u-ma*  
 17) *mé-eḥ-ret <sup>m</sup>um-man-al-da-si ú-ši-bu ina*  
 GIŠ.GU.ZA KUR.ELAM.MA.KI  
 18) *ki-ma šá-a-šú-ma iš-me-ma URU.bu-bi-lu*  
 19) URU *mu-šab EN-ti-šú ú-maš-šir-ma*  
 20) *ki-ma KU<sub>6</sub>.MEŠ iš-bat šu-pul A.MEŠ ru-qu-u-ti*  
 21) <sup>m</sup>tam-ma-ri-tú šá *in-nab-ta iš-ba-ta GÌR.II-ia*  
 22) *qé-reb URU.šú-šá-an ú-še-rib áš-kun-šú a-na*  
 LUGAL-ti  
 23) SIG<sub>5</sub>-tu *e-pu-šu-uš šá áš-pu-ru Á.TAḤ-su*  
*im-ši-ma*  
 24) *iš-te-né-<sup>r</sup>a<sup>1</sup>-a ḤUL-tu a-na ka-šad ERIM.ḤI.A-ia*  
 25) *ki-a-am iq-bi it-ti lib-bi-šú*  
 26) *um-ma UN.MEŠ KUR.ELAM.MA.KI a-na*  
 MUNUS.MEŠ-e *i-tu-ru*  
 27) *ina IGI KUR AN.ŠÁR.KI šu-nu šu-nu-ma*  
*ir-ru-bu-nim-ma*  
 28) *iḥ-ta-nab-ba-tú ḥu-bu-ut KUR.ELAM.MA.KI*  
 29) AN.ŠÁR u <sup>d</sup>15 šá Á.II-a-a *il-li-ku*  
 30) *ú-šá-zi-zu-in-ni EDIN ga-re-ia*  
 31) *lib-bi <sup>m</sup>tam-ma-ri-tú ek-ṣu ba-ra-nu-u*  
*ib-ru-u-ma*  
 32) *ú-ba-'u-ú qa-tuš-šú*  
 33) *ul-tu GIŠ.GU.ZA LUGAL-ti-šú id-ku-niš-šum-ma*

of my campaign. (As for) the people living inside it, who had not come out and inquired about the well-being of my royal majesty, I killed (them). I cut off their heads, sliced off their lips, (and) took (them) to Assyria to be a spectacle for the people of my land.

v 1–5) (As for) Imbappi, the official of the city Bīt-Imbî, an in-law of Ummanaldašu (Ḥumban-ḥaltaš III), the king of the land Elam, I brought him out of that city alive. I placed (his) hands and feet in iron fetters and brought him to Assyria.

v 6–10) I brought out a palace woman and the sons of Teumman — a (former) king of the land Elam whose head I had cut off during a previous campaign on the instructions of (the god) Aššur — together with the rest of the people living in the city Bīt-Imbî and I counted (them) as booty.

v 11–14) (As for) Ummanaldašu (Ḥumban-ḥaltaš III), the king of the land Elam, he heard about the entry of my troops, who had entered inside the land Elam; he abandoned the city Madaktu, a royal city of his, and (then) fled and took to the mountains (lit. “ascended his mountain”).

v 15–20) (As for) Umba-LAGABua, who had fled to the city Bubilu after the land Elam had revolted and who sat on the throne of the land Elam in opposition to Ummanaldašu, he, like him (Ummanaldašu) heard about (the advance of my army) and abandoned the city Bubilu, a city that was a lordly residence of his, and, like fish, he took to the depths of far away waters.  
 v 21–22) (As for) Tammaritu, who had fled to me (and) grasped my feet, I brought him into the city Susa (and) I installed him as king.

v 23–40) He forgot the kindness that I had done for him, in having sent aid to him, and constantly sought out evil (ways) to conquer my troops. (v 25) He said the following to himself (lit. “his heart”), saying: “(As for) the people of the land Elam, they have become women. (Who are) they in the face of Assyria? They (the Assyrians) are coming in and constantly plundering the land Elam.” (The god) Aššur and the goddess Ištar, who marched at my side (and) (v 30) allowed me to stand over my foes, saw the dangerous (and) rebellious thought(s) of Tammaritu and called him to account: They removed him from his royal throne and (then) *made him return* (and) bow down at my feet for a second time. On account of these words, with the fury that my heart had because the unfaithful

v 27 *ina IGI KUR AN.ŠÁR.KI* “In the face of Assyria”: Ex. 4 instead mistakenly records *ina pa-an KUR.ELAM.MA.KI* “In the face of Elam.”



- 34) *ú-ter-ru-niš-šú šá-ni-ia<sup>1</sup>-a-nu*  
 35) *ú-šak-ni-šu-uš a-na GÌR.II-ia*  
 36) *šú-ut a-ma-a-ti an-na-a-ti*  
 37) *ina ši-ri-iḫ-ti lib-bi-ia*  
 38) *ša<sup>m</sup> tam-ma-ri-tú la ke-e-nu iḫ-ṭa-a*  
 39) *ina li-i-ti u da-na-ni šá* DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ  
 EN.MEŠ-ia  
 40) *qé-reb* KUR.ELAM.MA.KI *a-na si-ḫir-ti-šá*  
*at-ta-lak šal-ṭiš*  
 41) *ina ta-a-a-ar-ti-ia šá šul-me-e ŠU.II ma-li-ti*  
 42) *pa-an* GIŠ.ŠUDUN-ia *ú-ter-ra a-na* KUR  
 AN.ŠÁR.KI  
 43) URU.ga-tu-du URU.ga-tu-du-ma  
 44) URU.da-e-ba URU.na-di-i'  
 45) URU.BÂD-<sup>m</sup>am-na-ni URU.BÂD-<sup>m</sup>am-na-ni-ma  
 46) URU.ḫa-ma-nu URU.ta-ra-qu  
 47) URU.ḫa-a-a-ú-si URU.É-NA<sub>4</sub>.KIŠIB-É-su  
 48) URU.É-<sup>m</sup>ar-ra-bi URU.É-<sup>m</sup>im-bi-i  
 49) URU.ma-dak-tu URU.šú-šá-an  
 50) URU.bu-bé-e URU.ŠE-<sup>md</sup>ŠÚ-MAN-a-ni  
 51) URU.ur-da-li-ka URU.al-ga-ri-ga  
 52) URU.tu-ú-bu URU.DU<sub>6</sub>-tu-ú-bu  
 53) URU.du-un-LUGAL URU.BÂD-<sup>m</sup>un-da-si  
 54) URU.BÂD-<sup>m</sup>un-da-si-ma URU.bu-bi-lu  
 55) URU.sa-am-ú-nu URU.É-<sup>m</sup>bu-na-ku  
 56) URU.qa-ab-ri-na URU.qa-ab-ri-na-ma  
 URU.ḫa-ra-a'  
 57) URU.MEŠ šu-nu-ti ak-šu-ud  
 58) *ap-pul aq-qur ina* <sup>d</sup>GIŠ.BAR *aq-mu*  
 59) DINGIR.MEŠ-šú-nu UN.MEŠ-šú-nu GU<sub>4</sub>.MEŠ-šú-nu  
*še-e-ni-šú-nu*  
 60) NÍG.ŠU-šú-nu NÍG.GA-šú-nu  
 61) GIŠ.šú-um-bi ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ  
 ANŠE.KUNGA.MEŠ  
 62) GIŠ.til-li ú-nu-ut MÈ *áš-lu-la a-na* KUR  
 AN.ŠÁR.KI

Tammarītu had sinned against me, through the mighty victories of the great gods, my lords, I marched about triumphantly inside the land Elam in its entirety.

v 41–62) On my successful return march, I turned back (lit. “I turned the front of my yoke”) to Assyria with full hand(s). (As for) the cities Gatudu, Gatudu again, Daeba, Nadi', (v 45) Dūr-Amnani, Dūr-Amnani again, Ḥamānu, Taraqu, Ḥayyūsi, Bīt-kunukki-bīssu, Bīt-Arrabi, Bīt-Imbî, Madaktu, Susa, (v 50) Bubê, Kapar-Marduk-šarrāni, Urdalika, Algariga, Tūbu, Tīl-Tūba, Dun-šarri, Dūr-Undāsi, Dūr-Undāsi again, Bubilu, (v 55) Samunu, Bīt-Bunaki, Qabrīna, Qabrīna again, (and) Ḥara', I conquered those cities; I destroyed, demolished, (and) burned (them) with fire. I carried off to Assyria their gods, their people, their oxen, their sheep and goats, their possessions, their property, wagons, horses, mules, equipment, (and) implements of war.

- 63) *i-na 8-e ger-ri-ia ina qī-bit* AN.ŠÁR u <sup>d</sup>15  
 64) *ad-ke* ERIM.ḪLA-ia EDIN <sup>m</sup>um-man-al-da-si  
 65) MAN KUR.ELAM.MA.KI *uš-te-eš-še-ra ḫar-ra-nu*  
 66) URU.É-<sup>m</sup>im-bi-i *šá ina ger-ri-ia maḫ-re-e*  
 67) *ak-šu-du e-nen-na* KUR.ra-a-ši  
 68) URU.ḫa-ma-nu *a-di na-ge-šú ak-šu-ud*  
 69) *ù šu-u* <sup>m</sup>um-man-al-da-si MAN KUR.ELAM.MA.KI  
 70) *ka-šad* KUR.ra-a-ši URU.ḫa-ma-nu *iš-me-ma*  
 71) *pu-luḫ-ti* AN.ŠÁR u <sup>d</sup>15 *a-li-kut Á.II-ia*  
 72) *is-ḫu-up-šú-ma* URU.ma-dak-tú URU LUGAL-ti-šú  
 73) *ú-maš-šir-ma in-na-bit a-na* URU.BÂD-<sup>m</sup>un-da-si  
 74) *ÍD.id-id-e e-bir-ma ÍD šu-a-tú*  
 75) *a-na dan-nu-ti-šú iš-kun*

v 63–76) On my eighth campaign, by the command of (the god) Aššur and the goddess Ištar, I mustered my troops (and) I took the direct road against Ummaldašu (Ḥumban-ḫaltaš III), the king of the land Elam. (Like) the city Bīt-Imbî, which I had conquered during a previous campaign of mine, I now conquered (the rest of) the land Rāši (and) the city Ḥamānu, along with their (lit. “its”) district(s). Moreover, he, Ummaldašu, the king of the land Elam, (v 70) heard about the conquest of the land Rāši (and) the city Ḥamānu and fear of (the god) Aššur and the goddess Ištar, who march at my side, overwhelmed him and (then) he abandoned the city Madaktu, a royal city of

v 43–56 For the cities in this list that are mentioned a second time and end with *-ma*, see the on-page note to text no. 7 (Prism Kh) ix 9'–29'.  
 v 75 *iš-kun* “established”: Ex. 17 simply preserves an Aḫ sign for the verb, which is incomprehensible as a logogram in this instance. The presence of the Aḫ sign here might be explained as a copyist's error if the original text from which the scribe was reproducing his text was damaged. In this exemplar, the scribe wrote lines 74 and 75 of the master text in a single line. As a result, the signs of this line are situated closely together so that there would be enough room to fit them all. However, there is a gap of uninscribed clay between *dan-nu-ti-šú* and the Aḫ sign at the end of the line. If the verb in the original text were damaged, such as [iš]-<sup>l</sup>kun, then it is possible that the copyist would have only seen the latter part of the KUN sign. This might have led him to leave a blank space where the iš sign and the initial horizontal and vertical of KUN would have been, after which he copied the wedges for Aḫ, though in reality it is the end of the KUN sign.

- 76) *uk-ta-ta-šar a-na šal-ti-ia*
- 77) URU.na-di-tú URU LUGAL-ti a-di na-ge-šú  
KUR-ud
- 78) URU.É-<sup>m</sup>bu-na-ku URU LUGAL-ti a-di na-ge-šú  
KUR-ud
- 79) URU.ḫar-tap-a-nu URU LUGAL-ti a-di na-ge-šú  
KUR-ud
- 80) URU.tu-ú-bu a-di na-ge-šú KUR-ud
- 81) *bi-rit* ÍD ka-la-mu URU.ma-dak-tú
- 82) URU LUGAL-ti a-di na-ge-šú KUR-ud
- 83) URU.ḫal-te-ma-áš URU LUGAL-ti-šú ak-šu-ud
- 84) URU.šu-šá-an URU LUGAL-ti-šú ak-šu-ud
- 85) URU.di-in-LUGAL URU.su-mu-un-tu-na-áš
- 86) URU LUGAL-ti-šú ak-šu-ud
- 87) URU.pi-di-il-ma URU LUGAL-ti-šú ak-šu-ud
- 88) URU.bu-bi-lu URU LUGAL-ti-šú ak-šu-ud
- 89) URU.ka-bi-in-ak URU LUGAL-ti-šú ak-šu-ud
- 90) *ina tukul-ti* AN.ŠÁR u <sup>d</sup>15 ar-de-e-ma al-lik
- 91) EDIN <sup>m</sup>um-man-al-da-si MAN KUR.ELAM.MA.KI
- 92) *ša la ik-nu-šá a-na* GIŠ.ŠUDUN-ia
- 93) *ina me-ti-iq ger-ri-ia*
- 94) URU.BÀD-<sup>m</sup>un-da-si URU LUGAL-ti-šú KUR-ud
- 95) ERIM.ḪIA-ia ÍD.id-id-e a-gu-u šam-ru
- 96) *e-mu-ru ip-la-ḫu a-na né-ba-ar-te*
- 97) <sup>d</sup>15 a-ši-bat URU.LÍMMU-DINGIR *ina šat mu-ši*
- 98) *a-na* ERIM.ḪIA-ia MÁŠ.GI<sub>6</sub> *ú-šab-ri-ma*
- 99) *ki-a-am iq-bi-šu-nu-ti*
- 100) *um-ma a-na-ka al-lak ina ma-ḫar*  
<sup>m</sup>AN.ŠÁR-DÙ-A
- 101) LUGAL *šá ib-na-a* ŠU.II-a-a
- 102) *e-li* MÁŠ.GI<sub>6</sub> *an-ni-ti* ERIM.ḪIA-ia *ir-ḫu-ṣu*
- 103) ÍD.id-id-e *e-bi-ru šal-meš*
- 104) 14 URU.MEŠ *mu-šab* LUGAL-ti-šú
- 105) *a-di* URU.MEŠ TUR.MEŠ *šá ni-i-ba la i-šu-u*
- 106) *ù 12 na-ge-e šá qé-reb* KUR.ELAM.MA.KI *ka-li-šú*
- 107) *ak-šu-ud ap-pul aq-qur ina* <sup>d</sup>GIŠ.BAR *aq-mu*
- 108) *a-na* DU<sub>6</sub> *u kar-me ú-ter*
- 109) *ina la mi-ni a-duk qu-ra-de-e-šú*
- 110) *ina* GIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ *ú-ras-sib mun-daḫ-še-e-šú*  
MAḪ.MEŠ
- 111) <sup>m</sup>um-man-al-da-si MAN KUR.ELAM.MA.KI
- 112) *mi-ra-nu-uš-šú in-na-bit-ma iṣ-ba-ta* KUR-ú
- 113) URU.ba-nu-nu *a-di na-ge-e* *šá* URU.ta-sa-ar-ra
- 114) *ka-la-mu ak-šu-ud*
- 115) 20.ĀM URU.MEŠ *ina na-ge-e* *šá* URU.ḫu-un-nir
- 116) *ina* UGU *mi-iṣ-ri* *šá* URU.ḫi-da-lu *ak-šu-ud*
- 117) URU.ba-ši-mu *ù* URU.MEŠ *šá li-me-ti-šú ap-pul*  
*aq-qur*
- 118) *ša* UN.MEŠ *a-šib lib-bi-šú-un ka-mar-šú-nu*

his, and fled to the city Dūr-Undāsi. He crossed the Idide River and established that river as his defensive position. He prepared himself to fight with me.

v 77–80) I conquered the city Naditu, a royal city, along with its district. I conquered the city Bīt-Bunaki, a royal city, along with its district. I conquered the city Ḫartappānu, a royal city, along with its district. I conquered the city Tūbu, along with its district.

v 81–89) (As for) entire (area) between the (Ulāya and Idide) river(s), I conquered the city Madaktu, a royal city, along with its district. I conquered the city Ḫaltemaš, a royal city of his. I conquered the city Susa, a royal city of his. (v 85) I conquered the cities Dīn-šarri (and) Sumuntunaš, royal cit(ies) of his. I conquered the city Pidilma, a royal city of his. I conquered the city Bubilu, a royal city of his. I conquered the city Kabinak, a royal city of his.

v 90–92) With the support of (the god) Aššur and the goddess Ištar, I advanced and marched against Ummanaldašu (Ḫumban-ḫaltaš III), the king of the land Elam who had not bowed down to my yoke.

v 93–94) In the course of my campaign, I conquered the city Dūr-Undāsi, a royal city of his.

v 95–103) My troops saw the Idide River, a raging torrent (and) were afraid to cross (it). During the night, the goddess Ištar who resides in the city Arbela showed a dream to my troops and said the following to them, (v 100) saying: “I myself will go before Ashurbanipal, the king that my (own two) hands created.” My troops trusted this dream (and) they safely crossed the Idide River.

v 104–110) I conquered, destroyed, demolished, (and) burned with fire fourteen cities, his royal residence(s), together with small(er) settlements, which were without number, and twelve districts that were in the land Elam, all of it. I turned (them) into mounds of ruins (lit. “mound(s) and ruin(s)”). I slew his warriors without number. I struck down his elite fighting men with the sword.

v 111–112) Ummanaldašu (Ḫumban-ḫaltaš III), the king of the land Elam, fled naked and took to the mountain(s).

v 113–117) I conquered the city Banunu, together with the district of the city Tasarra, all (of it). I conquered twenty villages in the district of the city Ḫunnir, (which is) on the border of the city Ḫidalu. I destroyed (and) demolished the city Bašimu and the villages in its environs.

v 118–125) As for the people living inside them, I

v 78–82 *a-di na-ge-šú* KUR-ud “along with its district I conquered”: Ex. 2 represents this repeated phrase in the text with KL.MIN “ditto.”

v 86–89 URU LUGAL-ti-šú *ak-šu-ud* “his royal city I conquered”: Ex. 2 represents this repeated phrase in the text with KL.MIN “ditto.”

- áš-kun*
- 119) *ú-šab-bir* DINGIR.MEŠ-šú-un  
 120) *ú-šap-ši-iḫ ka-bat-ti* EN EN.EN  
 121) DINGIR.MEŠ-šú <sup>d</sup>15.MEŠ-šú NÍG.ŠU-šú NÍG.GA-šú  
 122) UN.MEŠ TUR u GAL *áš-lu-la a-na* KUR AN.ŠÁR.KI  
 123) 60 KASKAL.GÍD *qaq-qa-ru ina a-mat* AN.ŠÁR u <sup>d</sup>15  
 124) *ša ú-ma-'e-e-ru-in-ni*  
 125) *qé-reb* KUR.ELAM.MA.KI *e-ru-ub at-ta-lak šal-tiš*  
 126) *ina ta-a-a-ar-ti-ia šá* AN.ŠÁR u <sup>d</sup>15  
 127) *ú-šá-zi-zu-in-ni* EDIN *ga-re-ia*  
 128) URU.šu-šá-an *ma-ḫa-zu* GAL-ú *mu-šab*  
 DINGIR.MEŠ-šú-un  
 129) *a-šar pi-riš-ti-šú-un ak-šu-ud*  
 130) *ina a-mat* AN.ŠÁR u <sup>d</sup>15 *qé-reb* É.GAL.MEŠ-šú  
 131) *e-ru-ub ú-šib ina* ḪÚL.MEŠ  
 132) *ap-te-e-ma* É *nak-kam-a-ti-šú-nu*  
 133) *ša* KÙ.BABBAR.MEŠ KÙ.GI.MEŠ NÍG.ŠU.MEŠ  
 NÍG.GA.MEŠ  
 134) *nu-uk-ku-mu qé-reb-šú-un*  
 Col. vi  
 1) *ša* LUGAL.MEŠ KUR.ELAM.MA.KI *maḫ-ru-u-ti*  
 2) *a-di* LUGAL.MEŠ *ša a-di* ŠĀ u<sub>4</sub>-*me an-né-e*  
 3) *ú-paḫ-ḫi-ru iš-ku-nu*  
 4) *ša* LÚ.KÚR *šá-nam-ma e-li ia-a-ši*  
 5) ŠU.II-*su la ú-bi-lu ina lib-bi*  
 6) *ú-še-ša-am-ma šal-la-tiš am-nu*  
 7) KÙ.BABBAR KÙ.GI NÍG.ŠU.MEŠ NÍG.GA.MEŠ *ša*  
 KUR EME.GI,  
 8) u URI.KI KUR.*kár-dun-ía-áš ka-la-mu*  
 9) *ša* LUGAL.MEŠ KUR.ELAM.MA.KI *maḫ-ru-u-ti*  
 10) *a-di 7-šú iš-lu-lu ú-bi-lu qé-reb* KUR.ELAM.MA.KI  
 11) *ša-ri-ru ḫuš-šu-u eš-ma-ru-u eb-bu*  
 12) *ni-siq-ti* NA<sub>4</sub>.MEŠ *šu-kut-tú a-qar-tú si-mat*  
 LUGAL-ti  
 13) *ša* LUGAL.MEŠ KUR URI.KI *maḫ-ru-u-ti*  
 14) *ù* <sup>md</sup>GIŠ.NU<sub>11</sub>-MU-GI.NA *a-na kit-ri-šú-nu*  
 15) *ip-šu-ru a-na* KUR.ELAM.MA.KI  
 16) *lu-bul-tu šu-kut-tú si-mat* LUGAL-u-ti  
 17) GIŠ.til-li *qa-ra-bi si-ma-nu-ú*  
 18) *mim-ma e-peš* MÈ *si-mat* ŠU.II-šú  
 19) *ú-nu-ut mut-tab-bil-ti* É.GAL.MEŠ-šú *ka-la-mu*  
 20) *šá ina muḫ-ḫi ú-ši-bu it-ti-lu*  
 21) *ina lib-bi e-ku-lu iš-tu-u ir-mu-ku ip-pa-áš-šú*  
 22) GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ GIŠ.šá *šá-da-di* GIŠ.šu-um-bi  
 23) *ša iḫ-zu-ši-na ša-ri-ru za-ḫa-lu-u*  
 24) ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ ANŠE.KUNGA.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ  
 25) *ša tal-lul-ta-šú-nu* KÙ.GI KÙ.BABBAR  
 26) *áš-lu-la a-na* KUR AN.ŠÁR.KI  
 27) *ziq-qur-rat* URU.šu-šá-an  
 28) *ša ina a-gúr-ri* NA<sub>4</sub>.ZA.GÌN *šu-pu-šat ub-bit*  
 29) *ú-kap-pi-ra* SI.MEŠ-šá *ša pi-tiq* URUDU *nam-ri*

annihilated them. I smashed their gods (and thus) placated the mood of the lord of lords. I carried off to Assyria its gods, its goddesses, its possessions, (and) its property, (as well as) people, young and old. (Over) an area of sixty leagues, by the command that (the god) Aššur and the goddess Ištar had given to me, I entered the land Elam (and) marched about triumphantly.

v 126-vi 6) On my return march, (during) which (the god) Aššur and the goddess Ištar made me stand over my foes, I conquered the city Susa, a great cult center, the residence of their gods, a place of their secret lore. (v 130) By the command of (the god) Aššur and the goddess Ištar, I entered its palaces (and) stayed (inside them) during celebrations. I opened up their treasuries, inside which silver, gold, possessions, (and) property had been stored — (vi 1) which the former kings of the land Elam down to the kings of this time had collected (and) deposited — (and) wherein no other enemy apart from me had laid his hands, and I brought (all of this) out and counted (it) as booty.

vi 7-26) Silver, gold, possessions, (and) property of the land of Sumer and Akkad — Karduniaš (Babylonia), all (of it) — that the former kings of the land Elam had carried off seven times (and) brought inside the land Elam; red *šariru*-gold, shiny *ešmarû*-metal, precious stones, valuable jewelry, (and) royal appurtenance(s) that the former kings of the land Akkad and Šamaš-šuma-ukīn (vi 15) had squandered on the land Elam to help them; clothing, jewelry, royal appurtenance(s), equipment suited for battle, instruments, anything used for waging war, (and) gear suited for his hands; movable furnishings of his palaces, all (of it), (vi 20) on which he sat (and) lay down, from which he ate, drank, bathed, (and) was anointed; chariots, processional carriage(s), (and) wagons whose fittings are (made of) *šariru*-gold (and) *zaḫalû*-metal; large horses (and) mules (vi 25) whose trappings are (made of) gold (and) silver — I carried off (all of this) to Assyria.

vi 27-29) (As for) the ziggurat of the city Susa, which had been constructed with baked bricks (colored with) lapis lazuli, I destroyed (it); I stripped off its horns, which were cast with shiny copper.

v 130 AN.ŠÁR u <sup>d</sup>15 “Aššur and the goddess Ištar”: Ex. 17 has AN.ŠÁR u AN.ŠÁR “Aššur and Aššur,” a simple scribal error caused by writing ŠÁR instead of 15 after the second AN sign.

- 30) <sup>d</sup>MÜŠ.ŠÉŠ DINGIR *pi-riš-ti-šú-un*  
 31) *ša áš-bu ina pu-uz-ra-a-ti*  
 32) *ša mam-ma-an la im-ma-ru ep-šet* DINGIR-ti-šú  
 33) <sup>d</sup>šu-mu-du <sup>d</sup>la-ga-ma-ru  
 34) <sup>d</sup>pa-ar-ti-ki-ra <sup>d</sup>am-man-ka-si-MAŠ  
 35) <sup>d</sup>ú-du-ra-an <sup>d</sup>sa-pa-ag  
 36) *ša* LUGAL.MEŠ KUR.ELAM.MA.KI  
 37) *ip-tal-la-ḥu* DINGIR-us-su-un  
 38) <sup>d</sup>ra-gi-ba <sup>d</sup>su-un-GAM-sa-ra-a  
 39) <sup>d</sup>ka-ar-sa <sup>d</sup>ki-ir-sa-ma-as  
 40) <sup>d</sup>šu-da-nu <sup>d</sup>a-a-pa-ag-si-na  
 41) <sup>d</sup>bi-la-la <sup>d</sup>pa-ni-in-tim-ri  
 42) <sup>d</sup>si-la-ga-ra-a <sup>d</sup>na-ab-sa-a  
 43) <sup>d</sup>na-bir-tu <sup>d</sup>ki-in-da-kar-bu  
 44) DINGIR.MEŠ <sup>d</sup>15.MEŠ *šá-a-tu-nu*  
 45) *it-ti šu-kut-ti-šú-nu* NÍG.GA-šú-nu *ú-nu-ti-šú-nu*  
 46) *a-di* LÚ.šá-an-ge-e LÚ.bu-uh-la-le-e  
 47) *áš-lu-la a-na* KUR AN.ŠÁR.KI  
 48) 32 ALAM.MEŠ LUGAL.MEŠ  
 49) *pi-tiq* KÛ.BABBAR KÛ.GI URUDU NA<sub>4</sub>.GIŠ.NU.GAL  
 50) *ul-tu qé-reb* URU.šu-šá-an  
 51) URU.ma-dak-tu URU.ḥu-ra-di  
 52) *a-di* ALAM <sup>m</sup>um-man-i-gaš DUMU  
<sup>m</sup>um-ba-da-ra-a  
 53) ALAM <sup>m</sup>iš-tar-na-an-ḥu-un-di  
 54) ALAM <sup>m</sup>ḥal-lu-si  
 55) ALAM <sup>m</sup>tam-ma-ri-tu EGIR-ú  
 56) *ša ina qí-bit* AN.ŠÁR u <sup>d</sup>15 *e-pu-šú* ARAD-u-ti  
 57) *al-qa-a a-na* KUR AN.ŠÁR.KI  
 58) *ad-ka-a* <sup>d</sup>ALAD.MEŠ <sup>d</sup>LAMMA.MEŠ  
 59) EN.NUN.MEŠ *šu-ut* É.KUR *ma-la ba-šú-ú*  
 60) *ú-na-as-si-ḥa* AM.MEŠ *na-ad-ru-u-ti*  
 61) *si-mat* KÁ.MEŠ-ni  
 62) *eš-re-e-ti* KUR.ELAM.MA.KI  
 63) *a-di la ba-še-e ú-šal-pit*  
 64) DINGIR.MEŠ-šú <sup>d</sup>15.MEŠ-šú *am-na-a a-na*  
*za-qí-qí*  
 65) GIŠ.TIR.MEŠ-šú-nu *pa-az-ra-a-ti*  
 66) *ša mām-ma a-ḥu-u la ú-šar-ru ina lib-bi*  
 67) *la i-kab-ba-su i-ta-ši-in*  
 68) LÚ.ERIM.MEŠ MÈ-ia *qé-reb-šin e-ru-bu*  
 69) *e-mu-ru pu-uz-ra-šin iq-mu-u ina* <sup>d</sup>GIŠ.BAR  
 70) *ki-maḥ-ḥi* LUGAL.MEŠ-šú-nu *maḥ-ru-u-ti*  
 EGIR.MEŠ  
 71) *la pa-li-ḥu-u-ti* AN.ŠÁR u <sup>d</sup>15 EN.MEŠ-ia  
 72) *mu-nar-ri-ṭu* LUGAL.MEŠ AD.MEŠ-ia  
 73) *ap-pul aq-qur ú-kal-lim* <sup>d</sup>UTU-ši  
 74) GÌR.PAD.DU.MEŠ-šú-nu *al-qa-a a-na* KUR  
 AN.ŠÁR.KI  
 75) *e-ṭém-me-šú-nu la ša-la-lu e-mi-id*  
 76) *ki-is-pi na-aq* A.MEŠ *ú-za-am-me-šú-nu-ti*  
 77) *ma-lak* ITI 25 UD.MEŠ  
 78) *na-ge-e* KUR.ELAM.MA.KI *ú-šaḥ-rib*  
 79) MUN Ú.ZAG.ḪI.LI.SAR  
 80) *ú-sap-pi-ḥa* EDIN-uš-šú-un

vi 30–47) (As for) the deities Inšušinak — the god of their secret lore who lives in seclusion (and) whose divine acts have never been seen by anyone — Šumudu, Lagamaru, Partikira, Amman-kasiMAŠ, (vi 35) Uduran, Sapag — whose divinity the kings of the land Elam constantly revered — Ragiba, SunGAMsarā, Karsa, Kirsamas, (vi 40) Šudānu, Ayapagsina, Bilala, Panintimri, Silagarā, Nabsā, Nabirtu, (and) Kindakarbu — I carried off to Assyria those gods (and) goddesses together with their jewelry, their property, (and) their equipment, along with *šangû*-priests (and) *buhlalû*-priests.

vi 48–57) Thirty-two statues of kings fashioned from silver, gold, copper, (and) alabaster from inside the cities Susa, Madaktu, (and) Ḫurādu, along with a statue of Ummanigaš (Ḫumban-nikas I), son of Umbadarā, a statue of Ištar-nanḫundi (Šutur-Naḫūndi II), a statue of Ḫallušu (Ḫallušu-Inšušinak I), (and) a statue of the later Tammaritu, who did obeisance to me by the command of (the god) Aššur and the goddess Ištar — I took (them) to Assyria.

vi 58–69) I removed *šēdus* (and) *lamassus*, as many protectors of the temple as there were. I ripped out the raging wild bulls that adorned gateways. I had the sanctuaries of the land Elam utterly destroyed (and) I counted its gods (and) its goddesses as ghosts. (vi 65) (As for) their secret groves, into which no outsider has (ever) gazed (or) set foot within their borders, my battle troops entered inside them, saw their secrets, (and) burned (them) with fire.

vi 70–76) I destroyed (and) demolished the tombs of their earlier and later kings, (men) who had not revered (the god) Aššur and the goddess Ištar, my lords, (and) who had disturbed the kings, my ancestors; I exposed (them) to the sun (lit. “the god Šamaš”). I took their bones to Assyria. I prevented their ghosts from sleeping (and) deprived them of funerary libations.

vi 77–80) On a march of one month (and) twenty-five days, I devastated the districts of the land Elam (and) scattered salt (and) cress over them.

- 81) DUMU.MUNUS.MEŠ LUGAL.MEŠ NIN<sub>9</sub>.MEŠ  
LUGAL.MEŠ
- 82) *a-di qi-in-ni mah-ri-ti u EGIR-ti*
- 83) *ša* LUGAL.MEŠ KUR.ELAM.MA.KI
- 84) LÚ.*qé-pa-a-ni* LÚ.*ha-za-na-a-ti*
- 85) *ša* URU.MEŠ *ša-a-tu-nu ma-la ak-šu-du*
- 86) LÚ.GAL GIŠ.PAN.MEŠ LÚ.GAR-nu.MEŠ
- 87) LÚ.*mu-kil* KUŠ.PA.MEŠ LÚ.3.U<sub>5</sub>.MEŠ
- 88) LÚ.*ša pét-ḫal-li*.MEŠ LÚ.ERIM.MEŠ GIŠ.PAN
- 89) LÚ.SAG.MEŠ LÚ.*kit-kit-tu-ú*
- 90) *gi-mir um-ma-ni ma-la ba-šu-ú*
- 91) UN.MEŠ NITA u MUNUS TUR u GAL
- 92) ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ ANŠE.KUNGA.MEŠ
- 93) ANŠE.MEŠ GU<sub>4</sub>.MEŠ u US<sub>5</sub>.UDU.ḪI.A
- 94) *ša e-li* BURU<sub>5</sub>.ḪI.A *ma-a'-du*
- 95) *áš-lu-la a-na* KUR AN.ŠÁR.KI
- 96) SAḪAR.ḪI.A URU.*šu-ša-an* URU.*ma-dak-tú*  
URU.*ḫal-te-ma-áš*
- 97) *ù si-it-ti ma-ḫa-zi-šu-nu*
- 98) *e-si-pa al-qa-a a-na* KUR AN.ŠÁR.KI
- 99) *ina* ITI UD.MEŠ KUR.ELAM.MA.KI
- 100) *a-na paṭ gim-re-e-ša as-pu-un*
- 101) *ri-gim a-me-lu-ti ki-bi-is* GU<sub>4</sub>.MEŠ u *še-e-ni*
- 102) *ši-si-it a-la-la* DÜG.GA
- 103) *ú-za-am-ma-a* A.GÀR.MEŠ-*šu*
- 104) ANŠE.EDIN.NA.MEŠ MAŠ.DÀ.MEŠ
- 105) *ú-ma-am* EDIN *ma-la ba-šu-u*
- 106) *par-ga-niš ú-šar-bi-ša qé-reb-šu*
- 107) <sup>d</sup>na-na-a *ša* 1 LIM 6 ME 30.ÀM 5 MU.AN.NA.MEŠ
- 108) *ta-as-bu-šu tal-li-ku tu-ši-bu*
- 109) *qé-reb* KUR.ELAM.MA.KI *a-šar la si-ma-te-e-ša*
- 110) *ù ina* u<sub>4</sub>.*me-šu-ma ši-i* ù DINGIR.MEŠ AD.MEŠ-*ša*
- 111) *tab-bu-u šu-mi a-na be-lut* KUR.KUR
- 112) *ta-a-a-rat* DINGIR-ti-*ša tu-šad-gi-la pa-nu-u-a*
- 113) *um-ma* <sup>m</sup>AN.ŠÁR-DÛ-A *ul-tú qé-reb*  
KUR.ELAM.MA.KI
- 114) *lem-né-ti ú-še-ša-an-ni-ma*
- 115) *ú-še-rab-an-ni qé-reb é-an-na*
- 116) *a-mat qí-bit* DINGIR-ti-*šu-un*
- 117) *ša ul-tú* UD.MEŠ SÛ.MEŠ *iq-bu-u*
- 118) *e-nen-na ú-kal-li-mu* UN.MEŠ EGIR.MEŠ
- 119) ŠU.II DINGIR-ti-*ša GAL-ti at-mu-uḫ*
- 120) *ḫar-ra-nu i-šir-tú ša ul-lu-uš lib-bi*
- 121) *ta-aš-ba-ta a-na é-an-na*
- 122) *ina* ITI.GAN UD.1.KÁM *ina qé-reb* UNUG.KI  
*ú-še-rib-ši-ma*
- 123) *ina é-ḫi-li-an-na ša ta-ram-mu*
- 124) *ú-šar-me-ši* BÁRA *da-ra-a-ti*
- 125) UN.MEŠ *ù šal-lat* KUR.ELAM.MA.KI
- 126) *ša ina qí-bit* AN.ŠÁR <sup>d</sup>30 <sup>d</sup>UTU <sup>d</sup>IŠKUR
- 127) <sup>d</sup>EN <sup>d</sup>AG <sup>d</sup>15 *ša* NINA.KI <sup>d</sup>GAŠAN-*kid-mu-ri*
- 128) <sup>d</sup>15 *ša* URU.LÍMMU-DINGIR <sup>d</sup>MAŠ <sup>d</sup>U.GUR <sup>d</sup>nusku

vi 81–95) The daughters of kings, the sisters of kings, along with earlier and later family of the kings of the land Elam, officials (and) mayors (vi 85) of those cities, as many as I had conquered, chief archers, captains, charioteers, third men (of chariot crews), cavalrymen, archers, eunuchs, engineers, (vi 90) every kind of artisan there was, people — male and female, young and old — horses, mules, donkeys, oxen, and sheep and goats, which were more numerous than locusts — I carried (them) off to Assyria.

vi 96–106) I gathered earth from the cities Susa, Madaktu, Ḫaltemaš, and the rest of their cult centers (and) took (it) to Assyria. During one full month, (vi 100) I flattened the land Elam to its full extent. I deprived his fields of the clamor of humans, (the sound of) the treading of oxen, sheep and goats, (and) the cr(ies) of pleasant work song(s). I allowed onagers (and) gazelles, as many beasts of the steppe as there are, to dwell therein (the cities) as if on a meadow.

vi 107–115) (As for) the goddess Nanāya, who 1,635 years (ago) became angry (and) went to live in the land Elam, a place not befitting her, (vi 110) *then*, at that time (when) she — and the gods, her fathers — nominated me for ruling over the lands, she entrusted me with the return of her divinity, saying: “Ashurbanipal will bring me out of the evil land Elam and make me enter Eanna (again).”

vi 116–124) The word(s) of their divine command that they had spoken in distant days, they now disclosed to the people of a later generation. I grasped the hand of her great divinity. (vi 120) She took the direct path, which pleases the heart, to Eanna. In the month Kislīmu (IX), on the first day, I made her enter into Uruk and made (her) dwell on (her) eternal dais in Eḫiliana, which she loves.

vi 125–vii 8) (As for) the people and the booty of the land Elam, which I had plundered by the command of the deities Aššur, Šin, Šamaš, Adad, Bēl (Marduk), Nabû, Ištar of Nineveh, Šarrat-Kidmuri, Ištar of Arbela,

vi 122 *ina* ITI.GAN UD.1.KÁM “In the month Kislīmu, on the first day”: Text no. 9 (Prism F) vi 10 and text no. 10 (Prism T) v 30 lack this temporal notation, which appears only in this inscription’s version of the account. *ina qé-reb* “inside”: R. Borger (BIWA p. 58) notes that *ina* is omitted in exs. 2, 17, and 26 of Prism A. However, *ina* is actually only missing in exs. 1 and 26.

- aḥ-bu-ta*  
Col. vii
- 1) *re-še-e-ti a-na* DINGIR.MEŠ-*ia áš-ruk*
  - 2) LÚ.ERIM.MEŠ GIŠ.PAN GIŠ.*a-ri-ti*
  - 3) LÚ.um-*ma-ni* LÚ.kit-*kit-tu-u*
  - 4) *ša áš-lu-la ul-tú qé-reb* KUR.ELAM.MA.KI
  - 5) *e-li ki-šir* LUGAL-ti-*ia ú-rad-dí*
  - 6) *si-it-tu-ti a-na ma-ḥa-zi šu-bat* DINGIR.MEŠ  
GAL.MEŠ
  - 7) LÚ.NAM.MEŠ-*ia* GAL.MEŠ-*ia gi-mir* KARAŠ-*ia*
  - 8) *ki-ma še-e-ni ú-za-’i-iz*
  - 9) <sup>m</sup>um-*man-al-daš* MAN KUR.ELAM.MA.KI
  - 10) *ša šu-uš-mur* GIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ AN.ŠÁR u <sup>d</sup>15
  - 11) *dan-nu-ú-ti e-mu-ru*
  - 12) *ul-tú* KUR-*e a-šar mar-qí-ti-šú i-tu-ram-ma*
  - 13) *qé-reb* URU.ma-*dak-tú* URU *šá ina qí-bit* AN.ŠÁR  
u <sup>d</sup>15
  - 14) *ap-pu-lu aq-qu-ru áš-lu-lu šal-lat-su*
  - 15) *e-ru-ub ú-šib ina si-pit-ti a-šar ki-ḥul-le-e*
  - 16) *šu-ut* <sup>md</sup>AG-EN-MU.MEŠ
  - 17) DUMU DUMU <sup>md</sup>AMAR.UTU-A-SUM.NA
  - 18) *ša ina a-de-ia iḥ-ṭu-ú*
  - 19) *iš-lu-ú* GIŠ.ŠUDUN EN-ti-*ia*
  - 20) *ša* LUGAL.MEŠ KUR.ELAM.MA.KI
  - 21) *a-na dan-nu-ti-šú iš-ku-nu*
  - 22) *it-tak-lu a-na* <sup>m</sup>um-*man-i-gaš* <sup>m</sup>tam-*ma-ri-tú*
  - 23) <sup>m</sup>in-*da-bi-bi* <sup>m</sup>um-*man-al-daš*
  - 24) LUGAL.MEŠ *šá e-pu-šú be-lut* KUR.ELAM.MA.KI
  - 25) LÚ.A KIN-*ia šu-ut še-bul* <sup>md</sup>MUATI-EN-MU.MEŠ
  - 26) *ina ma-le-e lib-ba-a-ti*
  - 27) *ú-ma-’e-er* EDIN <sup>m</sup>um-*man-al-daš*
  - 28) <sup>md</sup>MUATI-EN-MU.MEŠ DUMU DUMU  
<sup>md</sup>AMAR.UTU-A-AŠ
  - 29) *a-lak* LÚ.A KIN-*ia šá qé-reb* KUR.ELAM.MA.KI
  - 30) *e-ru-bu iš-me-e-ma*
  - 31) *ik-ku-ud lib-ba-šú ir-šá-a na-kut-tu*
  - 32) *na-piš-ta-šú pa-nu-uš-šú ul e-qir-ma*
  - 33) *iḥ-šu-ḥa mi-tu-tu*
  - 34) *a-na* LÚ.ki-*ze-e ra-ma-ni-šú iq-bi-ma*
  - 35) *um-ma ra-si-ban-ni ina* GIŠ.TUKUL
  - 36) *šu-u* LÚ.ki-*zu-šú ina GÍR* AN.BAR *šib-bi-šú-nu*
  - 37) *up-ta-at-te-ḥu a-ḥa-meš*
  - 38) <sup>m</sup>um-*man-al-daš ip-làḥ-ma*
  - 39) ADDA <sup>md</sup>MUATI-EN-MU.MEŠ *šu-a-tú*
  - 40) *ina MUN uš-ni-il-ma*
  - 41) *a-di* SAG.DU LÚ.KI.ZU-*šú*
  - 42) *ša ú-ra-si-bu-šú ina* GIŠ.TUKUL
  - 43) *a-na* LÚ.A KIN-*ia id-din-ma*
  - 44) *ú-še-bi-la-áš-šú a-di maḥ-ri-ia*
  - 45) ADDA-*šú a-a-din a-na qé-bé-ri*
  - 46) UGU *šá maḥ-ri mi-tu-us-su ut-tir-ma*

Ninurta, Nergal, (and) Nusku — (vii 1) I gave the best (of them) to my gods. I added the archers, shield bearers, artisans, (and) engineers whom I had carried off from the land Elam to my royal contingent. I divided up the rest like sheep and goats among the cult centers, the dwelling place(s) of the great gods, my governors, my nobles, (and) my entire camp.

vii 9–15) (As for) Ummanaldašu (Ḫumban-ḫaltaš III), the king of the land Elam who had seen the rage of the mighty weapons of (the god) Aššur and the goddess Ištar, he returned from the mountain(s), his place of refuge, and he entered the city Madaktu, which I had destroyed, demolished, (and) plundered by the command of (the god) Aššur and the goddess Ištar. He sat down in mourning, at a place of mourning.

vii 16–27) With regard to Nabû-bêl-šumāti, the grandson of Marduk-apla-iddina (II) (Merodach-baladan), who had sinned against my treaty (and) cast off the yoke of my lordship, (vii 20) who had made the kings of the land Elam his fortified position (and) trusted in Ummanigaš (Ḫumban-nikas II), Tammaritu, Indabibi, (and) Ummanaldašu (Ḫumban-ḫaltaš III), kings who had exercised dominion over the land Elam, (vii 25) I dispatched my messenger to Ummanaldašu with (a message) filled with rage concerning the extradition of Nabû-bêl-šumāti.

vii 28–37) Nabû-bêl-šumāti, the grandson of Marduk-apla-iddina (II) (Merodach-baladan), heard about the advance of my messenger who had entered into the land Elam; he (lit. “his heart”) became anxious (and) distressed. His life was not precious to him and he wanted to die. He spoke to his own personal attendant, (vii 35) saying: “Strike me down with the sword.” He (and) his personal attendant ran each other through with their iron belt-dagger(s).

vii 38–50) Ummanaldašu (Ḫumban-ḫaltaš III) became frightened and preserved the corpse of that Nabû-bêl-šumāti in salt, and (then) he gave (it) to my messenger, along with the head of his personal attendant who had struck him down with the sword, and sent him (my messenger) before me. (vii 45) I did not agree to hand over his corpse for burial. I made him more dead than before: I cut off his head (and) hung (it) around the neck of Nabû-qātī-šabat, the *simmagir*-official of

vii 4 Ex. 177 places the verb *áš-lu-la* “I had carried off” after the clause *ul-tú qé-reb* KUR.ELAM.MA.KI “from the land Elam” instead of before it.

vii 6 *šu-bat* DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ “dwelling place(s) of the great gods”: Exs. 2, 5, 16, 26, and 129 offer the variant reading *šu-bat* DINGIR.MEŠ-*ia* “dwelling place(s) of my gods” (with orthographic variants).

vii 37 *up-ta-at-te-ḥu* “ran through”: Ex. 5 instead uses the verb *ú-ra-si-bu* “struck down.”

- 47) SAG.DU-su *ak-kis ina* GÚ <sup>md</sup>MUATI-ŠU.II-ša-bat  
 48) LÚ.<sup>d</sup>30-*ma-gir* <sup>md</sup>GIŠ.NU<sub>11</sub>-MU-GI.NA  
 49) ŠEŠ *nak-ri šá it-ti-šú*  
 50) *a-na šum-ku-ri* KUR.ELAM.MA.KI *il-li-ku a-lul*  
 51) <sup>m</sup>pa-<sup>e</sup>e *šá mé-eḫ-ret* <sup>m</sup>um-man-al-daš  
 52) *e-pu-šu be-lut* KUR.ELAM.MA.KI  
 53) *na-mur-rat* GIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ AN.ŠÁR u <sup>d</sup>15  
*ez-zu-ti*  
 54) *ša 1-šú 2-šú 3-šú it-bu-ku* UGU KUR.ELAM.MA.KI  
 55) *iḫ-su-us-ma ir-šá-a ḫi-ip lib-bi*  
 56) *ul-tú qé-reb* KUR.ELAM.MA.KI *in-nab-tam-ma*  
 57) *iš-ba-ta* GÌR.II LUGAL-ti-ia  
 58) UN.MEŠ *mul-taḫ-ṭe ša* URU.É.<sup>m</sup>im-bi-i  
 59) URU.ku-zur-te-e-in URU.BĀD-LUGAL  
 60) URU.ma-su-tu URU.bu-bé-e  
 61) URU.É.<sup>m</sup>un-za-a-a URU.É.<sup>m</sup>ar-ra-bi  
 62) URU.īb-rat URU.AN.ZA.GĀR-ša-<sup>m</sup>ta-pa-pa  
 63) URU.ak-bar-i-na URU.gur-ú-ki-ir-ra  
 64) URU.du-un-nu-<sup>d</sup>šá-maš URU.ḫa-ma-nu  
 65) URU.ka-ni-šu URU.ar-an-zi-a-še  
 66) URU.na-qí-da-a-te URU.dim-tú-šá-<sup>m</sup>si-ma-me  
 67) URU.É.<sup>m</sup>qa-ta-at-ti URU.ša-<sup>m</sup>ki-sa-a-a  
 68) URU.su-ba-ḫe-e URU.DU<sub>6</sub>-ḫu-um-ba  
 69) *ša ina ger-ri-ia maḫ-re-e*  
 70) *ša la-pa-an* GIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ AN.ŠÁR u <sup>d</sup>15  
 71) *dan-nu-ú-ti in-nab-tu*  
 72) *iš-ba-tu* URU.sa-al-ad-ri KUR-ú mar-ṣu  
 73) UN.MEŠ *šá-a-tú-nu šá* URU.sa-al-ad-ri KUR-ú  
 74) *iš-ku-nu a-na dan-nu-ti-šú-un*  
 75) *nam-ri-ri* AN.ŠÁR u <sup>d</sup>15 EN.MEŠ-ia  
 76) *is-ḫu-up-šu-nu-ti*  
 77) *ul-tu* KUR-e a-šar mar-qí-ti-šú-un  
 78) *in-nab-tu-nim-ma iš-ba-tú* GÌR.II-ia  
 79) *a-na* GIŠ.PAN *ak-šur-šú-nu-ti*  
 80) UGU *ki-šir* LUGAL-ti-ia  
 81) *ša ú-mal-lu-u* ŠU.II-u-a *ú-rad-di*
- 
- 82) *ina 9-e ger-ri-ia ad-ke* ERIM.ḪI.A-ia  
 83) EDIN <sup>m</sup>ú-a-a-te-e' MAN KUR.a-ri-bi  
 84) *uš-te-eš-še-ra ḫar-ra-nu*  
 85) *ša ina a-de-ia iḫ-ṭu-ú*  
 86) MUN *e-pu-šu-uš la iš-šur-ú-ma*

Šamaš-šuma-ukīn, (my) hostile brother, who had gone with him (Nabû-bēl-šumāti) to make the land Elam hostile (towards me).

vii 51–57) Pa'ê, who had exercised dominion over the land Elam in opposition to Ummanaldašu (Ḫumban-ḫaltaš III), thought about the awe-inspiring brilliance of the fierce weapons of (the god) Aššur and the goddess Ištar that they had poured over the land Elam, (not) one time (or) two times, (but) three times, and he became broken hearted. He fled to me from within the land Elam and grasped the feet of my royal majesty. vii 58–81) (As for) the people, the survivors of the cities Bīt-Imbî, Kuzurtēin, Dūr-šarri, Masûtu, Bubê, Bīt-Unzāya, Bīt-Arrabi, Ibrat, Dimtu-ša-Tapapa, Akbarina, Gurukirra, Dunnu-Šamaš, Ḫamānu, (vii 65) Kanišu, Aranziaše, Naqidāte, Dimtu-ša-Simame, Bīt-Qatatti, Šakisāya, Subaḫê, (and) Tīl-Ḫumba(n), (vii 70) who had fled from the mighty weapons of (the god) Aššur and the goddess Ištar during a previous campaign of mine (and) had taken to Mount (lit. “city”) Saladri, a rugged mountain — (as for) those people who had established Mount (lit. “city”) Saladri, a mountain, as their defensive position, (vii 75) the awe-inspiring brilliance of (the god) Aššur and the goddess Ištar, my lords, overwhelmed them (and) they fled to me from the mountain(s), their place of refuge, and grasped my feet. I conscripted them as archer(s) and added (them) to my royal contingent, which they (the gods) had placed in my hands.

vii 82–106) On my ninth campaign, I mustered my troops (and) took the direct road against Uaite' (Iauta'), the king of the land of the Arabs (vii 85) who had sinned against my treaty, had not respected the kindness that I had done for him, and had cast off

**vii 82–x 39** The composer(s) of this text, as well as those of a few other inscriptions (in particular, text no. 23 [IIT] and K 2802+ [Letter to Aššur]), seem to confuse and conflate information about various troublesome Arab leaders with similar names. There are at least two, if not three, men referred to by the composer(s) of Prism A as Uaite' (all written <sup>m</sup>ú-a-a-te-e'). According to the PNA, these are Iauta' (son of Hazael), Uaite' (king of the Arabs), and Uaite' (son of Bīr-Dāda), but, according to the RLA, the men named Uaite' in Ashurbanipal's inscriptions are Iauta' (son of Hazael), Uaite' (son of Bīr-Dāda), and Uaite' (son of Hazael). However, P. Gerardi, following I. Eph'al, suggests that there were only two men by this name in this and other inscriptions of Ashurbanipal: Iauta' (son of Hazael) and Uaite' (son of Bīr-Dāda). H. Baker, in the PNA, identifies Iauta' as the Uaite' mentioned in vii 123, viii 1, 25, 46, and 58; Uaite' (king of the Arabs) as the man referred to in vii 83, viii 93, ix 53, 93, and x 21; and Uaite' (son of Bīr-Dāda) as the Arabian ruler in viii 2 and ix 1. A. Lämmerhirt, in the RLA, identifies Iauta' (son of Hazael) as the Qederite ruler mentioned in vii 83, 123, viii 1, 25, 46, and 58; Uaite' (son of Bīr-Dāda) as the Uaite' referred to in viii 2, 93, ix 1, 53, 93, and x 21; and Uaite' (son of Hazael) as the Arab leader named in viii 1. Gerardi identifies Iauta' as the man mentioned in vii 83, 123, viii 1, 25, 46, and 58; and Uaite' (son of Bīr-Dāda) as the king of the Arabs who is named in viii 2, 93, ix 53, 93, x 21. She also proposes that the sending of aid to Babylon (vii 91–101) is wrongly ascribed Iauta' to rather than Uaite' (son of Bīr-Dāda); this proposal is based on information recorded in K 2802+ (Letter to Aššur). Gerardi's understanding of the Arab campaigns recorded in this inscription is tentatively followed here. To aid the readers of this volume, the name <sup>m</sup>ú-a-a-te-e' in the Akkadian text is translated as “Uaite' (Iauta')” when the present authors believe that the Assyrian scribes are referring to Iauta', and not to Uaite' (son of Bīr-Dāda). For further information, see Gerardi, SAAB 6/2 (1992) pp. 67–103; Baker, PNA 2/1 pp. 497–498 sub Iauta'; Baker, PNA 3/2 p. 1353 sub Uaite'; and Lämmerhirt, RLA 14/3–4 (2014) pp. 255–256 sub Uaite'. See also the on-page notes to vii 91–101, viii 1–14, ix 53, and ix 103–114.

- 87) *iš-la-a* GIŠ.ŠUDUN EN-ti-ia  
 88) *ša* AN.ŠĀR e-mi-du-uš i-šu-tu ab-ša-a-ni  
 89) *a-na šá-al šul-mi-ia* ĠĪR.II-šú ip-ru-us-ma  
 90) *ik-la-a ta-mar-ti man-da-ta-šú ka-bit-tú*  
 91) *ki-i* KUR.ELAM.MA.KI-ma da-bab sur-ra-a-te  
 92) KUR URI.KI iš-me-e-ma  
 93) *la iš-šu-ra a-de-ia*  
 94) *ia-a-ti* <sup>m</sup>AN.ŠĀR-DÛ-A SANGA KÛ  
 95) *re-e-šú mut-nen-nu-ú*  
 96) *bi-nu-ut* ŠU.II AN.ŠĀR ú-maš-šir-an-ni-ma  
 97) *a-na* <sup>m</sup>a-bi-ia-te-e' <sup>m</sup>a-a-mu DUMU <sup>m</sup>te-e-ri  
 98) *e-mu-qí id-din-šu-nu-ti*  
 99) *a-na re-šu-tu* <sup>md</sup>GIŠ.NU<sub>11</sub>-MU-GI.NA  
 100) ŠEŠ nak-ri iš-pur-am-ma  
 101) *iš-ta-kan pi-i-šú*  
 102) UN.MEŠ KUR.a-ri-bi it-ti-šú ú-šam-kír-ma  
 103) *iḫ-ta-nab-ba-ta ḫu-bu-ut* UN.MEŠ  
 104) *ša* AN.ŠĀR <sup>d</sup>15 u DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ  
 105) *id-din-u-ni* SIPA-si-na e-pe-ši  
 106) *ù ú-mal-lu-ú* ŠU.II-u-a  
 107) *ina qí-bit* AN.ŠĀR u <sup>d</sup>15 ERIM.ḪI.A-ia  
 108) *ina gí-ra-a* URU.a-za-ar-DINGIR  
 109) URU.ḫi-ra-ta-a-qa-ša-a-a ina URU.ú-du-me  
 110) *ina né-reb* URU.ia-ab-ru-du ina  
 URU.É-<sup>m</sup>am-ma-ni  
 111) *ina na-ge-e* šá URU.ḫa-ú-ri-i-na  
 112) *ina* URU.mu-'a-a-ba ina URU.sa-'a-ar-ri  
 113) *ina* URU.ḫa-ar-ge-e ina na-ge-e  
 114) *ša* URU.šu-bi-ti di-ik-ta-šú  
 115) *ma-'a-at-tu a-duk*  
 116) *ina la mi-ni áš-kun* BAD<sub>5</sub>.BAD<sub>5</sub>-šú  
 117) UN.MEŠ KUR.a-ri-bi ma-la it-ti-šú it-bu-u-ni  
 118) *ú-ra-as-sib* ina GIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ  
 119) *ù šu-ú la-pa-an* GIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ AN.ŠĀR  
 dan-nu-ti  
 120) *ip-par-šid-ma in-na-bit a-na ru-qé-e-ti*  
 121) É EDIN kul-ta-ra-a-te mu-šá-bi-šú-nu  
 122) IZI ú-šá-ḫi-zu iq-mu-u ina <sup>d</sup>GIŠ.BAR  
 123) <sup>m</sup>ú-a-a-te-e' ma-ru-uš-tú im-ḫur-šú-u-ma  
 124) *e-diš-ši-šú in-na-bit a-na* KUR.na-ba-a-a-te  
 Col. viii  
 1) <sup>m</sup>ú-a-a-te-e' DUMU <sup>m</sup>ḫa-za-DINGIR

the yoke of my lordship, which (the god) Aššur had imposed upon him (so that) he pulled my yoke. He refrained from inquiring about my well-being and (vii 90) withheld audience gift(s) and his substantial payment(s), from me. Just like the land Elam, he listened to the lies spoken by the land Akkad and (then) he did not honor my treaty. He abandoned me, Ashurbanipal, the holy priest, (vii 95) the pious servant, the creation of the hands of (the god) Aššur, and he gave (his) forces to Abi-Yate' (and) Aya-ammu, son(s) of Te'ri. (vii 100) He sent (them) to aid Šamaš-šuma-ukīn, (my) hostile brother, and he sided (with him). (As for) the people of the land of the Arabs (who were) with him, he made (them) hostile (towards me) and (then) they were constantly plundering the people whom (the god) Aššur, the goddess Ištar, and the great gods (vii 105) had given to me to be their shepherd (lit. "to perform their shepherdship") and (whom) they had placed in my hands.

vii 107–122) By the command of (the god) Aššur and the goddess Ištar, my troops — at the ... of the cities Azarilu (and) Ḫiratāqašāya, in the land (lit. "city") Edom, (vii 110) in the pass of the city Yabrūdu, in the land (lit. "city") Bīt-Ammon, in the district of the city Ḫāurīna, in the land (lit. "city") Moab, in the city Seir, in the city Hargê, in the district of the city Šōbā — (vii 115) I inflicted a heavy defeat on him; I brought about his defeat countless (times). I struck down with the sword the people of the land of the Arabs, as many as had risen up with him. However, he escaped from the mighty weapons of (the god) Aššur and fled far away. They (my troops) set fire to pavilion(s) and tents, their abodes, (and thus) burned (them) with fire.

vii 123–124) (As for) Uaite' (Iauta'), hardship befell him and he fled alone to the land of the Nabayateans.

viii 1–14) (As for) Uaite' (Iauta'), son of Hazael, son

vii 91–101 On the basis of information recorded in K 2802+ (Letter to Aššur), P. Gerardi (SAAB 6/2 [1992] pp. 94–95 [with table 6]) notes that the sending of aid to Babylon in this inscription is wrongly attributed to Iauta' (son of Hazael). A. Lämmerhirt (RLA 14/3–4 [2014] p. 256 sub Uaite'), following M. Weippert (WO 7 [1973–74] pp. 70–71), also links this anti-Assyrian action to Uaite' (son of Bīr-Dāda). However, H. Baker (PNA 3/2 p. 1353 sub Uaite') identifies the Arab ruler in question as Uaite' (king of the Arabs), a man who is not Iauta' or Uaite' (son of Bīr-Dāda).

vii 119 GIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ AN.ŠĀR dan-nu-ti "the mighty weapons of (the god) Aššur": Ex. 1 is the only exemplar that omits MEŠ in this phrase, which is an error given that the adjective *dannūti* is in the plural.

viii 1–14 P. Gerardi (SAAB 6/2 [1992] pp. 89–90) and H. Baker (PNA 2/1 pp. 497–498 sub Iauta') identify the Uaite' mentioned in viii 1 as Iauta' (son of Hazael). However, A. Lämmerhirt (RLA 14/3–4 [2014] p. 256 sub Uaite') proposes that this is Uaite', a son of Hazael who declared himself king of the Arabs after the capture of Uaite', son of Bīr-Dāda, and who surrendered himself voluntarily to Ashurbanipal. Lämmerhirt rejects the identification with Iauta' because viii 3–4 state that this Arab ruler "made himself king of the land of the Arabs" (*ša ramānšu iškunu ana šarrūti Arībi*) and inscriptions of Ashurbanipal's father clearly state that Esarhaddon made Iauta' ruler after the death of Hazael (Leichty, RINAP 4 p. 19 no. 1 iv 17–20a). The differentiation between the two men named Uaite' here is unusual, but it might have likely served to indicate which of the two Arab leaders handed themselves over to the Assyrian king and was punished for his crimes and which Uaite' was still at large (according to the narrative), rather than to introduce a third, hitherto unmentioned Uaite'. Following Gerardi, this passage (viii 1–14) might have been placed in this spot of the campaign account in order to conclude the story of Iauta'.



- 2) DUMU ŠEŠ AD šá <sup>m</sup>ú-a-a-te-e' DUMU  
<sup>m</sup>bir-<sup>d</sup>ĪŠKUR  
3) ša ra-man-šú iš-ku-nu  
4) a-na LUGAL-u-ti KUR.a-ri-bi  
5) AN.ŠĀR LUGAL DINGIR.MEŠ KUR-ú GAL-ú  
6) ṭè-en-šú ú-šá-an-ni-ma  
7) il-li-ka a-di maḥ-ri-ia  
8) a-na kul-lum ta-nit-ti AN.ŠĀR  
9) ù DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ EN.MEŠ-ia  
10) an-nu kab-tu e-mid-su-ma  
11) GIŠ.ši-ga-ru áš-kun-šu-ma  
12) it-ti a-si UR.GI<sub>7</sub> ar-ku-us-šú-ma  
13) ú-šá-an-šir-šú KÁ.GAL MURUB<sub>4</sub> URU.NINA.KI  
14) né-reb mas-naq-ti ad-na-a-ti  
15) ù šu-u <sup>m</sup>am-mu-la-di MAN KUR.qé-ed-ri  
16) it-ba-am-ma a-na mit-ḥu-ši LUGAL.MEŠ KUR  
MAR.TU.KI  
17) ša AN.ŠĀR <sup>d</sup>15 u DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ  
18) ú-šad-gi-lu pa-nu-u-a  
19) ina tukul-ti AN.ŠĀR <sup>d</sup>30 <sup>d</sup>UTU <sup>d</sup>ĪŠKUR  
20) <sup>d</sup>EN <sup>d</sup>AG <sup>d</sup>15 šá NINA.KI  
21) <sup>d</sup>GAŠAN-kid-mu-ri <sup>d</sup>15 šá URU.LÍMMU-DINGIR  
22) <sup>d</sup>MAŠ <sup>d</sup>U.GUR <sup>d</sup>nusku  
23) BAD<sub>5</sub>.BAD<sub>5</sub>-šú áš-kun  
24) šá-a-šú bal-tu-us-su it-ti <sup>f</sup>a-di-ia-a  
25) DAM <sup>m</sup>ú-a-a-te-e' MAN KUR.a-ri-bi  
26) iṣ-ba-tu-nim-ma ú-bil-u-ni a-di <sup>r</sup>maḥ<sup>1</sup>-ri-ia  
27) ina qí-bit DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ EN.MEŠ-ia  
28) ul-li UR.GI<sub>7</sub> áš-kun-šú-ma  
29) ú-šá-an-šir-šú GIŠ.ši-ga-ru  
30) ina <sup>r</sup>qí<sup>1</sup>-bit AN.ŠĀR <sup>d</sup>15 u DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ  
EN.MEŠ-ia  
31) ša <sup>m</sup>a-bi-ia-te-e' <sup>m</sup>a-a-mu DUMU <sup>m</sup>te-e'-ri  
32) ša a-na re-šu-tu <sup>md</sup>GIŠ.NU<sub>11</sub>-MU-GI.NA  
33) a-na e-reb KÁ.DINGIR.RA.KI il-li-ku  
34) re-še-e-šú a-duk BAD<sub>5</sub>.BAD<sub>5</sub>-šú áš-kun  
35) si-it-tu-ti šá qé-reb KÁ.DINGIR.RA.KI e-ru-bu  
36) ina su-un-qí ḥu-ṣaḥ-ḥi  
37) e-ku-lu UZU a-ḥa-meš  
38) a-na šu-zu-ub ZI-ti-šú-nu

of the brother of the father of Uaite', son of Bir-Dāda, who made himself king of the land of the Arabs — (viii 5) (the god) Aššur, the king of the gods, the great mountain, deranged his mind and he (Iauta') came before me. To show the praise of (the god) Aššur and the great gods, my lords, (viii 10) I imposed a heavy punishment upon him. I placed him in a neck-stock, bound him with a bear (and) a dog and (then) made him guard the Citadel Gate of Nineveh, (whose name is) the Entrance to the Place Where the World Is Controlled.

viii 15–29) Moreover, he, Ammu-ladī(n), the king of the land Qedar, set out to fight with the kings of the land Amurru whom (the god) Aššur, the goddess Ištar, and the great gods had entrusted to me. With the support of the deities Aššur, Sîn, Šamaš, Adad, (viii 20) Bēl (Marduk), Nabû, Ištar of Nineveh, Šarrat-Kidmuri, Ištar of Arbela, Ninurta, Nergal, (and) Nusku, I brought about his defeat. (viii 25) They (my troops) seized him alive together with Adiya, wife of Uaite' (Iauta'), the king of the land of the Arabs, and brought (him) before me. By the command of the great gods, my lords, I placed him (Ammu-ladīn) in a dog collar and made him guard the gate.

viii 30–47) By the command of (the god) Aššur, the goddess Ištar, and the great gods, my lords, I fought with Abī-Yate' (and) Aya-ammu, son(s) of Te'ri, who had come to the aid of Šamaš-šuma-ukīn by entering Babylon as his allies, (and) I brought about his defeat. (viii 35) (As for) the rest who had entered Babylon, they ate each other's flesh on account of famine (and) starvation. In order to save their (own) live(s), they came out of Babylon and (viii 40) (then) the forces of mine who were stationed against Šamaš-šuma-ukīn,

**viii 2** DUMU ŠEŠ AD “son of the brother of the father”: Ex. 21 contains the reading DUMU ŠEŠ-šú “son of his brother,” which would make Iauta' the nephew of Uaite' (son of Bir-Dāda) rather than his cousin. M. Worthington (Textual Criticism p. 144) argues that this is an error in which the scribe failed to recognize the AD sign as a Sumerogram and thus read the phrase as DUMU ŠEŠ-šu, which he then copied as ŠEŠ-šú (also cf. the misinterpretation of the AD sign in ex. 21 at ii 124).

**viii 6** ṭè-en-šú ú-šá-an-ni-ma “deranged his mind”: CAD Š/1 (p. 407 sub šanū B 5.a.1') translates this line as “Aššur made him change his mind,” while CAD Ṭ (p. 96 sub ṭēmu 5.d.1') translates it as “Assur made (Iauta') go mad.” Along these lines, compare, for example, R. Borger's (BIWA p. 246) translation of ṭēnuš ušannīma as “[er] wandelte/verwirrte seinen Sinn,” and P. Gerardi's (SAAB 6/2 [1992] p. 89) rendering of these two words as “[he] altered his senses.”

**viii 29** GIŠ.ši-ga-ru “gate”: Following the CAD (Š/2 p. 409), šigaru (“lock, bolt”) is used synecdochically for “gate.” Compare CAD (U/W p. 82), where this word is translated as “cage.”

**viii 30–40a** Ex. 21 omits line 30 up to and including e-mu-qí-ia of line 40. R. Borger (BIWA p. 63) notes that this is a difficult omission to explain if it were not accidental. On first glance, the missing material forms a cohesive block of narration that makes its absence appear intentional. It encompasses the command of the gods to engage in battle with Abī-Yate' and Aya-ammu, who had entered Babylon to support Šamaš-šuma-ukīn; the defeat of Abī-Yate' (and presumably Aya-ammu); the starvation of the remaining forces in Babylon due to famine; and their ultimate fleeing from the city in an attempt to save their lives. However, such an omission disrupts the overall sequence of the narrative and there are no other adaptations in the exemplar's preserved account that would compensate for this absence (i.e., Abī-Yate' could not have been defeated for “a second time” in line 41 if he had not been defeated the first time in line 34, and the independent pronouns and pronominal suffixes of lines 41–51 referring to Abī-Yate' would have no antecedent). This makes it more likely that the omission, though substantial, was an unintentional scribal error.

- 39) *ul-tú qé-reb* KÁ.DINGIR.RA.KI *ú-šu-nim-ma*  
 40) *e-mu-qí-ia šá ina* UGU <sup>md</sup>GIŠ.NU<sub>11</sub>-MU-GI.NA  
*šak-nu*  
 41) *šá-ni-ia-a-nu* BAD<sub>5</sub>.BAD<sub>5</sub>-šú *iš-ku-nu-ma*  
 42) *šu-ú e-diš ip-par-šid-ma*  
 43) *a-na šu-zu-ub* ZI-ti-šú *iš-ba-tú* ĞIR.II-ia  
 44) *re-e-mu ar-ši-šu-u-ma*  
 45) *a-de-e ni-iš* DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ  
*ú-šá-az-kír-šú-ma*  
 46) *ku-um* <sup>m</sup>ú-a-a-te-e' DUMU <sup>m</sup>ha-za-DINGIR  
 47) *a-na* LUGAL-u-ti KUR.a-ri-bi *áš-kun-šú*  
 48) *ù šu-u it-ti* KUR.na-ba-a-a-ta-a-a  
 49) *pi-i-šú iš-kun-ma*  
 50) *ni-iš* DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ *la ip-làh-ma*  
 51) *iḫ-tab-ba-ta ḫu-bu-ut mi-šir* KUR-ia  
 52) *ina tukul-ti* AN.ŠÁR <sup>d30</sup> <sup>d</sup>UTU <sup>d</sup>IŠKUR  
 53) <sup>d</sup>EN <sup>d</sup>AG <sup>d15</sup> *šá* NINA.KI  
 54) <sup>d</sup>šar-rat-kid-mu-ri <sup>d15</sup> *šá* URU.LÍMMU-DINGIR  
 55) <sup>d</sup>MAŠ <sup>d</sup>U.GUR <sup>d</sup>nusku  
 56) <sup>m</sup>na-at-nu MAN KUR.na-ba-a-a-ti  
 57) *ša a-šar-šú ru-ú-qu*  
 58) *ša* <sup>m</sup>ú-a-a-te-e' *ina maḫ-ri-šú in-nab-tu*  
 59) *iš-me-ma da-na-an* AN.ŠÁR *šá ú-tak-kil-an-ni*  
 60) *ša ma-te-e-ma a-na* LUGAL.MEŠ AD.MEŠ-ia  
 61) LÚ.A KIN-šú *la iš-pu-ra*  
 62) *la iš-a-lu šu-lum* LUGAL-ti-šú-un  
 63) *ina pu-luḫ-ti* GIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ AN.ŠÁR  
*ka-ši-du-u-ti*  
 64) *is-sa-an-qa-am-ma iš-a-la šu-lum* LUGAL-ti-ia  
 65) *ù* <sup>m</sup>a-bi-ia-te-e' DUMU <sup>m</sup>te-e'-ri  
 66) *la ḫa-sis ṭa-ab-ti*  
 67) *la na-šir ma-mit* DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ  
 68) *da-bab sur-ra-a-te it-ti-ia id-bu-ub-ma*  
 69) *pi-i-šú it-ti* <sup>m</sup>na-at-ni  
 70) LUGAL KUR.na-ba-a-a-ti *iš-kun-ma*  
 71) *e-mu-qí-šú-nu id-ku-u-ni*  
 72) *a-na ti-ib* ḪUL-tim *a-na mi-šir-ia*  
 73) *ina qí-bit* AN.ŠÁR <sup>d30</sup> <sup>d</sup>UTU <sup>d</sup>IŠKUR  
 74) <sup>d</sup>EN <sup>d</sup>AG <sup>d15</sup> *šá* NINA.KI  
 75) <sup>d</sup>šar-rat-kid-mu-ri <sup>d15</sup> *šá* LÍMMU-DINGIR.KI  
 76) <sup>d</sup>MAŠ <sup>d</sup>U.GUR <sup>d</sup>nusku  
 77) ERIM.ḪI.A-ia *ad-ke* EDIN <sup>m</sup>a-bi-ia-te-e'  
 78) *uš-te-eš-še-ra ḫar-ra-nu*  
 79) ÍD.IDIGNA u ÍD.BURANUN.KI  
 80) *ina* ILLU-ši-na *gap-ši šal-meš lu-u e-bi-ru*  
 81) *ir-du-ú ur-ḫi ru-qu-u-ti*  
 82) *e-tel-lu-ú ḫur-šá-a-ni šá-qu-u-ti*  
 83) *iḫ-tal-lu-pu* GIŠ.TIR.MEŠ *šá šu-lul-ši-na rap-šú*  
 84) *bi-rit* GIŠ.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ *gi-iš-ši*  
 85) GIŠ.GEŠTIN.GÍR.MEŠ *ḫar-ra-an* GIŠ.ed-de-ti  
 86) *e-te-et-ti-qu šal-mì-iš*  
 87) *mad-bar a-šar šu-um-me lap-lap-ti*  
 88) *ša* MUŠEN AN-e *la i-šá-'u-u qé-reb-šú*

brought about his defeat for a second time. He (Abī-Yate') then fled alone and grasped my feet in order to save his (own) life. I had mercy on him, (viii 45) made him swear to a treaty, an oath bound by the great gods, and (then) installed him as king of the land of the Arabs in place of Uaite' (Iauta'), son of Hazael.

viii 48–51) However, he (Abī-Yate') sided with the Nabayateans, did not respect the oath(s sworn) by the great gods, and constantly plundered the territory of my land.

viii 52–64) With the support of the deities Aššur, Sîn, Šamaš, Adad, Bēl (Marduk), Nabû, Ištar of Nineveh, Šarrat-Kidmuri, Ištar of Arbela, Ninurta, Nergal, (and) Nusku, Natnu, the king of the land of the Nabayateans — whose location is remote — (and) before whom Uaite' (Iauta') had fled, heard about of the might of (the god) Aššur, who had encouraged me. (viii 60) The one who had never sent his messenger to the kings, my ancestors, and who had not inquired about the well-being of their royal majesties, out of fear of the conquering weapons of (the god) Aššur, approached me and inquired about the well-being of my royal majesty.

viii 65–72) Moreover, Abī-Yate', the son of Te'ri who who did not remember (my) kindness (and) did not honor the oath(s sworn) by the great gods, spoke lies to me and sided with Natnu, the king of the land of the Nabayateans. They (then) mustered their forces for a wicked assault on my border(s).

viii 73–96a) By the command of the deities Aššur, Sîn, Šamaš, Adad, Bēl (Marduk), Nabû, Ištar of Nineveh, (viii 75) Šarrat-Kidmuri, Ištar of Arbela, Ninurta, Nergal, (and) Nusku, I mustered my troops (and) I took the direct road against Abī-Yate'. (viii 80) They (my troops) safely crossed the Tigris and Euphrates Rivers when they were in full spate, traveled on remote paths, climbed high mountains, crept through forests whose canop(ies) were wide, (and) (viii 85) constantly passed safely between tall trees, thorn bushes, brambles, (and) paths (filled with) *eddittu*-bushes. (Over) desert — a place of parching thirst in which no bird of the heavens flies (viii 90) (and) where no onagers (or) gazelles graze — a distance of one hundred leagues from Nineveh, the city loved by the goddess Ištar — the wife of the god Enlil — they advanced (and) marched

viii 43 ĞIR.II-ia “my feet”: Ex. 21 contains ĞIR.II MAN-<sup>f</sup>ti-ia<sup>1</sup> “the feet of my royal majesty.”

viii 80 *ina* ILLU-ši-na *gap-ši* “when they were in full spate”: Ex. 3 omits *gap-ši* from this phrase.

- 89) ANŠE.EDIN.NA.MEŠ MAŠ.DÀ.MEŠ  
 90) *la ir-te-’u-ú ina lib-bi*  
 91) 1 ME KASKAL.GÍD *qaq-qa-ru* TA NINA.KI  
 92) URU *na-ram* <sup>d</sup>*iš-tar hi-rat* <sup>d</sup>EN.LÍL  
 93) EGIR <sup>m</sup>*ú-a-a-te-e’* MAN KUR.*a-ri-bi*  
 94) *ù* <sup>m</sup>*a-bi-ia-te-e’* *šá it-ti e-mu-qí*  
 95) KUR.*na-ba-a-a-ti-a-a il-li-ka*  
 96) *ir-du-u il-li-ku ina* ITI.SIG<sub>4</sub> ITI <sup>d</sup>30  
 97) DUMU *reš-tu-u a-šá-re-du šá* <sup>d</sup>EN.LÍL  
 98) UD.25.KAM *šá-da-ḥu šá* <sup>d</sup>*be-let-KÁ.DINGIR.RA.KI*  
 99) *ka-bit-ti* DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ  
 100) *ul-tú* URU.*ḥa-da-at-ta-a at-tu-muš*  
 101) *ina* URU.*la-ri-ib-da É BÀD šá* NA<sub>4</sub>.MEŠ  
 102) *ina* UGU *gu-ub-ba-a-ni šá* A.MEŠ  
 103) *at-ta-ad-di uš-man-ni*  
 104) ERIM.ḪI.A-*ia* A.MEŠ *a-na maš-ti-ti-šú-nu*  
*iḥ-bu-ma*  
 105) *ir-du-ú il-li-ku*  
 106) *qaq-qar šu-um-me a-šar lap-lap-ti*  
 107) *a-di* URU.*ḥu-ra-ri-na bi-rit* URU.*ia-ar-ki*  
 108) *ù* URU.*a-za-al-la ina mad-bar áš-ru ru-u-qu*  
 109) *a-šar ú-ma-am* EDIN *la ib-ba-šu-u*  
 110) *ù* MUŠEN AN-*e* LA *i-šak-ka-nu qin-nu*  
 111) BAD<sub>5</sub>.BAD<sub>5</sub> LÚ.*i-sa-am-me-e’*  
 112) LÚ.GIŠ.DA *šá* <sup>d</sup>*a-tar-sa-ma-a-a-in*  
 113) *ù* KUR.*na-ba-a-a-ta-a-a áš-kun*  
 114) UN.MEŠ ANŠE.MEŠ ANŠE.A.AB.BA.MEŠ *u*  
 US<sub>5</sub>.UDU.ḪI.A  
 115) *ḥu-bu-us-su-nu ina la mî-ni aḥ-bu-ta*  
 116) 8 KASKAL.GÍD *qaq-qa-ru*  
 117) ERIM.ḪI.A-*ia lu it-tal-la-ku šal-ṭiš*  
 118) *šal-mî-iš lu i-tu-ru-nim-ma*  
 119) *ina* URU.*a-za-al-li lu iš-tu-u* A.MEŠ *neš-bé-e*  
 120) TA *lib-bi* URU.*a-za-al-la*  
 121) *a-di* URU.*qu-ra-ši-ti*  
 122) 6 KASKAL.GÍD *qaq-qa-ru a-šar šu-um-me*  
 123) *lap-lap-ti ir-du-u il-li-ku*  
 124) LÚ.*a’-lu šá* <sup>d</sup>*a-tar-sa-ma-a-a-in*  
 Col. ix  
 1) *ù* LÚ.*qid-ra-a-a šá* <sup>m</sup>*ú-a-a-te-e’*  
 2) DUMU <sup>m</sup>*bir-<sup>d</sup>iškur* MAN KUR.*a-ri-bi al-me*  
 3) DINGIR.MEŠ-<sup>š</sup>*ú* AMA-<sup>š</sup>*ú* NIN<sub>9</sub>.MEŠ-<sup>š</sup>*ú* DAM-*su*  
 4) *qin-nu-šú* UN.MEŠ KUR.*qé-ed-ri ka-la-mu*  
 5) ANŠE.MEŠ ANŠE.A.AB.BA.MEŠ *u še-e-ni*  
 6) *ma-la ina tukul-ti* AN.ŠÁR *u* <sup>d</sup>15  
 7) EN.MEŠ-*ia ik-šu-da* ŠU.II-*a-a*  
 8) *ḥar-ra-an* KUR.*di-maš-qa ú-šá-áš-ki-na*  
*še-pu-uš-šú-un*  
 9) *ina* ITI.NE ITI MUL.PAN  
 10) *ma-rat* <sup>d</sup>30 *qa-rit-tu*

in pursuit of Uaite’, the king of the land of the Arabs, and Abi-Yate’, who had come with forces of the land of the Nabayateans.

viii 96b–119) In the month Simānu (III), the month of the god Sîn — the eldest (and) foremost son of the god Enlil — on the twenty-fifth day, the procession of the Lady of Babylon, the venerated one of the great gods, (viii 100) I set out from the city Ḫadattâ (and) set up my camp at the city Laribda, a stone fortress next to water cisterns. My troops drew water to (fill) their drinking vessel(s), and (viii 105) (then) advanced (and) marched (through) a land of parching thirst (lit. “a land of thirst (and) a place of parching”) as far as the city Ḫurarîna, (which is) between the cities Yarki and Azalla, in the desert, a distant place where there are no creatures of the steppe (viii 110) and (where) no bird of the heavens makes (its) nest. They (lit. “I”) brought about the defeat of the Yisamme’, the confederation of the god Atar-samayin, and the Nabayateans. (viii 115) They (lit. “I”) plundered countless people, donkeys, camels, and sheep and goats. My troops marched about triumphantly over a distance of eight leagues. They returned safely and drank water to (their) satisfaction in the city Azalla.

viii 120–ix 8) They (my troops) advanced (and) marched from the city Azalla to the city Qurašitu, a distance of six leagues (through) a place of parching thirst. (ix 1) They (lit. “I”) surrounded the confederation of the god Atar-samayin and the Qederites of Uaite’, son of Bir-Dāda, the king of the land of the Arabs. (As for) his gods, his mother, his sisters, his wife, his family, the people of the land Qedar, all (of it), (ix 5) donkeys, camels, and sheep and goats, as many as I had captured with the support of (the god) Aššur and the goddess Ištar, my lords, I made their feet take the road to Damascus.

ix 9–24) In the month Abu (V), the month of the bowstar — the warrior, daughter of the god Sîn — (on) the

viii 101 URU.*la-ri-ib-da* “the city Laribda”: Ex. 1 omits the determinative URU before the name of the city. É BÀD šá NA<sub>4</sub>.MEŠ “a stone fortress”: Ex. 15 instead mistakenly has É BÀD šá NA<sub>4</sub>.KIŠIB.MEŠ “a fortress (made) of seals.”

viii 112 LÚ.GIŠ.DA “the confederation”: See CAD A/1 p. 374 sub *a’lu* and Weippert, WO 7/1 (1973) pp. 68–69. According to the CAD, the context of *a’lu* “demands in all instances a word denoting a confederation, probably even an amphictyony under divine leadership (<sup>d</sup>Atar-samāin), so that the reading *i’lu* ‘league’ from Akkadian *e’ēlu* is possible.” Furthermore, with respect to the logogram used here, the CAD notes: “The writing GIŠ.DA (= *le’u*) represents a scribal pun.”

- 11) UD.3.KAM *nu-bat-tú šá* LUGAL DINGIR.MEŠ<sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU  
 12) *ul-tú* URU.*di-maš-qa at-tu-muš*  
 13) 6 KASKAL.GÍD *qaq-qa-ru mu-ši-tu ka-la-šá*  
 14) *ar-de-e-ma al-lik a-di* URU.*ḫul-ḫu-li-ti*  
 15) *ina* KUR.*ḫu-uk-ri-na* KUR-ú *mar-šu*  
 16) LÚ.*a'-lu šá* <sup>m</sup>*a-bi-ia-te-e'* DUMU <sup>m</sup>*te-'e'-ri*  
 17) KUR.*qid-ra-a-a ak-šu-ud*  
 18) BAD<sub>5</sub>.BAD<sub>5</sub>-šú *áš-kun áš-lu-la šal-lat-su*  
 19) <sup>m</sup>*a-bi-ia-te-e'* <sup>m</sup>*a-a-am-mu*  
 20) *ina qí-bit* AN.ŠÁR u <sup>d</sup>15 EN.MEŠ-*ia*  
 21) *ina* MURUB<sub>4</sub> *tam-ḫa-ri bal-tu-us-su-un ú-šab-bit*  
*ina* ŠU.II  
 22) ŠU.II u GÍR.II *bi-re-tú* AN.BAR *ad-di-šú-nu-ti*  
 23) *it-ti šal-lat* KUR-šú-un  
 24) *al-qa-áš-šú-nu-ti a-na* KUR AN.ŠÁR.KI  
 25) *mun-nab-ti šá la-pa-an* GIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ-*ia*  
*in-nab-tu*  
 26) *ip-la-ḫu iṣ-ba-tú* KUR.*ḫu-uk-ku-ru-na* KUR-ú  
*mar-šu*  
 27) *ina* URU.*ma-an-ḫa-ab-bi* URU.*ap-pa-ru*  
 28) URU.*te-nu-qu-ri* URU.*ša-a-a-ú-ra-an*  
 29) <sup>r</sup>URU<sup>1</sup>.*mar-qa-na-a* URU.*sa-ra-te-in*  
 30) URU.*en-zi-kar-'me* URU<sup>1</sup>.*ta-a'-na-a*  
 URU.*sa-ra-a-qa*  
 31) *a-šar kup-pi nam-ba-'i šá* A.MEŠ *ma-la ba-šú-u*  
 32) EN.NUN.MEŠ *ina muḫ-ḫi ú-šá-an-šir-ma*  
 33) A.MEŠ TI.LA ZI-ti-šú-nu *ak-la*  
 34) *maš-ti-tu ú-šá-qir a-na pi-i-šú-un*  
 35) *ina šu-um-me lap-lap-ti iš-ku-nu na-piš-tú*  
 36) *si-it-tu-u-ti* ANŠE.GAM.MAL.MEŠ *ru-ku-pi-šú-nu*  
*ú-šal-li-qa*  
 37) *a-na šu-um-me-šú-nu iš-ta-at-tu-u* ÚŠ.MEŠ u  
 A.MEŠ *par-šú*  
 38) *ša qé-reb* KUR-*e e-lu-ú*  
 39) *e-ru-bu e-ḫu-zu mar-qí-tu*  
 40) *e-du ul ip-par-šid mul-taḫ-tu ul ú-ši* *ina* ŠU.II-*ia*  
 41) *a-šar mar-qí-ti-šú-nu* ŠU.II *ik-šu-us-su-nu-ti*  
 42) UN.MEŠ NITA u MUNUS ANŠE.MEŠ  
 ANŠE.A.AB.BA.MEŠ GU<sub>4</sub>.MEŠ u <sup>r</sup>*še'-e-ni*  
 43) *ina la mi-ni áš-lu-la a-na* KUR AN.ŠÁR.<sup>r</sup>KI<sup>1</sup>  
 44) *nap-ḫar* KUR-*ia šá* AN.ŠÁR *id-di-na ka-la-mu*  
 45) *a-na si-ḫir-ti-šá um-dal-lu-u a-na paṭ gim-ri-šá*  
 46) ANŠE.A.AB.BA.MEŠ *ki-ma še-e-ni ú-par-'ri'-is*  
 47) *ú-za-'i-iz a-na* UN.MEŠ KUR AN.ŠÁR.KI  
 48) *ina qa-bal-ti* KUR-*ia* ANŠE.A.AB.BA.MEŠ *ina* 1

third day, (the day of) the evening meal of the king of the gods — the god Marduk — I set out from the city Damascus. I advanced and marched a distance of six leagues, the entire night, as far as the city Ḫulḫuliti, (ix 15) at Mount Ḫukkuruna, a rugged mountain. I reached the confederation of Abī-Yate', son of Te'ri, the Qederite. I brought about his defeat (and) plundered him. (As for) Abī-Yate' (and) Aya-ammu, (ix 20) by the command of (the god) Aššur and the goddess Ištar, my lords, I captured them alive in the thick of battle. I placed (their) hands and feet in iron fetters (and) took them to Assyria, together with plunder from their land.

ix 25–41) The fugitives who had fled from my weapons became frightened (and) took to Mount Ḫukkuruna, a rugged mountain. In the cities Manḫabbi, Apparu, Tenuquri, Šayuran, Marqanâ, Saratein, (ix 30) Enzikarme, Ta'nâ, (and) Sarâqa, where(ever there was) a spring (or) a source of water, as many as there were, I had guards stationed over (them) and (thus) I withheld (from them) the water (which) sustains their live(s). I made drink scarce for their mouths (and) (ix 35) they laid down (their) live(s) from parching thirst. (As for) the rest (of them), they cut open the camels that they rode (and) drank the blood and the liquid from the excrement to (quench) their thirst. (As for) those who had gone up (and) entered into the mountain(s), (and) had sought refuge (there), (ix 40) not a single one (of them) escaped; (anyone) who tried to get away did not escape my grasp. I conquered them where(ever) they took refuge.

ix 42–52) They (lit. “I”) carried off to Assyria people — male and female — donkeys, camels, oxen, and sheep and goats without number. (ix 45) They filled (with them) the whole extent of my land, all that (the god) Aššur had given to me in its entirety, to all of its border(s). I apportioned camels like sheep and goats (and) divided (them) among the people of Assyria (so that) within my country they (the

ix 11 *nu-bat-tú šá* LUGAL DINGIR.MEŠ<sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU “the evening meal of the king of the gods — the god Marduk”: Ex. 17 erroneously omits DINGIR so that the text as it stands reads “the evening meal of the kings — the god Marduk.”

ix 19 Exs. 2 and 17 add the phrase DUMU <sup>m</sup>*te-e'-ri* “son of Te'ri” after <sup>m</sup>*a-a-am-mu* “Aya-ammu.”

ix 21 Ex. 1 omits the *ina* before ŠU.II “hands.”

ix 27–28a Ex. 21 omits line 27 and the first half of line 28.

ix 36 ANŠE.GAM.MAL.MEŠ “camels”: Exs. 65 and 107 instead use the logogram ANŠE.A.AB.BA.MEŠ for “camels.”

ix 48 *ina* 1 GÍN <sup>r</sup>1/2<sup>1</sup> [GÍN] *kas-'pi'* “for one shekel (or even) a half [shekel] of silver”: The quantities of silver in this line are only preserved in ex. 1, which appears to have an erased MAŠ sign after 1, suggesting that the scribe initially forgot to write GÍN before writing the second quantity of silver, 1/2 GÍN. Furthermore, based on considerations of space, it is possible that ex. 1 lacks the signs *kas-pi*, though the end of the line is not preserved; these two signs are supplied by exs. 21 ([*kas*]-<sup>r</sup>*pi'*) and 28 (*kas*-<sup>r</sup>*pi'*). For the writing of this line in other prism inscriptions, cf. text no. 3 (Prism B) viii 11 *ina* 1 GÍN *ina* 1/2 GÍN *kas-pi*; text no. 4 (Prism D) viii 14 *ina* GÍN *ina* 1/2 GÍN *kas-pi*; and text no. 7 (Prism Kh) x 25 [*ina*] <sup>r</sup>GÍN<sup>1</sup> *ina* 1/2<sup>1</sup> GÍN<sup>1</sup> [*kas-pi*].

- GÍN <sup>r</sup>1/2<sup>1</sup> [GÍN] kas-<sup>r</sup>pi<sup>1</sup>  
 49) *i-šam-mu ina KÁ ma-ḫi-ri*  
 50) MUNUS.áš-tam-mu ina ni-id-ni LÚ.LÚNGA ina ḫa-pe-e  
 51) LÚ.NU.GIŠ.KIRI<sub>6</sub> ina ki-ši-šú šá Ú.SAR  
 52) *im-da-na-ḫa-ru ANŠE.A.AB.BA.MEŠ u a-me-lu-tu*  
 53) <sup>m</sup>ú-a-a-te-e' a-di ERIM.ḪI.A-šú  
 54) *ša a-de-ia la iṣ-ṣu-ru*  
 55) *ša la-pa-an GIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ AN.ŠÁR EN-ia*  
 56) *ip-par-ši-du in-nab-tu ma-ḫar <sup>m</sup>na-at-na*  
 57) *ú-šam-qit-su-nu-ti <sup>d</sup>èr-ra qar-du*  
 58) *su-un-qu ina bi-ri-šú-nu iš-šá-kin-ma*  
 59) *a-na bu-ri-šú-nu e-<sup>r</sup>ku<sup>1</sup>-lu UZU*  
 DUMU.MEŠ-šú-nu  
 60) *ar-ra-a-ti ma-la ina a-de-e-šú-nu šat-ra*  
 61) *ina pit-ti i-ši-mu-šú-nu-ti AN.ŠÁR <sup>d</sup>30 <sup>d</sup>UTU*  
 62) <sup>d</sup>IŠKUR <sup>d</sup>EN <sup>d</sup>AG <sup>d</sup>15 šá NINA.KI  
 63) <sup>r</sup>dšar<sup>1</sup>-rat-kid-mu-ri <sup>d</sup>15 šá LÍMMU-DINGIR.KI  
 64) <sup>d</sup>MAŠ <sup>d</sup>U.GUR <sup>d</sup>nusku  
 65) *ba-ak-ru su-ḫi-ru GU<sub>4</sub>.AMAR UDU.NIM*  
 66) *ina UGU 7.TA.ÀM mu-še-ni-qa-a-<sup>r</sup>te<sup>1</sup>*  
*e-ni-qu-u-ma*  
 67) *ši-iz-bu la ú-šab-bu-u ka-ra-sún*  
 68) UN.MEŠ KUR.a-ri-bi 1-en a-na 1-en  
 69) *iš-ta-'a-a-lu<sub>4</sub> a-ḫa-meš*  
 70) *ina UGU mi-né-e ki-i ep-še-e-tú an-ni-tú ḪUL-tú*  
 71) *im-ḫu-ru KUR.a-ru-bu*  
 72) *um-ma áš-šú a-de-e GAL.MEŠ šá AN.ŠÁR la*  
*ni-iṣ-ṣu-ru*  
 73) *ni-ḫ-ṭu-ú ina MUN <sup>m</sup>AN.ŠÁR-DÙ-A*  
 74) LUGAL na-ram lib-bi <sup>d</sup>EN.LÍL  
 75) <sup>d</sup>NIN.LÍL ri-im-tú <sup>d</sup>EN.LÍL.LÁ-i-tu  
 76) *ka-dir-ti i-la-a-ti*  
 77) *ša it-ti <sup>d</sup>a-num <sup>d</sup>EN.LÍL šit-lu-ṭa-at man-za-zu*  
 78) *ú-na-kip LÚ.KÚR.MEŠ-ia ina SI.MEŠ-šá*  
*gaš-ra-a-te*  
 79) <sup>d</sup>15 a-ši-bat URU.LÍMMU-DINGIR  
 80) <sup>d</sup>GIŠ.BAR lit-bu-šat me-lam-me na-šá-a-ta  
 81) UGU KUR.a-ri-bi i-za-an-nun nab-li  
 82) <sup>d</sup>èr-ra qar-du a-nun-tu ku-uṣ-ṣur-ma  
 83) *ú-ra-as-si-pa ga-re-ia*  
 84) <sup>d</sup>MAŠ šil-ta-ḫu qar-ra-du GAL-u DUMU <sup>d</sup>EN.LÍL  
*ga-áš-ru*  
 85) *ina uṣ-ši-šú zaq-ti ú-par-ri-i' ZI-tim*  
 LÚ.KÚR.MEŠ-ia  
 86) <sup>d</sup>nusku SUKKAL na-a'-du mu-šá-pu-u EN-u-ti  
 87) *ša ina qí-bit AN.ŠÁR <sup>d</sup>NIN.LÍL qa-rit-tú*  
<sup>d</sup>rbe-let-URU<sup>1</sup>.LÍMMU-DINGIR  
 88) *Á.II-a-a il-lik-ma <sup>r</sup>iṣ<sup>1</sup>-ṣu-ra LUGAL-u-ti*  
 89) *mé-eḫ-ret ERIM.ḪI.A-ia iz-ziz-ma ú-šam-qí-ta*  
*ga-re-ia*

Assyrians) could purchase camels for one shekel (or even) a half [shekel] of silver at the market gate. (ix 50) The female tavern keeper for a *serving*, the beer brewer for a jug (of beer), (and) the gardener for his bag of vegetables were regularly receiving camels and slaves.

ix 53–64) (As for) Uaite', along with his troops, who did not honor my treaty, who had flown away from the weapons of (the god) Aššur, my lord, (and) had fled into the presence of Natnu, the god Erra, the warrior, cut them down. Famine broke out among them and they ate the flesh of their children on account of their hunger. (ix 60) The deities Aššur, Sîn, Šamaš, Adad, Bēl (Marduk), Nabû, Ištar of Nineveh, Šarrat-Kidmuri, Ištar of Arbela, Ninurta, Nergal, (and) Nusku decreed curses, as many as were written in their treaties, accordingly upon them.

ix 65–74) The foal (of camels), the foal (of donkeys), the calf, (and) the spring lamb sucked more than seven times at (their) wet nurses and (yet) they could not satisfy their stomachs with milk. The people of the land of the Arabs constantly asked one another: (ix 70) "Why have evil deeds such as these (lit. "this") befallen the land of the Arabs?" (The other answered): "Because we did not honor the great treaties (sworn) by (the god) Aššur (and) sinned against the kindness of Ashurbanipal, the king who is loved by the heart of the god Enlil."

ix 75–78) The goddess Mullissu, the wild cow, the supreme goddess, the most impetuous one among goddesses, who(se) position is equal in rank with (that of) the gods Anu (and) Enlil, gored (to death) my foes with her powerful horns.

ix 79–81) The goddess Ištar who resides in the city Arbela, who is clothed in fire (and) cloaked in awe-inspiring radiance, rained down fire upon the land of the Arabs.

ix 82–83) The god Erra, the warrior, was fully prepared for battle and struck down my foes.

ix 84–85) The god Ninurta, the arrow, the great warrior, the powerful son of the god Enlil, sliced through the live(s) of my enemies with his sharp arrow(s).

ix 86–89) The god Nusku, the attentive vizier who makes lordship resplendent, who by the command of (the god) Aššur, the goddess Mullissu, (and) the warrior, the Lady of Arbela, marched at my side and protected my royal majesty, stood at the front of my troops and cut down my foes.

ix 53 The Assyrian scribes seem to have confused the actions of Uaite' (son of Bīr-Dāda) with those of Iauta' (son of Hazael); the latter, not the former, is known to have attempted to seek refuge with Natnu.

ix 70 Exs. 2, 3, and 68 add *um-ma* at the beginning of the line to introduce the quotation.

- 90) *ti-bu-ut* GIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ AN.ŠÁR u <sup>d</sup>15  
 91) DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ EN.MEŠ-ia  
 92) *ša ina e-peš* MÈ il-li-ku re-šu-ti  
 93) ERIM.ĪI.A.MEŠ *ša* <sup>m</sup>ú-a-a-te-e'  
 94) *iš-mu-u-ma* UGU-šú ib-bal-ki-tu  
 95) *šu-ú ip-làh-ma*  
 96) *ul-tu É in-nab-tu ú-ša-am-ma*  
 97) *ina tukul-ti* AN.ŠÁR <sup>d</sup>30 <sup>d</sup>UTU <sup>d</sup>ĪŠKUR  
 98) <sup>d</sup>EN <sup>d</sup>AG <sup>d</sup>15 *šá* NINA.KI  
 99) <sup>d</sup>šar-rat-kid-mu-ri <sup>d</sup>15 *šá* URU.LÍMMU-DINGIR  
 100) <sup>d</sup>MAŠ <sup>d</sup>U.GUR <sup>d</sup>nusku  
 101) ŠU.II *ik-šu-us-su-ma*  
 102) *ú-ra-áš-šú a-na* KUR AN.ŠÁR.KI  
 103) *ina ni-iš* ŠU.II-ia *šá a-na ka-šad* LÚ.KÚR.MEŠ-ia  
 104) *am-da-ḫa-ru* AN.ŠÁR u <sup>d</sup>NIN.LÍL  
 105) *ina* GIŠ.ḫu-ut-né-e *ma-še-ri ši-bit* ŠU.II-ia  
 106) UZU.ME.ZÉ-šú *ap-lu-uš*  
 107) *ina la-aḫ-ši-šú at-ta-di šer-re-tú*  
 108) *ul-li* UR.GI, *ad-di-šú-ma*  
 109) *ina* KÁ.GAL *ši-it* <sup>d</sup>UTU-šú *šá* MURUB<sub>4</sub>  
 URU.NINA.KI  
 110) *ša né-reb mas-naq-ti ad-na-a-te na-bu-u*  
*zi-kir-šá*  
 111) *ú-šá-an-šir-šú* GIŠ.ši-ga-ru  
 112) *a-na da-lál ta-nit-ti* AN.ŠÁR <sup>d</sup>15  
 113) *ù* DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ EN.MEŠ-ia  
 114) *re-e-mu ar-ši-šú-ma ú-bal-liṭ nap-šat-su*  
 115) *ina ta-a-a-ar-ti-ia* URU.ú-šu-u  
 116) *ša ina a-ḫi tam-tim na-da-ta šu-bat-su ak-šu-ud*  
 117) UN.MEŠ URU.ú-šu-u *šá a-na* LÚ.NAM.MEŠ-šú-nu  
*la sa-an-qu*  
 118) *la i-nam-di-nu man-da-at-tú*  
 119) *na-dan šat-ti-šú-un a-duk*  
 120) *ina* ŠĀ UN.MEŠ *la kan-šu-u-ti šip-ṭu áš-kun*  
 121) DINGIR.MEŠ-šú-nu UN.MEŠ-šú-nu *áš-lu-la a-na*  
 KUR AN.ŠÁR.KI  
 122) UN.MEŠ URU.ak-ku-u *la kan-šu-ti a-nir*  
 123) ADDA.MEŠ-šú-nu *ina* GIŠ.ga-ši-ši *a-lul*  
 124) *si-ḫir-ti* URU *ú-šal-mi*  
 125) *si-it-tu-ti-šú-nu al-qa-a a-na* KUR AN.ŠÁR.KI  
 126) *a-na ki-šir ak-šur-ma*  
 127) UGU ERIM.ĪI.A-ia *ma-a'-da-a-ti*  
 128) *ša* AN.ŠÁR *i-qí-šá ú-rad-di*  
 Col. x  
 1) <sup>m</sup>a-a-mu DUMU <sup>m</sup>te-e-ri  
 2) *it-ti* <sup>m</sup>a-bi-ia-te-e' ŠEŠ-šú  
 3) *i-zi-zu-ma it-ti* ERIM.ĪI.A-ia *e-pu-šú* MÈ  
 4) *ina* MURUB<sub>4</sub> *tam-ḫa-ri bal-ṭu-us-su ina* ŠU.II

ix 90–102) (As for) the assault of the weapons of (the god) Aššur and the goddess Ištar, the great gods, my lords, who had come to my aid to do battle, the troops of Uaite' heard about (this) and they rebelled against him (Uaite'). (ix 95) He (Uaite') became frightened and came out from the place (where) he had fled. With the support of the deities Aššur, Šin, Šamaš, Adad, Bēl (Marduk), Nabû, Ištar of Nineveh, Šarrat-Kidmuri, Ištar of Arbela, (ix 100) Ninurta, Nergal, (and) Nusku, I captured him and brought him to Assyria.

ix 103–114) Through my entreaties that I had constantly made to (the god) Aššur and the goddess Mullissu in order to conquer my enemies, I pierced his (Uaite') jaw with the ... of the ... that my (own) hands hold. I put a lead-rope through his gums, placed him in a dog collar, and (ix 110) (then) made him guard the door of the eastern gate of the citadel of Nineveh, whose name is the Entrance to the Place Where the World Is Controlled. (So that he could) sing the praise(s) of (the god) Aššur, the goddess Ištar, and the great gods, my lords, I had mercy on him and spared his life.

ix 115–121) On my return march, I conquered the city Ušû (Palaetyrus), whose location is situated on the shore of the sea. I slew the people of the city Ušû who had not been obedient to their governors by not giving payment, their annual giving. (ix 120) I rendered judgement on (those) insubmissive people: I carried off their gods (and) their people to Assyria.

ix 122–128) I killed the insubmissive people of the city Acco. I hung their corpses on poles (and) placed (them) around the city. I took the rest of them to Assyria. I conscripted (them) to (my royal) contingent and added (them) to my numerous troops that (the god) Aššur had granted to me.

x 1–5) (As for) Aya-ammu, son of Te'ri, (who) had stood with Abi-Yate', his brother, and did battle with my troops, I captured him alive in the thick of battle (and) flayed him in Nineveh, my capital city.

ix 103–114 The punishment of Uaite' (son of Bīr-Dāda) described here might not have happened as described in this inscription since it is identical to the punishment recorded for Iauta' (son of Hazael) in viii 10–14. For this opinion, see, for example, Lämmerhirt, RLA 14/3–4 (2014) p. 256 sub Uaite'.

ix 105 GIŠ.ḫu-ut-né-e *ma-še-ri* “the ... of the ...”: The CAD (Ī p. 263 sub *ḫutnû*) suggests that this word “should be connected with *ḫetennu* likewise denoting a part of a chariot, and possibly with the missile *ḫutennu*.” The CDA (p. 114 sub *ḫetennu*), following the AHW (p. 342), understands this word as “(wooden part of chariot).” R. Borger (BIWA p. 249) translates this passage as “dem *ḫutnû* (= ?) eines *maširu*-Wagens.”

ix 106 *ap-lu-uš* “I pierced”: Ex. 23 appears to have <sup>r</sup>ip<sup>1</sup>-lu-uš “he pierced.”

ix 111 See the on-page note to viii 29.

- aš-bat*  
 5) *ina* NINA.KI URU EN-ti-ia KUŠ-šú *áš-ḫu-uṭ*
- 
- 6) <sup>m</sup>um-man-al-daš MAN KUR.ELAM.MA.KI  
 7) *ša ul-tú ul-la* AN.ŠÁR u <sup>d</sup>15 EN.MEŠ-ia  
 8) *iq-bu-ú a-na e-peš* ARAD-ti-ia  
 9) *ina qí-bit* DINGIR-ti-šú-nu *šir-tu šá la in-nen-nu-u*  
 10) EGIR-nu KUR-su UGU-šú *ib-bal-kit-ma*  
 11) *la-pa-an saḫ-maš-ti* ARAD.MEŠ-šú *šá ú-šab-šú-u* UGU-šú  
 12) *e-diš-ši-šú ip-par-šid-ma iš-ba-ta* KUR-ú  
 13) *ul-tu* KUR-e É *mar-qí-ti-šú*  
 14) *a-šar it-ta-nap-raš-ši-du*  
 15) *ki-ma* SÚR.DÙ.MUŠEN *a-bar-šu-ma*  
 16) *bal-ṭu-us-su al-qa-áš-šú a-na* KUR AN.ŠÁR.KI  
 17) <sup>mt</sup>tam-ma-ri-tú <sup>m</sup>pa-'e-e <sup>m</sup>um-man-al-daš  
 18) *ša* EGIR *a-ḫa-meš e-pu-šu be-lut* KUR.ELAM.MA.KI  
 19) *ša ina e-mu-qí* AN.ŠÁR u <sup>d</sup>15 EN.MEŠ-ia  
 20) *ú-šak-ni-šá a-na* GIŠ.ŠUDUN-ia  
 21) <sup>m</sup>ú-a-a-te-e' MAN KUR.a-ri-bi  
 22) *ša ina qí-bit* AN.ŠÁR u <sup>d</sup>15 BAD<sub>5</sub>.BAD<sub>5</sub>-šú *áš-ku-nu*  
 23) [*ul-tu*] <sup>r</sup>KUR<sup>1</sup>-šú *al-qa-<sup>r</sup>áš<sup>1</sup>-šú a-na* KUR AN.ŠÁR.KI  
 24) *ul-tu a-na na-saḫ* UDU.SISKUR.MEŠ *e-lu-u*  
 25) *ina é-maš-maš šu-bat* EN-ti-šú-un  
 26) *ma-ḫar* <sup>d</sup>NIN.LÍL AMA DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ  
 27) *ḫi-ir-tu na-ram-ti* AN.ŠÁR  
 28) *e-pu-šu* GARZA.MEŠ É *á-ki-it*  
 29) GIŠ.ŠUDUN GIŠ.šá *šá-da-di ú-šá-aš-bit-su-nu-ti*  
 30) *a-di KÁ É.KUR iš-du-du ina* KI.TA-ia  
 31) *al-bi-in ap-pi at-ta-'i-id* DINGIR-us-su-un  
 32) *ú-šá-pa-a dan-nu-us-su-un ina* UKKIN <sup>r</sup>ERIM<sup>1</sup>.ḪI.A-ia  
 33) *ša* AN.ŠÁR <sup>d</sup>30 <sup>d</sup>UTU <sup>d</sup>iŠKUR  
 34) <sup>d</sup>EN <sup>d</sup>AG <sup>d</sup>15 *šá* NINA.KI  
 35) <sup>d</sup>šar-rat-kid-mu-ri <sup>d</sup>15 *šá* LÍMMU-DINGIR.KI  
 36) <sup>d</sup>MAŠ <sup>d</sup>U.GUR <sup>d</sup>nusku *šá la kan-šu-ti-ia*  
 37) *ú-šak-ni-šú a-na* GIŠ.ŠUDUN-ia  
 38) *ina li-i-ti ù da-na-a-ni*  
 39) *ú-šá-zi-zu-in-ni* EDIN LÚ.KÚR.MEŠ-ia
- 
- 40) <sup>m</sup>15-BÀD LUGAL KUR.ur-ar-ṭi

x 6–16) (As for) Ummanaldašu (Ḫumban-ḫaltaš III), the king of the land Elam whom from the distant past (the god) Aššur and the goddess Ištar, my lords, had commanded to do obeisance to me — by the command of their exalted divinity, which cannot be changed, (x 10) afterwards his land rebelled against him. He (then) fled alone from the rebellion that his servants had incited against him and he took to the mountain(s). From the mountain(s), his place of refugee where he had always fled, I caught him like a falcon and took him alive to Assyria.

x 17–39) (As for) Tammarītu, Pa'ê, (and) Ummanaldašu (Ḫumban-ḫaltaš III), who had exercised dominion over the land Elam after one another (x 20) (and) whom I had made bow down to my yoke through the might of (the god) Aššur and the goddess Ištar, my lords, (and) Uaite', the king of the land of the Arabs whose defeat I had brought about by the command of (the god) Aššur and the goddess Ištar (and whom) I had taken [out of] his (own) [lan]d to Assyria — after I had gone up to perform sacrifices (and) (x 25) had performed the rites of the *akītu*-house in Emašmaš, the seat of their dominion, before the goddess Mullissu — the mother of the great gods, the spouse loved by (the god) Aššur — I made them take hold of the yoke of (my) processional carriage. (x 30) They pulled (it) up to the gate of the temple while I was seated above them (lit. “while (they were) below me”). (There) I humbled myself (lit. “I stroked my nose”) (and) paid careful attention to their divinity. In a rally of my troops, I made visible their (the god's) strength, (through) which the deities Aššur, Sîn, Šamaš, Adad, Bēl (Marduk), Nabû, Ištar of Nineveh, (x 35) Šarrat-Kidmuri, Ištar of Arbela, Ninurta, Nergal, (and) Nusku made those insubmissive to me bow down to my yoke (and) made me stand over my enemies in mighty victories.

x 40–50) (As for) Ištar-dūrī (Sarduri III), the king of

x 17 The order of the Elamite kings is probably chronological by date of capture, starting with the earliest (Tammarītu) and ending with the latest Ummanaldašu (Ḫumban-ḫaltaš III). These three deposed rulers are always mentioned in Ashurbanipal's inscriptions in the order Tammarītu, Pa'ê, Ummanaldašu; see, for example, text no. 23 (IIT) lines 99 and 118.

x 23 Exs. 1, 4, 5, and 85 omit this line. Since lines 23 and 24 both begin with *ul-tu*, it is possible that the scribe's eye accidentally skipped over line 23 and only copied line 24 as a result. Moreover, given that this error appears in more than one exemplar, it seems likely that the initial omission originally existed in the document from which these four exemplars were copied, suggesting that they belong to the same manuscript tradition.

x 26–28 Ex. 3 omits these lines.

x 30 KI.TA-ia “while I was seated above them (lit. “while (they were) below me”): The translation follows the CAD (Š/1 p. 23 sub *šadādu* 2.a).

x 32 *dan-nu-us-su-un* “their strength”: This reading is supplied by ex. 1 alone. Ex. 21 contains *e-nu-su-un* “their lordship,” and only the final portion of the sign before *nu* is visible in exs. 3 and 55, which could thus be interpreted as either <sup>r</sup>dan<sup>1</sup> or <sup>r</sup>e<sup>1</sup>. However, the variant reading in ex. 21 might simply be the result of a misidentification of the KAL sign as E, especially given this scribe's penchant for incorrectly misreading the signs of the source text from which he was copying (see i 27, ii 124, iv 99, and viii 2).

- 41) *ša* LUGAL.MEŠ AD.MEŠ-šú *a-na* AD.MEŠ-*ia*  
 42) *iš-ta-<sup>nap</sup>-par-u-ni* ŠEŠ-ú-tú  
 43) *e-nen-na* <sup>m</sup>15-BÀD *da-na-nu ep-še-e-tú*  
 44) *ša* DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ *i-ši-mu-in-ni*  
*iš-me-e-ma*  
 45) *ki-ma šá* DUMU *a-na* AD-šú *iš-ta-<sup>nap</sup>-pa-ra*  
 EN-u-tú  
 46) *ù šu-u ki-i pi-i an-nim-ma*  
 47) *iš-ta-<sup>nap</sup>-pa-ra um-ma lu-u šul-mu*  
 48) *a-na* LUGAL EN-*ia*  
 49) *pal-<sup>hi</sup>-iš kan-šiš ta-mar-ta-šú ka-bit-tú*  
 50) *uš-ta-né-eb-ba-la a-di maḥ-ri-ia*
- 
- 51) *ina u<sub>4</sub>-me-šú É UŠ-u-ti te-né-e É.GAL šá qé-reb*  
 NINA.KI  
 52) [URU] *ši-i-ru na-ram* <sup>d</sup>NIN.LÍL  
 53) [*ša* <sup>md</sup>]30-PAP.MEŠ-SU MAN KUR AN.ŠÁR.KI AD  
 AD DÛ-*ia*  
 54) <sup>r</sup>ud<sup>1</sup>-*di-šu a-na mu-šab* LUGAL-ti-šú  
 55) É <sup>r</sup>UŠ<sup>1</sup>-*u-ti šu-a-tú ina* HÛL.MEŠ *ri-šá-a-ti*  
 56) <sup>r</sup>la-ba<sup>1</sup>-*riš il-lik e-na-ḥa* É.GAR<sub>g</sub>.MEŠ-šú  
 57) *a-na-ku* <sup>m</sup>AN.ŠÁR-DÛ-A LUGAL GAL LUGAL  
*dan-nu*  
 58) LUGAL *kiš-šá-ti* LUGAL KUR AN.ŠÁR.KI LUGAL  
*kib-rat* LÍMMU-*tim*  
 59) *áš-šú qé-reb* É UŠ-u-ti *šu-a-tú ar-ba-a*  
 60) AN.ŠÁR <sup>d</sup>30 <sup>d</sup>UTU <sup>d</sup>IŠKUR <sup>d</sup>EN <sup>d</sup>AG  
 61) <sup>d</sup>15 *šá* NINA.KI <sup>d</sup>šar-rat-kid-mu-ri  
 62) <sup>d</sup>15 *šá* LÍMMU-DINGIR.KI <sup>d</sup>GAŠAN-GARZA.MEŠ  
<sup>d</sup>MAŠ <sup>d</sup>U.GUR <sup>d</sup>nusku  
 63) DUMU LUGAL-ú-ti *iš-šu-ru*  
 64) *šu-lul-šú-nu* DÛG.GA AN.DÛL-*la-šú-nu* *ša*  
*šá-la-me*  
 65) *it-ru-šu* UGU-*ia*  
 66) <sup>r</sup>ul<sup>1</sup>-*tu ina* GIŠ.GU.ZA AD DÛ-*ia* *ú-ši-bu*  
 67) *e-te-né-ep-pu-šú be-lut* KUR.KUR *ù UN.MEŠ*  
 DAGAL.MEŠ  
 68) *ka-a-a-an pu-us-su-rat ḥa-de-e*  
 69) *ša ka-šad* LÚ.KÚR.MEŠ-*ia* *ú-pa-sa-ru-in-ni*  
*qé-reb-šú*  
 70) *ina ma-a-a-al mu-ši du-um-mu-qa*  
 MÁŠ.GI<sub>6</sub>.MEŠ-u-a  
 71) *ina ša še-e-ri ba-nu-ú e-ger-ru-u-a*  
 72) *maš-ta-ku šu-a-tú mu-šal-li-mu* EN.MEŠ-šú

the land Urartu, whose kings, his ancestors, used to regularly send (messages of) brotherly relations to my ancestors, now, Ištar-dürī heard about the mighty deeds that the great gods had determined for me and, (x 45) like a son to his father, he constantly sent (messages concerning my) dominion. Moreover, he constantly sent (messages) according to this wording, saying: “May it be well with the king, my lord.” Reverently (and) humbly, he was (now) sending his substantial audience gift(s) before me.

x 51–56) At that time, the replacement House of Succession, the palace that is inside Nineveh – [the] exalted [city] loved by the goddess Mullissu – [which] Sennacherib, king of Assyria, the father of the father who had engendered me, had renovated to be his royal residence – that House of [Succ]ession became old during joyous celebrations, (and) its walls had become dilapidated.

x 57–75) I, Ashurbanipal, great king, strong king, king of the world, king of Assyria, king of the four quarters (of the world) – because I had grown up inside this House of Succession, (x 60) (because) the deities Aššur, Šin, Šamaš, Adad, Bēl (Marduk), Nabû, Ištar of Nineveh, Šarrat-Kidmuri, Ištar of Arbela, Bēlet-paršē, Ninurta, Nergal, (and) Nusku had protected my (position as) heir designate, (and) (x 65) stretched out their benevolent protection (and) their beneficent aegis over me, (because) after I had sat on the throne of the father who had engendered me (and) had continuously exercised dominion over (all of) the lands and (their) widespread population, good news about the conquest of my enemies was brought to me there, (x 70) (because) my dreams in bed at night were auspicious (and) my *egirru*-oracles were positive in the morning, (because) that very dwelling keeps its owner(s) in good health, (and because) the great gods determined good thing(s) as its fate, I removed its dilapidated section(s). (x 75) In order to widen the approach to it, I demolished (it) in its entirety.

x 47–50 Ex. 176, a small prism fragment, offers a variant reading for this passage, but given that only three to five signs are preserved at the end of each line, it is impossible to know for certain what the text originally contained. In col. i' of the fragment, line 3' has [...] <sup>r</sup>iš<sup>1</sup>-*pur-am-ma*, line 4' has [...] <sup>r</sup>ta<sup>1</sup>-šú *ka-bit-tú*, and line 5' has [...] *qu* GİR.II-*ia*. Line 3' probably contained Ištar-dürī's well-wishes to Ashurbanipal as recorded in lines 47–48 of the master text, though in the exemplar the main verb *iš-ta-<sup>nap</sup>-pa-ra* is conjugated as a simple G stem preterite and placed at the end of the clause: [*um-ma lu-u šul-mu a-na* LUGAL EN-*ia*] <sup>r</sup>iš<sup>1</sup>-*pur-am-ma* “[he] sent (messages) [saying: “May it be well with the king, my lord”].” Line 4' can likely be restored in accordance with line 49 of the master text, but line 5' contains a different reading than the master text. The verb *uš-ta-né-eb-ba-la* from line 50 is likely conjugated in the simple G stem preterite in the third person plural to match the tense of *išpuramma* and to match the change in subject as indicated by the following verb (*unaššiqū*). This exemplar concludes this passage by including a statement that individuals kissed the king's feet as an act of submission; this act is found in episodes mentioned earlier in the inscription (cf. i 71, ii 33, 67, 72, 80, 87, and iii 19). These two lines can potentially be reconstructed: [*pal-<sup>hi</sup>-iš kan-šiš ta-mar*]-<sup>r</sup>ta<sup>1</sup>-šú *ka-bit-tú* [*ú-bi-lu-nim-ma ú-na-áš-ši*]-*qu* GİR.II-*ia* “[Reverently (and) humbly, they brought] his substantial [audience gi]ft(s) [and kiss]ed my feet.” The shift from the singular verb *išpuramma* “he sent” to the plural verbs *ubilūnimma* and *unaššiqū* signals that although king Ištar-dürī sent diplomatic letters to Ashurbanipal, it was his envoys that actually delivered that king's audience gifts and performed acts of obeisance at Ashurbanipal's feet.  
 x 50 *uš-ta-né-eb-ba-la* “he was sending”: Ex. 65 has this verb in the simple Š stem, <sup>r</sup>ú<sup>1</sup>-*še-ba-la*.



- šu-ú-ma  
 73) DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ ši-mat-su i-ši-mu a-na  
 MUNUS.SIG<sub>5</sub>  
 74) an-ḥu-us-su ad-ke  
 75) áš-šú ru-up-pu-uš tal-lak-ti-šú a-na si-ḥir-ti-šú  
 aq-qur  
 76) 50.ĀM ti-ib-ki maš-kán ši-kit-ti-šú  
 77) pi-tiq-tu ap-tiq tam-la-a uš-mal-li  
 78) la-pa-an eš-re-e-ti DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ  
 79) EN.MEŠ-ia ap-lāḥ-ma tam-la-a šu-a-tú  
 80) ši-kit-ta-šú ul ú-šaq-qí ma-a'-diš  
 81) ina ITI DÜG.GA UD ŠE.GA EDIN tam-le-e šu-a-tú  
 82) UŠ<sub>8</sub>-šú ad-di ú-kin SIG<sub>4</sub>-su  
 83) ina KAŠ.SAG u GEŠTIN ka-lak-ka-šú ab-<sup>lu</sup>lul  
 84) am-ḥa-ša šal-la-ar-šú  
 85) ina GIŠ.šu-um-bi.MEŠ KUR.ELAM.MA.KI šá ina  
 qí-bit DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ  
 86) EN.MEŠ-ia áš-lu-la  
 87) a-na e-peš É ri-du-u-ti šu-a-tú  
 88) UN.MEŠ KUR-ia ina lib-bi i-zab-bi-lu SIG<sub>4</sub>.ḪI.A  
 89) LUGAL.MEŠ KUR.a-ri-bi ša ina a-de-ia iḥ-tu-u  
 90) ša ina MURUB<sub>4</sub> tam-ḥa-ri bal-tu-us-su-nu  
 ú-šab-bi-tú ina ŠU.II  
 91) a-na e-peš É ri-du-u-ti šu-a-tú  
 92) GIŠ.al-lu tup-šik-ku ú-šá-áš-ši-šú-nu-ti  
 93) ú-šá-az-bi-la ku-dúr-ri  
 94) la-bi-in SIG<sub>4</sub>.ḪI.A-šú za-bi-lu tup-šik-ki-šú  
 95) ina e-le-li nin-gu-u-ti ub-ba-lu u<sub>4</sub>-um-šú-un  
 96) ina ḪÚL.MEŠ ri-šá-a-te ul-tú UŠ<sub>8</sub>-šú a-di  
 gaba-dib-bi-šú ar-šip  
 97) UGU šá maḥ-ri šu-bat-su ú-rap-piš ú-šar-ri-ḥa  
 ep-še-te-e-šú  
 98) GIŠ.ÜR.MEŠ GIŠ.EREN MAḪ.MEŠ tar-bit  
 KUR.si-ra-ra KUR.lab-na-na  
 99) ú-šat-ri-ša UGU-šú GIŠ.IG.MEŠ li-ia-a-ri šá  
 e-re-si-na DÜG.GA  
 100) me-ser ZABAR ú-rak-kis ú-rat-ta-a KÁ.MEŠ-šú  
 101) GIŠ.tim-me MAḪ.MEŠ URUDU nam-ru  
 ú-ḥal-lip-ma  
 102) ḥi-it-ti KÁ É ḥi-la-ni-šú e-mid  
 103) É UŠ-u-ti šu-a-tú mu-šab LUGAL-ti-ia a-na  
 si-ḥir-ti-šú  
 104) ú-šak-lil lu-le-e ú-mal-li GIŠ.KIRI<sub>6</sub>.MAḪ šá gi-mir  
 GIŠ.MEŠ  
 105) GURUN NÍG.SA.SA.ḪI.A ka-la-mu az-qu-pa  
 i-ta-te-e-šú  
 106) ši-pir ep-še-e-te-šú ag-mur-ma UDU.SISKUR.MEŠ  
 taš-ri-iḥ-ti  
 107) aq-qa-a a-na DINGIR.MEŠ EN.MEŠ-ia ina  
 ḪÚL.MEŠ ri-šá-a-te ú-šar-ri-šú  
 108) e-ru-ub qé-reb-šú ina za-mar tak-né-e a-na EGIR

x 76–84) On the site of its (original) structure, I fashioned (its) brickwork fifty courses of brick (high). I filled in the terrace. I showed reverence before the sanctuaries of the great gods, my lords, and (x 80) (so) I did not raise up the structure of that terrace too high. In a favorable month, (on) an auspicious day, I laid its foundation(s) on that terrace (and thereby) secured its brickwork. I mixed its *kalakku*-mortar with beer and wine; I blended its *šallaru*-plaster.

x 85–97) With wagons of the land Elam that I had carried off by the command of the great gods, my lords, in order to build that House of Succession, the people of my land were carrying bricks there. (As for) the kings of the land of the Arabs who had sinned against my treaty (and) (x 90) whom I had captured alive in the thick of battle, in order to build that House of Succession, I made them take up hoe(s) and) basket(s) of earth), (and) carry *kudurru*-baskets. Its brick maker(s) and) hod carrier(s) (x 95) spent their days in rejoicing (and) singing. While there were joyous celebrations, I built (it) from its foundation(s) to its crenellations. I made its structure larger (and) its workmanship more splendid than the previous one.

x 98–104a) I roofed it with long beams of cedar grown on Mount Sirāra (and) Mount Lebanon. I fastened band(s) of bronze on doors of white cedar, whose scent is sweet, (and) fixed (them) in its gateways. I covered tall columns with shiny copper and positioned the architrave(s) of the gate(s) of its *bīt-ḫilāni* (on them). I completed that House of Succession, my royal residence, in its entirety. I filled (it) with splendor.

x 104b–105) I planted alongside it (the palace) a botanical garden, which has all (types of) trees, (and) every fruit (and) vegetable.

x 106–108a) I completed the work of its construction and (then) offered sumptuous offerings to the gods, my lords. During joyous celebrations, I inaugurated it. I entered inside it amidst song(s) of praise.

x 108b–115) In the future, may one of the kings, my

x 104b–105) GIŠ.KIRI<sub>6</sub>.MAḪ šá gi-mir GIŠ.MEŠ GURUN NÍG.SA.SA.ḪI.A ka-la-mu az-qu-pa i-ta-te-e-šú “I planted alongside it (the palace) a botanical garden, which has all (types of) trees, (and) every fruit (and) vegetable”: Exs. 2, 3, and 108 have GIŠ.KIRI<sub>6</sub> GURUN NÍG.SA.SA.ḪI.A a-na mul-ta-’u-u-ti MAN-ti-ia az-qu-pa i-ta-te-e-šú “I planted alongside it (the palace) an orchard of fruits (and) vegetables for my royal pleasure” (with orthographic variants).

- UD.MEŠ *ina* LUGAL.MEŠ  
 109) DUMU.MEŠ-*ia* šá AN.ŠÁR u <sup>d</sup>15 *a-na be-lut* KUR  
 u UN.MEŠ *i-nam-bu-u zi-kir-šú*  
 110) *e-nu-ma É UŠ-u-ti šu-a-tú i-lab-bi-ru-u-ma*  
*in-na-ḥu*  
 111) *an-ḥu-us-su lu-ud-diš* MU.SAR-ú *ši-tir* MU-*ia*  
 AD-*ia*  
 112) AD AD-*ia* NUMUN *da-ru-u šá* LUGAL-*u-ti*  
*li-mur-ma* Ì.GIŠ *lip-šu-uš*  
 113) UDU.SISKUR BAL-*qí it-ti* MU.SAR-*e* *ši-tir* MU-*šú*  
*liš-kun*  
 114) DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ *ma-la ina* MU.SAR-*e*  
*an-né-e* *šaṭ-ru*  
 115) *ki-ma ia-a-ti-ma liš-ru-ku-uš da-na-nu u li-i-tú*  
 116) *ša* MU.SAR-ú *ši-tir* MU-*ia* AD-*ia* AD AD-*ia*  
*ib-ba-tú*  
 117) *it-ti* MU.SAR-*i-šú la i-šak-ka-nu*  
 118) AN.ŠÁR <sup>d</sup>30 <sup>d</sup>UTU <sup>d</sup>IŠKUR <sup>d</sup>EN <sup>d</sup>AG <sup>d</sup>15 *šá*  
 NINA.KI  
 119) <sup>d</sup>šar-rat-kid-mu-ri <sup>d</sup>15 *šá* URU.LÍMMU-DINGIR  
<sup>d</sup>MAŠ <sup>d</sup>U.GUR <sup>d</sup>nusku  
 120) *de-e-ni it-ti ni-bit* MU-*ia* *li-di-nu-uš*

**Date ex. 1**

- 121A) ITI.GU<sub>4</sub>.SI.SÁ UD.15.KÁM  
 122A) *lim-mu* <sup>md</sup>UTU-KALAG-*in-an-ni* LÚ.GAR.KUR KUR  
 URI.KI

**Date ex. 2**

- 121B) ITI.BÁRA.ZAG.GAR UD.1.KAM  
 122B) *lim-mu* <sup>md</sup>UTU-KALAG-*in-an-ni* LÚ.GAR.KUR KUR  
 URI.KI

**Date ex. 3**

- 121C) ITI.KIN-<sup>d</sup>INANNA UD.28.<sup>r</sup>KÁM<sup>1</sup>  
 122C) *lim-me* <sup>md</sup>UTU-KALAG-*in-an-ni*  
 123C) LÚ.NAM KÁ.DINGIR.RA.KI

**Date ex. 4**

- 121D) ITI.GU<sub>4</sub>.<sup>r</sup>SI<sup>1</sup>.<sup>r</sup>[SÁ UD.x.KÁM]  
 122D) *li-<sup>r</sup>i<sup>1</sup>-[mu ...]*  
 123D) <sup>r</sup>LÚ<sup>1</sup>.<sup>r</sup>[...]

**Date ex. 96**

- 121E) [...]  
 122E) [...] (traces)

descendants, whom (the god) Aššur and the goddess Ištar nominate for ruling over the land and people, renovate its dilapidated section(s) when this House of Succession becomes old and dilapidated. May he find an inscribed object bearing my name, (the name of) my father, (and the name of) my grandfather — the eternal seed of kingship — and (then) anoint (it) with oil, make an offering, (and) place (it) with an inscribed object bearing his name. May the great gods, as many as are recorded on this inscribed object, grant him mighty victories, just like me.

x 116–120) (As for) the one who destroys an inscribed object bearing my name, (the name of) my father, (and the name of) my grandfather, (or) does not place (it) with an inscribed object of his (own), may the deities Aššur, Šin, Šamaš, Adad, Bēl (Marduk), Nabû, Ištar of Nineveh, Šarrat-Kidmuri, Ištar of Arbela, Ninurta, Nergal, (and) Nusku, render judgement on him by invoking my name.

**Date ex. 1**

x 121A–122A) Ayyāru (II), the fifteenth day, eponymy of Šamaš-da''inanni, governor of the land Akkad (644, 643, or 642).

**Date ex. 2**

x 121B–122B) Nisannu (I), the first day, eponymy of Šamaš-da''inanni, governor of the land Akkad (644, 643, or 642).

**Date ex. 3**

x 121C–123C) Ulūlu (VI), the twenty-eigh[th] day, eponymy of Šamaš-da''inanni, governor of Babylon (644, 643, or 642).

**Date ex. 4**

x 121D–123D) Ayyā[ru (II), the ... day], epony[my of ...].

**Date ex. 96**

x 121E–122E) [...] ...

## 12

Three fragmentary clay prisms, at least two of which were discovered at Babylon, are inscribed with a text of Ashurbanipal summarizing his achievements on and off the battlefield during his first three decades as king, as well as other relevant information, including which distant foreign rulers voluntarily sent payment to Assyria. The badly damaged prologue, as far as it is preserved, recorded several of Ashurbanipal's building projects at Babylon (Esagil, "House whose Top is High"), Borsippa (Ezida, "True House"), and Cutha (Emeslam, "House, Warrior of the Netherworld"); it presumably also included accounts of construction in other cities, perhaps Arbela, Aššur, Dēr, Ḫarrān, Nineveh, and Tarbišu. The extant sections of the military narration record: (1) the sack of the Egyptian city Thebes; (2) the forcing of Ba'alu of Tyre into submission; (3) the receipt of tribute from Mannea after the coup that had brought about the death of its ruler Ahšēri; (4) the war against Urtaku of Elam; (4) the appointment of Ummanigaš (Ḫumban-nikas II) and his brother Tammaritu as king of Elam and ruler of the city Ḫidalu, respectively, following the defeat of Teumman at Tīl-Tūba; and (5) the receipt of audience gifts or (back) payments from rulers whose names and places of origin are completely broken away, from Cyrus of Parsumaš (Persia), and from Pislumê of Ḫudimiri. Although the building report is missing, it is certain from the concluding formulae that it described the rebuilding of the temple of the goddess Gula at Babylon, Esabad ("House of the Open Ear"); for descriptions of this project, see text no. 13 (Prism J) ii 13'-14' and text no. 23 (IIT) line 53. Copies of this inscription, which is sometimes called "Prism H" in Assyriological literature, were intended for Babylon and, therefore, its script is contemporary Neo-Babylonian and it is dated in the Babylonian fashion (by regnal year). Its best preserved exemplar (ex. 1) was inscribed near the beginning of the second month (Ayyāru) of Ashurbanipal's thirtieth regnal year (639).

## CATALOGUE

Ex.	Museum Number	Excavation/ Registration No.	Provenance	Lines Preserved	cpn
1	EŞ 7832	BE 31663 (Bab ph 979-981, 1220)	Babylon	i 1'-25', ii 1'-24', iii 1''-22'', viii 1'-13', date	p
2	EŞ —	BE — (ph K 714)	As ex. 1	v 1'-21', vi 1'-25', vii 1'-5'	n
3	A 8105 (+) MAH 16514	—	Purchased by E. Chiera in Mosul	iii 1'-2', iv 1'-12', v 1-13, vi 1-2	c

## COMMENTARY

On the basis of their script (contemporary Neo-Babylonian), T. Bauer (*Asb.* p. 28) designated exs. 1 and 2 as "Prism H<sub>1</sub>" and "Prism H<sub>2</sub>" respectively.

Both eight-sided prisms come from Babylon and are now in the Eşki Şark Eserleri Müzesi of the Arkeoloji Müzerleri (Istanbul). The latter is presently

known from excavation photo K 714 and E. Weidner's copy (AfO 7 [1931–32] p. 3); its museum and excavation numbers are not, however, known. A third exemplar was later identified by R. Borger (AfO 19 [1959–60] p. 153) and M. Cogan and H. Tadmor (JCS 40 [1988] p. 92) in the collections of the Musée d'Art et d'Histoire (Geneva) and the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago (Chicago); the provenance of that piece may have been Nineveh, rather than Babylon, since the Oriental Institute fragment (A 8105) was purchased by E. Chiera from a dealer in Mosul along with numerous other prism fragments of Sennacherib, Esarhaddon, and Ashurbanipal. A.R. Millard (Iraq 30 [1968] pp. 106–110) suggested that a handful of fragments written in Neo-Assyrian script and found at Nineveh also bore copies of this text. However, as already noted by Borger (HKL 2 p. 200 and BIWA p. 189), those pieces are actually exemplars of a different inscription (text no. 13 [Prism J]) and, therefore, are edited there. A fourth fragment (BM 127994) was regarded as an exemplar of Prism H since its script was contemporary Neo-Babylonian; see, for example, Borger, BIWA p. 193. Following J. Novotny (Orientalia NS 74 [2005] p. 365 n. 20), BM 127994 is regarded as belonging to a hitherto un-

classified inscription, one that was composed shortly after the conclusion of the Šamaš-šuma-ukīn rebellion and, therefore, is not included here, but edited as text no. 17; for further details, see the commentary of that inscription.

The master text is a conflation of the exemplars, each of which preserves the top or base of its respective prism. Ex. 1 preserves the bottom portion of cols. i–iii and viii, ex. 3 the top portion of cols. iii–vi, and ex. 2 the bottom portion of cols. v–vii. The division of the inscription into columns appears to vary between the exemplars. Although the contents of col. iv of the master text start at the beginning of col. ii' of ex. 2, they do not directly follow the contents at the end of col. iii of the master text, which is the end of col. iv' of ex. 1. As a result, a lacuna is placed at the beginning of col. iv. Moreover, it is unknown if the contents at the beginning of col. vi taken from the top of col. iv' of ex. 3 directly follows those at the end of col. v, which is taken from the bottom of col. i' of ex. 2, given that the signs in those columns cannot be deciphered. Thus, there might be an overlap or lacuna in the contents at the end of col. v and the beginning of col. vi of the master text. No score of the text is provided on Oracc.

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 2016 Sano, UF 47 p. 258 (ii 7'–14', study)

## TEXT

Col. i

Lacuna

1') [...] x x x [...]

Lacuna

i 1'–2'a) I placed (the bed) [...] ... [... which] is laden [with sexual charm].

i 1' Based on parallels, the translation assumes that the end of line 1' contained *ša ku-uz-bu* “which with sexual charm” (see, for example, text no. 13 [Prism J] ii 7').

i 1'–2'a For the rest of the contents of the passage concerning the refurbishment and return of this ceremonial bed, see, for example, text no. 10 (Prism T) i 46–52 and text no. 13 (Prism J) ii 2'–7'.

- 2') *sa-al-ḥu ad-di* [GIŠ].<sup>1</sup>NA<sup>1</sup> GIŠ.ESI *iš-ši* <sup>r</sup>dà<sup>1</sup>-[re-e]  
 3') šá KÛ.GI ḤUŠ.A *lit-bu-šat a-na* <sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU  
*ra-a'-im BALA-ia a-qiš*  
 4') 6 AM.MEŠ KÛ.BABBAR *ek-du-ti na-ši-ru ki-bi-is*  
*LUGAL-ti-ia*  
 5') *ina KÁ lú-gú-dù-e-ne KÁ ši-it* <sup>d</sup>UTU-ši u KÁ  
<sup>d</sup>LAMMA-RA.BI  
 6') *ina KÁ é-zi-da šá qé-reb bār-sipa.*<KI> *ul-ziz*  
 7') *ki-zálag-ga šu-bat* <sup>d</sup>I.ZI.GAR 83 GUN *za-ḥa-lu-ú*  
*eb-bu ap-tiq-ma*  
 8') *a-na nu-um-mur* KI.NE *si-mat é-zi-da*  
 9') *šu-bat* DINGIR-ti-šú GAL-ti *nak-liš ú-še-piš*  
 10') 2 *per-ku* KÛ.BABBAR *eb-ba ša* AŠ<sub>4</sub> GUN.TA.ÀM  
 KI.LÁ-šú-nu  
 11') *ina ká-maḥ u ká-nam-ti-la*  
 12') *a-na tal-lak-ti ru-bu-ti-šú šir-ti ú-ḥum-meš*  
 SUḤUŠ.MEŠ-šú-nu  
 13') *ú-kin é-mes-lam* É <sup>d</sup>U.GUR *šá qé-reb* GÚ.DU<sub>8</sub>.A.KI  
 14') *šá i-na-ḥu-ma il-li-ku la-ba-riš*  
 15') *an-ḥu-us-su ud-diš mi-qit-ta-šú ad-ke*  
 16') *ina* GIŠ.Û.ŠUB GIŠ.ESI GIŠ.MES.MÁ.KAN.NA  
 17') *ḥi-biš-ti* ŠIM.ḤI.A SIG<sub>5</sub>.ḤI.A-šú *al-bi-in*  
 18') *al-lu ú-šat-rik-ma uš-te-eš-ši-ra* UŠ<sub>8</sub>-šú  
 19') *ina* ITI DÛG.GA *u<sub>4</sub>-me še-mì-i*  
 20') *ina i-gu-la-a ì DÛG.GA KÛ.BABBAR KÛ.GI ad-di*  
*tem-me-en-šú*  
 21') *ù ad-da-a ši-gar-šú*  
 22') [*ina*] <sup>r</sup>GIŠ<sup>1</sup>.MES.MÁ.KAN.NA GIŠ.KA GIŠ.ESI  
 GIŠ.TÚG  
 23') [GIŠ<sup>2</sup>].KIM<sup>2</sup> u GIŠ.UMBIN *us-si-ma ši-kit-ti-šu*<sup>2</sup>  
 24') [ul]-tu UŠ<sub>8</sub>-šú *a-di gaba-dib-bi-šú ina ši-pir*  
<sup>d</sup>r<sup>1</sup>kulla<sup>1</sup>  
 25') <sup>r</sup>ar<sup>1</sup>-šip *ú-šak-lil ul-la-a re-ši-šú*<sup>1</sup>

Col. ii

Lacuna

- 1') x (x) x x [x] x [...]  
 2') *ú-kin qé-<sup>r</sup>reb<sup>2</sup>* x [x x x]  
 3') DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ EN.MEŠ-ia šá  
*ap-tal-la-ḥu-šú-nu-ti*

i 2' b-3') I presented the god Marduk, the one who loves my reign, with [a b]ed of ebony, a dur[able] wood, (and) which is clad with reddish gold.

i 4'-6') I stationed six fierce wild bulls of silver, protectors of my royal path, in the Luguduene Gate, the Gate of the Rising Sun, and the Lamma-RA.BI Gate, in the gateway(s) of Ezida, which is inside Borsippa.

i 7'-9') I cast Kizalaga, the seat of the god Nūru, with eighty-three talents of shiny *zaḥalū*-metal and, to make (it) shine (like) a brazier, I had the appurtenance(s) of Ezida, the seat of his great divinity, expertly fashioned.

i 10'-13'a) In (the gates) Kamaḥ and Kanamtila, for the processional way of his exalted rulership, I made the foundations of two shiny silver *pirkus*, whose weight is six talents each, as firm as a mountain.

i 13' b-21') (As for) Emeslam, the temple of the god Nergal that is inside Cutha, which had become dilapidated and old, I renovated its collapsed section(s) and removed the portion(s) of it that had collapsed. In brick mold(s) of ebony (and) *musukkannu*-wood, I made its bricks with crushed pieces of aromatics. I made (people) take up hoe(s) and had its foundation(s) put (back) into alignment. In an auspicious month, (on) a propitious day, I laid its foundation(s) with perfumed oil, good quality oil, silver, (and) gold. Moreover, I secured its door bolt(s).

i 22'-25') I adorned its structure [with] *musukkannu*-wood, KA-wood, ebony, boxwood, *ḥilēpu*-wood, and UMBIN-wood and built (and) completed (it) [fr]om its foundation(s) to its crenellations with the craft of the god Ku[ ]la. I raised its superstructure.

Lacuna

ii 1'-6') ... [...] I established *therein* [...]. The great gods, my lords, whom I constantly revered, looked steadfastly upon me and *stood in for me*. At their exalted command, I constantly marched about through

i 2' b-3' This description of the fashioning of a second bed for Marduk is also attested in text no. 13 (Prism J) ii 8'-9', text no. 22 i 2', and text no. 23 (IIT) line 51b.

i 4'-6' This passage is also known from text no. 13 (Prism J) ii 15'-17', text no. 22 i 7'-8', and text no. 23 (IIT) lines 54-55. Earlier inscriptions record only the construction of the pairs of wild bulls stationed in the Gate of the Rising Sun and the Lamma-RA.BI Gate; compare, for example, text no. 10 (Prism T) ii 1-6.

i 7'-9' Reports of the lavish decoration of Kizalaga, the seat of the god Nūru, also appear in text no. 13 (Prism J) ii 22'-25'a, text no. 22 i 9'-10', and text no. 23 (IIT) lines 57b-58.

i 10'-13'a An account of the construction of two silver *pirkus* (meaning uncertain) is included in the prologues of text nos. 13 (Prism J), 22, and 23 (IIT); see respectively ii 25' b-28', i 5', and line 59 of those three inscriptions.

i 13' b-25' A report about the rebuilding of Emeslam at Cutha also appears in the prologues of text nos. 22 and 23; see respectively i 14' b-21 and lines 61b-63 of those inscriptions.

i 21' *ù ad-da-a* "Moreover, I secured": The parallel passage in text no. 22 i 17' has *ù ad-da-a*. R. Borger (BIWA pp. 189 and 210) reads these four signs together as a single word, interpreting it as a D stem of *edû* (*u'addû*) with a translation of "Ich bestimmte sein Türschloss." Based on that reading, Borger suggests rendering the line here as *ù ad-da-a ši-gar-šú*. On the contrary, it seems more likely that the reading in text no. 22 — which is the earlier text — is corrupt (see the on-page note there), and that the scribe of this inscription corrected the orthography (cf. the comments in Worthington, *Textual Criticism* p. 100).

i 25' The traces after *-ši-* appear to be *-šú*, not *-šú*.

ii 3'-6' Compare text no. 21 lines 15'-17'a and text no. 23 (IIT) lines 78b-81.

- 4') *ke-niš ip-pal-su-ú-in-ni-ma i-tap-pa-lu*  
 5') *Á.II-a-a ina qí-bi-ti-šú-nu šir-ti ina kul-lat*  
 6') KUR.KUR *at-tal-lak-ma ma-ḫi-ri ul i-ši*
- 
- 7') URU.ni-i' URU LUGAL-ú-ti KUR.mu-šur  
 8') *ù KUR.ku-ši ak-šu-ud*  
 9') ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ *lu-bul-ti bir-me*  
 GADA.MEŠ  
 10') KÙ.BABBAR KÙ.GI UN.MEŠ-šú *a-na la mì-ni*  
*ás-lu-la*  
 11') *2 tim-me MAḪ.MEŠ pi-ᵀti-iq za-ḫa<sup>1</sup>-le-e eb-bi*  
 12') *man-za-az KÁ É.KUR ša 2<sup>1</sup>LIM 5 ME GUN<sup>1</sup>*  
 KI.LÁ-šú-nu  
 13') *ul-tu man-zal-ti-šú-nu as-ᵀsuḫ<sup>1</sup>-ma ᵀú<sup>1</sup>-ra-a*  
 14') *a-na KUR AN.ŠÁR.KI<sup>m</sup>ba-'a-lu LUGAL KUR.šur-ri*  
 15') *šá a-mat LUGAL-ti-ia la iṣ-šu-ru la iš-mu\*-ú*  
 16') *zi-kir NUNDUM-ia URU.ḪAL.ŠU.MEŠ UGU-šú*  
 17') *ú-rak-kis ina tam-tim u na-ba-li*  
 18') *ger-re-ti-šú ú-šab-bit*  
 19') *nap-šat-su-nu ú-si-iq ú-kar-ri*  
 20') *a-na GIŠ.ŠUDUN-ia ú-šak-nis-su-nu-ti*  
 21') DUMU.MUNUS-su u DUMU.MUNUS.MEŠ  
 ŠEŠ.MEŠ-šú  
 22') *it-ti man-da-at-ti-šú DUGUD-ti*  
 23') *a-na e-peš MUNUS.AGRIG-ú-ti*  
 24') *ᵀú<sup>1</sup>-bi-la a-di maḫ-ri-ia*

Col. iii

Lacuna

- 1') [...]na  
 2') [...] x

Lacuna

- 1'') *ᵀás-šu ba<sup>1</sup>-[laṭ ZI-tì-šú up-na-a-šú]*  
 2'') *ip-ta-a ú-šal-ᵀla<sup>1</sup>-[a EN-ú-ti]*  
 3'') *<sup>m</sup>e-ri-si-in-ni DUMU ri-ᵀdu<sup>1</sup>-[ti-šú]*  
 4'') *ana NINA.KI iš-ᵀpu-ram-ma ú<sup>1</sup>-[na-ás-ši-qa]*  
 5'') *GIR.II-ia DUMU.MUNUS ši-it ŠÁ-šú <ana> e-ᵀpeš<sup>1</sup>*  
 [MUNUS.AGRIG-u-ti]  
 6'') *it-ti man-da-at-ti-šú ᵀka<sup>1</sup>-[bit-ti]*  
 7'') *ú-še-bi-la a-di maḫ-ᵀri<sup>1</sup>-[ia]*  
 8'') *30 ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ UGU man-da-at-ᵀti<sup>1</sup>-[šú]*  
 9'') *maḫ-ri-tú ú-rad-ᵀdì<sup>1</sup>-ma ᵀe<sup>1</sup>-[mid-su]*  
 10'') *<sup>m</sup>ur-ta-gi LUGAL KUR.ELAM.MA.KI ᵀEN MUN<sup>1</sup> [AD*  
 DÜ-ia<sup>2</sup>]  
 11'') *ul ú-maš-šir it-ti-šú šit-ku-na [IGI.II-a-a<sup>2</sup> ar-šì<sup>2</sup>]*  
 12'') *sa-li-mu a-na tar-ši-šú qé-reb KUR.ELAM.ᵀMA<sup>1</sup>.KI*  
 [...]  
 13'') *su-un-qu ḫu-šah-ḫu iš-kun- [...]*  
 14'') *ib-ba-ši né-eb-re-ti<sup>d</sup>nisaba<sup>1</sup> [ba-laṭ]*

all the lands and had no rival (lit. "there was no one to rival me").

ii 7'-14'a) I conquered the city Thebes, a royal city of Egypt and Kush. I carried off large horses, garment(s) with multi-colored trim, linen garments, silver, gold, (and) its people without number. I rem[o]ved from their places two magnificent obelisks cast with shiny zaḫalû-metal, (which) stood at a temple gate (and) whose weight was 2,500 talents, and I brought (them) to Assyria.

ii 14'b-20') (As for) Ba'alu, the king of the land Tyre who did not honor my royal command(s) and) who did not obey the pronouncement(s) from my lip(s), I set up outposts against him. By sea and dry land, I took control of (all of) his routes (and thus) constricted (and) cut short their lives. I made them (the people of Tyre) bow down to my yoke.

ii 21'-24') He brought before me his daughter and the daughters of his brothers to serve as housekeepers, together with his substantial payment.

Lacuna

iii 1'-2') (No translation possible)

Lacuna

iii 1''-9'') For the pre[servation of his (own) life], he (Uallî) opened up [his hands] to me (and) made an appe[al to my lordly majesty]. He sent Erisinni, [his] heir design[ate], to Nineveh and he [kissed] my feet. He sent befor[e me] (his) daughter, his own offspring, <to> serv[e as a housekeeper], together with his su[bsstantial] payment. I added thirty horses to [his] former paymen[t] and im[posed] (it) upon him].

iii 10''-22'') I did not abandon Urtaku, the king of the land Elam, an all[y of the father who had engendered me. My eyes] were firmly fixed on him (and) [I showed] favor. During his time, in the land Elam, [...] he brought about famine (and) starvation [...]; there was hunger. (iii 15'') I sent to him gra[in, (which) sustains] the live(s) of people, and (thus) held [him by the hand].

ii 7'-10' Compare text no. 21 line 17'b and text no. 23 (IIT) line 82.

ii 11'-14'a Compare, for example, text no. 3 (Prism B) ii 30-32 and text no. 11 (Prism A) ii 41-43.

ii 14'b-24' Compare, for example, text no. 3 (Prism B) iii 38b-ii 51 and text no. 11 (Prism A) ii 49b-ii 57. Moreover, lines 19'-24' duplicate text no. 13 (Prism J) iii 2'-6'.

ii 15' MU is written defectively as ŠE; the sign does not appear to be damaged.

Lacuna before iii 1' Probably restore text no. 13 (Prism J) iii 7'-13'.

Lacuna before iii 1'' and lines 1''-4''a Restore text no. 13 (Prism J) iii 1''-6'' in the lacuna before iii 1''. Lines 1''-4''a duplicate text no. 13 (Prism J) iii 7''-8''.

iii 10''-22'' Compare, for example, text no. 3 (Prism B) iv 15b-23. The restorations in lines 10''-11'' follow Borger, BIWA p. 190.

- 15'') ZI-tim UN.MEŠ ú-še-bil-šu-ma aš-bat [ŠU.II-su]  
 16'') UN.MEŠ-šú šá la-pa-an un-ši bu-<sup>r</sup>bu<sup>1</sup>-[ti]  
 17'') in-nab-tu-nim-ma ú-ši-bu qé-[reb KUR  
 AN.ŠÁR.KI?]  
 18'') bi-ru-su-nu ú-šab-<sup>r</sup>bi<sup>1</sup>-[i-ma?]  
 19'') ú-bal-liṭ nap-šat-su-nu qa-<sup>r</sup>ti<sup>1</sup>-[šú-nu aš-bat?]  
 20'') ina ṭè-e-me SIG<sub>5</sub> šá AN.ŠÁR u <sup>d</sup>[NIN.LÍL?]  
 21'') DINGIR.MEŠ ti-ik-le-ia <sup>r</sup>ú<sup>2</sup>[-... EN]  
 22'') MUN AD DÛ-ia šá it-ti-šú i-<sup>r</sup>pu<sup>1</sup>-[šu ...]

Col. iv

Lacuna

- 1') [a]-<sup>r</sup>na<sup>1</sup> na-<sup>r</sup>ra-ru<sup>1</sup>-tu <sup>r</sup>DINGIR.MEŠ<sup>1</sup> KUR URI.KI  
 2') <sup>r</sup>LÚ<sup>1</sup>.ERIM.MEŠ ta-ḥa-zi-ia ad-ke-e-ma  
 3') <sup>r</sup>aš<sup>1</sup>-ba-tu ḥar-ra-nu  
 4') <sup>m</sup>ur-ta-ki LUGAL KUR.ELAM.MA.KI  
 5') a-la-ka ger-ri-ia iš-me-e-ma  
 6') ḥa-at-ta is-ḥu-up-šu-ma  
 7') i-tu-ur a-na KUR-<sup>r</sup>šú<sup>2</sup>?  
 8') <sup>r</sup>ar<sup>1</sup>-ki-i-šú aš-[bat]  
 9') [a-bi]-<sup>r</sup>ik<sup>1</sup>-ta-šú áš-[kun]  
 10') [aṭ-ru-us]-<sup>r</sup>su<sup>1</sup> a-di mi-<sup>r</sup>šir<sup>1</sup> [KUR-šú]  
 11') [<sup>m</sup>ur-ta-ku? šá? la? iṣ]-<sup>r</sup>su<sup>2</sup>-ru<sup>2</sup> ib-ru-<sup>r</sup>ú<sup>1</sup>-[ti]  
 12') [...] x x [...]

Lacuna

Col. v

- 1) <sup>m</sup>ta-<sup>r</sup>am<sup>1</sup>-ri-ti ŠEŠ-šú šal-šá-a-a  
 ina URU.ḥi-<sup>r</sup>da<sup>1</sup>-lu a-na LUGAL-tú áš-kun  
 3) ina tu-kul-<sup>r</sup>ti<sup>1</sup> AN.ŠÁR <sup>d</sup>EN u <sup>d</sup>AG  
 4) it-ti <sup>r</sup>šal<sup>2</sup>[-[lat] KUR.ELAM.MA.KI ma-at-ti  
 5) <sup>r</sup>šal<sup>2</sup>-meš <sup>r</sup>a<sup>1</sup>-[tu]-<sup>r</sup>ra<sup>1</sup> a-na KUR aš-šur.KI  
 6) [ina me]-<sup>r</sup>ti-iq<sup>1</sup> ge-er-ri-ia  
 7) [UGU <sup>m</sup>du]-<sup>r</sup>na<sup>1</sup>-nu DUMU <sup>m</sup>dEN-BA-šá  
 8) [ana KUR.gam-bu]-<sup>r</sup>lu<sup>1</sup> lu-ú al-<sup>r</sup>lik<sup>1</sup>  
 9) [URU.šá-pi-i-<sup>d</sup>EN] URU dan-nu-ti-[šú]  
 10) [...] ak-šu-[ud]  
 11) [<sup>m</sup>du-na-nu ŠEŠ.MEŠ]-<sup>r</sup>šú<sup>1</sup> ul-tu qé-reb <sup>r</sup>URU<sup>1</sup>  
 [šu-a-tu?]  
 12) [bal-ṭu-su-un] ú-še-ša-[a]  
 13) [...] x (x) [...]

Lacuna

- 1') [...] x  
 2') [...] x  
 3') [...] x  
 4') [...] x  
 5') [...] x  
 6') [...] x  
 7') [...] x  
 8') [...] x  
 9') [...]  
 10') [...]  
 11') [...] x  
 12') [...] x

(As for) his people, who had fled on account of hunger (and) starvat[ion] and settled i[n Assyria], I app[ eased] their hunger [and] (thereby) brought them back to life. [I took them] by the han[d]. (iii 20'') Through the good planning of (the god) Aššur and the goddess [Mullissu], the gods who support me, [... The al]ly of the father who had engendered me, who had work[ed] with him, [...]

Lacuna

iv 1'-10') [T]o support the gods of the land Akkad, I mustered my battle troops and took the road. Urtaku, the king of the land Elam, heard about the advance of my expeditionary force, fear overwhelmed him, and he returned to h[is] (own) land. I w[ent a]fter him (and) bro[ught about] his [def]eat. [I drove h]im [away] as far as the bord[er of his land].

iv 11'-12') [(As for) Urtaku, who had not ho]nored [my] friendsh[ip, ...] ... [...]

Lacuna

v 1-5) I installed Ta[mm]arītu, his third brother, as king in the city Ḥidalu. With the suppo[r]t of the gods Aššur, Bēl (Marduk), and Nabû, I [return]ed safely to Assyria with much bo[oty] from the land Elam.

v 6-13) [In the cou]rse of my campaign, I march[ed] against Dunjānu, the son of Bēl-iqīša, [to the land Gambul]u. I conquer[ed] the city Ša-pī-Bēl, his [fortified] city, [...]. I brough[t Dunānu] (and) his [brothers] out of [that] city [alive. ...] ... [...]

Lacuna

v 1'-vi 2) (No translation possible)

iv 1'-12' Compare, for example, text no. 3 (Prism B) iv 43b-49.

v 1-5 Compare text no. 23 (IIT) lines 96b-97a.

v 6-13 Compare text, for example, no. 9 (Prism F) ii 74-76, text no. 11 (Prism A) iii 52-54, and text no. 23 (IIT) lines 101-103.

- 13') [...] x  
 14') [...] x  
 15') [...]  
 16') [...]  
 17') [...] x  
 18') [...]  
 19') [...] x  
 20') [...]  
 21') [...] x

Col. vi

- 1) x [...]  
 2) x [...]

Lacuna

- 1') [...] x x x x (x x) [x x] x [...]  
 2') [pu]-<sup>r</sup>luḥ<sup>1</sup>-tú LUGAL-ú-ti-ia is-<sup>h</sup>úp-šú-nu-ti-ma  
 LÚ.RA.<sup>r</sup>GABA<sup>1</sup>-[šú-nu]  
 3') šá tu-ú-bu u su-lum-me-e it-ti ta-mar-ti-šú-<sup>r</sup>nu<sup>1</sup>  
 4') ka-bit-ti ú-še-bi-lu-ni a-di maḥ-ri-<sup>r</sup>ia<sup>1</sup>  
 5') šu-lum LUGAL-ú-ti-ia iš-'a-a-lu  
 6') ú-na-áš-ši-qu še-pi-ia ú-šal-lu-ú be-lu-ti
- 
- 7') <sup>m</sup>ku-ra-áš LUGAL KUR.par-su-ma-áš li-i-ti u  
 da-na-<sup>r</sup>na<sup>1</sup>  
 8') šá ina tu-kul-ti AN.ŠÁR <sup>d</sup>EN u <sup>d</sup>AG DINGIR.ME  
 GAL.ME EN.MEŠ-e-a  
 9') UGU KUR.ELAM.MA.KI áš-ku-nu KUR.ELAM.MA.KI  
 ka-la-šú  
 10') a-bu-ba-niš as-pu-nu iš-mé-e-ma  
 11') <sup>m</sup>a-ru-uk-ku DUMU-šú GAL-ú it-ti  
 man-da-at-ti-šú  
 12') a-na e-peš ARAD-ú-tu a-na ni-nú-a  
 13') URU be-lu-ti-ia iš-pur-am-ma ú-šal-la-a EN-ú-ti
- 
- 14') <sup>m</sup>pi-is-lu-mé-e LUGAL KUR.ḥu-di-mi-ri  
 15') šá a-šar-šú ru-ú-qu šá ina a-ḥi KUR.ELAM.MA.KI  
 ul-li-tú áš-bu  
 16') šá ul-tu UD.MEŠ ru-qu-ti ina LUGAL.MEŠ  
 AD.MEŠ-e-a  
 17') LÚ.RA.GABA-ú-šú la iš-pu-ru  
 18') la iš-a-lu šu-lum LUGAL-ú-ti-šú-un  
 19') i-na-an-na li-i-ti u da-na-<sup>r</sup>na<sup>1</sup>  
 20') šá ina tu-kul-ti AN.ŠÁR <sup>d</sup>EN u <sup>d</sup>AG DINGIR.MEŠ  
 GAL.<sup>r</sup>MEŠ<sup>1</sup>  
 21') EN.MEŠ-ú-a UGU KUR.ELAM.MA.KI áš-ku-nu  
 iš-mé-<sup>r</sup>e<sup>1</sup>[ma]  
 22') pu-luḥ-ti LUGAL-ú-ti-ia is-<sup>h</sup>úp-[šú-ma]  
 23') LÚ.RA.GABA-ú-šú šá šul-mi it-ti [ta-mar-ti-šú  
 ka-bit-ti<sup>2</sup>]  
 24') a-na ni-nú-a URU be-lu-ti-ia [iš-pur-am-ma]

Lacuna

vi 1'-6') [...] ... [...] Fe]ar of my royal majesty overwhelmed them and they sent before m[e their] mounted messenger(s with messages) of goodwill and peace, together with thei[r] substantial audience gift(s). They asked about the well being of my royal majesty, kissed my feet, (and) made appeals to my lordly majesty.

vi 7'-13') Cyrus, the king of the land Parsumaš, heard about the might[y] victories that, with the support of the gods Aššur, Bēl (Marduk), and Nabû — the great gods, my lords — I had achieved over the land Elam (and that) I had flattened the land Elam, all of it, like the Deluge, and he sent to Nineveh, my capital city, Arukku, his eldest son, with his payment, to do obeisance, and he made an appeal to my lordly majesty.

vi 14'-25') Pislumê, the king of the land Ḥudimiri — whose location is remote (and) which is situated on the far side of the land Elam, which from distant days, in (the time of) the kings, my ancestors, it had not sent its mounted messenger(s and) did not inquire about the well-being of their royal majesties — now (vi 20') heard about the mighty victories that, with the support of the gods Aššur, Bēl (Marduk), and Nabû — the great gods, my lords — I had achieved over the land Elam [and] fear of my royal majesty overwhelmed [him and he sent] to Nineveh, my capital city, his mounted messenger (with a message) of peace, with [his substantial audience gift(s), and] he made an appeal to [my lordly majesty].

vi 1'-6' This passage may refer to the voluntary submission and the sending of gifts to Assyria by ...raBADte of the land ...uppi and Padê of the land Qadê. Compare text no. 23 (IIT) lines 133-136a. Another possibility is that this passage records information about Ḥundâru of Dilmun or Šilum of the land Ḥazmâni; see text no. 23 (IIT) lines 131b-132 and 136b-139a.

vi 7'-25' Compare text no. 23 (IIT) lines 114b-117, which combines the receipt of messengers and audience gifts from Cyrus of the land Parsumaš and Pislumê of the land Ḥudimiri into a single passage.

vi 22' pu-luḥ-ti LUGAL-ú-ti-ia is-<sup>h</sup>úp-[šú-ma] "fear of my royal majesty overwhelmed [him and]": Text no. 23 (IIT) line 116 has pu-luḥ-ti AN.ŠÁR <sup>d</sup>[NIN].LÍL ù <sup>d</sup>15 a-<sup>r</sup>š<sup>1</sup>-bat URU.LÍMMU-DINGIR is-<sup>h</sup>úp-šú-nu-ti-ma ir-šú-u na-kut-tú "fear of the deities Aššur, [Mul]lissu, and the Ištar who r[es]ides in the city Arbela, overwhelmed them and they became distressed."



25') *ú-ṣal-la-a* [EN-ú-ti]

Col. vii

Lacuna

- 1') x [...]  
 2') x [...]  
 3') a-x [...]  
 4') ni- [...]  
 5') x [...]

Lacuna

Col. viii

Lacuna

- 1') [...] x (x) [x x x]  
 2') [... *ina*] <sup>1</sup>LUGAL<sup>1</sup>.MEŠ DUMU.ME-<sup>1</sup>e-a<sup>1</sup>  
 3') [...] *i-nam-bu-šu-ma*  
 4') [...] <sup>1</sup>ud<sup>1</sup>-da-šú MU.SAR-ú  
 5') [*ši-ṭir* MU-ia] <sup>1</sup>ul<sup>1</sup>-tu áš-ri-šú la ú-<sup>1</sup>nak<sup>1</sup>-kar  
 6') [*a-na áš-ri-šú*] <sup>1</sup>li<sup>1</sup>-ter šá MU.SAR-<sup>1</sup>ú<sup>1</sup> ší-ṭir  
 7') [MU-ia] <sup>1</sup>ú<sup>1</sup>-nak-kar-ru-ú-ma it-ti ší-ṭir  
 8') [MU-šú la] <sup>1</sup>i<sup>1</sup>-šak-ka-nu <sup>d</sup>gu-la GAŠAN GAL-ti  
 9') [<sup>1</sup>si-<sup>1</sup>im<sup>1</sup>-mu la-az-zu šá la ba-la-ṭu  
 10') [*ina*] <sup>1</sup>zu<sup>1</sup>-um-ri-šú li-šab-ši ÚŠ.MEŠ LUGUD  
 11') <sup>1</sup>GIM<sup>1</sup> A.MEŠ *li-ir-tam-muk ina GIG taz-bil-ti*  
 12') *na-piš-ta-šú liq-ti ag-giš li-ru-ur-šú-ma*  
 13') MU-šú u NUMUN-šú *ina KUR li-ḫal-liq*

**Date ex. 1**

- 14') ITI.GU<sub>4</sub> UD.6.KAM MU.30.KAM  
 15') <sup>1</sup>m<sup>1</sup>AN.ŠÁR-DÛ-<sup>1</sup>IBILA<sup>1</sup>  
 16') <sup>1</sup>LUGAL<sup>1</sup> KUR <sup>1</sup>AN<sup>1</sup>.[ŠÁR.KI]

Lacuna

vii 1'-5') (No translation possible)

Lacuna

Lacuna

viii 1'-6a') [...] ... [...] one of] the kings, my descendants, [whom ...] name and [...] he should renovate [...] (and) should not re[m]ove an inscribed object [bearing my name f]rom its place. [M]ay he return (it) [to its place].  
 viii 6b'-13') Whoever alters an inscribed object bearing [my name] and does [not] place (it) with an inscription (bearing) [his name], may the goddess Gula, the great lady, make persistent [le]sions, which never heal, appear [on] his body; may he constantly bathe in blood (and) pus [a]s if (they) were water; may his life come to an end from a prolonged sickness; (and) may she curse him angrily and make his name and seed disappear from the land.

**Date ex. 1**

viii 14'-16') Ayyāru (II), the sixth day, the thirtieth year of Ashurbanipal, [ki]ng of As[syria].

## 13

Fragments of four clay prisms from Nineveh and one from Babylon are inscribed with one of the latest dateable inscriptions of Ashurbanipal. Although there is little or no overlap between the Assyrian and Babylonian pieces, these five pieces are generally treated together as one text; it is often designated as “Prism J” in scholarly publications. Whether or not all five of these fragments are actually inscribed with the same inscription cannot be confirmed given the poor state of preservation of the pieces. Even if the prologues and military narrations were identical, it is possible that the Nineveh fragments may have recorded a different building enterprise than the one discovered at Babylon. However, one cannot rule out the possibility that the Assyrian pieces also described in their building reports the rebuilding or renovation of the *akītu*-house of divine supremacy at Babylon since a few of Esarhaddon’s Babylon inscriptions were discovered at Nineveh and were written in Neo-Assyrian script. With regard to the Nineveh recension of this text, parts of the prologue and military narration

12 viii 1' This line probably contained the last line of the building report, which would have recorded the construction of Gula’s temple at Babylon (Esabad).

are preserved. Passages record work on Ashurbanipal's building projects at Babylon (Esagil, "House whose Top is High"; and Esabad, "House of the Open Ear") and Borsippa (Ezida, "True House"), the submission of Ba'alu of Tyre, the payment of tribute by the Mannean ruler Uallî, and the failed attempts by the Cimmerian ruler Tugdammî (Lygdamis in classical sources) to invade Assyria are preserved. The report describing Assyria's dealings with the Cimmerians is a little unusual since Ashurbanipal claims that their tribal leader was injured by fire that fell from the sky (a lightning bolt?), rather than being defeated in battle, and that Tugdammî died sometime later as a result of a remote magical attack; a similar account is found in text no. 23 (IIT) lines 141b-159a. As for the Babylon recension, parts of the last eleven lines of the military narration are preserved, as well as parts of the first six lines of the building report, which describes the construction of Babylon's *akitu*-house (New Year's temple). The report of military matters ends with a statement about Ashurbanipal giving praise to his divine patrons; a similar statement appears in text no. 23 (IIT) lines 159b-161. Although none of the exemplars preserves a date, this text was written later than text no. 12 (Prism H) since it records that Ashurbanipal completed the rebuilding of the temple of Gula at Babylon (Esabad) and, therefore, it was likely written on prisms no earlier than Ashurbanipal's thirty-first regnal year (638).

## CATALOGUE

Ex.	Museum Number	Excavation/ Registration No.	Provenance	Lines Preserved	cpn
1	82-5-22,18 + Bu 91-5-9,139 + BM 123410	82-5-22,18 + Bu 91-5-9,139 + 1932-12-10,353	Nineveh, Asn. Palace, Square C	i 1-37, ii 15'-30', vii, viii 14-45	c
2	83-1-18,600 (+) BM 123425	83-1-18,600 (+) 1932-12-10,368	Nineveh, Chol	i 17-25, ii 1'-15', iii 1'-13'	c
3	A 8110	—	Purchased by E. Chiera in Mosul	i 32-43, iii 1''-9''	c
4	BM 121027	1929-10-12,23	Nineveh, Nabû Temple, Trench XXX	viii 1-20	c
5	VAT 17108	VA Bab 1973 (BE 38075)	Babylon, possibly "Ischin aswad" or "Merkes"	viii 1'-17'	c

## COMMENTARY

A.R. Millard (Iraq 30 [1968] pp. 106-110) classified several prism fragments that had been discovered at Nineveh (exs. 1-2 and 4) as exemplars of text no. 12 (Prism H), despite the fact that their script was Assyrian, and not contemporary Neo-Babylonian. R. Borger (HKL 2 p. 200 and BIWA p. 189) correctly reclassified them as exemplars of a different inscription (this text ["Prism J"]), and also identified several other copies of this poorly preserved text, including one found at Babylon (ex. 5). Because the extant text of the exemplars from Nineveh and Babylon do not

significantly overlap one another and because the building report of the Nineveh fragments is not preserved, this inscription is provisionally regarded as having two separate recensions: J-N[ineveh] and J-B[abylon]. As already shown in Borger, BIWA p. 197, it is unclear if viii 44-45 (ex. 1) actually overlap with viii 1'-2' (ex. 5); one expects that they should since viii 1-43 and viii 3'-11' are similar to text no. 23 (IIT) lines 138-158a and lines 159b-161, respectively. Despite the fact that there may be two recensions of this inscription, all of the pieces associated with

Borger's "Prism J" are tentatively edited together as a single text.

The proposed non-physical join between 83-1-18,600 and BM 123425 (ex. 2) was made on the basis of the script (same hand), color, and composition of the clay, as well as the curvature of the reverse side; the surface of both fragments is extremely worn. The Nineveh copies of the text, as far as they are preserved, appear to have been inscribed on eight-sided clay prisms. Borger (BIWA p. 193) suggests ex. 1 could have originally had nine columns; note, however, that no nonagon of Ashurbanipal or of any other late Neo-Assyrian king is presently known. As pointed out by J. Novotny (Orientalia NS 74 [2005] p. 369), the height of the prism to which ex. 3 belongs appears to have been significantly taller than those of exs. 1 and 2, assuming that all three fragments are actually inscribed with one and the same text. The evidence stems from that fact that ex. 3 ii contains military narration (the campaign to Mannea), while ex. 1 ii and ex. 2 ii both contain passages describing Ashurbanipal's building activities at Babylon and Borsippa. Moreover, ex. 2 iii preserves descriptions of the aftermath of the submission of Ba'alu of Tyre and of Iakīn-Lû of Arwad voluntarily sending tribute, military narration that always precedes reports of

Ashurbanipal's war against Aḥšēri, which is partially extant in ex. 3 ii. Alternatively, the distribution of text in ex. 3 could indicate that it is not an exemplar of this text (Prism J), but rather a copy of a hitherto unclassified prism inscription of Ashurbanipal (for example, text no. 20, assuming that it is also a separate inscription; see the commentary of that text for further information). Nevertheless, ex. 3 is tentatively regarded here as an exemplar of Prism J.

The arrangement of text, as well as the number of lines of each column, varies between the exemplars. No exemplar is complete and the master line is a conflation of the various exemplars. The line count of this edition is based on the following exemplars: ex. 1 in i 1-37, ii 15'-30', vii 1'-3', and viii 16-45; ex. 2 in ii 1'-14' and iii 1'-13'; ex. 3 in i 38-43 and iii 1'-9''; ex. 4 in viii 1-15; and ex. 5 in viii 1'-17'. The division of the material into columns i-iii is based on ex. 2, while column viii is based on ex. 4. When possible, restorations are generally based on text nos. 12 (Prism H) and 23 (IIT) and, when they are not, they stem from text no. 11 (Prism A). A score of the inscription is provided on Oracc. The few attested orthographic variants are noted at the back of the book.

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## TEXT

Col. i

- |    |  |  |
|----|--|--|
| 1) | <i>a-na-ku</i> <sup>m</sup> AN.ŠĀR-DÛ-IBILA LUGAL GAL [LUGAL <i>dan-nu</i> ]   | i 1-14) I, Ashurbanipal, great king, [strong king], king of the world, king of Assyria, king of [the four quarters (of the world)], creation of the hands of (the god) Aššur (and) the goddess Mullissu; one who was chose[n by the gods Sîn, Šamaš, (and) Adad]; beloved of the god Marduk (and) the goddess Z[arpanītu]; (i 5) favorite of the god Nabû (and) [the goddess Ta]šmēt[ū]; pious |
| 2) | LUGAL ŠÛ LUGAL KUR AN.ŠĀR.KI LUGAL [ <i>kīb-rat</i> LÍMMU- <i>tim</i> ]  |  |
| 3) | <i>bi-nu-ut</i> ŠÛ.II AN.ŠĀR <sup>d</sup> NIN.LÍL <i>ni-<sup>r</sup>bit<sup>1</sup></i> [ <sup>d</sup> 30 <sup>d</sup> UTU <sup>d</sup> IŠKUR] |  |
| 4) | <i>na-ram</i> <sup>d</sup> AMAR.UTU <sup>d<sup>r</sup></sup> zar <sup>1</sup> -[ <i>pa-ni-tum</i> ]  |  |

i 3 There is sufficient space (2.4 cm) to restore <sup>d</sup>30 <sup>d</sup>UTU <sup>d</sup>IŠKUR ("the gods Sîn, Šamaš, and Adad") at the end of the line. The proposed restoration is based on text no. 2 (Prism E<sub>2</sub>) i 6.

- 5) *mi-gir* <sup>d</sup>AG [<sup>d</sup>taš<sup>1</sup>-me-<sup>r</sup>tum<sup>1</sup>  
6) NUN *na-a*<sup>2</sup>-*du* ĠIR.ŊĠTA<sup>1</sup> [*it*]-*pe*-<sup>r</sup>š<sup>u</sup><sup>1</sup>  
7) LÚ.SIPA *ki-i-nu mut-tar-ru*-[*u* UN.MEŠ<sup>1</sup>  
<sup>r</sup>DAGAL.MEŠ<sup>1</sup>  
8) *mut-<sup>r</sup>nen<sup>1</sup>-nu-ú* [*la mu-up?*]-<sup>r</sup>par<sup>2</sup>-*ku-u*<sup>2</sup>  
9) *ša ta-nit-ti* AN.ŠĀR <sup>d</sup>NIN.[LÍL <sup>d</sup>EN] <sup>r</sup>dAG<sup>2</sup>  
10) *iš-tam-<sup>r</sup>ma<sup>1</sup>-ru a-na* UD.MEŠ<sup>1</sup> [*da-ru*]-<sup>r</sup>ú<sup>2</sup>-*tí*  
11) DUMU <sup>m</sup>AN.ŠĀR-PAP-AŠ <sup>r</sup>LUGAL<sup>1</sup> [ŠÚ LUGAL KUR  
AN.ŠĀR].<sup>r</sup>KI<sup>1</sup>  
12) DUMU <sup>md</sup>30-PAP.<sup>r</sup>MEŠ<sup>1</sup>-SU <sup>r</sup>LUGAL<sup>1</sup> [ŠÚ LUGAL  
KUR AN].<sup>r</sup>ŠĀR.KI<sup>1</sup>  
13) ŠĀ.BAL.BAL <sup>m</sup>LUGAL-GI.NA <sup>r</sup>LUGAL<sup>1</sup> [ŠÚ LUGAL  
KUR AN.ŠĀR].<sup>r</sup>KI<sup>1</sup>  
14) <sup>r</sup>ĠIR<sup>1</sup>.ŊĠTA KĀ.DINGIR.RA.KI LUGAL [KUR EME.GI,  
*u*] <sup>r</sup>URI<sup>2</sup>.KI<sup>2</sup>  
15) *za-nin ma-<sup>h</sup>a-zi mu-<sup>r</sup>šak<sup>1</sup>-[*lil eš-re-e*]-<sup>r</sup>ti<sup>1</sup>  
16) *mu-kin sat-tuk-ki* NIDBA.MEŠ *baṭ*-[*lu-ti*<sup>2</sup> ...] <sup>r</sup>ŠÚ<sup>2</sup>  
17) *pa-liḫ* AN.ŠĀR <sup>d</sup>rNIN<sup>1</sup>.LÍL <sup>r</sup>d<sup>30</sup> <sup>d</sup>UTU <sup>d</sup>iŠKUR<sup>2</sup>  
<sup>d</sup>AMAR].UTU  
18) <sup>d</sup>zar-pa-ni-tum <sup>d</sup>AG <sup>d</sup>rPAPNUN<sup>1</sup> [<sup>d</sup>15 *ša*  
NINA].<sup>r</sup>KI<sup>1</sup>  
19) <sup>d</sup>15 *ša é-kid-mu-ri* [<sup>d</sup>15 *ša* LÍMMU]-<sup>r</sup>DINGIR.KI<sup>1</sup>  
20) <sup>d</sup>MAŠ <sup>d</sup>U.GUR <sup>d</sup>nusku *ša ul-tu* <sup>r</sup>še<sup>1</sup>-[*he-ri-šú a-di*  
*ra-bé-šú*<sup>2</sup>]  
21) <sup>r</sup>EGIR<sup>1</sup>-šú-nu *it-tal-lak-ú-ma ip-<sup>r</sup>tal<sup>1</sup>-[*la-ḫu*]*  
<sup>r</sup>DINGIR<sup>1</sup>-us-sún  
22) *ina su-up-pe-e ù te-me-<sup>q</sup>i kak-[*dà-a*<sup>2</sup> ak-mi]-<sup>r</sup>sa<sup>1</sup>*  
*šá-pal-šùn*  
23) <sup>r</sup>DINGIR.MEŠ GAL<sup>1</sup>.MEŠ *ina* ŠĀ AMA-*ia a-na*  
[LUGAL-*ti*<sup>2</sup> *ib-bu*<sup>2</sup>]-<sup>r</sup>in<sup>1</sup>-*ni*  
24) <sup>r</sup>AN.DÙL<sup>1</sup>-*la-šú-nu* DÙG.GA UGU-[*ia*] <sup>r</sup>it<sup>1</sup>-*ru-ṣu*  
25) [*x* (*x*)] *x x-ú* <sup>r</sup>iḫ<sup>1</sup>-[*šu-ḫu*<sup>2</sup> SANGA<sup>2</sup>]-<sup>r</sup>ti<sup>2</sup>  
26) [...].MEŠ-*ia* [...]  
27) [...] *ḫa-diš* [...]  
28) [...] <sup>r</sup>MEŠ<sup>1</sup> [...]  
29) *x* [...]  
30) *a-na*-[...]  
31) *dun*-[*nu*<sup>2</sup> ...]  
32) LUGAL.MEŠ *x* [...] *x* [*x* (*x*)]  
33) *mal-<sup>r</sup>ki* GAL<sup>1</sup>.MEŠ *šá ṣi-taš u ši*-<sup>r</sup>la<sup>2</sup>-*an*<sup>1</sup>  
34) *a-na* <sup>r</sup>kit<sup>1</sup>-[*ri-šú-nu ú*]-<sup>r</sup>paq<sup>2</sup>-*qu*<sup>1</sup>-*u-ni*  
35) AN.ŠĀR <sup>r</sup>d<sup>1</sup>[...]  
36) GEŠTU.II <sup>r</sup>DAGAL *ú*<sup>1</sup>-*šat-lim-u-in-ni*  
37) *kul-<sup>r</sup>lat*<sup>1</sup> [*tup-šar-ru-ti ú-šá-ḫi*]-*zu ka-ra-ši*  
38) [*ina* UKKIN *lu-li-me zi-kir*] <sup>r</sup>MU<sup>1</sup>-*ia ú-šar-bu-u*  
39) [... *ke*]-<sup>r</sup>mu<sup>1</sup>-*u-a* <sup>r</sup>i<sup>1</sup>-*tap-pa-<sup>r</sup>lu*<sup>1</sup>  
40) [...] LÚ.KÜR.<sup>r</sup>MEŠ<sup>1</sup>-*ia*  
41) [...] <sup>r</sup>tu<sup>2</sup> *ga*<sup>1</sup>-*re-ia*  
42) [...] <sup>r</sup>ka<sup>1</sup>-*ru*  
43) [...] <sup>r</sup>ru-*tí*<sup>1</sup>*

Lacuna

Col. ii

Lacuna

prince, [ca]pable govern[or], true shepherd, leade[r  
of a] widespre[ad population], one who prays piously  
[without ceas]ing; who (i 10) extols for [everlas]ting  
days the praise(s) of the gods Aššur, Mull[issu, Bēl  
(Marduk)], (and) Nabû; son of Esarhaddon, ki[ng of  
the world, king of Assyria]; (grand)son of Sennacherib,  
kin[ng of the world, king of As]syria; descendant of  
Sargon (II), ki[ng of the world, king of Assyria],  
governor of Babylon, king of [the land of Sumer and]  
Akkad,

i 15–25) provider of cult centers, one who c[ompletes  
shrine]s, one who (re)confirms *inter*[rupted] *sattukku*-  
(and) *nindabû*-offerings [...], one who reveres the  
deities Aššur, Mullissu, [Šin, Šamaš, Adad, Mar]duk,  
Zarpanitu, Nabû, Tašmē[tu, Ištar of Nineveh], Ištar of  
Bīt-Kidmuri, [Ištar of Arb]ela, (i 20) Ninurta, Nergal,  
(and) Nusku; who constantly followed them from [his]  
ch[ildhood until *he became an adult*] and who contin-  
u[ally] re[vered] their [di]vinity. [I] cons[tantly knelt  
do]wn at their feet in supplication and prayer. While  
(I was still) in the womb of my mother, the great  
gods [nominated] me to [be king]; they spread their  
benevolent protection over [me; ...] *th[ey] r[equired] my*  
*[priestly serv]ices.*

i 26–31) [...] my [...]s [...] with pleasure [...] to/... [...].

i 32–43) Kings [...] g[reat] rulers [from (both) east  
and we]st [are] anxious for me to be [their] al[ly].  
The deities Aššur, [...] granted me a broad mind (and)  
[allowed] my mind [to lea]rn all of [the scribal arts].  
They made [the mention of] my [na]me great [in the  
assembly of princes (lit. “stags”). In] my [st]ead, they  
stand in, [...] my enemies, [...] my foes, [...] ... [...].

Lacuna

Lacuna

i 17 There is sufficient space (3.3 cm) for the proposed restoration.

- 1') 'sa-pi-in<sup>1</sup> [LÚ.KÚR.MEŠ-ia a-na ši-rik-ti áš-ruk] ii 1') the one who overwhelms [my enemies, I gave (the chariot) as a gift].
- 2') GIŠ.NÁ GIŠ.<sup>1</sup>MEŠ<sup>1</sup>. [MÁ.KAN.NA iṣ-ši dà-re-e NA<sub>4</sub>.MEŠ] ii 2'-7') [I skillfully made] a bed of *mus[ukkannu-wood, a durable wood, studded with] precious [stones], as a [pleasure] be[d for the god Bēl (Marduk) (and) the goddess Bēltiya (Zarpanītu)] to carry out the weddin[g (and) to make love]. I placed (it) in Kaḫili[su, the bed chamber of the goddess Zarpanītu], which [is laden with] sexual charm.*
- 3') ni-<sup>1</sup>siq-ti<sup>1</sup> [za-a'-na-at]
- 4') a-na ma-a-a-<sup>1</sup>al<sup>1</sup> [tak-né-e <sup>d</sup>EN <sup>d</sup>GAŠAN-ia]
- 5') šá-kan ḫa-šá-<sup>1</sup>di<sup>1</sup> [e-peš ru-'a-a-me nak-liš e-pu-uš]
- 6') ina ká-<sup>1</sup>ḫi-li<sup>1</sup>-[sù maš-tak <sup>d</sup>zar-pa-ni]-<sup>1</sup>tum<sup>1</sup>
- 7') ša ku-uz-bu [sa-al-ḫu] <sup>1</sup>ad-di<sup>1</sup>
- 8') GIŠ.NÁ GIŠ.ESI iṣ-<sup>1</sup>ši<sup>1</sup>?<sup>1</sup> [dà-re-e šá KÙ.GI] <sup>1</sup>ḫuš<sup>1</sup>.A lit-bu-šat ii 8'-9') I presented the god Marduk, the one who lo[ves] my [reign], with a bed of ebony, a [durable] woo[d, (and) which] is clad [with red]dish [gold].
- 9') a-na <sup>d</sup>AMAR<sup>1</sup>.UTU ra-<sup>1</sup>i-im BALA].MEŠ-ia aq-<sup>1</sup>qiš<sup>1</sup>
- 10') ú-na-at KÙ.BABBAR KÙ.<sup>1</sup>GI<sup>1</sup> [NA<sub>4</sub>.MEŠ ni]-<sup>1</sup>siq<sup>1</sup>-ti ii 10'-12') I had utensils of silver, gol[d, pre]cious [stones], copper, (and) iron made for every type of te[mple] service, and had (them) deposited in Esagi[l, the palace of the g]ods.
- 11') mim-ma ši-pir <sup>1</sup>É<sup>1</sup>. [KUR] <sup>1</sup>ú-še-piš-ma
- 12') <sup>1</sup>qé<sup>1</sup>-reb é-sag-<sup>1</sup>l<sup>1</sup> [É.GAL] <sup>1</sup>DINGIR<sup>1</sup>.MEŠ ú-kin
- 13') <sup>1</sup>é<sup>1</sup>-sa-bad É <sup>d</sup>gu<sup>1</sup>-[la šá qé]-<sup>1</sup>reb<sup>1</sup> ii 13'-14') [I built (and) co]mpleted Esabad, the temple of the goddess G[ula that is insid]e Babylon, [from] its foundation(s) to [its crenellations].
- 14') [ul-tu] <sup>1</sup>UŠ<sup>1</sup>?-šú a-<sup>1</sup>di<sup>1</sup> [gaba-dib-bi-šú ar-šip ú]-<sup>1</sup>šak<sup>1</sup>-lil
- 15') <sup>1</sup>6<sup>1</sup> [AM.MEŠ KÙ.BABBAR ek-du-ti na-ši-ru ki-bi-is LUGAL-ti]-<sup>1</sup>ia<sup>1</sup> ii 15'-17') [I stationed] six [fierce wild bulls of silver, protectors of m]y [royal path], in the Lu[guduene] Gate, [the Gate of the Rising Sun, and the Lamma-RA.BI Gate], in Ezi[da, which is inside Borsippa].
- 16') <sup>1</sup>ina KÁ lú<sup>1</sup>-[gú-dù-e-ne KÁ ši-it <sup>d</sup>UTU-ši u KÁ <sup>d</sup>LAMMA-RA.BI]
- 17') <sup>1</sup>ina é-zi<sup>1</sup>-[da šá qé-reb bár-sipa.KI ul-ziz]
- 18') <sup>1</sup>KUN<sub>4</sub>? KÙ.GI ḫuš<sup>1</sup>. [A šá 50 MA.NA KIL.LÁ-šá]
- 19') <sup>1</sup>a<sup>1</sup>-na me-<sup>1</sup>le<sup>1</sup>-e<sup>1</sup>? [šá-qu-ú-ti ...]
- 20') <sup>1</sup>ina é<sup>1</sup>-me-šár-ra šu<sup>1</sup>-[bat? ...]
- 21') <sup>1</sup>ú-ḫum-miš<sup>1</sup> [...]
- 22') <sup>1</sup>ki-zálag-ga šu-bat <sup>d</sup>IZI.GAR<sup>1</sup> [83 GUN]
- 23') <sup>1</sup>za-ḫa-lu-ú eb<sup>1</sup>-bu [ap-tiq-ma]
- 24') <sup>1</sup>a-na nu-um<sup>1</sup>-mur [KI].NE <sup>1</sup>si<sup>1</sup>-[mat é-zi-da]
- 25') <sup>1</sup>nak-liš ú-še-piš<sup>1</sup> 2 <sup>1</sup>per-ki<sup>1</sup> [KÙ.BABBAR eb-bi]
- 26') <sup>1</sup>šá<sup>1</sup> AŠ<sub>4</sub>? GUN.TA<sup>1</sup>.ĀM [KI.LÁ-šu-nu]
- 27') <sup>1</sup>ina ká-maḫ u ká-nam-ti-la a-na<sup>1</sup> [tal-lak-ti ru-bu-ti-šú šir-ti] ii 25'b-30') In (the gates) Kamaḫ and Kanamtila, for [the processional way of his exalted rulership], I heaped up like mountain(s) two [shiny silver] *pirkus*, whose [weight] is six talents each, (and) I constructed

ii 1' For the rest of the passage concerning the refurbishment and rededication of this ceremonial chariot, see, for example, text no. 10 (Prism T) i 39-45 and text no. 23 (IIT) lines 47-48a.

ii 2' There does not appear to be enough space to restore *šá pa-šal-lu lit-bu-šat* ("that is clad with *pašallu-gold*") before NA<sub>4</sub>.MEŠ ni-<sup>1</sup>siq-ti<sup>1</sup> ("precious stones"); compare, for example, text no. 10 (Prism T) i 47-48.

ii 8'-9' This description of the fashioning of a second bed for Marduk is also attested in text no. 12 (Prism H) i 2'b-3', text no. 22 i 2', and text no. 23 (IIT) line 51b. aq-<sup>1</sup>qiš<sup>1</sup> "I presented": This text and text no. 23 (IIT) have an anomalous form of the G stem, with a doubling of the first radical. The parallel passage in text no. 12 (Prism H) has the expected a-qiš.

ii 10'-12' This report of the fashioning and dedication of cult utensils for Esagil does not appear in the prologues of earlier inscriptions (for example, text no. 12 [Prism H]). The passage does appear in text no. 23 (IIT) line 52; note that that inscription has ZABAR ("bronze") instead of URUDU ("copper").

ii 13'-14' The mention of the rebuilding of Gula's temple at Babylon (Esabad) also appears in text no. 23 (IIT) line 53. This passage may have been borrowed directly from the building report of text no. 12 (Prism H) or have been a modified version of that account of construction.

ii 15'-17' See the on-page note to text no. 12 (Prism H) i 4'-6'.

ii 18'-21' This report of the creation of a gold plated threshold does not appear in the prologues of earlier inscriptions (for example, text no. 12 [Prism H]). This passage appears in text no. 23 (IIT) lines 56-57a.

ii 22'-25'a Reports of the lavish decoration of Kizalaga, the seat of the god Nūru, also appear in text no. 12 (Prism H) i 7'-9', text no. 22 i 9'-10', and text no. 23 (IIT) lines 57b-58. Note that there is not sufficient room at the end of line 24' to restore *šu-bat DINGIR-ti-šú GAL-ti* "the seat of his great divinity"; compare text no. 12 (Prism H) i 9'.

28') ḥur<sup>2</sup>-šá<sup>1</sup>-niš ḥ<sup>2</sup>-pu-uk ak<sup>2</sup>-šur<sup>2</sup> DU<sup>21</sup> x [...]

29') [...] BU<sup>2</sup> ŠU<sup>1</sup> [x (x)] ḥ<sup>2</sup>ŠU<sup>21</sup> x (x) [...]

30') [...] x x [x] x [...]

Lacuna

Col. iii

Lacuna

1') [(x)] x [...]

2') nap-šat-[su-nu ú-si-iq ú-kar-ri]

3') a-na ḥ<sup>2</sup>GIŠ<sup>21</sup>.[ŠUDUN<sup>2</sup>]-ḥ<sup>2</sup>ia<sup>2</sup> ú<sup>21</sup>-[šak-nis-su-nu-ti]

4') ḥ<sup>2</sup>DUMU<sup>2</sup>.MUNUS<sup>21</sup>-su ḥ<sup>2</sup>ú<sup>1</sup> [DUMU.MUNUS.MEŠ ŠEŠ.MEŠ-šú]

5') it-ḥ<sup>2</sup>ti<sup>1</sup> man-da-ḥ<sup>2</sup>at<sup>1</sup>-[ti-šú DUGUD-ti]

6') ḥ<sup>2</sup>a-na e<sup>1</sup>-peš MUNUS.ḥ<sup>2</sup>AGRIG-ú<sup>1</sup>-[ti ú-bi-la a-di IGI<sup>2</sup>-ia]

7') <sup>m</sup>ia-ḥ<sup>2</sup>a<sup>1</sup>-ḥ<sup>2</sup>i-mil-ki DUMU-šú ša ḥ<sup>2</sup>ma<sup>1</sup>-[te-ma ti-amtu la e-bi-ra]

8') iš-ḥ<sup>2</sup>te<sup>1</sup>-niš ú-še-bi-la ḥ<sup>2</sup>a<sup>1</sup>-[na e-peš ARAD-ti-ia]

9') <sup>m</sup>ia-ḥ<sup>2</sup>ki-in-lu<sup>1</sup>-u LUGAL KUR.a-ru-ḥ<sup>2</sup>ad<sup>1</sup>-[da a-šib MURUB<sub>4</sub> tam-tim]

10') ša a-ḥ<sup>2</sup>na LUGAL<sup>1</sup>.MEŠ AD.MEŠ-ḥ<sup>2</sup>ia<sup>1</sup> [la kan-šú]

11') ḥ<sup>2</sup>ik<sup>1</sup>-nu-šá [...] x x [...]

12') [DUMU.MUNUS]-ḥ<sup>2</sup>su it-ti nu-dun-né-e<sup>1</sup> [ma-a<sup>2</sup>-di]

13') [a-na e-peš MUNUS.AGRIG-u]-ḥ<sup>2</sup>ti a-na NINA.KI<sup>1</sup> [ú-bil-am-ma]

Lacuna

1'') <sup>m</sup>ú<sup>1</sup>-[al-li-<sup>2</sup> ...]

2'') si-ḥ<sup>2</sup>u UGU-ḥ<sup>2</sup>šú ú<sup>1</sup>-[šab-šú-u ...]

3'') EGIR-nu <sup>m</sup>ú-al-ḥ<sup>2</sup>li<sup>1</sup>-[i DUMU-šú ú-šib ina GIŠ.GU.ZA-šú]

4'') da-na-an AN.ŠÁR <sup>d</sup>NIN.[LÍL ...]

5'') <sup>d</sup>15 šá ḥ<sup>2</sup>NINA<sup>1</sup>.KI [...]

6'') DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ EN.ḥ<sup>2</sup>MEŠ<sup>1</sup>-[ia e-mur-ma ik-nu-šá a-na GIŠ.ŠUDUN-ia]

7'') áš-šú ba-laṭ ZI-ti-šú up-ḥ<sup>2</sup>na<sup>1</sup>-[a-šú ip-ta-a ú-šal-la-a EN-u-ti]

8'') <sup>m</sup>e-ri-si-in-ni DUMU ri-du-[ti-šú a-na NINA.KI iš-pur-am-ma]

9'') [x x] x x (x) [x] x x [...]

Lacuna

Col. vii

Lacuna

1') [...] x ḥ<sup>2</sup>KÜ<sup>21</sup> [...]

2') [...] x ḥ<sup>2</sup>RI<sup>21</sup> [...]

3') [...] x ḥ<sup>2</sup>Ú<sup>21</sup> [...]

Lacuna

Col. viii

1) [...] KASKAL.II ŠU-[tu ...]

2) [...] iš-ba-ḥ<sup>2</sup>tu<sup>21</sup>-[ma ...]

... [...] ... [...] ... [...]

Lacuna

Lacuna

iii 1'-3') [I constricted (and) cut short their] lives. I [made them (the people of Tyre) bow down] to [m]y y[oke].

iii 4'-8') [He brought before me] his daughter and [the daughters of his brothers] to serve as housekeep[ers], together with [his substantial] payme[nt]. He sent at the same time Yāḥi-Milki, his son, who had n[ever] crossed the sea], t[o do obeisance to me].

iii 9'-13') Yakīn-Lû, the king of the land Arw[ad, who resides in the middle of the sea], who [had not bowed down] to the kings, my ancestors, bowed down [to my yoke. He brought] his [daughter], with a [substantial] dowry, to Nineveh [to serve as a housekeep]er.

Lacuna

iii 1''-9'') U[allî ... incited] a rebellion against him (Aḥšeri) [...] Afterwards, Uall[î, his son, sat on his throne. He saw] the might of the deities Aššur, Mull[issu, ...], Ištar of Nineveh, [...], the great gods, [my] lords, [and bowed down to my yoke]. For the preservation of his (own) life, [he opened up his] han[ds to me (and) made an appeal to my lordly majesty. He sent] Erisinni, [his] heir desig[nate, to Nineveh and ...] ... [...]

Lacuna

Lacuna

vii 1'-3') (No translation possible)

Lacuna

viii 1-5) [...] a remo[te] road [...] the[y] took [and ...] they came b[efore] me]. Th[ey] in[quired] about the

ii 28' ḥur<sup>2</sup>-šá<sup>1</sup>-niš ḥ<sup>2</sup>-pu-uk<sup>1</sup> "I heaped up like mountain(s)": Compare text no. 12 (Prism H) i 10'-13'a and text no. 22 i 6'b, which have ú-ḥum-meš SUḤUŠ.MEŠ-šú-nu ú-kin "I made their foundations as firm as a mountain."

Lacuna before iii 1' and line 1' Possibly restore text no. 12 (Prism H) ii 1'-18' immediately before iii 2'.

iii 7' <sup>m</sup>ia-ḥ<sup>2</sup>a<sup>1</sup>-ḥ<sup>2</sup>i-mil-ki "Yāḥi-Milki": The name of this prince of Tyre also appears in text no. 11 (Prism A) ii 58.

iii 11' The translation assumes that ana nīriya ("to my yoke") appears after iknuša ("he bowed down").

iii 9'' and lacuna Possibly restore text no. 12 (Prism H) iii 4''b-22''.

viii 1-5 This passage may refer to the voluntary submission and sending of gifts to Assyria by Šilum of the land Ḥazmāni; compare text no. 23 (IT) lines 136b-139a.

- 3) [...] <sup>1</sup>il<sup>1</sup>-lik-ú-ni a-<sup>1</sup>di<sup>1</sup> [maḥ-ri-ia]  
 4) [šu-lum LUGAL-ú-ti-ia] iš-<sup>1</sup>a-a-lu  
 5) [ú-na-áš-ši-qu še-pi-ia] <sup>1</sup>ú<sup>1</sup>-šal-lu-ú <sup>1</sup>be<sup>1</sup>-[lu-ti]
- 
- 6) [... <sup>m</sup>tug-dam-mu<sup>2</sup>]-<sup>1</sup>ú<sup>1</sup> NUMUN ḫal-<sup>1</sup>ga<sup>1</sup>-[te-e]  
 7) [...] <sup>1</sup>la<sup>1</sup> ba-bil [...]  
 8) [... a-na e]-<sup>1</sup>muq<sup>1</sup> ra-man-i-šu <sup>1</sup>it<sup>1</sup>-[ta-kil-ma]  
 9) [... ki-ma] <sup>1</sup>ZI<sup>1</sup>-ut BURU<sup>5</sup>.ḪI.A ma-<sup>1</sup>a<sup>1</sup>-[di ...]  
 10) [...] x id-ka-[am-ma<sup>2</sup> a-na<sup>2</sup> e-peš<sup>2</sup> MURUB<sup>4</sup>? u MÈ<sup>2</sup>]  
 11) [ina<sup>2</sup> mi-šir<sup>2</sup> KUR AN.ŠÁR.KI<sup>2</sup> it-ta]-ad-di  
 KARAŠ-[su ...]  
 12) [... im<sup>2</sup>]-<sup>1</sup>da<sup>1</sup>-TAR-ma LU MU RA DA x [...]  
 13) [... <sup>d</sup>15] <sup>1</sup>ša<sup>1</sup> NINA.KI <sup>d</sup>15 ša <sup>1</sup>LÍMMU-DINGIR<sup>1</sup>.[KI ...]  
 14) [... a-na<sup>2</sup>] <sup>1</sup>pi<sup>1</sup>-i-šú er-ḫi e-zi-<sup>1</sup>zu<sup>1</sup>-ma  
 [im-ta-ra-aš<sup>2</sup> UGU-šú-un<sup>2</sup>]  
 15) [i-na<sup>2</sup> a-mat<sup>2</sup> DINGIR-ti-šú-nu] <sup>1</sup>GAL<sup>1</sup>-ti a-šar  
 šit-ku-[nu ...]  
 16) [... <sup>d</sup>GIŠ].<sup>1</sup>BAR<sup>1</sup> TA AN-e im-<sup>1</sup>qu-ta<sup>1</sup>-ma  
 17) [šá-a-šú ERIM.ḪI.A-šú KARAŠ-su]  
<sup>1</sup>ú<sup>1</sup>-qal-li-šú-nu-ti  
 18) [<sup>m</sup>tug-dam-mi-i ip-làḫ-ma] <sup>1</sup>na<sup>1</sup>-kut-tú ir-ši  
 19) [...] x x a-na URU.ḪAR-ZA-al-le-e  
 20) [...] x [...] <sup>1</sup>iš<sup>1</sup>-šu-šu  
 21) [... UN.MEŠ<sup>2</sup>] <sup>1</sup>KUR<sup>1</sup>-šú UGU-šú <sup>1</sup>ib<sup>1</sup>-bal-ki-tu-ma  
 22) [...] <sup>1</sup>na-piš<sup>1</sup>-tú iš-kun ina KI.ḪUL-e ú-šib-ma  
 23) [... ta-nit<sup>2</sup>]-<sup>1</sup>ti<sup>1</sup> DINGIR.MEŠ-ia ina UKKIN  
 ERIM.ḪI.A-šú i-dab-bu-ub  
 24) [... <sup>1</sup>šú<sup>1</sup>-un pu-luḫ-ti AN.ŠÁR <sup>d</sup>30 <sup>d</sup>UTU  
 25) [... <sup>d</sup>15 ša] <sup>1</sup>NINA<sup>1</sup>.KI <sup>d</sup>15 ša URU.LÍMMU-DINGIR  
 26) [DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ EN.MEŠ]-<sup>1</sup>ia<sup>1</sup> šá  
 ú-tak-kil-<u>-in-ni is-ḫup-šu-ma  
 27) [LÚ.MAḪ.MEŠ-šú šá tu]-<sup>1</sup>ú<sup>1</sup>-bi ù su-lum-me-e  
 28) [... <sup>1</sup>ti<sup>1</sup>-šú it-ti ANŠE.KUR.RA.<sup>1</sup>MEŠ<sup>1</sup>  
 29) [...] x ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ ru-kub EN-ti-<sup>1</sup>šú<sup>1</sup>  
 30) [...] <sup>1</sup>GIŠ<sup>1</sup>.til-li ú-nu-tu MÈ  
 31) [man-da-at-ta-šú] <sup>1</sup>DUGUD<sup>1</sup>-tu ú-še-bi-lam-ma  
 ú-na-áš-šiq GİR.II-<sup>1</sup>ia<sup>1</sup>  
 32) [a-na la ḫa-ṭe]-<sup>1</sup>e<sup>1</sup> mi-šir KUR AN.ŠÁR.KI niš  
 DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.<sup>1</sup>MEŠ<sup>1</sup>  
 33) [EN.MEŠ-ia<sup>2</sup>] <sup>1</sup>ú<sup>1</sup>-šá-az-kír-šú-ma ú-dan-nin  
 it-ti-<sup>1</sup>šú<sup>1</sup>  
 34) [áš-ta]-<sup>1</sup>kan ma<sup>1</sup>-mitu šu-ú ma-mit DINGIR.MEŠ  
 GAL.MEŠ EN.MEŠ-ia ip-ru-uš-ma  
 35) [i]-<sup>1</sup>ta<sup>1</sup>-šün e-tiq-<sup>1</sup>ma<sup>2</sup> a-na mi-šir KUR  
 AN.ŠÁR.KI ú-ša-mir <sup>1</sup>MUNUS.ḪUL<sup>1</sup>  
 36) [a-šar ti]-<sup>1</sup>ib<sup>1</sup> GADA iḫ-ṭi a-na mi-šir KUR  
 AN.ŠÁR.KI a-na šá-ka-ni-šu

well-being of my royal majesty, kissed my feet (and)]  
 made appeals to [my] lor[dly majesty].

viii 6–20) [... Tugdammî], a noma[d, ...] who does [n]ot  
 bring [...] he t[rusted in] his own [streng]th, [...] like  
 an inva[sion of a swa[rm] of locusts [...] (viii 10) he  
 muster[ed ... and to wage battle and war, he s]et up [his]  
 camp [on the territory of Assyria. ...] ... [...] The deities ...  
 Ištar o[f Nineveh, Ištar of Arbela, [...] became furious  
 [at] his provocative [spe]ech (lit. “[mo]uth”) and [it  
 sickened them. (viii 15) By the command of their g]reat  
 [divinity], where [they] had been situat[ed, ... fir]e fell  
 from the sky and burned [him, his troops, (and) his  
 camp. Tugdammî became frightened and] distressed.  
 [...] ... to the city ḪARZAallê. [...] they carried him.

viii 21–31) [... the people of] his land rebelled against  
 him. [...] he laid down (his) life. He resided in a place of  
 mourning and [...]. He was speaking about [the prai]se of  
 my gods in the midst of his troops [...] their [...]. Fear  
 of the deities Aššur, Sîn, Šamaš, (viii 25) [...] Ištar of  
 Nin]evah, Ištar of Arbela, [the great gods, m]y [lords],  
 who had encouraged me, overwhelmed him and [he  
 sent his envoys (with messages) of go]odwill and peace.  
 He sent me his [...] together with horses, [...] horses  
 of his lordly vehicle, [...] equipment, (and) implements  
 of war, [his substant]ial [payment], and he kissed m[y]  
 feet.

viii 32–38) I made him swear oath(s sworn) by the  
 great gods, [my lords, not to infrin]ge on the terri-  
 tory of Assyria and I reinforced (them) with him. [I  
 estab]lished the treaty. He broke the oath(s sworn)  
 by the great gods, my lords; (viii 35) he transgressed  
 [the lim]its (set) by them and plotted evil (deeds)  
 against the territory of Assyria. [Where] flax [gr]ows,  
 he sinned, by establishing himself on the territory of  
 Assyria. [The awe-inspiring brillian]ce of the w[eapons of  
 (the god) Aššur, my lord, overwhelmed him; [he we]nt

viii 6–45 For a slightly different version of Ashurbanipal's dealings with the tribal chieftain Tugdammî, see text no. 23 (IIT) lines 146b–159a. The meaning of *zēr ḫalgâtê* (“nomads”) tentatively follows the CDA (p. 103 sub *ḫalqu*). For a short discussion (with references to earlier literature), see Fuchs, *Interkulturalität* pp. 423–424.

viii 14 Lines 2 and 3 of ex. 1 have [...]ia and [...] <sup>1</sup>UGU<sup>2</sup>-šú-un, respectively, before the [...] <sup>1</sup>pi<sup>1</sup>-i-šú of line 4 and the [...] e-zi-<sup>1</sup>zu<sup>1</sup>-ma of line 5. However, the placement of those lines is uncertain.

viii 22 <sup>1</sup>na-piš<sup>1</sup>-tú iš-kun “he laid down (his) life”: The expression generally means “to die,” but this is not the case here since Tugdammî is clearly still alive. Its precise meaning in this inscription is uncertain.

- 37) [na-mur-rat<sup>2</sup> GIŠ].TUKUL<sup>1</sup>.MEŠ AN.ŠÁR EN-ia  
is-ḥup-šu-ma
- 38) [mah-ḥu-tiš il]-<sup>1</sup>lik-am<sup>1</sup>-ma ina mi-qit ṭe-e-me  
ú-na-ás-šak rit-ti-šú
- 39) [...] <sup>1</sup>ú<sup>1</sup>-nak-kír-ma e-mid-su še-ret-su GAL-<sup>1</sup>tu<sup>1</sup>
- 40) [mut-ta-as-su im-ma]-<sup>1</sup>šid-ma<sup>1</sup> si-iḥ-lu iš-šá-kin  
ina lib-bi-šú
- 41) [...] <sup>1</sup>ti<sup>1</sup>-šú la ba-še-e ERIM.ḪI.A-šú
- 42) [...] EME-šú] <sup>1</sup>im-mar<sup>1</sup>-ṭa-ma im-qut GIŠ-šu
- 43) [ina<sup>2</sup> za-a-bi<sup>2</sup> u<sup>2</sup> ḥa-a-li<sup>2</sup> u<sub>8</sub>-a<sup>2</sup> a-a<sup>2</sup> iq]-<sup>1</sup>ta-ti  
na-piš<sup>1</sup>-tuš
- 44) [...] x <sup>1</sup>KI<sup>21</sup>
- 45) [...] x
- Slight overlap or short lacuna
- 1') x [...]
- 2') pu-<sup>1</sup>luḥ<sup>1</sup>-[ti ...]
- 3') i-<sup>1</sup>dal<sup>1</sup>-[la-lu ...]
- 4') LÚ.rak-bu-šú-<sup>1</sup>nu<sup>21</sup> [...]
- 5') ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ-ia [...]
- 6') si-it-ti na-ki-ri <sup>1</sup>la<sup>2</sup> kan-šú-ti<sup>1</sup> x [...]
- 7') GIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ DINGIR-ti-ka ez-zu-ti ik-šu-du x  
[...]
- 8') a-na zi-kir MU-ia ip-ta-la-ḥu ARAD-<sup>1</sup>ú<sup>1</sup>-[ti  
ir-ri-šú<sup>2</sup>]
- 9') da-na-an AN.ŠÁR <sup>d</sup>NIN.LÍL <sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU  
<sup>d</sup>zar-<sup>1</sup>pa<sup>1</sup>-[ni-tum]
- 10') <sup>d</sup>AG <sup>d</sup>taš-me-tum EN.MEŠ-[ia]
- 11') <sup>1</sup>at<sup>1</sup>-ta-<sup>2</sup>i-id-ma al-bi-in ap-<sup>1</sup>pi<sup>1</sup>
- 
- 12') [É<sup>2</sup>] á-ki-it <sup>d</sup>EN.LÍL-ú-ti-ka at-<sup>1</sup>man<sup>1</sup>-[ka<sup>2</sup>]
- 13') [x x] x šu-bat te-re-e-[ti-ka<sup>2</sup>]
- 14') [...] la-ba]-<sup>1</sup>riš<sup>1</sup> il-lik-<sup>1</sup>ú<sup>21</sup>-[ma<sup>2</sup>]
- 15') [...] tem]-<sup>1</sup>me<sup>1</sup>-en-šá la i<sup>2</sup>-[...]
- 16') [...] x IGI [...]
- 17') [...] x [...]
- Lacuna

[into a frenzy] and (tried) biting off his hands during a loss of (all) reason.

viii 39–45) [...] he became hostile and I imposed upon him his gre[a]t punishment. [Half (of) his body was stricken with p]alsy and a piercing pain was lodged in his heart. [...] his [...] did not exist, his troops [...] His tongue wa]s scratched and he became impotent. His life [en]ded [through dissolving and melting (like a wax figurine), (saying) “Woe! Alas!” ...] ... [...]

Slight overlap or short lacuna

viii 1'–8') [...] fea[r of ...] Th[ey] were si[nging] praise ...] thei[r] mounted messenger(s) [...] my horses [...]. They conquered with the furious weapons of your divinity the rest of the enemies who had not bowed down [...]. At the mere mention of my name, they became afraid (and) [they were requesting to be my] serva[nt(s)].

viii 9'–11') [I] paid careful attention to and humbled myse[lf] at the might of the deities Aššur, Mullissu, Marduk, Zarp[anītu], Nabû, (and) Tašmētu, [my] lords.

viii 12'–17') [(As for) the] akītu-[house] of your divine supremacy, [your] inner sanct[um, ...], the seat of [your] decre[es, ..., which] had become [ol]d [and ... who]se [foun]dation was not [...] ... [...]

Lacuna

## 14

A fragment of a six-sided clay prism preserves part of a report describing a successful lion hunt and the celebration of a New Year's festival for the goddess Ištar in the vicinity of Arbela. The inscription to which this narrative

13 viii 43 A. Fuchs (Interkulturalität p. 417) explains this bizarre passage as follows: “In diesem Falle nun wird der Erfolg ausnahmsweise nicht den Gebeten des Königs, sondern der Arbeit einer Expertenkommission zugeschrieben. Da heißt es, das Leben des Dugdamme habe sein verdientes, jammervolles Ende „unter Zergehen und Zerfließen“ (*ina zābi u ḥāli*) gefunden. Dieser terminus technicus gehört in den Bereich der Magie und wenn er hier Verwendung findet, so schrieb man Krankheit und Tod des Feindes dem Wirken jener Experten für Magie und Zauberei zu, die sich Assurbanipal für solche und ähnliche Zwecke an seinem Hofe hielt. Die Aufgabe dieser Spezialisten bestand in erster Linie darin, den König vor magischen Angriffen zu schützen, doch konnten sie genau so gut zur Offensive übergehen, denn das zugrunde liegende Prinzip war bei Angriff wie Verteidigung das gleiche. Wer in dieser Kunst bewandert war, der verstand es, in ungemein zeitraubenden Ritualen den Zorn eines oder mehrerer Götter gegen Missliebige zu richten. Und einer der Höhepunkte einer solchen magischen Prozedur bestand darin, eine Wachspuppe, die das vorgesehene Opfer darstellte, über dem Feuer „zergehen und zerfließen“ zu lassen.”

13 viii 45–viii 2' It is uncertain if there is a slight overlap between viii 44–45 and viii 1'–2' or if there is a very small lacuna (one or possibly two lines) between the two fragments. Compare text no. 23 (IIT) lines 158b–160.

13 viii 2'–11' Compare text no. 23 (IIT) lines 159b–161.



belongs is generally thought to have been composed early in Ashurbanipal's reign, possibly around the same time as text nos. 1 (Prism E<sub>1</sub>) and 2 (Prism E<sub>2</sub>).

## CATALOGUE

Museum Number	Registration Number	Provenance	cpn
—	82-5-22,2	Probably Nineveh	c

## COMMENTARY

In 1995, E. Weissert (in Parpola and Whiting, Assyria 1995 pp. 357–358) proposed that 82-5-22,2 and K 1821 (text no. 1 [Prism E<sub>1</sub>] ex. 1) belonged to one and the same hexagonal prism, thus making this piece part of one of the primary exemplars of that poorly preserved, early inscription of Ashurbanipal. That conjectured non-physical join between the two fragments, however, is not accepted here since it seems

unlikely that A 7920 + A 8138 and A 8130 (text no. 1 [Prism E<sub>1</sub>] exs. 2–3), the other certain exemplars of Prism E<sub>1</sub>, also contained a report of Ashurbanipal killing a pride of lions near Ištar's cult center Arbela. Therefore, 82-5-22,2 is edited separately in this volume. For details, see the commentary of text no. 1 (Prism E<sub>1</sub>).

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| 1996 | Borger, <i>BIWA</i> pp. 198–199 (transliteration, study)  | 2013 | May, <i>CRR</i> 56 pp. 202–203 and 208 (i' 5'–10', edition, study) |
| 1997 | Weissert in Parpola and Whiting, <i>Assyria</i> 1995 pp. 339–358 with figs. 1 and 6 (photo, edition, study) |      |  |

## TEXT

Col. i'

Lacuna

- 1') [...] x x x [...]
- 2') [a-na<sup>2</sup>] ta-mar-ti [UN.MEŠ KUR-ia<sup>2</sup> ...]
- 3') [ki-i] <sup>1</sup>mul<sup>1</sup>-ta-'u-<sup>1</sup>ú<sup>1</sup>-[ti A SAL NAP ...]
- 4') [ú]-<sup>1</sup>ši<sup>1</sup> ina <sup>1</sup>EDIN<sup>1</sup> [áš-ri rap-ši]
- 5') [el-la]-<sup>1</sup>mu<sup>1</sup>-ú-a šur-bu-<sup>1</sup>te<sup>1</sup> [la-ab-bi i-lit-ti ħur-šá-a-ni]
- 6') [ez]-<sup>1</sup>zu<sup>1</sup>-ú-te tar-[ba-šu iš-ħi-ṭu]
- 7') [ina 1-et] ú-re-ia ši-mit-ti ru-kub <sup>1</sup>EN<sup>1</sup>-[ti-ia]
- 8') [10] <sup>1</sup>UŠ<sup>1</sup> u<sub>4</sub>-mu ina a-la-[ki]
- 9') <sup>1</sup>ša ur<sup>1</sup>-maħ-ħi na-ad-ru-[ti]
- 10') ina 1.<sup>1</sup>TA<sup>1</sup>.ĀM GIŠ.šil-ta-ħi nap-šá-te-šú-nu ap-<sup>1</sup>ru-u<sup>1</sup>
- 11') ik-šu-dam-ma ITI.ŠE ITI i-sin-ni É á-ki-<sup>1</sup>it<sup>1</sup>
- 12') ša šar-ra-ti <sup>1</sup>dīš.TAR.MEŠ ša DINGIR.MEŠ AD.MEŠ-[šá]
- 13') a-na šá-kan ši-tul<sub>5</sub>-ti pa-ra-as <sup>1</sup>EŠ<sup>1</sup>.[BAR]
- 14') i-pa-aħ-ħu-ru pa-nu-<sup>1</sup>uš<sup>1</sup>-[šá]

Lacuna

i' 1'–10') [...] ... [...] for] the admiration of [*the people of my land*, ... for pl]easu[re ... I went o]ut. In the stepp[e, a widespread place be]fore me, hug[e lions, a fer]ocious [mountain breed, attacked] cat[t]lepen(s). With a single] team harnessed to the vehicle of [my] lordly ma[jesty, forty min]utes after daw[n], I pierced the throats of the ragi[ng] lions with (only) a single arrow each.

i' 11'–22') The month Addaru (XII) — the month of the aki[t]u-festival of the queen of the goddesses, when the gods, [her] parents, assemble before [her] to take counsel and make de[cisions] — arrived and my heart prompted me (to go) to the city [Arbela], the city

i' 1'–22' The restorations, some of which come from text no. 54, follow Weissert in Parpola and Whiting, *Assyria* 1995 pp. 357–358.

15') *ú-bi-la-an-ni lib-bi a-na* URU.[LÍMMU-DINGIR]  
 16') URU *re-me-ni-ti ša su-up-pu-ša* [DÛG.GA]  
 17') *bu-un-ni* <sup>d</sup>*iš-tar* GAŠAN-ia *hi-it-<sup>r</sup>bu<sup>1</sup>-[šu-ma]*  
 18') *it-ta-nab-ša-a ina kar-[...]*  
 19') *a-na a-mar* DINGIR-ti-ša *šir-[ti]*  
 20') *ša la i-šab-bu-ú la-lu-ú* HA x [...]  
 21') <sup>r</sup>*as<sup>1</sup>-su-uq* ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ *ša* x [...]  
 22') [*ša<sup>2</sup> kub<sup>2</sup>]-<sup>r</sup>bu<sup>2</sup>-ru<sup>2</sup> meš-re-e-ti <sup>r</sup>ša KI<sup>1</sup> x [...]*  
 Lacuna

of compassion where [it is pleasant] to pray to her.  
 The countenance of the goddess Ištar, my lady, was  
 exuber[ant and] constantly appeared to me in Kār- [...].  
 To see her exal[ted] divinity, with who(se) charms one  
 cannot be (fully) sated, ... [... I] selected large horses  
 – which [..., whose] limbs [were mas]sive (and) who[se]  
 ... [...]  
 Lacuna

## 15

Two, or possibly three, prism fragments preserve a small portion of an early inscription of Ashurbanipal. Only parts of the prologue and the report of the first campaign to Egypt survive. The prologue, as far as it is preserved, records that Ashurbanipal undertook work on the Aššur temple at Aššur (Eḫursaggalkurkurra, “House of the Great Mountain of the Lands”) and the temple of Marduk at Babylon (Esagil, “House whose Top is High”). Despite this inscription’s fragmentary state, it is possible to situate the composition of the text sometime between 663 and 649, possibly before 655.

### CATALOGUE

Ex.	Museum Number	Registration Number	Provenance	Lines Preserved	cpn
1	—	82-5-22,21	Probably Nineveh	ii 1–10	c
2	BM 128302 + BM 128311	1932-12-10,559 + 1932-12-10,568	Nineveh	ii 7–21, iii 1’–9’	p

### CATALOGUE OF UNCERTAIN EXEMPLARS

Ex.	Museum Number	Registration Number	Provenance	Lines Preserved	cpn
1*	BM 99326	Ki 1904-10-9,359	As ex. 2	i 1’–9’	c

### COMMENTARY

Following E. Weissert and H.-U. Onasch (*Orientalia* NS 61 [1992] p. 73 n. 46) and J. Novotny (*Orientalia* NS 72 [2003] pp. 211–214), BM 128302+, 82-5-22,21, and BM 99326 are edited separately from text nos. 1 (Prism E<sub>1</sub>) and 2 (Prism E<sub>2</sub>) and, therefore, regarded as belonging to a hitherto yet unclassified edition of Ashurbanipal’s annals, one composed sometime between 663 and 649. The scant evidence is as follows: (1) BM 128302+ comes from an eight-

sided prism, rather than from a six- or seven-sided prism; and (2) the fifty talents of *zahālû*-metal used to greatly enlarge the elevated dais of the god Marduk at Babylon is assumed to have originated from the Egyptian booty that was brought to Nineveh after the conquest and sack of Thebes in 664. With regard to the large amount of silver-alloy used at Babylon, Novotny, following a proposal of Onasch (*ÄAT* 27/1 p. 80 n. 386, and pp. 156–158 and 161),

suggested that the *zahālû*-metal came from the two metal obelisks looted from Thebes after the second Egyptian campaign and, therefore, proposed that the inscription(s) to which 82-5-22,21 and BM 128302+ belong cannot be one of the E prisms given that the *terminus ante quem* for those two texts is the sack of Thebes. For further details, see Novotny, *Orientalia NS 72* (2003) pp. 211–214.

The inscription is reconstructed here as a tall octagonal prism. Based on ex. 2, it is assumed here that col. i and about half of col. ii contained the prologue of the text and that the report of the first Egyptian campaign began somewhere in the middle of col. ii. Based on the conjectured available space, the prologue of this inscription probably only contained accounts of the completion of the Aššur temple at Aššur, the decoration of the holy rooms of Esagil at Babylon, the construction of an ornate canopy, and the enlargement of Marduk's raised dais

with brick cast of *zahālû*-metal. Because there does not seem to be enough room to include reports of the refurbishment of the pleasure bed of Marduk and Zarpanitu and the construction of a new chariot for Marduk, which were sent to Babylon in 655 and 654, this inscription may have been composed earlier than those two events.

No exemplar is complete and the master line is a conflation of the various exemplars. The line count of this edition is based on the following exemplars: ex. 1 in ii 1–10; ex. 2 in ii 11–21 and iii 1'–9'; and ex. 1\* in i 1'–9'. The restorations are based on text nos. 1 (Prism E<sub>1</sub>) and 2 (Prism E<sub>2</sub>), as well as on K 2694 + K 3050 (L<sup>4</sup>; Novotny, *SAACT 10* pp. 77–78 no. 18), the so-called "Large Egyptian Tablets" Inscription (Novotny, *SAACT 10* pp. 81–83 no. 20), BM 134557 (Novotny, *SAACT 10* p. 74 no. 14), and 81-2-4,212 (Bauer, *Asb. pl.* 57). A complete score of this badly damaged inscription is provided on Oracc.

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|      |  | 2014 | Novotny, <i>JCS 66</i> p. 93 and p. 97 n. 23 (ii 3, 6–7, study)    |

## TEXT

### Col. i

#### Lacuna

- 1') x [x (x)] x [...]
- 2') <sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU ABGAL DINGIR<sup>1</sup>. [MEŠ uz-nu ra-pa-áš-tu]
- 3') ḥa-si-su pal<sup>1</sup>ka-a<sup>1</sup> [iš-ru-ka ši-rik-te]
- 4') <sup>d</sup>AG DUB.SAR gim-ri<sup>1</sup> iḫ<sup>1</sup> [ze né-me-qi-šú]
- 5') i<sup>1</sup>qi<sup>1</sup>-šá-an-ni a-na [qiš-ti]
- 6') <sup>d</sup>nin-urta <sup>d</sup>U.GUR dun-ni<sup>1</sup> zik<sup>1</sup>-[ru-te]
- 7') e-mu-qi la šá-na-an<sup>1</sup> ú-šar-šú<sup>1</sup>-[u gat-ti]
- 8') šin-na-at<sup>1</sup> ABGAL á<sup>1</sup>-[da-pà a-ḫu-uz]
- 9') <sup>1</sup>ni-šir<sup>1</sup>-[tú ka-tim-tú kul-lat ṭup-šar-ru-tú]

#### Lacuna

### Col. ii

- 1) [... MU.AN<sup>2</sup>].NA.MEŠ-ia ša šá-qi-iš
- 2) [ú-ši-bu ina<sup>2</sup>] GIŠ<sup>1</sup>.GU.ZA AD ba-ni-ia
- 3) [é-ḫur-sag-gal]-<sup>1</sup>kur<sup>1</sup>-kur-ra É AN.ŠÁR EN-ia ú-šak-lil

#### Lacuna

i 1'–9') [...] the god Marduk, the sage of the god[s, granted me a broad mind] (and) extensive knowledge [as a gift]; the god Nabû, the scribe of everything, bestowed on me the pr[erequisites of his wisdom] as [a present]; (and) the gods Ninurta (and) Nergal endowe[d my body] with power, viri[lity], (and) unrivalled strength. [I learned] as much as the sage A[dapa], the secr[et (and) hidden] lore of all of the scribal arts].

#### Lacuna

ii 1–2) [...] my [yea]rs that [I sat] proudly [on the] throne of the father who had engendered me.  
ii 3–9) I completed [Eḫursaggalku]rkurra, the temple of (the god) Aššur, my lord. I clad [its walls] with

**Lacuna before i 1'** For the beginning of the inscription, compare text no. 2 (Prism E<sub>2</sub>) i 1–14 and K 2694 + K 3050 i 1–14 (L<sup>4</sup>; Novotny, *SAACT 10* p. 77 no. 18).

**ii 1–2** The conjectural restorations follow Borger, *BIWA* p. 176.

**ii 3–9** Compare, for example, BM 134557 lines 5–7 (Novotny, *SAACT 10* p. 74 no. 14) and text no. 6 (Prism C) i 11'–17'.

- 4) [É.GAR<sub>8</sub>.MEŠ-šú KÙ.GI] *hu-uš-šu-ú ú-šal-biš*  
 5) [ú-nam]<sup>1</sup>mir<sup>1</sup> ki-ma u<sub>4</sub>-mi  
 6) [AN.ŠÁR EN GAL<sup>2</sup>]<sup>1</sup>ú<sup>1</sup> a-na lib-bi ú-še-rib  
 7) [ina é-*hur-sag*]<sup>1</sup>gu<sup>1</sup>-la at-man DINGIR-ti-šú  
 ú-še-šib  
 8) [UDU.SISKUR.MEŠ taš]<sup>1</sup>ri<sup>1</sup>-iḫ-ti ma-ḫar-šú  
 aq<sup>1</sup>qí-ma<sup>1</sup>  
 9) [ú-šam-ḫi]<sup>1</sup>ra<sup>1</sup> kàd-ra<sup>1</sup>a<sup>1</sup>[a]  
 10) [...] <sup>1</sup>é<sup>1</sup>-sag-gíl u KÁ.DINGIR.[RA.KI]  
 11) [...] EN<sup>1</sup>.EN eš-šiš<sup>1</sup>ar-šip<sup>1</sup>  
 12) [...] x GIŠ.ḪUR.MEŠ-šú ú-kin-ma  
 13) [BÁRA.MEŠ-šú<sup>2</sup> ki-ma ši]<sup>1</sup>tir<sup>1</sup> AN-e ú-<sup>1</sup>ban<sup>1</sup>-ni  
 14) [ú-še-piš-ma<sup>2</sup>]<sup>1</sup>GIŠ.er<sup>1</sup>-mi a-nu  
 GIŠ.MES.MÁ.KAN.NA  
 15) [iṣ-ši da-re]<sup>1</sup>e šá<sup>1</sup> šit-nu-nu šá-ma-meš  
 16) [34 GUN 20]<sup>1</sup>MA.NA KÙ<sup>1</sup>.GI ru-uš-šu-ú  
 17) [kip-pat-su ú]<sup>1</sup>šal<sup>1</sup>-biš-ma  
 18) [ú-dan-ni-na]<sup>1</sup>rik<sup>1</sup>-se-šú  
 19) [BÁRA.MAḪ-ḫu at-man DINGIR]<sup>1</sup>ti<sup>1</sup>-šú šir-te  
 20) [šá e-li gi-piš tam-tim]<sup>1</sup>gal<sup>1</sup>-la-te  
 21) [na-du-ú ...]<sup>1</sup>dAMAR<sup>1</sup>.UTU

Lacuna

Col. iii

Lacuna

- 1') e-mu<sup>1</sup>qí<sup>1</sup>[ia MAḪ.MEŠ]  
 2') a-na na<sup>1</sup>ra<sup>1</sup>[ru-ti ḫa-mat LUGAL.MEŠ]  
 3') LÚ.NAM.MEŠ [ARAD.MEŠ-ni da-gíl pa-ni-ia]  
 4') ur-ru-ḫiš<sup>1</sup>tè<sup>1</sup>[e-mu áš-kun-šú-nu-ti]  
 5') ḫar-ra-an<sup>1</sup>KUR<sup>1</sup>[mu-šur ú-šá-áš-ki-na  
 GÌR.II-šú-un]  
 6') šam-riš [ḫa-an-ṭiš ir-du-ú il-li-ku]  
 7') a-di [URU.kar-ba-ni-ti]  
 8') <sup>m</sup>tar-qu<sup>1</sup>[ú MAN KUR.ku-u-si]  
 9') x [...]

Lacuna

Cols. iv–viii completely missing

reddish [gold (and) made (them) shin]e like daylight. I made [(the god) Aššur, the *grea*]t [lord], enter inside there (and) made (him) reside [in Eḫursaggula, the inner sanctum of his divinity. I offered [sump]tuous [offerings] before him and [presente]d (him) with m[y] gifts.

ii 10–13) [...] Esagil and Baby[on, ... the lord of l]ords (Marduk), I built anew. [...] I firmly established its designs and (then) made [its *daises*] shine [like the sta]rs (lit. “[writ]ings”) of the heavens.

ii 14–18) [I had a c]anopy, which rivals the heav-ens, [made] from *musukkannu*-wood, [a durab]le [wood. I c]lad [its perimeter with thirty-four talents (and) twenty] minas of reddish gold and (thereby) [rein-forced] its [b]onds.

ii 19–21) [(As for) the throne-dais, the inner sanctum of] his (Marduk’s) exalted [divini]ty, [which is placed over the massive body of the ro]jiling [sea (Tiāmat), ...] the god Marduk

Lacuna

Lacuna

iii 1’–7’) [my huge] force[s, I] quickly [gave] the o[rder to them] to sup[port (and) aid the kings] (and) governors, [servants who belonged to me, (and) I made (them) take] the road to [Egypt. They traveled] furiously (and) [quickly (and) marched] as far as [the city Kār-Bānīti].

iii 8’–9’) Taharq[a, the king of Kush, ...]

Lacuna

Cols. iv–viii completely missing

## 16

A fragment of one column of a clay prism is inscribed with a version of Ashurbanipal’s annals, perhaps an edition that was composed between the defeat and beheading of Teumman in 653 and the issuing of text no. 3 (Prism B) in Abu (V) 649. Of course, one cannot rule out the possibility that the text is part of a later summary inscription composed ca. 639–638. The extant contents include reports of Ashurbanipal’s first and second Elamite campaigns; these military expeditions are treated here as a single narrative, rather than as separate accounts for the descriptions of the wars against Urtaku and his successor Teumman.

15 ii 10–13 These lines are not paralleled elsewhere in the extant Ashurbanipal corpus. However, compare text no. 23 (IIT) line 41.

15 ii 13 The conjectural restoration is based on BÁRA.MEŠ-šú *tam-šil šá-ma<sup>1</sup>mi<sup>1</sup>* (“its daises, replica(s) of the heaven[s]”) in text no. 23 (IIT) line 41.

15 ii 19–21 This version of the report of the enlargement of Marduk’s raised dais is duplicated almost verbatim in 81-2-4,212 obv. 7’ (Bauer, *Asb.* pl. 57) and, thus, the restorations are based on that inscription. [at-man DINGIR]<sup>1</sup>ti<sup>1</sup>-šú “[the inner sanctum of] his (Marduk’s) [divini]ty.” Later inscriptions change *at-man* to *šu-bat* (“the seat of”); see, for example, text no. 6 (Prism C) i 24’.

## CATALOGUE

Museum Number	Registration Number	Provenance	cpn
—	66-5-19,1	Probably Nineveh	c

## COMMENTARY

As R. Borger (BIWA p. 198) has already pointed out, 66-5-19,1 does not belong to the same object as K 13440, which is edited in Part 2 among the tablet fragments of Ashurbanipal. 66-5-19,1 is not sufficiently preserved for one to determine how many columns the prism to which this fragment belongs had.

The extant contents are similar to text no. 3 (Prism B) iv 53–79 and v 3–12 and to later inscriptions duplicating those passages. The reports of Ashurbanipal's first and second Elamite campaigns in this inscription, as far as they are preserved, are much shorter than they are in text no. 3 (Prism

B). In addition, the campaigns are not separated by a horizontal ruling; one expects a ruling between lines 16'–17'. It is unclear from the textual deviation, whether this inscription was composed shortly after the events of the battle at Tīl-Tūba in 653, as J. Novotny (*Orientalia* NS 72 [2003] pp. 214–215) has tentatively suggested, or whether it was written sometime after the composition of text no. 3 (Prism B), perhaps around the time of text nos. 12 (Prism H) and 13 (Prism J), ca. 639–638. Perhaps, 66-5-19,1 is an exemplar of text no. 13 (Prism J), as tentatively proposed by Borger (BIWA p. 198), or possibly of text no. 20.

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## TEXT

Col. i'

Lacuna

- 1') [ina MU].AN.<sup>1</sup>NA<sup>1</sup>-[šú na-piš-ta-šú iq-ti il-lik  
nam-mu-ši-šú]  
 2') [m<sup>EN</sup>-BA]-šá KUR.gam-bu-<sup>1</sup>la<sup>1</sup>-[a-a šá iṣ-lu-u  
GIŠ.ŠUDUN EN-ti-ia]  
 3') [ina ni]-<sup>1</sup>šik<sup>1</sup> PÉŠ <sup>1</sup>iš<sup>1</sup>-[ta-kan na-piš-tú ...]  
 4') [iš-ši a-ga]-nu<sup>2</sup>-ti<sup>2</sup>-la<sup>2</sup> me<sup>2</sup>-e<sup>2</sup> <sup>1</sup>ma<sup>2</sup><sup>1</sup>-[lu-u-ti ...]  
 5') [LUGAL]-<sup>1</sup>us<sup>1</sup>-su iš-ki-pu [BALA-šú e-ki-mu]  
 6') [be]-<sup>1</sup>lut<sup>2</sup><sup>1</sup> KUR.ELAM.<sup>1</sup>MA<sup>1</sup>.KI ú-šal-[qu-u  
šá-nam-ma]  
 7') [ar-ka] <sup>m</sup>te-um-man ḫi-ri-iṣ GAL<sub>5</sub>.LÁ ú<sup>2</sup>-šib<sup>2</sup> ina  
<sup>1</sup>GIŠ<sup>2</sup><sup>1</sup>.[GU.ZA <sup>m</sup>ur-ta-ki]  
 8') [a-na] da-a-ki DUMU.MEŠ <sup>m</sup>ur-ta-ki DUMU<sup>2</sup>.ME<sup>2</sup>  
<sup>m</sup>ur<sup>2</sup><sup>1</sup>-[man-al-daš]  
 9') [iš]-<sup>1</sup>ta<sup>1</sup>-né-<sup>2</sup>i MUNUS.<sup>1</sup>ḫUL<sup>1</sup>  
 10') [<sup>m</sup>um]-man-i-gaš <sup>m</sup>um-man-ap-pa  
<sup>m</sup>tam-ma-ri-<sup>1</sup>tú<sup>1</sup>  
 11') [DUMU].<sup>1</sup>MEŠ<sup>1</sup> <sup>m</sup>ur-ta-ki LUGAL  
KUR.ELAM.MA.<sup>1</sup>KI<sup>1</sup>  
 12') [<sup>m</sup>ku]-<sup>1</sup>dúr<sup>1</sup>-ru <sup>m</sup>pa-ru-ú DUMU.MEŠ

Lacuna

- i' 1') [In that y]ea[r, his (Urtaku's) life came to an end  
(and) he passed away].  
 i' 2'–3'a) [(As for) Bēl-iqī]ša, a Gambul[ian who had  
cast off the yoke of my lordship], he l[aid down (his)  
life through the bit]e of a mouse.  
 i' 3'–4') [... suffered from dro]psy, (that is) “fu[ll]  
water.” [...]  
 i' 5'–6') They overthrew his [kingshi]p (and) [took  
away his dynasty]. Th[ey] made [somebody else]  
as[sume domin]ion over the land Elam.  
 i' 7'–21') [Afterwards], Teumman, the (very) image of  
a gallū-demon, sat on the [throne of Urtaku. He con-  
stantly sou]ght out ev[i]l (ways) [to] kill the children  
of Urtaku (and) the children of Um[manaldašu] (ḫumban-  
ḫaltaš II). (10') Um]manigaš, Ummanappa, (and) Tam-  
marit[ū — the son]s of Urtaku, the king of the land  
Elam — [Kudu]rru (and) Parrū — the sons of Um-  
manald[ašu] (ḫumban-ḫaltaš II), the king] who came  
before Urtaku — together with sixty members of [the  
royal (family)], count[less] archers, (and) nobles of the

- <sup>m</sup>um-man-al-<sup>r</sup>daš<sup>1</sup>  
 13') [LUGAL] a-lik pa-ni <sup>m</sup>ur-<sup>r</sup>ta<sup>1</sup>-ki a-di 60-šu  
 NUMUN [LUGAL]  
 14') [ina la] mi-ni ERIM.MEŠ GIŠ.PAN DUMU.MEŠ  
 ba-né-e šá KUR.ELAM.<sup>r</sup>KI<sup>1</sup>  
 15') [ša] la-pa-an da-a-ki <sup>m</sup>te-um-man  
 16') [in]-nab-tu-u-nim-ma iš-ba-tu ĠR.II  
 LUGAL-u-ti-<sup>r</sup>ia<sup>1</sup>  
 17') <sup>r</sup>šu<sup>1</sup>-ut UN.MEŠ an-nu-ti mun-nab-ti  
 18') [<sup>m</sup>te<sup>1</sup>-um-man iš-ta-nap-pa-ra me-re-eḫ-tu  
 19') <sup>r</sup>um<sup>1</sup>-ma UN.MEŠ? šu-a-tu-nu šu-bi-lam-ma  
 20') [ša]-<sup>r</sup>ni<sup>1</sup>-a-nu um-ma al-la-kam-ma  
 21') <sup>r</sup>it<sup>1</sup>-ti-ka ep-pu-šá mit-ḫu-šu-tu  
 22') <sup>r</sup>at<sup>1</sup>-kil a-na a-mat AN.ŠĀR <sup>d</sup>NIN.LÍL <sup>d</sup>30 <sup>d</sup>rUTU<sup>1</sup>  
 23') [<sup>d</sup>EN<sup>1</sup> <sup>d</sup>AG <sup>d</sup>15 šá NINA.KI <sup>d</sup>15 šá  
 LÍMMU-DINGIR.<sup>r</sup>KI<sup>1</sup>  
 24') [DINGIR].MEŠ GAL.MEŠ EN.MEŠ-ia šá  
 ú-tak-kil-u-in-[ni]  
 25') [qí]-<sup>r</sup>bit<sup>1</sup> pi-i-šú er-ḫu ul am-gúr  
 26') [UN].<sup>r</sup>MEŠ<sup>1</sup> šu-a-tu-nu ul ad-din-[šú]  
 27') [... qí]-<sup>r</sup>bit<sup>1</sup> pi-i-šú er-ḫu DINGIR.MEŠ  
 e-zi-<sup>r</sup>zu<sup>1</sup>-[ma]  
 28') [e-mi]-<sup>r</sup>du-uš<sup>1</sup> ḫi-ṭi<sup>?</sup>-[x (x)]  
 29') [ina u<sub>4</sub>-me-šú-ma] <sup>r</sup>mi<sup>1</sup>-iḫ-ru im-ḫur-[šú-ma]  
 30') [NUNDUM-su uk]-<sup>r</sup>tam<sup>?</sup>-bil<sup>?</sup>-ma<sup>?</sup> IGI.<sup>r</sup>II<sup>1</sup>-šú  
<sup>r</sup>is<sup>1</sup>-[ḫur-ma]

Lacuna

land Elam, (15') [who had] fled to me before Teumman's slaughtering and who had grasped the feet of m[y] royal majesty – [rega]rding these people, (these) fugitives, [T]eumman constantly sent me insults [sa]ying "Send me those people!" and [a seco]nd time, saying "I will come and wage war [ag]ainst you!"

i' 22'-30') [I] put my trust in the command of the deities Aššur, Mullissu, Sîn, Ša[maš, B]ēl (Marduk), Nabû, Ištar of Nineveh, (and) Ištar of Arbela, [the] great [god]s, my lords, who had encouraged m[e]. (25') I did not comply with [the utteran]ce(s) of his provocative speech (lit. "mouth"). I did not give [him] those [peopl]e. The gods became angr[y] with ... the utte]rance(s) of his provocative speech (lit. "mouth") [and] they [impose]d upon him [his] punishment. [At that time], a mishap befell [him: his lip became pa]ralyzed, his eyes tu[r]ned back, and]

Lacuna

## 17

A small fragment of a clay prism is inscribed with a text recording the rebuilding of Duku ("Pure Mound"), the seat of the god Marduk as Lugaldimmeranki at Babylon. The final five lines of the military narration are preserved and that section of the inscription concluded with Ummanaldašu (Ḫumban-ḫaltaš III), a son of a certain Atta-metu, ascending the throne of Elam after his immediate processor Indabibi was violently deposed. The inscription, which was presumably intended to be placed in Duku, may have been composed around the same time as text no. 6 (Prism C), probably in 647; it was certainly written after the end of the Šamaš-šuma-ukin rebellion, presumably when Ashurbanipal had to make repairs to Duku. The inscription is occasionally (and wrongly) referred to as "Prism H" (see below for details).

## CATALOGUE

Museum Number	Registration Number	Provenance	cpn
BM 127994	1929-10-12,650	Nineveh	c

## COMMENTARY

BM 127994 was discovered at Nineveh by R. Campbell Thompson. Because its script is contemporary Babylonian, A.R. Millard (Iraq 30 [1968] p. 109) regarded the fragment as an exemplar of text no. 12 (Prism H). P. Gerardi (Assurbanipal's Elamite Campaigns p. 114 n. 247) suggested that the fragment belonged to col. v of that summary inscription. However, this cannot be the case, as already pointed out by R. Borger (BIWA p. 193), since the main building report of text no. 12 (Prism H) would have described the rebuilding of the Gula temple Esabad ("House of the Open Ear") at Babylon; although that passage is now missing, it would have appeared in col. viii of that inscription. Because text no. 12 (Prism H) described the restoration of a temple other than Duku, Borger proposed

that BM 127994 be regarded as a different recension of Prism H. However, because the principal exemplar of text no. 12 (Prism H) was inscribed during the thirtieth regnal year of Ashurbanipal (639) and because that summary inscription included events that took place long after Ummanaldašu ascended the Elamite throne, BM 127994 cannot be regarded as a Prism H exemplar. Therefore, this fragment must come from an edition of Ashurbanipal's annals or summary inscriptions that was written not long after the siege of Babylon ended in 648, perhaps as early as 647. Apart from its script, the text written on BM 127994, as far as it is preserved, has little in common with text no. 12 (Prism H). At this time, no new text designation had been assigned to this inscription.

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| 1968 | Millard, Iraq 30 p. 109 and pl. XXIV (copy, study)              | 2003 | Novotny, Eḫulḫul p. 330 (study)                |
| 1987 | Gerardi, Assurbanipal's Elamite Campaigns p. 114 n. 247 (study) | 2003 | Novotny, Orientalia NS 72 p. 215 (study)       |
| 1996 | Borger, BIWA pp. 193, 232, and 257 (edition)                    | 2005 | Novotny, Orientalia NS 74 p. 365 n. 20 (study) |

## TEXT

## Col. i'

## Lacuna

- 1') [pu-luḫ]<sup>1</sup>-<sup>1</sup>ti LUGAL-ú-ti-ia<sup>1</sup> [šá ú-za-'i-nu-in-ni]  
 2') [AN.ŠÁR] <sup>d</sup>EN u <sup>d</sup>AG KUR.ELAM.<sup>1</sup>MA<sup>1</sup>.[KI is-ḫu-up-ma]  
 3') [UN].<sup>1</sup>MEŠ<sup>1</sup> KUR.ELAM.MA.KI še-e-<sup>1</sup>er<sup>21</sup> [<sup>m</sup>in-da-bi-bi]  
 4') [ib]<sup>1</sup>-<sup>1</sup>bal<sup>1</sup>-ki-tu-ma <sup>1</sup>i<sup>21</sup>-[na-ru-uš i-na GIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ]  
 5') [<sup>m</sup>um]-man-al-ta-áš DUMU <sup>m</sup>at-<sup>1</sup>ta<sup>1</sup>-[me-tu ú-še-ši-bu ina GIŠ.GU.ZA-šú]  
 6') [ina u<sub>4</sub>]-<sup>1</sup>me<sup>1</sup>-šú DU<sub>6</sub>.KÛ <sup>1</sup>KI<sup>1</sup>.NAM.<sup>1</sup>TAR<sup>1</sup>.[TAR.(RE).E.NE]  
 7') [šu]-<sup>1</sup>bat<sup>1</sup> <sup>d</sup>lugal-dim-me-er-<sup>1</sup>an<sup>1</sup>-[ki ...]  
 8') [...] x <sup>1</sup>DINGIR<sup>1</sup>.MEŠ <sup>1</sup>ši-ir<sup>21</sup>-[...]  
 9') [...] <sup>1</sup>NAM.MEŠ<sup>1</sup> [...]

## Lacuna

## Lacuna

i' 1'-5') [Fea]r of my royal majesty — [with which] the gods [Aššur], Bēl (Marduk), and Nabû [had endowed me — overwhelmed] the land Elam [and (then) the peopl]e of the land Elam [reb]elled again[st Indabibi] and [killed him with the sword. They placed Um]manaldašu (Ḫumban-ḫaltaš III), son of Att[a-metu, on his (Indabibi's) throne].

i' 6'-9') [At] that [tim]e, Duku, where destiny is d[e-terminated, the sea]t of the god Lugaldimmera[nki, ...] the exa[lted] gods [...] fates [...]

## Lacuna

i' 2' [AN.ŠÁR] <sup>d</sup>EN u <sup>d</sup>AG "the gods [Aššur], Bēl (Marduk), and Nabû": Text no. 6 (Prism C) ix 47'' and text no. 7 (Prism Kh) ix 4 have DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ "the great gods."

## 18

A piece of a clay prism, now comprising two fragments, bears an edition of Ashurbanipal's annals. Only small portions of the reports of the second and third Elamite campaigns are preserved.

## CATALOGUE

Museum Number	Registration Number	Provenance	cpn
BM 121080 + BM 121108	1929-10-12,76 + 1929-10-12,104	Nineveh, Nabû Temple, Trench LXVIII	c

## COMMENTARY

BM 121080 and BM 121108 were joined by J.E. Reade. The prism from which this fragment originates appears to have originally had ten columns. The surfaces of both preserved columns are very badly dam-

aged and few signs can be read with certainty. The fragment was cleaned at the request of R. Borger, but it made little difference in improving the legibility of the inscription.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- 1968 Lambert and Millard, *Cat.* pp. 8 and 10 (study) (transliteration, study)  
 1996 Borger, *BIWA* p. 199; and 4<sup>o</sup>-Heft pp. 365-366

## TEXT

## Col. i'

## Lacuna

- 1') [...] x <sup>r</sup>AN<sup>21</sup> E x [...]  
 2') [... <sup>m</sup>]te-um-man [...]  
 3') [...] x-tim<sup>2</sup> LUGAL Šá x [...]  
 4') [...] x (x) x <sup>r</sup>NA<sup>2</sup> E<sup>21</sup> [...]  
 5') [...] x [...]  
 6') [...] (traces) [...]  
 7') [...] <sup>r</sup>d<sup>2</sup>AG<sup>21</sup> [...]  
 8') [...] (traces) [...]

## Lacuna

## Col. ii'

## Lacuna

- 1') [...] x [...]  
 2') [...] x (x) [...]  
 3') [...] DIN<sup>2</sup> x [...]  
 4') [...] <sup>r</sup>ú<sup>21</sup> [...]  
 5') [...] x x [...]  
 6') [... al-la<sup>2</sup>]-kam-ma [...]  
 7') [... AN.ŠÁR]-DÛ-A MAN <sup>r</sup>KUR<sup>1</sup> [AN.ŠÁR.KI ...]  
 8') [...] <sup>r</sup>e<sup>2</sup>-la<sup>2</sup>-mu<sup>21</sup>-[u ...]  
 9') [<sup>m</sup>in-da-bi]-<sup>r</sup>bi<sup>1</sup> ARAD-<sup>r</sup>su<sup>21</sup> [...]

## Lacuna

i' 1'-8') [...] ... [...] Teumman [...] ... a king who [...] ...  
 [...] ... [...] Nabû [...] ... [...]

## Lacuna

## Lacuna

ii' 1'-6') [...] ... [...] and [...] ... [..."I will co]me and [...]"

ii' 7'-21') [...] Ashur]banipal, the king of [Assyria, ...]  
 the Elam[ite ... Indadbib]i, h[is] servant, [...] (ii' 10') ...  
 [...] Ind[abibi ... the land] Elam [...] Indabi]bi, who [...]



10')	[...] UZ- <sup>r</sup> zu <sup>21</sup> -šú <sup>2</sup> - <sup>r</sup> nu <sup>21</sup> -[ti <sup>2</sup> ...]	on [...] ... [... (ii' 15') insol]ent messa[ges ...] the deities
11')	[...] x <sup>m</sup> in- <sup>r</sup> da <sup>1</sup> -[bi-bi ...]	[Aššur], Mullissu, [... he opened u]p [his hands to me]
12')	[... KUR].ELAM.MA. <sup>r</sup> KI <sup>1</sup> x [...]	(and) made an appe[al ...] ... [...] my [troop]s [...] ... [...]
13')	[ <sup>m</sup> in-da-bi]-bi ša UGU <sup>2</sup> -[...]	
14')	[...]-pa-ra [...]	
15')	[šú-ut <sup>2</sup> me]- <sup>r</sup> re <sup>21</sup> - <sup>h</sup> e <sup>2</sup> -e-[ti <sup>2</sup> ...]	
16')	[AN.ŠÁR <sup>2</sup> ] <sup>d</sup> NIN.LÍL <sup>r</sup> d <sup>2</sup> [...]	
17')	[ip-ta <sup>2</sup> ]-a <sup>2</sup> ú-šal- <sup>r</sup> la <sup>1</sup> -[a ...]	
18')	[...]-šú <sup>2</sup> -u <sup>2</sup> - <sup>r</sup> ni <sup>1</sup> [...]	
19')	[... ERIM]. <sup>h</sup> I.A- <sup>r</sup> ia <sup>1</sup> [...]	
20')	[...] TI x [...]	
21')	[...] <sup>r</sup> BI <sup>21</sup> [...]	
Lacuna		Lacuna

## 19

A clay prism fragment with a badly effaced surface preserves part of a report describing Ashurbanipal's victory over the Elamite king Teumman at Tīl-Tūba in 653. Because there is significant deviation in the text, it is certain that the piece is not an exemplar of text nos. 3 (Prism B), 4 (Prism D), 6 (Prism C), or 7 (Prism Kh); there is a slight possibility that the fragment could be an exemplar of text no. 8 (Prism G).

## CATALOGUE

Museum Number	Registration Number	Provenance	cpn
BM 128244	1932-12-10,501	Nineveh	c

## COMMENTARY

The contents correspond to text no. 3 (Prism B) vii 20–30 and later inscriptions more or less duplicating that passage, but with deviation in lines 1'–3', 12', and 15'.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- 1968 Lambert and Millard, Cat. p. 57 (study) (transliteration, study)  
 1996 Borger, BIWA pp. 110 and 199; and 4<sup>o</sup>-Heft pp. 168–169

## TEXT

Col. i'

Lacuna

- 1') [...] x [...]  
 2') [...] x x x (x) x [...]  
 3') [...] x x x ū x [...]  
 4') [ERIM.MEŠ MÊ-ia ina URU.man]-<sup>r</sup>gi<sup>1</sup>-si šá qé-reb  
 URU<sup>2</sup>.[su-man-dir]  
 5') [EDIN-uš-šú-un e-lu-nim]-ma<sup>2</sup> iš<sup>2</sup>-ku<sup>2</sup>-nu<sup>2</sup>  
<sup>r</sup>taḥ<sup>21</sup>-[ta-šú-un]  
 6') [ša<sup>m</sup>un]-da<sup>2</sup>-si<sup>2</sup> DUMU<sup>m</sup>te-<sup>r</sup>um-man<sup>1</sup> [LUGAL  
 KUR.ELAM.MA.KI]  
 7') [ša<sup>m</sup>za]-<sup>r</sup>za-az<sup>1</sup> <sup>m</sup>par-ru-ú <sup>m</sup>[at-ta-me-tu]  
 8') <sup>r</sup>SAG<sup>1</sup>.DU.MEŠ-<sup>r</sup>šu<sup>21</sup>-nu<sup>2</sup> KUD<sup>2</sup>-su<sup>2</sup>-[nim-ma]  
 9') ú-bil-u-ni a-di maḥ-ri-[ia]  
 10') šu-ut a-ma-a-ti an-na-a-ti LÚ.A <sup>r</sup>KIN-ia<sup>1</sup>  
 11') ú-ma-'e-er še-er <sup>m</sup>um<sup>1</sup>-man-i-gaš  
 12') LÚ.šú-ut SAG-ia šá a-<sup>r</sup>na<sup>1</sup> šá-al šul-mi-šú  
 áš-pu-ru ik-la-<sup>r</sup>ma<sup>1</sup>  
 13') la ú-ter-ra <sup>r</sup>tur<sup>1</sup>-ti a-mat-<sup>r</sup>ia<sup>1</sup>  
 14') <sup>r</sup>AN.ŠÁR<sup>1</sup> <sup>d</sup>30 <sup>d</sup>UTU <sup>d</sup>EN [...] <sup>r</sup>d<sup>1</sup>nusku<sup>2</sup> x<sup>2</sup> AN [...]  
 15') [...] <sup>r</sup>d<sup>1</sup>nusku<sup>2</sup> x<sup>2</sup> AN [...]  
 16') [DINGIR.MEŠ] <sup>r</sup>ti<sup>21</sup>-ik-[le-ia di-in kit-ti]  
 17') [it-ti <sup>m</sup>um<sup>1</sup>-man-i-gaš <sup>r</sup>i-di<sup>1</sup>-[nu-in-ni]  
 18') [...] (traces) [...]  
 19') [...] (traces) [...]

Lacuna

Lacuna

i' 1'-3') (No translation possible)

i' 4'-9') [My battle troops (who are stationed) in the city Mang]isu — which is inside (the territory of) the city [Sumandir — came up against them] and brought about [their] defeat. They cut [off] the heads [of Un]dasu — a son of Teumm[an, a (former) king of the land Elam — Za]za[z], Parrû, (and) [Atta-metu, and] they brought (them) before [me].

i' 10'-13') I dispatched my messenger to Ummanigaš (Ḫumban-nikas II) regarding these matters. He detained the eunuch of mine whom I had sent (Marduk-šarru-ušur) to inquire about his well-being and did not give a r[e]ply to my word(s).

i' 14'-19') The deities [A]ššur, Sîn, Šamaš, Bēl (Marduk), [...] Nusku, ... [...] the gods who s]up[port me], rend[ered a just verdict for me concerning U]mmanigaš (Ḫumban-nikas II). [...] ... [...]

Lacuna

## 20

Two clay prism fragments may be inscribed with the same edition of Ashurbanipal's summary inscriptions or annals. Because part of a report of the looting of the Elamite city Susa and the return of the Babylonian goddess Nanāya to her temple in Uruk is preserved in col. ii', it is certain that the inscription was composed sometime after the second war against Ummanaldašu (Ḫumban-ḫaltaš III) in 646. Because that account is shorter than those found in text nos. 9 (Prism F) and 11 (Prism A), it is assumed here that the inscription written on these two prisms was composed later than both of those inscriptions, perhaps even as late as ca. 638 (see below).

19 i' 12' a-<sup>r</sup>na<sup>1</sup> šá-al šul-mi-šú "to inquire about his well-being": Compare, for example, text no. 3 (Prism B) vii 27, which does not include these three words. This is probably also the case for text no. 7 (Prism Kh); see vii 10' of that inscription. Should this fragment be an exemplar of text no. 8 (Prism G), then *ana šál šulmišu* should be restored at the end of viii 2'' of that inscription.

19 i' 14'-15' The list of gods in these lines is similar to that of text no. 7 (Prism Kh) vii 12'-13', which has [AN.ŠÁR <sup>d</sup>30 <sup>d</sup>UTU <sup>d</sup>EN <sup>d</sup>AG<sup>1</sup> [<sup>d</sup>MAŠ <sup>d</sup>nusku<sup>2</sup>] <sup>d</sup>U.GUR "the gods Aššur, Sîn, Šamaš, Bēl (Marduk), Na]bû, [Ninurta, Nusku], (and) Nergal." The list of gods in text no. 3 (Prism B) vii 29 is much shorter. That inscription has AN.ŠÁR <sup>d</sup>30 <sup>d</sup>UTU <sup>d</sup>EN <sup>d</sup>MUATI <sup>d</sup>U.GUR "the gods Aššur, Sîn, Šamaš, Bēl (Marduk), Nabû, (and) Nergal."

## CATALOGUE

Ex.	Museum Number	Registration Number	Provenance	Lines Preserved	cpn
1	—	DT 145	Probably Nineveh	i' 1'-13', ii' 3'-15'	c
2	BM 134609	1932-12-12,604	Nineveh	ii' 1'-8'	c

## COMMENTARY

T. Bauer (IWA pp. 29–30) wrongly suggested that the prism to which ex. 1 belongs originally had six columns. As correctly pointed out by R. Borger (BIWA p. 197), the prism was probably a decagon. For the contents of col. ii', compare for example text no. 11 (Prism A) vi 70–74, 107–109, and 122–123. A partial score is provided on Oracc.

As for the date of composition, this is less certain. Borger (*ibid.*) suggests that the inscription was composed late in Ashurbanipal's reign — presumably

after text nos. 9 (Prism F; 645) and 11 (Prism A; 644, 643, or 642) — and tentatively proposes that it could be an exemplar of text no. 13 (Prism J). This suggestion is plausible, however, since the exemplars attributed to that inscription do not preserve an account of Ashurbanipal's fifth Elamite campaign, this reasonable suggestion cannot be proven with any certainty. Therefore, it is best to edit this inscription separately.

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| 1933 | Bauer, <i>Asb.</i> pp. 29–30 and pl. 52 (ex. 1, copy, edition) | 2005 | Novotny, <i>Orientalia NS</i> 74 p. 369 with n. 25 (study)   |
| 1992 | Lambert, <i>Cat.</i> p. 78 (ex. 2, study)                      |      |  |

## TEXT

## Col. i'

## Lacuna

- 1') [... *e-pu*]-<sup>r</sup>šú<sup>1</sup>-uš
- 2') [... MUNUS].<sup>r</sup>ḪUL<sup>1</sup>
- 3') [...]-*mu*
- 4') [...] x ŠÁ?
- 5') [...]-<sup>r</sup>ú<sup>1</sup>-ti
- 6') [...] x-ti
- 7') [...]-<sup>r</sup>ti<sup>1</sup>-ia
- 8') [...]-<sup>r</sup>pal<sup>1</sup>-su-ma
- 9') [...] x-ZA
- 10') [...] x-šu
- 11') [... a]-<sup>r</sup>ra<sup>1</sup>-mu
- 12') [...] x
- 13') [...] x

## Lacuna

## Col. ii'

## Lacuna

- 1') [...] (traces) [...]
- 2') [ALAM] <sup>r</sup>m<sup>1</sup>ḫa-lu-si mu-nar-[riṭ ...]
- 3') a-di ALAM.MEŠ LUGAL.MEŠ [...]
- 4') šá e-pu-šú be-lut KUR.<sup>r</sup>ELAM<sup>1</sup>.[MA.KI]
- 5') it-ti šal-la-ti-šú-nu ka-<sup>r</sup>bit<sup>1</sup>-[ti]

## Lacuna

i' 1'-13') (No translation possible)

## Lacuna

## Lacuna

ii' 1'-9') [...] ... [... the statue of] Ḫallušu (Ḫallušu-Inšušinak I), who had dist[urbed ...], together with statues of [...] kings who had exercised dominion over the land Elam, with their substant[ial] booty, [I erected] in Nineveh, in a gate of my palace, for

6') <i>a-na ta-mar-ti</i> UN.MEŠ EGIR.[MEŠ]	the admiration of futur[e] people. I destroyed (and)
7') <i>ina</i> NINA.KI <i>ina</i> KÁ É.GAL- <i>ia</i> [ul-ziz <sup>2</sup> ]	[demolished] tombs of the kings, their ancestors, (and)
8') <i>ki-maḥ-ḥi</i> LUGAL.MEŠ AD.MEŠ-šú- <i>nu ap-pul</i> [aq-qur]	I took their bones to [Assyria].
9') GİR.PAD.DU.MEŠ-šú- <i>nu al-qa-a a-na</i> KUR [AN.ŠÁR.KI]	
10') <sup>d</sup> <i>na-na-a šá ul-tu</i> GÉŠ.U GÉŠ.U 7 UŠ 15 MU.AN. <sup>r</sup> NA <sup>1</sup> .[MEŠ]	ii' 10'-15') (As for) the goddess Nanāya, who 1,635 year[s] (ago) became angry and (went to) live in a place not befit[ting her], as soon as the time had come
11') <i>ta-áš-bu-šu-ma tu-ši-bu a-šar la si-<sup>r</sup>ma<sup>1</sup>-[ti-šá]</i>	(and) the fix[ed time] had arrived, they (the gods)
12') <i>a-di u<sub>4</sub>-mu im-lu-ú ik-šu-da a-<sup>r</sup>dan<sup>1</sup>-[nu]</i>	commanded her journey (back) to Uruk (and) her
13') <i>a-lak-šá a-na</i> UNUG.KI <sup>r</sup> <i>e-reb-šá a-na<sup>1</sup></i> [é-ḥi-li-an-na <sup>2</sup> ]	(re)entry into [Eḫiliana]. The king [...] by the command
14') <i>iq-bu-ú</i> LUGAL x [...]	of (the god) Aš[šur ...]
15') <i>ina qí-bit</i> AN.[ŠÁR <sup>2</sup> ...]	
Lacuna	Lacuna

## 21

Several fragments of a clay cylinder from Nineveh are inscribed with one of the latest extant texts composed in the name of Ashurbanipal. At present, this is the only positively identified inscription of this king from Assyria written on a cylinder. The inscription provides a summary of some of Ashurbanipal's building activities in Assyria and Babylonia and of his military conquests, most notable of which is the defeat of the Cimmerian ruler Tugdammî, which is also recorded in text nos. 13 (Prism J) and 23 (IIT). Although the date line (line 2'') is completely missing, the text's approximate date of composition may have been ca. 638.

### CATALOGUE

Museum Number	Registration Number	Provenance	cpn
BM 122616 + BM 127966 (+)? BM 128073	1930-5-8,5 + 1929-10-12,622 (+)? 1929-10-12,729	Nineveh, Asn. Palace, Squares A, B, and H	c

### COMMENTARY

The inscription is written in Neo-Assyrian script and horizontal rulings separate each line of text. The non-physical join between BM 122616 + BM 127966 and BM 128073 was suggested by A.R. Millard and has been provisionally accepted here. He also proposed that BM 122613, which is dated by the post-canonical eponymy of Sîn-šarru-ušur, may have belonged to

the same clay cylinder as BM 122616+. As E. Weisert (*apud* Borger, BIWA p. 356) has already pointed out, this join is unlikely since BM 122613 probably bears an inscription of Sîn-šarra-iškun. Therefore, BM 122613 is edited in Part 2 as Sîn-šarra-iškun text no. 3.

20 ii' 10' GÉŠ.U GÉŠ.U 7 UŠ 15 MU.NA.<sup>r</sup>NA<sup>1</sup>.[MEŠ] "1,635 year[s] (ago)": See the on-page note to text no. 9 (Prism F) v 72.

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| 1940 | Thompson, Iraq 7 pp. 106–107 and fig. 18 no. 33 (BM 122616, copy, edition) | 1996 | Borger, BIWA pp. 199–200 (edition)                                       |
| 1962 | Tadmor, Proceedings of the 25th International Congress p. 240 (study)      | 1998 | Reade, Orientalia 67 p. 257 (study)                                      |
| 1968 | Lambert and Millard, Cat. pp. 13 and 47 (study)                            | 2000 | Reade, RLA 9/5–6 p. 410 §13.5 (study)                                    |
|      |  | 2010 | Fuchs, Interkulturalität pp. 416–419 and 422–426 (line 19', study)       |

## TEXT

- |        |   |           |   |
|--------|---|-----------|---|
| 1)     | <i>a-na<sup>1</sup>-ku</i> <sup>m</sup> AN.ŠÁR-DÛ-IBILA <sup>1</sup> [...]  | 1–3)      | I, Ashurbanipal, [...] creation of the hands of (the god) Ašš[ur ...], son of E[sar]hadd[on, ...]   |
| 2)     | <i>bi-nu<sup>1</sup>-ut</i> ŠU.II AN.ŠÁR <sup>1</sup> [...]   |           |   |
| 3)     | <sup>r</sup> DUMU <sup>m</sup> AN <sup>1</sup> .[ŠÁR]-PAP-SUM.[NA ...]  |           |   |
| Lacuna |   | Lacuna    |   |
| 1')    | [...] (blank) [...]   | 1'–3')    | [..., build]er of [..., ...] (and) Nabû [...] with the gaze of their eyes, [...].   |
| 2')    | [... e] <sup>r</sup> piš <sup>1</sup> x [...]   |           |   |
| 3')    | [...] <sup>r</sup> dAG <sup>1</sup> ina ni- <sup>r</sup> ši IGI <sup>1</sup> .II.MEŠ- <sup>r</sup> šú-nu <sup>1</sup> [...]   | 4')       | [... I compl]eted [...] its walls. [...]  |
| 4')    | [... ú-šak]-lil É.GAR <sub>8</sub> .MEŠ- <sup>r</sup> šú <sup>1</sup> [...]   | 5')       | [... m]y [lady], that is in Nineveh, Egašankalama [...]   |
| 5')    | [... GAŠAN] <sup>r</sup> ia <sup>1</sup> šá qé-reb NINA.KI<br><i>é-gašan-kalam-ma</i> x [...]   | 6')       | [... the] great [gods], my lords, their cult centers [...]  |
| 6')    | [... DINGIR.MEŠ] GAL.MEŠ EN.MEŠ-ia<br><i>ma-ḥa-zi-<sup>r</sup>šú-nu<sup>1</sup></i> [...]   | 7'–9'a)   | [... b]ronze, iron, [...] his pure daises [...] I constantly set up [...] of silver (and) gold.   |
| 7')    | [...] <sup>r</sup> ZABAR <sup>1</sup> AN.BAR [...]  | 9'b–10'a) | E[...].   |
| 8')    | [...] BÁRA.MEŠ-šú KÛ.MEŠ [...]  |           |   |
| 9')    | [...] <sup>r</sup> šá KÛ.BABBAR <sup>1</sup> KÛ.GI lu-u áš-tak-kan<br><sup>r</sup> é <sup>1</sup> [...]   | 10'b)     | [E]meslam, the temple of the god Nergal of Cu[tha, ...].  |
| 10')   | [... é] <sup>r</sup> mes-lam É <sup>d</sup> U.GUR šá GÚ <sup>1</sup> .[DU <sub>8</sub> .A.KI ...]   | 11'–12'a) | [... d]imensions, temple appurtenance(s) of silver, gold, [...].  |
| 11')   | [...] <sup>r</sup> mi <sup>2</sup> -na-a-ti si-mat É.KUR šá KÛ.BABBAR<br>KÛ.GI [...]  | 12'b–13') | [N]anāya, the great lady, (who) f[rom ... i]n Eḫiliana, which she love[s. ...]  |
| 12')   | [... d] <sup>r</sup> na <sup>1</sup> -na-a <sup>r</sup> GAŠAN <sup>1</sup> GAL-tú <sup>r</sup> ul <sup>1</sup> -[tu ...]  | 14')      | [...] I built (and) [comple]ted. [I ...] their aban[doned] regular offerings. [...]   |
| 13')   | [...] <sup>r</sup> ina é <sup>1</sup> -ḫi- <sup>r</sup> li-an <sup>1</sup> -na šá <sup>r</sup> ta <sup>1</sup> -ram- <sup>r</sup> mu <sup>1</sup> [...]                                       | 15'–17'a) | [..., the great gods], my [lord]s, fully carried out [..., spread] their benev[olent] protection [over me, and ...] th[ey] made [...] b[low down] to my yoke. [...] I had no rival (lit. “there was no rival”). |
| 14')   | [...] x ar- <sup>r</sup> šip ú <sup>1</sup> -[šak]- <sup>r</sup> lil <sup>1</sup> sat-tuk-ki-šú-nu<br><i>baṭ-[lu-tu ...]</i>  | 17'b)     | [I conquered] the city Thebes, a royal city of Egyp[t and Kush. ...]  |
| 15')   | [... DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ EN]. <sup>r</sup> MEŠ-ia <sup>1</sup><br><i>ú-šal-<sup>r</sup>li<sup>1</sup>-mu</i> AN.DÛL-šú-nu <sup>r</sup> DÛG <sup>1</sup> .[GA UGU-ia<br><i>it-ru-šu-ma ...]</i> | 18')      | [...] I brought to naught. [I ...] its gods (and) [its] goddesses. [...]  |
| 16')   | [...] <sup>r</sup> a <sup>1</sup> -na GIŠ.ŠUDUN-ia ú- <sup>r</sup> šak <sup>1</sup> -[ni-šú <sup>2</sup> ...]   | 19')      | [... with Tugdam]mí, king of a barbarian horde, a n[omad, ...]  |
| 17')   | [...] x ma-ḫir ul i-ši URU.ni-i' URU LUGAL-ti<br>KUR.mu- <sup>r</sup> šur <sup>1</sup> [u KUR.ku-u-si KUR-ud ...]   | 20'–21')  | [...] I killed (and) cut down (with the sword). The land Media, Mannea, [...] the lands ...uppi and Qadê, which is on the sh[ore of ...]  |
| 18')   | [...] <sup>r</sup> a <sup>1</sup> -di la ba-še-e ú-šá-lik DINGIR.MEŠ-šú<br><sup>d</sup> 15.MEŠ-[šú ...]   |           |   |
| 19')   | [... it-ti <sup>m</sup> tug-dam]-mì-i LUGAL ERIM-man-da<br><sup>r</sup> NUMUN <sup>1</sup> [ <i>ḫal-ga-te-e ...]</i>  |           |   |
| 20')   | [...] <sup>r</sup> a <sup>2</sup> -ni-ir ú-šam-qit KUR.ma-ta-a-a<br>KUR.man-na-a-a <sup>r</sup> KUR <sup>2</sup> .[...]   |           |   |
| 21')   | [...] <sup>r</sup> KUR <sup>2</sup> .x-up-pi u KUR.qa-de-e šá ina a-[ḫi<br>...]   |           |   |

15'–17'a Compare text no. 12 (Prism H) ii 3'–6' and text no. 23 (IIT) lines 78b–81.

17' The restorations are based on text no. 12 (Prism H) ii 8' and text no. 23 (IIT) line 82.

19' Compare text no. 23 (IIT) line 143.

21' <sup>r</sup>KUR<sup>2</sup>.x-up-pi “[the lan]d ...uppi”: R. Campbell Thompson (AAA 20 [1933] p. 105) suggested reading the geographic name as KUR.ku-up-pi (“the land Kuppi”), whereas R. Borger (BIWA p. 200) proposed reading it as KUR.lu-up-pi “the land Luppi.”

22') [...] <sup>r</sup> áš <sup>21</sup> -bu ina qí-bit AN.ŠÁR <sup>d</sup> NIN.LÍL < <sup>d</sup> EN <sup>2</sup> > <sup>d</sup> AG <sup>d</sup> [...]	22') [...] ... By the command of the deities Aššur, Mullissu, <Bēl (Marduk)>, Nabû, [...]
23') [...]-ia la kan-šú da-na-an AN.ŠÁR <sup>d</sup> NIN.LÍL <sup>d</sup> EN [...]	23') [...] of mine (who) are insubmissive [...] the might of the deities Aššur, Mullissu, Bēl (Marduk), [...]
24') [... ul-tu tam-tim e-li-ti ša šul-mu] <sup>r</sup> d <sup>1</sup> UTU-ši a-di tam-tim <sup>r</sup> šap <sup>1</sup> -[li-ti ša ši-it <sup>d</sup> UTU-ši ...]	24') [...] from the Upper Sea of the Setting] Sun to the L[ower] Sea [of the Rising Sun ...]
25') [...] <sup>r</sup> la <sup>1</sup> na-par-ka-a man-da- <sup>r</sup> at <sup>1</sup> -[ta-šú DUGUD-tú ...]	25') [..., wit]hout interruption, [... his heavy] pay[ment ...]
26') [...] <sup>r</sup> d <sup>EN</sup> <sup>21</sup> x x x [...]	26') [...] <i>Bēl (Marduk)</i> ... [...]
Lacuna	Lacuna
1') <sup>d</sup> AMAR.UTU <sup>d</sup> zar-pa- <sup>r</sup> ni-tum <sup>1</sup> [...]	1''-2'') Marduk, Zarpanit[u ...].
2') (blank) [...]	

## 22

Four black stone fragments are inscribed with a late version of Ashurbanipal's annals; the pieces either come from the same slab or belong to the same inscription that was written over a series of slabs. The fragments probably come from Nineveh and may have lined the wall of an important room of a building on the citadel (perhaps the Ištar/Mullissu temple Emašmaš). The text, as far as it is preserved, contains descriptions of Ashurbanipal's building activities at Babylon, Borsippa, Cutha, and Nineveh, as well as his campaign against Uaite' and the Arabs. The extant sections of the prologue are similar to those of text nos. 12 (Prism H), 13 (Prism J), and 23 (IIT), while the preserved parts of the military narration most closely parallel the contents of text no. 11 (Prism A). The inscription's approximate date of composition is ca. 642–640, that is, after text no. 11 and before text no. 12.

### CATALOGUE

Museum Number	Registration Number	Provenance	cpn
HMA 9-1773 (+)? VA 4332 (+) MMA 86.11.413 (+) HMA 9-1774	—	Probably Nineveh, Ištar Temple	(c)

### COMMENTARY

Although none of the four fragments were discovered during systematic archaeological excavations, it is likely that the pieces all originate from Nineveh (Frame in Spar and Jursa, CTMMA 4 p. 274). This proposal is supported by the fact that the goddess Ištar is specifically named in the concluding formula (ii' 1'), that R. Campbell Thompson found numerous stone wall slab fragments that were inscribed with a lengthy summary inscription of Ashurbanipal (text no. 23 [IIT]) in the vicinity of the Emašmaš temple,

and that C.F. Lehmann-Haupt purchased one of the pieces (VA 4332) in Mosul.

The script is a mixture of Assyrian and contemporary Neo-Babylonian sign forms; this is typical for seventh-century Assyrian inscriptions written on stone. The inscription, like text no. 23 (IIT), was written in several columns. HMA 9-1773 i and HMA 9-1774 ii' are tentatively regarded as the first and last columns of the inscription. VA 4332, HMA 9-1774 i', and MMA 86.11.413 all belong to the penultimate

column. It is less certain if HMA 9-1773 ii is part of the same column as VA 4332 (+) HMA 9-1774 i' (+) MMA 86.11.413 or part of a column that preceded it. Provisionally, HMA 9-1773 ii is regarded as belonging to a different column of the text. If this proves true, then this monumental inscription was written on at least four columns of text. However, if HMA 9-1773 ii and VA 4332 (+) HMA 9-1774 i' (+) MMA 86.11.413 are part of one and the same column, then the inscription would have originally contained three columns. As for the placement of fragment HMA 9-1774 (+) MMA 86.11.413, it probably comes from near the bottom of the slab since HMA 9-1774 ii' preserves part of the concluding formula.

The contents of col. i are similar to text no. 12 (Prism H) i, text no. 13 (Prism J) ii, and text no. 23 (IIT) lines 37b-38a and 50b-63. Those of col. i' partially duplicate (with significant deviation) text no. 11 (Prism A) viii 86-106 and ix 19-56. Most of the proposed restorations come from those four in-

scriptions.

The proposed date of composition (ca. 642-640) is based on similarities with the contents of texts nos. 11 (Prism A) and 12 (Prism H); the latter is definitively dated by Ashurbanipal's thirtieth regnal year (639). Because this inscription does not mention the rebuilding of the temple of Gula at Babylon, Esabad ("House of the Open Ear"), in its prologue, it is assumed here that it must have been composed before, or at the latest at the same time as, text no. 12, since inscriptions written after 639 all mention that accomplishment in their prologues; see text no. 13 (Prism J) ii 13'-14' and text no. 23 (IIT) line 53. A date earlier than 639 may be supported by the fact that the military narration closely parallels the description of the Arab campaigns found in text no. 11 (Prism A). Given the poor state of preservation of this inscription and other extant late inscriptions of Ashurbanipal, this cannot be proven with any degree of certainty.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

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| 1916 | Streck, <i>Asb.</i> p. XXI (VA 4332, study)   | 2003 | Novotny, <i>Orientalia</i> NS 72 p. 215 (HMA 9-1774, study)   |
| 1978 | Foxvog, <i>RA</i> 72 pp. 44-46 nos. 1-2 with figs. 1-2 (HMA 9-1773, HMA 9-1774, copy, transliteration, study) | 2014 | Frame in Spar and Jursa, <i>CTMMA</i> 4 pp. 271-274 and pl. 128 no. 162 (MMA 86.11.413, copy [by I. Spar]; HMA 9-1774, MMA 86.11.413, edition, study) |
| 1996 | Borger, <i>BIWA</i> p. 383 (study)  |      |   |

## TEXT

Col. i

Lacuna

- 1') [(...) *ina ká-ḫi-li-sù maš-tak* <sup>d</sup>*zar-pa-ni-tum* ša *ku-uz*]-<sup>r</sup>*bu* <sup>r</sup>*sa*-<sup>r</sup>*al*<sup>1</sup>-[*ḫu ad-di*]
- 2') [GIŠ.NÁ GIŠ.ESI *iš-ši dà-re-e šá* KÙ.GI ҲUŠ.A *lit-bu-šat*] <sup>r</sup>*a*<sup>2</sup>-*na*<sup>2</sup> <sup>d</sup>[AMAR].UTU *ra-im*  
BALA.<sup>r</sup>MEŠ<sup>1</sup>-[*ia a-qiš*]
- 3') [... *a-a*<sup>2</sup>]-*ak-ku* KÙ <sup>r</sup>*šu*<sup>1</sup>-*bat ru-bu*-[*ti-šú x x*]
- 4') [...]-<sup>r</sup>*uk*<sup>1</sup>-*tú a-na* <sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU<sup>1</sup> EN-*ia eš*-<sup>r</sup>*šiš*<sup>1</sup>  
[*ar-šip*]
- 5') [(...) 2 *per-ku* KÙ.BABBAR *eb-ba ša*] <sup>r</sup>AS<sub>4</sub><sup>1</sup>  
GUN.[TA.ÀM<sup>2</sup>] KILÁ-<sup>r</sup>*šú*<sup>1</sup>-[*nu*]
- 6') [...]-<sup>r</sup>*a*<sup>1</sup>-*ni u KÁ.MEŠ-ni ú*-<sup>r</sup>*ḫum*<sup>1</sup>-*meš*  
SUḪUŠ.MEŠ-*šú-nu* [*ú-kin*]
- 7') [(...) 6 AM.MEŠ KÙ.BABBAR *ek-du-ti*] <sup>r</sup>*na*<sup>1</sup>-*ši-ru*  
*ki-bi-is* LUGAL-*u-ti*-[*ia*]
- 8') [... *ina*] <sup>r</sup>KÁ<sup>1</sup> *é-zi-da šá qé-reb bár-sipa*.KI

Lacuna

- i 1') [(...) I placed (the bed) in Kaḫilisu, the residence of the goddess Zarpanītu, which] is lad[en with sexual cha]rm.
- i 2') [I presented the] god [Mard]uk, the one who loves [my] reign, [with a bed of ebony, a durable wood, (and) which is clad with reddish gold].
- i 3'-4') [...] pure [san]ctuary, [his] prince[ly] abode. [I constructed ...] ... ane[w] for the god Marduk, my lord.
- i 5'-6') [(...) in ...] ... and gateways, [I made] the foundations of [two shiny silver *pirkus*, wh]os[e] weight is [s]ix talents [each], as firm as a m[o]untain.
- i 7'-8') [(...) I s[tationed] six fierce wild bulls of silver, pr[otectors] of [my] royal path, [*in* ..., in the gate]way(s) of Ezida, which is inside Borsippa.

i 1'-21' The preserved contents of this inscription's prologue are similar to text no. 12 (Prism H) i. See the on-page notes of that inscription for further information on some of the passages recording work in Babylonia.

i 3'-4' (or 5'a) The contents of these lines are presently attested only in this damaged inscription.

i 6' [...]-<sup>r</sup>*a*<sup>1</sup>-*ni u KÁ.MEŠ-ni* ["... and gateways": Text no. 12 (Prism H) i 12' has *a-na tal-lak-ti ru-bu-ti-šú šir-ti* ("for the processional way of his exalted rulership") before SUḪUŠ.MEŠ-*šú-nu ú-kin* ("I made their foundations firm").

- 9') <sup>r</sup>ul<sup>1</sup>-[ziz]  
 [... *ki-zálag-ga šu-bat* <sup>d</sup>IZI.GAR 83] <sup>r</sup>GUN<sup>1</sup>  
*za-ḥa-lu-ú eb-bu ap-tiq-<sup>r</sup>ma<sup>1</sup>*  
 10') [... DINGIR<sup>2</sup>]-*ti-šú GAL-ti ma-ḥar-šú ú-šat-ri-<sup>r</sup>iš<sup>1</sup>*  
 11') [... GIŠ.MES.MÁ.KAN.NA<sup>2</sup> *iš-ši<sup>2</sup> dà*]-<sup>r</sup>re<sup>1</sup>-e šá 50  
 MA.NA KÙ.GI ḤUŠ.A *lit-bu-<sup>r</sup>šat<sup>1</sup>*  
 12') [...] <sup>r</sup>šu<sup>1</sup>-*bat* <sup>d</sup>a-nu-ti-šú *ina at-man* <sup>d</sup>AG EN-*ía*  
*ú-šar-šid*  
 13') [... šá] *qé-reb* NINA.KI KÙ.BABBAR KÙ.GI *lu*  
*uḥ-ḥi-iz*  
 14') [(...) *é-mes-lam* É <sup>d</sup>U.GUR šá *qé-reb*  
 GÚ.DU<sub>8</sub>.A]-<sup>r</sup>KI<sup>1</sup> šá *e-na-ḥu-ma il-li-ku la-ba-riš*  
 15') [*an-ḥu-us-su ud-diš mi-qit-ta-šú ad-ke ina*]  
<sup>r</sup>GIŠ<sup>1</sup>.Ù.ŠUB GIŠ.ESI GIŠ.MES.MÁ.KAN.NA  
 16') [*ḥi-bi-š-ti ŠIM.ḪI.A SIG<sub>5</sub>.ḪI.A-šú al-bi-in al-lu*  
*ú*]-<sup>r</sup>šat<sup>1</sup>-*rik-ma uš-te-eš-še-ra* UŠ<sub>8</sub>-šú  
 17') [*ina* ITI DÜG.GA *u<sub>4</sub>-me še-mì-i ina i-gu-la-a* Ì  
 DÜG.GA KÙ.BABBAR KÙ.GI *ad*]-<sup>r</sup>di<sup>1</sup> *tem-me-en-šú*  
*ú ad-da-a* SI.GAR-šú

- 18') [*ina* GIŠ.MES.MÁ.KAN.NA GIŠ.KA GIŠ.ESI GIŠ.TÚG  
 GIŠ<sup>2</sup>.KÌM<sup>2</sup> *u* GIŠ.UMBIN *us*]-<sup>r</sup>si<sup>1</sup>-*ma ši-kit-ti* É  
 19') [*ul-tu* UŠ<sub>8</sub>-šú *a-di gaba-dib-bi-šú ina ši-pir*  
<sup>d</sup>kulla *ar-šip ú-šak-lil ul*]-<sup>r</sup>la<sup>1</sup>-*a re<sup>1</sup>-ši-šú*  
 20') [... GIŠ.ÜR.MEŠ GIŠ.EREN MAḪ.MEŠ *ú-šat*]-<sup>r</sup>ri-š<sup>1</sup>  
 UGU-šú  
 21') [...].<sup>r</sup>MEŠ<sup>1</sup>-šú

Lacuna

Col. ii

Lacuna

- 1') <sup>r</sup>UM<sup>2</sup>-[...]  
 2') <sup>m</sup>x [...]  
 3') x [...]  
 4') IGI [...]  
 5') x [...]  
 6') <sup>m</sup>[...]  
 7') x [...]

Lacuna

Col. i'

Lacuna

- 1') [...]-x x (x) [...]  
 2') [... *e*]-<sup>r</sup>te<sup>1</sup>-*et-ti-qu šal*-[*mì-iš* ...]  
 3') [... TA NINA.KI URU *na*]-<sup>r</sup>ram<sup>1</sup> <sup>d</sup>iš-*tar* GAŠAN  
<sup>r</sup>NINA<sup>1</sup>.KI [...]  
 4') [... <sup>m</sup>ú-*a-a-te*]-<sup>r</sup>e' LUGAL KUR.*a-ri-<sup>r</sup>bi<sup>1</sup>* [...]

i 9'-10') [...] I cast [Kizalaga, the seat of the god Nūru, with eighty-three ta]lents of shiny *zahalū*-metal an[d] made [...] of] his great [*divin*]ity spread o[ut] before him.  
 i 11'-12') [I ... a ... of *musukkannu*-wood, a dura]ble [wood], that is clad with fifty minas of reddish gold, [and (...)] I secured (it) [...] the s]eat of his high rank, in the inner sanctum of the god Nabû, my lord.  
 i 13'-14'a) I inlaid with silver (and) gold [the ... that is] inside Nineveh [...].  
 i 14'b-17') [(As for) Emeslam, the temple of the god Nergal that is inside Cutha], which had become dilapidated and old, [I renovated its collapsed section(s) and] removed the portion(s) of it that had collapsed. In] brick mold(s) of ebony (and) *musukkannu*-wood, [I made its bricks with crushed pieces of aromatics. I made (people)] take up [hoe(s)] and had its foundation(s) put (back) into alignment. [In an auspicious month, (on) a propitious day, I lai]d its foundation(s) [with perfumed oil, good quality oil, silver, (and) gold]. Moreover, I secured its door bolt(s).  
 i 18'-21') [I ador]ned the structure of the temple [with *musukkannu*-wood, KA-wood, ebony, boxwood, *ḥilēpu*-wood, and UMBIN-wood] and [built (and) completed (it) from its foundation(s) to its crenellations with the craft of the god Kulla. I rais]ed its superstructure. [...] I roo]fed it [with long beams of cedar. ...] its [...].

Lacuna

Lacuna

ii 1'-7') (No translation possible)

Lacuna

Lacuna

i' 1'-8') [...] ... they (my troops) [con]stantly passed saf[ely] ... from Nineveh, the city love[d] by the goddess Ištar, the lady of Nineve[h, ... Uait]e', the king of the land of the Arab[s, ... next] to wat[er] cisterns. [...] My troops] dre[w water to (fill)] their drinking vessel(s),

i 10' *ma-ḥar-šú ú-šat-ri-<sup>r</sup>iš<sup>1</sup>* "I made spread o[ut] before him": Compare, for example, text no. 12 (Prism H) i 9', which has *nak-liš ú-še-piš* ("I expertly fashioned").

i 11'-13' The contents of these lines are presently attested only in this damaged inscription.

i 17' *ú ad-da-a* "and I secured": The orthography of this line appears to be corrupt given that *ú* is not used as a conjunction in Akkadian. Due to this, R. Borger (BIWA pp. 189 and 210) instead reads these four signs together as a single word, and interprets it as a D stem of *edû* (*u'addâ*), translating the line, "Ich *bestimmte* sein Türschloss." However, a D stem of *edû* makes little sense in this context, and the orthography can more easily be explained as a error in copying through dictation, whereby the scribe incorrectly rendered the first sound in /*u addâ*/ with *ú* rather than *u* or *ù*. This is confirmed by the parallel passage in i 21' of the later text no. 12 (Prism H), in which the scribe corrected the orthography to *ù ad-da-a*.

i' 1'-8' Compare the contents of the much longer text no. 11 (Prism A) viii 86-106.



- 5') [... ina] <sup>1</sup>UGU<sup>21</sup> gu-ub-ba-ni šá A.[MEŠ ...]  
 6') [... ERIM.ĤI.A-ia A.MEŠ a-na] maš-ti-ti-šú-nu  
 ĥ<sup>1</sup>-<sup>1</sup>bu<sup>1</sup>-[ma ...]  
 7') [... qaq-qar šu-um-me]-e a-<sup>1</sup>šar lap<sup>1</sup>-[lap-ti ...]  
 8') [...] x [...]

## Lacuna

- 1'') [...] x x  
 2'') [... ĥar-ra-an<sup>2</sup> KUR.di-maš-qa<sup>2</sup> ú-šá-áš-ki-na<sup>2</sup>  
 še-pu]-<sup>1</sup>uš<sup>1</sup>-šú-un  
 3'') [<sup>m</sup>a-bi-ia-te-e<sup>2</sup> <sup>m</sup>a-a-am-mu i]-<sup>1</sup>na<sup>2</sup> qí-bit<sup>1</sup>  
 [AN.ŠÁR u] <sup>d</sup>15 EN.MEŠ-ia  
 4'') [ina MURUB<sub>4</sub> tam-ĥa-ri bal-<sup>1</sup>tu]-<sup>1</sup>us-su<sup>1</sup>-nu  
 uš-šab-<sup>1</sup>bit<sup>1</sup> ina qa-ti  
 5'') [ŠU.II u ĠIR.II bi-re-tú AN.BAR ad-di-šú-nu]-ti  
 it-ti šal-lat KUR-šú-nu <sup>1</sup>al<sup>1</sup>-[qa-áš-šú-nu]-<sup>1</sup>ti<sup>1</sup> ana  
 KUR AN.ŠÁR.KI  
 6'') [mun-nab-ti<sup>2</sup> šá<sup>2</sup> la-pa-an<sup>2</sup> GIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ<sup>2</sup>]  
<sup>1</sup>AN<sup>1</sup>.ŠÁR in-nab-tú iš-ba-tu  
 [KUR.ĥu-uk-ku-ru-na KUR]-ú mar-šu  
 7'') [a-šar kup-pi nam-ba-<sup>2</sup>i] <sup>1</sup>šá<sup>1</sup> A.MEŠ ma-la  
 ba-šu-ú <sup>1</sup>EN.NUN<sup>1</sup>.MEŠ UGU-šú  
 8'') [ú-šá-an-šir-ma A.MEŠ TI.LA] na-<sup>1</sup>piš-ti<sup>1</sup>-šú-nu  
<sup>1</sup>ak<sup>1</sup>-la  
 9'') [maš-ti-tu ú-šá-qir a-na pi-i-šú]-nu ina  
 šu-<sup>1</sup>um<sup>2</sup>-me<sup>21</sup>-e lap-lap-ti iš-<sup>1</sup>ku<sup>1</sup>-nu na-<sup>1</sup>piš-tú  
 10'') [UN.MEŠ NITA u MUNUS ANŠE.MEŠ]  
 ANŠE.<sup>1</sup>A.AB<sup>1</sup>.[BA].MEŠ GU<sub>4</sub>.MEŠ u  
<sup>1</sup>US<sub>5</sub>.UDU.[ĤI.A]  
 11'') [(ina la mì-ni) áš-lu-la ú-za-<sup>2</sup>i-iz a-na UN.MEŠ]  
<sup>1</sup>KUR<sup>1</sup> AN.ŠÁR.KI ina qa-bal-ti KUR-[ia]  
 12'') [ANŠE.A.AB.BA.MEŠ ina 1 ĠÍN 1/2] <sup>1</sup>ĠÍN<sup>1</sup> kas-pi  
 i-šam-mu ina <sup>1</sup>KÁ<sup>1</sup> [ma-ĥi-ri]  
 13'') [MUNUS.áš-tam-mu ina ni-id-ni LÚ.LÚNGA ina]  
<sup>1</sup>ĥa<sup>1</sup>-bé-e LÚ.NU.GIŠ.KIRI<sub>6</sub> ina ki-<sup>1</sup>ši<sup>1</sup>-[šú šá  
 Ú.SAR]  
 14'') [im-da-na-ĥa-ru ANŠE.A].<sup>1</sup>AB<sup>1</sup>.BA.MEŠ ù  
 a-<sup>1</sup>me<sup>1</sup>-[lu-tu (...)]  
 15'') [<sup>m</sup>ú-a-a-te-e<sup>2</sup> ...] x [(x)] in-nab-<sup>1</sup>tu<sup>1</sup> [ma-ĥar<sup>2</sup>  
<sup>m</sup>na-at-na<sup>2</sup>]  
 16'') [...] šá a-na [...]  
 17'') [...] x x [...]

## Lacuna

## Col. ii'

## Lacuna

- 1') <sup>d</sup>15<sup>1</sup> x (x) [...]  
 2') ia-a-ti <sup>m</sup>AN.[ŠÁR-DÛ-A ...]  
 3') ĥa-diš nap-<sup>1</sup>lis<sup>1</sup>-[in-ni<sup>2</sup> ...]  
 4') DINGIR.MEŠ <sup>1</sup>su<sup>21</sup>-[...]  
 5') TI.LA <sup>1</sup>ZI<sup>1</sup>.MEŠ<sup>2</sup>-ia<sup>2</sup> ...]  
 6') GIŠ.<sup>1</sup>GIDRU<sup>1</sup> [...]  
 7') <sup>1</sup>A<sup>1</sup> [...]

## Lacuna

[and (then) ... a land of] par[ching thirs]t (lit. “[a land of thirs]t (and) a place of par[ching]”) [...]

## Lacuna

i' 1''-2'') [...] ... [... I made] their [feet take the road to Damascus].

i' 3''-5'') [(As for) Abī-Yate' (and) Aya-ammu, b]y the command of [(the god) Aššur and] the goddess Ištar, my lords, I cap[tu]red them [aliv]e [in the thick of battle. I placed (their) hands and feet in iron fetters (and)] t[ook the]m to Assyria, together with plunder from their land.

i' 6''-9'') [*The fugitives who*] had fled [*from the weapons of (the god) Aššur*] took to [Mount Ĥukkuruna, a] rugged [mountai]n. [Where(ever) there was] a spring (or) a source of water, as many as there were, [I had] g[uar]ds [stationed] over it [and (thus) I] withheld (from them) [the water (which) sustains] their live(s). [I made drink scarce for the]ir [mouths] (and) they laid down (their) live(s) from parching thirst.

i' 10''-14'a) [They (lit. “I”) carried off people — male and female — donkeys], cam[el]s, oxen, and sheep and goat[s (without number). I divided (them) among the people of] Assyria (so that) within [my] land they (the Assyrians) could purchase [camels for one shekel (or even) a half shek]el of silver at the [market] ga[te]. The female tavern keeper for a *servi*ng, the beer brewer for a j]ug (of beer), (and) the gardener for [his] bag [of vegetables were regularly receiving c]amels (and) sl[aves].

i' 14''b-17'') [(...) Uaite' [..., who] had fle[d into the presence of Natnu, ...] who(m) to [...] ... [...]

## Lacuna

## Lacuna

ii' 1'-7') O Ištar, [...] look with pleasure upon me — As[hurbanipal, ...] the gods [...] the preservation of [my] li[fe] [...] scepte[r ...]

## Lacuna

i' 7''b-2''a It is assumed here that this break in the inscription would have duplicated (with significant omissions) text no. 11 (Prism A) viii 107-ix 7.

i' 2''-17'' Compare the contents of the much longer text no. 11 (Prism A) ix 8-56.

i' 6'' [GIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ<sup>2</sup>] <sup>1</sup>AN<sup>1</sup>.ŠÁR “[the weapons of (the god) Aššur”]: Text no. 11 (Prism A) ix 25 has GIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ-ia “my weapons.”

## 23

Numerous unsculpted limestone wall slabs discovered in and around the Iṣtar/Mullissu temple Emašmaš at Nineveh bear a lengthy inscription summarizing Ashurbanipal's many accomplishments on and off the battlefield. This poorly preserved text, of which there were at least four copies in antiquity, once lined the walls of room(s) of the temple of Nineveh's tutelary deity. Today, this important inscription is almost entirely known through R. Campbell Thompson's hand-drawn facsimiles, although one small piece of it has recently been discovered in the British Museum (London). The text, which is generally referred to in scholarly literature as the "Inscription from the Iṣtar Temple" ("IIT"), is one of the latest extant official texts of Ashurbanipal. Although the slabs were not dated, its approximate date of composition may have been around 638, about the same as text no. 13 (Prism J). Its *terminus post quem* is the rebuilding of the temple of Gula at Babylon, Esabad ("House of the Open Ear"), a project commemorated in the building report of text no. 12 (Prism H), an inscription definitively dated to Ashurbanipal's thirtieth regnal year (639). The text opens with a long dedication to the goddess Mullissu (the Iṣtar of Nineveh; lines 1–26), which is followed by a detailed summary of Ashurbanipal's many building activities in Assyria and Babylonia (lines 27–81); information is provided on construction at Aššur, Arbela, Babylon, Borsippa, Cutha, Dēr, Ḥarrān, Nineveh, and Tarbiṣu. The military narration (lines 82–161) summarizes victories on the battlefield, as well as the (voluntary) submission of distant foreign rulers, and the deaths of recalcitrant enemies and disloyal vassals; Ashurbanipal takes credit for the (untimely) fates of these enemies and explains that these men's deaths were the rewards that the gods had given to him for being pious. One of the more important pieces of information included in this text is a report of Assyria's skirmishes with the Cimmerian tribal leader Tugdammî, a man known as Lydgamis in classical sources (lines 146b–159a). Interestingly, this text (as well as text no. 13 [Prism J]) claims that this dangerous foe was not defeated in the heat of battle by Assyrian troops, but rather was injured by fire that fell from the sky (a lightning bolt?) and later died from some painful and deadly magical attack (beset upon him by Ashurbanipal's magicians in Nineveh). The building report, the central point of the inscription, records the rebuilding of the Iṣtar/Mullissu temple Emašmaš (lines 162–166a); the famous ninth-century Assyrian king Ashurnasirpal II is cited as a previous builder of that temple.

## CATALOGUE

Ex.	Source	Provenance	Lines Preserved	cpn
1	Thompson, AAA 20 pls. XC–XCI Main Text I and no. 104	Nineveh, Iṣtar Temple	1–28	n
2	Thompson, AAA 20 pls. LXXXI and XCII–XCIII Main Text II (+) no. 21	As ex. 1	77–85	n
3	Thompson, AAA 20 pls. LXXXVII and XCIII–XCV Main Text III + no. 95	As ex. 1	92–131	n
4	Thompson, AAA 20 pls. LXXXI, LXXXV, and XCV–XCVI Main Text IV + no. 73 (+) no. 30 (+) no. 74	As ex. 1	125–162	n

5	Thompson, AAA 20 pls. LXXX and LXXXVIII nos. 5 and 100 (= Fuchs' Group A)	As ex. 1	1-14	n
6	Thompson, AAA 20 pls. LXXXIII-LXXXIV and LXXXVI nos. 42, 52, and 90 (= Fuchs' Group B)	As ex. 1	1-17	n
7	Thompson, AAA 20 pls. LXXXI, LXXXIII-LXXXIV and LXXXVII nos. 25, 29, 47, 50, 54, and 96 (= Fuchs' Group C)	As ex. 1	6-19	n
8	Thompson, AAA 20 pls. LXXX-LXXXI nos. 2, 4, 12, 15-17, and 24 (= Fuchs' Group D)	As ex. 1	17-43	n
9	Thompson, AAA 20 pls. LXXX-LXXXVII nos. 8, 10, 13, 18, 31, 38-39, 45-46, 48, 51, 55, 62, 66, 68-70, 76-77, 79, 81, 86, 88, 92, 94, and 97 (= Fuchs' Group E)	As ex. 1	45-74, 90-183	n
10	Thompson, AAA 20 pls. LXXXI and LXXXVI nos. 14, 20, and 82 (= Fuchs' Group F)	As ex. 1	19-45	n
11	Thompson, AAA 20 pls. LXXX, LXXXII and LXXXIX nos. 1, 37, and 101 (= Fuchs' Group G)	As ex. 1	23-47	n
12	Thompson, AAA 20 pls. LXXX and LXXXIII-LXXXIV nos. 3, 43-44, 60, and 63-64 (= Fuchs' Group H)	As ex. 1	44-85	n
13	Thompson, AAA 20 pls. LXXXII and LXXXVI nos. 33, 35-36, and 84 (= Fuchs' Group I)	As ex. 1	46-78	n
14	Thompson, AAA 20 pls. LXXX and LXXXIV nos. 7, 11, and 59 (BM 139999a [1983-1-1,352]) (= Fuchs' Group J)	As ex. 1	70-86	(p)
15	Thompson, AAA 20 pls. LXXX-LXXXI and LXXXIII nos. 9, 32, and 49 (= Fuchs' Group K)	As ex. 1	78-91	n
16	Thompson, AAA 20 pls. LXXXV-LXXXVI and LXXXVIII nos. 75, 78, 83, 87, and 99 (= Fuchs' Group L)	As ex. 1	129-168	n
17	Thompson, AAA 20 pls. LXXXIV and LXXXVI nos. 53, 85, and 93 (= Fuchs' Group M)	As ex. 1	168-183	n
18	Thompson, AAA 20 pl. LXXX no. 6	As ex. 1	—	n
19	Thompson, AAA 20 pl. LXXXI no. 19	As ex. 1	87-89	n
20	Thompson, AAA 20 pl. LXXXI no. 22	As ex. 1	—	n
21	Thompson, AAA 20 pl. LXXXI no. 23	As ex. 1	—	n
22	Thompson, AAA 20 pl. LXXXI no. 26	As ex. 1	20-26	n
23	Thompson, AAA 20 pl. LXXXI no. 27	As ex. 1	69-73	n
24	Thompson, AAA 20 pl. LXXXI no. 28	As ex. 1	—	n
25	Thompson, AAA 20 pl. LXXXII no. 34	As ex. 1	—	n
26	Thompson, AAA 20 pl. LXXXII no. 40	As ex. 1	128-133	n
27	Thompson, AAA 20 pl. LXXXII no. 41	As ex. 1	59-62	n
28	Thompson, AAA 20 pl. LXXXIV no. 56	As ex. 1	156-159	n
29	Thompson, AAA 20 pl. LXXXIV no. 57	As ex. 1	132-135	n
30	Thompson, AAA 20 pl. LXXXIV no. 58	As ex. 1	—	n
31	Thompson, AAA 20 pl. LXXXIV no. 61	As ex. 1	87-89	n
32	Thompson, AAA 20 pl. LXXXIV no. 65	As ex. 1	132-134	n
33	Thompson, AAA 20 pl. LXXXIV no. 67	As ex. 1	—	n
34	Thompson, AAA 20 pl. LXXXIV no. 71	As ex. 1	—	n
35	Thompson, AAA 20 pl. LXXXIV no. 72	As ex. 1	11-13	n
36	Thompson, AAA 20 pl. LXXXV no. 80	As ex. 1	—	n
37	Thompson, AAA 20 pl. LXXXVI no. 89	As ex. 1	103-107	n
38	Thompson, AAA 20 pl. LXXXVI no. 91	As ex. 1	152-155	n

## COMMENTARY

The script is a mixture of Assyrian and contemporary Neo-Babylonian sign forms; this is typical for seventh-century Assyrian inscriptions written on stone. Each line of text is separated by a horizontal ruling. The inscription is known from approximately one hundred limestone fragments (now comprising thirty-eight exemplars) that were discovered

during the 1930-31 British Museum excavations of the Kuyunjik mound under the direction of R. Campbell Thompson. The exact findspots of the pieces are neither shown on any ground plan of Nineveh nor were they recorded in Campbell Thompson's excavation notes. However, it is stated that many of the fragments came "chiefly towards the S.E. side

of the great foundation.” Despite earlier claims that this inscription was set up in triplicate, A. Fuchs (in Borger, *BIWA* pp. 258–259) has shown through his score (“Partitur”) transliteration that there were at least four exemplars of this double-column, monumental inscription. He tentatively estimated that each column of text may have been ca. 170 cm wide and that the total surface area of an individual exemplar may have been about 10 m<sup>2</sup>; the width of the slabs would have been almost 6 m. Based on the recent identification of one of the fragments in the collection of the British Museum (BM 139999a = Thompson, *AAA* 20 [1933] no. 59), these estimates may need to be adjusted slightly since the copies do not accurately represent the height or width of the individual pieces; Campbell Thompson tended to elongate the vertical spacing in his copies.

As Fuchs has already noted, there are many difficulties in providing a reliable edition of the so-called IIT text. This important text is almost entirely known from Campbell Thompson’s published copies, which do not accurately represent the actual shape of the original objects and record only inscribed surfaces (damaged surfaces are not drawn or indicated). To make matters more difficult, the pieces are drawn at different scales and his composite texts are occasionally unclear in terms of what each exemplar actually contained; for example, the transition from “large main text” III to IV on Thompson, *AAA* 20 (1933) pls. XCIV–XCV is particularly confusing and extremely problematic. After copying and taking squeezes of the fragments, Campbell Thompson (*AAA* 20 [1933] p. 79 n. 1) states that the text was reburied: “Several reasons, including the fragmentary nature and the great weight of the numerous pieces, debarred both the Baghdad Museum and ourselves from moving it to a museum.” One of the smaller fragments, however, was sent back to the British Museum (BM 139999a) after being copied. Because basic information about the various pieces is unknown or uncertain (for example, size and damaged surfaces), one must exercise caution when suggesting joins between fragments. Some or many pro-

posed joins based on Campbell Thompson’s imperfect and incomplete copies could easily be confirmed or rejected had the originals been available for first-hand study; since they are not, one can only conjecture at how the pieces actually fit together. Because Fuchs has already spent a great deal of time carefully piecing this inscription back together from Campbell Thompson’s copies and since the authors have not found any evidence contrary to Fuchs’ arrangement of the fragments, the text grouping (and their sigla) found in Borger, *BIWA* pp. 258–290 is followed here, with one minor change: the original of Thompson, *AAA* 20 (1933) no. 59 (BM 139999a) was used rather than its hand-drawn facsimile.

No exemplar is complete and the master line is a conflation of the various exemplars. When possible, preference is given to Campbell Thompson’s “large main texts” (exs. 1–4) and ex. 9 (Fuchs’ Group E). In his excellent score transliteration of the inscription, for practical reasons, Fuchs more or less followed the line count and divisions of Campbell Thompson’s edition. In a few places, he had to add a few lines and in one case delete a few others; for details, see Borger, *BIWA* p. 259. Despite Fuchs’ scholarly treatment, the edition here does not follow the lineation of his edition. Instead, the composite text divides the lines of the inscription differently and, as a result, the line numbering varies marginally from the editions of Fuchs and Campbell Thompson. The line count of this edition is based on the following exemplars: ex. 1 in lines 1–26; ex. 7 in lines 103–108; ex. 9 in lines 46–72, 90–102, 109–139, and 144–170; ex. 11 in lines 27–45; ex. 14 in lines 73–85; ex. 15 in lines 86–89; and ex. 17 in lines 171–183. The division of the contents of lines 140–143 is conjectural and provisionally based on ex. 9, which is badly damaged at this point. A concordance of line numbers is provided at the back of the book. A few details about the arrangement and reconstruction of this problematic text are included in the on-page notes. A score of the inscription is provided on *Oracc*. The few attested orthographic variants are noted at the back of the book.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

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 1957 Aynard, *Prisme* p. 5 no. 11 (study)  
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 1968 Millard, *Iraq* 30 pp. 106–110 (lines 48b–53, 150b–158, study)  
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 2002 Holloway, *Aššur is King* pp. 247–248 nos. 24–25, 250 nos. 27 and 29, 253 nos. 35–36, 272 no. 10, and 316

- |      |  |      |  |
|------|--|------|--|
|      | no. 33 (study)   |      | translation; lines 31–35a, study)  |
| 2002 | Novotny, <i>Studies Walker</i> pp. 192–193 with nn. 3 and 12 and p. 196 (line 67b, edition; lines 64–72, study)  | 2009 | Frahm, <i>Studies Parpola</i> pp. 57–58 (lines 73–75, edition, study)  |
| 2002 | Porter, <i>CRRA</i> 47/2 pp. 524 and 533 (lines 48b–51a, study)  | 2009 | Meinhold, <i>Ištar</i> pp. 169, 198, 200, 202, and 230 with nn. 1207–1208 and 1373 (lines 1a, 2a, 12b, 24a, edition; line 30a, transliteration; lines 126b–127, 148a, study) |
| 2003 | Novotny, <i>Ehulhul</i> pp. 25–27, 87, 100–106, 135, 137, 149, 174, 303–306, and 379–380 (lines 64–72, copy [reconstructed from Thompson], edition, study) | 2010 | Fuchs, <i>Interkulturalität</i> pp. 410–427 (lines 86b–89, 141b–161, study)  |
| 2003 | Novotny, <i>Orientalia NS</i> 72 p. 215 (study)  | 2010 | Novotny, <i>Studies Ellis</i> pp. 130, 134, and 137 (lines 62b–63, 66b–71, 72b–73a, study)   |
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| 2008 | Nadali, <i>Iraq</i> 70 pp. 90 and 100 (lines 31b–32a,  |      |  |



Figure 13. BM 139999a (text no. 23, part of ex. 14), a small fragment from an inscribed wall slab that once decorated one of the interior walls of the Ištar temple at Nineveh. © Trustees of the British Museum.

## TEXT

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| <p>1) [a-na <sup>d</sup>ṚNIN.LÍL<sup>1</sup> ru-ba-tu šir-tu e-tel-lat <sup>d</sup>í-gì-gì<br/>u <sup>d</sup>GÉŠ.U šá-ru-uḫ-tum i-lá-a-ti šar-<sup>r</sup>rat<sup>1</sup><br/>[šar-ra]-<sup>r</sup>a<sup>1</sup>-ti</p> <p>2) <sup>d</sup>iš-tar ta-na-da-a-ti šá ku-uz-bu za-a'-<sup>r</sup>nat<sup>1</sup><br/>ma-lat nam-ri-ri be-el-tu šur-bu-tú ša ina<br/>DINGIR.MEŠ</p> <p>3) <sup>r</sup>kul<sup>r</sup>-lat<sup>2</sup> da-ád-me šu-tu-qát be-lut-sa<br/>šur-ba-a-ta DINGIR-<sup>r</sup>us-sa<sup>1</sup> <sup>d</sup>ZÍB be-let DÙ<br/>mim-ma šum-šú šá ina paṭ šá-ma-<sup>r</sup>me<sup>1</sup> u<br/>qaq-qa-ri</p> <p>4) [ša-bi-ta-at<sup>2</sup>] <sup>r</sup>mar<sup>1</sup>-kas bu-ru-um-me KÙ.MEŠ šá<br/>ina AN-e rap-šu-ti šur-šú-du gis-gal-la-[šá<sup>2</sup> ...]</p> | <p>1–4) [For the goddess Mul]lis[s]u, exalted ruler, the pre-eminent one among the Igīgū and Anunnakū gods, the most splendid of goddesses, the que[en of que]ens, the Ištar worthy of praise, who is endo[w]ed with sexual charm (and) filled with awe-inspiring radiance, the supreme lady whose lordly majesty is the most outstanding (and) whose divinity is the greatest among the gods of [a]ll settlements, the very competent one, the lady of all things that (are found) in the whole (lit. “territory”) of heav[e]n and netherworld, [the one who holds] the bond of the bright firmament, who[se] place is firmly founded in the wide heavens, [...],</p> |
|---|--|

3 <sup>r</sup>kul<sup>r</sup>-lat<sup>2</sup> “[a]ll”: Or possibly <sup>r</sup>kiš<sup>1</sup>-šat<sup>2</sup> (Fuchs in Borger, *BIWA* p. 264).

4 [ša-bi-ta-at<sup>2</sup>] “[the one who holds]”: Or, following A. Fuchs (in Borger, *BIWA* p. 264), possibly restore mu-kil-lat<sup>2</sup> “[the one who holds].”

- 5) [hi-rat<sup>2</sup> d]<sup>EN</sup>.LÍL.LÁ<sup>1</sup> DINGIR.MEŠ šá-qu-ú  
LUGAL AN-e u<sup>1</sup> KI<sup>1</sup>-tim mu-šim ši-ma-a-ti AMA  
DINGIR.MEŠ<sup>1</sup> ša
- 6) q<sup>1</sup>-bit-sa la in-nen-nu-ú la ut-tak-ka-ru ši-it  
[pi-i]-šá ha-mi-mat GARZA.MEŠ<sup>d</sup>a-num  
š<sup>1</sup>u<sup>1</sup>-qu-ru-ti
- 7) ta-me-ḫat pi-<sup>1</sup>q<sup>1</sup>-ti <sup>d</sup>EN.LÍL-u-ti ri-im\*-tú  
<šá>-qu-<sup>1</sup>tú<sup>1</sup> šá qar-na-šá ed-da mu-nak-ki-pat  
za-<sup>2</sup>i-[ri ...]
- 8) ka-bi-sa-at<sup>21</sup> áš-ṭu-ti ra-ki-pat UD.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ  
šá ina DINGIR.MEŠ ge-ru-šá la i-š<sup>1</sup>u-u ina  
<sup>d</sup>15.MEŠ la ib-šú-u [...]
- 9) sa-par-šá š<sup>1</sup>u-par-ru-ru a-na a-a-bi š<sup>1</sup>u-nu-<sup>1</sup>ul<sup>1</sup>-lu  
ina giš-par-ri-šá la ip-pa-raš-ši-du na-[ki-ru<sup>2</sup>  
...]-ni
- 10) [i<sup>2</sup>]-na i-di le-<sup>2</sup>u-ú-ti šá nap-ḫar ka<sup>1</sup>-la  
ta-bé-lu-ma KUR.KUR DÙ-ši-na tu-šak-ni-[šú  
a-na<sup>2</sup> ni<sup>2</sup>]-ri-šá
- 11) an<sup>1</sup>-tum réme-ni-tum le-qát un-ni-ni še-<sup>1</sup>ma-at<sup>1</sup>  
ik-ri-bi na<sup>1</sup>-ši-rat na-piš-ti qa-<sup>1</sup>i<sup>1</sup>-[šat T.L.A]
- 12) a-li-kát i-di [LUGAL] mi-gir-i-šá ša ina  
PAP.<sup>1</sup>HAL<sup>1</sup> BAD<sup>4</sup> ú-še-<sup>1</sup>zi<sup>1</sup>-[bu] NUN pa-[liḫ]-šá  
a-ši-bat [NINA.KI] URU<sup>1</sup> KÙ
- 13) š<sup>1</sup>u-bat [(x)] x DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ GAŠAN  
GAL-tu GAŠAN-ia [a-na-ku] <sup>m</sup>AN.ŠÁR-DÙ-<sup>1</sup>A<sup>1</sup>  
[MAN] ŠÚ MAN KUR [AN.ŠÁR.KI ti-ri]-iṣ  
ŠU.II-[ki<sup>2</sup>]
- 14) ĠIR.NÍTA mut<sup>1</sup>-nen-nu-u šá-<sup>2</sup>i-iṭ ni-ri-ki ki-<sup>1</sup>šir<sup>1</sup>  
[...] U MU ŠÚ [...]
- 15) ú-ša-pu-ma ú-šal-lu-u be-lut-ki a-na x [...] x AN  
x [...] ib-šá-a<sup>2</sup>] GEŠTU.II-šú [...]
- 16) ina er<sup>1</sup>-bi qí-šá-a-ti ŠÁ.GI.GURU<sub>6</sub>,A tés-li-[ti ...  
šá]-pal-ki [...]
- 17) DUMU <sup>md</sup>30-PAP.MEŠ-SU MAN ŠÚ MAN KUR  
AN.ŠÁR.KI-ma ŠÁ.<sup>1</sup>BAL<sup>1</sup>.[BAL <sup>m</sup>LUGAL]-GI.NA  
MAN ŠÚ<sup>1</sup> [MAN KUR AN].ŠÁR.KI [ĠIR.NÍTA  
KÁ.DINGIR.RA.KI MAN KUR EME.GI<sub>7</sub> u] URI.KI
- 18) šá a-bu la ú-rab-ban-ni la iṣ-pu-pan-ni [kap-pi  
...] x TAR x [...] nu]-bal-lu
- 19) [...]Ú taḫ-ti-nin-ni [...] x TI x [...] sa<sup>2</sup>]-<sup>1</sup>li<sup>1</sup>-mu
- 20) [š<sup>1</sup>u-lul-ki] DÜG.GA tu-šat-ri-ši UGU-[ia ...]  
šur-šú-<sup>1</sup>diš<sup>1</sup> tu<sup>1</sup>-[še-ši-bi-in-ni ina GIŠ.GU.ZA<sup>2</sup>]  
<sup>1</sup>AD<sup>1</sup> DÙ-ia
- 21) <sup>d</sup>ALAD dum-qí na-ši-ru <sup>d</sup>LAMMA me-<sup>1</sup>šá<sup>1</sup>-ri  
mu-šal-<sup>1</sup>li<sup>1</sup>-[mat<sup>2</sup> Zi<sup>2</sup>]-<sup>1</sup>tim<sup>21</sup> Á.II-a-<sup>1</sup>a<sup>1</sup> [li<sup>1</sup>-li-ku<sup>2</sup>  
... ina tukul-ti<sup>2</sup>]-<sup>1</sup>ki<sup>1</sup> GAL-ti

5–10) [wife of the E]nli[1] of the gods (Aššur) – the (most) exalted one, the king of heaven and [net]herworld, the one who decrees fates – the mother of the gods whose command(s) cannot be changed (and) whose pronoun[ements] cannot be altered, the one who has gathered to herself (all of) the valuable divine offices of the god Anu, the one who grasps the res[po]nsibility of supreme power, the <lo>ft[y] wild cow whose horns are pointed, the one who gores [...] fo[es] (to death), [...], the one who treads on the unyielding, the one who rides great storm-demons, who does not have an opponent among the gods (and) who[se ...] does not exist among goddesses [...], whose widespread net is la[i]d for (trapping) enemies, from whose snare ene[mies] do not escape, [... t]o the side of the capable, who rules over the totality of [ev]erything and makes all of the lands bow do[wn to] her [yo]ke,

11–13a) (the goddess) [A]ntu, the merciful one, the one who accepts supplications (and) he[ar]s prayers, the one who [p]rotects life (and) gran[ts good health], the one who goes at the side of [the king] – her favorite – who resc[ues] the ruler who re[veres] her from tro[ub]le (and) difficulty, the one who resides in [Nineveh – the] holy [ci]ty, the dwelling of the ... of the great gods – the great lady, my lady:

13b–17) [I], Ashurbanipal, [king of] the world, king of [Assyria], the one to whom [your] hands [are stretc]hed out, the p[io]us governor, the one who pulls your yoke, ... [...] ... [...] who] made [...] resplendent and made appeals to your lordly majesty, [who]se mind [thought] to [...] ... [...], with erbu-offerings, gifts, voluntary offerings, petiti[ons ...] at your [fe]et [...]; son of Sennacherib, king of the world, king of Assyria; descen[dant of Sar]gon (II), king of the world, [king of As]syria, [governor of Babylon, king of the land of Sumer and] Akkad;

18–21a) whom no father has raised (nor) taught to spread [(his) wing(s), ...] ... [...] w]ing [...] you protected me [...] ... [...] pe]ace, you had [your] beneficent [pro]tection] spread out over [me, ...] y[ou had me] firmly [placed on the throne of the fat]her who had engendered me. [May] a good, protective šēdu (and) a ju[s]t lamassu that prese[rves lif]e [walk] at my side, [...].

21b–26) [With yo]ur great [support], I follow after you (and) you marc[h] at my side. I constantly over[come ...] my [en]emies. You [allowed me to stand over] my

7 ri-im\*-tú “wild cow”: R. Campbell Thompson’s copy of ex. 1 has ri-i<sup>2</sup>-tú.

10 [a-na<sup>2</sup> ni<sup>2</sup>]-ri-šá “[to] her [yo]ke”: The conjectured restoration is based on context.

13 ŠU.II-[ki<sup>2</sup>] “[your] hands”: The restoration of the second person possessive suffix is based on context; see lines 14–26. A. Fuchs (in Borger, BIWA p. 266) restores the end of the line as ŠU.II-[šá<sup>2</sup>] “[her] hands.”

20 [š<sup>1</sup>u-lul-ki] “[your protection]”: Or restore AN.DÙL-la-ki (Fuchs in Borger, BIWA p. 266)

- 22) *at-ta-lak ar-ki-ki i-da-a-a tal-li-<sup>r</sup>ki<sup>1</sup>*  
*a-ta-tab-<sup>r</sup>lak<sup>1</sup>-[kat ... a]-a-bi-ia*
- 23) *ina li-i-ti da-na-ni ki-šit-ti ŠU.II tu-[šá-zi-zi-in-ni*  
 EDIN] *ga-re-ia [... šá] <sup>r</sup>la<sup>2</sup> ut<sup>2</sup>-tak<sup>1</sup>-ka-ru*
- 24) *e-peš LUGAL-u-ti-ia taq-bi-i ana UD.MEŠ*  
*da-ru-te [...] iš-re-e-te [... AN.ŠÁR u <sup>d</sup>NIN].LÍL*
- 25) *ina ni-iš IGI.II-šú-nu SIG<sub>5</sub>.MEŠ ip-pal-su-in-ni-ma*  
*iq-bu-u ZA [...] ina qí-bi<sup>2</sup>]-<sup>r</sup>ti<sup>1</sup>-ki šir-te*
- 26) *a-na šuk-lul eš-re-e-ti za-<sup>r</sup>na<sup>1</sup>-an ma-*ḥ*a-zi*  
*šu-te-šur par-še ki-du-de-e [...] x aš-kun-ma*
- 27) *é-<sup>r</sup>hur-sag<sup>1</sup>-gal-kur-kur-ra É AN.ŠÁR EN-ia šá*  
<sup>m</sup>AN.ŠÁR-PAP-AŠ MAN KUR AN.ŠÁR.KI AD  
*ba-[nu-u-a la ig]-mu-ra <sup>r</sup>ši<sup>1</sup>-pir-šú*
- 28) *i-na qí-bit AN.ŠÁR EN GAL-e EN-ia ši-pir-šú*  
*aq-mur-ma É.GAR<sub>8</sub>.MEŠ-šú ú-šal-[bi-šá] <sup>r</sup>KÜ<sup>1</sup>.GI*  
 KÜ.BABBAR [GIŠ.tim-me GIŠ].<sup>r</sup>EREN<sup>1</sup> MAḤ.MEŠ
- 29) *me-ser KÜ.BABBAR ú-rak-kis ina KÁ ḥi-šib*  
 KUR.KUR az-qup AN.ŠÁR ina é-šár-ra tam-šil É  
<sup>d</sup>EN.LÍL šá AN-e [ú-še]-rib-ma [ú-šar-ma-a  
 pa]-rak da-ra-a-ti
- 30) *é-maš-maš É <sup>d</sup>NIN.LÍL GAŠAN-<sup>r</sup>ia<sup>1</sup> at-ma-nu*  
*mu-šab be-lu-ti-šá KÁ.MEŠ-šú sip-pi-šú*  
<sup>r</sup>SI<sup>1</sup>.GAR-i-šú [KÜ.BABBAR KÜ.GI lu]-<sup>r</sup>u<sup>1</sup> uḥ-*ḥ*i-iz
- 31) *á-ki-tu mu-šab be-lu-ti-šá ša UD.21.KAM šá*  
 ITI.AB GAŠAN GAL-tu uš-šu-ma ú-šal-la-mu [...] ]  
<sup>r</sup>par<sup>1</sup>-še-šá<sup>2</sup> [ul-tu u<sub>4</sub>-me<sup>2</sup> LUGAL].<sup>r</sup>MEŠ<sup>1</sup>  
 AD.MEŠ-ia
- 32) *im-ma-šu-ma ina si-ma-ti-šá LIBIR.RA.MEŠ GIM*  
*šá maḥ-ri la šu-pu-šá-tu i-na-an-na a-na-[ku*  
*ina a-gúr-ri<sup>2</sup> tam]-<sup>r</sup>lit<sup>1</sup> NA<sub>4</sub>.ZÚ NA<sub>4</sub>.ZA.GÌN*
- 33) *a-na si-ḥir-ti-šá ar-šip ú-<sup>r</sup>šak<sup>1</sup>-lil lu-le-e ú-mal-li*  
*da-ad-me na-ki-ri ša <sup>r</sup>ik<sup>1</sup>-šú-da ŠU.II-a-a*
- 34) *si-ma-a-ti na-<sup>r</sup>ki<sup>1</sup>-ri šá ina qí-bit <sup>r</sup>DINGIR<sup>1</sup>-ú-ti-šá*  
*šir-ti áš-tak-ka-nu ù LUGAL.MEŠ la*  
*kan-šú-[ti]-<sup>r</sup>ia<sup>1</sup>*
- 35) *ina ši-pir <sup>d</sup>nin-zá-dám UGU-šá ú-<sup>r</sup>šir<sup>1</sup>*

foes in victory, strength, (and) triumph. [... Through your ..., which] cannot be changed, you commanded my exercising the kingship for everlasting days. [...] shrines [... (The god) Aššur and the goddess Mull]issu looked upon me with their benevolent glance and commanded [... At] your exalted [*comman*]d, I set [...] to complete sanctuaries, pro[v]ide for cult-centers, (and) put in order [...] cultic rites (and) *kidudû*-rites:

27–29) (As for) Eḥ[ursa]ggalkurkurra, the temple of (the god) Aššur, my lord, whose construction Esarhad-don, king of Assyria, the father who had enge[ndered me, had not fin]ished, I finished its construction by the command of (the god) Aššur, the great lord, my lord, and cl[ad] its walls [with g]old (and) silver. I fastened band(s) of silver on tall [columns of ce]dar (and) erected (them) at the Gate of the Abundance of the Lands. [I made] (the god) Aššur [en]ter into Ešarra, (which is) a replica of the temple of the Enlil of the heavens, and [made (him) reside on] (his) eternal [da]jis.

30) (As for) Emašmaš, the temple of the goddess Mullissu, [m]y lady, the inner sanctum, the dwelling place of her lordly majesty, I [in]laid its gates, door jams, (and) d[oo]r bolts with [silver (and) gold].

31–35a) (As for) the *akītu*-house, the dwelling place of her lordly majesty, *where* on the twenty-first day of Ṭebētu (X) (her) great divinity goes out and *properly carries out* [...], *whose* [ri]tes had been forgotten [since the days of the king]s, my ancestors, and which had not been constructed according to its original specifications, like the previous one – I now built (and) co[m]p[lete]d (it) in its entirety [with *baked bricks* inlaid] with obsidian (and) lapis lazuli. I filled (it) with splendor. Through the craft of the deity Ninzadim, I depi[ct]ed on it (images of) the settlements of enemies that I had co[n]quered (and) representations of en[e]mies who(se defeat) I had regularly brought about by the command of her exalted d[ivini]ty, as well as (those of) kings who had not bowed d[own] to me.

35b–37a) (As for) Ekibikuga, the ziggurat of Nine[ve]h,

23 Using ex. 22 and following the suggestion of A. Fuchs (in Borger, BIWA p. 267), the end of the line might be read as [... *ina qí-bi-ti-ki*] *šir-<sup>r</sup>ti<sup>1</sup>* [šá] <sup>r</sup>la<sup>2</sup> ut<sup>2</sup>-tak<sup>1</sup>-ka-ru “[... by your] exalte[d command, which] cannot be changed.”

24 Ex. 22 has [...] *x-ti* ERIM [...] RI ZI [...], but its placement is uncertain. A. Fuchs (in Borger, BIWA p. 267) raises the possibility of reading [...] *x-ti* as [...] *da*]-<sup>r</sup>ru<sup>1</sup>-ti.

25 Combining exs. 8 and 11 with ex. 22, A. Fuchs (in Borger, BIWA p. 267) tentatively suggests reading ZA [...] as *sà-[kap]* LÚ.KÜR.MEŠ-[*ia*] “to dri[ve back my] enemies.” Fuchs’ suggestion is not included in the master text as it is unclear exactly how the meager contents of ex. 22, the fragment containing LÚ.KÜR.MEŠ, fit into the inscription.

27–29 Compare, for example, the earlier reports of work on Aššur’s temple in text no. 10 (Prism T) i 14–20 and text no. 15 ii 3–9. Also, contrary to A. Fuchs (in Borger, BIWA p. 268), there is no lacuna between <sup>r</sup>ši<sup>1</sup>-pir-šú (“its construction”) and *i-na qí-bit* (“by the command of”).

30 The decoration of this temple of Ištar is mentioned in the prologues of texts composed between 647 and 645; see for example, text no. 10 (Prism T) ii 7–8.

31–35a Work on the *akītu*-house on Nineveh’s citadel is also recorded in text no. 10 (Prism T) v 33–49.

35b–37a Work on the ziggurat at Nineveh during the reign of Ashurbanipal is presently attested only in this passage. On the names of the temple and ceremonial boat of Mullissu, see George, *House Most High* p. 112 no. 630; Landsberger, *MSL* 5 p. 176; and Salonen, *Wasserfahrzeuge* p. 63.

- 36) *é-ki-bi-kù-ga ziq-qur-rat* <sup>1</sup>NINA.KI [...] GIŠ.má-tum-ma-<sup>r</sup>al<sup>1</sup> GIŠ.MÁ <sup>d</sup>NIN.LÍL šá GIŠ.EREN *ab-ni-ma* KÙ.BABBAR *uḫ-ḫi-iz* KÁ AŠ.A.AN šá *mu-us-saḫ-<sup>r</sup>ra<sup>1</sup>*-[...] x *iš-pil-lu-ur-<sup>r</sup>ti<sup>1</sup>*
- 37) *a-šar pel-lu-<sup>r</sup>de<sup>1</sup>-e* x (x)-*ti* LUGAL *a-<sup>r</sup>na* *šī<sup>1</sup>-ḫir-ti-šú* *ar-šip ú-šak-lil ul-tú mim-ma ši-pir* É [...] <sup>r</sup>ia<sup>1</sup> *e-<sup>r</sup>pu<sup>1</sup>-šú* KÙ.BABBAR KÙ.GI *ú-za-<sup>r</sup>i<sup>1</sup>-[nu]*
- 38) *at-man* <sup>d</sup>AG EN-*ia* šá *qé-reb* NINA.KI KÙ.BABBAR KÙ.GI *lu-u uḫ-ḫi-iz* É <sup>d</sup>30 <sup>d</sup>nin-gal <sup>d</sup>UTU [<sup>d</sup>a]-*a* šá [<sup>d</sup>qé]-<sup>r</sup>reb<sup>1</sup> NINA.KI
- 39) *a-na* si-<sup>r</sup>hir<sup>1</sup>-*ti-šú* *ar-šip ú-šak-lil* <sup>d</sup>30 <sup>d</sup>nin-gal <sup>d</sup>[nusku <sup>d</sup>UTU <sup>d</sup>]<sup>r</sup>a<sup>1</sup>-[<sup>a</sup> DINGIR.MEŠ] <sup>r</sup>tik-le<sup>1</sup>-[*ia* ...] x *ina qé-reb-e-šú*
- 40) *ú-še-rib-ma ú-šar-ma-a pa-rak da-ra-a-ti* *é-gašan-kalam-<sup>r</sup>ma<sup>1</sup>* [...] É.GAR<sub>3</sub>.MEŠ-šú *ú-šal-bi-<sup>r</sup>šá<sup>1</sup>* KÙ.GI<sup>1</sup> [...] *ú-še<sup>2</sup>*-*piš*
- 41) KÁ.DINGIR.RA.KI *ud-diš é-saq-íl ú-šak-<sup>r</sup>lil<sup>1</sup>* BÁRA.MEŠ-šú *tam-šil šá-ma-<sup>r</sup>mi<sup>1</sup>* [...]
- 42) *be-lum* [<sup>d</sup>GAŠAN-MU] <sup>d</sup>be-*let*-KÁ.DINGIR.RA.KI <sup>d</sup>r<sup>e</sup><sup>1</sup>-*a* <sup>d</sup>DI.KU<sub>5</sub> [...] x *ka-bat-<sup>r</sup>ti<sup>1</sup>* [...]
- 43) UDU.NÍTA.[MEŠ ... *iq<sup>2</sup>*]-<sup>r</sup>bu<sup>1</sup>-*u a-lak ú-ru-uḫ* *šul-me <sup>r</sup>ra<sup>1</sup>*-[...]
- 44) LUGAL [...] *-su a-<sup>r</sup>...* <sup>r</sup>URU<sup>21</sup> <sup>d</sup>asal<sup>21</sup>-[<sup>r</sup>ú<sup>2</sup>]-<sup>r</sup>ḫi<sup>2</sup> KÁ.DINGIR.RA.<sup>r</sup>KI<sup>1</sup> [...]
- 45) <sup>r</sup>BÁRA<sup>1</sup>.[MAḪ]-<sup>r</sup>ḫu<sup>1</sup> *šu-bat* DINGIR-*ú-ti-šú* *šir-ti* 50 GUN [<sup>r</sup>za<sup>1</sup>-<sup>r</sup>ḫa-<sup>r</sup>lu<sup>1</sup>-[*u eb*]-*bu a-na a-<sup>r</sup>gúr-ri* *ap-ti-iq-ma ú-rab-ba-a* EDIN-*uš-šú*]
- 46) [<sup>r</sup>ú-še-*piš-ma<sup>2</sup>* GIŠ.*er-me a-nu*] GIŠ.MES.<sup>r</sup>MÁ<sup>1</sup>.KAN.NA GIŠ *dà-<sup>r</sup>re-e* ... 34] GUN [20 MA.NA] <sup>r</sup>KÙ<sup>1</sup>.GI <sup>r</sup>HUŠ<sup>1</sup>.[*A kip-pat-su ú-šal-biš* ... *ú-šat-ri-<sup>r</sup>iš<sup>1</sup>*]
- 47) [GIŠ.GIGIR *šir*]-<sup>r</sup>tum<sup>1</sup> *ru-<sup>r</sup>kub<sup>1</sup>* *be-lu-ti-šú ina* [KÙ.GI KÙ.BABBAR NA<sub>4</sub>.MEŠ *ni-siq-ti ag-mu-ra* *nab-nit-sa a-na* <sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU LUGAL *kiš-šat* AN-*e*] *u KI-tim*
- 48) [*sa-pi-in* LÚ].<sup>r</sup>KÚR.MEŠ<sup>21</sup>-*ia a-na ši-rik-<sup>r</sup>ti áš-ruk* GIŠ.NÁ GIŠ.MES.MÁ.KAN.NA *iš-<sup>r</sup>ši<sup>1</sup> dà-re-e*
- 49) [*šá pa-šal-lu lit-bu-šat* NA<sub>4</sub>.MEŠ *ni-siq-ti* *za-a<sup>2</sup>-nat a-na ma-a-a-al*] *tak-né-e* <sup>d</sup>EN <sup>d</sup>GAŠAN-*ia*
- 50) [*šá-kan ḫa-šá-di e-peš*] <sup>r</sup>ru<sup>2</sup>-<sup>r</sup>a<sup>1</sup>-[*a-me nak-liš*

[...]. (As for) Matumma[1], the boat of the goddess Mullissu, I built (it) with cedar and inlaid (it) with silver. (As for) the outer gate that ... [...] the cross-shap[e]d, the place of pelludû-rites, the ... of the king, I built (and) completed (it) in its entirety.

37b–38a) Aft[e]r I had d[o]ne every type of work on the temple of [..., m]y [lady], (and) decor[ated] (it) with silver (and) gold, I inlaid the inner sanctum of the god Nabû, my lord, that is in Nineveh, with silver (and) gold.

38b–40a) (As for) the temple of the deities Sîn, Ningal, Šamaš, (and) [Ay]a that is [insid]e Nineveh, I built (and) completed (it) in its entirety. I made the deities Sîn, Ningal, [Nusku, Šamaš, (and)] A[ya, the gods who s]uppor[t me, ...] enter inside it and made (them) dwell (on their) eternal dais(es).

40b) (As for) Egašankalam[a, ...], I [cla]d its walls with gol[d (... and) ma]de [...].

41–44) I renovated Babylon, completed Esagil, (and) [...] its daises, replica(s) of the heaven[s. ...] the deities Bēl (Marduk), [Bēltiya (Zarpanītu)], the Lady of Babylon, Ea, (and) Mandānu. [...] mood [...] sheep [...] comma]nded the going on a peaceful road [...] the king [...] ... [...] the cit[y of As[allu]ḫi, Babylon, [...].

45) (As for) the th[rone-dai]s, the seat of [his (Marduk's) exalted] divinity, [I cast fifty talents of shi]ny [z]aḫalû-[silver] into b[ricks and (thereby) enlarged it]. 46) [I had a canopy ... made from] musukkannu-wood, a dur[able] wood. [I clad its perimeter with thirty-four] talents (and) [twenty minas of] redd[ish g]old [... I] stretched o[ut ...].

47–48a) [(As for) the exalt]ed [chariot], the ve[hic]le of his lordly majesty, [I completed its feature(s)] with [gold, silver, (and) precious stones. I gave (it)] as a gif[t to the god Marduk, the king of the totality of heaven] and netherworld, [the one who overwhelms] my [en]emi[e]s.

48b–51a) [I skillfully made a bed of musukkannu-wood, a] durable [woo]d, [that is clad with pašallu-gold (and) studded with precious stones, as a] pleasure [bed] for the god Bēl (Marduk) (and) the goddess Bēltiya (Zarpanītu) [to carry out the wedding (and) to make l]o[ve. I placed (it) in Kaḫilisu, the bed ch]amber of

37 É [...] <sup>r</sup>ia<sup>1</sup> “the temple of [..., m]y [...]”: Possibly read this passage as É [<sup>d</sup>15<sup>2</sup> GAŠAN<sup>2</sup>]-<sup>r</sup>ia<sup>1</sup> “the temple of [the goddess Ištar, m]y [lady].” *e-<sup>r</sup>pu<sup>1</sup>-šú* “I had d[o]ne”: Or possibly *e-<sup>r</sup>[tep]-<sup>r</sup>pu<sup>1</sup>-šú* (Fuchs in Borger, BIWA p. 270)

38 Compare, for example, the earlier report of the rebuilding of the Sîn-Šamaš temple at Nineveh in text no. 10 (Prism T) iii 18–35a.

40 The decoration of Egašankalama is mentioned in the prologues of texts composed between 647 and 645; see for example, text no. 10 (Prism T) ii 7–8. In the gap after the temple name, possibly restore [É<sup>2</sup> <sup>d</sup>15<sup>2</sup> GAŠAN-*ia*]<sup>2</sup> “[the temple of the goddess Ištar, my lady]” or [É<sup>2</sup> <sup>d</sup>15<sup>2</sup> GAŠAN-*ia*]<sup>2</sup> šá<sup>2</sup> *qé-reb<sup>2</sup>* URU.LÍMMU.DINGIR<sup>2</sup>] “[the temple of the goddess Ištar, my lady, that is in Arbela].”

41–53 Compare, for example, the earlier reports of work at Babylon in text no. 10 (Prism T) i 21–54 and text no. 15 ii 10–21.

46 Compare, for example, text no. 10 (Prism T) i 31–38. Contrary to A. Fuchs (in Borger, BIWA p. 271), there is probably no lacuna between [<sup>r</sup>ú-šat-ri-<sup>r</sup>iš<sup>1</sup>] (“[I] stretched o[ut]”) and [GIŠ.GIGIR] (“chariot”) in the following line.

47 *be-lu-ti-šú* “his lordly majesty”: Text no. 10 (Prism T) i 39b–40 has <sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU [*e-<sup>r</sup>tel<sup>1</sup>-li* DINGIR.MEŠ EN EN.EN “Marduk, [the pre-emin]ent one among the gods, the lord of lords.”



- e-pu-uš ina ká-ḫi-li-sù maš]-tak* <sup>d</sup>zar-pa-ni-tum  
the goddess Zarpanītu, which [is laden with] sex[ual charm].
- 51) <sup>r</sup>ša ku<sup>1</sup>-[uz-bu sa-al-ḫu ad-di GIŠ.NÁ GIŠ.ESI iš]-ši <sup>r</sup>dá<sup>1</sup>-[re-e šá KÙ].<sup>r</sup>GI<sup>1</sup> ḪUŠ.A lit-<sup>r</sup>bu<sup>1</sup>-[šat a-na <sup>d</sup>]AMAR.UTU <sup>r</sup>MAN<sup>1</sup> DINGIR.MEŠ ra-<sup>r</sup>i-im BALA-ia aq-qiš  
51b) I presented [the god] Marduk, the ki[ng of] the gods, the one who loves my reign, with [a bed of ebony, a] du[rable wo]od, [which] is cl[ad with] reddish [gold].
- 52) [ú-na-at KÙ.BABBAR KÙ.GI] <sup>r</sup>NA<sub>4</sub><sup>1</sup>.MEŠ ni-<sup>r</sup>siq-ti<sup>1</sup> ZABAR AN.<sup>r</sup>BAR<sup>1</sup> mim-ma [ši-pir] <sup>r</sup>É<sup>1</sup>.KUR ú-še-piš-ma qé-reb [é]-<sup>r</sup>sag<sup>1</sup>-gíl É.GAL DINGIR.MEŠ ú-<sup>r</sup>kin<sup>1</sup>  
52) I had [utensils of silver, gold], pre[cio]us [sto]nes, bronze, (and) iron made for every type of [t]emple [service], and had (them) deposited in [Es]agil, the palace of the gods.
- 53) [é-sa]-<sup>r</sup>bad<sup>1</sup> É <sup>d</sup>gu<sup>1</sup>-[la šá] <sup>r</sup>qé<sup>1</sup>-reb KÁ.DINGIR.<sup>r</sup>RA<sup>1</sup>.KI [ul-tu UŠ<sub>8</sub>-šú a]-<sup>r</sup>di<sup>1</sup> gaba-dib-bi-šú ar-šip ú-šak-lil  
53) I built (and) completed [Esaba]d, the temple of the goddess G[ula that] is inside Baby[on, from its foundation(s) t]o its crenellations.
- 54) [6 AM.MEŠ KÙ.BABBAR ek-đu-ti na-ši-ru ki-bi]-<sup>r</sup>iš<sup>1</sup> LUGAL-ú-ti-[ia ina KÁ lú-gú]-<sup>r</sup>du<sup>1</sup>-e-ne  
54-55) I sta[tioned six fierce wild bulls of silver, protectors of my] royal [pat]h, [in the Lugud]uene [Gate], the Gate of the Rising Sun, [and the Lamma-RA.BI Gate, in Ezida, which is inside Borsippa].
- 55) KÁ ši-it <sup>d</sup>UTU-ši [u KÁ <sup>d</sup>LAMMA-RA.BI ina é-zi-da šá qé-reb bár-sipa].<sup>r</sup>KI<sup>1</sup> ul-[ziz]  
56-57a) [I ... a threshold of re]ddish [gold], whose weight is fifty minas, t[o ascend to a hi]gh place [...].
- 56) [KUN<sub>4</sub><sup>?</sup> KÙ.GI] <sup>r</sup>ḪUŠ<sup>1</sup>.A šá 50 MA.NA KI.LÁ-šá a-[na me-le-e<sup>?</sup> šá]-qu<sup>?</sup>-ú-ti  
57b-58) [I cast Kizalaga, the sea]t of the god Nūru, with eighty-three talents of shiny zaḫalū-metal [and, to make (it) shine (like) a brazier], I had [the appurtenance(s) of Ezida expertly] fashioned.
- 57) [... ki-zálag-ga šu].<sup>r</sup>bat<sup>1</sup> <sup>d</sup>IZI.GAR 83 GUN za-ḫa-lu-u eb-bu  
59) [2 per-ki KÙ.BABBAR eb]-bi šá AŠ<sub>4</sub> GUN.TA.ÀM KI.LÁ-šú\*-nu\* <sup>r</sup>ina<sup>1</sup> [ká-maḫ u ká-nam]-<sup>r</sup>ti<sup>1</sup>-la a-na <sup>r</sup>tal<sup>1</sup>-[lak-ti ru-bu-ti-šú] <sup>r</sup>šir<sup>1</sup>-ti <sup>r</sup>hur<sup>1</sup>-šá-niš dš-pu-uk  
59) I[n (the gates) Kamaḫ and Kanamt]ila, for the pr[o]cessional way of his e[x]alted [rulership], I heaped up like [mou]ntain(s) [two sh]iny [silver pirkus], whose weight is six talents each.
- 60) [... <sup>r</sup>ša<sup>1</sup> ul-tu UD.MEŠ ul-lu-u-ti [(x)] im-[ma-šu-u] <sup>r</sup>ši<sup>1</sup>-pir-šú [...] x ap-tiq-ma  
60-61a) [...] whose [con]struction had been fo[r]gotten since distant days, [...] I fashioned and [...] its [...].
- 61) [...] x-šú é-mes-lam É <sup>d</sup>U.GUR šá GÚ.DU<sub>8</sub>.A.[KI šá i-na]-<sup>r</sup>ḫu<sup>1</sup>-ma il-li-[ku la-ba]-<sup>r</sup>riš<sup>1</sup> an-ḫu-su ud-diš  
61b-62a) (As for) Emeslam, the temple of the god Nergal of Cutha, [which had become dilapidat]ed and [ol]d, I renovated its collapsed section(s) and [removed the portion(s) of it that had collapsed]. I built (and) completed (it) [from] its [found]ation(s) to its crenellations.
- 62) [mi-qit-ta-šú ad-ke ul-tu] <sup>r</sup>UŠ<sub>8</sub><sup>1</sup>-šú a-di gaba-dib-bi-šú ar-šip ú-šak-lil GIŠ.[ÛR.MEŠ GIŠ.EREN MAḪ].<sup>r</sup>MEŠ<sup>1</sup> ú-šat-ri-[ša UGU-šú] GIŠ.IG.MEŠ <sup>r</sup>GIŠ.li<sup>1</sup>-ia-a-ri  
62b-63) I roof[ed it] with [long] b[eams of cedar] (and) fixed doors of white cedar, [whos]e [fragrance] is sweet, in its gateways. I adorned the temple with musukkan[nu-wood, KA-wood], ebony, boxwood, [ḫilēpu-wood, and] UMBIN-wood.
- 63) [šá e-re-si]-na DÛG.GA ú-rat-ta-a ina KÁ.MEŠ-šú ina GIŠ.MES.MÁ.KAN.[NA GIŠ.KA GIŠ].<sup>r</sup>ESI GIŠ<sup>1</sup>.TÚG [GIŠ<sup>?</sup>.KÌM<sup>?</sup> u GIŠ].UMBIN us-si-[ma] É  
64-66a) [(As for) Eḫulḫ]ul, the temple of the god Sîn, which is in the city Ḫarrān (and) which [the god Sîn ...] in [distant] days entrusted (its renovation) to me, I built (and) co[m]pleted (it) from] its foundation(s)
- 64) [é-ḫú]l-<sup>r</sup>ḫú<sup>1</sup> É <sup>d</sup>30 šá qé-reb URU.KASKAL šá ul-tú UD.<sup>r</sup>MEŠ<sup>1</sup> [SÛ.MEŠ<sup>?</sup> <sup>d</sup>30<sup>?</sup> ...] x ú-šad-gi-lu pa-[nu]-ú-a  
65) [ul-tu] UŠ<sub>8</sub>-šú a-di gaba-dib-bi-šú ar-šip

52 ZABAR “bronze”: Compare text no. 13 (Prism J) ii 10’, which has URUDU (“copper”) instead of ZABAR (“bronze”).

54-61a Compare, for example, the earlier reports of work at Borsippa in text no. 10 (Prism T) ii 1-6 and text no. 12 (Prism H) i 4’-13’a.

58 The restoration of the line follows text no. 13 (Prism J) ii 23’b-25’a. However, it is possible that this inscription follows text no. 12 (Prism H) and adds šu-bat DINGIR-ti-šú GAL-ti (“the seat of his great divinity”) after é-zi-da (“Ezida”); see i 9’ of that text.

59 KI.LÁ-šú\*-nu\* “whose weight”: R. Campbell Thompson’s copy of ex. 13 has KI.LÁ-GUN.

60-63 Compare the reports of the rebuilding of Emeslam at Cutha in text no. 12 (Prism H) i 13’b-25’ and text no. 22 i 14’b-21. See also the building report of the Nergal-Laš Inscription (Borger, BIWA p. 85 lines 78-88).

64-72 Compare, for example, the earlier report of work on Eḫulḫul and Emelamana at Ḫarrān in text no. 10 (Prism T) ii 29-iii 14. The restorations in lines 64, 66, and 67 are based on that passage. For the most detailed description of the rebuilding of Sîn’s temple, see Novotny, SAACT 10 pp. 84-85 no. 20 rev. 43-69. For a study of Ashurbanipal’s building program at Ḫarrān, see Novotny, Eḫulḫul.

- ú-<sup>1</sup>šak<sup>1</sup>-[lil ...] <sup>1</sup>ú<sup>1</sup>-šal-biš é-me-<sup>1</sup>lám<sup>1</sup>-an-na
- 66) É <<sup>d</sup>>nusku\* SUKKAL MAḤ ab-<sup>1</sup>na-a qé-reb<sup>1</sup>-[šú 2 AM.MEŠ KÛ.BABBAR mu-nak-ki-pu ga-re-ia ina at-man] <sup>d</sup>30 EN-ia ul-ziz 2 làḥ-me eš-ma-re-e
- 67) šá ti-iš-<sup>1</sup>bu<sup>1</sup>-[tú GIŠ.šu-ri-in-ni (mu-šal-li-mu kib-si LUGAL-ti-ia) mu-še-ri-bu ḥi-šib KUR-i u tam-tim ina KÁ] <sup>1</sup>é<sup>1</sup>-ḥúl-ḥúl ul-ziz É á-ki-tu
- 68) mu-<sup>1</sup>šab<sup>2</sup>? [be-lu-ti-šú?] <sup>1</sup>ar<sup>1</sup>-šip ú-šak-lil KÛ.BABBAR KÛ.[GI ... GIŠ].MES.MÁ.KAN.NA <sup>1</sup>GIŠ<sup>1</sup> dà-re-e za-[ḥa]-<sup>1</sup>lu<sup>1</sup>-[u] eb-bu
- 69) [... KÛ.GI] <sup>1</sup>ḤUŠ<sup>1</sup>.A ú-za-<sup>1</sup>i-in [...] <sup>1</sup>az<sup>1</sup>-qup <sup>d</sup>30 EN-<sup>1</sup>ia<sup>1</sup> [...] <sup>1</sup>at<sup>1</sup>-man <sup>1</sup>d<sup>1</sup>[nusku] SUKKAL<sup>1</sup> MAḤ
- 70) [ša-bit ab]-<sup>1</sup>bu-ut-ti<sup>1</sup>-ia mu-šaḥ-sis [...] <sup>d</sup>30 EN-ia KÛ.BABBAR uḥ-<sup>1</sup>ḥi<sup>1</sup>-[iz (...)] x GIŠ SI x ti šá a-na šub-ruq [... <sup>d</sup>IM.DUGUD.MUŠEN.MEŠ?] ḤUŠ.MEŠ
- 71) [...] é-me-lám-an-na É <sup>d</sup>nusku SUKKAL MAḤ im-nu u <sup>1</sup>šu<sup>1</sup>-me-<sup>1</sup>lu ul<sup>1</sup>-ziz
- 72) [... ŠU.II <sup>d</sup>30 <sup>d</sup>nusku aš]-<sup>1</sup>bat<sup>1</sup>-ma ú-še-rib ú-še-šib pa-rak <sup>1</sup>da-ra<sup>1</sup>-a-ti
- 73) é-dim-gal-kalam-ma É <sup>1</sup>AN<sup>1</sup>.GAL šá <sup>1</sup>BĀD<sup>1</sup>.[AN.KI a-na] <sup>1</sup>si<sup>1</sup>-ḥir-ti-šú <sup>1</sup>ar<sup>1</sup>-šip\* ú-[šak-lil AN].GAL <sup>d</sup>GAŠAN-BĀD.AN.KI <sup>1</sup>d<sup>1</sup>DUMU.É
- 74) qé-reb-šú ú-še-rib-ma <sup>1</sup>ú<sup>1</sup>-[še-šib? pa-rak? da-ra-a]-<sup>1</sup>ti<sup>2</sup>? KI.TUŠ GIŠ.MES.<sup>1</sup>MÁ<sup>1</sup>.KAN.NA GIŠ dà-re-<sup>1</sup>e<sup>1</sup> a-<sup>1</sup>na<sup>1</sup> mu-šab EN-ti-šú
- 75) KÛ.[BABBAR eb]-<sup>1</sup>bu ú<sup>1</sup>-[šal-biš ...] <sup>1</sup>KÛ<sup>2</sup>? BABBAR šá KÛ.GI ḤUŠ.A lit-bu-šú a-na <sup>1</sup>si<sup>1</sup>-[ḥir-ti-šú ...] x-su
- 76) [<sup>d</sup>IM.DUGUD.MUŠEN.MEŠ KÛ.BABBAR eb-bi šá ma-lu-u pu-luḥ-tu a-na TILA ZI.MEŠ-<sup>1</sup>ia<sup>1</sup> [ina KÁ é-galam-mes É] <sup>1</sup>d<sup>1</sup>U.GUR šá URU.tar-bi-ši ul-ziz
- 77) eš-ret KUR AN.ŠĀR.<sup>1</sup>KI<sup>1</sup> [...] -šú-nu ú-še-piš sat-tuk-ki <sup>1</sup>ù<sup>1</sup> [...] IGI [...] lu-u ú-kin ú-ter <sup>1</sup>áš<sup>1</sup>-ru-uš-šün
- to its crenellations. I clad [...]. Insi[de it], I bui[lt] Emelamana, the temple of <the god> Nusku, the exalted vizier.
- 66b-67a) [In the inner sanctum of] the god Sîn, my lord, I stationed [two wild bulls of silver, which gore my foes (to death). In a gateway of] Eḫulḫul, I (also) stationed two long-haired heroes of ešmarû-metal, which gra[sp divine emblems, (keep safe my royal path, and) bring in the yield of mountain and sea].
- 67b-68a) I built (and) completed the akitu-house, the residen[ce of his lordly majesty. I ...] with silver (and) go[ld ...].
- 68b-69a) [...] musukkannu-[wood], a durable woo[d], I decorated (it) with shiny za[ḥa][ḥa]-metal, [... (and) re]ddish [gold. ... I] set up [...] the god Sîn, m[y] lord, [...].
- 69b-70a) (As for) the inner sanctum of the go[d Nusku, the] exalted [vi]zior, [the one who intercedes on] my [be]half, the one who reminds [(...)] the god Sîn, my lord, I inla[id (it)] with silver.
- 70b-72a) [(As for ...)] ..., which to cause lightning to strike [...], I erected fierce [lion-headed eagles in the ... of] Emelamana, the temple of the god Nusku, the exalted vizier, on the right and lef[t. ...].
- 72b) [I too]k [the gods Sîn (and) Nusku by the hand], made (them) enter into (their respective temples), (and) made (them) sit on (their) e[te]rnal dais(es).
- 73-75) [In] its entirety, I built (and) [completed] Edimgalkalama, the temple of Great [A]nu of D[ēr]. I made the deities Great [Anu], Šarrat-Dēr, (and) Mār-bīti enter into it and [made (them) sit on (their) eterna]l [dais(es)]. F[o]r the dwelling place of his lordly majesty, I [clad] a seat of mu[suk]kannu-wood, a durable wood, with [shi]ny sil[ver. ... (of) si]lver, that is clad with reddish gold, in [its] e[ntirety, ...] ...
- 76) For the preservation of m[y] life, I stationed lion-headed eagles of shiny silver, which are full of fearsomeness, [in gateway(s) of Egallammes, the temple of the g]od Nergal of the city Tarbišu.
- 77-78a) (As for) the shrines of Assyria, I had their [...] made. [...] regular offerings an[d ...] ... [...] I (re)confirmed (and) returned (them) to their (proper) [p]lace(s). [I increa]sed (them) over the establish[ed] nindabû-offerings (and) provided (them) in abundance.

66 <<sup>d</sup>>nusku\* “<the god> Nusku”: R. Campbell Thompson’s copy of ex. 13 has SIPA.

70 [<sup>d</sup>IM.DUGUD.MUŠEN.MEŠ?] “lion-headed eagles”: The restoration is conjectural.

71b-72a Contrary to A. Fuchs (in Borger, BIWA p. 274), there is probably a lacuna between <sup>1</sup>ul<sup>1</sup>-ziz (“I erected”) and [ŠU.II <sup>d</sup>30] (“the hand of the god Sîn”).

73-75 Compare the earlier report of the rebuilding of Edimgalkalama in text no. 10 (Prism T) iii 15-17. <sup>1</sup>ar<sup>1</sup>-šip\* “I built”: R. Campbell Thompson’s copy of ex. 23 has <sup>1</sup>ar<sup>1</sup>-še.

74 <sup>1</sup>ú<sup>1</sup>-[še-šib? pa-rak? da-ra-a]-<sup>1</sup>ti<sup>2</sup>? “I [made (them) sit on (their) eterna]l [dais(es)]:” The restoration is conjectural.

76 Compare, for example, the earlier report of the decoration of Egallammes in text no. 10 (Prism T) ii 25-28.

- 78) UGU *nin-da-bé-e kun-nu-[ti lu-u ú-šá]-tir lu\*-u ú-ṭáḥ-ḥi-id* DINGIR.<sup>1</sup>MEŠ<sup>1</sup> GAL.MEŠ EN.MEŠ-<sup>1</sup>ia<sup>1</sup> [šá ap-tal-la-ḥu-šú]-nu-ti
- 79) *ke-niš ip-pal-su-in-ni-ma* <sup>1</sup>i<sup>1</sup>-[tap-pa-lu] Á.II-a-a AN.DÙL-la-šú-nu DÙG.GA UGU-ia it-<sup>1</sup>ru<sup>1</sup>-[šu-ma ep-še]-<sup>1</sup>ti<sup>1</sup>-ia SIG<sub>5</sub>.MEŠ ḥa-diš ip-pal-su-ma
- 80) *ik-<sup>1</sup>tar<sup>1</sup>-[ra-bu]* LUGAL-u-ti KUR.KUR DÙ-ši-na ul-tu tam-tim AN.[TA] a-<sup>1</sup>di<sup>1</sup> tam-tim <sup>1</sup>šap-li<sup>1</sup>-ti a-na ni-[ri-ia] ú-<sup>1</sup>šak<sup>1</sup>-[ni-šu]-<sup>1</sup>u<sup>1</sup>-ma
- 81) *i-šu-ṭu ab-šá-a-ni ina qí-bi-ti-<sup>1</sup>šú<sup>1</sup>-[nu]* <sup>1</sup>šir<sup>1</sup>-ti ina kul-<sup>1</sup>lat<sup>1</sup> [KUR.KUR] <sup>1</sup>at<sup>1</sup>-tal-<sup>1</sup>lak<sup>1</sup>-[ma ma-ḥi-ri ul] <sup>1</sup>i<sup>1</sup>-ši
- 82) URU.ni-i' URU LUGAL-u-ti KUR.mu-šur u KUR.ku-u-si KUR-ud šal-lat-su <sup>1</sup>ka<sup>1</sup>-bit-tú [áš-lu-la a-na KUR AN].ŠÁR.KI
- 83) <sup>m</sup>ba-a-lu LUGAL KUR.šur-ri šá a-mat LUGAL-u-ti-ia la iṣ-šu-ru URU.ḪAL.ŠU.[MEŠ UGU-šú ú-rak]-kis
- 84) *ina tam-tim u na-ba-li ger-<sup>1</sup>re<sup>1</sup>-ti-šú ú-šab-bit a-na ni-ri-ia ú-šak-[nis-su-nu]-<sup>1</sup>ti<sup>1</sup>*
- 85) <sup>m</sup>ia-ki-in-lu-u LUGAL KUR.a-ru-ad-da <sup>m</sup>sa-an-di-<sup>1</sup>šar<sup>1</sup>-me KUR.ḥi-lak-ka-a-a šá a-na LUGAL.<sup>1</sup>MEŠ<sup>1</sup> [AD.MEŠ]-ia [la kan-šú]
- 86) *ik-nu-šú a-na* GIŠ.<sup>1</sup>DUN<sub>4</sub><sup>1</sup>-[ia <sup>m</sup>gu-ug-gu] LUGAL [KUR.lu-ud-di] <sup>1</sup>AN<sup>1</sup>.ŠÁR DINGIR ba-nu-ú-a ni-<sup>1</sup>bit<sup>1</sup> [MU-ia]
- 87) *ina* MÁŠ.GI<sub>6</sub> <sup>1</sup>ú<sup>1</sup>-[šab-ri-šú um-ma] <sup>1</sup>GÌR.II<sup>1</sup> <sup>m</sup>AN.ŠÁR-DÙ-A LUGAL KUR AN.ŠÁR.KI ṣa-[bat-ma]
- 88) *i-na zi-<sup>1</sup>kir<sup>1</sup>* [MU-šú ku-šu-ud LÚ.KÚR.MEŠ]-<sup>1</sup>ka <sup>1</sup>i<sup>1</sup>-na zi-kir MU-ia LÚ.KÚR.<sup>1</sup>MEŠ<sup>1</sup>-šú ik-šú-<sup>1</sup>ud<sup>1</sup> [...]
- 89) LÚ.rak-bu-šú šá šul-me <sup>1</sup>it<sup>1</sup>-[ti ta-mar-ti-šú<sup>1</sup> ka]-<sup>1</sup>bit<sup>1</sup>?-ti ú-še-bi-lam-ma ú-na-áš-<sup>1</sup>šiq<sup>1</sup> GÌR.II-<sup>1</sup>ia<sup>1</sup>
- 90) <sup>m</sup>ú-al-<sup>1</sup>li<sup>1</sup>-[i LUGAL<sup>?</sup> KUR.man-na-a-a<sup>?</sup> da-na-an<sup>?</sup>] AN.ŠÁR <sup>d</sup>NIN.LÍL EN.MEŠ-<sup>1</sup>ia<sup>1</sup> [... e-mur-ma<sup>?</sup>] ik-nu-šá a-<sup>1</sup>na<sup>1</sup> [GIŠ.DUN<sub>4</sub>-ia]
- 91) ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ <sup>1</sup>GAL<sup>1</sup>.MEŠ man-da-at-ta-šu [...] šat-ti-šam la <sup>1</sup>na<sup>1</sup>-[par-ka-a ...]-ma ú-ša-al-la-a be-[lu-u-ti]
- 78b-81) The great gods, m[y] lords, [who]m [I constantly revered], looked steadfastly upon me and [stood in] for me. Th[ey] spr[ead] their benevolent protection over me, looked with pleasure upon my good [dee]ds and constantly ble[ssed] my kingship. They made all of the lands from the Upp[er] Sea to the Lower Sea b[low down] to [my] yo[ke] and they (the lands) pulled my yoke. At the[ir (the gods')] ex]alted command, [I] constantly marc[h]ed about] through all [the lands and] had [no rival] (lit. "there was [no one to rival me]").
- 82) I conquered the city Thebes, a royal city of Egypt and Kush, (and) [carried off] its [su]bstantial booty [to As]syria.
- 83-84) (As for) Ba'alu, the king of the land Tyre who did not honor my royal command(s), [I se]t up outpost[s against him]. By sea and dry land, I took control of (all of) his routes. I made [the]m (the people of Tyre) bow [down] to my yoke.
- 85-86a) (As for) Yakīn-Lû, the king of the land Arwad, (and) Sanda-[š]arme of the land Ḫilakku (Cilicia), who had [not bowed down] to the kings, my [ancestors], they bowed down to [my] y[oke].
- 86b-89) [(As for) Gyges], the king of [the land Lydia, (the god) A]ššur, the god who created me, [made him see] in a dream the men[ti]on of my name, saying: "Gr[asp the f]leet of Ashurbanipal, king of Assyria, [and] through the men[ti]on of his name, conquer you[r enemies]." Through the mention of my name, he conquer[ed] his enemies. [...] He sent his mounted messenger (with messages) of goodwill, tog[ether with his substant]ial [audi]ence gift(s) and he kis[s]ed m[y] feet.
- 90-91) (As for) Uallî, [king of the land Mannea, he saw the might of] (the god) Aššur (and) the goddess Mullissu, m[y] lords, [... and] he bowed down t[o my yoke. He ...] large horses as his payment, yearly, without ce[asing] and he made appeals to [my] lord[ly majesty].

78 lu\*-u "indeed": R. Campbell Thompson's copy of ex. 23 has KI-u.

78b-82 Compare text no. 12 (Prism H) ii 3'-10'.

81 R. Campbell Thompson's copy of ex. 12 omits KUR.KUR ("the lands"), which is otherwise located in a break in the other exemplars.

82-161 The focus of the "military narration" of this inscription is generally on the (voluntary) submission of foreign rulers and sending of audience gifts and annual payment, and the appointment of people to positions of power. As for forced submission to Assyrian domination, Ashurbanipal claims to have subjugated Tyre (lines 83-84); forced Tammaritu, Pa'e, (and) Ummanaldašu (Ḫumban-ḫaltaš III) of Elam into submission (lines 99b-100); and made Mussi of Tabal swear loyalty to him (lines 141b-142a). With regard to rulers voluntarily submitting to Assyria, the following men are recorded in this text as sending gifts and payments to Ashurbanipal of their own volition: Yakīn-Lû of Arwad and Sanda-šarme of Ḫilakku (lines 85-86a); Gyges of Lydia (lines 86b-89); Uallî of Mannea (lines 90-91); Cyrus of Parsumaš and Pislumê of Ḫudimiri (lines 114-117); Ištar-dürî of Urartu (lines 121b-124a); Ḫundāru of Dilmun (lines 131b-132); [...]raBADte of ...uppi and Padê of Qadê (lines 133-136a); Šilum of Ḫazmāni (lines 136b-139a); and Mugallu of Tabal (lines 139b-141a). As for the appointment of foreign rulers, Ashurbanipal claims to have made Ummanigaš (Ḫumban-nikaš II) king of Elam (line 96a), Tammaritu (Ummanigaš's brother) ruler in Ḫidalu (line 96b), and Šamaš-šuma-ukīn king of Babylon (line 108). A few successful battles and the defeat of some of Assyria's enemies are also recorded: for example, the capture of Thebes (line 82), the destruction of Susa (line 94), the capture of Dunānu and the plundering of his capital Ša-pī-Bêl (lines 101-103), and the murder/suicide of Šamaš-šuma-ukīn (lines 110-111a).

- 92) *ina* <sup>r</sup>*e*<sup>1</sup>-*muq* AN.ŠÁR MAḪ.MEŠ *ša* <sup>r</sup>GABA<sup>1</sup>.[RI] <sup>r</sup>*la*<sup>1</sup>  
*i-ša-a* KUR.ELAM.MA.KI DAGAL-[*tu* ...]
- 93) LUGAL KUR.ELAM.MA.KI *áš-<sup>r</sup>kun<sup>21</sup>* [...  
URU].<sup>r</sup>MEŠ<sup>1</sup>-*šu dan-nu-ti é ni-šir-ti-šu a-di*  
[URU.MEŠ TUR.MEŠ]
- 94) *ša ni-[ba la]* <sup>r</sup>*i<sup>21</sup>-šu<sup>2</sup>-u ak-<sup>r</sup>šud<sup>21</sup>* [...] -*ti-šu*  
*ú-nam-me* URU.šu-*ša-an* URU.*pi-[di-il-ma ...]*
- 95) *ap-<sup>r</sup>pu<sup>1</sup>* [*aq-qur ...*] A' MU DINGIR.MEŠ *x* [...] -*šu*  
NĪG.GA-*šu šal-lat-su* DUGUD-*tú áš-lu-la a-na*  
KUR AN.ŠÁR.KI
- 96) <sup>m</sup>*um-man-[i-gaš ša in-nab-tu iṣ-ba]-tu* ĠIR.II  
LUGAL-*ti-ia* <sup>r</sup>*ina*<sup>1</sup> [GIŠ.GU].<sup>r</sup>ZA<sup>1</sup>-[*šu ú-še-šib*  
<sup>m</sup>*tam-ma]-ri-tu* ŠEŠ-*šu šal-ša-a-a*
- 97) *ina* URU.*hi-da-a-<sup>r</sup>li<sup>1</sup> ap-qid* <sup>d</sup>[*na*]-<sup>r</sup>*na*<sup>1</sup>-*a ša ul-tú*  
UD.MEŠ SÙ.MEŠ *tas-bu-šu-ma* [*tu-ši-bu a-šar la*  
*si-ma*]-*ti-ša*
- 98) *ul-tú qé-reb* URU.šu-*ša-an ú-še-ša-am-ma a-na*  
<sup>r</sup>UNUG<sup>1</sup>.KI <sup>r</sup>URU<sup>1</sup> *be-lu-<sup>r</sup>ti<sup>1</sup>-[ša ú]-<sup>r</sup>še<sup>1</sup>-rib-ši ina*  
*é-an-na ša ta-ram-mu*
- 99) *ú-<sup>r</sup>šar<sup>1</sup>-[me-ši pa-rak da]-ra-a-ti* <sup>m</sup>*tam-ma-ri-tu*  
<sup>m</sup>*pa-'e-e um-man-al-da-<sup>r</sup>si<sup>1</sup>* [*ša EGIR a-ḥa-meš*]  
<sup>r</sup>*e<sup>1</sup>-pu-šu be-lut* KUR.ELAM.MA.KI
- 100) *ša* AN.ŠÁR <sup>d</sup>NIN.LÍL [<sup>d</sup>]<sup>r</sup>15<sup>1</sup> *a-ši-bat*  
URU.LĪMMU-DINGIR *ú-šak-ši-du qa-ti iṣ-ba-tú*  
ĠIR.II LUGAL-*u-ti-ia ip-pu-šu* ARAD-*u-ti*
- 101) <sup>m</sup>*du-<sup>r</sup>na<sup>1</sup>-nu* [DUMU] <sup>r</sup>m<sup>1</sup>EN-BA-*ša*  
KUR.*gam-bu-la-a-a ša* GIŠ.DUN<sub>4</sub> AN.<sup>r</sup>ŠÁR *iṣ<sup>1</sup>-lu-u*  
*a-na* KUR.ELAM.MA.KI *it-tak-lu*
- 102) URU.*ša-pi-i-<sup>d</sup>en* URU *tu-kul-<sup>r</sup>ti<sup>1</sup>-šu ša ina bi-<sup>r</sup>rit<sup>1</sup>*  
ÍD.MEŠ *na-da-at šu\*-bat-su ak-šu-ud*
- 103) *ša-a-šu* <sup>r</sup>*bal<sup>1</sup>-tu-us-su ina qa-ti aṣ-bat it-ti*  
*šal-lat* KUR-*šu* DUGUD-*tú al-qa-a a-na* KUR  
AN.ŠÁR.KI
- 104) [<sup>md</sup>MUATI]-EN-MU.MEŠ DUMU  
<sup>md</sup>AMAR.UTU-<sup>r</sup>IBILA<sup>1</sup>-AŠ ARAD *da-gíl pa-ni-<sup>r</sup>ia<sup>1</sup>*  
[*ša*] *ina a-de-ia iḫ-tu-ú in-na-bi-tu qé-reb*  
KUR.ELAM.MA.KI
- 105) *ḥat-ti* AN.ŠÁR EN-*ia is-<sup>r</sup>hup<sup>1</sup>-šu* NU *x* ḤAR  
LÚ.*ki-zu-[šu šu-u LÚ].<sup>r</sup>ki<sup>1</sup>-zu-šu ina* ĠIR AN.BAR  
*šib-bi-šu-nu [ú]-ras-si-bu a-ḥa-meš*
- 106) <sup>m</sup>*um-man-al-da-si* LUGAL KUR.ELAM.MA.KI  
*pu-luḫ-tú ir-ši-ma pa-gar-šu ú-<sup>r</sup>še<sup>1</sup>-[bi-la]* *a-di*  
*maḫ-ri-ia*
- 107) *a-na ep-šet da-<sup>r</sup>na<sup>1</sup>-an* <sup>r</sup>AN<sup>1</sup>.ŠÁR <sup>d</sup>NIN.LÍL  
*pa-gar-šu ul ad-din a-na qé-bé-ri*
- 108) <sup>md</sup>GIŠ.NU<sub>11</sub>-MU-GL.NA ŠEŠ *la ke-e-nu ša* MUN  
<sup>r</sup>*e<sup>1</sup>-pu-šu-uš áš-ku-nu-uš a-na* LUGAL-*u-ti*  
KÁ.DINGIR.RA.KI
- 92–95) Through the exalted strength of (the god) Aššur, which does [no]t have a [rival, ...] the extensi[ve] land Elam. I *estab[lished ...]*, the king of the land Elam. [...] his fortified [citi]es, his treasury, together with [small(er) settlements], which *were* [with-out] num[ber], I *con[quered. ...]* I devastated [...] his [...]. (As for) the cities Susa, Pi[dilma, ...], I destro[yed (them), demolished (them), ...] ... gods [...] (and) I carried off to Assyria its [...] its property (and) its substantial booty.
- 96–97a) (As for) Umman[igaš (Ḥumban-nikas II), who had fled (and) grasp[ed] the feet of my royal majesty, [I placed (him)] o[n his (Teumman's) thro]ne. I appointed [Tamma]ritu, his third brother, in the city Ḥidalu.
- 97b–99a) (As for) the goddess [Nan]āya, who since distant days became angry and [(went) to live in a place not befit]ting her, I brought (her) out of the city Susa and (then) [made] her [en]ter into Ur[u]k, the ci[t]y of [her] lordly majes[ty, (and) dwell on (her) et]ernal [dais] in Eanna, which she loves.
- 99b–100) (As for) Tamar[itu, Pa]’ê, (and) Ummanaldašu (Ḥumban-ḫaltaš III), [who had e]xercised lordship over the land Elam [one after the other], (and) whom the deities Aššur, Mullissu, (and) [the Išt]ar who resides in the city Arbela allowed me to conquer, they grasped the feet of my royal majesty (and) did obeisance to me.
- 101–103) (As for) Du[n]ānu, [the son of] Bēl-iqīša, a Gambulian who cast off the yoke of (the god) Aššur (and) relied upon the land Elam, I conquered the city Ša-pī-Bēl, the city upon which he relie[s], whose location is situated between rivers. I captured him a[l]ive (and) I took (him back) to Assyria with substantial booty from his land.
- 104–107) [(As for) Nabû]-bēl-šumāti, the son of Marduk-[a]pla-iddina (II) (Merodach-baladan), a servant who belonged to m[e, who] had sinned against my treaty (and) fled inside the land Elam, terror of (the god) Aššur, my lord, overwhelm[ed] him. *He ...* [his] personal attendant (and) [he] (and) his [pers]onal attendant struck each other down with their iron belt-dagger(s). Ummanaldašu (Ḥumban-ḫaltaš III), the king of the land Elam, became frightened and had his (Nabû-bēl-šumāti’s) corpse br[ought] before me. To (show) the mi[g]hty deeds of (the god) [A]ššur (and) the goddess Mullissu, I did not agree to hand over his corpse for burial.
- 108–111a) (As for) Šamaš-šuma-ukīn, (my) unfaithful brother for whom I performed (many acts of) kindness (and) whom I had installed as king of Babylon, he

92 As correctly pointed out by A. Fuchs (in Borger, BIWA p. 277), there is no large break in the inscription. R. Campbell Thompson postulated that there was a break of several lines; for a few details, see Fuchs in Borger, BIWA p. 277.

102 *šu\*-bat-su* “whose location”: R. Campbell Thompson’s copy of ex. 3 has MA-*bat-su*.

105 NU *x* ḤAR “...”: A. Fuchs (in Borger, BIWA p. 279) suggests reading the signs as <sup>r</sup>*is<sup>1</sup>-hur* (“[he] turned”) or <sup>r</sup>*im<sup>1</sup>-hur* (“[he] received”).

- 109) 𒀭MUN<sup>1</sup> e-pu-šú-uš im-ši-ma KUR URI.KI  
KUR.kal-du KUR.a-ru-mu ARAD.MEŠ da-gíl  
pa-ni-ia it-ti-ia ú-šam<sup>1</sup>-kír-ma ip-ru-sa  
ŠEŠ-ut-<sup>1</sup>tu<sup>1</sup>
- 110) [dEN].LÍL [dNIN.LÍL<sup>2</sup>] u dAMAR.UTU DINGIR.MEŠ  
tik-le-ia ep-še-ti-šú 𒄩LUL.MEŠ ip-pal-su-ma  
il-li-ku re-šu-ti MÈ-šú-nu dan-ni
- 111) x [...] x [...] 𒀭GIŠ.BAR ŠU.II-šú ú-šá-ḫi-zu  
ú-šaq-mu-ú pa-gar-šú<sup>m</sup> ú-a-a-te-e<sup>1</sup> LUGAL  
KUR.su-mu-èl
- 112) 𒀭šá<sup>1</sup> [it]-<sup>1</sup>ti<sup>1</sup>-šú iš-šak-nu bal-ṭu-us-su 𒀭ina  
ŠU<sup>1</sup>.[II] aš-bat<sup>m</sup> am-mu-la-ad-di LUGAL  
KUR.qé-da-ri
- 113) ina mit-ḫu-ši GIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ ina ŠU.II  
ERIM.ḫi.A-ia iš-šá-kin-ma a-<sup>1</sup>di<sup>1</sup> maḫ-ri-ia  
il-qu-u-ni bal-ṭu-us-su
- 114) ul-tu GIŠ.TUKUL.<MEŠ> AN.ŠÁR ka-ši-du-ti  
KUR.ELAM.MA.KI DÛ-šá ik-šu-du i-na-ru  
<sup>m</sup>ku-ra-áš MAN KUR.par-su-ú-ma-áš
- 115) <sup>m</sup>pi-iš-lu-me-<sup>1</sup>e<sup>1</sup> LUGAL KUR.ḫu-di-me-ri  
LUGAL.MEŠ šá a-šar-šú-nu ru-ú-qu šá ina a-ḫi  
KUR.ELAM.MA.KI ul-liti áš-bu
- 116) pu-luḫ-ti AN.ŠÁR d[NIN].LÍL ù d<sup>15</sup> a-<sup>1</sup>šil-bat  
URU.LÍMMU-DINGIR\* is-ḫup-šú-nu-ti-ma ir-šu-u  
na-kut-tú
- 117) LÚ.MAḫ.MEŠ-šú-nu šá 𒀭tu<sup>1</sup>-[u-bi u  
su]-<sup>1</sup>lum<sup>1</sup>-me-<sup>1</sup>e it<sup>1</sup>-ti 𒀭ta-mar-ti<sup>1</sup>-šú-nu  
DUGUD-tú a-na maḫ-<sup>1</sup>ri<sup>1</sup>-ia ú-bi-lu-nim-ma  
ú-na-áš-ši-qu ĠIR.II-ia
- 118) <sup>m</sup>tam-ma-ri-tu <sup>m</sup>pa-<sup>1</sup>e<sup>1</sup>-[e]  
<sup>1</sup>m<sup>1</sup>um-man-<sup>1</sup>al-da<sup>1</sup>-[si LUGAL.MEŠ]  
KUR.ELAM.MA.KI <sup>m</sup>ia-u-te-e<sup>1</sup> LUGAL  
KUR.su-mu-èl
- 119) šá ina qí-bit AN.ŠÁR dNIN.LÍL ù d<sup>15</sup> [a-šil-bat  
URU.LÍMMU-DINGIR ik]-šú-da 𒀭ŠU<sup>1</sup>.II-a-a ul-<sup>1</sup>tu<sup>1</sup>  
a-na e-peš UDU.SISKUR.MEŠ
- 120) šul-lum par-še ina é-šár-ra é-maš-maš  
<sup>1</sup>e<sup>1</sup>-[...]-<sup>1</sup>e<sup>1</sup>?<sup>1</sup> ina GIŠ.šá šad-<sup>1</sup>da<sup>1</sup>-[di] ru-[kub  
LUGAL]-ti-ia
- 121) ki-<sup>1</sup>ma<sup>1</sup> mur-ni-<sup>1</sup>is<sup>1</sup>-[qí] aš-mid-su-nu-ti  
iš-[ba]-<sup>1</sup>tu<sup>1</sup> ab-šá-ni<sup>md</sup> 15-BÀD 𒀭MAN<sup>1</sup>  
[KUR.ur-ar-ṭi] šá LUGAL.<sup>1</sup>MEŠ AD<sup>1</sup>.MEŠ-šú
- 122) a-na 𒀭AD<sup>1</sup>.[MEŠ-ia] iš-ta-naṭ-pa-ru-u-ni ŠEŠ-tu  
i-[na]-<sup>1</sup>an<sup>1</sup>-na da-na-an ep-še-e-ti [šá]
- 123) DINGIR.MEŠ 𒀭GAL<sup>1</sup>.[MEŠ] 𒀭i<sup>1</sup>-šil-mu-<sup>1</sup>ú<sup>1</sup>-[in-ni

forgot (the acts of) k[indness] that I had done for him, ma[de] the land Akkad, Chaldea, (and) Aram, servants who belonged to me, become hostile towards me and broke off (our) brotherly relatio[ns]. The deities [En]lil, [Mullissu], and Marduk, the gods who support me, looked upon his evil deeds and came to my aid. [...] their mighty battle array. They made the fire-god grasp his hands (and) had his body burned.

111b–112a) (As for) Uaite<sup>1</sup>, the king of the land Sumu<sup>1</sup>el, who had sided [wit]h him, I captured him alive.

112b–113) (As for) Ammu-ladin, the king of the land Qedar, he was delivered into the hands of my troops during a clash of arms and they brought him alive b[e]fore me.

114–117) After the conquering weapon<s> of (the god) Aššur had conquered all of the land Elam (and) killed (its people), Cyrus, the king of the land Parsumaš, (and) Pislumê, the king of the land Ḫudimiri, kings whose location(s) are remote (and) who live on the far side of the land Elam, fear of the deities Aššur, [Mul]lissu, and the Ištar who r[es]ides in the city Arbela, overwhelmed them and they became distressed. They sent their envoys (with messages) of go[odwill and pe]ace, [w]ith their substantial audienc[e gift(s)], befo[r]e me and they kissed my feet.

118–121a) (As for) Tammarītu, Pa<sup>1</sup>[ê], (and) Um-manald[āšu (Ḫumban-ḫaltaš III), kings of] the land Elam, (and) Uaite<sup>1</sup>, the king of the land Sumu<sup>1</sup>el, whom I had [cap]tured by the command of the deities Aššur, Mullissu, and the Ištar [who resides in the city Arbela] – afterwards, in order to make offerings (and) to successfully complete rituals in Ešarra, Emašmaš, (and) E[...] I hitched them li[k]e thoroughbred hor[ses] to a processional ca[rriage], the vehi[cle of] my [royal maje]sty, (and) they to[ok hol]d of my yoke.

121b–124a) (As for) Ištar-dūrī (Sarduri III), the ki[ng of the land Urarṭu], whose kings, his [ance]stors, used to regularly send (messages of) brotherly relations to [my] ance[stors], n[o]w, [he heard about] the mighty deeds [that] the gre[at] gods had determined [for me and] terror fe[l]l upon him; [he (then) cons]tantly

111 <sup>m</sup>ú-a-a-te-e<sup>1</sup> “Uaite<sup>1</sup>”: The Arabian ruler mentioned here is probably Uaite<sup>1</sup> (son of Bir-Dāda), and not Iauta<sup>1</sup> (son of Hazael). For this opinion, see Gerardi, SAAB 6/2 (1992) p. 94 and Lämmerhirt, RLA 14/3–4 (2014) p. 256 sub Uaite<sup>1</sup>. H. Baker (PNA 3/2 p. 1353 sub Uaite<sup>1</sup> 1), however, identifies the Arab ruler in question as Uaite<sup>1</sup> (king of the Arabs), a man who is not Iauta<sup>1</sup> or Uaite<sup>1</sup> (son of Bir-Dāda). For further information about the various men called Uaite<sup>1</sup> in Ashurbanipal’s inscriptions, see the on-page note to text no. 11 (Prism A) vii 82–x 39.

116 URU.LÍMMU-DINGIR\* “Arbela”: R. Campbell Thompson’s copy of ex. 3 has URU.LÍMMU-EŠ<sub>6</sub>.

118–121a Compare, for example, text no. 11 (Prism A) x 17–39.

118 <sup>m</sup>ia-u-te-e<sup>1</sup> “Uaite<sup>1</sup>”: Despite the spelling of the name, the Arabian ruler mentioned here is probably Uaite<sup>1</sup> (son of Bir-Dāda), and not Iauta<sup>1</sup> (son of Hazael). For this opinion, see Gerardi, SAAB 6/2 (1992) p. 94 and Lämmerhirt, RLA 14/3–4 (2014) p. 256 sub Uaite<sup>1</sup>. H. Baker (PNA 3/2 p. 1353 sub Uaite<sup>1</sup> 1), however, identifies the Arab ruler in question as Uaite<sup>1</sup> (king of the Arabs), a man who is not Iauta<sup>1</sup> or Uaite<sup>1</sup> (son of Bir-Dāda). For further information about the various men called Uaite<sup>1</sup> in Ashurbanipal’s inscriptions, see the on-page note to text no. 11 (Prism A) vii 82–x 39.

- iš-me-e-ma] *ḥat-tu* UGU-šú *im-<sup>r</sup>qut<sup>1</sup>-[ma*  
iš]-<sup>r</sup>ta<sup>1</sup>-*nap-pa-ra*
- 124) *um-ma lu-u šul-mu* <sup>r</sup>a<sup>1</sup>-[na] <sup>r</sup>LUGAL<sup>1</sup> EN-*ia*  
[<sup>m</sup>na-at-nu LUGAL KUR.na-ba]-<sup>r</sup>a<sup>1</sup>-a-ti šá  
<sup>r</sup>a<sup>1</sup>-[šar-šú ru]-ú-qu
- 125) *ša a-na* LUGAL.MEŠ AD.MEŠ-*ia la kan-šú*  
<sup>r</sup>ik<sup>1</sup>-nu-šá *a-na* GIŠ.<sup>r</sup>DUN<sup>4</sup>-[*ia ...*  
KUR].<sup>r</sup>na<sup>21</sup>-ba-a-a-<sup>r</sup>ti<sup>21</sup> [...] x AD x
- 126) [... *ik*]-*lu-u ta-[mar-ta-šú] ina qí-bit* AN.[šÁR]  
<sup>r</sup>d<sup>1</sup>NIN.LÍL DINGIR.MEŠ <sup>r</sup>GAL<sup>1</sup>.[MEŠ] <sup>r</sup>EN<sup>1</sup>.MEŠ-*ia*  
*šá ú-tak-kil-u-in-ni*
- 127) [...] BAD<sub>5</sub>.BAD<sub>5</sub>-[šú *áš-kun* URU.MEŠ-šú] <sup>r</sup>ap<sup>1</sup>-*pul*  
*[aq-qur] a-na* DU<sub>6</sub> *u kar-me ú-ter*
- 128) *šá-a-šú* DAM-su DUMU.MEŠ-šú  
DUMU.MUNUS.MEŠ-[šú *šal*]-<sup>r</sup>lat<sup>1</sup> KUR-šú  
<sup>r</sup>ka<sup>1</sup>-[bit-tu *áš-lu-la a*]-<sup>r</sup>na<sup>1</sup> KUR AN.šÁR.KI
- 129) <sup>m</sup>nu-*ḥu-ru* DUMU-šú *šá la-pa-an* GIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ  
AN.šÁR u <sup>d</sup>15 *ip-par-šú<sup>1</sup>-[du ...] ma<sup>2</sup>-a-ti*
- 130) [...]-<sup>r</sup>šú<sup>1</sup>-*nu is-ḥup-šú-ma it-ti man-da-at-ti-šú*  
<sup>r</sup>ka<sup>1</sup>-[bit-ti *il-li-ka<sup>2</sup>*] *a-di maḥ-ri-ia*
- 131) *re-e-mu ar-ši-šú-ma ina* GIŠ.GU.ZA AD-šú  
*ú-še-šib<sup>1</sup>-[šú<sup>m</sup>]* *ḥu-un-da-ru* LUGAL  
KUR.NI.[TUK.KI ... AN.šÁR u <sup>d</sup>NIN].LÍL  
DINGIR.MEŠ *ti-ik-le-ia*
- 132) *is-ḥup-šú-ma it-ti [man-da-at-ti-šú<sup>2</sup> ka-bit-ti<sup>2</sup>]*  
<sup>r</sup>a<sup>1</sup>-*na* NINA.KI *šat-ti-šam la ba-ṭa-li il-li-kam-ma*  
*ú-ša<sup>1</sup>-[al]-<sup>r</sup>la<sup>1</sup>-a<sup>1</sup> be<sup>1</sup>-lu-ú-[ti]*
- 133) [...] *-ra-a-BAD-te* LUGAL KUR.x-[*up-pi*] <sup>m</sup>pa-*de-e*  
LUGAL KUR.qa-*de-e šá ina* URU.iz-*ke-e áš-bu šá*  
<sup>r</sup>ma<sup>1</sup>-*ti-<sup>r</sup>ma<sup>21</sup>*
- 134) [...] *la ik-bu-su mi-šir* KUR AN.šÁR.KI *ina qí-bit*  
AN.šÁR <sup>d</sup>NIN.LÍL LÚ.rak-*bu-šú-nu ša* <sup>r</sup>tu<sup>1</sup>-[*u-bi*]
- 135) [*su-lum-me-e iš-pur-u*]-*ni it-ti*  
*man-da-at-ti-šú-nu ka-bit-ti ma-lak* 6 ITI  
*ir-du-u-ni il-<sup>r</sup>lik<sup>1</sup>-[u]-<sup>r</sup>ni<sup>1</sup> a-di* <sup>r</sup>maḥ<sup>1</sup>-[*ri*]-<sup>r</sup>ia<sup>1</sup>
- 136) *šu-lum* LUGAL-*u-ti-ia iš-a-lu<sub>4</sub> ú-šal-lu-u*  
*be-lu-u-ti* <sup>r</sup>mš<sup>1</sup>-*i-lum* MAN <sup>r</sup>EDIN<sup>21</sup> *šá ina*  
KUR.ḥa-*az-ma-a-ni*
- 137) *ina a-ḥi* NI.TUK.KI MURUB<sub>4</sub>-*at tam-tim áš-bu*  
*pu-luḥ-ti* AN.šÁR u <sup>d</sup>15 DINGIR.MEŠ *tik-<sup>r</sup>le<sup>1</sup>-[ia]*  
<sup>r</sup>is<sup>1</sup>-*ḥup-ú-šú-[ma]*
- 138) *ur-ḥu* SÛ-*tu ina tam-tim u na-ba-li*

[s]ent (messages) saying: “May it be well w[ith the k]ing, my lord.”

124b–128) [(As for) Natnu, the king of the land of the Nab[ayateans, who[se] lo[cation is re]mote, (and) who had not bowed down to the kings, my ancestors, [he] bowed down to [my] y[oke]. ... *the land of the N[abayateans ...] ... [... with]held [his] au[dience gift(s)], by the command of (the god) Aš[šur (and) the godde]ss Mullissu, the gre[at] gods, my [lo]rds who had encouraged me, [... I brought about his] defeat. I [de]stroyed (and) [demolished his cities], (and) turned (them) into mounds of ruins (lit. “mound(s) and ruin(s)”). [I carried off t]o Assyria him, his wife, his sons, [his] daughters, (and) su[bs]tantial bo[ol]ty from his land.*

129–131a) (As for) Nuḥūru, his son, who fle[d] before the weapons of (the god) Aššur and the goddess Ištar, [...] ... [... t]heir [...] overwhelmed him and [*he came*] before me with his su[bs]tantial] payment. I had mercy on him and place[d him] on the throne of his father. 131b–132) (As for) Ḥundāru, the king of the land Dil[mun, the ... of (the god) Aššur and the goddess Mul]lissu, the gods who support me, overwhelmed him; he (then) came to Nineveh with [*his substan-tial payment*] yearly, without interruption, and ma[de] ap[peals] to [my] lordly majes[ty].

133–136a) [(As for) ...]raBADte, the king of the land ...[uppi], (and) Padê, the king of the land Qadê who lives in the city Izkê, who n[e]ver [...] (or) set foot in Assyrian territory, by the command of (the god) Aššur (and) the goddess Mullissu, [they sent] me their mounted messenger(s) with messages) of goo[dwill (and) peace], together with their substantial pay-ment(s). They traveled a distance of six month(s’ jour-ney), ca[m]e befo[re] me, inquired about the well-being of my royal majesty, (and) made appeals to my lordly majesty.

136b–139a) (As for) šilum, a king of [the *step*]pe who lives in the land Ḥazmāni, (which is) on the shore of Dilmun, in the middle of the sea, fear of (the god) Aššur and the goddess Mullissu, the gods who sup[port me], overwhelmed him [and] he took the long road by sea and dry land; [he (then) cam]e before me with his substanti[al] payment, inquired about the well-being

131 [<sup>m</sup>ḥu-un-da-ru “Ḥundāru”]: For a brief biography of this ruler of Dilmun, who is also mentioned in several Neo-Assyrian letters, see Brinkman, PNA 2/1 p. 479 sub Ḥundāru 2.

133 [...] *-ra-a-BAD-te* “[...]raBADte”: Utilizing ex. 32, a fragment too small to be certain of its placement within the text, A. Fuchs (in Borger, BIWA p. 283) tentatively proposes (in his commentary) the idea that the name of this ruler may have been [<sup>m</sup>]*BAD-ma<sup>1</sup>-ra-a-BAD-te* “Bemarābete.” KUR.x-[*up-pi*] “the land ...[uppi]”: R. Campbell Thompson (AAA 20 [1933] p. 105) reads the geographic name as KUR.<sup>r</sup>ku<sup>1</sup>-[*up-pi*] “the land K[uppi].” R. Borger (BIWA p. 200), on the basis of his examination of BM 122616+ (text no. 21) line 21’, proposed reading this damaged name as KUR.<sup>r</sup>lu<sup>1</sup>-[*up-pi*] “the land L[uppi].” <sup>r</sup>ma<sup>1</sup>-*ti-<sup>r</sup>ma<sup>21</sup>* “ever”: Campbell Thompson’s copy of ex. 133 has <sup>r</sup>ma<sup>1</sup>-*ti-<sup>r</sup>AL<sup>21</sup>*.

136 [<sup>m</sup>š<sup>1</sup>-*i-lum* “šilum”]: The reading of the name is uncertain and the edition tentatively follows the PNA (Luukko, PNA 3/2 p. 1266). R. Campbell Thompson (AAA 20 [1933] p. 101) read the name as <sup>r</sup>mš<sup>1</sup>-*i-ḥum* “šihum.” The LUM sign in this context could be read as either *lum* or *ḥum*; a writing of the name as <sup>m</sup>š<sup>1</sup>-*i-lu-um* or <sup>m</sup>š<sup>1</sup>-*i-ḥu-um* would clarify the matter.

- iš-bat-am-ma it-ti man-da-ti-šú* DUGUD-<sup>r</sup>ti<sup>1</sup>  
[il-li]<sup>r</sup>ka<sup>1</sup> a-di maḥ-ri-ia
- 139) *šu-lum* LUGAL-ú-ti-ia *iš\*-al-ma ú-na-áš-šiq*  
GĪR.II-ia [<sup>m</sup>mu-gal-lu LUGAL KUR.tab]<sup>r</sup>URU<sup>1</sup> šá  
*it-ti* LUGAL.MEŠ AD.<sup>r</sup>MEŠ<sup>1</sup>-[ia] *id-bu-bu*  
*da-ša-a-ti*
- 140) *pu-luḥ-ti* AN.ŠÁR <sup>d</sup>NIN.LÍL EN.MEŠ-ia  
[is-ḥup-ú-šu-ma<sup>2</sup> ...] x <sup>r</sup>šá a-na ni-ri la  
*ik-nu<sup>2</sup>-šú<sup>2</sup>*<sup>1</sup> [DUMU].MUNUS *ši-it lib-bi-šú it-ti*  
ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ
- 141) *man-da-ta-šú* <sup>r</sup>DUGUD<sup>1</sup>-tú *ú-še-bi-lam-ma*  
*ú-<sup>r</sup>na<sup>1</sup>-áš-šiq* GĪR.II-ia [<sup>m</sup>mu<sup>2</sup>]-us-si DUMU-šú  
*šat-ti-šam la na-par-ka-a man-da-at-ta-šú*  
DUGUD-tú
- 142) *ú-še-bi-lam<sup>1</sup>-ma ú-šal-la-a* EN-u-<sup>r</sup>ti<sup>1</sup> [ni-iš]  
<sup>r</sup>DINGIR<sup>1</sup>.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ EN.MEŠ-ia  
*ú-šá-az-kír-šú-ma i-šit ma-mit*  
DINGIR-<sup>r</sup>ú<sup>1</sup>-ti-šú-nu GAL-te
- 143) *it-<sup>r</sup>ti<sup>1</sup> <sup>m</sup>tug-dam-mi-i* LUGAL NUMUN *ḥal-ga-ti-[i]*  
*iš-ta-kan pi-i-šú* AN.ŠÁR KUR-ú GAL-u šá  
*i-ta-a-šú la in-né-<sup>r</sup>et<sup>2</sup>-ti<sup>1</sup>-qu*
- 144) *ik-šú-us-su-ma ina* <sup>d</sup>GIŠ.BAR *a-ri-ri pa-gar-šú*  
*ú-šaq-me ba-lu* GIŠ.PAN ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ  
ŠEŠ.MEŠ-šú [qin]-ni-šú
- 145) NUMUN É AD-šu ERIM.ḪI.A-šú DAGAL-tum  
*tuk-lat Á.II-šú* ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ  
ANŠE.KUNGA.MEŠ *ina la mi-ni ina mil-[ki*  
*ra]-ma-ni-šú-nu*
- 146) *iš-<sup>r</sup>šal<sup>1</sup>-lu-u-ni a-na* KUR AN.ŠÁR.KI  
<sup>m</sup>tug-dam-<sup>r</sup>mi<sup>1</sup>-[i] <sup>r</sup>LUGAL<sup>1</sup> *šad-da\*-a-a-ú*  
*gu-tu-um.KI muš-tar-[ḥu] ša pa-laḥ*  
DINGIR.[MEŠ] <sup>r</sup>la<sup>1</sup> i-du-ú
- 147) *a-na e-muq ra-ma-ni-šu it-ta-kil-ma*  
ERIM.ḪI.A-šú *id-kam-ma a-na e-peš* <sup>r</sup>MURUB<sub>4</sub><sup>1</sup> u  
*ta-ḥa-<sup>r</sup>zi<sup>1</sup> ina mi-šir* KUR AN.ŠÁR.KI *it-ta-di*  
KARAŠ\*-su
- 148) AN.ŠÁR <sup>d</sup>NIN.LÍL <sup>d</sup>EN <sup>d</sup>AG <sup>d</sup>r<sup>15</sup> *a-ši-bat*  
URU.LÍMMU-DINGIR [a-na] pi-i-šú *er-ḥi*  
*e-ziz-ú-ma im-ta-ra-<sup>r</sup>aš<sup>1</sup>* UGU-šú-un
- 150) *i-na a-mat* [DINGIR]-ti-<sup>r</sup>šú<sup>1</sup>-nu <sup>r</sup>GAL<sup>1</sup>-[ti  
<sup>d</sup>GIŠ].<sup>r</sup>BAR<sup>1</sup> *ul-tú* AN-e *im-qu-tam-ma šá-a-šú*  
ERIM.ḪI.A-šú KARAŠ-su *ú-[qal]-li-šú-nu-ti*
- 151) <sup>m</sup>tug-[dam-mi-i ip]-<sup>r</sup>lāḥ<sup>1</sup>-ma *na-kut-tu ir-ši-ma*  
<sup>r</sup>ERIM<sup>1</sup>.ḪI.A-šú KARAŠ-su *is-suḥ-ma a-na*  
EGIR-[šú a]-na KUR-šú *i-<sup>r</sup>tur<sup>1</sup>*
- 152) *pu-luḥ-ti* <sup>r</sup>AN<sup>1</sup>.ŠÁR <sup>d</sup>NIN.LÍL <sup>d</sup>EN <sup>d</sup>AG <sup>d</sup>[15

of my royal majesty, and kissed my feet.

139b-141a) [(As for) Mugallu, the king of of the land Taba], who spoke to the kings, [my] ancestors, with disrespect, fear of (the god) Aššur (and) the goddess Mullissu, my lords, [overwhelmed him, and he ...], who had not bowed down to the yo[k]e, sent (his) [daug]hter, his own offspring, together with large horses, as his substantial payment, and kissed my feet.

141b-146a) [(As for) M]ussi, his son, he sent his substantial payment yearly, without ceasing, and made appeals to [my] lordly majesty. I made him swear [oath(s) sworn by the] great [go]lds, my lords, but he neglected the oath(s) sworn by their great divinity (and) sided with Tugdammî, the king of the nomads. (The god) Aššur, the great mountain whose boundaries cannot be transgressed, conquered him and had his body burned with a blazing fire. Without (my having to use) bow(s) or horses, his brothers, his [cla]n, the seed of his father's house, his extensive troops, his supporters, horses, mules, without number, let them[se]lves be [ca]rried off to Assyria wil[ling]ly.

146b-151) (As for) Tugdamm[î, the k]ing of the mountain-dwellers, the presumptu[ous] Gutian who does [n]ot know how to revere the god[s], he trusted in his own strength and (then) mustered his troops and set up his camp on the territory of Assyria to wage battle and war. The deities Aššur, Mullissu, Bēl (Marduk), Nabû, (and) [the i]š[ta]r who resides in the city Arbela became furious [at] his provocative speech (lit. "mouth") and it sicken[e]d them. By the command of their gre[at divini]ty, [fir]e fell from the sky and [bur]ned him, his troops, (and) his camp. Tug[dammi] became frighte]ned and distressed, and he withdrew his [tro]ops (and) his camp and returned bac[k t]o his land.

152-154) Fear of the deities [A]ššur, Mullissu, Bēl

139 *iš\*-al-ma* "he inquired about and": R. Campbell Thompson's copy of ex. 4 has TA-al-ma.

141 [<sup>m</sup>mu<sup>2</sup>]-us-si "[M]ussi": A. Fuchs (in Borger, BIWA p. 284) suggests that the partially preserved name may be an Akkadian rendering of an East Phrygian name; see Zgusta, Kleinasiatische Personennamen pp. 338-339 §988-7. That proposal is tentatively followed here. For more on this son of Mugallu, see Fuchs, PNA 2/2 p. 762 sub Mugallu d.

143 KUR-ú GAL-u "the great mountain": Ex. 16 omits ú and GAL-u.

146b-161 : For a slightly different version of Ashurbanipal's dealings with the tribal chieftain Tugdammî, see text no. 13 (Prism J) viii 6-45. *šad-da\*-a-a-ú* "mountain-dwellers": R. Campbell Thompson's copy of ex. 4 has *šad-SAG-a-a-ú* and his copy of ex. 16 has *šad-SAG-a-a-u*.

147 KARAŠ\*-su "his camp": R. Campbell Thompson's copy of ex. 4 has KI-KAL (= KÁRAŠ).

148 *a-ši-bat* "who resides in": R. Campbell Thompson's copy of ex. 9 instead has šá "of."

152 [*a-ši*]-bat "[who reside]s in": R. Campbell Thompson's copy of ex. 9 instead has <sup>r</sup>šá<sup>1</sup> "of."

- a-ši-<sup>1</sup>bat<sup>1</sup> URU.<sup>1</sup>LÍMMU<sup>1</sup>-[DINGIR DINGIR.MEŠ šá  
 ú]-tak-kil-u-in-ni is-<sup>1</sup>húp-<sup>1</sup>šú<sup>1</sup>-ma  
 LÚ.MAḪ.MEŠ-<sup>1</sup>šú<sup>1</sup> šá tu-u-bi  
 153) ù su-lum-[me-e ...] <sup>1</sup>am<sup>1</sup>-<sup>1</sup>hur KÙ.GI lu-bul-tu  
 bir-me [GADA].<sup>1</sup>MEŠ<sup>1</sup> it-ti ANŠE.<sup>1</sup>KUR<sup>1</sup>.RA.MEŠ  
 GAL.<sup>1</sup>MEŠ<sup>1</sup> [...]  
 154) ši-<sup>1</sup>mit<sup>1</sup>-[ti ni-ri ANŠE.KUR.RA].<sup>1</sup>MEŠ<sup>1</sup> ru-kub  
 be-lu-ti-šú <sup>1</sup>til<sup>1</sup>-[li] ú-nu-ut MÈ man-da-at-ta-šú  
<sup>1</sup>DUGUD<sup>1</sup>-[tú] ú-<sup>1</sup>še<sup>1</sup>-bi-lam-ma ú-na-<sup>1</sup>ás<sup>1</sup>-[šiq  
 GÌR].<sup>1</sup>ia  
 155) a-na la ḥa-<sup>1</sup>te-e [mi]-<sup>1</sup>šir<sup>1</sup> KUR AN.ŠÁR.KI <sup>1</sup>zik<sup>1</sup>-ru  
 šá [AN.ŠÁR u <sup>d</sup>]NIN<sup>1</sup>.LÍL <sup>1</sup>ú<sup>1</sup>-[šá]-<sup>1</sup>az<sup>1</sup>-kír-šú-ma  
 ú-dan-nin it-ti-šú áš-ta-kan ma-mitu šu-u  
 ma-mit DINGIR.MEŠ  
 156) GAL.<sup>1</sup>MEŠ<sup>1</sup> [EN.MEŠ-ia ip-ru-uš]-<sup>1</sup>ma<sup>1</sup> i-ta-šùn  
 [e-tiq-ma a-na mi-šir KUR] <sup>1</sup>AN<sup>1</sup>.ŠÁR.KI  
 ú-ša-am-mir MUNUS.<sup>1</sup>HUL<sup>1</sup> a-šar ti-ib [GADA?<sup>2</sup>  
<sup>1</sup>iḫ<sup>1</sup>-ti ina mi-<sup>1</sup>šir<sup>1</sup> [KUR AN.ŠÁR.KI]  
 157) a-<sup>1</sup>na<sup>1</sup> šá-ka-ni na-[mur-rat<sup>2</sup> GIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ]  
<sup>1</sup>AN<sup>1</sup>.ŠÁR EN-ia is-<sup>1</sup>húp-šú-ma maḫ-<sup>1</sup>hu-tš  
 il-lik-ma <sup>1</sup>ina<sup>1</sup> mi-qit tē-[e]-<sup>1</sup>me<sup>1</sup> ú-na-šak  
<sup>1</sup>rit-ti-šú mut-ta-as-<sup>1</sup>su im<sup>1</sup>-ma-šid-ma  
 158) si-iḫ-lu iš-<sup>1</sup>šú<sup>1</sup>-[kin ina lib-bi-šú] <sup>1</sup>EME<sup>1</sup>-šú  
 im-mar-<sup>1</sup>ta-ma im-qut GÌŠ-šú ina za-a-bi u  
 ḥa-a-li u<sub>8</sub>-a a-a iq-<sup>1</sup>ta<sup>1</sup>-ti na-piš-tuš [...]  
 159) ina <sup>1</sup>ḥat-ti<sup>1</sup> ra-ma-ni-šú-nu [ú-ra-si-bu  
 a]-<sup>1</sup>ḥa-meš ina GIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ i-dal-la-lu  
 ta-nit-ti AN.ŠÁR EN GAL-[e EN]-<sup>1</sup>ia<sup>1</sup> ina u<sub>4</sub>-me  
 an-na-a <sup>1</sup>ás-mu<sup>1</sup>-[u]  
 160) al-<sup>1</sup>bi<sup>1</sup>-[in ap-pi ina la-ban] <sup>1</sup>ap<sup>1</sup>-pi at-ta-<sup>1</sup>i<sup>1</sup>-id  
 da-na-an <sup>1</sup>DINGIR<sup>1</sup>.<sup>1</sup>MEŠ GAL.MEŠ EN.MEŠ-ia šá  
 il-li]-ku re-šu-ti si-it-ti LÚ.KÚR.MEŠ la  
 kan-<sup>1</sup>šu<sup>1</sup>-[ti] pu-luḫ-ti AN.ŠÁR  
 161) <sup>d</sup>NIN<sup>1</sup>.<sup>1</sup>LÍL <sup>d</sup>15 a-ši-bat<sup>1</sup> LÍMMU-DINGIR.KI  
 DINGIR.<sup>1</sup>MEŠ<sup>1</sup> [...] <sup>1</sup>a<sup>1</sup>-na <sup>1</sup>zi<sup>1</sup>-[kir] MU-ia  
 ip-tal-la-<sup>1</sup>ḥu ARAD-u-ti ir-[ri-šú]  
 162) ina u<sub>4</sub>-me-šú NA<sub>4</sub>.x [...] <sup>1</sup>é-maš]-maš É [<sup>d</sup>NIN.LÍL  
 šá <sup>m</sup>aš-šur-PAP]-<sup>1</sup>IBILA<sup>1</sup> LUGAL pa-ni maḫ-ru-u  
 i-pu-šú-[ma]  
 163) i-na-ḥa a-[...] <sup>1</sup>KIŠ<sup>2</sup> [...] <sup>1</sup>NA<sub>4</sub><sup>2</sup> KUR-e eš-<sup>1</sup>qí [x x]  
 164) ab-tuq-ma [...] <sup>1</sup>é-maš-maš É <sup>d</sup>NIN.LÍL GAŠAN-ía  
 [x x]  
 165) ALAM x [...] DINGIR-u-ti-šá GAL-<sup>1</sup>ti<sup>1</sup> [...]

(Marduk), Nabû, (and) [the Ištar who reside]s in the city Ar[bela, the gods who] had encouraged me, overwhelmed him and [he sent] hi[s] envoys (with messages) of goodwill and pe[ace. I] received [...]. He br[ou]ght gold, garments with multi-colored trim, (and) [linen garment]s, together with large ho[r]ses, [...], harn[ess-broken (steeds), horse]s of his lordly vehicle, eq[ui]pment, (and) implements of war, his su[bs]tantial payment, and he kis[sed] my [fee]t.

155–157a) I [made] him swear by the names of [(the god) Aššur and the goddess M]ullissu not to infringe [on the territo]ry of Assyria and I reinforced (it) with him. I established the treaty. He [broke] the oath(s) sworn) by the great gods, [my lords; he transgressed] the limits (set) by them [and] plotted evi[l (deeds) against the territory of A]ssyria. Where [flax] grows, [he] sinned, by establishing (himself) on the territor[y of Assyria].

157b–159a) *The awe-<sup>1</sup>inspiring brilliance* of the weapons of (the god) Aššur, my lord, overwhelmed him; he went into a frenzy and (tried) biting off his ha[nd]s [du]ring a loss of (all) re[aso]n. Half (of) hi[s] body was stricken with palsy and a piercing pain was lo[dged in his heart]. His [to]ngue was scratched and he became impotent. His life en[d]ed through dissolving and melting (like a wax figurine), (saying) “Woe! Alas!” [...], in their own te[r]ror, [they struck e]ach other [down] with the sword, (thereby) singing the praise(s) of (the god) Aššur, the grea[t] lord, [m]y [lord].

159b–161) On the day that I [h]ea[r]d this, I h[um]bled myself with expressions of hum[il]ity (lit. “[stroking the n]ose”) (and) paid careful attention to the might of the [great] g[ods, my lords, who cam]e to my aid. (As for) the rest of the enemies who had not bowed [down], fear of the deities Aššur, Mu[llissu, (and) the Ištar who resides in] the city Arbela, the gods [...]. At the mere me[n]tion of] my name, they became afraid (and) were re[que]sting to be my servant(s).

162–166a) At that time, the stone [... of Emaš]maš, the temple of [the goddess Mullissu, that Ashunasirp]al (II), a king of the past who (came) before (me), had built [had] become dilapidated, [...] stone of the mountain, massive (blocks of) [...] I cut free and [...] Emašmaš, the temple of the goddess Mullissu, my lady. An image (of) [...] her grea[t] divinity [...] the one who overwhelms [...] ... [...].

156 [GADA<sup>2</sup>] “[flax]”: Following A. Fuchs (in Borger, BIWA p. 287), ex. 9, which is used here as the master text, is thought to have had one sign missing in the break in the middle of the line. Ex. 16 appears to have the variant <sup>1</sup>ki<sup>2</sup>-[te-e<sup>2</sup>].

158 ina za-a-bi u ḥa-a-li “through dissolving and melting (like a wax figurine)”: See the on-page note to text no. 13 (Prism J) viii 43.

161 [a-ši-bat] “[who resides in]”: Or restore šá (“oP”).

162 NA<sub>4</sub>.x [...] “... [...]”: A. Fuchs (in Borger, BIWA p. 288) suggests reading this passage as NA<sub>4</sub>.<sup>1</sup>[KUN<sub>4</sub>.MEŠ] “[thresholds]”; the traces in R. Campbell Thompson’s copy of ex. 16, as Fuchs points out, look more like <sup>1</sup>ZA<sup>1</sup> or <sup>1</sup>HA<sup>1</sup> than the beginning of KUN<sub>4</sub>.



- 166) *sa-pi-in* [...] ŠEN AB <sup>r</sup>TUK<sup>21</sup> [...] <sup>d</sup>NIN.LÍL  
 167) GAŠAN GAL-[tú] x [...] šu-a-tú ḥa-[diš  
*lip-pal-lis-ma* ...  
 168) x x Ú x [...] x [...]  
 169) *ba-laṭ ZI-tim* [...].<sup>r</sup>MEŠ<sup>1</sup> GÍD.[DA.MEŠ ...]  
 170) *a-na ši-<sup>r</sup>rik<sup>1</sup>-[ti* ...]  
 171) [*x za*]-*e-ri-ki* KUR *la* <sup>r</sup>ma<sup>1</sup>-[*gi-re-ki* ...]  
 172) [*e-ma*] <sup>r</sup>ú-ša<sup>1</sup>-*am-ma-ru lu-<sup>r</sup>uk<sup>1</sup>-[šud* ...]  
 173) <sup>r</sup>ki<sup>1</sup>-*ma šá ul-tú še-her-ia tal-*[...] x x [...]  
 174) *a-na šur-ru-uḥ nar-bi-ki* [...] *x-ia tu-šam-*[...]  
 175) *i-na-an-na a-di* [...] x *šá ina ši-it pi-i-[ki<sup>2</sup>* ...]  
 176) *ki-i pi-i an-nim-<sup>r</sup>ma<sup>1</sup>* [...] ŠU TA *a-li-<sup>r</sup>ku<sup>1</sup>* [...]  
 177) *ta-nit-ti* DINGIR-ú-[*tí*]-<sup>r</sup>ki<sup>1</sup> *ra-bi-ti* [... *šal*]-*mat*  
 SAG.DU *a-na* <sup>r</sup>EGIR<sup>1</sup> [UD.MEŠ ...]  
 178) NUN EGIR-ú *ina* LUGAL.<sup>r</sup>MEŠ DUMU<sup>1</sup>.MEŠ-*ia šá*  
*ina* BALA-[*šú* ... *šu-a*]-<sup>r</sup>tú<sup>1</sup> *in-na-ḥu-ma*  
 [*la-ba-riš il-la-ku*]  
 179) *an-ḥu-us-su* <sup>r</sup>lu<sup>1</sup>-*ud-diš ši-ṭir* MU-*ia a-na*  
*áš-[ri-šú li-ter* <sup>d</sup>NIN].LÍL GAŠAN GAL-tú  
 [*ik-ri-bi-šú i-šem-me*]  
 180) <sup>r</sup>ša<sup>1</sup> *ši-pir* ŠU.II-<sup>r</sup>ia<sup>1</sup> [*ú-šá*]-<sup>r</sup>an<sup>1</sup>-*nu-u*  
<sup>r</sup>ú<sup>1</sup>-[*nak-ka-ru šu-mi*] <sup>r</sup>šaṭ<sup>1</sup>-*ru i-[pa-áš-ši-tu* ...]  
 181) [<sup>d</sup>]<sup>r</sup>NIN.LÍL<sup>1</sup> GAŠAN GAL-*tu a-na ni-<sup>r</sup>iš<sup>1</sup>* ŠU.II-[*šú*  
*a-a iz*]-<sup>r</sup>ziz<sup>2</sup>-*ma<sup>21</sup>* [...] ...]  
 182) [...] <sup>r</sup>MURUB<sub>4</sub> <sup>u</sup> MÈ *re-šu-us-su a-a il-lik* x [...] ...]  
 183) [...] <sup>r</sup>ma<sup>1</sup>-*ḥar* AN.ŠÁR *ḥa-<sup>2</sup>i-i-ri-šá*  
 MUNUS.ḪUL-šú *lit-[tas-qar* ...]

166b–177a) [... may the goddess Mullissu], the gre[at] lady, [... look upon] this [... with] plea[sure and ...] ... [... the preservation of (my) life, [... lo[ng ...]s [... as a gi[ft. ... those ho]stile to you, land(s) that were not sub[missive to you ...] (so that) I may a[chieve whatever] I strive for. [... l]ike that from my childhood, you [...] to glorify your greatness [...] you [...] my [...]. Now, until [...] that according to [your] utterance(s) [...] according to that [...] ... the one who goes [...] the praise of [yo]ur great divin[ity ... the bla]ck-headed (people).

177b–179) In the fut[ure, ... m]ay a future ruler, (one of) the kings, my [desce]ndants, during who[se] reign [th]is [...] becomes dilapidated and [old], renovate its dilapidated section(s and) [return] an inscription (bearing) my name to [its] pl[ace]. The goddess Mul[lissu, the great lady, [will (then) hear his prayers].

180–183) (As for) the one who [chang]es (or) [alters] m[y] handiwork, [erases my ins]cribed [name, ... may the goddess] Mullissu, the great lady, [not *be pre*]sent for [his] pr[a]yers and [...]; may she not go to his aid [in wa]r and combat; [...] before (the god) Aššur, her husband, may she s[peak] bad thing(s) about him [...].

## 24–58

Thirty-five epigraphs of Ashurbanipal engraved on sculpted wall slabs that once lined the walls of the North Palace and South-West Palace at Nineveh are preserved. Eight (nos. 25–28 and 33–36) come from Room XXXIII of Sennacherib’s “Palace Without a Rival.” Twenty-five of the remaining twenty-seven epigraphs were presumably discovered in five rooms of Ashurbanipal’s own palace (North Palace): two in Room F (text nos. 40 and 48), three in Room I (text nos. 29–30 and 37), two (or three) in Room M (text nos. 24, 38, and possibly 49), nine (or ten) in the upper story of Room S (= S<sup>1</sup>; text nos. 41, 44, 46, 50, 54–58, and possibly 49), two in the top floor of Room V/T (= V<sup>1</sup>/T<sup>1</sup>; text nos. 43 and 47), and six whose location is uncertain (text nos. 39, 42, 45, 51–53). The two remaining epigraphs (text nos. 31–32) could come from either Room XXXIII of the South-West Palace or Room I of the North Palace.

The extant epigraphs record information about the following military achievements: (1) the war against Aḥšēri of Mannea (text no. 24); (2) the defeat of the Elamite king Teumman at Tīl-Tūba (text nos. 25–32) and the installation of Ummanigaš (Ḫumban-nikas II) on the throne of Elam (text nos. 33–34); (3) the flaying of two high profile Gambulian rebels (text

23 line 171 Ex. 9 has *šuk-ni-ši* [...], but its placement is uncertain.

23 line 172 Ex. 9 has ŠU.II.MU x [...], but its placement is uncertain.

no. 36); (4) the capture of Babylon after the death of Ashurbanipal's brother Šamaš-šuma-ukīn (text no. 38); (4) the defeat of Ummanigaš (probably text no. 39); (5) the capture and looting of Elamite cities during Ashurbanipal's wars with the Elamite king Ummanaldašu (Ḫumban-ḫaltaš III) in 647 and 646 (text nos. 40–48); (6) the capture of Ummanaldašu (text no. 49); and (7) the looting of the city Bīt-Luppi (text no. 51). In addition, one epigraph (text no. 35) records that Ashurbanipal made Elamite envoys stand before messengers of the Urartian king Rusâ and hold writing boards with insulting messages, while another epigraph (text no. 50) records that the Assyrian king made several captured Elamite kings (Ummanaldašu [Ḫumban-ḫaltaš III], Tammaritu, and Pa'e) serve him a meal at a banquet.

A label (text no. 37) on a relief identifies the depicted city as the city Arbela, one of the goddess Ištar's principal cult centers. Presumably that city's depiction was part of a scene showing a triumphal procession of Ashurbanipal, during which defeated Gambulian leaders (including Dunānu and his brother Samgunu) were paraded through the streets of Arbela with the decapitated heads of the Elamite king Teumman and his entourage hung around their necks.

Lastly, five epigraphs (text nos. 54–58) record two successful lion hunts, one that took place out in the open steppe (text no. 54) and one that was staged on the outskirts of Nineveh (text nos. 55–58); during the latter, Ashurbanipal appears to have symbolically killed eighteen lions, one for each city gate of Nineveh.

## 24

A partially preserved two-line epigraph is engraved on a sculpted slab that once decorated a wall of the Throne Room of the North Palace (Room M). The inscription, which is known only from E. Norris' published copy (1 R pl. 8 no. 1), records the conquest and plundering of Birat-Adad-rēmāni, an important fort situated on the Assyrian-Mannean border; the event took place during Ashurbanipal's war against Aḫšēri of Mannea (between 663 and 649).

### CATALOGUE

Source	Provenance	Dimensions (cm)	cpn
1 R pl. 8 no. 1	Nineveh, North Palace, Room M, possibly slab 6	—	n

### COMMENTARY

According to the note accompanying the copy of the inscription in 1 R (pl. 8 no. 1), the epigraph was written on a slab adjoining the one bearing text

no. 38, BM 124946 (Room M, slab 13), which depicts Ashurbanipal reviewing booty and prisoners after his troops had captured Babylon (648). The stated loca-

tion is highly implausible since it is doubtful that the sole, small corner slab 14 would have been devoted to depicting a scene from Ashurbanipal's Mannean campaign or that slabs 10–11 would have contained a relief depicting an event other than the aftermath of the capture of Babylon. Furthermore, only the base of slab 14 is said to have remained and slabs 10–11 were ruined (according to W. Boutcher's second plan; these slabs are marked as more or less intact in his original plan). This leaves the poorly preserved slabs 2–7 as potential locations for this now-lost epigraph; slabs 8–9 were unsculpted. A piece from that series of slabs (AO 19912 and AO 19921; Or. Dr. 7 no. 32) shows Assyrian cavalry men and archers in difficult mountain terrain, near a river, presumably assaulting a city (on the now-lost slab 6). Since Birat-Adad-rēmāni was located in mountainous terrain, in the border region between Assyria and Mannea, this epigraph may have accompanied the image of the besieged city that was depicted on slabs 6–7 of Room M. As K. Radner (personal communication) has pointed out, the depiction of the rugged terrain seems to match that of the region around modern Penjwin near the Iranian border. R.D. Barnett (Sculptures from the North Palace p. 46), however, suggests that the besieged city may have been the Elamite city Murūbisi, which is mentioned in an epigraph inscribed on BM 124793 (text no. 49), a slab discovered by H. Rassam in 1886; although that fragment is generally assigned to this room, there is no documented proof of BM 124793 being found in Ashurbanipal's throne room. Barnett's proposed identification stems from (1) the fact that the Elamite king Ummanaldašu (Ḫumban-ḫaltaš III) is being escorted to a chariot in mountainous terrain on BM 124793 and (2) the assumption that the unidentified Elamite king on BM 124945–6 (Room M, slabs 12–13) is that same captive Elamite king. With regard to the latter point, it is now generally assumed that the Elamite depicted on BM 124945–6 is Tammarītu; see, for example, Novotny and Watanabe, *Iraq* 70 (2008) p. 119.

R. Borger (BIWA pp. 298 and 385), presumably accepting the findspot notation in 1 R as accurate,

suggests that the piece on which this epigraph was inscribed sank to the bottom of the Tigris River in May 1855. According to Boutcher, slabs 2–3, 7, 10–11, 15–16, and 18–20 of Room M were to have been sent to the Louvre, and, therefore, Borger, without explicitly stating it, seems to suggest that the epigraph in question would have appeared on slabs 10–11, which is unlikely because those two slabs would not have depicted a scene of a siege in rugged mountain terrain, as already noted by Barnett (Sculptures from the North Palace p. 46). Moreover, the piece bearing the Birat-Adad-rēmāni epigraph need not be at the bottom of the Tigris. The evidence is two-fold: (1) Slab 7, or at least part of it (compare AO 19912 and AO 19921 to Or. Dr. 7 no. 32), made it to Paris; and (2) slabs 4–6 were very poorly preserved and not sent to the Louvre (according to Boutcher). Given the meager available evidence, it seems plausible that this damaged two-line epigraph was inscribed on a fragment from slab 6 (or slab 5) of Room M. How the piece became associated with slabs 12–13 (BM 124945–6) of Ashurbanipal's throne room, however, remains unclear. If the piece had been sent back to London with the Babylon booty scene — which could explain the notation in 1 R — one would expect the inscribed fragment to have already been discovered in the British Museum's collections.

As for Birat-Adad-rēmāni, this settlement may have been one of the towns and forts that Ashurbanipal claims to have conquered and destroyed in his campaign to Mannea. According to several annalistic texts, a number of cities near Paddiri that had once belonged to Assyria and been annexed by Mannea returned to Assyria after the defeat of Aḫšēri. See, for example, text no. 3 (Prism B) iii 52b–61. Since the names and number of settlements captured and destroyed in that region are not recorded in Ashurbanipal's prism inscriptions, it is possible that Birat-Adad-rēmāni may have been one of them.

Contrary to the copy in 1 R (pl. 8 no. 1) and Borger's transliteration (BIWA p. 298), there may be more damage at the end of both lines than suggested. See the on-page note to lines 1 and 2 for details.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

1861 1 R pl. 8 no. 1 (copy)  
1989 Levine, SAAB 3/2 pp. 87–88 (study)

1996 Borger, BIWA pp. 298 and 385 (transliteration, study)

## TEXT

1) URU.ḪAL.ŠU-<sup>md</sup>ḪŠKUR-rēm-a-ni? šá KUR? [...]  
2) man-na-a-a KUR-ud áš-lu-la [šal-lat-su ...]

1–2) I conquered, plund[ered, ...] the city Birat-Adad-rēmāni, of/which [...] the Mannans.

1 šá KUR?: R. Borger (BIWA p. 298) tentatively suggests GAR.KUR (= šākin māti, "governor") as a possible reading. This interpretation seems unlikely since the name Adad-rēmāni is part of the geographic name, and not the name of an individual. Loosely based on annalistic texts

## 25

One of the eight preserved epigraphs on the well-known Tīl-Tūba relief from Room XXXIII of Sennacherib's "Palace Without a Rival" (South-West Palace, slab 3, lower register), which Ashurbanipal had redecorated, reports that the Elamite king Teumman, before being beheaded by a common Assyrian soldier, ordered his son (Tammarītu) to shoot his bow (at the Assyrians). The Assyrian victory near the Ulāyu River took place in 653, during Ashurbanipal's second Elamite campaign.

## CATALOGUE

Museum Number	Registration Number	Provenance	Dimensions (cm)	cpn
BM 124801a-c	51-9-2,8a-c	Nineveh, South-West Palace, Room XXXIII, slab 3 (lower register)	204×175×17.3	p

## COMMENTARY

This epigraph is also known (with minor orthographic variants) from two clay tablets containing the so-called Teumman and Dunānu cycle of

epigraphs (Borger, BIWA p. 300 no. 7a): (1) K 4527 obv. 3' and K 12000A obv. 5'; and (2) 81-7-27,246 obv. 3'. These tablets are edited in Part 2.

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|------|---|---|
| 1870 | 3 R pl. 37 no. 5 (copy)   | pp. 349–350 with n. 38 (study)  |
| 1871 | G. Smith, Assurbanipal p. 143 (edition)                           |   |
| 1915 | Paterson, Sennacherib pls. 62–64 (photo)                          | 1997 Winter in Parpola and Whiting, Assyria 1995 p. 364 fig. 5 (photo)  |
| 1916 | Streck, Asb. pp. LVI α and 310–313 α (edition)                    | 1998 Barnett et al., Sculptures from the Southwest Palace 1 pp. 94–95 no. 383 (translation, study); and 2 pls. 286, 295–297, and 299 no. 383 (photo, drawing) |
| 1920 | Meissner, BuA 1 fig. 41 (photo)                                   |   |
| 1927 | Luckenbill, ARAB 2 p. 393 §1028 (translation)                     |   |
| 1962 | Strommenger and Hirmer, Mesopotamien pl. 240 (photo)              | 1999 Kaelin, Bildexperiment p. 20, p. 21 fig. 6, pp. 48–49, 69, and 115 (photo, translation, study)   |
| 1975 | Barnett and Lorenzini, Assyrian Sculpture pl. 142 (photo)         | 1999 J.M. Russell, Writing on the Wall pp. 156–158, p. 159 no. 7a, pp. 166–181 with figs. 50 and 52, and pp. 187–199 and 205–209 (photo, translation, study)  |
| 1984 | Saggs, Assyria pls. 16A and 16B [opposite p. 85] (photo)          |   |
| 1988 | Gerardi, JCS 40 p. 8 n. 22, and pp. 10–12 and 30 (edition, study) | 2004 Bahrani, Iraq 66 p. 116 (translation)  |
| 1996 | Borger, BIWA p. 297 (study)                                       | 2004 Bonatz, Iraq 66 p. 95 fig. 1 (drawing)   |
| 1997 | Weissert in Parpola and Whiting, Assyria 1995                     | 2004 Feldman, Iraq 66 p. 146 fig. 6 (photo)   |

(for example, text no. 3 [Prism B] iii 52b–61), perhaps one could very tentatively read the end of line 1 and the beginning of line 2 as: (1) *ša* KUR [AN.ŠAR.KI? *ša*? (*ina*? *ter-ši*? LUGAL.MEŠ? AD.MEŠ-ia?) *e-ki-mu*?] *man-na-a-a* "of [Assyria, which] the Manneans [had taken away (in the time of the kings, my ancestors)]"; or (2) *ša* <*ina*? > *ter*<sup>17L</sup> [*ši*? LUGAL.MEŠ? AD.MEŠ-ia?) *e-ki-mu*?] *man-na-a-a* "which the Manneans [had taken away] <*in*? > the *ti*[*me* of the kings, my ancestors]." Of course, this assumes that more than two or three signs are missing from the ends of both lines; compare, Borger, BIWA p. 298, who reads the end of the line as [x x (x)], presumably based on the space shown in the 1 R (pl. 8 no. 1) copy.

**24 line 2** *man-na-a-a* "Manneans": One expects KUR.*man-na-a-a*. Either KUR appears at the end of line 1, was omitted by the ancient scribe, or was omitted in the 1 R copy. KUR-ud "I conquered": Unlike other Neo-Assyrian epigraphs recording the conquest of a city, this particular epigraph does not include the verb *lawū* (written *al-me*), which may imply that Birat-Adad-rēmāni was not besieged; compare, for example, text nos. 40–41, as well as Grayson and Novotny, RINAP 3/2 pp. 103–105 nos. 56–59. It is certain that there are at least three signs missing from the end of the line; these are *šal-lat-su* "its booty." It is less certain if anything followed those signs. Assuming a longer break (see the note to line 1), then one could tentatively restore *ap-pul aq-qur ina* <sup>d</sup>GIŠ.BAR *aq-mu* "I destroyed, demolished, (and) burned with fire" after *šal-lat-su*; compare text no. 41. Alternatively, following one epigraph of Sennacherib (Grayson and Novotny, RINAP 3/2 p. 103 no. 56), *ina* <sup>d</sup>GIŠ.BAR *aq-mu*, without *ap-pul aq-qur*, is also possible.

- |      |  |      |   |
|------|--|------|---|
| 2004 | Watanabe, Iraq 66 pp. 108–110 with figs. 7–8 and 11 (photo, drawing, translation, study) | 2008 | Watanabe, SAOC 62 pp. 321–325 and fig. 3 (photo, study) |
| 2006 | Watanabe, Kaskal 6 pp. 90–92 with figs. 5 and 8 (photo, drawing, translation, study)     | 2009 | Álvarez-Mon, IrAnt 44 p. 170 fig. 5 (photo)             |
|      |  | 2012 | May, CRRA 54 p. 481 fig. 17 (drawing)                   |



Figure 14. Detail of BM 124801a–c (text nos. 25–26), a series of sculpted wall slabs from Room XXXIII of the South-West Palace at Nineveh which depict the battle at Tīl-Tūba. © Trustees of the British Museum.

## TEXT

- |    |  |      |  |
|----|--|------|--|
| 1) | <i>mte-um-man</i> <ša> <i>ina mi-qit ʔe-e-me</i>   | 1–3) | Teumman, <who>, during a loss of (all) reason, |
| 2) | <i>a-na</i> ʔIBILA <sup>1</sup> -šú <i>iq-bu-ú</i> |      | said to his son: “Shoot the bow!”              |
| 3) | <i>šu-le-e</i> GIŠ.PAN                             |      |  |

3 *šu-le-e* “Shoot”: This interpretation tentatively follows AHW p. 1152 sub *šalû* II D 1, which treats the verb as a D stem of *šalû* “to fling.” Such a form is unexpected since the G stem of *šalû* is well attested for shooting a bow. CAD Š/1 p. 273 sub *šalû* A instead takes the verb as a Š stem of *elû*, and translates “surrender(?),” though it could be translated “Raise up the bow,” i.e., in order to shoot it. In its entry, AHW includes a reference to K 8414 obv. 17’, [... UR].<sup>1</sup>MAH<sup>1</sup> *nim-ri bu-u-ši mìn-di-ni ú-šá-la uš-ši x* [...], presumably to be translated “he shot arrows [at ... lio]n(s), leopards, hyenas, (and) tigers [...]” However, the CAD (Š/II p. 275 sub *šēlu* A; M/II p. 85 sub *mindinu*) takes this verb as a form of *šēlu* “to sharpen,” and translates “[...] he sharpened the arrows [to kill] panthers, hyenas, tigers(?)”

## 26

A second epigraph from the battle of Tīl-Tūba relief sequence (South-West Palace, Room XXXIII, slab 3, lower register) records that an injured Teumman fled with his son (Tammarītu) from the battlefield, but was caught and beheaded. The six-line text is engraved above a man having his head cut off by an Assyrian soldier.

## CATALOGUE

Museum Number	Registration Number	Provenance	Dimensions (cm)	cpn
BM 124801a-c	51-9-2,8a-c	Nineveh, South-West Palace, Room XXXIII, slab 3 (lower register)	204×175×17.3	p

## COMMENTARY

This Tīl-Tūba-related epigraph is also preserved on two of the clay tablets inscribed with epigraphs concerning Ashurbanipal's wars against the Elamite king Teumman and the Gambulian ruler Dunānu (Borger,

BIWA pp. 300–301 no. 9): (1) K 4527 obv. 6'–9'; and (2) 81-7-27,246 obv. 5'–6'. The tablet versions contain minor orthographic variants and omit line 6 (see Part 2).

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| 1915 | Paterson, <i>Sinacherib</i> pls. 62–64 (photo)  |  |
| 1916 | Streck, <i>Asb.</i> pp. LVI β and 312–313 β (edition)   |  |
| 1920 | Meissner, <i>BuA</i> 1 fig. 41 (photo)  |  |
| 1927 | Luckenbill, <i>ARAB</i> 2 p. 393 §1029 (translation)  |  |
| 1962 | Strommenger and Hirmer, <i>Mesopotamien</i> pls. 239–240 (photo)  |  |
| 1975 | Barnett and Lorenzini, <i>Assyrian Sculpture</i> pl. 144 (photo)  |  |
| 1984 | Saggs, <i>Assyria</i> pl. 16A [opposite p. 85] (photo)  |  |
| 1988 | Gerardi, <i>JCS</i> 40 p. 8 n. 22, and pp. 10–12 and 31 (edition, study)  |  |
| 1996 | Borger, <i>BIWA</i> p. 297 (study)  |  |
| 1997 | Weissert in Parpola and Whiting, <i>Assyria</i> 1995 pp. 349–350 with n. 38 (study)   |  |
| 1997 | Winter in Parpola and Whiting, <i>Assyria</i> 1995 p. 364 fig. 5 (photo)  |  |
| 1998 | Barnett et al., <i>Sculptures from the Southwest Palace</i> 1 pp. 94–95 no. 383 (translation, study); and 2 pls. 286, 296–297, and 299 no. 383 (photo, drawing) |  |
| 1999 | Kaelin, <i>Bildexperiment</i> p. 20, p. 21 fig. 7, pp. 49, 69, and 115–116 (photo, translation, study)  |  |
| 1999 | J.M. Russell, <i>Writing on the Wall</i> pp. 156–158, p. 159 no. 9, pp. 166–181 with figs. 50 and 53, and pp. 187–199 and 205–209 (photo, translation, study)   |  |
| 2004 | Bahrani, <i>Iraq</i> 66 p. 116 (translation)  |  |
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| 2012 | May, <i>CRRA</i> 54 p. 481 fig. 17 (drawing)  |  |

## TEXT

- 1) <sup>m</sup>te-um-man MAN KUR.ELAM.MA.KI šá ina MÈ dan-ni
- 2) muḥ-ḥu-šu <sup>m</sup>tam-ri-i-tú DUMU-šú ᵀGAL<sup>1</sup>-u
- 3) ŠU.II-su iṣ-ba-tu-ma a-na šu-zu-ub ᵀZI-ti-šú<sup>1</sup>
- 4) in-nab-tú iḥ-lu-pu qé-reb qiš-ti
- 5) ᵀina tukul<sup>1</sup>-ti AN.ŠĀR u ᵀ15 a-nar-šú-nu-ti
- 6) ᵀSAG<sup>1</sup>.DU-šú-nu KUD-is mé-eḥ-ret a-ḥa-meš

1–6) Teumman, the king of the land Elam who had been struck during a mighty battle (and) whose hand Tammarītu, his eldest son, had grasped — they fled in order to save his (Teumman's) life (and) slipped into the forest. With the support of (the god) Aššur and goddess Ištar, I killed them. I cut off their head(s) in front of one another.

## 27

A four-line epigraph engraved on the lower register of a wall slab in Room XXXIII of Sennacherib's Palace at Nineveh (slab 1) identifies the severed head held by a soldier riding in a chariot as that of the Elamite king Teumman. The text, which appears above a left-facing Assyrian chariot, states that the defeated Elamite ruler was beheaded by a common Assyrian soldier during the battle at Til-Tūba; at least one later Elamite king (Tammariṭu) would complain bitterly about that deed to Ashurbanipal.

## CATALOGUE

Museum Number	Registration Number	Provenance	Dimensions (cm)	cpn
BM 124801a-c	51-9-2,8a-c	Nineveh, South-West Palace, Room XXXIII, slab 1 (lower register)	204×175×17.3	p

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 1999 J.M. Russell, Writing on the Wall pp. 156-158, p. 159 no. 10a, pp. 166-181 with figs. 50 and 54, and pp. 187-199 and 205-209 (photo, translation, study)  
 2004 Bahrani, Iraq 66 p. 116 (translation)  
 2004 Bonatz, Iraq 66 pp. 94 and 96 fig. 2 (drawing, translation, study)  
 2004 Feldman, Iraq 66 p. 144 fig. 4 (photo)  
 2004 Watanabe, Iraq 66 pp. 108, 111, and 114 with figs. 5, 8, and 17 (photo, drawing, translation, study)  
 2006 Watanabe, Kaskal 6 p. 90 fig. 5 and p. 94 (drawing, translation, study)  
 2008 Watanabe, SAOC 62 pp. 321-325 and fig. 1 (photo, study)  
 2012 May, CRRRA 54 p. 481 fig. 17 (drawing)

## TEXT

- 1) SAG.DU <sup>m</sup>te-um-[*man* MAN KUR.ELAM.MA.KI]  
 2) *ša ina* MURUB<sub>4</sub> tam-<sup>r</sup>ḥa<sup>1</sup>-[*ri ik-ki-su*]  
 3) a-ḥu-ru-u ERIM.ḪI.A-ia a-na pu-<sup>r</sup>us<sup>1</sup>-[*su-rat*]  
 4) ḥa-de-e ú-*šaḥ-ma-ṭu* a-na KUR <sup>r</sup>AN<sup>1</sup>.[ŠÁR.KI]  
 1-4) The head of Teum[man, the king of the land Elam], which a common soldier in my army [had cut off] in the midst of bat[tle]. They dispatched (it) quickly to As[syria] to (give me) the good ne[ws].



Figure 15. Detail of BM 124801a–c (text no. 27) showing Assyrian soldiers on a chariot taking the decapitated head of the Elamite king Teumman to Ashurbanipal. © Trustees of the British Museum.

## 28

Another epigraph included on the reliefs showing the defeat of the Elamite Teumman and his troops at Tīl-Tūba (South-West Palace, Room XXXIII, slab 2, lower register) records the death of Urtaku, an in-law of the Elamite king. This five-line text states that the dying Urtaku, who had been critically wounded by an arrow, begged an Assyrian soldier to cut off his head.

### CATALOGUE

Museum Number	Registration Number	Provenance	Dimensions (cm)	cpn
BM 124801a–c	51-9-2,8a–c	Nineveh, South-West Palace, Room XXXIII, slab 2 (lower register)	204×175×17.3	p



## COMMENTARY

This text is also known from a large clay tablet that is inscribed with numerous epigraphs recording the details of Ashurbanipal's second Elamite campaign (against Teumman) and his war against Gambulu (Borger, BIWA p. 302 no. 15): K 2674 + Sm 2010 +

81-2-4,186 ii 4-7 (see Part 2). In addition to minor orthographic variants, the epigraph on K 2674+ leaves the name and title of the wounded Elamite noble blank.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

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| 1871 | G. Smith, Assurbanipal pp. 144-145 (edition)  | 1999 | Kaelin, Bildexperiment p. 22, p. 23 fig. 8, pp. 46, 69, and 115 (photo, translation, study)   |
| 1915 | Paterson, Sinacherib pls. 62-64 (photo)   | 1999 | J.M. Russell, Writing on the Wall pp. 156-158, p. 160 no. 15, pp. 166-181 with figs. 50 and 58, and pp. 187-199 and 205-209 (photo, translation, study) |
| 1916 | Streck, Asb. pp. LVI δ and 314-315 δ (edition)  | 2004 | Bahrani, Iraq 66 p. 116 (translation)   |
| 1927 | Luckenbill, ARAB 2 p. 393 §1031 (translation)   | 2004 | Feldman, Iraq 66 p. 145 fig. 5 (photo)  |
| 1962 | Strommenger and Hirmer, Mesopotamien pl. 238 (partial photo)                            | 2004 | Watanabe, Iraq 66 p. 108 fig. 6 (photo)   |
| 1975 | Barnett and Lorenzini, Assyrian Sculpture pl. 140 (photo)                               | 2005 | Radner, Macht des Namens pp. 92-93 with n. 448 (lines 4b-5, edition, study)   |
| 1979 | Reade in Larsen, Power and Propaganda fig. 17 (photo)                                   | 2008 | Watanabe, SAOC 62 pp. 321-325 and fig. 2 (photo, study)   |
| 1988 | Gerardi, JCS 40 p. 8 n. 22, p. 9 fig. 3, and pp. 10-12 and 30 (drawing, edition, study) | 2012 | May, CRRA 54 p. 481 fig. 17 (drawing)   |
| 1995 | Kuhrt, Ancient Near East 2 p. 519 (translation)   |      |   |
| 1996 | Borger, BIWA p. 298 (study)   |      |   |
| 1997 | Weissert in Parpola and Whiting, Assyria 1995 pp. 349-350 with n. 38 (study)            |      |   |

## TEXT

- 1) <sup>m</sup>ur-<sup>t</sup>a<sup>1</sup>-ku ḥa-ta-nu <sup>m</sup>te-um-man
- 2) šá ina <sup>r</sup>uṣ-<sup>ṣ</sup>i<sup>1</sup> muḥ-ḥu-ṣu la iq-tú-u ZI.MEŠ
- 3) a-na <sup>r</sup>na-kas<sup>1</sup> SAG.DU ra-ma-ni-šú DUMU KUR aš-šur
- 4) i-šá-si-<sup>r</sup>ma<sup>1</sup> um-ma al-ka SAG.DU KUD-is
- 5) IGI LUGAL EN-ka i-ši-<sup>r</sup>ma le<sup>1</sup>-e-qí MU SIG<sub>5</sub>-tim

1-5) Ur[t]aku, an in-law of Teumman who had been struck by an a[rro]w (but) had not (yet) died, called out to an Assyrian to c[ut of]f his (Urtaku's) own head, saying "Come here (and) cut off (my) head. Carry (it) before the king, your lord, and obtain fame."

## 29

A four-line epigraph engraved over a man hiding in a forest during a battle records that a eunuch of the Elamite king Teumman by the name of Itunî destroyed his own bow. The sculpted wall slab comes from Room I of Ashurbanipal's own palace (North Palace, Room I, slab 1). Both the relief and text refer to an event that took place in 653, during Ashurbanipal's second Elamite campaign.

## CATALOGUE

Museum Number	Registration Number	Provenance	Dimensions (cm)	cpn
BM 124941	56-9-9,38	Nineveh, North Palace, Room I, slab 1 (lower register)	68.6×83.8	p

## COMMENTARY

This Elamite campaign-related epigraph is also partially preserved on two clay tablets (Borger, BIWA p. 302 no. 16): (1) K 2674 + Sm 2010 + 81-2-4,186 ii 8–10; and (2) K 13741 obv. 1'–2' (see Part 2). In ad-

dition to minor orthographic variants, the epigraph on K 2674+ does not include the name of the Elamite king (Teumman).

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- |      |   |      |  |
|------|---|------|--|
| 1916 | Streck, <i>Asb.</i> pp. LVI ε and 314–315 ε (edition)                                       | 1997 | Weissert in Parpola and Whiting, <i>Assyria</i> 1995 pp. 349–350 with n. 38 (study)  |
| 1871 | G. Smith, <i>Assurbanipal</i> pp. 145–146 (edition)   | 1999 | Kaelin, <i>Bildexperiment</i> pp. 34–35, 46–47, 68, and 116 (translation, study)   |
| 1927 | Luckenbill, <i>ARAB</i> 2 p. 393 §1032 (translation)  | 1999 | J.M. Russell, <i>Writing on the Wall</i> pp. 156–158, p. 160 no. 16, p. 173, p. 176 fig. 59, and pp. 181–189 and 205–209 (photo, translation, study) |
| 1976 | Barnett, <i>Sculptures from the North Palace</i> p. 42 and pl. XXIV (photo, edition, study) | 2004 | Dolce, <i>Iraq</i> 66 p. 130 fig. 12 (photo)   |
| 1988 | Gerardi, <i>JCS</i> 40 p. 8 n. 22, and pp. 13–14 and 22–23 (edition, study)                 |      |  |
| 1996 | Borger, <i>BIWA</i> p. 298 (study)  |      |  |

## TEXT

- 1) <sup>m</sup>i-tu-ni-i LÚ.šu-ut SAG<sup>1</sup> <sup>m</sup>te-um-man LUGAL KUR.ELAM.MA.KI<sup>1</sup>
- 2) šá <sup>r</sup>er-ḫa-niš iš<sup>1</sup>-tap-pa-raš-šú a-di maḫ-ri-<sup>r</sup>ia<sup>1</sup>
- 3) <sup>r</sup>ta-ḫa-zi dan-nu<sup>1</sup> e-mur-<sup>r</sup>ma<sup>1</sup> ina GÍR AN.BAR šib-<sup>r</sup>bi-šú<sup>1</sup>
- 4) <sup>r</sup>GIŠ.PAN si-mat Á.II-šu ik-si<sup>1</sup>-ma ŠU.II ra-ma-<sup>r</sup>ni-šú<sup>1</sup>

1–4) Itunî, a eunuch of Teumman, the king of the land Elam, whom he (Teumman) insolently sent again and again before me, saw my mighty battle array and, with his iron belt-dagger, cut with his own hand (his) bow, the emblem of his strength.

## 30

In a letter to A.H. Layard sent from Mosul (dated 30 Jan. 1854), H. Rassam reports that he discovered two slabs in Room I of the North Palace that had inscriptions, including an epigraph with three long lines (ca. 61 cm in length) that was written above a tent; he notes that that text was not as well preserved as the four-line epigraph (text no. 29) that was engraved on slab 1. Because Rassam seems not to have copied, transliterated, or translated the inscription, the contents of this text are no longer known. Because the reliefs in Room I, like Room XXXIII of the South-West Palace, were concerned with the defeat of the Elamite king Teumman at Tīl-Tūba and that of the Gambulian ruler Dunānu at Ša-pī-Bēl, presumably this epigraph provided information about the immediate aftermath of the Assyrian-Elamite battle near the Ulāyu River in 653.

## CATALOGUE

Source	Provenance	Dimensions (cm)	cpn
Add. MS 38981	Nineveh, North Palace, Room I, slabs 2, 3, or 4 (lower register)	—	n

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- |      |   |      |   |
|------|---|------|---|
| 1854 | Lobdell, JAOS 4 p. 480 (study)            | 1976 | Barnett, Sculptures from the North Palace p. 42 (study) |
| 1854 | Rassam, Add. MS 38981 (study, provenance) | 1999 | J.M. Russell, Writing on the Wall p. 182 (study)        |

## 31

Part of a one-line epigraph on a badly damaged wall slab identifies the battle line of the Assyrian king, who is given the epithet “the one who established the de[feat of the land Elam].” The relief presumably depicts an event from Ashurbanipal’s war with Teumman (see the commentary).

## CATALOGUE

Museum Number	Provenance	Dimensions (cm)	cpn
EŞ 6332	Nineveh, South-West Palace, Room XXXIII or North Palace, Room I	—	p

## COMMENTARY

The original findspot of the fragment is not known, but it is possible that it belongs to one of the two known second Elamite campaign relief series: the one in Room XXXIII of the South-West Palace or the one in Room I of the North Palace. This second Elamite campaign-related epigraph is also preserved on two of the clay tablets inscribed with

texts concerning Ashurbanipal’s wars against the Elamite king Teumman and the Gambulian ruler Dunānu (Borger, BIWA p. 304 no. 31): (1) K 2674 + Sm 2010 + 81-2-4,186 iii 12’–13’; and (2) Sm 1350 obv. 1 (see Part 2). The restorations are based on those two tablets.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- |         |   |      |  |
|---------|---|------|--|
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| 1954    | Kalaç, Belleten 18 pls. II and XI [after p. 48] (photo, copy)                               | 1999 | J.M. Russell, Writing on the Wall pp. 156–158, p. 159 no. 31, pp. 166–181 with n. 19, and pp. 187–199 and 205–209 (edition, study) |
| 1954–56 | Falkner, AfO 17 p. 415 and pl. 9 no. 2 (photo, study)                                       |      |  |
| 1996    | Borger, BIWA p. 299 (transliteration, study)  |      |  |

## TEXT

1) [si-id-ru ša <sup>m</sup>AN.ŠÁR-DÛ-A MAN KUR]  
 「AN<sup>1</sup>.ŠÁR.KI šá-kin 「BAD<sub>5</sub><sup>1</sup>.[BAD<sub>5</sub>  
 KUR.ELAM.MA.KI]

1) [Battle line of Ashurbanipal, king of A]ssyria, the  
 one who established the de[feat of the land Elam].

## 32

A small fragment of a wall relief is inscribed with a four-line epigraph recording the defeat of the Elamite king Teumman and his troops at the city Tīl-Tūba, near the Ulāyu River, in 653.

## CATALOGUE

Museum Number	Registration Number	Provenance	Dimensions (cm)	cpn
BM 135122	81-2-4,6	Nineveh, South-West Palace, Room XXXIII or North Palace, Room I	—	p

## COMMENTARY

Contrary to P. Gerardi's statement in JCS 40 (1988), this object is not a plaque affixed to a relief, nor is it in a private collection. BM 135122 is displayed with BM 124802a-c and BM 135109, reliefs from Sennacherib's Palace at Nineveh. The original findspot of the fragment is not known, but it is possible that it belongs to one of the two known second Elamite campaign relief series: the one in Room XXXIII of the

South-West Palace or the one in Room I of the North Palace.

The damaged Tīl-Tūba-related epigraph can be restored from duplicates known from two clay tablets that contain the so-called Teumman and Dunānu cycle of epigraphs (Borger, BIWA pp. 304 no. 33): (1) K 2674 + Sm 2010 + 81-2-4,186 iii 15'-17'; and (2) 81-7-27,246 obv. 7'-8' (see Part 2).

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|------|---|-----------------|---|
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| 1936 | Gadd, Stones p. 181 (study)   | 1999            | Kaelin, Bildexperiment pp. 42-43 and 117 (translation, study)   |
| 1977 | Amiet, Kunst fig. 120 (photo)   | 1999            | J.M. Russell, Writing on the Wall pp. 156-158, p. 159 no. 33, pp. 166-181 with n. 20 and fig. 51, and pp. 187-199 and 205-209 (photo, edition, study) |
| 1988 | Gerardi, JCS 40 p. 8 n. 22 and p. 34 (edition)  |                 |   |
| 1996 | Borger, BIWA pp. 298-299 (transliteration, study)   |                 |   |
| 1998 | Barnett et al., Sculptures from the Southwest Palace 1 p. 100 no. 419 (translation, study); and 2 pl. 320 |                 |   |

## TEXT

- |    |  |  |
|----|--|--|
| 1) | BAD <sub>5</sub> .BAD <sub>5</sub> ERIM.ĪI.A.MEŠ <sup>m</sup> <i>te-um-man</i> LUGAL<br>[KUR.ELAM.MA.KI]   | 1-4) The defeat of the troops of Teumman, the king of [the land Elam], which Ashurbanipal, [great king, strong king], king of the world, king of Assyria, [ <i>had brought about</i> ] (by inflicting) countless (losses) at (the city) Tīl-Tūba, (and during which) he had cast down the corpses of [his (Teumman's)] w[arriors]. |
| 2) | <i>ša qé-reb</i> DU <sub>6</sub> -URU.tu-ú-bu <sup>m</sup> AN.ŠÁR-DÛ-A [MAN GAL MAN <i>dan-nu</i> ]        |  |
| 3) | MAN ŠÚ MAN KUR AN.ŠÁR.KI <i>ina la mī-i-ni</i><br>[ <i>iš-ku-nu?</i> ]                                     |  |
| 4) | <i>id-du-<sup>r</sup>ú</i> ADDA <sup>1</sup> .MEŠ <sup>r</sup> <i>qu</i> <sup>1</sup> -[ <i>ra-di-šú</i> ] |  |

## 33

After Teumman was defeated and beheaded at Tīl-Tūba, Ashurbanipal installed a fugitive member of the Elamite royal family, Ummanigaš (Ḫumbanikas II), as king of the land Elam. This five-line epigraph — which is engraved on one of the sculpted wall slabs that decorated Room XXXIII of the South-West Palace (slab 5, lower register) and which appears above an Elamite being led by the hand by an Assyrian officer — records the celebratory entry of Ummanigaš into the cities Madaktu and Susa in the year 653.

## CATALOGUE

Museum Number	Registration Number	Provenance	Dimensions (cm)	cpn
BM 124802a-c	51-9-2,7a-c	Nineveh, South-West Palace, Room XXXIII, slab 5 (lower register)	269.2×142.2×15.2	p

## COMMENTARY

This damaged epigraph is also known from one of the clay tablets that is inscribed with numerous short texts reporting on Ashurbanipal's wars against the Elamite king Teumman and the Gambulian ruler Dunānu (Borger, BIWA p. 302 no. 17): K 2674 +

Sm 2010 + 81-2-4,186 ii 11-14. The tablet version contains minor orthographic variants and that text was used to restored signs no longer preserved on BM 124802 (see Part 2).

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| 1871 | G. Smith, Assurbanipal p. 146 (edition)                   | 1995 Bahrani, Art History 18 p. 367 pl. 20 (photo)  |
| 1915 | Paterson, Sinacherib pls. 65-66 (photo)                   | 1996 Borger, BIWA p. 298 (study)  |
| 1916 | Streck, Asb. pp. LVI ζ and 314-317 ζ (edition)            | 1998 Barnett et al., Sculptures from the Southwest Palace 1 pp. 96-97 no. 385 (translation, study); and 2 pls. 286, 304-305, and 307 no. 385 (photo, drawing) |
| 1927 | Luckenbill, ARAB 2 p. 393 §1033 (translation)             | 1999 Kaelin, Bildexperiment pp. 31, 50, 68-69, and 116 (translation, study)   |
| 1975 | Barnett and Lorenzini, Assyrian Sculpture pl. 156 (photo) | 1999 J.M. Russell, Writing on the Wall pp. 156-158, p. 160 no. 17, pp. 166-181 with figs. 61-62, and pp. 187-199  |
| 1977 | Amiet, Kunst fig. 120 (photo)                             |   |
| 1979 | Reade in Larsen, Power and Propaganda fig. 7 (photo)      |   |
| 1988 | Gerardi, JCS 40 pp. 8-9 nn. 22-23, and pp. 12-13 and      |   |

	and 205–209 (photo, translation, study)	2012	May, CRRRA 54 p. 480 n. 31 and pp. 481–482 figs. 17–18
2004	Bonatz, Iraq 66 p. 97 fig. 3 (drawing)		(photo, drawing; lines 2b–3a, edition; study)
2008	Bonatz, Studies Kühne pp. 135, 139, and 143 fig. 3 (photo, study)	2013	Ataç, CRRRA 56 p. 603 fig. 6 and pp. 606–607 n. 34 and fig. 9 (photo, translation)

## TEXT

1)	[ <sup>m</sup> ] <sup>r</sup> um-man-i-gaš <sup>1</sup> mun-nab-tú ARAD <sup>r</sup> šá iṣ <sup>1</sup> -ba-tú ĠIR.II-ía	1–5)	The fugitive [U]mmanigaš (Ḫumban-nikas II), a servant who had grasped my feet. When I gave the
2)	ina <sup>r</sup> e <sup>1</sup> -peš pi-ia ina ĤÚL.MEŠ qé- <sup>r</sup> reb <sup>1</sup> KUR.ma-dak-te		command (lit. “at the working of my mouth”) in (the midst of) celebration, a eunuch of mine whom [I had]
3)	u URU. <sup>r</sup> šú <sup>1</sup> -šá-an LÚ.šú-ut <sup>r</sup> SAG-ia <sup>1</sup> šá [ <sup>a</sup> š]-pu-ru		sent (with him) ushered (him) in[to] the land Madaktu
4)	ú- <sup>r</sup> še <sup>1</sup> -rib- <sup>r</sup> ma ú <sup>1</sup> -še-šib-šú		and the city Susa and placed him on the throne of
5)	ina ĠIŠ.GU. <sup>r</sup> ZA <sup>1</sup> <sup>m</sup> te- <sup>r</sup> um <sup>1</sup> -[man šá ik]- <sup>r</sup> šú-da <sup>1</sup> ŠU.II-a-a		Teu[mman, whom] I [had defeated].

## 34

A label written on a relief from Room XXXIII of Sennacherib’s “Palace Without a Rival” (South-West Palace, slab 6, lower register), which Ashurbanipal had redecorated after the battle of Tīl-Tūba, identifies the depicted city as Madaktu, an important Elamite city where Ashurbanipal installed Ummanigaš (Ḫumban-nikas II) as king in lieu of Teumman. The relief and epigraph are related to that event, which took place in 653.

## CATALOGUE

Museum Number	Registration Number	Provenance	Dimensions (cm)	cpn
BM 124802a–c	51-9-2,7a–c	Nineveh, South-West Palace, Room XXXIII, slab 6 (lower register)	269.2×142.2×15.2	p

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

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1916	Streck, Asb. p. 316 n. 2 (study)	1999	Kaelin, Bildexperiment pp. 32, 68, and 116 (translation, study)
1975	Barnett and Lorenzini, Assyrian Sculpture pl. 159 (photo)	1999	J.M. Russell, Writing on the Wall pp. 156–158, p. 160 no. 17a, pp. 166–181 with figs. 61 and 63, and pp. 187–200 and 205–209 (photo, translation, study)
1988	Gerardi, JCS 40 pp. 12–13 and 33 (edition, study)	2012	May, CRRRA 54 p. 480 n. 31 and p. 481 fig. 17 (drawing, edition)
1996	Borger, BIWA p. 298 (transliteration, study)		
1998	Barnett et al., Sculptures from the Southwest Palace 1 pp. 96–97 no. 386 (translation, study); and 2 pls. 286,		



Figure 16. Detail of BM 124802a–c (text no. 34), a wall relief from Room XXXIII of the South-West Palace at Nineveh. The royal Elamite city Madaktu is identified by an epigraph. © Trustees of the British Museum.

### TEXT

1) KUR.ma-dak-tú

1) The city (lit. “land”) Madaktu.

## 35

A relief in Sennacherib’s “Palace Without a Rival” (South-West Palace, Room XXXIII, slab 6, upper register) contains an eight-line epigraph stating that Ashurbanipal made two Elamite envoys (Nabû-damiq and Umbadarâ) stand before messengers of the Urartian king Rusâ III and hold writing boards with hostile messages. The text appears in front of the image of the king standing in his chariot and above the team of horses.

### CATALOGUE

Museum Number	Registration Number	Provenance	Dimensions (cm)	cpn
BM 124802a–c	51-9-2,7a–c	Nineveh, South-West Palace, Room XXXIII, slab 6 (upper register)	269.2×142.2×15.2	p

## COMMENTARY

Similar descriptions of Rusâ sending his messengers to Assyria are known from text no. 6 (Prism C) vii 20'-28', text no. 7 (Prism Kh) vii 11-20, and an epigraph written on a clay tablet (Sm 1350 rev. 9'-12';

Borger, BIWA p. 307 [see Part 2]). Note that the latter text combines the Nabû-damiq and Umbadarâ incident with that of the flaying of Mannu-kī-aḥḥē and Nabû-ušalli of Gambulu.

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| 1915 | Paterson, Sinacherib pls. 65-66 (photo)   |      |   |
| 1916 | Streck, Asb. pp. LVI θ and 316-319 θ (edition)  |      |   |
| 1927 | Luckenbill, ARAB 2 pp. 393-394 §§1035 (translation)   |      |   |
| 1988 | Gerardi, JCS 40 pp. 12-13 and 32-33 (edition, study)  |      |   |
| 1996 | Borger, BIWA p. 298 (study)   |      |   |
| 1998 | Barnett et al., Sculptures from the Southwest Palace 1 pp. 96-97 no. 386 (translation, study); and 2 pls. 286 |      |   |
|      |   |      | and 308-310 no. 386 (photo, drawing)  |
|      |   | 1999 | Kaelin, Bildexperiment pp. 28, 30, 56, 68, and 116 (translation, study)   |
|      |   | 1999 | J.M. Russell, Writing on the Wall pp. 156-158, p. 163 no. 27av, pp. 166-181 with figs. 61 and 64, pp. 187-199, 201, and 205-209 (photo, translation, study) |
|      |   | 2012 | May, CRRA 54 p. 481-482 with fig. 17 (drawing; line 8a, translation)  |

## TEXT

- |    |   |       |  |
|----|---|-------|--|
| 1) | [a]- <sup>r</sup> na <sup>1</sup> -ku <sup>m</sup> AN.ŠÁR-DÛ-A LUGAL ŠÚ LUGAL KUR AN. <sup>r</sup> ŠÁR <sup>1</sup> .[KI]           | 1-3a) | I, Ashurbanipal, king of the world, king of Assyria, [who] with the support of (the god) Aššur and the goddess Ištar, my lords, conquered my [enemies] (and) achieved my heart's desire.   |
| 2) | [šá] ina tukul-ti AN.ŠÁR u <sup>dr</sup> 15 <sup>1</sup> EN.MEŠ-ia LÚ.[KÚR.MEŠ]- <sup>r</sup> ia <sup>2</sup> ?                     |       |  |
| 3) | ak-šú-du am-šu ma-la <sup>r</sup> lib <sup>1</sup> -bi- <sup>r</sup> ia <sup>1</sup> <sup>m</sup> ru-sa <sup>1</sup> -a             | 3b-8) | Rusâ, the king of the land Urartu, heard about the mi[gh]t of (the god) Ašš[ur], my [lo]rd, and fear of my royal majesty overwhelmed him and he (then) sent his envoys to me in Arbela, to inquire about my well-being. I made Nabû-damiq (and) Umbadarâ, envoys of the land Elam, stand before them with writing boards (inscribed with) insolent m[es]sages. |
| 4) | LUGAL KUR.ur-ar- <sup>r</sup> ta <sup>1</sup> da- <sup>r</sup> na-an <sup>1</sup> AN. <sup>r</sup> ŠÁR EN <sup>1</sup> -ia iš-me-ma |       |  |
| 5) | pu-luḥ-tú LUGAL-ti-ia is-ḥu- <sup>r</sup> up-šú-ma <sup>1</sup> LÚ.MAḤ.MEŠ-šú   |       |  |
| 6) | a-na šá-'a-al šul- <sup>r</sup> mi <sup>1</sup> -ia <sup>r</sup> iš <sup>1</sup> -pu-ra ana qé-reb LÍMMU-DINGIR.KI                  |       |  |
| 7) | <sup>md</sup> MUATI-SIG <sub>5</sub> <sup>m</sup> um-ba-da-ra-a LÚ.MAḤ.MEŠ šá KUR.ELAM.MA.KI  |       |  |
| 8) | it-ti GIŠ.ZU.MEŠ <sup>r</sup> ši <sup>1</sup> -pir me-re-eḥ-tú ul-ziz ina maḥ-ri-šú-un  |       |  |

## 36

An unfinished three-line epigraph that is inscribed on one of the walls of the palace of Ashurbanipal's grandfather Sennacherib (South-West Palace, slab 4, upper register) states that the Assyrian king had the tongues of two men ripped out before having those anti-Assyrian rebels flayed. From numerous inscriptions (for example, text no. 3 [Prism B] vi 71-74), the identities of the two men are known: They are Mannu-kī-aḥḥē (the deputy of the Gambulian ruler Dunānu) and Nabû-ušalli (a city overseer of the land Gambulu).



## CATALOGUE

Museum Number	Registration Number	Provenance	Dimensions (cm)	cpn
BM 124802a-c	51-9-2,7a-c	Nineveh, South-West Palace, Room XXXIII, slab 4 (upper register)	269.2×142.2×15.2	p

## COMMENTARY

This epigraph is also known from one of the clay tablets inscribed with epigraphs concerning Ashurbanipal's wars against the Elamite king Teumman and the Gambulian ruler Dunānu (Borger, BIWA p. 303 no. 28): K 2674 + Sm 2010 + 81-2-4,186 iii 2'-4' (see Part 2). Compare Rm 2,364 obv. 1'-2' and

Sm 1350 edge 1-2 (see Borger, BIWA pp. 306-307). Note that the Sm 1350 epigraph combines the flaying of Mannu-kī-aḥḥē and Nabû-uṣalli of Gambulu incident with that of Nabû-damiq and Umbadarâ standing before Urartian envoys with hostile messages inscribed on writing boards (see text no. 35).

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- |      |   |   |   |
|------|---|---|---|
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| 1871 | G. Smith, Assurbanipal p. 148 (edition)                   |   |   |
| 1915 | Paterson, Sinacherib pls. 65-66 (photo)                   | 1999  | Kaelin, Bildexperiment p. 26, p. 27 fig. 10, pp. 56-57, 69, and 116 (photo, translation, study)   |
| 1916 | Streck, Asb. pp. LVI η and 316-317 η (edition)            | 1999  | J.M. Russell, Writing on the Wall pp. 156-158, p. 163 no. 28, pp. 166-181 with figs. 61 and 65, and pp. 187-199 and 205-209 (photo, translation, study) |
| 1927 | Luckenbill, ARAB 2 p. 393 §1034 (translation)             | 2012  | May, CRRA 54 p. 481 n. 35 and fig. 17 (drawing, edition)  |
| 1975 | Barnett and Lorenzini, Assyrian Sculpture pl. 152 (photo) |   |   |
| 1988 | Gerardi, JCS 40 pp. 12-13 and 31 (edition, study)         |   |   |
| 1996 | Borger, BIWA p. 298 (study)                               |   |   |
| 1998 | Barnett et al., Sculptures from the Southwest Palace 1    |   |   |

## TEXT

- |    |   |   |
|----|---|---|
| 1) | m(blank) m(blank) UGU AN.ŠÁR <sup>1</sup>       | 1-3) (PN <sub>1</sub> and PN <sub>2</sub> ) uttered grievous blasphemies against (the god) Aššur, the god who created me. I tore out their tongue(s and) flayed them. |
| 2) | DINGIR <i>ba-ni-ia iq-bu-ú sil-la-tú GAL-tu</i> |   |
| 3) | EME-šú-nu <i>áš-lu-up aš-ḥu-ṭa KUŠ-šú-un</i>    |   |

## 37

A label written on a relief from Room I of the North Palace (slab 9, upper register) identifies the depicted city as Arbela, one of the main cult centers of the goddess Ištar. The text is inscribed just above the depiction of the city's outer wall.

## CATALOGUE

Museum Number	Provenance	Dimensions (cm)	cpn
AO 19914	Nineveh, North Palace, Room I, slab 9 (upper register)	122×112	c

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- |         |  |      |   |
|---------|--|------|---|
| 1936    | Gadd, <i>Stones</i> pp. 206–207 no. 73 and pl. 28 (drawing, edition, study)  | 1996 | Borger, <i>BIWA</i> p. 298 (study)  |
| 1937–39 | Weidner, <i>Afo</i> 12 p. 378 (transliteration, study)   | 1999 | Kaelin, <i>Bildexperiment</i> pp. 37–38, 68, and 116 (translation, study)   |
| 1976    | Barnett, <i>Sculptures from the North Palace</i> p. 15 with fig. 5 and p. 43, and pls. XXV–XXVI and C (photo, drawing, edition, study) | 1999 | J.M. Russell, <i>Writing on the Wall</i> pp. 156–158, p. 163 no. 28a, pp. 181–189 with fig. 69, and pp. 200 and 205–209 (drawing, translation, study) |
| 1980    | Albenda, <i>JANES</i> 12 pp. 1–8 with figs. 1–4 (photo, drawing, study)  | 2004 | Bontaz, <i>Iraq</i> 66 p. 98 fig. 4 (drawing)   |
| 1988    | Gerardi, <i>JCS</i> 40 pp. 13–14 and 23 (edition, study)   | 2011 | Radner, <i>HSAO</i> 14 p. 328 fig. 2 (drawing)  |
|         |  | 2012 | May, <i>CRRRA</i> 54 pp. 483–485 figs. 20–22 (drawing)  |

## TEXT

1) ʾURU.LÍMMU<sup>1</sup>-DINGIR

1) The city Arbela.

## 38

A descriptive nine-line epigraph is written just above the depiction of the horses of Ashurbanipal's processional carriage, in the middle row of the lower register of a relief depicting the Assyrian king reviewing booty (including the seal, crown, and staff of the recently deceased Šamaš-šum-ukīn) and high profile prisoners (as well as submissive foreign rulers) after the Assyrian army captured Babylon in 648. The relief and epigraph adorned part of one of the walls of Ashurbanipal's throne room (North Palace, Room M, slab 13).

## CATALOGUE

Museum Number	Registration Number	Provenance	Dimensions (cm)	cpn
BM 124946	56-9-9,34	Nineveh, North Palace, Room M, slab 13 (lower register)	127×195.6	p

## COMMENTARY

This epigraph is also known (with some deviation) from three of the clay tablets inscribed with short texts recording some of the details of Ashurbanipal's wars against Šamaš-šuma-ukīn (king of Babylon)

and Tammariū of Elam (Borger, BIWA pp. 311–312 no. 61): (1) K 4453 + K 4515 ii 15'–22' and Bu 89-4-26,116 ii 4'–11'; (2) Rm 40 obv. 1–6; and (3) VAT 11264 rev. 2'–9' (see Part 2).

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- |      |   |      |  |
|------|---|------|--|
| 1861 | 1 R pl. 8 no. 1 (copy)  | 1996 | Borger, BIWA p. 298 (study)  |
| 1871 | G. Smith, <i>Assurbanipal</i> pp. 199–200 (edition)   | 1997 | Winter in Parpola and Whiting, <i>Assyria</i> 1995 p. 360 fig. 1 (photo)                                       |
| 1916 | Streck, <i>Asb.</i> pp. LVII ι and 318–319 ι (edition)  | 1999 | Kaelin, <i>Bildexperiment</i> pp. 101–102 and 117 (translation, study)   |
| 1927 | Luckenbill, <i>ARAB</i> 2 p. 394 §1036 (translation)  | 1999 | J.M. Russell, <i>Writing on the Wall</i> pp. 201 and 205–209 (translation, study)                              |
| 1975 | Barnett and Lorenzini, <i>Assyrian Sculpture</i> pl. 168 (photo)  | 2004 | Thomason, <i>Iraq</i> 66 p. 159 fig. 6 (photo)   |
| 1976 | Barnett, <i>Sculptures from the North Palace front cover</i> , pp. 16 and 47, and pls. XXXV and D (photo, copy, edition, study) | 2008 | Novotny and Watanabe, <i>Iraq</i> 70 pp. 105–120 with figs. 1–2 and pp. 124–125 no. 12 (photo, edition, study) |
| 1988 | Gerardi, <i>JCS</i> 40 p. 7 n. 21, p. 8 fig. 2, and pp. 23–24 (drawing, edition)  | 2009 | Álvarez-Mon, <i>IrAnt</i> 44 p. 142 n. 17 (translation, study)   |



Figure 17. Detail of BM 124946 (text no. 38), a wall relief from Room M of the North Palace at Nineveh. The image shows Ashurbanipal reviewing items belonging to Šamaš-šuma-ukīn that had been taken after the capture of Babylon in 648. Photo courtesy of C.E. Watanabe.

## TEXT

- |    |   |      |   |
|----|---|------|---|
| 1) | <i>a-na-ku</i> <sup>m</sup> AN.ŠÁR-DÛ-A MAN ŠÚ MAN KUR AN.ŠÁR.KI  | 1-9) | I, Ashurbanipal, king of the world, king of Assyria, who by the command of the great gods, achieved his heart's desires: They paraded before [m]e clothing (and) jewelry, royal appurtenances of Šamaš-šu[ma-u]kīn — (my) unfaithful brother — his palace women, his [eun]uchs, his battle troops, a chariot, a processional carriage, [the ve]hicle of his lordly majesty, every necessity of his palace, as much as there was, (and) people — male and female, young (and) old. |
| 2) | <i>ša ina qí-bit</i> DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ <i>ik-šu-du</i>   |      |   |
| 3) | <i>šu-um-me-rat lib-bi-šú lu-<sup>r</sup>bul-tú šu<sup>1</sup>-kut-tu</i>                                   |      |   |
| 4) | <i>si-mat</i> LUGAL-u-ti <i>ša</i> <sup>md</sup> GIŠ.NU <sub>11</sub> - <sup>r</sup> MU-GI <sup>1</sup> .NA |      |   |
| 5) | ŠEŠ NU GI.NA MUNUS. <i>sek-re-te-šú</i> LÚ.[šú-ut] <sup>r</sup> SAG.MEŠ <sup>1</sup> -šú                    |      |   |
| 6) | LÚ.ERIM.MEŠ MÈ-šú GIŠ.GIGIR GIŠ. <i>ša šad-da-<sup>r</sup>di<sup>1</sup></i> [ru]-kub EN-ti-šú              |      |   |
| 7) | <i>mim-ma hi-šiḥ-ti</i> É.GAL-šú <i>ma-<sup>r</sup>la ba<sup>1</sup>-šu-ú</i>                               |      |   |
| 8) | UN.MEŠ <i>zik-ru u sin-niš</i> <sup>r</sup> TUR GAL <sup>1</sup>  |      |   |
| 9) | <i>ú-še-et-ti-qu ina</i> <sup>r</sup> maḥ <sup>1</sup> -ri- <sup>r</sup> ia <sup>1</sup>                    |      |   |

## 39

A damaged epigraph preserved on a fragment from a wall slab that once decorated one of the rooms of Ashurbanipal's palace at Nineveh (North Palace) may record an event concerning the Elamite king Ummanigaš (Ḫumbanikas II), whom Ashurbanipal had appointed as king after Teumman in 653, or the hostile king of Babylon Šamaš-šuma-ukīn. The relief and epigraph likely refer to events of Ashurbanipal's third Elamite campaign (probably 652), assuming they concern themselves with Elam, and not Babylon.

## CATALOGUE

Museum Number	Registration Number	Provenance	Dimensions (cm)	cpn
BM 124924	56-9-9,30	Nineveh, probably the North Palace	45.7×68.6	p

## COMMENTARY

The suggestion that this epigraph pertains to Ummanigaš is based on *aškunuš ana šarrūti* (“(whom) I appointed as king”) in line 1; see, for example, text no. 3 (Prism B) vi 87. Another possibility is that the

text deals with Ashurbanipal's brother Šamaš-šuma-ukīn, whom he records in several texts as having installed as king of Babylon; see, for example, text no. 23 (IIT) line 108.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- |      |   |      |  |
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| 1976 | Barnett, <i>Sculptures from the North Palace</i> p. 55 and pl. LXII a (photo, edition, study) | 1996 | Borger, <i>BIWA</i> p. 298 (study)     |

## TEXT

- 1) [... *áš-ku-nu*]-*r*uš<sup>1</sup> *a-na* LUGAL-*ú-ti* [...]  
 2) [...] x (x) [...]
- 1-2) [... I installed h]im as king [...] ... [...].

## 40

A two-line epigraph records the fate of the Elamite royal city Ḫamanu, which was captured and destroyed during Ashurbanipal's fourth Elamite campaign in 646. The text is written on the upper register of a sculpted slab that once lined a wall of Room F (slab 3) of the North Palace at Nineveh; it is inscribed on the depiction of the wall of that city, which is shown being besieged by Assyrian troops. A longer version of this text, one recording Ḫamanu's destruction after its capture, was inscribed on a slab adorning Room S<sup>1</sup> of Ashurbanipal's palace; that epigraph is edited as text no. 41.

## CATALOGUE

Museum Number	Registration Number	Provenance	Dimensions (cm)	cpn
BM 124931	56-9-9,17-18	Nineveh, North Palace, Room F, slab 3 (upper register)	228.6×215.9×15.2	p

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

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| 1854 | Lobdell, JAOS 4 p. 479 (copy)   | 1988 | Gerardi, JCS 40 p. 7 fig. 1 and p. 22 (drawing, edition)                   |
| 1962 | Strommenger and Hirmer, Mesopotamien pl. 237 (photo)  | 1996 | Borger, BIWA p. 298 (study)  |
| 1976 | Barnett, Sculptures from the North Palace p. 40 and pls. XVII and B (photo, edition, study) | 1999 | J.M. Russell, Writing on the Wall pp. 200 and 205-209 (translation, study) |
|      |   | 2014 | Liverani, ANE p. 496 fig. 28.6 (photo)                                     |

## TEXT

- 1) URU.ḫa-ma-nu URU LUGAL-*u-ti* šá  
 KUR.ELAM.MA.KI  
 2) *al-me* KUR-*ud* *áš-lu-la* šal-*lat-su*
- 1-2) I surrounded, conquered, (and) plundered the city Ḫamanu, a royal city of the land Elam.

## 41

A second two-line epigraph, which is inscribed over a city engulfed in flames, records the destruction of the city Ḫamanu. The relief once decorated a wall of Room S<sup>1</sup> (battle scene slab A, middle register) of Ashurbanipal's palace (North Palace). Both the relief and epigraph record an event that took place during Ashurbanipal's first war against the Elamite king Ummanaldašu (Ḫumban-ḫaltaš III), in 647. A shorter version of this text was inscribed on a relief that once decorated Room F of the North Palace; that epigraph is edited as text no. 40.

## CATALOGUE

Museum Number	Registration Number	Provenance	Dimensions (cm)	cpn
BM 124919 (+) BM 134386	56-9-9,52 (+) 1964-7-11,1	Nineveh, North Palace, Room S <sup>1</sup> , battle scene slab A (middle register)	172.7×68.6×15.2	p

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

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|------|--|--|------|---|
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| 1916 | Streck, <i>Asb.</i> pp. LVII κ and 318-319 κ (edition)           |  | 1988 | Gerardi, <i>JCS</i> 40 p. 25 (edition)  |
| 1927 | Luckenbill, <i>ARAB</i> 2 p. 394 §1037 (translation)             |  | 1996 | Borger, <i>BIWA</i> p. 298 (study)  |
| 1975 | Barnett and Lorenzini, <i>Assyrian Sculpture</i> pl. 165 (photo) |  | 1999 | J.M. Russell, <i>Writing on the Wall</i> pp. 200 and 205-209 (translation, study) |
| 1976 | Barnett, <i>Sculptures from the North Palace</i> p. 58 and       |  |      |   |

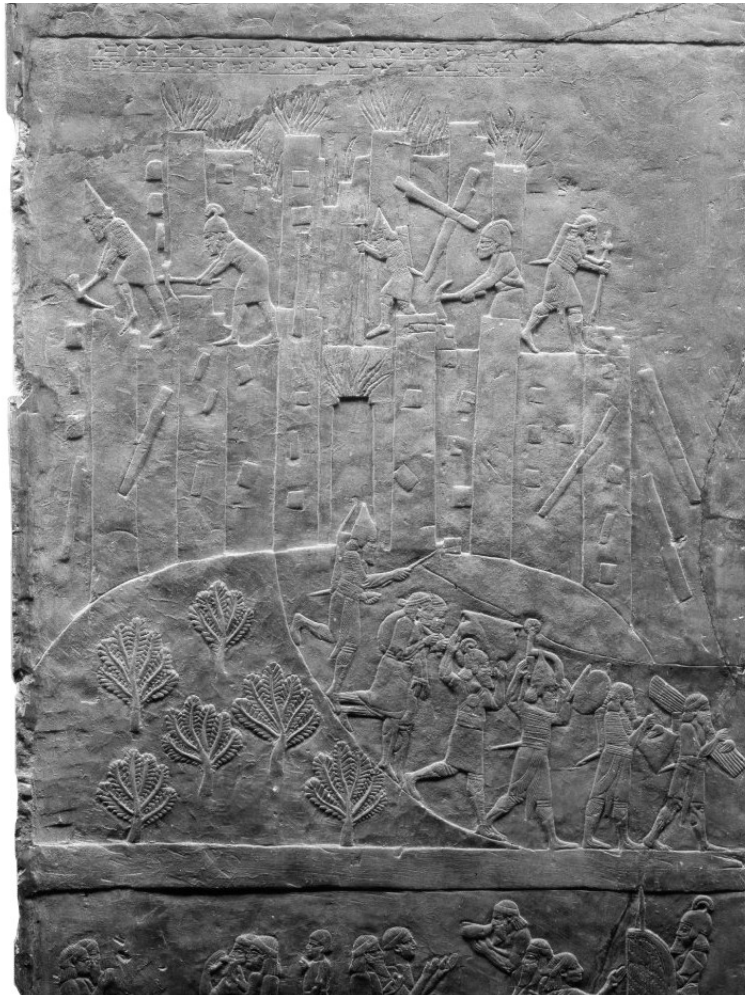


Figure 18. Detail of BM 124919 (+) BM 134386 (text no. 41), a wall relief from Room S<sup>1</sup> of the North Palace at Nineveh. The image shows Assyrian soldiers demolishing the Elamite city Ḥamanu. © Trustees of the British Museum.

## TEXT

- |    |  |  |
|----|--|--|
| 1) | URU.ḥa-ma-nu URU LUGAL-u-ti šá<br>KUR.ELAM.MA.KI <i>al-me</i> KUR-ud | 1-2) I surrounded, conquered, plundered, destroyed,<br>demolished, (and) burned with fire the city Ḥamanu,<br>a royal city of the land Elam. |
| 2) | áš-lu-la šal-lat-su ap-pul aq-qur ina <sup>d</sup> GIŠ.BAR<br>aq-mu  |  |

## 42

A badly damaged two-line epigraph is inscribed on a relief recording the siege and capture of the Elamite royal city Bīt-Bunakki in 647 or 646. The slab on which the text is written is now in the Vatican Museum in Rome; its original find spot is not known. The epigraph is written on the depiction of the city.

## CATALOGUE

Museum Number	Provenance	Dimensions (cm)	cpn
VAT 14985 + VAT 14996 (Vatican)	Nineveh, probably the North Palace	—	p

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- |      |   |      |  |
|------|---|------|--|
| 1939 | Weidner, Reliefs pp. 25-27 no. 15 with pl. 27 (photo, edition, study)                 | 1988 | Gerardi, JCS 40 p. 29 (edition)  |
| 1976 | Barnett, Sculptures from the North Palace p. 61 and pl. LXX g (photo, edition, study) | 1996 | Borger, BIWA p. 298 (study)  |
|      |   | 1999 | J.M. Russell, Writing on the Wall pp. 200 and 205-209 (translation, study) |

## TEXT

- |    |   |  |
|----|---|--|
| 1) | ʽURUʽ.[É-m]ʽbuʽ- <i>na-ki</i> URU [(LUGAL-u-ti) šá<br>KUR.ELAM.MA.KI (...)] | 1-2) [...] the city [Bīt]-Bunakki, a [(royal)] city [of the<br>land Elam]. |
| 2) | [...]   |  |

**42 lines 1-2** (LUGAL-u-ti) “royal”: It is uncertain whether or not *šarrūti* is to be restored here; compare text nos. 40-41 and 44 to text nos. 43 and 45. After KUR.ELAM.MA.KI, probably restore: (1) *al-me* KUR-ud *áš-lu-la šal-lat-su* “I surrounded, conquered, (and) plundered”; or (2) *al-me* KUR-ud *áš-lu-la šal-lat-su ap-pul aq-qur ina* <sup>d</sup>GIŠ.BAR *aq-mu* “I surrounded, conquered, plundered, destroyed, demolished, (and) burned with fire.”

## 43

An epigraph now known only from a mid-nineteenth century drawing records the conquest and plundering of the Elamite city Dīn-šarri during the year 646, when Ashurbanipal marched against Ummanaldašu (Ḫumban-ḫaltaš III) a second time. The five-line text appears in the lower register of a relief that once decorated the wall of one of the rooms of Ashurbanipal's palace (North Palace, Room V<sup>1</sup>/T<sup>1</sup>, slab A); it is inscribed above the image of the Assyrian king's chariot.

## CATALOGUE

Source	Registration Number	Provenance	Dimensions (cm)	cpn
Or. Dr. 5 no. 31	2007-6024,479	Nineveh, North Palace, Room V <sup>1</sup> /T <sup>1</sup> , slab A (lower register)	—	n

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- |      |  |      |   |
|------|--|------|---|
| —    | Or. Dr. 5 no. 31 (drawing)   | 1976 | Barnett, <i>Sculptures from the North Palace</i> p. 59 and pls. LXVII and F (copy, drawing, edition, study) |
| 1871 | G. Smith, <i>Assurbanipal</i> pp. 245–246 (edition)                | 1988 | Gerardi, <i>JCS</i> 40 p. 28 (edition)  |
| 1916 | Streck, <i>Asb.</i> pp. LVII λ and 318–321 λ (edition)             | 1996 | Borger, <i>BIWA</i> p. 298 (study)  |
| 1927 | Luckenbill, <i>ARAB</i> 2 p. 394 §1038 (translation)               | 1999 | J.M. Russell, <i>Writing on the Wall</i> pp. 200 and 205–209 (translation, study)                           |
| 1936 | Gadd, <i>Stones</i> pp. 203–204 no. 62 and pl. 34 (drawing, study) |      |   |

## TEXT

- |    |   |      |   |
|----|---|------|---|
| 1) | <i>a-na-<sup>1</sup>ku<sup>1</sup></i> AN.ŠĀR-DÛ-A MAN ŠÚ MAN KUR AN.ŠĀR.KI                     | 1–5) | I, Ashurbanipal, king of the world, king of Assyria, who b[y the command of (the god) Aššur and] the goddess Mullissu, achieved his heart's desires, surro[und]ed (and) conquered the city Dīn-šarri, a city of the land Elam. [I brought] out [chariot]s, wagons, horses, (and) mules and I cou[n]ted (them) as booty. |
| 2) | šá <sup>1</sup> ina <sup>1</sup> [qí-bit AN.ŠĀR u] dNIN.LÍL ik-šú-du šu-um-me-rat lib-bi-šú     |      |   |
| 3) | URU.di- <sup>1</sup> in <sup>1</sup> -[LUGAL] URU <sup>1</sup> ša KUR.ELAM.MA.KI                |      |   |
| 4) | al-me <sup>1</sup> KUR-ud GIŠ <sup>1</sup> .[GIGIR].MEŠ <sup>1</sup> GIŠ.šum-bi ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ |      |   |
| 5) | ANŠE.KUNGA <sup>1</sup> .MEŠ [ú-še-ša]-am-ma šal-la-tiš am-[nu]                                 |      |   |

## 44

A damaged two-line epigraph records the capture of a royal city of Elam (name not preserved). The text — which is in the middle register of a relief that had once lined one of the walls of the North Palace (Room S<sup>1</sup>, battle scenes slab A) — is engraved above an image of a city under siege. The relief and epigraph record an event that took place during one of Ashurbanipal's Elamite campaigns, possibly his fourth one against that recalcitrant foe of Assyria (647).

43 lines 4–5 Compare text no. 51 lines 4–6.

43 line 5 [ú-še-ša]-am-ma “[I brought] out”: Or possibly [ú-ša]-am-ma.





## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- |      |  |      |  |
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|      |  | 1996 | Borger, BIWA p. 298 (study)  |
| 1976 | Barnett, Sculptures from the North Palace p. 61 and pl. LXXI h (photo, edition, study) | 1999 | J.M. Russell, Writing on the Wall pp. 200 and 205–209 (translation, study) |

## TEXT

- |    |   |      |   |
|----|---|------|---|
| 1) | [URU.x-x]-tu URU šá KUR.[ELAM.MA.KI al-me KUR-ud] | 1–2) | [I surrounded, conquered, destroyed, dem]olished, (and) [burned] with fire [the city ...]tu, a city of the land [Elam]. |
| 2) | [ap-pul aq]-qur ina <sup>d</sup> GIŠ.BAR [aq-mu]  |      |   |

## 46

A small portion of a seven-line epigraph that appears to mention the land Elam is preserved on the upper register of a relief that once lined a wall of Room S<sup>1</sup> (battle scenes slab A) of the North Palace at Nineveh. The text is inscribed in front of the depiction of the king, above his chariot. Although little of the inscription is preserved, the relief and epigraph presumably recorded events of Ashurbanipal's fourth (647) or fifth (646) campaign to Elam. For the style of the inscription, compare text nos. 43 and 47.

## CATALOGUE

Museum Number	Provenance	Dimensions (cm)	cpn
AO 19905	Nineveh, North Palace, Room S <sup>1</sup> , battle scenes slab A (upper register)	36.8×53.3	p

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- |      |   |      |  |
|------|---|------|--|
| —    | Or. Dr. 5 no. 24 (drawing)  | 1996 | Borger, BIWA p. 298 (study)  |
| 1976 | Barnett, Sculptures from the North Palace, p. 54 and pls. LX–LXI and E (photo, drawing, edition, study) | 1999 | J.M. Russell, Writing on the Wall pp. 201 and 205–209 (translation, study) |
| 1988 | Gerardi, JCS 40 p. 24 (edition)   |      |  |

## TEXT

- |    |  |      |   |
|----|--|------|---|
| 1) | ʿa <sup>1</sup> -na-[ku AN.ŠÁR-DÛ-A ...] | 1–7) | I, [Ashurbanipal ...] (the god) Ašš[ur ...] ( <i>the land</i> ) |
|----|--|------|---|

**45 line 1** [URU.x-x]-tu “[The city ...]tu”: Two possible restorations are [URU.ma-dak]-tu or [URU.na-di]-tu.

**45 line 2** This text appears to omit *dš-lu-la šal-lat-su* “I plundered it.”

**46 lines 1–3** Based on text no. 38 lines 1–3a, text no. 43 lines 1–2, text no. 47 lines 1–3a, and text no. 51 lines 1–2, possibly restore the beginning of the epigraph as: (1) *a-na-ku* AN.ŠÁR-DÛ-A MAN ŠÚ MAN KUR AN.ŠÁR.KI šá ina qf-bit DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ (or AN.ŠÁR u <sup>d</sup>NIN.LÍL) ik-šu-du šu-um-me-rat lib-bi-šú “I, Ashurbanipal, king of the world, king of Assyria, who by the command of the great gods” (or “(the god) Aššur and the goddess Mullissu”), “achieved his heart’s desires”; or (2) *a-na-ku* AN.ŠÁR-DÛ-A MAN ŠÚ MAN KUR AN.ŠÁR.KI šá ina tukul-ti AN.ŠÁR u <sup>d</sup>15 LÚ.KÚR.MEŠ-šú ik-šu-du “I, Ashurbanipal, king of the world, king of Assyria, who with the support of (the god) Aššur and the goddess Ištar, conquered his enemies.”

- 2) [...] *Elam* [...].  
 3) [...]  
 4) x [...]  
 5) x [...]  
 6) AN.ŠÁR<sup>1</sup> [...]  
 7) ELAM<sup>2</sup>.MA<sup>1</sup>.KI [...]

## 47

A five-line epigraph written above an image of Ashurbanipal in his chariot records the defeat of one of his enemies. The text – which was written on the lower register of a sculpted wall slab that decorated one of the walls of Ashurbanipal’s palace (North Palace, Room V<sup>1</sup>/T<sup>1</sup>, slab F) – possibly states that Ashurbanipal captured, plundered, and destroyed a specific Elamite city (name not preserved) during one of his wars against Ummanaldašu (Ḫumban-ḫaltaš III) in 647 or 646; see the on-page notes for details. For the style of the inscription, compare text nos. 43 and 46.

### CATALOGUE

Museum Number	Provenance	Dimensions (cm)	cpn
AO 19904	Nineveh, North Palace, Room V <sup>1</sup> /T <sup>1</sup> , slab F (lower register)	163×77	p

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

- 1916 Streck, *Asb.* p. LVII n. 1 (transliteration, study) pl. LXVIII (photo, drawing, edition, study)  
 1924 Pottier, *Antiquités assyriennes* p. 96 and pl. XXII 1988 Gerardi, *JCS* 40 p. 28 (edition)  
 no. 62 (photo, translation, study) 1996 Borger, *BIWA* p. 298 (study)  
 1936 Rutten, *Encyclopédie photographique de l’art* 2 pp. 11 1999 J.M. Russell, *Writing on the Wall* pp. 201 and 205–209  
 B and 12 C (photo) (translation, study)  
 1976 Barnett, *Sculptures from the North Palace* p. 60 and

### TEXT

- 1) *a-na*-[*ku* AN.ŠÁR-DÛ-A MAN ŠÚ MAN KUR AN.ŠÁR.KI] 1–5) I, [Ashurbanipal, king of the world, king of Assyria], who with [the support of (the god) Aššur and the goddess Ištar, (...), conquered his] enem[ies, ...] plu[n]dered [...] of [...].  
 2) *ša ina* [*tukul-ti* AN.ŠÁR u <sup>d</sup>15 (...)]  
 3) LÚ.KÚR.[MEŠ-šú *ik-šu-du* ...]  
 4) *ša* [...]  
 5) *áš*-[*lu-la šal-lat-su* ...]

**47 lines 1–3a** The proposed restorations are generally based on text no. 51 lines 1–2, as well as K 3096 obv. 1 and 9 (Borger, *BIWA* p. 308–309 nos. 51–52). Cf. also text no. 35 lines 1–3a.

**47 lines 3b–4** Based on texts nos. 40–41 and 45, possibly read lines 3b–4 as [URU.... URU] *ša* [KUR.ELAM.MA.KI *al-me* KUR-ud] “[I surrounded (and) conquered the city ..., a city] of [the land Elam].”

**47 line 5** Based on text no. 41, possibly read line 5 as *áš*-[*lu-la šal-lat-su ap-pul aq-qur ina* <sup>d</sup>GIŠ.BAR *aq-mu*] “I plu[n]dered, destroyed, demolished, (and) burned with fire.”

## 48

An illegible six-line epigraph appears above an image of Ashurbanipal standing in his chariot. The slab was found in the North Palace (Room F, slab 15, upper register) and presumably the relief and its text concern themselves with the receipt of booty from a conquered Elamite city, perhaps one of the many conquered in 646 or 647. For the style of the inscription, compare text nos. 43 and 46–47.

## CATALOGUE

Source	Provenance	Dimensions (cm)	cpn
Or. Dr. 7 no. 6	Nineveh, North Palace, Room F, slab 15 (upper register)	—	p

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Or. Dr. 7 no. 6 1988 Gerardi, JCS 40 p. 22 (study)  
 1976 Barnett, *Sculptures from the North Palace* pp. 39–40  
 and pl. XXI (drawing, study)

## 49

A badly damaged epigraph on a relief from the North Palace at Nineveh (Room M, possibly slab 2, lower register) describes the capture of Umanaldašu (Ḫumban-ḫaltaš III), who had on multiple occasions taken refuge in the mountains. The six-line text appears above a line of men leading the captured Elamite to Assyria. This Elamite king was apprehended sometime after the composition of text no. 9 (Prism F; 645) and before that of text no. 11 (Prism A; 644, 643, or 642).

## CATALOGUE

Museum Number	Registration Number	Provenance	Dimensions (cm)	cpn
BM 124793	Rm 1093	Nineveh, North Palace, possibly Room M, slab 2 (lower register) or Room S <sup>1</sup>	73×129×4.7	p

## COMMENTARY

BM 124793 was discovered by H. Rassam in 1886 and the general scholarly consensus is that this slab once lined one of the walls of Ashurbanipal's throne room in the North Palace (Room M), despite the absence of documented proof. See, for example, Barnett, *Sculptures from the North Palace* p. 46 (slab 1, 2, 3, or 5?); Gerardi, *JCS* 40 (1988) p. 23 (slab 2?); and J.M. Russell, *Writing on the Wall* p. 205 (slab 2?). The association of the fragment with Room M stems from R.D. Barnett's assumptions that the mountainous terrain depicted on slab 7 is the same as that shown on BM 124793 and that the Elamite king depicted on BM 124945–6 (Room M, slabs 12–13) is Ummanaldašu (Ḫumban-ḫaltaš III), who without question is depicted on BM 124793. His assumptions, however, may not be correct in either instance since the Elamite depicted on BM 124945–6 is probably Tammarītu (Novotny and Watanabe, *Iraq* 70 [2008] p. 119) and because the mountainous scene engraved on slab 7 (and the now-missing slab 6) most likely shows the siege of the city Birat-Adad-rēmāni, a fort on the Assyrian-Mannean border (see the commentary to text no. 24). Should this fragment actually belong to Room M, then it may have been part of slab 2 (or

even slab 3) since those slabs were more or less intact when discovered (according to W. Boutcher's original plan); slab 5 is highly unlikely as it probably depicted the attack on Birat-Adad-rēmāni. The tentative, yet plausible, association of BM 124793 with slab 2, as P. Gerardi and J.M. Russell suggest, is not entirely unproblematic as that piece was to have been sent to the Louvre (Paris) along with Room M slabs 3, 7, 10–11, 15–16, and 18–20. Because the piece is now in the British Museum (London), one may question the degree of certainty for the proposed original position of the relief fragment. If BM 124793 does not come from Room M, then where might it have originated? One possibility is Room S<sup>1</sup>. This tentative suggestion is based solely on the fact that Ummanaldašu almost certainly appears on BM 124794 (see text no. 50) together with at least one other deposed Elamite king (Tammarītu or Pa'ê). Of course, depictions of the captured Ummanaldašu need not be confined to a single room. Until further, more concrete evidence becomes available, the exact provenance of this inscribed and sculpted fragment will remain uncertain.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- |      |  |      |   |
|------|--|------|---|
| 1915 | Paterson, <i>Sinacherib</i> pl. 67 no. 34 (photo)                |      | pls. XXXIV and C (photo, edition, study)                                  |
| 1916 | Streck, <i>Asb.</i> pp. 836–837 v (edition)                      | 1988 | Gerardi, <i>JCS</i> 40 p. 8 n. 22 and p. 23 (edition, study)              |
| 1936 | Gadd, <i>Stones</i> p. 179 no. 34 (edition, study)               | 1996 | Borger, <i>BIWA</i> p. 298 (study)  |
| 1975 | Barnett and Lorenzini, <i>Assyrian Sculpture</i> pl. 166 (photo) | 1999 | J.M. Russell, <i>Writing on the Wall</i> pp. 205–209 (translation, study) |
| 1976 | Barnett, <i>Sculptures from the North Palace</i> p. 46 and       |      |   |

## TEXT

- |    |   |      |  |
|----|---|------|--|
| 1) | [ <sup>m</sup> um-man-al-daš <sup>?</sup> (MAN <sup>?</sup> KUR.ELAM.MA.KI <sup>?</sup> ) ša <sup>?</sup> šu-uš-mur <sup>?</sup> ] GIŠ.TUKUL AN.ŠĀR EN-ia | 1–6) | [Ummanaldaš (Ḫumban-ḫaltaš III), (the king of the land Elam) who had seen the rage of] the weapon of (the god) Aššur, my lord, [(...) and had returned] from the mountain(s), his place of refuge. [PN, the city ruler] of the city Murūbisi, [thought about ... the might] of (the god) Aššur, my lord, [and ...]. He seized Ummanaldaš, and [...] brought him before me. |
| 2) | [(...) e-mu-ru-ma <sup>?</sup> i-tu-ru <sup>?</sup> ] ul-tú KUR-e a-šar mar-qí-ti-šú  |      |  |
| 3) | [... LÚ.EN]. <sup>?</sup> URU <sup>?</sup> ša URU.mu-ru-ú-bi-si   |      |  |
| 4) | [... da-na]- <sup>?</sup> an <sup>?</sup> AN.ŠĀR EN-ia  |      |  |
| 5) | [iḫ-su-us-ma ... <sup>m</sup> ]um-man-al-daš iṣ-bat-ma  |      |  |
| 6) | [...] il-qa-áš-šú a-di maḫ-ri-ia  |      |  |

1–5 The tentative restorations in these lines follow suggestions that were kindly provided by A. Fuchs (private communication).

## 50

A poorly preserved three-line epigraph inscribed on the upper register of a relief depicting a garden scene (North Palace, Room S<sup>1</sup>, garden scene slab A) above a line of men leading two Elamite kings carrying items for the king's banquet records the presentation of a meal to the Assyrian king. The captive Elamites are presumably two of the following three men: Ummanaldašu (Ḫumban-ḫaltaš III), Tammarītu, and Pa'ê. All three Elamite rulers had been taken captive sometime after the composition of text no. 9 (Prism F; 645) and before that of text no. 11 (Prism A; 644, 643, or 642). Ummanaldašu, Tammarītu, and Pa'ê may all have been mentioned by name in the epigraph (see the on-page note to line 2).

## CATALOGUE

Museum Number	Registration Number	Provenance	Dimensions (cm)	cpn
BM 124794	56-9-9,55	Nineveh, North Palace, Room S <sup>1</sup> , garden scene slab A (upper register)	55.9×68.8×15.2	p

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- |      |   |      |  |
|------|---|------|--|
| 1915 | Paterson, <i>Sinacherib</i> pl. 67 no. 35 (photo)   | 1988 | Gerardi, <i>JCS</i> 40 p. 8 n. 22 and p. 25 (edition, study)                     |
| 1916 | Streck, <i>Asb.</i> p. 837 ξ (line 2, edition)  | 1996 | Borger, <i>BIWA</i> p. 298 (study)   |
| 1936 | Gadd, <i>Stones</i> pp. 179–180 no. 35 and pl. 39 (drawing, edition, study)                                       | 1999 | J.M. Russell, <i>Writing on the Wall</i> pp. 204–209 (translation, study)        |
| 1975 | Barnett and Lorenzini, <i>Assyrian Sculpture</i> pl. 167 (photo)  | 2009 | Álvarez-Mon, <i>IrAnt</i> 44 p. 140 and p. 170 pl. 6 (photo, translation, study) |
| 1976 | Barnett, <i>Sculptures from the North Palace</i> p. 57 and pls. LXIII–LXIV and F (photo, drawing, edition, study) | 2012 | May, <i>CRRRA</i> 54 p. 479 fig. 16 (drawing)                                    |
|      |   | 2013 | Ataç, <i>CRRRA</i> 56 p. 606 fig. 8 (photo)                                      |

## TEXT

- |    |  |   |
|----|--|---|
| 1) | [...] <sup>1</sup> ep <sup>2</sup> -šet <sup>2</sup> qa <sup>21</sup> -ti-šú SIG <sub>5</sub> .MEŠ <i>i-ram-mu gi-mir mal-ki šá</i> <sup>1</sup> kiš-ša <sup>2</sup> -ti <sup>21</sup> [KUR.KUR <sup>2</sup> ]   | 1–3) [... who] love his good [d]e[e]ds (lit. “[the] good [d]ee[ds of] his hands”), all of the rulers of the <i>entiret[ly] of the lands ...</i> — (As for) Tammarītu, Pa'ê, (and) Ummanaldašu (Ḫumban-ḫaltaš III), kings of the land Elam whom [I] had defeat[ed] with the support of (the god) Aššur and the goddess Mullissu, [...] they [sto]od [...] and (then) they prepared their royal meal with their own hands and had (it) brought [before me]. |
| 2) | [...] <sup>m</sup> tam-ma-ri-tú <sup>2</sup> <sup>m</sup> pa-'e-e <sup>2</sup> <sup>m</sup> um-man-al]- <sup>1</sup> daš <sup>2</sup> LUGAL <sup>1</sup> .MEŠ šá KUR.ELAM.MA.KI šá <i>ina tukul-ti AN.ŠÁR u</i> <sup>n</sup> NIN.LÍL <i>ik-šu-<sup>1</sup>da<sup>1</sup> ŠU.II-[a-a]</i> |   |
| 3) | [...] -a <sup>2</sup> [i]- <sup>1</sup> zi <sup>1</sup> -zu-ma <i>nap-tan MAN-ti-šú-nu ŠU.II ra-me-ni-šú-nu e-pu-ša-ma ú-še-rib-u-ni ina [IGI-ia]</i>  |   |

<sup>1</sup> <sup>1</sup>ep<sup>2</sup>-šet<sup>2</sup> qa<sup>21</sup>-ti-šú SIG<sub>5</sub>.MEŠ “his good [d]e[e]ds (lit. “[the] good [d]ee[ds of] his hands”)”: The proposed reading is based on the preserved traces. The reading <sup>1</sup>ep<sup>21</sup>-[še<sup>2</sup>-e<sup>2</sup>]-ti-šú, which is suggested by C.J. Gadd (*Stones* pp. 179–180) and R. Borger (*BIWA* p. 298), does not seem to fit the traces on BM 124794, as already noted by R.D. Barnett (*Sculptures from the North Palace* p. 57). <sup>1</sup>kiš-ša<sup>2</sup>-ti<sup>21</sup> [KUR.KUR<sup>2</sup>] “the *entiret[ly] of the lands*”: The reading is tentatively based on the preserved traces. There are two damaged signs visible after KIŠ and probably only two narrow signs missing at the end of the epigraph (as suggested by the proposed restorations in lines 2–3).

<sup>2</sup> [<sup>m</sup>um-man-al]-<sup>1</sup>daš<sup>2</sup> LUGAL<sup>1</sup>.MEŠ “[Ummanalda]šu (Ḫumban-ḫaltaš III), kings of”: The first preserved sign of the line appears to be the end of the UR sign (read as *daš*), thus representing the last sign of the Elamite royal name <sup>m</sup>um-man-al-daš “Ummanaldašu (Ḫumban-ḫaltaš III).” Contrary to previous editions, there is only one sign missing between the first preserved sign and the MEŠ sign: This is a badly damaged LUGAL sign. Because the captured Ummanaldašu is mentioned together with Tammarītu and Pa'ê in text no. 11 (Prism A) x 17 and text no. 23 (IIT) line 99, as well as text no. 59 (Nabû Inscription) lines 6–7 and text no. 60 (Mullissu Inscription) lines 6–7, those two deposed Elamite rulers were probably also mentioned in this epigraph and, therefore, the names of all three men are restored here. If the restoration proves correct, then probably all three Elamite rulers were depicted in the scene to which BM 124794 belongs.

<sup>3</sup> [i]-<sup>1</sup>zi<sup>1</sup>-zu-ma “[they sto]od and”: Or possibly [iz]-<sup>1</sup>zi<sup>1</sup>-zu-ma.



Figure 19. BM 124794 (text no. 50), a wall relief from Room S<sup>1</sup> of the North Palace at Nineveh. The image shows two captured former Elamite kings bringing items to Ashurbanipal's banquet. © Trustees of the British Museum.

## 51

A small fragment of a wall relief is inscribed with a six-line epigraph recording the conquest and plundering of the city Bit-Luppi. The current whereabouts of the fragment is unknown, but it was in a private collection when F.M.T Böhl (AfO 6 [1930–31] p. 107) examined it. The text is also known from an unpublished copy of W.K. Loftus (Notebook A). Contrary to P. Gerardi's statement in JCS 40 (1988), this object is probably not a plaque affixed to a relief.

### CATALOGUE

Source	Provenance	Dimensions (cm)	cpn
Loftus, Notebook A	Nineveh, probably the North Palace	—	n

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| 1930–31 Böhl, AfO 6 pp. 107–108 (copy, edition, study)                        | 1988 Gerardi, JCS 40 p. 8 n. 22 and pp. 33–34 (edition, study)                  |
| 1936 Böhl, MLVS 3 pp. 29 and 72 (study)                                       | 1996 Borger, BIWA p. 298 (study)  |
| 1976 Barnett, Sculptures from the North Palace p. 64 A (copy, edition, study) | 1999 J.M. Russell, Writing on the Wall pp. 201 and 205–209 (translation, study) |

## TEXT

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| 1) [a-na-ku AN.ŠÁR-DÙ]-A MAN ŠÚ MAN KUR AN.ŠÁR.KI                              | 1–6) [I, Ashurbani]pal, king of the world, king of Assyria, [who with the support of (the god) Aššur and the goddess Ištar], conquered his enemies [...], surrounded (and) conquered the ci]ty Bīt-Luppi. [I brought out the pe]ople living in it, [chariots, wagons], horses, (and) [mules and] counted (them) as [boo]ty. |
| 2) [šá ina tukul-ti AN.ŠÁR u <sup>d</sup> 15 LÚ].KÚR.MEŠ-šú ik-šu-du           |   |
| 3) [...] <sup>r</sup> URU <sup>1</sup> .É- <sup>m</sup> lu-up-pi               |   |
| 4) [al-me KUR-ud] <sup>r</sup> UN <sup>1</sup> .MEŠ a-šib lib-bi-šú            |   |
| 5) [GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ GIŠ.šu-um-bi] ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ                                |   |
| 6) [ANŠE.KUNGA.MEŠ ú-še-ša-am-ma šal]- <sup>r</sup> la <sup>1</sup> -tiš am-nu |   |

## 52

A badly damaged four-line epigraph records some details of a battle with troops of an unknown country — possibly Arabs — that had become hostile towards Assyria. The text is known only from an unpublished copy by W.K. Loftus (Notebook B). Nothing about the slab is known apart from Loftus' notation accompanying the epigraph: “from a fragment of sculpture; battle scene North Palace. Koyounjik.”

## CATALOGUE

Source	Provenance	Dimensions (cm)	cpn
Loftus, Notebook B	Nineveh, North Palace	—	n

## COMMENTARY

The use of the Š stem of the verb *nakāru* (“become different”) is not common in the inscriptions of Ashurbanipal. For example, in this volume, it appears four other times: text no. 7 (Prism Kh) vii 42, text no. 11 (Prism A) iii 105 and vii 102, and text no. 23 (IIT) line 109. This sense of the verb (“cause hostility between”) is used in connection with Šamaš-šuma-

ukin, who incited the people of Akkad, Chaldea, and Aram to side with him, and with Uaite' (an Arabian king), who encouraged Arab tribes to rebel. Given the lack of relevant information, it is not possible to determine which enemy of Assyria's defeat is recorded here.

The framing of the copy of W.K. Loftus seems to

51 lines 1–2 The proposed restorations are generally based on text no. 35 lines 1–3a, text no. 47 lines 1–3a, and K 3096 obv. 1 and 9 (Borger, BIWA p. 308–309 nos. 51–52).

51 lines 4–6 Compare text no. 43 lines 4–5. The proposed restorations are based on that text.



indicate that hardly anything is missing from the ends of the lines, and nothing at the end of line 1. Following R.D. Barnett, the edition here assumes

that the epigraph was written over the surface of two slabs and that more text to the right of what was copied is now missing.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- |      |  |      |  |
|------|--|------|--|
| 1976 | Barnett, Sculptures from the North Palace p. 64 B (copy, edition, study) | 1996 | Borger, BIWA p. 298 (study)  |
| 1988 | Gerardi, JCS 40 pp. 34-35 (edition)                                      | 1999 | J.M. Russell, Writing on the Wall pp. 205-209 (translation, study) |

## TEXT

- |    |  |            |  |
|----|--|------------|--|
| 1) | [... it-ti <sup>?</sup> aš-šur u <sup>d</sup> ]15 ú-šam- <sup>r</sup> ki <sup>r</sup> -u-ma<br><sup>r</sup> ik <sup>r</sup> -šu-ra MÈ ina šur-ru-<<ut>> mit-ḥu-ši-šú ina URU.[...] | 1-4) [...] | had incited [...] to rebel [against (the god) Aššur and the goddess] Ištar and [he] prepared for battle. At the beginning of his fight, in the city [..., w]ho had encouraged me, a small body of troops [brought about] the defeat of [his] troops. [... t]heir [...], the rest of them who had fled when (they were) defeated ... [...]. They were speaking [as] follows, saying: “Do not be frightened! (The god) Aššur [...].” |
| 2) | [...] <sup>r</sup> ša <sup>r</sup> ú-tak-kil-ú-in-ni ERIM.ḪI.A mi-iš-tu<br>BAD <sub>5</sub> .BAD <sub>5</sub> ERIM.ḪI.A <sup>r</sup> -[šú iš-kun ...]                              |            |  |
| 3) | [...] <sup>r</sup> šú <sup>r</sup> -un sít-ta-tu-šú-nu šá ina BAD <sub>5</sub> .BAD <sub>5</sub><br>ip-par-šid-du pa- <sup>r</sup> na <sup>r</sup> -[...]                          |            |  |
| 4) | [...] MAN <sup>?</sup> <sup>r</sup> ki <sup>r</sup> -a-am i-qab-bu um-ma la<br>ta-pal-làḥ aš-šur <sup>r</sup> KI <sup>r</sup> -[...]   |            |  |

## 53

The final signs of an at least three-line epigraph are preserved on a fragment of a wall slab now housed in the Civico Museo Archeologico Paolo Giovio in Como, Italy. Too little of the text is preserved to be able to properly assess what information it would have contained.

## CATALOGUE

Museum Number	Provenance	Dimensions (cm)	cpn
Civico Museo, Como	Probably Nineveh, North Palace	—	p
—			

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- |      |   |      |                             |
|------|---|------|-----------------------------|
| 1939 | Weidner, Reliefs pp. 63-64 with pl. 54 (photo, study) | 1996 | Borger, BIWA p. 299 (study) |
|------|---|------|-----------------------------|

## TEXT

## Lacuna?

- 1') [...]  
 2') [...]-r<sup>r</sup>ti<sup>r</sup>?<sup>r</sup>  
 3') [...]-r<sup>r</sup>un<sup>r</sup>?<sup>r</sup>

## Lacuna?

- 1'-3') (No translation possible)

## 54

A badly damaged eight-line epigraph that was inscribed on the middle register of a slab that once lined a wall of Room S<sup>1</sup> (hunting scenes slabs A-B) of Ashurbanipal's Palace at Nineveh (North Palace) records that the Assyrian king killed a pride of lions that was terrorizing the countryside. Ummanappa, a son of the Elamite king Urtaku who had fled to Assyria after Teumman had seized power, participated in the hunt. The text states that Ummanappa was attacked by one of the lions and that he begged Ashurbanipal to help him.

## CATALOGUE

Source	Registration Number	Provenance	Dimensions (cm)	cpn
Or. Dr. 5 no. 3	2007-6024,453	Nineveh, North Palace, Room S <sup>1</sup> , hunting scenes slabs A-B (middle register)	—	n

## COMMENTARY

Because the slab carrying this epigraph was lost in the Tigris in May 1855, the present edition principally relies on the copies of W. Boutcher (Or. Dr. 5 no. 3), W.K. Loftus (in Barnett, *Sculptures from the*

*North Palace* pl. LVI [top]), and E. Norris (1 R pl. 7 no. IX E), as well as the partial edition of E. Weissert (in Parpola and Whiting, *Assyria 1995* p. 341 n. 7 and pp. 344-345 fig. 1).

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- |      |   |      |   |
|------|---|------|---|
| —    | Or. Dr. 5 no. 3 (drawing)   | 1988 | Gerardi, <i>JCS</i> 40 pp. 14-15 and 25-26 (edition, study)   |
| 1861 | 1 R pl. 7 no. IX E (copy)   | 1996 | Borger, <i>BIWA</i> p. 297 (study)  |
| 1916 | Streck, <i>Asb.</i> pp. LIII ε and 308-311 ε (edition)  | 1997 | Weissert in Parpola and Whiting, <i>Assyria 1995</i> pp. 341-342 with n. 7 and pp. 344-345 fig. 1 (lines 2b-4a, 4c-5, edition, study) |
| 1927 | Luckenbill, <i>ARAB</i> 2 p. 392 §§1025-1026 (translation)  |      |   |
| 1936 | Gadd, <i>Stones</i> pp. 187-188 and pl. 37 (drawing, study)   | 1999 | J.M. Russell, <i>Writing on the Wall</i> p. 201, p. 202 fig. 71, and pp. 205-209 (drawing, translation, study)                        |
| 1936 | Rutten, <i>Encyclopédie photographique de l'art</i> 2 pp. 7-8 C (photo)                                   | 2009 | Álvarez-Mon, <i>IrAnt</i> 44 p. 138 n. 11 (lines 6-8, translation, study)   |
| 1976 | Barnett, <i>Sculptures from the North Palace</i> p. 53 and pls. LVI and E (copy, drawing, edition, study) |      |   |

## TEXT

- 1) *a-na-ku* <sup>m</sup>AN.ŠÁR-DÛ-A MAN ŠÚ MAN KUR  
AN.ŠÁR.KI šá AN.ŠÁR LUGAL DINGIR.ṚMEŠ <sup>d</sup>15<sup>1</sup>  
*be-let* MÈ ší-mat qar-ra-du-ti i-ši-mu-Ṛuš<sup>1</sup> [...]
- 2) <sup>d</sup>IGI.DU *a-lik maḥ-ri ba-'u-ú-ri Ṛša<sup>1</sup>* EDIN šal-ṫiš  
*ú-še-Ṛpiš<sup>1</sup>-an-ni ki-i mul-ta-'u-u-ti* A SAL NAB  
[...]
- 3) *ú-ši ina* EDIN *áš-ri rap-ši la-ab-bi*  
*na-ad-[ru-(u)]-ti i-lit-ti ḥur-šá-a-ni* ḤUŠ.MEŠ  
*it-bu-[nim-ma]*
- 4) *il-mu-u* GIŠ.GIGIR *ru-kub* LUGAL-ti-ia *ina Ṛqí-bit*  
AN.ŠÁR u <sup>d</sup>1[15] DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ EN.MEŠ-ia  
*ina* 1-Ṛet *ú-re-e<sup>1</sup>*
- 5) [ší-mit]-Ṛti<sup>1</sup> *ni-ri-ia* [...] *el-lat* UR.MAḤ.MEŠ  
*šú-a-tu-[nu]* Ṛú-par-ri-ir<sup>1</sup>
- 6) [<sup>m</sup>um-man]-Ṛap-pa DUMU<sup>1</sup> [<sup>m</sup>ur]-ta-ki MAN  
KUR.ELAM.KI šá *in-nab-Ṛtú-ma iṣ-ba-tú<sup>1</sup>*  
[GÌR.II-ia]
- 7) [...] *-nu-ti* UR.MAḤ *ina muḥ-ḥi-Ṛšú it-bi-ma*  
EN<sup>2</sup>-u-ti<sup>1</sup>
- 8) [...] *ip-làḥ-ma Ṛú<sup>1</sup>-šal-Ṛla-a* EN-u-ti<sup>1</sup>
- 1-3a) I, Ashurbanipal, king of the world, king of Assyria, for who[m] (the god) Aššur — the king of the gods — (and) the goddess Ištar — the lady of battle — determined a destiny of heroism, [...]: The god Palil, the one who goes before me, let me go triumphantly hunting in the steppe. For pleasure ... [...] I went out. 3b-5) In the steppe, a widespread place, rag[ing] lions, a ferocious mountain breed, attacked [me and] surrounded the chariot, the vehicle of my royal majesty. By the command of (the god) Aššur (and) the goddess [Ištar], the great gods, my lords, with a single team [harnes]sed to my yoke [...] I scatter[ed] the pack of tho[se] lions.
- 6-8) [Umman]appa, a son of [Ur]taku, the king of the land Elam, who had fled and had grasped [my feet, ...] ... a lion attacked him and [*he ... my*] *lordly majesty*, [...], became frightened, and made an appeal to [my] *lordly majesty* (for help).

## 55

A four-line epigraph known from a mid-nineteenth century drawing now housed in the British Museum (Or. Dr. 5 no. 4) records that Ashurbanipal slew an angry lion as it sprung forth from its cage; the king claims to have killed it with a dagger after wounding it with several arrows. This epigraph originally appeared on the upper register of a slab that lined the walls of Room S<sup>1</sup> (hunting scenes slab C) of the North Palace at Nineveh — the same slab (AO 19903) that bears text no. 56 — but most of the upper register of that slab (including the inscription) is no longer preserved.

## CATALOGUE

Source	Registration Number	Provenance	Dimensions (cm)	cpn
Or. Dr. 5 no. 4	2007-6024,453	Nineveh, North Palace, Room S <sup>1</sup> , hunting scenes slab C (upper register)	—	n

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Or. Dr. 5 no. 4 (drawing)  
 1861 1 R pl. 7 no. IX C (copy)  
 1916 Streck, *Asb.* pp. LIII δ and 308–309 δ (edition)  
 1927 Luckenbill, *ARAB* 2 p. 392 §1024 (translation)  
 1936 Gadd, *Stones* pp. 187–188 and 203 no. 61, and pl. 38 (drawing, study)  
 1940 Meissner and Opitz, *Bīt Ḫilāni* p. 51 n. 1 (edition, study)  
 1976 Barnett, *Sculptures from the North Palace* p. 53 and pls. LVI and E (drawing, edition, study)  
 1988 Gerardi, *JCS* 40 pp. 14 and 26–27 (edition, study)  
 1994 Reade in Fontan, *Khorsabad* p. 132 fig. 10 and p. 134 (drawing, study)  
 1996 Borger, *BIWA* p. 297 (study)  
 1997 Weissert in Parpola and Whiting, *Assyria* 1995 p. 342 with n. 10 and p. 351 n. 43 (study)  
 1999 J.M. Russell, *Writing on the Wall* p. 201, p. 203 fig. 72, and pp. 205–209 (drawing, translation, study)  
 2004 Watanabe, *Iraq* 66 p. 103 n. 5 (translation, study)  
 2006 Watanabe, *Kaskal* 6 p. 82 n. 5 (translation)  
 2008 Watanabe, *SAOC* 62 p. 331 fig. 18 (drawing)  
 2012 May, *CRR* 54 p. 479 fig. 15 (drawing)

## TEXT

- 1) *a-na-ku* <sup>m</sup>AN.ŠĀR-DÛ-A MAN ŠÚ MAN KUR AN.ŠĀR.KI *ina me-lul-<sup>r</sup>ti<sup>1</sup>* [NUN-ti-ia UR.MAH] <sup>r</sup>ez<sup>1</sup>-zu šá EDIN-šú TA ŠĀ GIŠ.na-bar-ti  
 2) *ú-še-šu-nim-ma* *ina GĪR.II-ia* *ina GIŠ.KAK.<sup>r</sup>TI* 3-šú *as-ḫul<sup>r</sup>1-[(ma<sup>2</sup>)]* <sup>r</sup>na-piš<sup>1</sup>-ta-šú *ul iq-ti*  
 3) *ina qí-bit* <sup>d</sup>IGI.DU LUGAL EDIN ša *dun-nu zik-[ru]-<sup>r</sup>tu<sup>1</sup> ú-šat-<li-ma>-<sup>r</sup>an-ni<sup>1</sup>*  
 4) EGIR *ina GĪR AN.BAR šib-bi-ia as-ḫul-šu-[(ma)] na-piš-tú iš-kun*
- 1–4) I, Ashurbanipal, king of the world, king of Assyria — while (carrying out) [my princely] spor[t], they had [a fi]erce [lion] that was born in the steppe (lit. “of its plain”) brought out of a cage and, while on foot, I pierced (it) three times with arrow(s) [(but)] its life did not come to an end. Through the command of the god Palil, the king of the steppe who had generously gr<anted> me power (and) vir[ilit]y, I subsequently stabbed it with my iron belt-dagger [(and)] it laid down (its) life.

## 56

A fragment of a wall slab that once lined one of the walls of Room S<sup>1</sup> (hunting scenes slab C, middle register) of the North Palace at Nineveh, contains a three-line epigraph. The text, which is written across the top of the register, and relief record that Ashurbanipal killed a lion with a spear during a ritual lion hunt held at Nineveh.

## CATALOGUE

Museum Number	Provenance	Dimensions (cm)	cpn
AO 19903	Nineveh, North Palace, Room S <sup>1</sup> , hunting scenes slab C (middle register)	117×131	p

55 line 3 *ú-šat-<li-ma>-<sup>r</sup>an-ni<sup>1</sup>* “he had gr<anted> me”: According to W. Boucher’s drawing (Or. Dr. 5 no. 4), the LI and MA signs would have appeared where the lion’s head protrudes into the epigraph. The scribe responsible for writing out the epigraph appears to have omitted those two signs since he did not have sufficient space to write out *li-ma-an-ni* at the end of the line.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Or. Dr. 5 no. 4 (drawing)  
 1861 1 R pl. 7 no. IX B (copy)  
 1916 Streck, *Asb.* pp. LIII β and 304–307 β (edition)  
 1927 Luckenbill, *ARAB* 2 p. 391 §1022 (translation)  
 1924 Pottier, *Antiquités assyriennes* p. 96 and pl. XXI no. 61 (photo, partial translation, study)  
 1936 Gadd, *Stones* pp. 187–188 and 203 no. 61, and pl. 38 (drawing, study)  
 1936 Rutten, *Encyclopédie photographique de l'art* 2 pp. 7–8 C (photo)  
 1976 Barnett, *Sculptures from the North Palace* p. 54 and pls. LVI–LVIII and E (photo, drawing, edition, study)  
 1988 Gerardi, *JCS* 40 pp. 14 and 27 (edition, study)  
 1994 Reade in Fontan, *Khorsabad* p. 132 fig. 10 and p. 134 (drawing, study)  
 1996 Borger, *BIWA* p. 297 (study)  
 1997 Weissert in Parpola and Whiting, *Assyria* 1995 p. 342 with n. 10 (study)  
 1999 J.M. Russell, *Writing on the Wall* p. 202, p. 203 fig. 72, and pp. 205–209 (drawing, translation, study)  
 2012 May, *CRR* 54 p. 479 fig. 15 (drawing)

## TEXT

- 1) *a-na-ku* <sup>m</sup>AN.ŠĀR-DÛ-A MAN ŠÚ MAN KUR AN.ŠĀR.KI *ina mul-ta-'u-ti-ia ina GĪR.II-ia UR.MAḪ ez-zu*  
 2) <sup>r</sup>ša<sup>1</sup> EDIN-šú *ina GEŠTU.II-šú aš-bat-ma ina tukul-ti AN.ŠĀR ù <sup>d</sup>iš-tar be-let ta-ḫa-zi*  
 3) *ina GIŠ.az-mar-e ša ŠU.II-ia as-ḫul zu-mur-šú* 1–3) I, Ashurbanipal, king of the world, king of Assyria, while enjoying myself on foot, seized a fierce lion that was born in the steppe (lit. “of its plain”) by its ear and, with the support of (the god) Aššur and the goddess Ištar — the lady of battle — pierced its body with the lance that was in my hand.

## 57

A four-line epigraph similar to text no. 56 is inscribed above an image of Ashurbanipal on another relief from the same room of the North Palace (Room S<sup>1</sup>, hunting scenes slab D, middle register). The relief and text both record that the Assyrian killed a lion with his mace during a staged hunt at Nineveh.

## CATALOGUE

Museum Number	Registration Number	Provenance	Dimensions (cm)	cpn
BM 124886	56-9-9,51	Nineveh, North Palace, Room S <sup>1</sup> , hunting scenes slab D (middle register)	160×169×16	c

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Or. Dr. 5 no. 20 (drawing)  
 1861 1 R pl. 7 no. IX D (copy)  
 1916 Streck, *Asb.* pp. LIII γ and 306–307 γ (edition)  
 1917–18 Unger, *ZA* 31 pp. 233–236 (photo, study)  
 1927 Luckenbill, *ARAB* 2 pp. 391–392 §1023 (translation)  
 1936 Gadd, *Stones* p. 187 (study)  
 1962 Strommenger and Hirmer, *Mesopotamien* pls. 260–261 (photo)  
 1973 Borger, *BiOr* 30 p. 182 (study)  
 1975 Barnett and Lorenzini, *Assyrian Sculpture* pl. 122 (photo)  
 1976 Barnett, *Sculptures from the North Palace* p. 54 and pls. LVI–LVII, LIX, and E (photo, drawing, edition, study)  
 1988 Gerardi, *JCS* 40 pp. 14 and 27 (edition, study)  
 1994 Reade in Fontan, *Khorsabad* p. 133 fig. 11 and p. 134 (drawing, study)  
 1996 Borger, *BIWA* p. 297 (study)  
 1997 Weissert in Parpola and Whiting, *Assyria* 1995 p. 342 with n. 10 (study)

- 1999 J.M. Russell, *Writing on the Wall* p. 202, p. 204 fig. 73, and pp. 205–209 (photo, translation, study)      2006 Watanabe, *Kaskal* 6 p. 83 fig. 1 (photo)  
2012 May, *CRRA* 54 p. 479 fig. 15 (drawing)

## TEXT

- 1) *a-na-ku* <sup>m</sup>AN.ŠÁR-DÙ-A LUGAL ŠÚ LUGAL KUR AN.ŠÁR.KI      1–4) I, Ashurbanipal, king of the world, king of Assyria, while (carrying out) my princely sport, seized a lion that was born in the steppe (lit. “of its plain”) by its tail and, through the command of the gods Ninurta (and) Nergal, the gods who support me, shattered its skull with the mace that was in my hand.
- 2) *ina me-lul-ti NUN-ti-ia UR.MAḪ šá EDIN-šú ina KUN-šú aš-bat-ma*
- 3) *ina qí-bit* <sup>d</sup>nin-urta <sup>d</sup>U.GUR DINGIR.MEŠ *ti-ik-le-ia*
- 4) *ina GIŠ.ḫu-ut-pal-e ša ŠU.II-ia muḫ-ḫa-šu* <sup>r</sup>ú-lat<sup>r</sup>-ti

## 58

The lower register of a relief series commemorating a successful staged lion hunt at Nineveh (North Palace, Room S<sup>1</sup>, hunting scenes slab D) contains a three-line epigraph stating that Ashurbanipal presented the lions that he had killed as an offering and that he poured out a libation over them. The text appears to the left of the image of the king.

## CATALOGUE

Museum Number	Registration Number	Provenance	Dimensions (cm)	cpn
BM 124886	56-9-9,51	Nineveh, North Palace, Room S <sup>1</sup> , hunting scenes slab D (lower register)	160×169×16	c

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Or. Dr. 5 no. 20 (drawing)
- 1861 1 R pl. 7 no. IX A (copy)
- 1916 Streck, *Asb.* pp. LII–LIII  $\alpha$  and 304–305  $\alpha$  (edition)
- 1920 Meissner, *BuA* 1 fig. 48 (photo)
- 1927 Luckenbill, *ARAB* 2 p. 391 §1021 (translation)
- 1962 Strommenger and Hirmer, *Mesopotamien* pl. 260 (photo)
- 1975 Barnett and Lorenzini, *Assyrian Sculpture* pl. 125 (photo)
- 1976 Barnett, *Sculptures from the North Palace* p. 54 and pls. LVI–LVII, LIX, and E (photo, drawing, edition, study)
- 1988 Gerardi, *JCS* 40 pp. 14 and 27–28 (edition, study)
- 1992 Watanabe in Mikasa, *Cult and Ritual* pp. 91–104 with fig. 12 (photo, edition, study)
- 1994 Reade in Fontan, *Khorsabad* p. 133 fig. 11 and p. 134 (drawing, study)
- 1996 Borger, *BIWA* p. 297 (study)
- 1997 Weissert in Parpola and Whiting, *Assyria 1995* pp. 352–353 fig. 2 (lines 2b–3, edition, study)
- 1999 J.M. Russell, *Writing on the Wall* p. 202, p. 204 fig. 73, and pp. 205–209 (photo, translation, study)
- 2006 Watanabe, *Kaskal* 6 p. 83 fig. 1 (photo)
- 2012 Cheng, *Iraq* 74 p. 79 fig. 9 (photo)
- 2012 May, *CRRA* 54 p. 479 fig. 15 (drawing)
- 2017 Parpola, *SAA* 20 p. 38 fig. 10 and p. 51 fig. 17 (photo)

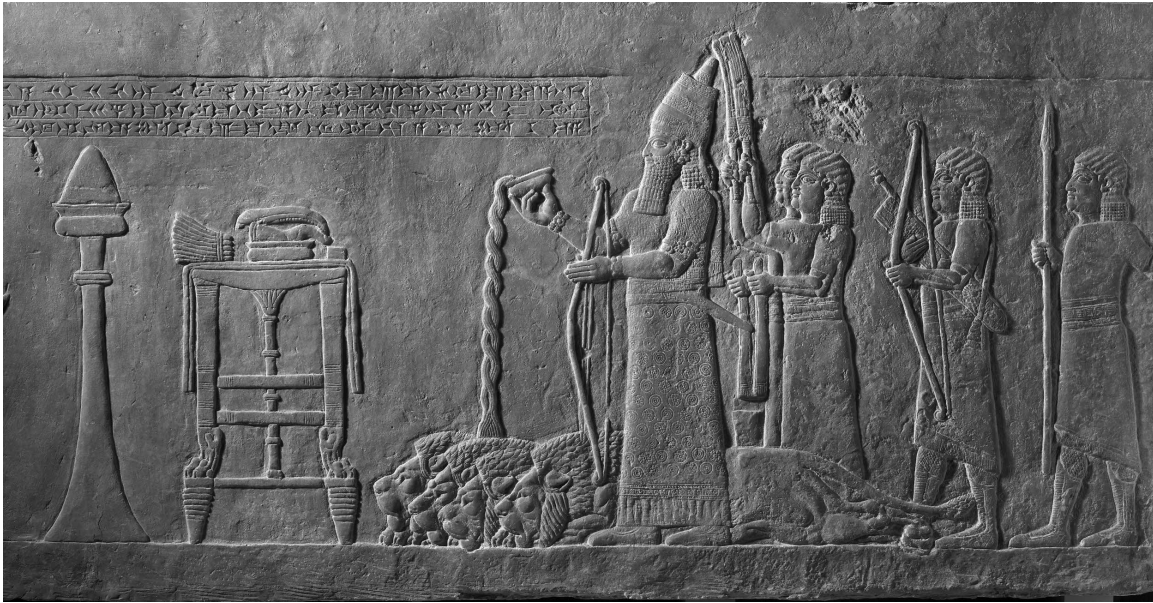


Figure 20. Detail of BM 124886 (text no. 58), a wall relief from Room S<sup>1</sup> of the North Palace at Nineveh. The image shows Ashurbanipal pouring a libation over several lions that he had killed during a staged hunt. © Trustees of the British Museum.

## TEXT

- 1) *a-na-ku* <sup>m</sup>AN.ŠÁR-DÙ-A MAN ŠÚ MAN KUR  
AN.ŠÁR.𒀭KI<sup>1</sup> šá AN.ŠÁR <sup>d</sup>NIN.LÍL *e-mu-qi*  
*ši-ra-a-ti*
- 2) *ú-šat-li-mu-uš* UR.MAḪ.MEŠ šá *ad-du-ku*  
GIŠ.til-pa-a-nu *ez-ze-tú šá* <sup>d</sup>15 *be-let MÈ*
- 3) UGU-šú-un *az-qu-up muḫ-ḫu-ru e-li-šú-nu*  
*ú-ma-ḫir GEŠTIN aq-qa-a e-li-šú-un*

1-3) I, Ashurbanipal, king of the world, king of Assyria, to whom (the god) Aššur (and) the goddess Mullissu have granted outstanding strength, set up the fierce bow of the goddess Ištar — the lady of battle — over the lions that I had killed. I made an offering over them (and) poured (a libation of) wine over them.

## 59

Numerous limestone slabs discovered in and around the courtyard of the Ezida (“True House”) temple at Nineveh bear an inscription stating that Ashurbanipal enlarged the courtyard of Nabû’s temple. R. Campbell Thompson reports that he found more than eighty complete exemplars, as well as countless fragmentary exemplars. The king also boasts that he had former Elamite kings (Ummanigaš, Tammarītu, Pa’ê, and Ummanaldašu) hitched to his processional carriage; in text nos. 11 (Prism A) and 23 (IIT), these kings, along with a captured Arabian leader, pulled Ashurbanipal up to the main gate of Emašmaš, the temple of Ištar/Mullissu, during an *akitu*-festival. The slabs are not dated. However, the *terminus post quem* for the text’s composition is the capture of Ummanaldašu (Ḫumban-ḫaltaš III), which took place between the composition of text nos. 9 (Prism F; 645) and 11 (Prism A; 644, 643, or 642). Scholars often refer to this text as the “Nabû Inscription.”

## CATALOGUE

Ex.	Museum Number/ Source	Registration Number	Provenance	Dimensions (cm)	Lines Preserved	cpn
1	BM 22467	—	Probably Nineveh, Nabû temple	—	1–18	p
2	BM 115024	—	As ex. 1	48.9x48.9	1–18	p
3	BM 115698	1922-8-12,75	As ex. 1	50.8x44.5x13.3	1–18	p
4	BM 124811	48-11-4,34	As ex. 1	40.6x40.6	1–18	p
5	BM 124814	—	As ex. 1	50.5x47.9	1–18	p
6	BM 124817	—	As ex. 1	45.7x44.5	1–18	p
7	BM 124819	—	As ex. 1	49.8x48.3	1–18	p
8	LB 1316	—	As ex. 1	—	1–18	p
9	YBC 2385	—	As ex. 1	56x49x11	1–18	p
10	Diözesanmuseum —	—	As ex. 1	—	1–18	n
11	EŞ 39	—	As ex. 1	—	1–18	n
12	EŞ 60	—	As ex. 1	—	1–18	n
13	Scheil, RA 18 pp. 95–97	—	As ex. 1	60x50x15	1–18	n
14	Botta, Monument de Ninive 4 pl. 182 no. 1	—	As ex. 1	—	8–18	n
15	Thompson, Arch. 79 no. 44	—	Nineveh, Nabû temple	—	1–18	n
16	Thompson, Arch. 79 no. 44 variants	—	As ex. 15	—	1–18	n
17	BCM 568 '31	—	As ex. 1	—	1–18	n
18	MS 2180	—	As ex. 1	47x42x4	1–18	p
19	IM 194015	—	As ex. 1	55x47x12	1–18	p
20	Sumer 49 p. 106	—	Covering a later grave outside of the Nergal gate	—	1–18	n

## COMMENTARY

S.A. Smith utilized three exemplars in his 1887 edition of this inscription; these are Nineveh Gallery nos. 61 and 66–67. According to the British Museum Collection online, BM 124814 (ex. 5) is Nineveh Gallery no. 67. As for Nineveh Gallery nos. 61 and 66, M. Streck (Asb. p. XLVII) suggested that BM 22467 (ex. 1) may have been one of those two pieces. This identification, however, seems unlikely since other pieces in that gallery bear BM numbers starting with 1248; for example, BM 124812 = text no. 60 ex. 4. Thus, BM 124811 (ex. 4), BM 124817 (ex. 6), and BM 124819 (ex. 7) are the most likely candidates. Since BM 124811 (ex. 4) was the one used by A.H. Layard for his Neo-Assyrian typeset copy in his ICC, R. Borger (BIWA pp. 353–354) proposes that that slab was one of the pieces displayed in the former Nineveh Gallery. The present whereabouts of the exemplar published by Botta (ex. 14) is not known; Streck suggested that it might be in Paris. Ex. 16 (Thompson, Arch. 79 pl. XLIII no. 44 variants) actually comprises numerous slabs. The exact number is unknown, but R. Campbell Thompson

mentions that he discovered approximately eighty complete limestone slabs; from the fragmentary and complete exemplars, Campbell Thompson calculated that there could have been as many as four hundred slabs paving the courtyard of Ezida. Many of these are now in the Mosul Museum (A. al-Juboori [personal communication]). An additional four slabs are reported to have been discovered by Iraqi archaeologists in the early 1990s in a secondary context; see Ahmad, Sumer 49 (1997–98) pp. 104–106.

In all instances, the inscribed surfaces were laid face down, with their uninscribed surfaces exposed. The distribution of the inscription varies from slab to slab. In many exemplars, the text is written in eighteen lines (exs. 1–9, 13–14, and 20), while in a few others it is inscribed in seventeen (ex. 19) or nineteen lines (exs. 15 and 18). Furthermore, exs. 1, 3, 5–9, 14, and 18–19 have a horizontal ruling between each line of text, including a horizontal ruling before the first line and after the last line of the inscription, while exs. 2, 4, and 15 have no horizontal rulings. The master text is based on



ex. 1, with help from the other exemplars. A score of the text is presented on Oracc and the minor (orthographic) variants are listed at the back of the book. Exs. 10–12 and 16–17 are not included

in the score since these unpublished slabs were not available for study; however, the known variants in exs. 11–12 and 16 are noted both in the score and with the minor variants.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| <p>1849 Botta, Monument de Ninive 4 pl. 182 no. 1 (ex. 14, copy)<br/> 1851 Layard, ICC pl. 85 no. 1 (ex. 4, copy)<br/> 1887 S.A. Smith, Keilschrifttexte 1 pp. 112–114 and pl. opposite p. 112 (conflated copy with variants, edition, study)<br/> 1889 Ferkis in S.A. Smith, Keilschrifttexte 3 pp. 128–129 (edition)<br/> 1915 Paterson, Sinacherib pls. 62–64 nos. 67* and H (exs. 5–6, photo)<br/> 1916 Streck, Asb. pp. XLVII–XLVIII no. 10 and 272–275 no. 10 (ex. 1, edition)<br/> 1921 Scheil, RA 18 pp. 95–97 (ex. 13, copy, edition, study)<br/> 1927 Luckenbill, ARAB 2 pp. 382–383 §§991–994 (exs. 1–2, 4, translation)</p> | <p>1929 Thompson, Arch. 79 pp. 104–105 and 120–121, and pl. XLIII no. 44 (ex. 15, copy, edition; ex. 16, variants; study)<br/> 1933 Bauer, Asb. pp. 52–53 (ex. 15, transliteration, study)<br/> 1936 Böhl, MLVS 3 pp. 28–29 (ex. 8, study)<br/> 1937 Stephens, YOS 9 pp. 34–35 (ex. 9, study)<br/> 1996 Borger, BIWA pp. 353–354 (exs. 1–16, study)<br/> 1997–98 Ahmad, Sumer 49 pp. 104–106 (ex. 20, copy, edition, study, provenance)<br/> 2004 Bonatz, Iraq 66 p. 99 (lines 1–2, 4–6a, translation)<br/> 2005 Reade, Iraq 67/1 p. 382 (study)<br/> 2011 Frame, CUSAS 17 pp. xxv and 144–145 no. 73 and pl. LI (ex. 18, photo, edition, study)<br/> 2011 al-Juburi, RSO 84 pp. 467–471 and figs. 1–2 (ex. 19, photo, copy, edition, study)</p> |
|---|--|

## TEXT

- 1) *a-na* <sup>d</sup>AG EN MAḪ *a-šib é-zi-da*
- 2) *ša šà NINA.KI EN-šú* <sup>m</sup>AN.ŠĀR-DÙ-A MAN KUR AŠ
- 3) *i-riš-ti ḫi-ših-ti DINGIR-ti-šú GAL-ti*
- 4) *ša ina šá-kan UMUŠ-šú u SUM ur-ti-šú DUGUD-ti*
- 5) *ina mit-ḫu-ši* BAD<sub>5</sub>.BAD<sub>5</sub> KUD-su SAG.DU <sup>m</sup>te-um-man
- 6) MAN KUR.ELAM.MA.KI u <sup>m</sup>um-man-i-gaš <sup>m</sup>tam-ma-ri-tú
- 7) <sup>m</sup>pa-'e-e <sup>m</sup>um-man-al-daš šá EGIR <sup>m</sup>te-um-man
- 8) DÙ-šú MAN-ut KUR.ELAM.KI *ina qí-bi-ti-šú GAL-ti*
- 9) *qa-ti* KUR-su-nu-ti-ma *ina* GIŠ.šá *ša-da-di*
- 10) *ru-kub* MAN-ti-ia LAL-su-nu-ti
- 11) *u ina tukul-ti-šú GAL-ti ina kul-lat* NIGIN KUR.KUR
- 12) GAR.GAR-nu *si-mat ina* u<sub>4</sub>-me-šú KISAL É <sup>d</sup>MUATI

1–2a) For the god Nabû, the august lord who dwells in Ezida — which is inside Nineveh — his lord:

2b–6a) Ashurbanipal, king of Assyria, the one requested (and) required by his (Nabû's) great divinity, who, at the issuing of his directive and the giving of his stern order, cut off the head of Teumman, the king of the land Elam, in the clash of battle.

6b–10) Moreover, by his great command, I defeated Ummanigaš (Ḫumban-nikas II), Tammarītu, Pa'ê, (and) Ummanaldašu (Ḫumban-ḫaltaš III), who had exercised kingship over the land Elam after Teumman, and (then) harnessed them to a processional carriage, the vehicle of my royal majesty.

11–12a) Furthermore, with his great support, I constantly established proper procedures in every single land.

12b–14a) At that time, I enlarged the structure of the courtyard of the temple of the god Nabû, my lord, with

2 ŠÀ “inside”: Exs. 3, 5–8, 15, and 19–20 instead have *qé-reb*.

6 According to Ashurbanipal's annalistic texts, Tammarītu killed Ummanigaš (Ḫumban-nikaš II) and his family (presumably also his younger brother Tammarītu). The composer(s) of the Nabû Inscription and Mullissu Inscription (text no. 60), however, imply that Ummanigaš was alive and that this deposed Elamite ruler was living out his days in Nineveh, serving the Assyrian king, including pulling his chariot during *akītu*-festivals; for example, see Frame, CUSAS 17 pp. 144–145. W.F.M. Henkelman (BiOr 60 [2003] p. 262) proposes that the Ummanigaš mentioned in these two texts might be Ummanigaš, son of Ademirra. Even if this proves correct, and it seems highly unlikely since only deposed rulers are known to have been humiliated by being harnessed to Ashurbanipal's processional carriage during religious ceremonies, the composers of the Nabû Inscription and Mullissu Inscription clearly believed that the Ummanigaš they were referring to was none other the former Elamite king who had lived in the court at Nineveh between 664 and 653, even though he is reported to have been killed many years earlier. This is suggested by the fact that the order of Elamite rulers is roughly chronological, from earliest to latest: Ummanigaš (Ḫumban-nikaš II), Tammarītu, Pa'ê, and Ummanaldašu (Ḫumban-ḫaltaš III). The name of Ummanigaš must have been intentionally substituted for that of Uaitē' in these two texts; this is perhaps to keep with the theme of Ashurbanipal's victories over Elam.

- 13) EN-ía ina pi-i-li eš-qi ši-kit-ta-šú massive (blocks of) limestone.  
 14) ú-rab-bi ana šat-ti <sup>d</sup>MUATI ḥa-diš IGI.BAR-ma 14b–18) On account of this, O Nabû, look upon (this  
 15) lim-ma-ḥir IGI-uk-ka ina ti-kip SANTAK<sub>4</sub>-ki-ka courtyard) with pleasure and may it be acceptable  
 16) ke-e-ni TIN UD.ME-ía GÍD.MEŠ li-ša-a to you. May (the command for) a long life for me  
 17) šap-tuk-ka DU.DU-ku é-zi-da (lit. “a life of my long days”) come forth from your  
 18) ina IGI DINGIR-ti-ka li-lab-bi-ra ĠËR.II-a-a lips through your reliable cuneiform sign(s). May my  
 feet grow old walking about in Ezida in your divine  
 presence!

## 60

More inscribed limestone slabs were found in and around the ruins of the Ištar/Mullissu temple at Nineveh. These paving stones, however, record the enlargement of the courtyard of Emašmaš. Just like the previous inscription, this text also mentions that Ashurbanipal used deposited Elamite kings in lieu of horses to pull his processional carriage. Although the slabs do not bear a date, their *terminus post quem* can be established: The latest dateable event is the capture of the Elamite king Ummmanaldašu (Ḥumban-ḥaltaš III), which took place some time between 645 and ca. 642. This inscription is generally referred to as the “Mullissu Inscription” in scholarly publications.

## CATALOGUE

Ex.	Museum Number/ Source	Registration Number	Provenance	Dimensions (cm)	Lines Preserved	cpn
1	BM 23577	97-5-16,41	Probably Nineveh, Ištar temple	—	1–18	p
2	BM 23578	97-5-16,42	As ex. 1	—	2–18	p
3	BM 100672	1905-7-8,1	Nineveh, probably Ištar temple	63.5x48.3	1–18	p
4	BM 124812	—	As ex. 1	47x39.4	1–18	p
5	BM 124813	—	As ex. 1	44.5x45.7	1–18	p
6	BM 124815	—	As ex. 1	47.9x42.5	1–18	p
7	BM 124816	—	As ex. 1	53.3x45.1x15.2	1–18	p
8	VA 3150	—	As ex. 1	46x52	3–18	n
9	VA 8997	—	Reportedly from Kalḫu	—	1–7	p
10	O 782	—	As ex. 1	—	1–18	n
11	RMO 5468 (formerly LB 1317)	—	As ex. 1	43.5x38x2.5	1–18	p
12	Sayce, PSBA 7 pp. 141–143	—	As ex. 1	—	1–18	n
13	BCM 567 '31	—	As ex. 1	—	1–18	p
14	BCM 569 '31	—	As ex. 1	—	1–18	p

59 line 14 ḥa-diš “with pleasure”: Ex. 20 omits this word.

59 line 16 ke-e-ni “reliable”: The copy of ex. 20 has GIN after SANTAK<sub>4</sub>-ki-ka of line 15, then begins line 16 with ke-e-nu. Apparently, the scribe(s) of this exemplar wrote the word out logographically at the end of line 15, but then wrote it out again phonetically — as it appears in the majority of the exemplars — in the following line.

## COMMENTARY

S.A. Smith utilized four exemplars in his 1887 edition of this inscription; these are Nineveh Gallery nos. 62–65. Smith's main text was no. 64. According to the British Museum Collection online, BM 124812 (ex. 4) is no. 62, BM 124813 (ex. 5) is no. 63, and BM 124815 (ex. 6) is no. 64. Presumably, BM 124816 (ex. 7) is no. 65. VA 8997, according to C.F. Lehmann-Haupt, originates from Nimrud (Kalḫu) and is dedicated to Ninurta. Only the upper-left hand corner of the slab is preserved. The DN in line 1 is only partially preserved (<sup>d</sup>NI[N.x ...]). Is this fragmentary slab a duplicate of the Mullissu inscription or is it a similar text dedicated to Ninurta at Kalḫu by Assurbanipal? The former seems more likely.

In all instances, the inscribed surfaces were laid

face down, with their uninscribed surfaces exposed. The distribution of the inscription varies from slab to slab. In most exemplars, the text is written in eighteen lines (exs. 1–2, 6, 11, and 13–14) or nineteen lines (exs. 3, 7–8, 10, and 12), while in one case each it is inscribed in seventeen lines (ex. 5) and twenty lines (ex. 4). Furthermore, exs. 1–9 and 13–14 have a horizontal ruling between each line of text, including a horizontal ruling before the first line and after the last line of the inscription, while ex. 11 has no horizontal rulings. The master text is based on ex. 1. A score of the text is presented on Oracc and the minor (orthographic) variants are listed at the back of the book.

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| 1900 | King, CT 10 pl. 8 (ex. 1, copy)   | 1936 | Böhl, MLVS 3 pp. 28–29 (ex. 11, study)   |
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| 1907 | Ungnad, VAS 1 pp. X and 81–82 no. 80 (ex. 8, copy, study)   | 1995 | de Maaijer, OMROL 75 pp. 34–35 and 38 nos. 1–2 (ex. 11, photo, copy, edition, study)                           |
| 1915 | Paterson, Sinacherib pls. 62–64 nos. 63*–64* (exs. 5–6, partial photo)  | 1996 | Borger, BIWA p. 354 (exs. 1–12, study)   |
| 1916 | Streck, Asb. pp. XLVIII–XLIX no. 11 and 275–277 no. 11  | 2009 | Meinhold, Ištar pp. 169, 202, and 231 with nn. 1209 and 1383 (lines 1, 2a, 3b–9a, 12b, 14b–15, edition; study) |

## TEXT

- 1) *a-na* <sup>d</sup>NIN.LÍL *be-let* KUR.KUR *a-ši-bat é-maš-maš*
- 2) <sup>m</sup>AN.ŠÁR-DÛ-A MAN KUR AN.ŠÁR.KI NUN *pa-liḫ-šá*
- 3) ĜIR.NÍTA DÛ-ut ŠU.II-šá šá *ina qí-bi-ti-šá GAL-ti*
- 4) *ina qit-ru-ub ta-ḫa-zi ik-ki-su*
- 5) SAG.DU <sup>m</sup>te-um-man LUGAL KUR.ELAM.MA.KI
- 6) *u* <sup>m</sup>um-man-i-gaš <sup>m</sup>tam-ma-ri-tú <sup>m</sup>pa-'e-e
- 7) <sup>m</sup>um-man-al-daš šá EGIR <sup>m</sup>te-um-man DÛ-šú
- 8) LUGAL-ut KUR.ELAM.MA.KI *ina tukul-ti-šá GAL-ti*
- 9) ŠU.II KUR-su-nu-ti-ma *ina GIŠ.šá šá-da-di*
- 10) *ru-kub* LUGAL-ti-ia *aš-mid-su-nu-ti*
- 11) *u ina zik-ri-šá* DUGUD *ina kul-lat* KUR.KUR DU.MEŠ-ma
- 12) GABA.RI NU TUK *u ina* *u<sub>4</sub>-me-šú* KISAL É <sup>d</sup>15

- 1) For the goddess Mullissu, the lady of the lands who dwells in Emašmaš:
- 2–5) Ashurbanipal, king of Assyria, the ruler who reveres her, the governor (who is) the creation of her hands, who, at her great command, cut off the head of Teumman, the king of the land Elam, in the thick of battle.
- 6–10) Moreover, with her great support, I defeated Ummanigaš (Ḫumban-nikas II), Tammarītu, Pa'ê, (and) Ummanaldašu (Ḫumban-ḫaltaš III), who had exercised kingship over the land Elam after Teumman, and (then) harnessed them to a processional carriage, the vehicle of my royal majesty.
- 11–12a) Furthermore, at her stern pronouncement, I marched through all of the lands and had no rival (therein).
- 12b–14a) Moreover, at that time, I enlarged the

6 See the on-page note to text no. 59 (Nabû Inscription) line 6.

- 13) GAŠAN-ia ina pi-i-li eš-qi ši-kit-ta-šú structure of the courtyard of the temple of the goddess Ištar, my lady, with massive (blocks of) limestone.
- 14) ú-rab-bi a-na šat-ti <sup>d</sup>NIN.LÍL 14b–18) On account of this, O Mullissu, may this courtyard be acceptable to you. Grant me — Ashurbanipal,
- 15) ki-sal-lu šú-a-tú lim-ma-ḫir IGI-uk-ki the one who reveres your great divinity — long life
- 16) ia-a-ti <sup>m</sup>aš-šur-DÛ-A pa-liḫ DINGIR-ti-ki GAL-ti (lit. “life of long days”) (and) happiness, and (then)
- 17) ba-laṭ UD.MEŠ GÍD.MEŠ DÛG.GA ŠÀ qí-šim-ma may my feet grow old walking about in Emašmaš!
- 18) DU.DU-ku é-maš-maš lu-lab-bi-ra ĞĪR.II-a-a

## 61

A copy of an inscription of Ashurbanipal from Aššur is known from a badly damaged stone tablet that was later reused as a door socket. The prologue of the text records the restoration of Esagil (“Temple Whose Top is High”) at Babylon, the return of Marduk’s statue from Baltil (Aššur) to Babylon, and the dedication of a ceremonial chariot and a bed, as well as the renovation of the city wall of Aššur. The tablet was inscribed in the eponymy of Awīānu, the governor of the land Que (655).

### CATALOGUE

Museum Number	Excavation Number	Photograph Number	Provenance	cpn
EŞ 6699	Ass 900 + Ass 877 + Ass 904 + Ass 905	Ass ph 507–508	Aššur, Temple A, Neo-Assyrian level	(p)

### COMMENTARY

Each line of text is separated by a horizontal ruling.  
The script is a mixture of Assyrian and contemporary

Babylonian sign forms, with Assyrian forms predominating.

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### TEXT

Obv.

- 1) <sup>m</sup>aš-šur-DÛ-A MAN GAL MAN KAL MAN ŠÚ MAN 1–7) Ashurbanipal, great king, strong king, king of the world, king of As[syria], the pious servant, the KUR aš-[šur] one who reveres the great gods, beloved of the god
- 2) <sup>r</sup>e-e<sup>1</sup>-šú mut-nen-nu-u pa-liḫ DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.ME Aššur and the goddess Mullissu, the one required by the gods Nabû and Marduk, the one who protects the
- 3) <sup>r</sup>na-ra-am <sup>d</sup>aš-šur u<sup>1</sup> <sup>d</sup>NIN.LÍL ḫi-ših-ti

**60 line 16** DINGIR-ti-ki “your divinity”: Ex. 5 has DINGIR-ti-ša “her divinity.”

**60 line 17** UD.MEŠ GÍD.MEŠ “long days”: Ex. 13 has UD.MEŠ-ía GÍD.MEŠ “my long days,” which is the wording used in text no. 59 (Nabû Inscription) line 16.

- 4) <sup>d</sup>MUATI u <sup>d</sup>AMAR<sup>1</sup>.UTU na-šir AD.ĤAL  
DINGIR.ME GAL.ME  
5) muš-te<sub>9</sub>-e'-ú áš<sup>71</sup>-[re<sup>2</sup>]-e<sup>1</sup> SANGA KÛ  
6) šá <sup>r</sup>na<sup>1</sup>-[dan zi]-bi-šú i-<sup>r</sup>ra<sup>1</sup>-[mu] DINGIR.ME  
šu-ut AN <sup>r</sup>KI<sup>1</sup>  
7) mu-x [x] x <sup>r</sup>e<sup>1</sup>-šár-ra mu-<sup>r</sup>na<sup>1</sup>-ki-mu si-mat  
<sup>r</sup>é<sup>71</sup>.[KUR<sup>2</sup>]  
8) x [x x] x [x] x x x [x] x MUNUS.SIG<sub>5</sub>  
9) I [...] GAL [x]  
10) ŠI x (x) x x [...] x x  
11) KÛ x [...]  
12) [x] AN<sup>2</sup> [...] x x MA  
13) ina GÁ.<sup>r</sup>NUN<sup>1</sup>-[ni-šú<sup>2</sup> ú]-<sup>r</sup>šar<sup>1</sup>-[ma]-a<sup>2</sup> šu-bat-su  
14) é-<sup>r</sup>sag<sup>1</sup>-[íl ú-šak-lil] GABA.RI ap-<sup>r</sup>se-e<sup>1</sup>  
15) É.<sup>r</sup>GAL MAN DINGIR.MEŠ<sup>1</sup> <sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU  
KÛ.BABBAR [KÛ.GI]  
16) ú-za-[i-in] <sup>r</sup>ú<sup>1</sup>-šá-an-bi-ṭa <sup>d</sup>UTU-[niš]  
17) <sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU [EN ší]-<sup>r</sup>ru<sup>71</sup> na-bu-<sup>r</sup>ú<sup>1</sup> [zi]-<sup>r</sup>kir<sup>1</sup>  
[MU]-ia  
18) ul-tu KI-x [...] x x a-šar nab-ni-ti-šú  
19) qé-reb GIŠ.MÁ<sup>1</sup> [ú-še-li<sup>2</sup>]-ma  
20) <sup>r</sup>ú<sup>1</sup>-šá-aš-bi-[it KASKAL<sup>2</sup>] <sup>r</sup>šú<sup>1</sup>-an-<sup>r</sup>na<sup>71</sup>.<KI>  
21) [ina] <sup>r</sup>e-sag<sup>1</sup>-[íl šu-bat] <sup>r</sup>EN<sup>1</sup>-ti-šú  
22) <sup>r</sup>ú<sup>1</sup>-še-rib<sup>2</sup>-[ma ...] <sup>r</sup>šub<sup>1</sup>-tuš-šú  
23) x x x [...] x DINGIR.ME tik-le-ia  
24) [... KUR].mu-šur u KUR.ku-si  
25) [... šu-an]-na.KI <sup>r</sup>e-kur<sup>1</sup>-rù  
26) KÛ.GI [...] x KUR.a-ra-al-li  
27) x x <sup>r</sup>DA<sup>71</sup> [...] ina <sup>r</sup>u<sup>4</sup>-me-šú-ma  
28) ší-<sup>r</sup>in<sup>1</sup>-da GIŠ.<sup>r</sup>GIGIR<sup>1</sup> [LUGAL<sup>2</sup> DINGIR<sup>2</sup>] šir-tu  
<sup>r</sup>ru<sup>1</sup>-[kub] EN EN.<EN>  
29) GIŠ.NÁ GIŠ.MES.[MÁ.KAN].<sup>r</sup>NA<sup>1</sup> iš-[ši da]-re-<sup>r</sup>e<sup>1</sup>  
30) šá KÛ.GI lit-bu-šat<sup>1</sup> [...] -at  
31) a-na <sup>r</sup>ma<sup>1</sup>-a-a-al <sup>d</sup>[...]  
32) <sup>r</sup>AN<sup>2</sup>.ŠÁR<sup>71</sup> [u] <sup>r</sup>d<sup>1</sup>x [...]  
33) x [(x)]-<sup>r</sup>ia<sup>1</sup> [...]

Lacuna

Rev.

Lacuna

- 1') [...] x x [...]  
2') [...] a-na [...]  
3') [BÀD šu]-a-tu e-na-aḥ-ma i- [...]  
4') <sup>r</sup>a-šar<sup>1</sup>-šú ú-me-es-si dan-na-as-[su ak-šud]  
5') [ina] <sup>r</sup>IT<sup>1</sup> DÛG.GA UD ŠE.GA UŠ<sub>8</sub>-šú ad-[dī]  
6') [ú-kin] <sup>r</sup>SIG<sub>4</sub>-su ina pe-<sup>r</sup>e-li NA<sub>4</sub><sup>1</sup> [KUR-i  
(dan-ni)]  
7') [...] <sup>r</sup>šá<sup>71</sup> te-me-<sup>r</sup>en-šú<sup>1</sup> ina ì.<sup>r</sup>GIŠ<sup>1</sup> [...]  
8') [ŠIM.ĤI<sup>2</sup>].A<sup>2</sup> DÛG.GA.MEŠ [ab]-lu-la  
ta-ra-<sup>r</sup>ḥu<sup>1</sup>-[uš]  
9') [ul-tu] <sup>r</sup>UŠ<sub>8</sub>-šú<sup>1</sup> [a]-di GABA.<sup>r</sup>DIB<sup>1</sup>-šú <sup>r</sup>ar<sup>1</sup>-šip  
ú-šak-lil  
10') <sup>r</sup>UGU<sup>1</sup> [ša u<sub>4</sub>]-me pa-ni <sup>r</sup>ú-šá<sup>1</sup>-tir  
11') <sup>r</sup>ú-šar<sup>1</sup>-ri-iḥ nab-ni-su  
12') [NA<sub>4</sub>].<sup>r</sup>NA<sup>1</sup>.RÚ.A.MEŠ ša MAN.MEŠ a-lik pa-ni-ia  
13') <sup>r</sup>e-piš BÀD<sup>1</sup> šú-a-te <sup>r</sup>ina<sup>1</sup> [ì.GIŠ] <sup>r</sup>ap<sup>1</sup>-šú-uš

secret knowledge of the great gods, (5) the one who is assiduous towards *san[ctuari]es*, the holy priest whose gi[ving of food off]erings the gods of heaven (and) netherworld enj[oy], the one who ... Ešarra, the one who am[a]sses *te[mple]* appurtenance(s),

8-12) (No translation possible)

13-16) [I] made (him) t[ake] his seat in [his] (own) pri[vate room. I completed] Es[agil]. (As for) the replica of the *apsû*, the pala[ce of the k]ing of the go[d]s, the god Marduk, I dec[orated (it)] with silver (and) [gold] (and) made (it) shine [like] the sun.

17-27a) (As for) the god Marduk, [the *exalte*d [lord], the one who called me [by name], from ... [...] the pl[ace of] his creation, [I *loaded* (him)] into a bo[at] and (20) made (him) tak[e the road to Š]uanna (Babylon). I made (them) *enter* [into] Esag[il, the seat of his lordly] majesty [and *placed* (him)] on his [s]eat. ... [...] the gods, my helpers, [...] Egypt and Kush (25) [...] Šuan]na (Babylon), a temple [...] gold [...] the underworld ... [...].

27b-33) At that time, the *trap*[pi]ngs of the exalted chariot of [the king of the god(s) (Marduk)], the v[ehic]le of the lord of lo<rds>, (and) a bed of *mus*[ukkann]u-wood, a [du]rable wo[od], (30) that is cla[d] with gold [...] as a bed for the god(dess) [...] (the god) Aššur [and] the god(dess) [...] my [...]

Lacuna

Lacuna

Rev. 1'-11') [...] ... [...] to/for [... t]hat [wall] became dilapidated and [...] I identified its (original) site (and) [reached its] foundation pit. (rev. 5') [In a] favorable [mon]th, (on) an auspicious day, I (re)la[id] its foundation(s and thereby) [secured] its [bri]ckwork. With limestone, a [(strong) mountain] st[one, ...] of its foundation(s). [I m]ixed (the mud for) [its] revetment with oil [...] (and) pleasant(-smelling) [*aromatic*]s. I built (and) completed (it) [from] its [foun]dation(s) [t]o its crenellations. (rev. 10') I made (it) larger th[an] the one in the da[ys] of the past (and) its appearance (more) [res]plendent.

Rev. 12'-15'a) (As for the) [st]eles of the kings who came before me who bui[lt] this [wal]l, I anointed

- 14') UDU.<sup>1</sup>SISKUR<sup>1</sup> [aq]-qi<sup>1</sup> it<sup>1</sup>-[ti  
NA<sub>4</sub>].<sup>1</sup>NA<sup>1</sup>.RÚ.A.<sup>1</sup>MEŠ<sup>1</sup> (them) wi[th oil, ma]de an offer[ing], (and) p[placed  
(them)] w[ith st]eles bearing my name.
- 15') ši-tir MU-ia<sup>1</sup> áš<sup>1</sup>-[kun NUN] EGIR-ú<sup>1</sup> Rev. 15'b-23') [May a fut]ure [ruler], one of the kings,  
16') ina MAN.MEŠ DUMU.<sup>1</sup>MEŠ<sup>1</sup>-[ia ša aš-šur u diš-tar  
a]-na be-lut KUR [my] descendants, [whom (the god) Aššur and the  
goddess Ištar nominat]e [f]or ruling over the land  
17') ù UN.MEŠ<sup>1</sup> i<sup>1</sup>-[nam-bu-ú zi]-kir<sup>1</sup>-šú and people, [renovate its] dilapidat[ed section(s)] when  
18') e-nu-ma BĀD<sup>1</sup> šu<sup>1</sup>-[a-tu i-lab-bi-ru<sup>2</sup>]-ma t[his] wall [becomes old] and dilapidated. [Just like] me,  
19') in<sup>1</sup>-na-ḥu an-[ḥu-su lu-ud-diš ki-ma] (rev. 20') [ma]y he an[oi]n[t] the steles [bearing my  
name with oil], make an offering, (and) pla[ce] (them)  
20') NA<sub>4</sub>.NA.RÚ.A.<sup>1</sup>MEŠ<sup>1</sup> [ši-tir MU-ia ì.GIŠ] [with st]eles [bear]ing his name. The deities Aššur,  
Adad, (and) Ištar will (then) listen to his [pra]yers.  
21') UDU<sup>1</sup>.SISKUR liq-qi<sup>1</sup> [it-ti NA<sub>4</sub>].<sup>1</sup>NA<sup>1</sup>.RÚ.A.<sup>1</sup>MEŠ<sup>1</sup>  
22') [ši]-tir<sup>1</sup> MU-šú liš<sup>1</sup>-kun<sup>1</sup> dāš-šur d<sub>1</sub>ŠKUR  
d<sub>1</sub>INANNA  
23') [ik]-ri<sup>1</sup>-bi-šú i-šem-mu-ú  
24') ITI.DU<sub>6</sub>.KÙ li-mu<sup>8</sup>-a-nu Rev. 24'-25') Tašritu (VII), eponymy of Awiānu, gov-  
25') LÚ.EN.NAM KUR.qu-e ernor of the land Que (655).

## 62

A small, badly damaged lapis-lazuli tablet that may have served as an amulet is inscribed with a short dedication to a deity, most likely Marduk (based on the preserved epithets).

## CATALOGUE

Museum Number	Registration Number	Provenance	Dimensions (cm)	cpn
BM 98865	Th 1905-4-9,371	Nineveh, Kuyunjik	4.4×6.6	p

## COMMENTARY

The tablet, of which only the left portion remains, was discovered at Nineveh by R. Campbell Thompson (find spot not recorded). Each line of text is separated by a horizontal ruling. The script is a mix-

ture of Assyrian and contemporary Babylonian sign forms, with Assyrian forms predominating; this is typical for Assyrian inscriptions written on stone.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

1914 King, Cat. p. 75 no. 763 (study)

1996 Borger, BIWA p. 353; and LoBl pp. 120-121 (transliteration, study)



Figure 21. Obverse of BM 98865 (text no. 62), a lapis-lazuli tablet inscribed with a text addressed to the god Marduk. © Trustees of the British Museum.

## TEXT

### Obv.

- 1) *a-na*<sup>1</sup> [EN] <sup>1</sup>GAL-*i*<sup>1</sup> [...]
- 2) *gaš-ru šit-ra-ḥu*<sup>1</sup> [...]
- 3) *a-šá-red* <sup>d</sup>r-*gì-gì*<sup>1</sup> u <sup>d</sup>GÉŠ.U EN<sup>1</sup> [...]
- 4) <sup>1</sup>LUGAL<sup>1</sup> *la šá-na-an* EN-<sup>f</sup>*ía* KU<sup>1</sup> x [...]
- 5) *ana<sup>?</sup>-ku*<sup>?</sup> [<sup>m</sup>AN.ŠÁR-DÙ-A MAN <sup>1</sup>KUR<sup>1</sup>  
[AN.ŠÁR.KI ...]
- 6) *x-bu-u-ti*<sup>1</sup> x x [...]
- 7) <sup>1</sup>*muš-te-e-u aš-ri*<sup>1</sup>-[*ka*<sup>?</sup> ...]
- 8) <sup>1</sup>*šá*<sup>?</sup> *ur-ru* u GI<sub>6</sub> DIŠ IM x [...]
- 9) *pa-liḥ* DINGIR-*ti-ka* <sup>1</sup>GAL<sup>1</sup>-[*ti* ...]
- 10) *um<sup>?</sup>-ma-ma* DIŠ AN x [...]
- 11) *a-šir* DINGIR.MEŠ u <sup>1</sup>LÚ<sup>?</sup> [...]
- 12) *mu-rik* UD.<sup>f</sup>ME<sup>?</sup> [...]
- 13) *ana-ku* <sup>m</sup>AN.ŠÁR-<sup>f</sup>DÙ<sup>1</sup>-[A ...]

### Rev.

- 1) DUMU LUGAL DINGIR.<sup>f</sup>MEŠ<sup>?</sup> [...]
- 2) *ina tu-ub* UZU-*šú* x [...]
- 3) *SIPA-tú* *ur-ru-x* [...]

1–4) T[o the gre]at [lord, ...], powerful, sple[n]di[d, ...], foremost among the Iḡiḡū and Anunnakū gods, lord of [...], unrivalled king, my lord, ... [...]:

5–Rev. 3) *I, Ashurbanipal, king of [Assyria, ...] ... [the one who] is assiduous towards [your] place[s (of worship), ...] who day and night ... [...], the one who reveres your gre[at] divinity [...] ... [...] the one who directs gods and hum[anity ...], the one who prolongs (my) days, [...], I, Ashurba[nipal, ...], (rev. 1) son of the king of the gods [...] in his good physical health [...], shepherdship ... [...]*



Figure 22. Reverse of BM 98865 (text no. 62), a stone tablet of Ashurbanipal found by R. Campbell Thompson at Nineveh. © Trustees of the British Museum.

- 4) *at-ta lu* <sup>1</sup>*tukul-ti*<sup>1</sup> [...]  
 5) *at-ta lu* <sup>1</sup>*a-lik* <sup>1</sup>*Á*<sup>1</sup>.<sup>1</sup>*ii-ía* ...]  
 6) *ina qí-bi-ti-<sup>1</sup>ka* <sup>1</sup>*šir*<sup>1</sup>-<sup>1</sup>*ti* ...]  
 7) <sup>1</sup>*u<sub>4</sub>-mu*<sup>1</sup> *ITI u MU.<sup>1</sup>AN<sup>2</sup>.NA<sup>2</sup>*<sup>1</sup> [...]  
 8) <sup>1</sup>*u<sub>4</sub>-mu*<sup>1</sup> *ITI u MU.<sup>1</sup>AN.NA<sup>1</sup>* x [...]  
 9) x x (x) x x x [...]  
 10) *lu-na-<sup>1</sup>i<sup>1</sup>-id* <sup>1</sup>*qur-di*<sup>1</sup>-<sup>1</sup>*ka* ...]  
 11) <sup>2</sup>*ši-me*<sup>2</sup> *a-a-<sup>1</sup>ši eṭ-ra*<sup>1</sup>-<sup>1</sup>*an-ni* ...]  
 12) (traces) [...]  
 13) [...] x [...]  
 14) [...] x [...]

Rev. 4–14) You (Marduk), be [my] support! [...]. You, be the one who goe[s] at [my] si[de! ...]. By your ex[a]lt[ed] command, [...] day, month, and y[e]a[r ...] d[a]y, month, and year [...] ... [...] (rev. 10) so that I might praise [your] valo[r ...] *listen* to me, spare [me, ...] ... [...].

## 63

A fragment from the left shoulder of a large pink limestone statue of Ashurbanipal discovered at Nineveh by G. Smith preserves the beginning of a short inscription stating that the Assyrian king set up a statue in Nineveh shortly after defeating the Elamite king at Tīl-Tūba. The anthropomorphic



statue may have been commissioned by Ashurbanipal in late 653 or in early 652.

## CATALOGUE

Museum Number	Registration Number	Provenance	Dimensions (cm)	cpn
BM 136973 (Sm 2492)	—	Nineveh, Kuyunjik, South-West Palace, near Room XLI	12×23×17.5	p

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- |      |   |   |
|------|---|---|
| 1875 | G. Smith, <i>Assyrian Discoveries</i> pp. 147 and 430 (study, provenance) | 1981–82 Reade and Walker, <i>AfO</i> 28 pp. 119–122 no. 5 with figs. 9–14 (photo, edition, study) |
| 1970 | Strommenger, <i>Rundskulptur</i> p. 25 Ab 1 (study)                       | 1996 Borger, <i>BIWA</i> p. 367 (study)   |

## TEXT

- |        |  |   |
|--------|--|---|
| 1)     | KUR <sup>m</sup> AN.ŠÁR-DÛ-A MAN ŠÚ MAN <sup>r</sup> KUR <sup>1</sup><br>[AN.ŠÁR.KI]                               | 1–9) The palace of Ashurbanipal, king of the world, king of [Assyria], the one who conquered the wi[de] land Elam (and) who devastated [its] settl[ements], son of Esarhaddon, king of the world, king of A[ssyria], son of Sennacherib, king of the world, king of [Assyria], descendant of Sargon (II), king of the world, king of [Assyria] — after [I had brought about] the defeat of <Te>umman i[n battle], by the command of the gods Aššur and Marduk, in[side Nineveh, ...] an i[mage of] my [royal majest]y [...] |
| 2)     | ka-šid KUR.ELAM.MA.KI ra-[pa <sup>?</sup> -áš <sup>?</sup> -tú <sup>?</sup> ]                                      |   |
| 3)     | mu-šaḥ-rib da- <sup>r</sup> ád <sup>1</sup> -[me-šá]   |   |
| 4)     | A <sup>m</sup> AN.ŠÁR-PAP-AŠ MAN ŠÚ MAN KUR<br><sup>r</sup> AN <sup>1</sup> .[ŠÁR.KI]                              |   |
| 5)     | A <sup>md</sup> 30-PAP.MEŠ-SU MAN ŠÚ MAN <sup>r</sup> KUR <sup>1</sup><br>[AN.ŠÁR.KI]                              |   |
| 6)     | ŠÀ.BAL.BAL <sup>m</sup> LUGAL-GI.NA MAN ŠÚ MAN [KUR<br>AN.ŠÁR.KI]  |   |
| 7)     | ul-tú BAD <sub>5</sub> .BAD <sub>5</sub> <sup>m</sup> <te>-um-man i- <sup>r</sup> na <sup>1</sup> [MÈ<br>áš-ku-nu] |   |
| 8)     | ina qí-bit AN.ŠÁR u <sup>d</sup> AMAR.UTU ina <sup>r</sup> qe <sup>1</sup> -[reb<br>NINA.KI]                       |   |
| 9)     | <sup>r</sup> ša <sup>1</sup> -[lam LUGAL-ú]- <sup>r</sup> ti <sup>1</sup> -ia NA <sub>4</sub> .[...]               |   |
| Lacuna |  | Lacuna  |

## 64

The backs of a human-headed bull colossus and a stone slab discovered at Nebi Yunus by Iraqi excavators between 1987 and 1992 are inscribed with an identical four-line proprietary label of Ashurbanipal.

## CATALOGUE

Ex.	Source	Provenance	Lines Preserved	cpn
1	al-Juboori, Iraq 79 fig. 14a	Nineveh, Nebi Yunus	1-4	p
2	al-Juboori, Iraq 79 fig. 14b	As ex. 1	1-4	p

## COMMENTARY

Ex. 1 is inscribed on the back of a human-headed bull, while ex. 2 is written on the back of a stone slab. Several inscriptions of Ashurbanipal record that

he worked on the armory, but these two inscribed objects provide some proof of those claims.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- 2017 al-Juboori, Iraq 79 p. 11 and p. 12 figs. 14a-b (exs. 1-2, copy, edition)

## TEXT

- |    |   |   |
|----|---|---|
| 1) | É.GAL <sup>m</sup> aš-šur-DÛ-A MAN GAL              | 1-4) The palace of Ashurbanipal, great king, strong   |
| 2) | MAN <i>dan-nu</i> MAN ŠÚ MAN KUR AŠ                 | king, king of the world, king of Assyria, son of      |
| 3) | A <sup>m</sup> aš-šur-PAP-AŠ MAN KUR AŠ             | Esarhaddon, king of Assyria, son of Sennacherib, (who |
| 4) | A <sup>md</sup> 30-PAP.MEŠ-SU MAN KUR AŠ- <i>ma</i> | was) also king of Assyria.                            |

## 65

Eleven pieces of clay are impressed with two different stamp seals of Ashurbanipal, both bearing the same proprietary inscription of the king. These royal seals are presently known only from their impressions.

## CATALOGUE

Ex.	Museum Number	Registration Number	Provenance	cpn
1	BM 84534	51-9-2,51	Nineveh, Kuyunjik	c
2	BM 84645	51-9-2,164	As ex. 1	c
3	—	83-1-18,613	As ex. 1	c
4	BM 84599	51-9-2,118	As ex. 1	c
5	BM 84648	51-9-2,167	As ex. 1	c
6	Rm 631	—	As ex. 1	c
7	Rm 639	—	As ex. 1	c
8	Rm 2,433	—	As ex. 1	c
9	Sm 2207	—	As ex. 1	c
10	Sm 2240	—	As ex. 1	c
11	—	Bu 89-4-26,146	As ex. 1	c

## COMMENTARY

Exs. 1–3 were impressed with one seal, while exs. 4–11 were stamped with a second seal. The diameters of seals are 1.75 cm and 1.85 cm respectively. Some docketts are impressed once (exs. 1–2, 4–5, and 10), while others are stamped two (ex. 11), five (exs. 3, 6–7, and 9) or six (ex. 8) times. None of the impres-

sions preserve a complete copy of the text. Contrary to A.R. Millard, the AŠ sign in Sennacherib's title (MAN AŠ-*ma* "(who was also) king of Assyria") is preserved (on ex. 3). The present edition is a conflation of all known exemplars and no score is provided on Oracc since the text is a seal impression.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

1965 Millard, Iraq 27 pp. 12–13 nos. I–II with fig. 1 and pls. 1a–b (exs. 1, 8, photo; copy, edition, study)

1996 Borger, BIWA pp. 343, 345–346, and 351 (study)

## TEXT

1) KUR <sup>m</sup>AN.ŠĀR-DÙ-A MAN ŠÚ MAN KUR AŠ A  
<sup>m</sup>AN.ŠĀR-PAP-AŠ MAN KUR AŠ A  
<sup>m</sup>30-PAP.MEŠ-SU [MAN KUR] AŠ-[*ma*]

1) The palace of Ashurbanipal, king of the world, king of Assyria, son of Esarhaddon, king of Assyria, son of Sennacherib, [(who was) also king of] Assyria.

## 66

A clay docket from Nineveh is impressed with a third stamp seal of Ashurbanipal; the seal used to make the impression has not yet been discovered. Only traces of the beginning of the inscription are preserved.

## CATALOGUE

Museum Number	Registration Number	Provenance	cpn
BM 84643	51-9-2,162	Nineveh, Kuyunjik	c

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

1965 Millard, Iraq 27 p. 13 no. III with fig. 2 and pl. 1c (photo, copy, edition, study)

1996 Borger, BIWA p. 346 (study)

## TEXT

- 1) 𐎠𐎵𐎷𐎠<sup>71</sup> 𐎠𐎠𐎶𐎶-𐎶𐎶-𐎶𐎶<sup>1</sup>-[A MAN ŠÚ MAN KUR AŠ  
A 𐎠𐎠𐎶𐎶.ŠÁR-PAP-AŠ MAN KUR AŠ A  
𐎠𐎶𐎶-PAP.MEŠ-SU MAN KUR AŠ-*ma*] 1) *Seal of Ashurbani[pa]l, king of the world, king of Assyria, son of Esarhaddon, king of Assyria, son of Sennacherib, (who was) also king of Assyria.*

## 67

A small clay docket is impressed with a fourth inscribed stamp seal of a late Neo-Assyrian king, most likely Ashurbanipal; however, an attribution to Esarhaddon is also possible. The text, written in mirror writing, is here divided into four lines. The fact that the end of the final line runs into the king's crown may suggest that the inscription was added later, as an afterthought. The original seal has not yet been discovered. The attribution to Ashurbanipal and the proposed restorations follow A.R. Millard.

## CATALOGUE

Museum Number	Registration Number	Provenance	cpn
BM 50790	82-3-23,1782	Nineveh, Kuyunjik	c

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- 1965 Millard, Iraq 27 pp. 13–14 no. IV with fig. 3 and pl. 1d (photo, copy, edition, study) 1996 Borger, BIWA p. 349 (study)

## TEXT

- 1) [KUR<sup>?</sup> 𐎠𐎠𐎶𐎶-DÛ-A MAN ŠÚ MAN KUR AŠ] 1–4) [*The palace of Ashurbanipal, king of the world, king of Assyria, son of Esarhaddon*], king of Assyria,  
2) [A 𐎠𐎠𐎶𐎶.ŠÁR-PAP-AŠ] 𐎠𐎠𐎶𐎶 KUR<sup>1</sup> AŠ [son of Senna]cherib, [(who was) also king of] Assyria.  
3) [A 𐎠𐎶𐎶]-𐎠𐎶𐎶<sup>1</sup>.MEŠ-SU  
4) [MAN] KUR AŠ-[*ma*]

## 68

At least nine stone vessels, one from Aššur and the rest presumably from Nineveh, are inscribed with a short proprietary label of Ashurbanipal. Because none of the inscriptions are fully intact, it is impossible to know with certainty if the text included only Esarhaddon or both Esarhaddon and Sennacherib in the king's genealogy; see the commentary for details.

## CATALOGUE

Ex.	Museum Number	Excavation/Registration No.	Provenance	cpn
1	—	81-7-27,177	Nineveh, Kuyunjik	c
2	VA Ass 2256	Ass 189	Aššur, fE5III	n
3	BM 91588	80-7-19,214	Possibly Nineveh, Kuyunjik, South-West Palace	c
4	—	55-12-5,3	Registered as coming from Sherif Khan, but possibly from Nineveh, Kuyunjik, South-West Palace	c
5	—	55-12-5,15	As ex. 4	c
6	—	55-12-5,9	As ex. 4	c
7	—	55-12-5,10 + 55-12-5,33	As ex. 4	c
8	—	82-5-22,1796	As ex. 3	c
9	—	55-12-5,2	As ex. 4	c

## CATALOGUE OF UNCERTAIN EXEMPLARS

Ex.	Museum Number	Excavation/Registration No.	Provenance	cpn
1*	Sm 2409	—	As ex. 1	c
2*	BM 115637	55-12-5,18	As ex. 4	c
3*	—	81-7-27,181	As ex. 3	c
4*	BM 139431	1983-1-1,6	As ex. 3	c
5*	Sm 2246	—	As ex. 3	c
6*	—	80-7-19,212	As ex. 3	c
7*	DT 501	—	Nineveh or Kalḫu	c
8*	—	82-5-22,611A	As ex. 3	c
9*	—	82-5-22,609A	As ex. 3	c
10*	—	Bu 89-4-26,180	As ex. 3	c
11*	—	80-7-19,213	As ex. 3	c
12*	—	82-5-22,1797	As ex. 3	c
13*	—	80-7-19,215	As ex. 3	c
14*	—	55-12-5,4	As ex. 4	c
15*	—	55-12-5,12	As ex. 4	c
16*	—	55-12-5,14	As ex. 4	c
17*	BM 139432	1983-1-1,7	As ex. 3	c
18*	—	55-12-5,8	As ex. 4	c
19*	Sm 2374	—	As ex. 3	c

## COMMENTARY

On three of the exemplars (exs. 4–6), images of a table and a lion are incised to the left of the inscription, facing the beginning of the text. In the repertoire of Assyrian hieroglyphs (Leichty, RINAP 4 pp. 238–243 no. 115), the lion represents the king; see that text for further details and bibliography. The master text is a composite of exs. 1–9, with help from the uncertain exemplars. A score is presented on Oracc.

Because none of the inscriptions are fully intact,

it is impossible to know with certainty if the text included only Esarhaddon or both Esarhaddon and Sennacherib in the king's genealogy; see the comments of Fr.W. von Bissing (ZA 46 [1940] p. 161 no. 9 n. 2), and I. Finkel (in Searight, *Assyrian Stone Vessels* p. 22). At present, it cannot be ruled out that this inscription ended in one of the following ways: (1) A <sup>m</sup>AN.ŠĀR-PAP-AŠ MAN ŠŪ MAN KUR AN.ŠĀR.KI “son of Esarhaddon, king of the world, king of Assyria”; (2) A <sup>m</sup>AN.ŠĀR-PAP-AŠ MAN ŠŪ MAN KUR AN.ŠĀR.KI

A <sup>md</sup>30-PAP-MEŠ-SU MAN ŠÚ MAN KUR AN.ŠÁR.KI “son of Esarhaddon, king of the world, king of Assyria, son of Sennacherib, king of the world, king of Assyria.” Tentatively following von Bissing, the former is preferred here.

Based on exs. 17\*-19\*, assuming they bear copies of this inscription and not of some other text, one expects the text to end with *šar māt aššur* (“king of Assyria”), and not *šar māt aššurma* (with enclitic *-ma*) and, therefore, Sm 2220 is tentatively edited with text no. 69. The objects 81-7-27,180 and Sm 2380 are excluded here because it seems more likely that they should be attributed to Esarhaddon, and not Ashurbanipal; see Searight, *Assyrian Stone Vessels* p. 24 no. 74 and p. 26 no. 91. 82-5-22,603A,

BM 118779 (K 8551, 82-5-22,607A), Ki 1902-5-10,25, Sm 2243, Sm 2220, and 55-12-5,11 are also not included since those pieces may have been inscribed with a text of *Sîn-šarra-iškun* (or *Aššur-etel-ilāni*); see Searight, *Assyrian Stone Vessels* p. 23 nos. 62 and 64, p. 25 no. 82, p. 26 no. 89, and p. 56 nos. 389 and 391. It is possible that the following other stone vessel fragments could be exemplars of this inscription or text nos. 69-70: Sm 2378, 55-12-5,20, 55-12-5,477, BM 139629, 1994-11-5,340, DT 502, Bu 91-5-9,248, 55-12-5,13 + 81-7-27,178, and 55-12-5,6. These are edited as Grayson and Novotny, *RINAP* 3/2 pp. 341-343 and 345-347 nos. 1002-1003 and 1007-1010, and Leichty, *RINAP* 4 pp. 308-311 nos. 1023, 1025, and 1027 respectively.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| <p>1896 Bezold, <i>Cat.</i> 4 p. 1808 (ex. 1, copy, study)<br/>         1940 von Bissing, <i>ZA</i> 46 pp. 159-161 no. 9 with fig. 9 (ex. 2, photo, edition, study, provenance)<br/>         1996 Borger, <i>BIWA</i> pp. 349 and 383 (exs. 1-2, study)<br/>         2008 Searight, <i>Assyrian Stone Vessels</i> pp. 23-26, 55-56,</p> | <p>58-59, and 69-70, and figs. 10-12, 27-28, 30, and 43 nos. 65, 67-68, 70-71, 73, 77, 79-80, 84-87, 90, 92, 379-382, 386-388, 390, 416, 421, and 488-489 (exs. 1, 3-19*, copy, edition, study)</p> |
|---|---|

## TEXT

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| <p>1) KUR <sup>m</sup>AN.ŠÁR-DÙ-A MAN GAL MAN <i>dan-nu</i> MAN ŠÚ MAN KUR AN.ŠÁR.KI A <sup>m</sup>AN.ŠÁR-PAP-AŠ MAN ŠÚ MAN KUR AN.ŠÁR.KI</p> | <p>1) The palace of Ashurbanipal, great king, strong king, king of the world, king of Assyria, son of Esarhaddon, king of the world, king of Assyria.</p> |
|---|---|

# 69

A flat-based, double-rimmed stone bowl from Nineveh bears the end of a short proprietary inscription of a descendant of Sennacherib. Although the attribution is not certain (see the commentary), the text is included here arbitrarily as a certain text of Ashurbanipal following the suggestion of I. Finkel and J.E. Reade (in Searight, *Assyrian Stone Vessels* p. 53). Three other small vessel fragments may be inscribed with this same inscription; they are, however, too fragmentary to be certain if they duplicate this text or contain some other late Neo-Assyrian inscription.

## CATALOGUE

Ex.	Museum Number	Registration Number	Provenance	Dimensions (cm)	cpn
1	BM 135453	81-2-4,25	Nineveh, Kuyunjik, possibly from the South-West Palace	Height: 3.4; Rim dia.: 14.5	c

## CATALOGUE OF UNCERTAIN EXEMPLARS

Ex.	Museum Number	Registration Number	Provenance	Dimensions (cm)	cpn
1*	Sm 2243	—	As ex. 1	Height: 8.0	c
2*	—	55-12-5,11	Registered as coming from Sherif Khan, but possibly from Nineveh, Kuyunjik, South-West Palace	Height: 3.7	c
3*	Sm 2220	—	As ex. 1	Height: 3.3	c

## COMMENTARY

BM 135453, which is more than half complete, was pieced together from five fragments made of mottled black and white diorite.

The enclitic *-ma* after *šar mat aššur* (“king of Assyria”) and the use of a single title for Sennacherib probably suggest that the inscription should be attributed to Ashurbanipal, rather than some other late Neo-Assyrian king. Note, however, that the writing of Assyria as KUR AŠ is not yet attested in the certain Ashurbanipal vessel fragments (see

text no. 68). At present, an attribution to Ashurbanipal seems more likely than one to Esarhaddon and, therefore the inscription written on BM 135453 should be tentatively assigned to the former. It is possible that Sm 2243, 55-12-5,11, and Sm 2220 (exs. 1\*-3\*) are duplicates of this text or text no. 70, or of some other seventh-century Assyrian inscription (possibly belonging to Aššur-etel-ilāni or Sîn-šarra-iškun).

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- 2008 Searight, *Assyrian Stone Vessels* pp. 25, 51–53, and 56, and figs. 12, 26, and 28 nos. 82, 366, 389, and 391 (exs. 1–3\*, copy, edition, study)
- 2011 Leichty, *RINAP 4* p. 310 no. 1026 (ex. 1, edition)

## TEXT

1) [KUR <sup>m</sup>AN.ŠÁR-DÛ-A (MAN GAL MAN *dan-nu*)  
MAN ŠÚ MAN KUR AŠ A <sup>m</sup>AN.ŠÁR-PAP-AŠ MAN  
ŠÚ MAN KUR AŠ A <sup>m</sup>J<sup>r</sup>d<sup>1</sup>30-PAP.MEŠ-SU MAN  
KUR AŠ-*ma*

1) [The palace of Ashurbanipal, (great king, strong king,) king of the world, king of Assyria, son of Esarhaddon, king of the world, king of Assyria, son of] Sennacherib, (who was also) king of Assyria.

## 70

A flat-based stone bowl from Nineveh bears the end of a short proprietary inscription that should probably be ascribed to Ashurbanipal; see Finkel and Reade in Searight, *Assyrian Stone Vessels* p. 58. The vessel, which is over half complete, was made of brown and white agate. It was reportedly broken in antiquity and repaired at that time using a bituminous adhesive.

## CATALOGUE

Museum Number	Registration Number	Provenance	Dimensions (cm)	cpn
BM 118766	81-2-4,26	Nineveh, Kuyunjik, possibly from the South-West Palace	Height: 4.6; Rim dia.: 15.3	c

## COMMENTARY

Based on Esarhaddon's titles (*šar kiššati šar māt aššur* "king of the world, king of Assyria"), an attribution to Ashurbanipal is fairly certain. If this text had belonged to Esarhaddon, one would have expected a few more titles; compare Leichty, *RINAP 4* pp. 71–72 no. 25, pp. 73–74 nos. 28–29, and p. 173 no. 91. An attribution to Sîn-šarra-iškun, an Assyrian ruler who

includes four generations in his genealogy, is unlikely as one would expect Esarhaddon to be referred to only as *šar māt aššur* ("king of Assyria"). Thus, as already proposed by I. Finkel and J.E. Reade (in Searight, *Assyrian Stone Vessels* p. 58), BM 118766 probably bears an inscription of Ashurbanipal.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- 2008 Searight, *Assyrian Stone Vessels* pp. 53–54 and 58, and fig. 30 no. 417 (copy, edition, study)
- 2011 Leichty, *RINAP 4* pp. 312–313 no. 1029 with fig. 18 (photo, edition)

## TEXT

- 1) [KUR <sup>m</sup>AN.ŠÁR-DÙ-A (MAN GAL MAN *dan-nu*)  
MAN ŠÚ MAN KUR AŠ A <sup>m</sup>AN].ŠÁR<sup>1</sup>-PAP-AŠ  
MAN ŠÚ MAN <sup>r</sup>KUR<sup>1</sup> [AŠ A <sup>m</sup>d30-PAP.MEŠ]-ŠU<sup>1</sup>  
MAN KUR AŠ A <sup>m</sup>MAN-GIN MAN KUR AŠ-*ma*
- 1) [The palace of Ashurbanipal, (great king, strong king,) king of the world, king of Assyria, son of Esarhaddon, king of the world, king of [Assyria, son of Sennacher]ib, king of Assyria, son of Sargon (II), (who was also) king of Assyria.

## 71

A blue glazed brick fragment discovered at Nineveh bears a two-line inscription of a late Neo-Assyrian king, probably Ashurbanipal, commemorating the defeat of Elam. The outlines of the signs are white, while their interiors are filled in with red. The brick presumably formed part of a much larger inscription that no longer exists.



## CATALOGUE

Museum Number	Registration Number	Provenance	Dimensions (cm)	cpn
BM 122095	81-2-4,7	Nineveh, reportedly from Nebi Yunus	11.4×34.3	c

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

2000 Reade, RLA 9/5-6 p. 420 §15.2 (study)



Figure 23. BM 122095 (text no. 71), a glazed brick from Nineveh recording an Assyrian defeat over Elam.  
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## TEXT

- 1) [šá]-<sup>f</sup>kin<sup>1</sup> BAD<sub>5</sub>.BAD<sub>5</sub>  
 2) [KUR].<sup>f</sup>ELAM<sup>1</sup>.MA.KI

1-2) [The one who bro]ught about the defeat of [the land] Elam.



# Minor Variants and Comments

## Text No. 1

vi 5'.2 [ma]-te-ma for ma-ti-ma. vi 10'.2 [daš]-šur<sup>1</sup> for AN.ŠÁR. vi 11'.2 [li-šá]-ni<sup>1</sup>-šú for EME-šú.

## Text No. 2

iii 5.1\* [ga]-re<sup>1</sup>-e-a for ga-re-ia. iii 10.3\* [tar-qu]-ú<sup>1</sup> for tar-qu-u. iii 10.3\* MAN for LUGAL. iii 14.3\* i-bi-il-ma for i-be-el-ma. iii 16.3\* omits ú in maḥ-ru-ú-ti. iii 16.3\* ú-nak-ki-ir<sup>1</sup>-ma for ú-nak-kir-ma. iii 17.3\* ni-bit-sún for ni-bi-is-su-un. iii 18.3\* LÚ.NAM-u-ti for LÚ.NAM-ú-ti. iii 19.3\* [ú-pa]-qid<sup>1</sup> for ú-pa-qí-da.

iv 9'.1\* sur-ra-a-ti for sur-ra-a-te. iv 32'.1\* ni<sup>1</sup>-ku-ú [LUGAL-lu-dà-ri] for [LUGAL-lu-dà-r] ni<sup>1</sup>-ku-ú. iv 40'.3\* [e-mut-ti] for HUL-tim.  
vi 13.5 u for 'ù<sup>1</sup>.

## Text No. 3

i 2.78\* LÍMMU-ti for LÍMMU-tim. i 3.72\*, 75\* È for ši-it. i 4.72\* GÌR.DU for GÌR.NÍTA. i 4.79\* MAN<sup>1</sup> for LUGAL. i 5.79\* MAN for each LUGAL. i 5.78\* AN.ŠÁR<sup>1</sup>.[KI] for aš-šur.KI. i 6.44\* UKKIN-(erasure)-šu-[nu] for UKKIN-šú-nu. i 7.21\*, 72\* [ra-pa-áš]-tu and ra-pa-áš<sup>1</sup>-[tum] respectively for ra-pa-áš-tum. i 10.72\* ú-šar-bu-ú<sup>1</sup> for ú-šar-bu-ú. i 11.80\* du-un-ni for du-un-nu. i 11.21\*, 44\* 'zik<sup>1</sup>-ru-ú-tu<sup>1</sup> and [zik]-ru<sup>1</sup>-ú-[tu] respectively for zik-ru-u-tu. i 18.21\* omits MEŠ in <sup>d</sup>IM.DUGUD.MUŠEN.MEŠ. i 21 [šá-ma]-me<sup>1</sup>: exs. 37\*, 82\* have AN.<sup>1</sup>e<sup>1</sup>; and ex. 81\* has [AN]-e<sup>1</sup>. i 23.37\*, 82\* UGU for e-li. i 23.37\*, 82\* šá for ša. i 24.82\* ul-lu-ú<sup>1</sup>-[ti] for ul-lu-u-ti. i 26.71\*, 81\* [al]-ka-ka-a-ti-šú-un and [al-ka-ka]-a<sup>1</sup>-ti-šú-[un] respectively for al-ka-ka-te-šú-un. i 29.71\* [AB].ŠFN<sup>1</sup>-i-šú for AB.SFN-ni-šú. i 30.80\*, 82\* šu-<sup>1</sup>bul<sup>1</sup>-tu and šu-bul-tum respectively for šu-bul-tú. i 33.82\* adds u before tuḥ-du. i 34.81\* [HÉ].GÁL<sup>1</sup>-lu for HÉ.GÁL-lum. i 46.5 'šá<sup>1</sup> for ša. i 51.83\* omits KI in AN.ŠÁR.KI. i 52.83\* adds u before <sup>d</sup>15. i 61.11\* adds URU before NINA.KI. i 65.4\*, 11\* LÚ.e-mu-qí-ia and [LÚ.e]-mu<sup>1</sup>-qí-ia<sup>1</sup> respectively for LÚ.e-mu-qí-ia. i 65.11\* 'ši-ra-a-te<sup>1</sup> for MAḤ.MEŠ. i 66 qa-a-tu-u-a: exs. 4\*, 85\* have qa-tu-u-a; ex. 11\* has 'qa-tu<sup>1</sup>-u-a; and ex. 63\* has 'qa<sup>1</sup>-tu-u-a. i 67.4\* šá for the first ša. i 57 LÚ.qe-pa-ni: ex. 4\* has LÚ.qe-pa-a-ni; ex. 63\* has 'LÚ<sup>1</sup>.qe-pa-a-ni; and ex. 69\* has [LÚ].qe<sup>1</sup>-pa-a-ni. i 67.63\*, 85\* šá and 'šá<sup>1</sup> respectively for the second ša. i 69.63\* omits e in ar-de-e-ma. i 70 URU.kar-<sup>d</sup>ba-ni-ti: ex. 4\* has URU.kár-<sup>d</sup>DÜ-<sup>1</sup>ti<sup>1</sup>; and ex. 85\* omits <sup>d</sup>. i 71.3\* tar-qu-ú for tar-qu-u. i 71.3, 4\* LUGAL<sup>1</sup> for MAN. i 71.4\*, 63\*, 85\* add u before KUR.ku-u-si. i 71.63\* omits u in KUR.ku-u-si. i 72.3, 4\*, 69\*, 86\* omit e in iš-me-e-ma. i 73.4\* 'qab-li<sup>1</sup> for MURUB<sub>4</sub>. i 74.86\* ERIM.HJ<sup>1</sup>.<A>.MEŠ for ERIM.MEŠ. i 74.6 tukul-ti for tukul-ti. i 74.69\* adds 'ú<sup>1</sup> before <sup>d</sup>AG. i 76.86\* [i]-na<sup>1</sup> for ina. i 77.3 ERIM.HJA<sup>1</sup>-šú for ERIM.HJA-šú. i 78.69\*, 135\* [is-ḥu]-pu<sup>1</sup>-šú-[ma] and is-<sup>1</sup>ḥup-šú-ma<sup>1</sup> respectively for is-ḥu-pu-šú-ma. i 78.3, 135\* LUGAL<sup>1</sup>-ti-ia for MAN-ti-ia. i 79.3, 135\* 'ik-tu-mu-šú<sup>1</sup>-ma and ik-tu-mu-šú-ma respectively for ik-tu-mu-šú-ma. i 79.3 'šá<sup>1</sup> for ša. i 79.3, 135\* 'ú-za-<sup>1</sup>i-i-nu<sup>1</sup>-ni<sup>1</sup> and [ú]-za<sup>1</sup>-<sup>1</sup>i-in-u-ni respectively for ú-za-<sup>1</sup>i-i-nu-u-ni. i 81.135\* omits a-na. i 84.87\* [ti]-bu<sup>1</sup>-ut for ti-bu-ti. i 84.87\*, 135\* tar-qu-ú<sup>1</sup> and tar-qu-ú respectively for tar-qu-u. i 85.135\* ú-maš-ší-ru for ú-maš-še-ru. i

85 im-lu-ú: ex. 3 has [im]-lu<sup>1</sup>-u; and exs. 87\*, 135\* have im-lu-u. i 87.5, 87\* maš-kán-i-šú<sup>1</sup>-nu<sup>1</sup> and [maš-kán-i]-šú<sup>1</sup>-nu respectively for maš-kán-i-šú-nu. i 88 KUR.ku-u-si: exs. 5, 40\* have KUR.ku-u-su<sup>1</sup>; and ex. 135\* has [KUR].ku<sup>1</sup>-su. i 89.35\*, 40\*, 87\* add šá before u<sub>3</sub>-me. i 89.135\* 'ú<sup>1</sup>-dan-nin for u-da-nin. i 90.87\*, 135\* rik-se-e-šú and [rik]-se<sup>1</sup>-e-šú respectively for rik-se-šú. i 93.35\* ša-a-tu-nu for šá-a-tu-nu. i 95.41\*, 87\*, 92\* omit MEŠ in GÍŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ.

ii 1.92\* [ú]-ḥal<sup>1</sup>-lip for ú-ḥal-líp. ii 1.88\* ša for ša. ii 1.6 adds an extraneous DIŠ sign after KUR.mu-šur. ii 2 LUGAL-ti: exs. 35\*, 92\* have LUGAL-u-ti; and ex. 71\* has LUGAL-u<sup>1</sup>-[ti]. ii 2.39\*, 79\* 'šá<sup>1</sup> and ša respectively for ša. ii 2 ana: exs. 6, 35\*, 71\*, 88\* have a-na; and ex. 41\* has a-na<sup>1</sup>. ii 3.35\* 'i-na<sup>1</sup> for ina. ii 3 ana: exs. 6, 71\*, 88\* have a-na; ex. 14\* has [a]-na; ex. 35\* has i-na; and ex. 92\* has a-na<sup>1</sup>. ii 4.92\* EN.<MEŠ>-ía for EN-ia. ii 5 is-ḥu-pu-šú-ma: exs. 35\*, 71\* have is-ḥup-šú-ma; ex. 76 has is-ḥup-šú-ma; and ex. 92\* has 'is<sup>1</sup>-ḥup-šú-ma. ii 5 nam-mu-ší-šú: exs. 6, 92\* have 'nam-mu<sup>1</sup>-ší-šú; ex. 71\* has nam-mu-ší-šú<sup>1</sup>; and ex. 88\* has [nam]-mu<sup>1</sup>-ší-šú. ii 6.92\* NIN<sub>9</sub>-šú for NIN<sub>9</sub>-šú. ii 7.88\* [iš-ku]-un<sup>1</sup> for iš-kun. ii 7.88\*, 92\* ú-paḥ-ḥi-ra and [ú-paḥ-ḥi]-ra<sup>1</sup> respectively for ú-paḥ-ḥi-ir. ii 7.88\*, 92\* il-lat-su for el-lat-su. ii 8 šá: exs. 21\*, 71\* have ša; and ex. 79\* has 'šá<sup>1</sup>. ii 9.35\* ša-a-tú<sup>1</sup>-nu for šá-a-tu-nu. ii 11.35\*, 71\*, 96\* add KI after NINA. ii 11.6 il-lik-am-ma for il-li-kam-ma. ii 12.35\*, 69\*, 71\* omit u. ii 12.21\* 'uš<sup>1</sup>-te-eš-še-ra<sup>1</sup> for uš-te-še-ra. ii 13.35\* iš-me-e-ma for iš-me-ma. ii 19.143\* 'i<sup>1</sup>-li-ku<sup>1</sup>-[nim-ma] for il-lik-u-nim-ma. ii 19.81\* 'ú<sup>1</sup>-na-áš-šá-qu for ú-na-áš-ší-qu. ii 22.71\*, 81\* add ma after ú-maš-šir. ii 23.81\* [ana] for a-na. ii 23.81\* 'URU<sup>1</sup>.ki-ip-ki-ip-pi for 'URU<sup>1</sup>.ki-ip-ki-pi. ii 24.69\* 'šú<sup>1</sup>-a-tú<sup>1</sup> for šú-a-tu. ii 24.139\*, 141\* 'a-na<sup>1</sup> and [a]-na<sup>1</sup> respectively for ana. ii 25.140\* 'tukul<sup>1</sup>-ti<sup>1</sup> for tu-kul-ti. ii 25.81\* omits u. ii 32.81\* ul-tú for ul-tu. ii 32.142\* man-za-al-ti-šú<sup>1</sup>-nu<sup>1</sup> for man-zal-ti-šú-nu. ii 32.71\*, 82\* a-na and a-na<sup>1</sup> respectively for ana. ii 33.69\* 'šal-la-tú<sup>1</sup> for šal-la-tu. ii 33.142\* ka-bit<sup>1</sup>-tu<sup>1</sup> for ka-bit-tu. ii 35.89\* [GÍŠ].TUKUL.MEŠ<sup>1</sup>-ia<sup>1</sup> for GÍŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ-ia. ii 36.64\*, 82\* 'áš-tak-kan<sup>1</sup> and áš-tak-kan respectively for áš-ta-kan. ii 36.142\* qa<sup>1</sup>-ti<sup>1</sup> for ŠU.<sup>1</sup>II. ii 36 ma-li-te: ex. 64\* has ma-li-ti; ex. 69\* has [ma-li]-tu<sup>1</sup>; and ex. 89\* has (traces)-tu<sup>1</sup>. ii 37.89\* EN<sup>1</sup>-ti-ia for EN-ti-ia<sup>1</sup>. ii 38.69\*, 142\* i-na for ina. ii 38.69\*, 71\* LUGAL<sup>1</sup> and LUGAL respectively for MAN. ii 39.1 omits u in lu-u. ii 40.82\* 'šap<sup>1</sup>-[ti-ia] for NUNDUM-ia. ii 41.69\* UGU-šú for UGU-šú. ii 42.61\*, 69\* 'ma<sup>1</sup>-šar-tú and ma-šar-tuš respectively for ma-šar-tu. ii 45.69\* adds ú before te-<sup>1</sup>u-ú-ta. ii 45.69\* te-<sup>1</sup>u-ú-tu for te-<sup>1</sup>u-ú-ta. ii 46.69\* pi-i-šú-nu for pi-i-šú-nu. ii 47.69\* 'šá<sup>1</sup> for ša. ii 47.61\*, 69\* [e]-si-ir-šú-nu-ti and e-si-ir-šú-nu-ti respectively for e-si-ir-šú-nu-ti. ii 51.85\* omits ú in MUNUS.AGRIG-ú-ti. ii 51.69\* 'maḥ-ri<sup>1</sup>-[ia] for IGI-ia. ii 60.85\* ger-re-tes-e-šú<sup>1</sup> for ger-re-šú<sup>1</sup>. ii 61 ka-bit-tú: ex. 85\* has 'ka<sup>1</sup>-bit-tu; ex. 86\* has 'ka<sup>1</sup>-bit-tu; and ex. 135\* has ka-bit-tu. ii 62.86\* be-<sup>1</sup>lu<sup>1</sup>-ti-ia for EN-ti-ia. ii 63.4\* mal-ki for ma-al-ki. ii 63.135\* u for ú. ii 64.84\*, 135\* 'KUR.MEŠ<sup>1</sup> and KUR.[MEŠ] respectively for šá-de-e. ii 64 šá-qu-u-ti: ex. 86\* has šá-qu<sup>1</sup>-ú-ti; and ex. 135\* omits u. ii 65.13\*, 135\* 'ep-še-e-ti<sup>1</sup>-[ia] and ep-še<sub>20</sub>-ti-ia for ep-še-ti-ia. ii 65.135\* omits a in an-na-a-ti<sup>1</sup>. ii 67.86\*, 135\* [KUR.tab]-la<sup>1</sup>-a-a and KUR.tab-la-a[a] respectively for KUR.tab-URU-a-a. ii 68.135\* 'sa-an-da-šar-me for 'sa-an-di-šar-me. ii 69.136\* omits MEŠ in AD.MEŠ-ia. ii 69.135\* ik-nu-šú for ik-nu-šú. ii 69.90\* ana for a-na. ii 70.135\* ŠÁ-šú-nu for lib-bi-šú-nu. ii 73.86\*, 135\* e-li

for UGU. **ii 73.135\*** ANŠE.KUR.RA.ME for ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ. **ii 74.86\***, 136\* *ma-da-at-tu* and *[ma-da-at]-tu* respectively for *ma-da-at-tu*. **ii 74.54\***, 135\* add *ma* after *šat-ti-šam*. **ii 75.3** *ul-tú* for *ul-tu*. **ii 75.3** <sup>m</sup>*ia-ki-in-lu-ú* for <sup>m</sup>*ia-ki-in-lu-u*. **ii 76.135\*** *il-li-ka* for *il-li-ku*. **ii 76 ana**: ex. 3 has <sup>a</sup>*na*<sup>1</sup>; exs. 54\*, 86\* have *a-na*; and ex. 135\* has <sup>a</sup>*[na]*. **ii 77** <sup>m</sup>*a-zi-ba-al*: ex. 6 has <sup>m</sup>*[a-zi-ba-a<sup>1</sup>-al]*; ex. 86\* has <sup>m</sup>*a<sup>1</sup>-[zi-ba]-a<sup>1</sup>-al*; ex. 91\* has <sup>m</sup>*[a-zi]-ba-a<sup>1</sup>-al*; and ex. 135\* has <sup>m</sup>*a-zi-ba-a<sup>1</sup>-al*. **ii 77** <sup>m</sup>*a-bi-ba-al*: ex. 54\* has <sup>m</sup>*a-bi-ba-a<sup>1</sup>-al*; ex. 63\* has <sup>m</sup>*a-bi-ba-a<sup>1</sup>-al*; ex. 86\* has <sup>m</sup>*a-bi-ba-a<sup>1</sup>-al*; ex. 135\* has <sup>m</sup>*a-bi-ba-a<sup>1</sup>-al*; and ex. 136\* has <sup>m</sup>*[a-bi-ba-a<sup>1</sup>-al]*. **ii 77.6** <sup>m</sup>*a-du-ni* for <sup>m</sup>*a-du-ni-ba-al*. **ii 80.6** *il-li-ku-nim-ma* for *il-lik-u-nim-ma*. **ii 81.6** GİR.II-*ia* for GİR.II-*ia*. **ii 82.3** omits *a* in *ma-zi-ba-a<sup>1</sup>-al*. **ii 83** LUGAL-*ti*: ex. 3 has LUGAL-*u-ut*<sup>?</sup>; ex. 87\* has LUGAL-*u-ut*<sup>?</sup>; and ex. 91\* has [LUGAL]-*ut*. **ii 84** <sup>m</sup>*a-bi-ba-a<sup>1</sup>-al*: exs. 3, 87\* omit *a*; and ex. 136\* has <sup>m</sup>*[a-bi]-ba<sup>1</sup>-al*. **ii 84.91\***, 136\* omit *a* in *ma-du-ni-ba-a<sup>1</sup>-al*. **ii 85.6** omits MEŠ in ĤAR.MEŠ. **ii 85.91\*** <sup>m</sup>*[i]-na* for *ina*. **ii 86** *ul-zis-su-nu-ti*: ex. 3 has *ul-zi<sup>1</sup>-is<sup>1</sup>-[su-nu-ti]*; ex. 87\* *ul-zi-[is-su-nu-ti]*; and ex. 145\* has *ul-zi<sup>1</sup>-[is-su-nu-ti]*. **ii 86** MAN: exs. 3, 6, 87\*, 136\* have LUGAL; and ex. 145\* has LUGAL. **ii 86.6**, 136\* omit KUR in KUR.*lu-ud-di*. **ii 87.87\*** *na-gu-u* for *na-gu-ú*. **ii 87.6** *ru<sup>1</sup>-ú-qu* for *ru-u-qu*. **ii 88.87\*** *ša* for *ša*. **ii 89.92\*** LUGAL-*ti-ia* for LUGAL-*ti-ia*. **ii 89.87\***, 136\* *ú-šab-ri-šu-ma* and *ú-šab-ri-šu<sup>1</sup>-[ma]* respectively for *ú-šab-ri-šu-ma*. **ii 90** *an-ni-tu*: ex. 6 has *an-ni-tum*<sup>?</sup>; ex. 87\* has *an-ni-tú*; and ex. 92\* has *an-ni-tú<sup>1</sup>*. **ii 92.92\*** LÚ.<sup>g</sup>*mir-ra-a* for LÚ.<sup>g</sup>*mir-a*. **ii 92.92\*** *ša*: ex. 6 has <sup>š</sup>*ša*; and exs. 41\*, 87\* have *ša*. **ii 93.92\*** AD.ME-*ia* for AD.MEŠ-*ia*. **ii 93** *iš-ba-tú*: ex. 5 has *iš-ba-tu*<sup>1</sup>; ex. 6 has *iš-ba<sup>1</sup>-tu*<sup>1</sup>; exs. 59\*, 92\* have *iš-ba-tu*; and ex. 136\* has *iš-ba<sup>1</sup>-tu<sup>1</sup>*. **ii 93.92\*** LUGAL-*ti-ia* for LUGAL-*ti-ia*.

**iii 1.41\***, 87\* *tu<sup>1</sup>-kul<sup>1</sup>-[ti]* and *tu-kul-ti* respectively for *tukul-ti*. **iii 1.4**, 59\*, 92\* omit *u*. **iii 1.92\*** EN.MEŠ-*ia* for EN.MEŠ-*ia*. **iii 2.5** omits GIŠ in GIŠ.*šat*. **iii 3.6** adds *nu* after *ta-mar-ti-šu*. **iii 4** <sup>d</sup>*šú*: exs. 6, 92\*, 94\* have <sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU; and ex. 93\* has [<sup>d</sup>AMAR].UTU. **iii 5.88\*** <sup>r</sup>*i<sup>1</sup>-[na]* for *ina*. **iii 6.59\***, 92\* [URU.ĥa-re-e-ĥa]<sup>1</sup>-*as<sup>1</sup>-ti* and URU.ĥa-re-e-ĥa-*as-ti* respectively for URU.ĥa-re-e-ĥa-*as-ta*. **iii 7.92\*** <sup>m</sup>*ta-an-du<sup>1</sup>* for <sup>m</sup>*ta-an-da<sup>1</sup>*. **iii 7 ana**: exs. 6, 35\*, 88\* have *a-na*; and ex. 92\* has <sup>a</sup>*a-na*. **iii 7.92\*** AD.MEŠ-*ia* for AD.MEŠ-*ia*. **iii 8.92\*** *ni-ri* for GIŠ.ŠUDUN. **iii 8 u**: ex. 35\* has *u*; and exs. 71\*, 92\* have <sup>u</sup>*u*. **iii 10.6** <sup>š</sup>*su-a-tú<sup>1</sup>* for <sup>š</sup>*su-a-tu*. **iii 10.6**, 92\* omit *u*. **iii 14.6** *áš-lu<sup>1</sup>-la* for *áš-lu-lu*. **iii 25.71\*** omits *ina*. **iii 27.97\*** ERIM.ĤIA-*ia* for ERIM.MEŠ. **iii 27.99\*** <sup>m</sup>*im<sup>1</sup>-daĥ-ĥa-šu* for <sup>m</sup>*im<sup>1</sup>-da<sup>1</sup>-ĥa-šu*. **iii 29.71\*** *šal-ma-a-ti-šu<sup>1</sup>-[nu]* for *šal-ma-ti-šu-nu*. **iii 30.89\***, 97\* *ú-mal-lu-[u]* and *ú<sup>1</sup>-mal-lu-u* respectively for *ú-ma-lu-ú*. **iii 31.98\*** *aš-šur* for AN.ŠÁR. **iii 31.89\*** DINGIR.GAL.GAL for DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ. **iii 32.99\*** <sup>š</sup>*a<sup>1</sup>* for *ša*. **iii 32.98\*** <sup>u</sup>*ú-tak-ki-lu<sup>1</sup>-u-ni<sup>1</sup>* for <sup>u</sup>*ú-tak-ki-lu-in-ni*. **iii 33.71\***, 98\* *it-tal-lak* and *at-tal-la<sup>1</sup>-ka<sup>1</sup>* respectively for *at-tal-lak*. **iii 33.71\*** *mi-ti-iq* for *me-ti-iq*. **iii 34.98\***, 100\* URU.áš-*di-ia<sup>1</sup>-áš* and URU.áš-*di-ia-áš* respectively for URU.áš-*di-áš*. **iii 37.10\***, 100\* omit *ú*. **iii 37.98\*** <sup>š</sup>*e<sup>1</sup>-eĥ<sup>1</sup>-ru-te* for <sup>š</sup>*e-ĥ<sup>1</sup>-ru-ti*. **iii 37.61\*** *ša* for *ša*. **iii 37.61\*** *ni<sup>1</sup>-i<sup>1</sup>-[ba]* for *ni-ba*. **iii 37.95\*** <sup>i</sup>*[i]-šú<sup>1</sup>-u* for *i-šu-u*. **iii 38.100\*** URU<sup>1</sup>.*i-zir<sup>1</sup>-te<sup>1</sup>* for URU.*i-zir-ti*. **iii 41.101\*** <sup>u</sup>*[u]-tú<sup>1</sup>* for *ul-tu*. **iii 43.100\*** omits *e* in <sup>m</sup>*aĥ-še-e-ri*. **iii 44.100\*** [URU.*i-zir*]-*tu* for URU.*i-zir-tú*. **iii 45.98\*** omits *a* in URU.*at-ra-a-na*. **iii 46.69\*** URU.*i-zir-tu* for URU.*i-zir-tú*. **iii 47.99\*** omits *šú* in *dan-nu-ti-šu*. **iii 53.69\*** *ša* for *ša*. **iii 56.69\*** *aš-šur.KI* for AN.ŠÁR.KI. **iii 57.69\*** *na-gu-ú* for *na-gu-u*. **iii 59.38\*** *šá-de-e* for *šá-di-i*. **iii 60.69\*** *ša* for *ša*. **iii 62.5** [<sup>m</sup>*ra-a-a-di-šá-de*]-*e* for [<sup>m</sup>*ra-a-a-<da>-di-šá-di-i*]. **iii 62.38\***, 69\*, 91\* omit URU in URU.ĤAL.ŠU-*šú<sup>1</sup>-nu<sup>1</sup>*. **iii 64.91\*** URU.*ia<sup>1</sup>-ri<sup>1</sup>-[is-te-ia-na]* for URU.*e-ri-is-te-ia-na*. **iii 65.102\*** *šal-la-sún<sup>1</sup>* for *šal-lat-sún*. **iii 66.90\*** *Zi-x* for *ti-ib*. **iii 66.91\*** *ta-ĥa-[zi-ia]* for MĒ-*ia*. **iii 67.69\***, 91\* *ú-ša-aĥ-ĥi-ir* and [*ú-ša*]-*aĥ<sup>1</sup>-ĥi-ir* respectively for *ú-ša-aĥ<sup>1</sup>-ĥir<sup>1</sup>*. **iii 68.102\*** [*ka*]-*bit<sup>1</sup>-ti* for *ka-bit-te*. **iii 69.86\***, 103\* URU.*bi-ru-u-a* and [URU.*bi*]-*ru<sup>1</sup>-u-[a]* respectively for URU.*bi-ir-ru-a*. **iii 70.91\*** [*maĥ-ru*]-*u-ti* for *maĥ-ru-u-te*. **iii 71.6** <sup>š</sup>*šá<sup>1</sup>* for *ša*. **iii 72.75\***, 91\* *ul-tu* and <sup>u</sup>*ul<sup>1</sup>-tu* respectively for TA. **iii 73.86\***, 91\* add GIŠ before *til-li*. **iii 73 ana**: ex. 6 has *a-na*; ex. 91\* has <sup>a</sup>*a-na*<sup>1</sup>; and ex. 102\* has <sup>a</sup>*a-na*. **iii 73.6** AN.ŠÁR.KI for *aš-šur.KI*. **iii 75.6** AN<sup>1</sup>.[ŠÁR.KI] for *aš-šur.KI*. **iii 76.6** EN-*ú-ti-ia<sup>1</sup>* for EN-*ti-ia*. **iii 77.91\*** omits *u*. **iii**

**77.91\*** *a-na* for *ina*. **iii 78.6**, 86\* *ú-šab-šu-u* and [*ú-šab-šú<sup>1</sup>*]-*ú* respectively for *ú-šab-šú-u*. **iii 79.6**, 91\* URU-*šú* for URU-*šu*. **iii 79.6** *i-du-ú* for *ú<sup>1</sup>-du-u*. **iii 81.48\*** <sup>š</sup>*ša<sup>1</sup>* for *ša*. **iii 81.6**, 48\*, 91\* omit URU in URU.NINA.KI. **iii 82.1**, 86\* <sup>š</sup>*ša<sup>1</sup>* and *ša* respectively for *ša*. **iii 82.5**, 2\* [LÍMMU-DINGIR].*KI* for URU.LÍMMU-DINGIR. **iii 83.5** *ni-ri-ia* for GIŠ.ŠUDUN-*ia*. **iii 84.5** <sup>u</sup>*up<sup>1</sup>-na-a-šu* for *up-na-a-šú*. **iii 85.6**, 91\* *be-lu-ú-ti* for *be-lu-u-ti*. **iii 86.6**, 91\* *ú-na-áš-šiq* for *ú-na-šiq*. **iii 87** ARĤUŠ: exs. 6, 2\* have *re-e-ma*; and ex. 91\* has [*re-e*]-*mu*. **iii 87** *ar-ši-šú*: ex. 6 has *ar-ši-šu-ma*; and exs. 2\*, 91\* add *ma* after it. **iii 87.6**, 91\* has *šip-ri-ia* and <sup>KIN</sup>*ri-ia* respectively for KIN-*ia*. **iii 87.5** <sup>š</sup>*ša<sup>1</sup>* for *ša*. **iii 87** EDIN-*uš-šú*: exs. 6, 2\*, 91\* have *še-ru-uš-šú*; and ex. 41\* has [*še*]-*ru-uš-šú<sup>1</sup>*. **iii 88.92\*** DUMU.MUNUS-*su<sup>1</sup>* for DUMU.MUNUS. **iii 88.5-6**, 92\*, 94\* *a-na* for *ana*. **iii 88.6**, 91\* *ab-rak-ku-ti<sup>1</sup>* and <sup>MUNUS</sup>.AGRIG-*ú-ti* respectively for MUNUS.AGRIG-*u-ti*. **iii 89.92\***, 94\* *maĥ<sup>1</sup>-ri-ti<sup>1</sup>* and *maĥ<sup>1</sup>-ri-tu* respectively for *maĥ-ri-tu*. **iii 89.94\*** *ša* for *ša*. **iii 89** *tar-ši*: ex. 1 has *ter<sup>1</sup>-š<sup>1</sup>*<sup>?</sup>; ex. 91\* has *ter-š<sup>1</sup>*; and ex. 94\* has *ter-š<sup>1</sup>*. **iii 89** AD.MEŠ-*ia*: ex. 5 has AD.MEŠ-*ia<sup>1</sup>*; ex. 41\* has <sup>AD</sup>.MEŠ-*ia<sup>1</sup>*; and ex. 92\* has <sup>AD</sup>.ME-*ia*. **iii 90** *iš-šu-u-ni*: ex. 5 has *iš-šú-u-ni<sup>1</sup>*; ex. 6 has *iš-šú-ú-ni<sup>1</sup>*; ex. 41\* has [*iš-šú*]-*ú<sup>1</sup>-ni*; ex. 91\* has *iš-šú-u-ni*; and ex. 92\* has *iš-šú-ni*. **iii 90.2\***, 92\* IGI-*ia* and *maĥ<sup>1</sup>-ri<sup>1</sup>-ia* respectively for *maĥ-ri-ia*. **iii 91.5** omits MEŠ in ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ. **iii 91.92\*** omits *at* in *ma-da-at-ti-šú*. **iii 91** *maĥ-ri<sup>1</sup>-te<sup>1</sup>*: ex. 6 has *maĥ-ri-ti<sup>1</sup>*; ex. 92\* has *maĥ-ri-ti*; and ex. 94\* has [*maĥ-ri*]-*ti*. **iii 92** *e-mid-su*: ex. 2\* has *e-mi-is-su*; ex. 41\* has <sup>e</sup>*e<sup>1</sup>-mi-is-su<sup>1</sup>*; ex. 92\* has *e<sup>1</sup>-mi-is-su*; and ex. 94\* has <sup>e</sup>*e<sup>1</sup>-mi-is-su*. **iii 92.6**, 41\*, 94\* omit *ma* in *u<sub>4</sub>-me-šú-ma*. **iii 92.92\*** <sup>m</sup>*bi-ri-si-ĥa-at-ri* for <sup>m</sup>*bi-ri-is-ĥa-at-ri*. **iii 92.6**, 2\* *šá* for *ša*.

**iv 1.41\*** <sup>m</sup>*sar-ra<sup>1</sup>-[ti]* for <sup>m</sup>*sar-a-ti*. **iv 1.6** <sup>m</sup>*pa-ri-ĥa* for <sup>m</sup>*pa-ri-ĥi*. **iv 1.6** adds *šú* after DUMU.MEŠ. **iv 1.15\***, 94\* <sup>m</sup>*ga-a-gi<sup>1</sup>* and <sup>m</sup>*ga-a-gi<sup>1</sup>* respectively for <sup>m</sup>*ga-gi*. **iv 2.6** *šá* for *ša*. **iv 2.92\*** *iš-lu-ú* for *iš-lu-u*. **iv 2.6** adds an extraneous A after *iš-lu-u*. **iv 2.5**, 92\* EN-*ti-ia* and EN-*ú<sup>1</sup>-ti<sup>1</sup>-ia* respectively for EN-*ti-ia*. **iv 3.6** omits *nu* in URU.MEŠ-*šú-nu*. **iv 3** *šal-la-sún*: ex. 6 has *šal-lat-su-nu*; and exs. 92\*, 94\* have *šal-lat-sún*. **iv 4.6**, 92\*, 94\* *šá-a-šú-nu* for *šá-a-šú-nu*. **iv 4.94\***, 104\* *qa-ti<sup>1</sup>* and *qa-ti* respectively for ŠU.II. **iv 5 ana**: exs. 6, 92\*, 94\* have *a-na*; and ex. 95\* has <sup>a</sup>*a-na*. **iv 5.6**, 92\*, 94\* omit URU in URU.NINA.KI. **iv 5** EN-*u-ti-ia*: exs. 5, 92\*, 94\* omit *u*; and ex. 6 has *be-lu-ti-ia*. **iv 6.6** omits EN in LÚ.EN.NAM. **iv 6** KUR.*ur-ár-ĥi*: ex. 6 has KUR.*ú-ra-ár-ĥu<sup>1</sup>*; exs. 92\*, 104\* have KUR.*ur-ár-ĥi*; and ex. 94\* has KUR.*ur-ár-ĥi*[-*ti*]. **iv 7.92\***, 94\* <sup>š</sup>*ša<sup>1</sup>* and *ša* respectively for *ša*. **iv 7** KUR.*up-pu-um-me*: exs. 6, 92\*, 94\* have URU for KUR; and ex. 92\* also omits *up*. **iv 7.6**, 92\* omit *u*. **iv 7.6**, 92\*, 94\*-95\* have URU for KUR in KUR.*kul-li-im-me-ri*. **iv 9** *a-ši-bu-ti*: ex. has *a-ši-bu-u-te*; ex. 93\* has *a-š<sup>1</sup>-bu-te*; and ex. 94\* has <sup>a</sup>*š<sup>1</sup>-bu-te*. **iv 9.94\*** omits *im* in URU.*kul-li-im-me-ri*. **iv 11** *ma-as-su*: ex. 92\* has *ma-a<sup>1</sup>-as<sup>1</sup>-su*; ex. 93\* has *ma-<sup>1</sup>-a<sup>1</sup>-as<sup>1</sup>-su*; and ex. 94\* has [*ma*]-*a-as-su*. **iv 11.92\*** *id-ú<sup>1</sup>-du<sup>1</sup>-[ku]* for *i-du-ku*. **iv 13** <sup>m</sup>*an-da-re-e*: ex. 6 has [<sup>m</sup>*an-da*]-*ri<sup>1</sup>-a*; ex. 8\* has [<sup>m</sup>*an-da*]-*ri-a*; ex. 92\* has <sup>m</sup>*an-du-ra-a*; ex. 93\* probably has <sup>m</sup>*an-da-ri<sup>1</sup>-[a]*; and ex. 94\* has <sup>m</sup>*an-da<sup>1</sup>-ri-a*. **iv 14.92\***-94\* omit URU in URU.NINA.KI. **iv 14.92\*** *a-na* for *ina*. **iv 14.92\*** *maĥ-ri-ia* for *maĥ-ri-ia*. **iv 14.6** <sup>u</sup>*ub-lu<sup>1</sup>-u-ni<sup>1</sup>* for *ú-bil-u-ni*. **iv 15.6** omits MA in KUR.ELAM.MA.KI. **iv 16.6** [*ta-ab*]-*ti* for MUN. **iv 16** DÚ-*ia*: exs. 5, 95\* have *ba<sup>1</sup>-ni-ia<sup>1</sup>*; ex. 6 has *ba-ni-ia<sup>1</sup>*; and ex. 8\* has <sup>ba</sup>*ba<sup>1</sup>-ni-ia<sup>1</sup>*. **iv 17.94\*** *la-a<sup>1</sup>* for *la*. **iv 17.93\*** *ul-tu* for *ul-tú*. **iv 17.6** omits MA in KUR.ELAM.MA.KI. **iv 18.94\*** GIŠ-*ku-nu* for *iš-ku-nu*. **iv 18.5**, 94\* <sup>ib</sup>*ib<sup>1</sup>-ba-šu-u* and <sup>ib</sup>*ib<sup>1</sup>-ba<sup>1</sup>-šu-u* respectively for *ib-ba-šú-u*. **iv 18.6**, 94\* [*né*]-*eb<sup>1</sup>-re<sup>1</sup>-e-ti<sup>1</sup>* and *né-eb<sup>1</sup>-re-tú<sup>1</sup>* respectively for *né-eb-re-tu*. **iv 19.5**, 94\* <sup>ú</sup>*ú-še-bil-šu-ma* and *ú-še-bil-šu-ma* respectively for *ú-še-bil-šú-ma*. **iv 20.96\*** *ša* for *ša*. **iv 20** *su-un-qú*: ex. 5 has *su-un-qi*; ex. 6 has <sup>su</sup>*su<sup>1</sup>-un-qi*; and ex. 94\* has *su-un-qu*. **iv 22.1** adds an extraneous *nu* after *zu-un-nu*. **iv 22.5** *ib-ba-šú-u* for *ib-ba-šú-u*. **iv 23.95\*** <sup>š</sup>*ša<sup>1</sup>* for *ša*. **iv 24.105\*** [LÚ].ELAM<sup>1</sup>.MA.KI-*a-a* for LÚ.ELAM.MA-*a-a*. **iv 24.94\***-96\*, 105\* *ša* for *ša*. **iv 24** *ti-bu-us-su*: ex. 94\* omits *bu*; and ex. 95\* has *te-<sup>bu</sup>-[us]-su*. **iv 24.94\*** ŠĀ-*ia* for *lib-bi-ia*. **iv 24.98\***, 105\* *da-ab-ba-ku* and *da<sup>1</sup>-ab-ba-ku* respectively for *da-ba-ku*. **iv 26** <sup>m</sup>AG-MU-*U* for <sup>m</sup>AG-MU-*U*; ex. 94\* has <sup>m</sup>AG-MU-*U*; ex. 95\* has

<sup>md</sup>MUATI-MU-URU<sub>4</sub>-eš; and ex. 105\* has [<sup>md</sup>]AG<sup>1</sup>-MU-URU<sub>4</sub>-eš. iv 27.95\* <sup>md</sup>ŠÚ-MU-DÙ for <sup>md</sup>AMAR.UTU-MU-DÙ. iv 27 LÚ.šú-ut SAG.MEŠ: exs. 1, 95\*-96\* omit LÚ; and exs. 5, 94\*-95\* omit MEŠ. iv 27.94\* ša for the first ša. iv 27.95\* ša for the second ša. iv 28.98\* iš-ku-na for iš-ku-nu. iv 28 pi-i-šu: exs. 94\*-95\* have pi-i-šu; and ex. 113\* has [pi-i]-šú<sup>?</sup>. iv 28.95\*, 98\* a-na and <sup>a</sup>1-[na] respectively for ana. iv 29.94\* pi-ir-ša-a-te for pi-ir-ša-a-ti. vi 29.5 omits u in id-ku-u-ni. iv 29.95\* LUGAL for MAN. iv 30.5 [<sup>mur</sup>-ta]-<sup>ku</sup> for <sup>mur</sup>-ta-ki. iv 32.98\* <sup>š</sup>ip<sup>1</sup>-ri-ia for KIN. iv 33 ia-a-te: ex. 55\* has ia-a-ti<sup>1</sup>; ex. 94\* has <sup>ia</sup>1<sup>1</sup>-a-ti; ex. 95\* has ia-a-ti; and ex. 98\* has ia<sup>1</sup>-a-ti<sup>1</sup>. iv 34.98\* ša for ša. iv 34.94\*, 98\* ti-bu-ut and ti-<ti>-bu-ut respectively for ti-bu-ti. iv 36.98\* omits su in su-lum-me-e. iv 38.55\*, 99\* LUGAL<sup>1</sup> for MAN. iv 40 ia-a-te: ex. 38\* has <sup>ia</sup>1<sup>1</sup>-a-ti<sup>1</sup>; ex. 55\* has ia-a-ti; ex. 94\* has [ia]<sup>1</sup>-a-ti; and ex. 106\* has ia<sup>1</sup>-a-ti<sup>1</sup>. iv 41.55\* <sup>ki</sup>1<sup>1</sup>-ma for GIM. iv 42.55\* omits KI in URI.KI. iv 43.55\* ša-kin-ma for ša-kin-ma. iv 43.75\* ma<sup>1</sup>-<sup>da</sup>ku-tu<sup>1</sup> for ma-<sup>da</sup>ku-tú. iv 43.99\*-100\* a-na and a<sup>1</sup>-na<sup>1</sup> respectively for ana. iv 43.55\* [na]<sup>1</sup>-ra<sup>1</sup>-ru-ut for na-ra-ru-ti. iv 44.38\* omits u. iv 44.99\* ša for ša. iv 44.55\* omits us in DINGIR-us-su-un. iv 45.38\*, 99\* omit e in ad-ke-e-ma. iv 46.38\*, 106\* is-<sup>h</sup>up<sup>1</sup>-[šú-ma] and [is-<sup>h</sup>up]-šú-ma respectively for is-<sup>h</sup>up-šú-ma. iv 47.5, 38\*, 55\*, 100\*, 106\* a-na for ana. iv 49.100\* <sup>mur</sup>-ta-ku for <sup>mur</sup>-ta-ki. iv 49.38\*, 100\* MAN for LUGAL. iv 49.5, 106\* ib-ru-tú<sup>?</sup> and UR-ru-ti respectively for ib-ru-ti. iv 50.38\*, 107\* mu-ú-tú and [mu]<sup>1</sup>-ú<sup>1</sup>-tú respectively for mu-ú-tu. iv 51 iq-tu-u: ex. 5 has [iq-tu]-ú; ex. 38\* has iq-tu-ú; ex. 106\* has <sup>iq</sup>1<sup>1</sup>-tu-ú; and ex. 107\* has [iq]<sup>1</sup>-tu<sup>1</sup>-ú. iv 52.100\* <sup>qaq</sup>-qar<sup>1</sup> for qaq-qa-ri. iv 52.38\* ba-lá-ti for ba-la-ti. iv 53.38\* ZI-ti-šú for na-pi-šá-tú. iv 54.38\* <sup>nam</sup>-mu-ší-šú<sup>1</sup> for nam-mu-ší-šú. iv 54.38\* <sup>md</sup>EN-BA-šá for <sup>md</sup>EN-BA-šá. iv 54.38\* KUR for LÚ in LÚ.gam-bu-la-a-a. iv 55.38\* <sup>š</sup>á<sup>1</sup> for ša. iv 55.102\*, 106\* iš-lu-u for iš-lu-ú. iv 55.38\*, 75\* omit u in EN-u-ti-ia. iv 56.102\* <sup>md</sup>AG-MU-KAM-eš for <sup>md</sup>MUATI-MU-KAM-eš. iv 57.38\*, 75\* a-ga-nu-ti-la-a and [a-ga-nu]-ti-la-a respectively for a-ga-nu-ti-la-a. iv 58.38\* <sup>md</sup>ŠÚ-MU-DÙ<sup>1</sup> for <sup>md</sup>AMAR.UTU-MU-DÙ. iv 58.107\* omits LÚ in LÚ.šú-ut. iv 58.75\* omits šú in SAG-šú. iv 59.38\* <sup>š</sup>á<sup>1</sup> for ša. iv 59.38\*, 102\* <sup>h</sup>UL-tú<sup>1</sup> and <sup>h</sup>UL-tu respectively for MUNUS.<sup>h</sup>UL. iv 60.91\* e-mi-is-su for e-mid-su. iv 60.38\*, 75\* LUGAL<sup>1</sup> and LUGAL respectively for MAN. iv 60.103\* ší-ir-ta-šú for še-er-ta-šú. iv 60.75\*, 103\* GAL-tu and GAL-ti respectively for GAL-tú. iv 62.75\*, 103\* ZI-tim for na-pi-šá-tú. iv 63.102\*, 107\* i-nu-uh-šú-nu-ti for i-nu-uh-šú-nu-ti. iv 64.91\*, 102\*, 107\* ip-šah-šú-nu-ti for ip-šah-šú-nu-ti. iv 64 ka-bit-ti: ex. 38\* has [ka]<sup>1</sup>-bat-ti<sup>1</sup>; exs. 74\*-75\*, 102\* have ka-bat-ti; and ex. 91\* has ka-bat-ti<sup>1</sup>. iv 65.103\* ša for ša. iv 67.75\*, 91\* [KUR]<sup>1</sup>.ELAM<sup>1</sup>.MA.KI and KUR.ELAM.MA.KI respectively for KUR.e-lam-ti. iv 67.103\* ú-šal-qu-ú for ú-šal-qu-u. iv 68 ar-ka: exs. 6, 103\* have ar-ka; and ex. 91\* has EGIR. iv 69.91\* <sup>mur</sup>-ta-ku for the first <sup>mur</sup>-ta-ki. iv 70.6, 103\* <sup>um</sup>-man-al-de-še for <sup>um</sup>-man-al-da-še. iv 71.75\* iš-ta-né<sup>1</sup>-a-a for iš-te-né<sup>1</sup>-a-a. iv 72.103\* <sup>um</sup>-<man>-ap-pi for <sup>um</sup>-man-ap-pa. iv 72.68\* <sup>mtam</sup>-ma-ri-tú for <sup>mtam</sup>-ma-ri-tu. iv 73.48\* omits MEŠ in DUMU.MEŠ. iv 73.75\*, 102\*-103\* MAN for LUGAL. iv 74.1\*, 91\*, 102\* <sup>mpa</sup>-ru-u for <sup>mpa</sup>-ru-ú. iv 74.68\* [<sup>um</sup>-man-al-da]-<sup>a</sup>še for <sup>um</sup>-man-al-da-še. iv 76.102\* ma-ni for mi-ni. iv 77.91\* adds MEŠ after DUMU. iv 77 ša: ex. 41\* has <sup>š</sup>á<sup>?</sup>; and exs. 75\*, 91\*, 103\*, 107\* have šá. iv 79 iš-ba-tú: exs. 6, 41\*, 75\*, 91\*, 108\* have iš-ba-tu; ex. 2\* has <sup>iš</sup>-ba<sup>1</sup>-tu; ex. 102\* has <sup>iš</sup>1<sup>1</sup>-ba-tu; and ex. 103\* has [iš]<sup>1</sup>-ba<sup>1</sup>-tu. iv 79.102\* adds MEŠ after GIR.II. iv 79.75\*, 108\* LUGAL-ú-ti-ia and LUGAL-u-ti-ia respectively for LUGAL-ti-ia. iv 80 MAN: exs. 2\*, 7\*, 91\* have LUGAL<sup>1</sup>; and ex. 41\* has LUGAL. iv 81.2\* <sup>š</sup>á<sup>1</sup> for ša. iv 81.41\*, 108\* <sup>um</sup>-man-ni-gaš for <sup>um</sup>-man-i-gaš. iv 82.31\*, 41\* <sup>mtam</sup>-ma-ri-tú and <sup>mtam</sup>-ma-ri-tú<sup>1</sup> respectively for <sup>mtam</sup>-ma-ri-tu. iv 82.2\* <sup>mur</sup>-ta-ku for <sup>mur</sup>-ta-ki. iv 82.75\*, 107\* MAN for LUGAL. iv 83 2\*, 108\* <sup>mpa</sup>-ru-u<sup>1</sup> and <sup>mpa</sup>-ru-u respectively for <sup>mpa</sup>-ru-ú. iv 85 ana: exs. 6, 107\*-108\* have a-na; and ex. 7\* has <sup>a</sup>1<sup>1</sup>-[na]; and ex. 31\* has <sup>a</sup>-na<sup>1</sup>. iv 87.6, 2\* iš-ba-tu and <sup>iš</sup>-ba-tu<sup>1</sup> respectively for iš-ba-ti. iv 88.6 me-re-še-e-te for me-re-še-e-ti. iv 89.108\* <sup>md</sup>AG-SIG<sub>5</sub>-iq for <sup>md</sup>MUATI-SIG<sub>5</sub>-iq.

v 1.5, 108\* KUR.e-lam-ti and [KUR]<sup>1</sup>.e<sup>1</sup>-lam-ti respectively for KUR.ELAM.MA.KI. v 2.108\* ša for šá. v 3.5, 92\*, 95\* pi-i-šú for pi-

i-šú. v 3.6 <sup>ad</sup>1<sup>1</sup>-din-šú<sup>1</sup> for a-din-šú. v 4 mun-nab-ti: ex. 60\* has mun-nab-te; ex. 92\* has mun-nab-te<sup>1</sup>; and ex. 108\* has <sup>mun</sup>1<sup>1</sup>-nab-tu. v 4 le-mut-tú: ex. 5 has le-mut<sup>1</sup>-tu<sup>1</sup>; ex. 60\* has [le-mut]<sup>1</sup>-tu<sup>1</sup>?; and ex. 92\* has <sup>h</sup>UL-tim<sup>?</sup>. v 5.92\*, 104\* iš-ta-né<sup>1</sup>-a-šú and iš-te-né<sup>1</sup>-a-a-šú respectively for iš-te-né<sup>1</sup>-a-šú. v 6.92\* <sup>h</sup>UL-tim for MUNUS.<sup>h</sup>UL. v 6.92\* a-di for EN. v 6.110\* ZÁLAG-ir for ZÁLAG. v 7.104\* <sup>e</sup>1<sup>1</sup>-mur-šú-ma for IGI-šú-ma. v 7.92\* GIM for ki-ma. v 7.104\* šú-a-tú-ma for šú-a-tu-ma. v 8.92\* BALA-e for BALA.MEŠ. v 9 MAN: exs. 92\*, 104\* have LUGAL<sup>1</sup>; and ex. 95\* has LUGAL. v 10.6, 60\*, 92\*, 94\*, 104\* ša for ša. v 10.60\*, 92\* in-nen-nu-u and <sup>in</sup>-nen-nu<sup>1</sup>-u respectively for in-né-nu-u. v 11.5, 52\*, 104\* omit ma in u<sub>4</sub>-me-šú-ma. v 11.92\* <sup>mi</sup>1<sup>1</sup>-ih<sup>1</sup>-ra<sup>1</sup> for mi-ih<sup>1</sup>-ru. v 11 im-<sup>h</sup>ur-šú-ma: exs. 5, 104\* have im-<sup>h</sup>ur-šú-ma; ex. 92\* has <sup>im</sup>1<sup>1</sup>-šú-ma; and ex. 95\* has im-<sup>h</sup>ur-šú<sup>1</sup>-[ma]. v 12.60\*, 94\* šá<sup>1</sup>-pat-su and <sup>š</sup>á<sup>1</sup>-pat-su respectively for NUNDUM-su. v 13 lib-bi-šú: ex. 6 has <sup>lib</sup>1<sup>1</sup>-bi-šá; exs. 60\*, 110\* have lib-bi-šá; ex. 92\* has [lib]<sup>1</sup>-bi<sup>1</sup>-šá; and ex. 104\* has lib-bi-šú. v 15.6, 52\* e-pu-šú-uš and [e]<sup>1</sup>-pu<sup>1</sup>-šú-uš<sup>1</sup> respectively for e-pu-šú-uš. v 17.6 <sup>EN</sup>.LÍL.LA<sub>3</sub><sup>1</sup> for <sup>EN</sup>.LÍL. v 18 pa-laḥ: ex. 5\* has [pa]<sup>1</sup>-lāḥ<sup>1</sup>; ex. 95\* has <sup>pa</sup>1<sup>1</sup>-lāḥ; and ex. 104\* has pa-lāḥ. v 18.52\* áš-ba-ku for áš-ba-ak. v 19.104\* [i]<sup>1</sup>-na<sup>1</sup> for ina. v 19.95\* adds ina<sup>1</sup> before URU. v 20 LÚ.e-la-me-e: ex. 5\* has <sup>LÚ</sup>1<sup>1</sup>.ELAM.MA-e; ex. 47\* has LÚ.ELAM.MA.<sup>KI</sup>1<sup>1</sup>; ex. 95\* has LÚ.<sup>e</sup>-lam<sup>1</sup>-e; and ex. 110\* has [LÚ.e]<sup>1</sup>-lam<sup>1</sup>-e. v 20.94\* <sup>š</sup>á<sup>1</sup> for šá. v 20.5\*, 94\*, 110\* omit u in ba-lu-u. v 20.5\*, 94\*, 104\*, 110\* add MEŠ after DINGIR. v 21.47\* omits u in ú-šá-anu-nu-ni. v 21.95\* omits e in tē-e-mu. v 21.94\* adds an extraneous DIŠ sign before um-ma. v 22.94\* ša for šá. v 22 mi-lik: exs. 5\*, 94\*-95\* have mi-lik; and ex. 111\* has <sup>mi</sup>1<sup>1</sup>-[lik]. v 22.112\* tē-me<sup>1</sup>-e-šú<sup>1</sup> for tē-me-šú. v 24.47\* [ep]<sup>1</sup>-pu<sup>1</sup>-šú<sup>1</sup> for ep-pu-šú. v 24.5\* mit-<sup>h</sup>u-šú-ti for mit-<sup>h</sup>u-šú-tú. v 24 me-re-eh-te: ex. 5\* has [me-re-eh]<sup>1</sup>-ti; ex. 95\* has me<sup>1</sup>-re<sup>1</sup>-eh<sup>1</sup>-ti; and ex. 111\* has [me]<sup>1</sup>-re<sup>1</sup>-eh<sup>1</sup>-ti. v 24 an-ni-te: exs. 5\*, 111\* have an-ni-ti; ex. 94\* has [an]<sup>1</sup>-ni<sup>1</sup>-ti; and ex. 95\* has an-ni-tú. v 25.94\*, 111\* ša for šá. v 25.110\* iq-bu-ú for iq-bu-u. v 25.5\* [šá]<sup>1</sup>-qu<sup>1</sup>-ti for šá-qu-tu. v 25.5, 95\* <sup>d</sup>15 and <sup>d</sup>15 respectively for <sup>d</sup>iš-tar. v 26 ana: ex. 95\* has <sup>a</sup>1<sup>1</sup>-[na]; and exs. 110\*-111\* have [a]<sup>1</sup>-na<sup>1</sup>. v 28 <sup>maš</sup>-šur-DÜ-A: ex. 110\* has <sup>MAN</sup>1<sup>1</sup>.ŠÁR-DÜ-A; and exs. 111\*-112\* have <sup>MAN</sup>1<sup>1</sup>.ŠÁR-DÜ-A. v 28.5\* omits KI in áš-šur.KI. v 31 pi-riš-te-šú-un: ex. 94\* has pi-riš-ti-šú-un; ex. 95\* has pi-riš-ti-šú-un; and ex. 112\* has pi-riš-ti-šú-un]. v 32.94\* im-bu-<sup>u</sup> for im-bu-u. v 32.112\* omits e in áš-re-e-ki. v 32.112\* áš-ta-né<sup>1</sup>-i-[i] for áš-te-né<sup>1</sup>-i-i. v 33.112\* omits e in par-še-e-ki. v 34.112\* u for ú. v 34.95\*, 111\* LUGAL for MAN. v 35.94\*, 113\* <sup>ku</sup>-uš<sup>1</sup>-šur and ku-uš-šur respectively for ku-šur. v 35.111\* mit-<sup>h</sup>u-uš for mit-<sup>h</sup>u-šú. v 36.111\* MURUB<sub>4</sub> for qab-li. v 37.5, 55\*, 94\*-95\*, 113\* ša for šá. v 37.75\* ba-ni-ki for DÜ-ki. v 38.75\*, 111\* MUNUS.SIG<sub>5</sub> for SIG<sub>5</sub>-ti. v 38.75\* taq-bé-e for taq-bi-i. v 38.5, 55\*, 75\*, 94\*-95\*, 98\*, 113\* have ina for i-na. v 39 LUGAL-u-ti: ex. 75\* omits u; and ex. 98\* has LUGAL-ú-ti<sup>1</sup>. v 39.95\* LUGAL<sup>1</sup> for MAN. v 40.95\*, 111\* ša and <sup>š</sup>á<sup>?</sup> respectively for šá. v 40 ana: ex. 1 has <sup>a</sup>1<sup>1</sup>-na<sup>1</sup>; exs. 75\*, 98\* have a-na; and ex. 95\* has <sup>a</sup>-na<sup>1</sup>. v 40 MAN: ex. 1 has LUGAL<sup>1</sup>?; ex. 75\* has LUGAL<sup>1</sup>; and ex. 98\* has LUGAL. v 40 DÜ-ki: exs. 5, 75\*, 94\*, 113\* have ba-ni-ki; and ex. 55\* has <sup>ba</sup>1<sup>1</sup>-[ni-ki]. v 41.98\* um-man-šú for ERIM.<sup>h</sup>IA-šú. v 41.75\* MÈ for ta-ḥa-zu. v 42 ú-šá<sup>1</sup>-i-i-la: exs. 5, 75\* omit i; and exs. 94\*, 113\* have ú-šá<sup>1</sup>-a-la. v 43.5, 55\*, 94\* GIM for ki-ma. v 44 qa-bal: ex. 75\* has MURUB<sub>4</sub>?; ex. 94\* has MURUB<sub>4</sub>; and ex. 113\* has MURUB<sub>4</sub>. v 44.75\* di-ki-iš-šú for di-kiš-šú. v 44.113 [me]<sup>1</sup>-<sup>h</sup>u<sup>1</sup>-ú for me-<sup>h</sup>u-u. v 45.5, 75\* šu-nu-<sup>h</sup>u-ú-ti and [šú]-nu-<sup>h</sup>u-u-ti respectively for šu-nu-<sup>h</sup>u-ti. v 45.113\* iš-me-e-ma for iš-me-ma. v 46 ta-pal-laḥ: ex. 5 has <sup>ta</sup>-pal-lāḥ<sup>1</sup>; ex. 55\* has [ta-pal]<sup>1</sup>-lāḥ<sup>1</sup>; ex. 75\* has <sup>ta</sup>1<sup>1</sup>-pa<sup>1</sup>-lāḥ; and ex. 94\* has ta-pal-lāḥ. v 47.113\* ša for šá. v 47.75\* adds an extraneous ša after šá. v 48.5 šu-a-tú for šu-a-tu. v 48.113\* ša for šá. v 49.75\* omits aṭ in i-na-aṭ-ṭal. v 50.75\*, 113\* <sup>š</sup>á<sup>1</sup> and šá respectively for ša. v 52.1 [e-ru]-<sup>ub</sup>1<sup>1</sup>-am-ma for e-ru-ba-am-ma. v 52.1 omits u. v 53.38\*, 113\* <sup>i</sup>1<sup>1</sup>-[na] and i-na respectively for ina. v 53.75\* i-de-e-šá for i-di-šá. v 53.75\*, 113\* <sup>zaq</sup>1<sup>1</sup>-tu and zaq-tu respectively for zaq-tú. v 53.113\* ša for šá. v 54 ki-ma: exs. 38\*, 113\* have ki-i; and ex. 107\* has [ki]<sup>1</sup>-i<sup>1</sup>. v 56.75\* <sup>d</sup>iš-tar for <sup>d</sup>15. v 56 šá-quṭ: ex. 75\* has šá<sup>1</sup>-qu-ut<sup>1</sup>;

ex. 107\* has  $\acute{s}a$ - $qu$ -[ut]; and ex. 113\* has [ $\acute{s}a$ - $qu$ ]-ut. v 57.113\*  $\acute{s}a$ - $\acute{a}š$ -mi for  $\acute{s}a$ - $\acute{a}š$ -me. v 58.38\* omits u in pa-nu-u-a. v 60.32\*, 107\*, 113\* omit  $\acute{d}$  in  $\acute{d}be$ -let. v 60.75\* [be]- $le$ -e-ti for GAŠAN.MEŠ. v 61.75\* omits an in tu- $\acute{s}a$ -an-nak-ka. v 61.75\* lu-u for lu. v 61.32\* [ $\acute{a}š$ ]-ba- $\acute{a}$ -ta $\acute{t}$  for  $\acute{a}š$ -ba-ta. v 62.57\*  $\acute{s}i$ -tu for  $\acute{s}i$ -ti. v 63.32\*, 75\*  $\acute{n}in$ - $gu$ -tu and  $nin$ - $gu$ -tu respectively for  $nin$ - $gu$ - $t\acute{u}$ . v 63.32\*, 75\* DINGIR- $\acute{u}$ -ti and DINGIR- $u$ -ti respectively for DINGIR-ti. v 64  $\acute{s}u$ -a-tu: ex. 5 has  $\acute{s}u$ - $\acute{a}$ - $t\acute{u}$ ?; ex. 74\* has  $\acute{s}u$ -[ $\acute{a}$ - $t\acute{u}$ ]; and ex. 107\* has  $\acute{s}u$ - $\acute{a}$ - $t\acute{u}$ ? v 64.75\*  $\acute{u}$ - $\acute{s}ak$ - $\acute{s}a$ - $\acute{d}a$  for  $\acute{u}$ - $\acute{s}ak$ - $\acute{s}a$ - $\acute{d}u$ . v 66.75\*, 103\* omit u in pa-nu-u-ka. v 66.75\*, 107\* i-nar-ru- $\acute{t}a$  and  $\acute{u}$ -nār-ru- $\acute{t}a$  respectively for i-nār-ru- $\acute{t}a$ . v 68.75\*, 103\*  $\acute{t}aḥ$ -ti-na for  $\acute{t}aḥ$ -te-na. v 68.114\* la-a-ni- $\acute{k}a$ ? for la-ni-ka. v 71.75\*, 103\* UGU for e-li. v 71 MAN: exs. 74\*-75\*, 103\*, 114\* have LUGAL; and ex. 108\* has  $\acute{L}$ UGAL. v 72.75\*  $\acute{s}a$  for  $\acute{s}a$ . v 72 ug-gu-ga- $\acute{t}a$ : ex. 75\* has ug-gu-ga-tu; ex. 108\* has ug-gu-ga-at; ex. 114\* has [ug-gu-ga]- $\acute{t}a$ ?; and ex. 115\* has [ug-gu]- $\acute{g}a$ -tu. v 73.114\*  $\acute{d}15$ .MEŠ for  $\acute{d}$ INANNA.MEŠ. v 73  $\acute{s}i$ -i-ru: exs. 103\*, 114\* have MAḤ; and exs. 108\*, 115\* have  $\acute{M}$ AḤ. v 74 na-an-nār: ex. 74\* has  $\acute{d}na$ -[an-nār?]; ex. 75\* has  $\acute{d}ŠEŠ$ .KI-ri; ex. 108\* has na-an-nar; and ex. 115\* has [na-an]- $\acute{f}na$ ?. v 74.75\*, 108\* a-na for ana. v 75.108\*, 115\* omit ri in  $\acute{d}ŠEŠ$ .KI-ri. v 75.75\* u for  $\acute{u}$ . v 75.115\*  $\acute{s}a$  for  $\acute{s}a$ . v 75.108\* in-né-nu-u for in-nen-nu-u. v 76.75\*, 103\*, 108\* omit MEŠ in MĒ.MEŠ-ia. v 76.108\* mu-un- $\acute{d}aḥ$ - $\acute{s}e$  for mun- $\acute{d}aḥ$ - $\acute{s}e$ . v 76.108\* omits u. v 77.108\* it-ta-na- $\acute{d}š$ -rab-bi- $\acute{t}u$  for it-ta-na- $\acute{d}š$ -ra-bi- $\acute{t}u$ . v 77.108\* omits ina. v 77.1\* qa-bal for MURUB<sub>4</sub>. v 78.1\*, 108\* LUGAL for MAN. v 79 uš-te- $\acute{s}e$ -ra: ex. 1\* has  $\acute{u}š$ -te- $\acute{e}š$ - $\acute{s}e$ -ra; exs. 22\*, 108\* have uš-te- $\acute{s}i$ -ra; and ex. 116\* has [ $\acute{u}š$ ]- $\acute{t}e$ - $\acute{s}i$ -[ra]. v 79 el-la-mu-u-a: ex. 31\* omits la; and ex. 75\* has il-la-mu-u-a. v 79.1\*, 108\* have LUGAL for MAN. v 79.1\* omits MA in KUR.ELAM.MA.KI. v 80.75\* omits URU in URU.Ē-mim-bi-i. v 80.70\*, 108\*  $\acute{m}ad$ - $\acute{d}ak$ - $\acute{t}u$  and  $ma$ - $\acute{d}ak$ - $\acute{t}u$  respectively for  $ma$ - $\acute{d}ak$ - $\acute{t}u$ . v 81.22\*  $\acute{s}a$  for  $\acute{s}a$ . v 81.108\* adds URU before BĀD.AN.KI. v 81.33\*, 75\*, 108\*, 116\* omit e in iš-me-e-ma. v 82 ana: ex. 31\* has  $\acute{a}$ -[na]; ex. 108\* has a-na; and ex. 116\* has [ $\acute{a}$ ]- $\acute{n}a$ ?. v 84 re- $\acute{s}e$ -e- $\acute{s}u$ : exs. 31\*, 107\*-108\* have re- $\acute{s}e$ -e- $\acute{s}u$ ; and ex. 109\* has  $\acute{r}e$ - $\acute{s}e$ - $\acute{e}$ - $\acute{s}u$ . v 84 Á.II- $\acute{s}u$ : exs. 31\*, 107\* have Á.II- $\acute{s}u$ ; and ex. 108\* has Á- $\acute{d}i$ - $\acute{s}u$ . v 86 ana: exs. 31\*, 107\*-108\* have a-na; and ex. 109\* has a- $\acute{n}a$ ?. v 86.108\* omits ma in iš-kun-ma. v 87.92\*  $\acute{s}a$  for  $\acute{s}a$ . v 88.92\* SIG<sub>5</sub>.MEŠ<sup>1</sup> for MUNUS.SIG<sub>5</sub>. v 89.92\* adds ina before qe-reb. v 89.5, 117\* DUL- $\acute{U}$ RU<sup>1</sup>. [tu-ba] and  $\acute{D}$ UL- $\acute{U}$ RU<sup>1</sup>. [tu-ba] respectively for DU<sub>6</sub>-URU<sup>1</sup>. tu-ba. v 90 ADDA.MEŠ- $\acute{s}u$ -nu: ex. 92\* omits MEŠ; and ex. 117\* has ADDA.MEŠ- $\acute{s}u$ - $\acute{u}n$ ?. v 91  $\acute{s}al$ -ma-ti- $\acute{s}u$ -nu: ex. 31\* has  $\acute{s}al$ -ma-a-te- $\acute{s}u$ - $\acute{u}n$ ?. ex. 92\* has  $\acute{s}al$ -ma-a-ti- $\acute{s}u$ -nu; and ex. 109\* has  $\acute{s}al$ -ma-te- $\acute{s}u$ -nu. v 91.109\*  $\acute{G}$ IM<sup>1</sup> for ki-ma. v 91.92\* omits u. v 92.31\*  $\acute{u}$ -ma-al-la- $\acute{a}$  for  $\acute{u}$ -mal-la-a. v 94.60\*, 92\*, 109\* omit u. v 94.92\* EN.MEŠ- $\acute{a}$  for EN.MEŠ-ia. v 95.92\*, 109\*, 117\* KUD-is for  $\acute{a}k$ - $\acute{k}is$ . v 95 me-lam-me: exs. 60\*, 92\*, 107\*, 109\*, 117\* have mi-lam-me; and ex. 118\* has mi- $\acute{l}am$ -[me]. v 95.31\*, 60\* omit u. v 96.92\*  $\acute{i}š$ - $\acute{h}up$ -ma for  $\acute{i}š$ - $\acute{h}u$ -up-ma. v 96.107\* ik-nu- $\acute{s}u$  for ik-nu- $\acute{s}u$ . v 96.92\*  $\acute{G}$ IŠ.ŠUDUN- $\acute{a}$  for ni-ri- $\acute{a}$ . v 97.118\*  $\acute{m}$ um<sup>1</sup>-man-ni- $\acute{g}aš$  for  $\acute{m}um$ -man-i- $\acute{g}aš$ . v 97.92\*, 118\* in-nab- $\acute{t}u$  and in-nab- $\acute{t}a$  respectively for in-nab-tu. v 97  $\acute{G}$ IR.II- $\acute{a}$ : ex. 92\* has  $\acute{G}$ IR.II- $\acute{a}$ ; and exs. 107\*, 118\* have  $\acute{G}$ IR.II- $\acute{a}$ ?

vi 2.5, 92\* URU.ḥi-da- $\acute{a}$ -[lu] and URU.ḥi-da-a-lu respectively for URU.ḥi-da-lu. vi 2.92\* omits  $\acute{u}$  in LUGAL- $\acute{u}$ -ti. vi 3.92\* ME for MEŠ in ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ and ANŠE.KUNGA.MEŠ. vi 4.5, 118\* omit  $\acute{i}$  in ni-i-ri. vi  $\acute{s}a$ : exs. 5, 60\* have  $\acute{s}a$ ; and exs. 110\*, 117\* have  $\acute{s}a$ ?. vi 5 tukul-ti: ex. 60\* has tu-kul- $\acute{t}i$ ?; exs. 110\*, 118\* have tu-kul-ti; and ex. 117\* has tu- $\acute{k}ul$ -[ti]. vi 5.104\* adds  $\acute{u}$  before DINGIR.MEŠ. vi 6.104\*  $\acute{u}$  for u. vi 7.119\* omits ina. vi 7.45\*, 119\* [EN].MEŠ<sup>1</sup>- $\acute{a}$  and EN.[MEŠ]- $\acute{a}$  respectively for EN.MEŠ-ia. vi 9.110\*, 118\*  $\acute{s}a$ -lim-tu and  $\acute{s}a$ - $\acute{l}im$ - $\acute{t}u$  respectively for  $\acute{s}a$ -lim-tu. vi 10.42\* [i]-na for ina. vi 10.119\* A for DUMU. vi 11.119\*  $\acute{g}u$ ? for lu-u. vi 12  $\acute{s}a$ : exs. 5\*, 110\* have  $\acute{s}a$ ; and ex. 42\* has  $\acute{s}a$ ?. vi 13 la: exs. 5\*, 118\* have la-a; and ex. 42\* has  $\acute{r}a$ - $\acute{a}$ ?. vi 13.5\* ik-nu- $\acute{s}a$  for ik-nu- $\acute{s}u$ . vi 16.119\* omits  $\acute{d}$  in URU.šá-pi-i- $\acute{d}$ EN. vi 18.119\* [u]- $\acute{t}u$ ? for ul-tu. vi 18.119\*  $\acute{s}u$ -a- $\acute{t}u$  for  $\acute{s}u$ -a-tu. vi 19.42\* bal- $\acute{t}u$ -us-su-un for bal- $\acute{t}u$ -su-un. vi 21.75\* adds  $\acute{s}u$  after LÚ.NAR.MEŠ. vi 23.75\* LÚ.kit-kit-tu-u for LÚ.kit-ki-tu-u. vi 23.5

omits  $\acute{s}u$  in mu- $\acute{s}a$ -ki-le- $\acute{s}u$ . vi 24.132\* omits a in um-ma-a-ni. vi 24.75\*, 120\* ba- $\acute{s}u$ - $\acute{u}$ ? and ba- $\acute{s}u$ -u respectively for ba- $\acute{s}u$ -u. vi 27  $\acute{s}a$ : exs. 75\*, 118\* have  $\acute{s}a$ ; and ex. 120\* has  $\acute{s}a$ ?. vi 27.75\* ni-i-ba for ni-ba. vi 27 i- $\acute{s}u$ -u: ex. 75\* has i- $\acute{s}u$ - $\acute{u}$ ; ex. 113\* has i- $\acute{s}u$ -u; ex. 120 has i- $\acute{s}u$ -[ $\acute{u}$ ]; and ex. 132\* has  $\acute{r}$ - $\acute{s}u$ -u. vi 28 zi- $\acute{k}ir$ ?: ex. 75\* has zik- $\acute{r}u$ ?.; ex. 113\* has  $\acute{z}ik$ - $\acute{r}a$ ; and ex. 132\* has [zik]- $\acute{r}a$ ?. vi 28.113\*, 132\* omit the first u. vi 30.113\*, 121\*  $\acute{s}a$  and  $\acute{s}a$ ? respectively for  $\acute{s}a$ . vi 31.75\*  $\acute{s}a$  for  $\acute{s}a$ . vi 31 ma- $\acute{s}ar$ -tu: ex. 26\* has ma- $\acute{s}ar$ -tum; exs. 75\*, 113\* have ma- $\acute{s}ar$ -ti; and ex. 121\* has [ma- $\acute{s}ar$ ]- $\acute{t}i$ ?. vi 32.113\* URU.šá-pi-i- $\acute{d}$ EN for URU.šá-pi-i- $\acute{d}$ EN. vi 35.75\*  $\acute{m}du$ -na- $\acute{r}ni$ ? for  $\acute{m}du$ -na-nu. vi 36  $\acute{s}u$ -a- $\acute{t}u$ : ex. 75\* has  $\acute{s}u$ - $\acute{a}$ - $\acute{t}u$ ?; ex. 113\* has  $\acute{s}u$ -a-tu; and ex. 118\* has  $\acute{s}u$ - $\acute{a}$ - $\acute{t}u$ . vi 37.26\* adds  $\acute{s}u$  after  $\acute{u}$ - $\acute{s}a$ -lik. vi 38.26\* na-gu-u for na-gu- $\acute{u}$ . vi 38  $\acute{s}u$ -a-tu: exs. 26\*, 118\* have  $\acute{s}u$ -a- $\acute{t}u$ ; and ex. 120\* has  $\acute{s}u$ -a-tum. vi 39.118\*  $\acute{q}p$ -ru-us for  $\acute{q}p$ -ru-sa. vi 40.75\* tukul-ti for tu-kul-ti. vi 41.75\* omits MEŠ in LÚ.KÜR.MEŠ-ia. vi 41.113\* adds URU before NINA.KI. vi 42.75\* LUGAL for MAN. vi 45.75\*  $\acute{s}a$  for  $\acute{s}a$ . vi 47.75\*  $\acute{a}na$ ? for a-na. vi 47.113\*, 134\* URU.NINA. $\acute{K}$ I<sup>1</sup> and URU.NINA respectively for NINA.KI. vi 48.36\*  $\acute{m}d$ AG-SIG<sub>5</sub>-iq for  $\acute{m}d$ MUATI-SIG<sub>5</sub>-iq. vi 49  $\acute{s}a$ : exs. 27\*, 113\* have  $\acute{s}a$ ?; and ex. 36\* has  $\acute{s}a$ . vi 49.36\*, 107\* MAN for  $\acute{L}$ UGAL. vi 51.36\*  $\acute{m}e$ - $\acute{e}$ - $\acute{r}a$ - $\acute{s}u$ - $\acute{e}$ - $\acute{t}i$  for  $\acute{m}e$ - $\acute{r}e$ - $\acute{e}$ - $\acute{t}i$ . vi 51.75\*  $\acute{s}a$  for  $\acute{s}a$ . vi 51.49\* [ak-lu]- $\acute{r}i$ ? for ak-lu-u. vi 52  $\acute{t}e$ - $\acute{m}e$ -ia: ex. 5 has  $\acute{t}e$ - $\acute{e}$ - $\acute{m}e$ -ia?; and exs. 36\*, 107\* have  $\acute{t}e$ - $\acute{e}$ - $\acute{m}e$ -ia. vi 54.5, 107\* e-mu-ru-u[ma] and e-mu-ru-u-ma for e-mu-ru-ma. vi 55.36\* ib-qu-ma for ib-qu-nu. vi 55.36\*, 107\* ziq-na-a- $\acute{s}u$  for ziq-na-a- $\acute{s}u$ . vi 56.75\*, 107\*  $\acute{m}d$ MUATI-SIG<sub>5</sub>-iq and  $\acute{m}d$ MUATI-SIG<sub>5</sub>-[iq] respectively for  $\acute{m}d$ AG-SIG<sub>5</sub>-iq. vi 56.66\* [ka]- $\acute{r}as$ -su for kar-as-su. vi 58.6  $\acute{s}a$  for  $\acute{s}a$ . vi 60.107\* MAN for LUGAL. vi 61.6, 75\*  $\acute{m}BILA$ -ia for  $\acute{m}BILA$ -a-a. vi 61.36\* [ $\acute{m}$ ] $\acute{A}$ G<sup>1</sup>-sa-lim for  $\acute{m}d$ MUATI-sa-lim. vi 61.30\*, 107\*  $\acute{m}d$ AMAR.UTU-[A-AŠ] and  $\acute{m}d$ AMAR.UTU-A-AŠ respectively for  $\acute{m}d$ ŠÚ-A-AŠ. vi 62.6, 75\*  $\acute{s}a$  for  $\acute{s}a$ . vi 62.36\* in-nab- $\acute{t}u$  for in-nab-tu. vi 63.36\* ana for a-na. vi 64.6  $\acute{a}š$ -ku-na for  $\acute{a}š$ -ku-nu. vi 64.6 a-na for ana. vi 64.36\*, 107\*  $\acute{L}$ UGAL- $\acute{u}$ -ti and LUGAL- $u$ -ti respectively for LUGAL- $\acute{u}$ -ti. vi 64.122\* [ $\acute{m}BILA$ -a]- $\acute{a}$  for  $\acute{m}BILA$ -ia. vi 64.107\* [ $\acute{m}d$ ] $\acute{M}$ UATI<sup>1</sup>-sa-lim for [ $\acute{m}$ ] $\acute{A}$ G-sa-lim. vi 65.36\* IGI-ia for  $\acute{r}aḥ$ - $\acute{r}i$ -ia. vi 66.107\* [ $\acute{m}sa$ -am]-gu-nu for  $\acute{m}sa$ -am-gu-na. vi 67.122\*  $\acute{s}a$  for  $\acute{s}a$ . vi 67.122\* AD.MEŠ- $\acute{s}u$ - $\acute{u}n$ ? for AD.MEŠ- $\acute{s}u$ - $\acute{u}n$ . vi 67.107\*  $\acute{A}$ D<sup>1</sup>.MEŠ-ia for  $\acute{A}$ D<sup>1</sup>.MEŠ-ia. vi 68.6 omits li in  $\acute{u}$ - $\acute{d}al$ -li-pu-ma. vi 69.34\* omits KI in bal-til.KI. vi 69.67\*, 107\* [ $\acute{L}$ IMMU]- $\acute{D}$ INGIR.KI<sup>1</sup> and  $\acute{L}$ IMMU-DINGIR.KI<sup>1</sup> respectively for URU. $\acute{L}$ IMMU-DINGIR. vi 70  $\acute{a}ḥ$ -ra-a-te: ex. 34\* has  $\acute{a}ḥ$ - $\acute{r}a$ -a-ti; ex. 70\* has  $\acute{a}ḥ$ - $\acute{r}a$ - $\acute{a}$ -ti; and ex. 122\* has [ $\acute{a}ḥ$ ]- $\acute{r}a$ - $\acute{a}$ -ti. vi 70  $\acute{u}$ -bil- $\acute{s}u$ -nu-ti: ex. 1\* has  $\acute{u}$ -bil- $\acute{s}u$ -nu- $\acute{t}i$ ?; ex. 34\* has  $\acute{u}$ -bil- $\acute{s}u$ -nu-ti; and exs. 67\*, 107\* have [ $\acute{u}$ -bil]- $\acute{s}u$ -nu-ti. vi 71.1\*, 70\*  $\acute{s}a$  and  $\acute{s}a$ ? respectively for the first  $\acute{s}a$ . vi 71.1\*, 34\*, 122\* omit the second  $\acute{s}a$ . vi 71  $\acute{m}du$ -na-ni: exs. 1\*, 34\* have  $\acute{m}du$ -na-nu; ex. 67 has [ $\acute{m}$ ] $\acute{d}u$ -na-nu; and ex. 107\* has [ $\acute{m}$ ] $\acute{d}u$ - $\acute{n}a$ -nu. vi 72.6, 70\*  $\acute{m}d$ MUATI- $\acute{s}al$ -li and  $\acute{m}d$ AG- $\acute{u}$ - $\acute{s}al$ -li respectively for  $\acute{m}d$ MUATI- $\acute{u}$ - $\acute{s}al$ -li. vi 72.1\*  $\acute{K}$ UR.gam-bu-lu<sup>1</sup>? for KUR.gam-bu-li. vi 73.107\* [ $\acute{s}il$ -la]- $\acute{t}u$ ? for  $\acute{s}il$ -la- $\acute{t}u$ . vi 73 GAL-ti: exs. 1\*, 107\* have GAL- $\acute{t}u$ ?; ex. 34\* has  $\acute{G}$ AL- $\acute{t}u$ ?; and ex. 67\* has  $\acute{G}$ AL- $\acute{t}u$ . vi 74.70\* adds KI after URU. $\acute{L}$ IMMU-DINGIR. vi 75 NINA.KI: ex. 56\* has URU. $\acute{N}$ INA<sup>1</sup>; ex. 107\* has [URU.ni]- $\acute{n}a$ - $\acute{a}$ ?; and ex. 123\* has  $\acute{U}$ RU<sup>1</sup>.ni- $\acute{n}a$ - $\acute{a}$ . vi 76.107\*, 123\* [ $\acute{i}ḫ$ -bu- $\acute{h}u$ ]-uš and  $\acute{i}ḫ$ -x-bu- $\acute{h}u$ -uš respectively for  $\acute{i}ḫ$ -bu- $\acute{h}u$ - $\acute{s}u$ . vi 76.56\*  $\acute{s}a$  for  $\acute{s}a$ . vi 76.107\*, 123\* [ $\acute{m}du$ ]- $\acute{n}a$ -nu and  $\acute{m}du$ -na-nu respectively for  $\acute{m}du$ -na-ni. vi 77.6 u for  $\acute{u}$ . vi 77  $\acute{u}$ -na-kis: ex. 56\* has  $\acute{u}$ - $\acute{n}ak$ -[kis]; ex. 107\* has [ $\acute{u}$ ]- $\acute{n}ak$ -kis; and ex. 123\* has  $\acute{u}$ - $\acute{n}ak$ -kis?. vi 79.108\* omits  $\acute{d}$  in  $\acute{m}d$ EN-KAR-ir. vi 79.28\*  $\acute{m}d$ AG-MU-URU- $\acute{e}$  for  $\acute{m}d$ MUATI-MU-KAM- $\acute{e}$ š. vi 80.108\*  $\acute{s}a$  for  $\acute{s}a$ . vi 80.123\*-124\* [ $\acute{m}$ ] $\acute{r}$ - $\acute{t}a$ -ki and [ $\acute{m}r$ ]- $\acute{t}a$ - $\acute{k}i$  respectively for  $\acute{m}ur$ - $\acute{t}a$ -ku. vi 81.28\*  $\acute{G}$ IR.PAD.DU<sup>1</sup>.MEŠ for  $\acute{G}$ IR.PAD.DA.MEŠ. vi 81.28\*, 108\*  $\acute{m}d$ AG-MU-URU- $\acute{e}$  and  $\acute{m}d$ AG-MU.KAM- $\acute{e}$ š respectively for  $\acute{m}d$ MUATI-MU-KAM- $\acute{e}$ š. vi 82.124\*  $\acute{s}a$  for  $\acute{s}a$ . vi 83.28\*, 124\* [ $\acute{G}$ IR].PAD.DU.MEŠ and  $\acute{G}$ IR.PAD.DU.MEŠ respectively for  $\acute{G}$ IR.PAD.DA.MEŠ. vi 83.124\*  $\acute{s}a$ -a-te-na for  $\acute{s}a$ -a-ti-na. vi 84.28\*, 108\*, 124\* omit  $\acute{s}a$ . vi 84 URU.ni- $\acute{n}a$ - $\acute{a}$ ?: exs. 28\*, 108\* have NINA.KI; and ex. 124\* has  $\acute{N}$ INA.KI<sup>1</sup>. vi 86.92\* MUN for  $\acute{t}a$ -ab- $\acute{t}u$ . vi 87 LUGAL- $u$ -ti: ex. 28\* has  $\acute{L}$ UGAL- $\acute{u}$ - $\acute{t}i$ ?; ex. 119\* has LUGAL- $\acute{u}$ - $\acute{t}i$ ?; and ex. 124\* has LUGAL-ut. vi 88.119\*  $\acute{s}a$  for  $\acute{s}a$ .

vi 88.108\*, 119\* 'MUNUS'.SIG<sub>5</sub> and MUNUS.SIG<sub>5</sub> respectively for SIG<sub>5</sub>-tì. vi 88.124\* *has-su* for *ha-as-su*. vi 90.110\*, 119\* 'ul'-tú and ul-tú respectively for *ul-tu*. vi 90.119\* adds *ša* before <sup>md</sup>GIŠ.NU<sub>11</sub>-MU-GI.NA.

vii 1.108\* *ke-e-nu* for *ke-nu*. vii 1.92\* *im-<sup>h</sup>ur* for *im-<sup>h</sup>u-ru*. vii 1 *ta-a-tú*: ex. 92\* has *ta-a-tú*; ex. 108\* has *ta-a-a-tu*; ex. 119\* has *ta-a-a-tú*; and ex. 125\* has *ta-a-a-tú* [tú]. vii 2 *e-mu-qi-šu*: ex. 92\* has *e-mu-qi-šu-un*; ex. 108\* has *e-mu-qi-šu*; and ex. 119\* has *e-mu-qi-<sup>l</sup>šu*. vii 2.92\* omits *ti* in *ti-ti-šu-un*. vii 4 *ša*: exs. 108\*, 119\* omit it; and ex. 125\* has 'ša'. vii 5.92\* *it-tan-la-ku* for *it-ta-na-al-la-ku*. vii 5.119\* *ú-kab-bi-su* for *ú-kab-ba-su*. vii 6.92\* *i-de-e* for *i-de*. vii 6.51\* *mun-da-su* for *mun-da-si*. vii 7.125\* MAN for LUGAL. vii 7.92\* omits MA in KUR.ELAM.MA.KI. vii 8 KUR.pil-la-te: ex. 75\* has [KUR.pil]-*la-ti*; ex. 92\* has KUR.pil-la-ti; and ex. 125\* has 'KUR.pil-la-ti'. vii 9 *pa-ru-ú*: ex. 51\* has <sup>m</sup>par-ru-ú; ex. 75\* has <sup>m</sup>par-[ru-ú]; and ex. 92\* has <sup>m</sup>par<sup>l</sup>-ru-ú. vii 11.110\* <sup>m</sup>ne-<sup>e</sup>šu for <sup>m</sup>ne-e-šu. vii 12.3\*, 51\* omit *uš* in *mit-<sup>h</sup>u-uš-ši*. vii 13.6\*, 126\* [iš]-*kun-šu-nu-ti* and *iš-kun-šu-nu-ti* for *iš-kun-šu-nu-te*. vii 15.6\* [ul]-*tu* for TA. vii 17.137\* [<sup>m</sup>pa]-*ru-ú* for <sup>m</sup>pa-ru-u. vii 17.137\* [<sup>m</sup>ne]-*e-šu* for <sup>m</sup>ne<sup>l</sup>-e-šu. vii 19.118\* [iš]-*bat-u-nim-ma* for *iš<sup>l</sup>-ba-tu-nim-ma*. vii 19.126\* [uš-te-še]-*ru-ú-ni* for *uš-te-še-ru-ni*. vii 21.118\* omits *uš* in 'EDIN<sup>l</sup>-uš-šu-un'. vii 22.75\* *ša* for *ša*. vii 23.75\* *ša* for *ša*. vii 23.62\* <sup>m</sup>par-ru-<sup>l</sup>u for <sup>m</sup>par-ru-ú. vii 23.137\* [<sup>m</sup>at]-*ta-me-tú* for <sup>m</sup>at-ta-me-tu. vii 24.121\* KUD-*su-nim* [ma] for *ik-ki-su-nim-ma*. vii 24.118\*, 137\* 'IGI'-*ia* and IGI-*ia* respectively for *ma<sup>h</sup>-ri-ia*. vii 26.118\* <sup>m</sup>um<sup>l</sup>-*man-ni-gaš* for <sup>m</sup>um-man-i-gaš. vii 27.121\* *áš-pu-ra* for *áš-pu-ru*. vii 29.118\*, 137\* <sup>d</sup>AG<sup>l</sup> and [<sup>d</sup>]AG<sup>l</sup> respectively for <sup>d</sup>MUATI. vii 29.118\* *tik<sup>l</sup>-le-ia* for *ti-ik-le-ia*. vii 30.118\* <sup>m</sup>um-man-<sup>l</sup>ni<sup>l</sup>-*gaš* for <sup>m</sup>um-man-i-gaš. vii 32 <sup>m</sup>tam-ma-ri-tú: ex. 118\* has <sup>m</sup>tam-<sup>m</sup>ma-ri-tu; ex. 121\* has <sup>m</sup>tam-ma-ri-tu; and ex. 133\* has [<sup>m</sup>tam-ma-ri]-*tu*. vii 32.133\* *ša* for *ša*. vii 33.107\*, 118\* [ta]-*a-tú* and *ta-a-a-ti* respectively for *ta-a-a-tú*. vii 36.133\* *mit-<sup>h</sup>u-uš-ši* for *mit-<sup>h</sup>u-ši*. vii 40.118\* MUNUS.<sup>h</sup>UL-*ia* for <sup>h</sup>UL-ti-*ia*. vii 42.118\* *ú-sab-šu-ú* for *ú-sab-šu-u*. vii 44.118\* *ša* for *ša*. vii 44.118\* *me-re-eh-ti* for *me-re-eh-tú*. vii 44 *iq<sup>l</sup>-bu-ú* for *iq-bu-u*. vii 46.107\* *a-<sup>h</sup>u-ru-ú* for *a-<sup>h</sup>u-ru-u*. vii 46.118\* ERIM.<sup>h</sup>I.A.MEŠ-*ia* for ERIM.HI.A-*ia*. vii 47.1 AD-*šu* for AD-*šu*. vii 48.1 omits MEŠ in <sup>h</sup>I.II.MEŠ-*šu*. vii 49.107\* *ša* for *ša*. vii 50.107\*, 118\* DINGIR-*ú-ti-šu-[nu]* and DINGIR-*ti-šu-un* respectively for DINGIR-*ti-šu-nu*. vii 53.107\* *mi-ra-nu-uš-šu-un* for *mi-ra-nu-uš-šu-un*. vii 53.118\* *lib-bi-šu-nu* for *lib-bi-šu-nu*. vii 57.36\* adds LÚ before the second *šu-un*. vii 65.6 *áš-pu-ra* for *áš-pu-ru*. vii 66.6, 36\* <sup>md</sup>AG-EN-MU.MEŠ and <sup>md</sup>AG-EN-<sup>l</sup>MU<sup>l</sup>. [MEŠ] respectively for <sup>md</sup>MUATI-EN-MU.MEŠ. vii 66.6 <sup>md</sup>ŠÚ-A-AŠ for <sup>md</sup>AMAR.UTU-A-AŠ. vii 67.6 *ša* for *ša*. vii 67.6 *tap-pé-e* for *tap-pé-e*. vii 69.34\*, 36\* 'ša' and *ša* respectively for *ša*. vii 69.34\*, 36\* <sup>md</sup>AG<sup>l</sup>-[EN-MU.MEŠ] and <sup>md</sup>AG-EN-MU.MEŠ respectively for <sup>md</sup>MUATI-EN-MU.MEŠ. vii 69.6 omits *a* in *pi-ir-ša-a-ti*. vii 69.34\* 'i-na' for the second *ina*. vii 70.6 *ú-ša-bi-tú* for *uš-šab-bi-tu*. vii 70.6 *ik-lu-u* for *ik-lu-ú*. vii 71.6, 34\* MAN for LUGAL. vii 72.6 *ú-še-ša-áš-šu-nu-te* for *ú-še-ša-áš-šu-nu-ti*. vii 75.5, 34\* *tu-ú-bi* and 'tu-<sup>l</sup>u-bi' respectively for *tu-ú-bi*. vii 75.34\* *u* for *u*. vii 76.6 *ma<sup>h</sup>-ri-ia* for IGI-*ia*. vii 80.5 omits *az* in *ú-ša-az-kir-šu-ma*. vii 82.124\* *ar-ka<sup>l</sup>-[nu]* for EGIR-*nu*. vii 82.5 *i<sup>h</sup>-te-e<sup>l</sup>-ma* for *i<sup>h</sup>-ti-ma*. vii 83.58\* [ta]-*ab<sup>l</sup>-tú* for MUN. vii 83.6 *ni-ri* for GIŠ.SUDUN. vii 83.6 'EN-ti-ia' for *be-lu-ti-ia*. vii 84.6 omits *ma* in *ip-ru-us-ma*. vii 89.5, 127\* EDIN-uš-*šu* and [še-ru<sup>l</sup>]-*uš-šu* respectively for *še-ru-uš-šu*.

viii 1.5 [iš]-*kun* for *iš<sup>l</sup>-ku-nu*. viii 3.5 *mu-ša-bi-šu-nu* for *mu-ša-bi-šu-nu*. viii 8.25\*, 53\* [um<sup>l</sup>-da<sup>l</sup>-na<sup>l</sup>-al<sup>l</sup>-lu]-*ru-ú* and [um<sup>l</sup>-da<sup>l</sup>-na<sup>l</sup>]-*al<sup>l</sup>-lu-ru-ú* respectively for *um<sup>l</sup>-da-na<sup>l</sup>-al-lu-u*. viii 9.6\*, 92\* GIM for *ki-ma*. viii 11.75\* [ina<sup>l</sup>] 'MURUB<sub>3</sub>' for *qa-bal-ti*. viii 11.25\*, 80\* add MEŠ after ANŠE.GAM.MAL. viii 11.75\* omits the second *ina*. viii 12.80\* *i-na* for *ina*. viii 12.5, 72\* [KI]<sup>l</sup>.LAM<sup>l</sup> and 'KILLAM' respectively for *ma-<sup>h</sup>i-ri*. viii 15 *a-me-lu-tu*: ex. 5 has [*a-me-lu-ti*]; ex. 72\* has *a-me-lu-tú*; and ex. 80\* has *a-me-lu-tú*. viii 16.118\* 'KUR<sup>l</sup>.a-ri<sup>l</sup>-[bi]' for LÚ.a-ri-bi. viii 16.80\* *ša* for *ša*. viii 20.118\* *a-de-<sup>e</sup>ru* for *a-de-šu-un*. viii 22.80\*, 118\* omit *u*.

viii 22 second *ša*: exs. 80\*, 118\* have *ša*; and ex. 128 has 'ša'. viii 22.82\*, 118\* omit KI in URU.LÍMMU-DINGIR.KI. viii 23.37\* has [EN.MEŠ]-*ia* for EN.MEŠ-*ia*. viii 24.128\* *ia-u-ta-a* for *ia-u-ta-a*. viii 24 *im-<sup>h</sup>ur-šu-ma*: ex. 37\* omits *ma*; and ex. 80\* has *im-<sup>h</sup>ur-šu-ma*. viii 25 *a-bi-ia-te-e*: ex. 23\* has [<sup>m</sup>a-bi-ia]-*ta-a*; ex. 62\* has [<sup>m</sup>a-bi]-*ia-ta* [a]; and ex. 82\* has [<sup>m</sup>a-bi]-*ia-ta-a*. viii 25.37\* 'A' for DUMU. viii 26.128\* adds URU before NINA.KI. viii 26.23\*, 82\* *il-lik-am-[ma]* and 'il-lik-am-<sup>l</sup>ma' respectively for *il-li-kam-ma*. viii 26 *ú-na-šiq*: ex. 73\* has *ú-na-áš-šiq*; and exs. 80\*, 118\* have *ú-na-áš-šiq*. viii 26.37\* GİR.II-*ia* for GİR.II-*ia*. viii 28 *ana*: exs. 80\*, 118\* have *a-na*; and ex. 128\* has [a]-*na*. viii 28.128\* omits *u* in LUGAL-*u-ti*. viii 29.118\*, 129\* omit NA<sub>4</sub> in NA<sub>4</sub>.IGI.II.MEŠ. viii 29.23\* BABBAR.DILI.<sup>l</sup>MEŠ<sup>l</sup> for NA<sub>4</sub>.BABBAR.DILI. viii 30.128\*-129\* ANŠE<sup>l</sup>.NÍTA.MEŠ for ANŠE.MEŠ. viii 30.129\* *bit-ru-ti* for *bit-ru-tú*. viii 31 EDIN-uš-*šu*: exs. 37\*, 118\* have EDIN-uš-*šu*; and ex. 128\* has 'še<sup>l</sup>-[ru]-uš-<sup>l</sup>šu'. viii 32.118\* <sup>m</sup>am-mu-la-<sup>l</sup>ad<sup>l</sup>-[di-in] for <sup>m</sup>am-mu-la-di-in. viii 33.107\*, 118\* *i<sup>h</sup>-ta-nab-ba-tú* and *i<sup>h</sup>-ta-nab-ba-tú* respectively for *i<sup>h</sup>-ta-nab-ba-tu*. viii 34.37\* MU-*ia* for MU-*ia*. viii 35.5, 12\* 'ša' for the first *ša*. viii 35.107\* 'ša' for the second *ša*. viii 35 LÍMMU-DINGIR.KI: ex. 37\* has 'URU<sup>l</sup>.LÍMMU<sup>l</sup>-DINGIR<sup>l</sup>'; and exs. 118\*, 129\* have URU<sup>l</sup>.LÍMMU<sup>l</sup>-[DINGIR]. viii 36.12\* appears to omit *a* in 'KUR.ma-*a-a-ba*'. viii 38.12\* *iš-ku-na* and *iš-ku-na* respectively for *iš-ku-nu*. viii 40.24\* *ú-ša-bit* for *ú-šab-bit*. viii 42.118\* omits URU in URU.NINA.KI. viii 43.24\* 'MAN' for LUGAL. viii 44.46\*, 118\* *a-šar-šu* for *a-šar-šu*. viii 44.24\*, 46\* *ru-ú-qu* for *ru-u-qu*. viii 45.118\* omits *u*. viii 45.24\* *ša* for *ša*. viii 45.24\* *ú-tak-ki-lu-in-ni* for *ú-tak-ki-lu-in-ni*. viii 52.4 omits *al* in *ú-ša-na-al-la-a*. viii 52 *be-lu-u-ti*: ex. 4 has *be-lu-u-ti*; ex. 5 has 'EN<sup>l</sup>-(ú-ti)'; and ex. 83\* has EN-*ú-ti*. viii 54.83\* [IGI].MEŠ<sup>l</sup>-*ia* for *pa-ni-ia*. viii 55.83\* [man]-*da-at-tú* for *man-da-at-tu*. viii 57.4 *ba-ni-ia* for DÜ-*ia*. viii 62.4 [a-sur]-*ru-ú* for *a-sur-ru-šu*. viii 65.3 [mu]-*ša-ru-u* for MU.SAR-*ú*. viii 66.5 omits 'ša'. viii 68.6 'ú' for *u*. viii 69.3 *a-na* for *ana*. viii 71.6 [DUMU].MEŠ<sup>l</sup>-*ia* for DUMU.MEŠ-*ia*. viii 72.6 *ša* for *ša*. viii 73.3 *in-na-<sup>h</sup>u* for *en-na-<sup>h</sup>u*. viii 76.6 MU.SAR-*u* for MU.SAR-*ú*. viii 76.6 MU-*ia* for MU-*ia*. viii 77.6 [i].GIŠ<sup>l</sup> for <sup>h</sup>I.MEŠ. viii 77.3 *lip-šu-uš* for *lip-šu-uš*. viii 77.6 *liq-qi* for BAL-*qi*. viii 87.6 *ša* for *ša*.

#### Text No. 4

i 31.3 *ul-tu* for *ul-tú*. i 32.3 <sup>d</sup>šam-*ši* for <sup>d</sup>UTU-*ši*. i 33.3 *iš-šu-u-ni* for *iš-šu-u-ni*. i 33.4 *ka<sup>l</sup>-bit-tu* for *ka-bit-tú*. i 34.4 *ša-qu-ti* for *ša-qu-te*. i 38.4 KUR.má-*kan-na* for KUR.má-*kan*. i 38.4 *u* for 'ú'. i 39.2 omits *u* in *lu-u*. i 39.4 <sup>m</sup>tar-qu-*ú* for <sup>m</sup>tar-qu-*u*. i 39.4 LUGAL for MAN. i 40.4 LUGAL for MAN. i 40.2 omits KI in AN.ŠAR.KI. i 41.4 *u* for *u*. i 47.16 *ša* for *ša*. i 47.3 *ba-nu-ú* for *ba-nu-u-a*. i 48.5 *a-na* for *ina*. i 49.6 *il-lik-am-[ma]* for *il-li-kam-ma*. i 50.11 omits *a* in *an-na-a-ti*. i 51 LÚ.*e-mu-qi-ia*: ex. 5 omits LÚ; and ex. 11 has [LÚ].*e<sup>l</sup>-mu-qi-ia*. i 52.6 *qa-a-tu-u-a* for *qa-tu-u-a*. i 53 first *ša*: ex. 2 has *ša*; and ex. 5 omits it. i 53.2 *ša* for the second *ša*. i 53.8, 11 'ARAD.MEŠ-*ni*' and ARAD.MEŠ-*ni* respectively for ARAD.MEŠ. i 55.7, 11 URU.kar-<sup>d</sup>DÜ-*ti* for URU.kar-*ba-ni-ti*. i 55.14 <sup>m</sup>tar-qu-*u* for <sup>m</sup>tar-qu-*ú*. i 55.7 'LUGAL' for MAN. i 56.7, 11 *iš-me<sup>l</sup>-e<sup>l</sup>-ma* and *iš-me<sup>l</sup>-e<sup>l</sup>-[ma]* respectively for *iš-me-ma*. i 57.5 adds *u* before MÈ. i 58 *ina*: exs. 6, 8 have *i-na*; and ex. 14 has 'i-na'. i 58.5 *tukul-ti* for *tu-kul-ti*. i 59.2 omits MEŠ in EN.MEŠ-*ia*. i 59.7 *i-di-ia* for 'Á'.II-*ia*. i 59 *ina*: exs. 6, 8 have *i-na*; and ex. 14 has 'i-na'. i 60.6, 8, 14 <sup>m</sup>tar-qu-*u* for <sup>m</sup>tar-qu-*ú*. i 60 *ina*: ex. 5 omits it; ex. 8 has *i-na*; and ex. 14 has 'i-<sup>l</sup>na]. i 61.5 adds *u* before <sup>d</sup>15. i 62.5 *me-lam-me* for *mi-lam-me*. i 62.5 MAN-*ti-ia* for LUGAL-*it-ia*. i 62.2, 7 *ik-tu-mu-šu-ma* and *ik-tu-mu-šu-ma* respectively for *ik-tu-mu-šu-ma*. i 63.12 'ša' for *ša*. i 63 *ú-za-i-i-nu-u-ni*: exs. 3, 6 omit *u*; and ex. 5 omits *i*. i 64 *ana*: ex. 3 has 'a<sup>l</sup>na]; exs. 6, 8, 12 have *a-na*; and ex. 7 has [a]-*na*. i 65.5, 12 *šu-a-tú* and 'šu-a<sup>l</sup>-tú' respectively for *šu-a-tu*. i 66.5-6 omit MEŠ in ERIM.HI.A.MEŠ-*ia*. i 69.3, 6 *ú-maš-še<sup>l</sup>-[ru]* and 'ú-*maš-še-ru* respectively for *ú-maš-ši-ru*. i 71.5 *maš-kán-šu-un* for *maš-kán-i-šu-nu*. i 72.5 adds *u*

before KUR.ku-u-su. i 72.6 KUR.ku-<sup>r</sup>ú<sup>1</sup>-[su] for KUR.ku-u-su. i 73.3 eš-šú<sup>r</sup>-tí<sup>1</sup> for eš-šú-ti. i 74.9 [ú]-da-nin for ú-dan-nin.

ii 10'.3 ú-šam-ri-ru-ma for ú-šam-ri-ir-ma. ii 35'.7 a-ši-bu-u-ti for a-šib. ii 35'.7, 11 šá-de-e<sup>1</sup> for šad-de-e. ii 36'.4 ep-še-e-ti-ia for ep-še-ti-ia. ii 56'.5 <sup>m</sup>a-zi-ba-a'-al for <sup>m</sup>a-zi-ba-al. ii 58'.5 ma-du-ni-ba-a'-al for ma-du-ni-ba-al. ii 59'.5 lu-bul-tú for lu-bul-ti. ii 59'.3 adds MEŠ after HAR. ii 63'.5 šá for 'ša'. ii 65'.3 [an-ni]-<sup>r</sup>tu<sup>1</sup> for an-ni-tú. ii 68'.3 [iṣ-ba]-<sup>r</sup>tu<sup>1</sup> for iṣ-ba-<sup>r</sup>tu<sup>1</sup>. ii 74'.9 adds an extraneous e after 4-e.

iii 23.4 [URU.áš]-<sup>r</sup>di-ia<sup>1</sup>-[áš] for URU.áš-di-áš. iii 27.4 [URU.i-zir]-<sup>r</sup>tú<sup>1</sup> for URU.i-zir-ti.

iv 18'.1 MAN for LUGAL. iv 21'.1 ba-<sup>r</sup>la<sup>1</sup>-[ti] for ba-lá-ti. iv 23'.4 LÚ.KUR.gam-<sup>r</sup>bu<sup>1</sup>-[la-a] for LÚ.gam-bu-la-<sup>r</sup>a<sup>1</sup>-[a]. iv 26'.3 <sup>m</sup>dAG<sup>1</sup>-MU-URU<sub>4</sub>-eš for <sup>m</sup>dAG-MU-KAM-eš. iv 30'.4 e-mi-<sup>r</sup>is<sup>1</sup>-[su] for e-mid-[su]. iv 30'.1 GAL-tu for GAL-tú. iv 32'.1 [na-piṣ]-<sup>r</sup>tu<sup>1</sup> for na-piṣ-tú.

v 19''.3 šu-a-tu for šu-a-tú. v 30''.10 [q]<sup>r</sup>ŠEŠ<sup>1</sup>.KI-ri for <sup>n</sup>a-an<sup>1</sup>-nār. v 30''.10 omits u. v 31''.1 omits ri in <sup>r</sup>d<sup>1</sup>ŠEŠ.KI-ri. v 32''.10 u for ú. v 32''.3, 10 in-nen-nu-u and [in-né<sup>1</sup>]-nu-<sup>r</sup>ú<sup>1</sup> respectively for in-né-nu-u. v 34''.10 <sup>r</sup>d<sup>1</sup>iš-tar for <sup>r</sup>d<sup>1</sup>is-tar. v 35''.3 ita-na-áš-rab-<sup>r</sup>tu<sup>1</sup> for ita-ta-na-áš-ra-bi-tu. v 35''.3 omits ina. v 35''.3 MURUB<sub>4</sub> for qa-<sup>r</sup>bal<sup>1</sup>. v 38''.3 MAN for LUGAL. v 41''.10 <sup>r</sup>ip-laḥ<sup>1</sup>-ma for ip-làh-ma.

vi 24.17 omits MEŠ in É.GAL.MEŠ-šú. vi 28.17 ba-šú-u for ba-šú-u. vi 36.17 <sup>r</sup>ba<sup>1</sup>-tu-su-<sup>r</sup>u for ba<sup>1</sup>-tu-us-su. vi 39.17 [na-gu]-u for na-gu-ú. vi 43.3 adds URU before NINA.KI. vi 46.3, 17 'šal-la-at<sup>1</sup> and 'šal<sup>1</sup>-la-at respectively for šal-la-ti. vi 47.3 ik-šu-du for ik-šuda. vi 48.17 [nin-gu]-u<sup>2</sup>-ti for nin-gu-ti. vi 49.3 adds URU before NINA.KI. vi 49.1 adds ma after e-ru-ub. vi 50.3, 17 <sup>m</sup>dAG-SIG<sub>5</sub>-iq for <sup>m</sup>dMUATI-SIG<sub>5</sub>-iq. vi 51.3 'ša<sup>1</sup> for šá. vi 51.3 MAN for LUGAL. vi 52.17 šá for ša. vi 52.1 omits II in ŠU.II-šú-nu. vi 52 me-re-eh-tú: ex. 3 has me-re-eh-ti; ex. 10 has <sup>r</sup>me-re-eh-ti; and ex. 17 has [me-re]-<sup>r</sup>eh<sup>1</sup>-ti. vi 52.3 ša for šá. vi 53 ú-qa-<sup>r</sup>u-u: ex. 3 has ú-qa-<sup>r</sup>u; ex. 10 has ú-<sup>r</sup>qa<sup>1</sup>-<sup>r</sup>u-ú; and ex. 17 has [ú]-<sup>r</sup>qa<sup>1</sup>-<sup>r</sup>u-ú. vi 53.3 omits e in è-e-me-ia. vi 55.3 adds URU before NINA.KI. vi 55.17 e-mu-ru-u-ma for e-mu-ru-ma. vi 56.17 omits e in šá-né-e. vi 56.3 è-e-mi for è-e-me. vi 57.10 omits a in ziq-na-a-šú. vi 58.3 <sup>m</sup>dAG-SIG<sub>5</sub>-iq for <sup>m</sup>dMUATI-SIG<sub>5</sub>-iq. vi 59 ka-ra-as-su: ex. 3 has kar-[as-su]; exs. 8, 17 have kar-as-su; and ex. 10 has 'ka<sup>1</sup>-ras-su. vi 61.3 adds URU before NINA.KI. vi 62.3 omits u. vi 64.8 [<sup>m</sup>dŠÚ-A-AŠ for <sup>m</sup>dAMAR.UTU-A-AŠ. vi 67.8 áš-ku-na for áš-ku-nu. vi 67.8 ana for a-na. vi 68.10 <sup>m</sup>IBILA-ia for <sup>m</sup>IBILA-a-a. vi 70.10 [<sup>m</sup>sa-am]-<sup>r</sup>gu-na<sup>1</sup> for <sup>m</sup>sa-am-gu-nu.

vii 16.3 tuk-te-e for tuk-te<sub>9</sub>-e. vii 17. [<sup>m</sup>at]-<sup>r</sup>ta<sup>1</sup>-me-tu for <sup>m</sup>at-ta-me-tú. vii 23.1 [<sup>m</sup>]<sup>r</sup>at<sup>1</sup>-ta-me-<sup>r</sup>tu<sup>1</sup> for <sup>m</sup>at-ta-me-tú. vii 25.1 <sup>r</sup>maḥ<sup>1</sup>-ri-ia<sup>1</sup> for IGI-ia. vii 27.2 [<sup>m</sup>]<sup>r</sup>um<sup>1</sup>-ma-ni-gaš for <sup>m</sup>um-man-i-gaš. vii 29.1 a-mat-<<AŠ>>-ia for a-mat-ia. vii 32.2 i-di-nu-in-ni for i-di-nu-in-ni. vii 34.1 omits MEŠ in GIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ. vii 35.3 ša for šá. vii 35.1 omits a in šá-a-šú. vii 37.1 [ta-<sup>r</sup>a]-<sup>r</sup>a<sup>1</sup>-ti for ta-<sup>r</sup>a-a-tú. vii 41.17 ERIM.ĪIA.MEŠ-ia<sup>1</sup> for ERIM.ĪIA-ia. vii 42.1 ana for ina. vii 44.1 omits šú in ARAD.MEŠ-šú. vii 44.10 'še<sup>1</sup>-[ru-uš-šú] for EDIN-uš-šú. vii 45.17 ú-ra-si-sib for ú-ra-si-bu. vii 45.2, 10 <sup>r</sup>ĪUL-ti<sup>1</sup>-ia and MUNUS.ĪUL-[ti-ia] respectively for ĪUL-ti-ia. vii 46 ša: ex. 2 has 'šá<sup>1</sup>; and exs. 10, 17 have šá. vii 47.1 ú-šab-šú-u for ú-šab-šú-ú. vii 48.1 <sup>m</sup>tam-<sup>r</sup>ma-ri-tú for <sup>m</sup>tam-ma-ri-tu. vii 48.10 MAN for LUGAL. vii 49.3 ša for šá. vii 50.17 e-li for UGU. vii 51.7 'ša<sup>1</sup> for šá. vii 51.17 'a-ḥu<sup>1</sup>-[ru]-<sup>r</sup>ú<sup>1</sup> for a-ḥu-ru-u. vii 51.17 ERIM.ĪIA.MEŠ-ia for ERIM.ĪIA-ia. vii 52.10 u for ú. vii 53.15, 17 Á.II.MEŠ-šú for Á.MEŠ-šú. vii 54.17 ša for šá. vii 54.7 ú for u. vii 55.17 DINGIR-ti-šú-un for DINGIR-ti-šú-nu. vii 55.2, 10 [<sup>m</sup>]<sup>r</sup>dŠÚ-MAN-PAP and <sup>m</sup>dŠÚ-LUGAL-PAP respectively for <sup>m</sup>dAMAR.UTU-MAN-PAP. vii 65.10 ša for ša. vii 56.2, 10 [mi-ra-nu]-<sup>r</sup>uš<sup>1</sup>-šú-un and mi-ra-nu-šú-[un] for mi-ra-nu-uš-šú-un. vii 56.10 lib-bi-<sup>r</sup>šú-un<sup>1</sup> for lib-bi-šú-nu. vii 58.10, 15 <sup>m</sup>tam-ma-ri-<sup>r</sup>tu<sup>1</sup> and [<sup>m</sup>tam]-<sup>r</sup>ma-ri-tu<sup>1</sup> respectively for <sup>m</sup>tam-ma-ri-tú. vii 58.10 ARAD.MEŠ-<sup>r</sup>ti<sup>1</sup>-[ia] for ARAD-ti-ia. vii 60.15, 17, and probably 10 add LÚ before šu-ut. vii 60.15 adds u before <sup>d</sup>AG. vii 62.8 <sup>m</sup>tam-ma-ri-tú for <sup>m</sup>tam-ma-ri-tu. vii 63.15 ul-zis-su-nu-ti for ul-zis-su-nu-ti. vii 64.15 'ša<sup>1</sup> for šá. vii 64.2, 17 [<sup>m</sup>tam]-<sup>r</sup>ma<sup>1</sup>-ri-tú and <sup>m</sup>tam-

ma-ri-ti respectively for <sup>m</sup>tam-ma-ri-tu. vii 66.17 omits e in i-de-e-ma. vii 67.10 ša for ša. vii 68.10 omits MEŠ in DUMU.MEŠ. vii 68.17 [áš-pu]-ra for áš-pu-ru. vii 69.10 [<sup>m</sup>d]<sup>r</sup>AG<sup>1</sup>-EN-MU.MEŠ for <sup>m</sup>dMUATI-EN-MU.MEŠ. vii 70.8, 17 <sup>m</sup>dŠÚ-A-AŠ and [<sup>m</sup>]<sup>r</sup>dAMAR<sup>1</sup>.UTU-A-AŠ<sup>1</sup> respectively for <sup>m</sup>dAMAR.UTU-A-AŠUM<sup>1</sup>.[NA]. vii 70.8 [tap]-<sup>r</sup>pe-e<sup>1</sup> for <sup>r</sup>tap-pe<sup>1</sup>-e. vii 73.5 <sup>r</sup>ú<sup>1</sup>-ša-ab-bi-tu for uš-šab-bi-tu. vii 80.5 <sup>m</sup>ḥa-ĪA-DINGIR for <sup>m</sup>ḥa-za-DINGIR.

viii 30.3 omits URU in URU.NINA.KI. viii 30.3 ú-na-áš-<sup>r</sup>šú<sup>1</sup>-[iq] for ú-na-šiq. viii 34.3 <sup>r</sup>man-da<sup>1</sup>-at-tu for man-da-at-ti. viii 34.3 omits NÍTA in ANŠE.NÍTA.MEŠ. viii 36.3 omits KUR in KUR.qa-ad-ri. viii 44.1 'ša<sup>1</sup> for šá. viii 46.3 omits URU in URU.NINA.KI. viii 47.3 ru-ú-qu for ru-u-qu. viii 48.3 ša for 'šá<sup>1</sup>. viii 51.3 ia-a-<sup>r</sup>tú<sup>1</sup> for ia-<sup>r</sup>ti<sup>1</sup>. viii 52.3 ĪIR.II-ia for ĪIR.II-ia. viii 59 ba-ni-ia: ex. 3 has <sup>r</sup>DÜ-ia; and exs. 7, 13 have DÜ-ia<sup>1</sup>. viii 49 DÜ-šú: ex. 3 has e-pu-šú; and exs. 7, 15 have <sup>r</sup>e-pu-šú<sup>1</sup>. viii 60.3, 7-8, 15, 17 add ša before ina. viii 60 taḥ-TU-ti: ex. 3 has taḥ-du-u-ti; ex. 4 has [taḥ]-<sup>r</sup>du<sup>1</sup>-u-ti; ex. 7 has taḥ-du-ti; and ex. 13 has 'taḥ<sup>1</sup>-du-ti. viii 60 gap-šú-ti: exs. 3, 7 have gap-šú-u-ti; and ex. 11 has [gap-šú]-u-ti. viii 61.17 ú-sa-<sup>r</sup>dí-ra<sup>1</sup> for ú-sad-di-ra. viii 63.7, 17 šu-a-tu for šu-a-tú. viii 63.7, 10 šá and 'šá<sup>1</sup> respectively for ša. viii 63.8 'il<sup>1</sup>-li<sup>1</sup>-ku<sup>1</sup> for DU-ku. viii 64.7, 8 a-sur-ru-šú for a-sur-ru-šú. viii 65.7 omits en in tem-me-en-šú. viii 66.7 šu-a-<sup>r</sup>tu<sup>1</sup> for šu-a-tú. viii 67.11 adds an extraneous DÍŠ sign after its [ú-kab]-<sup>r</sup>bir<sup>1</sup>. viii 68.8, 15 TA and 'TA<sup>1</sup> respectively for ul-tu. viii 68.7, 17 [gaba]-<sup>r</sup>dib<sup>1</sup>-bi-šú and GABA.DIB-šú respectively for gaba-dib-bé-e-šú. viii 69.8, 15, 17 šá for ša. viii 69 ú-dan-ni-na: ex. 3 has 'ú-dan-nin; and ex. 8 has [ú]-<sup>r</sup>dan<sup>1</sup>-nin<sup>1</sup>. viii 70 MU.SAR-u: ex. 10 has MU.SAR-ru-u; ex. 15 has [MU].SAR-ú; and ex. 17 has MU.SAR-ru-ú. viii 70 qar-ra-du-ti-ia: ex. 3 has qar-ra-du-ti-ia; ex. 8 has qar-<sup>r</sup>ra<sup>1</sup>-du-ti-ia; and ex. 17 has qar-ra-du-ti-ia<sup>1</sup>. viii 71.8 omits ša. viii 72.8 'ša<sup>1</sup> for the first šá. viii 72.3 ša for the second šá. viii 72.6, 10 <sup>r</sup>LÍMMU<sup>1</sup>-DINGIR.<sup>r</sup>KI<sup>1</sup> and <sup>r</sup>LÍMMU<sup>1</sup>-[DINGIR.KI] respectively for URU.LÍMMU-DINGIR. viii 75.14 omits ina. viii 76.8, 14 i-nam-bu-u for i-nam-bu-ú. viii 78.8, 14 MU.SAR-ú and [MU].SAR-ú respectively for MU.SAR-u. viii 81.14 MU.SAR-ú for MU.SAR-u. viii 81.14 <sup>r</sup>AD<sup>1</sup> for ab. viii 88.14 'ú<sup>1</sup> for u. viii 88.14 MU for šu-me. viii 89.5-6 'ib<sup>1</sup>-ba-tú and ib-ba-tú respectively for ib-bat-<sup>r</sup>tu<sup>1</sup>. viii 91.14 omits us in LUGAL-us-su.

## Text No. 5

ii 6'.6 [šú]-<sup>r</sup>a<sup>1</sup>-tu for šu-a-tú. ii 9'.6 omits ú in <sup>r</sup>ru<sup>1</sup>-qu-<sup>r</sup>ú<sup>1</sup>-ti.

iii 3'.3 [ba-la]-<sup>r</sup>ti-ia for <sup>r</sup>TI.LA<sup>1</sup>-ia. iii 12'.7 'šú-bu-<sup>r</sup>ú<sup>1</sup>-[tu] for šú-<sup>r</sup>bu<sup>1</sup>-[tu].

v 6.2 i-nam-bu-ú for i-nam-bu-u. v 11.2 li-mur-[ma] for li-mur-ma. v 15.2 ba-ni-ia for DÜ-ia. v 17.4 mu-šá-re-e for MU.SAR-re-e.

## Text No. 6

i 30'.1 [šú]-<sup>r</sup>lu<sup>1</sup>-BI for šu-lul-šú. i 47'.2 ša for šá. i 50'.2 ša for šá. i 51'.1 ú-SI-<sup>r</sup>bu<sup>1</sup> for ú-šú-bu<sup>1</sup>.

ii 32'.3\* <sup>r</sup>KUR<sup>1</sup>.am-qar-ru-na for KUR.am-qar-u-na. ii 34'.3\* [KUR.ar-ú]-<sup>r</sup>ad-da<sup>1</sup> for KUR.ar-ú-a-da. ii 60'.4\* <sup>r</sup>LUGAL<sup>1</sup> for MAN. ii 75'.15\* [šú]-a-tu for 'šú-a-tú. ii 76'.15\* [<sup>m</sup>ni-ku]-<sup>r</sup>ú<sup>1</sup> for <sup>m</sup>ni-<sup>r</sup>ku<sup>1</sup>-u. ii 76'.15\* u for ú. ii 78'.15\* [URU].na-at-ḥu-<sup>r</sup>u<sup>1</sup> for URU.na-at-ḥu-ú. ii 10''.16\* omits u in KUR.ku-u-si.

iii 17''.6\* is-ḥup-šú-ma for is-ḥup-šú-ma. iii 18''.6\* NIN<sub>9</sub>-šú for NIN<sub>9</sub>-šú. iii 36.3\*, 14\* <sup>r</sup>GABA<sup>1</sup>-[ia] and GABA-ia respectively for ir-ti-ia. iii 36'.14\* il-li-ku-[nim-ma] for il-lik-u-nim-ma. iii 46'.13\*-14\* zik-[ru] and 'zik<sup>1</sup>-[ru] respectively for 'zik<sup>1</sup>-ru. iii 73'.7\* adds MEŠ after DUMU.MUNUS. iii 75'.7\* IGI-ia<sup>1</sup> for maḥ-ri-ia.

iv 34''.7\* u<sub>4</sub>-mi for the first u<sub>4</sub>-me. iv 44'.3 šá-de-e for šá-di-i. iv 49''.3 šal-la-su for šal-lat-su. iv 49''.3 [URU].<sup>r</sup>e<sup>1</sup>-ri-iš-te-ia-na for URU.e-ri-iš-te-ia-na. iv 78''.9\* ni-ri-ia for GIŠ.ŠUDUN-ia. iv 80''.9\* EN-u-<sup>r</sup>ti<sup>1</sup> for EN-<sup>r</sup>ú-ti<sup>1</sup>. iv 82''.9\* [iš]-<sup>r</sup>pu<sup>1</sup>-ram-ma for iš-pur-<sup>r</sup>am<sup>1</sup>-ma. iv 83''.9\* ú-na-áš-šiq for ú-na-áš-šú-<sup>r</sup>qa<sup>1</sup>.

v 69.10\* [iš-me]-e-<sup>r</sup>ma<sup>1</sup> for iš-me-ma. v 79.3 <sup>m</sup>EN-BA-šá for



<sup>m</sup>EN-BA-šá. v 80.3 *iš-lu-ú* for *iš-lu-u*.

vi 8'.11\* <sup>r</sup>áš<sup>1</sup>-re-ki for <sup>r</sup>áš-re-e-ki. vi 10'.11\* u for *ù*. vi 13'.11\* *ku-šur* for *ku-uš-šur*. vi 15'.11\* *qab-li* for MURUB. vi 25'.3 *me-ḥu-ú* for *me-ḥu-u*. vi 26'.3 <sup>4</sup>15 for <sup>4</sup>iš-tar. vi 27'.3 *ta-pal-laḥ* for *ta-pal-lāḥ*. vi 29'.3 *di-im-tú* for *di-im-tu*. vi 29'.3 ARḤUŠ for *re-e-[mu]*. vi 7''.3 *taḥ<sup>1</sup>-te<sup>1</sup>-[na]* for *taḥ-ti-na*. vi 13''.10\* ITL.KIN.<sup>d</sup>INANNA for ITL.KIN.

vii 36'.4 *ša* for *šá*. vii 37'.4 <sup>m</sup>IBILA-a-a for <sup>m</sup>IBILA-ia.

## Text No. 7

i 68'.1 *ba-šu-ú* for *ba-šú-u*. i 83'.1 <sup>r</sup>š<sup>1</sup>-bu-ul<sup>1</sup>-tu for *š<sup>1</sup>-bu-ul-tú*. i 89'.1 ar-UD (copy)-a for *ar-te-a*. i 91'.1 <sup>r</sup>zik<sup>1</sup>-ru-ú<sup>1</sup>-[tu<sup>1</sup>] for *zik-ru-u<sup>1</sup>-tu<sup>1</sup>*. i 91'.1 <sup>r</sup>ši<sup>1</sup>-ra<sup>1</sup>-[a]-ti for *ši-ra-te*.

ii 26''.9 LUGAL<sup>1</sup> for MAN. ii 34''.9 <sup>r</sup>iš<sup>1</sup>-te-né<sup>1</sup>-u-u for *iš-te-né<sup>1</sup>-u-u*. ii 34''.9 ḤUL<sup>1</sup>ti for ḤUL-tim. ii 36''.9 [šip]<sup>1</sup>-ra-te-šú<sup>1</sup>-un for *šip-ra-ti-šú-un*. ii 39''.9 <sup>r</sup>iš-qa-a-ti for *iš-qa-ti*. ii 40''.2 *ik-šu-su-šú-nu-ti* for *ik-šu-us-su-nu-ti-ma*.

iv 7''.10 *na-gu-ú* for *na-gu-u*. iv 9''.10 <sup>r</sup>á<sup>1</sup>-qu-um-ma-tu for *šá-qu-um-ma-tú*. iv 10''.10 omits *ni* in URU.MEŠ-ni. iv 11''.10 omits *ni* in LUGAL.MEŠ-ni. iv 95''.12 LUGAL for MAN.

v 74.5 MAN for LUGAL. v 76.5 *in-nen-nu-u* for *in-nen-nu-ú*. v 77.3 <sup>r</sup>im<sup>1</sup>-ḥur-šu-ma for *im-ḥur-šú-ma*.

vi 23'.5 *ger-ri-E* (copy) for *ger-ri-ia<sup>1</sup>*. vi 25'.5 *ša* for *ša*. vi 25'.5 MAN for LUGAL. vi 26'.5 *la-a* for *la*. vi 28'.5 MURU<sup>9</sup> for *im-ba-ri*. vi 30'.5 *ša* for *ša*. vi 36'.5 adds MEŠ after KÜ.BABBAR and KÜ.GI. vi 39'.3 <sup>r</sup>ú<sup>1</sup>-šá<sup>1</sup>-ša-am<sup>1</sup>-[ma] for *ú-še-ša-am-ma*. vi 7''.1 omits <sup>d</sup> in <sup>m</sup>iš-tar-na-an-di. vi 12''.4 URU.NINA for NINA.KI. vi 14''.4 *ša* for *šá*. vi 28''.4 <sup>m</sup>IBILA-a-a for <sup>m</sup>IBILA-ia. vi 30''.4 DÛ-ia for *ba-ni-ia*.

vii 9.4 u for <sup>r</sup>ú<sup>1</sup>. vii 9.6 [LÍMMU]<sup>1</sup>-DINGIR<sup>1</sup>.KI for URU.LÍMMU-DINGIR. vii 29'.14 *iš-mu-u* for *iš-mu-ú<sup>1</sup>*. vii 31'.14 ḤUL-ti-ia for ḤUL-ti-ia.

viii 65'.14 *a-qar-tu* for *a-qar-tú*. viii 74'.14 omits II in ŠU.II-a-a. viii 83'.14 <sup>r</sup>ul-tu<sup>1</sup> for <sup>r</sup>ul<sup>1</sup>-tú. viii 104'.1 [a-na]<sup>1</sup>-aq<sup>1</sup>-qar for *a-na<sup>1</sup>-qar*.

ix 69''.1 <sup>m</sup>a-tar-sa-ma<sup>1</sup>-in<sup>1</sup> for <sup>d</sup>a-tar-sa-ma<sup>1</sup>-in<sup>1</sup>.

x 10.1 <sup>r</sup>ša<sup>1</sup> for *šá*. x 44'.2 *šul-mi-ia* for *šul<sup>1</sup>-mi<sup>1</sup>-ia*. x 48'.2 EN-ú-ti for *be-lu-u-ti*. x 50'.2 *man-da-at-tú* for *man-da-at-tu*. x 52'.2 EDIN-uš-šú for *še-ru-uš-šú*. x 53'.1 *u<sup>1</sup>-me<sup>2</sup>-šú<sup>1</sup>-[ma]* for *u<sup>1</sup>-me-šú-ma*. x 53'.2 URU.kal-ḥa for URU.kál-ḥa. x 61'.2 *gaba-dib-bi-šú* for GABA.DIB-šú. x 63'.2 adds MEŠ after GIŠ.EREN. x 67'.2 adds u before <sup>d</sup>UTU. x 68'.2 *ša* for *ša*. x 68'.2 URU.NINA for NINA.KI.

## Text No. 8

vii 50'.2 [<sup>ú</sup>-šah<sup>1</sup>-ri]-ib for [<sup>ú</sup>]-šah<sup>1</sup>-rib.

viii 24''.2 <sup>r</sup>ša<sup>1</sup> for <sup>r</sup>šá<sup>1</sup>. viii 24''.2 e-li for UGU. viii 24''.2 *me-re-ēḥ-tú<sup>1</sup>* for *me-re-ēḥ-tu<sup>1</sup>*. viii 25''.2 <sup>r</sup>ša<sup>1</sup> for *šá*. viii 27''.2 omits the first *ina*.

x 8'.5 [ip-pal]-stḥ-ma for <sup>r</sup>ip<sup>1</sup>-pal-si-<sup>r</sup>iḥ<sup>1</sup>-ma. x 13'.1 [URU.mak]-tú<sup>1</sup> for <sup>r</sup>URU<sup>1</sup>.ma-dak<sup>1</sup>-tu<sup>1</sup>.

## Text No. 9

i 1 <sup>m</sup>AN.ŠÁR-DÛ-A: ex. 35 has <sup>m</sup>AN.ŠÁR-DÛ<sup>1</sup>-IBILA; ex. 146 has <sup>m</sup>AN.ŠÁR-DÛ<sup>1</sup>-IBILA; and ex. 156 has <sup>m</sup>aš-šur-DÛ-A. i 1.156 <sup>d</sup>aš-šur for AN.ŠÁR. i 2.33, 71, 156 GAL-ú for GAL-u. i 2.33 *ša* for *ša*. i 2 UŠ-ú-ti: ex. 9 has UŠ-u<sup>1</sup>-ti; ex. 17 has *ri-du-u-ti*; ex. 35 has *ri-du-ti<sup>1</sup>*; ex. 103 has *ri<sup>1</sup>-du<sup>1</sup>-[ú<sup>1</sup>]-ti*; ex. 141 has *ri-du-ti*; and ex. 156 has <sup>r</sup>UŠ<sup>1</sup>-u-ti. i 3.156 *ša* for *ša*. i 4.1 TA for *ina*. i 4.156 *lib-bi* for ŠÁ. i 4.156 <sup>r</sup>aš-šur.KI for AN.ŠÁR.KI. i 5.33, 51 <sup>r</sup>d<sup>1</sup>šá<sup>1</sup>-maš and <sup>d</sup>šá<sup>1</sup>-maš<sup>2</sup> respectively for <sup>d</sup>UTU. i 5 *ke-e-nu*: exs. 17, 31-34, 103, 141, 156 have *ke-e-ni*; ex. 35 has *ke-e-ni<sup>1</sup>*; and ex. 109 has [ke]<sup>1</sup>-e<sup>1</sup>-ni. i 5 *iq-bu-u*: exs. 33, 124 have [iq-bu]<sup>1</sup>-ú<sup>1</sup>; and exs. 51, 156 have *iq-bu-ú*. i 5 LUGAL-ú-ti-šú: exs. 17, 124, 17\* omit *ú*; exs. 34, 156 have <sup>r</sup>LUGAL<sup>1</sup>-u-ti-šú; and ex. 141 has LUGAL-u-ti-šú. i 6.35, 156

<sup>m</sup>AN.ŠÁR-ŠEŠ-SUM.NA and <sup>m</sup>aš-šur-PAP-AŠ respectively for <sup>m</sup>AN.ŠÁR-PAP-AŠ. i 6 MAN: exs. 21, 124 have <sup>r</sup>LUGAL<sup>1</sup>; and exs. 35, 146 have LUGAL. i 6.156 <sup>r</sup>aš-šur.KI for AN.ŠÁR.KI. i 7 *ti-ik-le-šú*: ex. 34 has *ti-ik-le-šú*; and exs. 35, 141 have *ti-ik-le-e-šú*. i 8 *iq-bu-u-šú*: exs. 21, 35, 48, 156-157 have *iq-bu-šú*; ex. 58 has *iq<sup>1</sup>-bu<sup>1</sup>-šú*; ex. 124 has [iq]-bu<sup>1</sup>-šú<sup>1</sup>; and ex. 146 has [iq]<sup>1</sup>-bu<sup>1</sup>-šú<sup>1</sup>. i 8 LUGAL-u-ti-ia: exs. 17, 58, 124, 141, 156 omit *u*; ex. 32 has LUGAL-ú-ti-ia; and ex. 35 has LUGAL-ú-ti<sup>1</sup>-ia. i 9.32 *te-ne-še-e-ti* for *te-né-še-e-ti*. i 10.35, 144 KAM and <sup>r</sup>KAM<sup>1</sup> respectively for KÁM. i 11.21, 35 *ú-paḥ-ḥir* for *ú-pa-ḥir*. i 11.35 omits KI in AN.ŠÁR.KI. i 12.58, 151 *ša* for *ša*. i 12 u: ex. 26 has <sup>r</sup>ú<sup>1</sup>; and exs. 32, 35 have *ù*. i 13 LUGAL-ti-ia: exs. 2, 156 have LUGAL-u-ti-ia; ex. 32 has LUGAL-ú-ti-ia; and ex. 35 has LUGAL-ú-ti<sup>1</sup>-ia. i 14.58, 151 u for *ù*. i 14 LUGAL-ut: ex. 2 has LUGAL-u-ut; and ex. 21 omits *ut*. i 14.26, 156 <sup>r</sup>aš-šur.KI for AN.ŠÁR.KI. i 14.2, 31 omit e in e-pe-e-še. i 15 *ú-šá-az-ki-ir-šú-nu-ti*: ex. 2 has *ú-šá<sup>1</sup>-az<sup>1</sup>-ki-ir-šú-nu-te*; ex. 11 has *ú-šá<sup>1</sup>-az-ki-ir<sup>1</sup>-[šú-nu-ti]*; ex. 26 has *ú-šá-az-ki-ir-šú-nu<sup>1</sup>-te*; ex. 31 has [ú-šá<sup>1</sup>-az<sup>1</sup>-ki-ir-šú-nu-ti]; ex. 34 has [ú]<sup>1</sup>-šá<sup>1</sup>-az<sup>1</sup>-ki-ir-šú<sup>1</sup>-nu-ti; and ex. 156 has *ú-šá-az-ki-ir-šú-nu-ti*. i 16.11, 48 add u before *ri-šá-a-ti*. i 17 *ri-du-ti*: exs. 2, 11, 156 have UŠ-u-ti; ex. 16 has <sup>r</sup>ri<sup>1</sup>-du-u-te; exs. 17, 26, 48 have *ri-du-u-ti*; ex. 31 has <sup>r</sup>UŠ<sup>1</sup>-ú-ti; ex. 51 has [UŠ]-u-ti; ex. 124 has *ri-du<sup>1</sup>-u<sup>1</sup>-ti*; and ex. 141 has [ri<sup>1</sup>-du<sup>1</sup>]-ú<sup>1</sup>-ti. i 17 *mar-kás*: exs. 2, 11, 16, 51, 144 have *mar-kas*; exs. 25, 31 have *mar<sup>1</sup>-kas<sup>1</sup>*; ex. 26 has <sup>r</sup>mar<sup>1</sup>-kas; and ex. 36\* has [mar]-kas. i 17 LUGAL-ú-ti: exs. 26, 48, 156 have LUGAL-u-ti; ex. 51 has LUGAL-u<sup>2</sup>-[ti]; and ex. 141 has <sup>r</sup>LUGAL<sup>1</sup>-u-ti. i 18.2 *a-li<sup>1</sup>-di<sup>1</sup>-[ia]* for *a-li-di-ia*. i 19 first LUGAL-tú: ex. 2 has <sup>r</sup>LUGAL<sup>1</sup>-u-tú; ex. 35 has LUGAL-ú-tú; and ex. 51 has LUGAL-u-tú. i 19.21, 25-26, 31, 35, 51 *ù* for *u*. i 19 second LUGAL-tú: exs. 2, 51 have LUGAL-u-tú; ex. 11 has LUGAL-u-tu; ex. 35 has LUGAL-ú<sup>1</sup>-tú; and ex. 156 has <sup>r</sup>LUGAL<sup>1</sup>-u-tú. i 20.21 <sup>r</sup>DÛ<sup>1</sup>-[u-a] for *ba-nu-u-a*. i 21 *ib-bi-šú-u*: ex. 2 has BI-IB-šú-u; exs. 11, 16, 35, 157 have *ib-bi-šú-u*; ex. 31 has *ib-bi-šú-ú*; and ex. 48 has *ib-bi-šú<sup>1</sup>-u*. i 21 *ir-bu-u*: ex. 21 has *ir-bu-ú*; ex. 31 has <sup>r</sup>ir<sup>1</sup>-bu-ú; and ex. 48 has <sup>r</sup>ir<sup>1</sup>-[bu]-ú<sup>1</sup>. i 21 AN.ŠÁR.KI: ex. 2 has <sup>r</sup>aš-šur<sup>1</sup>.[KI]; exs. 16, 48 have <sup>r</sup>aš-šur.KI; and ex. 26 has <sup>r</sup>aš-šur.KI. i 22.26, 35 *ma-al-ki* for *mal-ki*. i 22.2 *ir-du-ú<sup>1</sup>* for *ir-du-u*. i 22.36\* [kim]-t<sup>1</sup>um<sup>1</sup> for *kim-tu*. i 23 *ni-šú-tú*: exs. 11, 16, 35, 51 have *ni-šú-tu*; ex. 44 has *ni-šú<sup>1</sup>-tu*; and ex. 48 has *ni-šú<sup>1</sup>-tu<sup>1</sup>*. i 23.2, 11, 31, 34, 51 add u before *sa-la-tu*. i 23 *sa-la-tu*: ex. 6 has *sa-la-tú*; ex. 26 has *sa-la-tum*; and ex. 158 has [sa]-<sup>r</sup>la<sup>1</sup>-tú. i 24.11 <sup>m</sup>aš-šur-DÛ-A for <sup>m</sup>AN.ŠÁR-DÛ-A. i 25 *ṭup-šar-ru-ti*: ex. 2 has *ṭup-šar-ru-u-ti*; ex. 32 has [ṭup]-šar-ru<sup>1</sup>-u-ti; ex. 66 has [ṭup-šar]-<sup>r</sup>ru<sup>1</sup>-u-ti; and ex. 200 has [ṭup-šar]-ru<sup>1</sup>-ú<sup>1</sup>-[ti]. i 26 *ša*: exs. 2, 26, 38, 44, 48, 51 have *ša*; and exs. 25, 36 have <sup>r</sup>ša<sup>1</sup>. i 26 *um-ma-ni*: exs. 2, 16, 31, 35, 51 have *um-ma-a-ni*; and ex. 11 has <sup>r</sup>um<sup>1</sup>-ma-a-ni. i 26 *ba-šu-u*: exs. 2, 6 have *ba-šú-u*; exs. 26, 31, 34 have *ba-šú-ú*; ex. 35 has *ba-šú<sup>1</sup>-[u]*; and ex. 43 has *ba-šú-ú<sup>1</sup>*. i 26.26 *iḥ-ze-šú-nu<sup>1</sup>* for *iḥ-ze-šú-nu*. i 27.31, 34 *ru-ku-ub* for *ru-kub*. i 28.16 KÜ.a-ša-a-ti for KÜ.a-ša-a-ti. i 29.11 adds *ni* after LUGAL.MEŠ. i 29.2, 26, 36 *ú-ma-mi* for *ú-ma-me*. i 29 *i-ši-ḥu*: ex. 11 has [i-š]-iḥ-ḥu; exs. 31, 51 have *i-ši-iḥ-ḥu*; ex. 43 has [i-š]-iḥ-ḥu<sup>1</sup>; and ex. 159 has *i-ši-iḥ<sup>1</sup>-[ḥu]*. i 29 IGI: exs. 2, 11, 31, 36, 43 have *pa-an*; ex. 26 has <sup>r</sup>pa<sup>1</sup>-an; and ex. 194 has <sup>r</sup>pa-an<sup>1</sup>. i 30.2, 36 *qab-li* for MURUB. i 30.2, 11, 16, 26, 31, 36, 43, 48, 160, 200 add u before MÈ. i 30 MÈ: exs. 2, 31 have *ta-ḥa-zi*; and ex. 36 has *ta-ḥa<sup>1</sup>-zi<sup>1</sup>*. i 31 *mit-ḥu-š<sup>1</sup>-u-tu*: exs. 6, 11, 26 omit *u*; exs. 31, 200 have *mit-ḥu-š<sup>1</sup>-u-tú*; and ex. 160 has *mit-ḥu-š<sup>1</sup>-ú<sup>1</sup>-tú<sup>1</sup>*. i 32.200 *ù* for *u*. i 32.2, 36 <sup>4</sup>15 for <sup>4</sup>iš-tar. i 33.11 <sup>r</sup>li<sup>1</sup>-ib-li-bi for *li-ḥi-li-pi*. i 33 LUGAL-ú-ti: exs. 2, 26, 36 have LUGAL-u-ti; ex. 11 has LUGAL-u<sup>1</sup>-ti; and ex. 31 omits *ú*. i 33.11 *ana-ku* for *a-na-ku*. i 34.11, 51 LUGAL-u-ti-ia for LUGAL-ti-ia. i 34.160 [i]<sup>1</sup>-na<sup>1</sup> for *ina*. i 35 KUR.má-kan-na: ex. 2 has KUR.má<sup>1</sup>-kan; and exs. 26, 36, 208 have KUR.má-kan. i 35.31, 48 *ù* for *u*. i 35.48 omits KUR in KUR.me-luḥ-ḥa. i 35.6, 44 omit eš in *uš-te-eš-še-ra*. i 35.11 *ḥar-ra-a-nu* for *ḥar-ra-nu*. i 36 <sup>m</sup>UR-da-am-ma-né-e<sup>1</sup>: ex. 2 has <sup>m</sup>UR<sup>1</sup>-da<sup>1</sup>-am-ma-né-e; exs. 11, 26 omit *am*; and ex. 31 has <sup>m</sup>UR-da-ma-né-e. i 36.11, 44 MAN for LUGAL. i 36.161 <sup>r</sup>ú<sup>1</sup> for *u*. i 36 KUR.ku-u-si: ex. 2 has KUR.ku-ú<sup>1</sup>-si<sup>1</sup>; ex. 11 omits *u*; and exs. 160, 200 have KUR.ku-ú-si. i 37 *iš-me-e-ma*: ex. 26 omits *e*; ex. 161 has [iš]-mé-e-ma; and ex. 200 has *iš-mé-e-ma*. i 37.11, 31, 44 *ša* for *ša*. i 37.26

*mì-šir* for *mì-šir*. i 37 KUR.mu-šur: exs. 2, 11, 31, 36 have KUR.mu-uš-ri; ex. 72 has [KUR.mu]<sup>1</sup>-uš<sup>1</sup>-ri; and ex. 208 has KUR.mu<sup>1</sup>-uš<sup>1</sup>-[ri]. i 38.2, 11 URU.mi-in-pu and URU.mi-in-pi respectively for URU.me-em-pi. i 38.26 <sup>u</sup>í-ma-šir-ma for <sup>u</sup>maš-šir-ma. i 39.2 ina for a-na. i 40.38 adds *ni* after LUGAL.MEŠ. i 40 LÚ.qe-pa-a-ni: ex. 2 has LÚ.qe-ba-a-ni; ex. 11 has [LÚ].<sup>q</sup>qe<sup>1</sup>-pa-a-ni; exs. 26, 31, 42, 44, 72 have LÚ.qe-pa-a-ni; and ex. 161 has LÚ.qe-e-pa-a-ni. i 40.31, 44 šá for ša. i 40 <sup>AN.ŠÁR</sup>.PAP-AŠ: ex. 2 has <sup>maš</sup>š<sup>1</sup>-šur<sup>1</sup>-[PAP-AŠ]; and ex. 37 omits <sup>m</sup>. i 40 MAN: exs. 2, 121 have <sup>LUGAL</sup>; and exs. 31, 72 have LUGAL. i 40 AN.ŠÁR.KI: exs. 6, 26, 201 have aš-šur.KI; and ex. 48 has <sup>as</sup>š<sup>1</sup>-šur<sup>1</sup>.KI. i 41.44, 200 ba-nu-ú-a and DÜ-u-a respectively for ba-nu-u-a. i 41.2 URU for KUR in KUR.mu-šur. i 42.31, 38 i-na for ina. i 42.51 il-lik-u<sup>1</sup>-nim<sup>1</sup>-[ma] for il-li-ku-nim-ma. i 42.2 omits aš in <sup>u</sup>na-áš-ši-qu. i 42 GİR.II-ia: ex. 2 has GİR.II-ia; and exs. 31, 72 have GİR.II.MEŠ-ia. i 43 <sup>UR-da-ma-né-e</sup>: ex. 2 has <sup>UR</sup>da-am-ma<sup>1</sup>-ni<sup>1</sup>-i<sup>1</sup>; ex. 31 has <sup>UR</sup>da<sup>1</sup>-ma<sup>1</sup>-ni<sup>1</sup>-i<sup>1</sup>; and ex. 36 has <sup>UR</sup>da-am-ma-ni<sup>1</sup>-i<sup>1</sup>. i 45.2 dan<sup>1</sup>-nu<sup>1</sup> for dan-ni. i 45.31, 72 <sup>u</sup>maš-šir and *u-maš-šir* respectively for <sup>u</sup>maš-šir. i 47.162, 204 *tukul-te* and *tu-kul-ti* respectively for *tukul-ti*. i 47.31, 72 add <sup>u</sup> and *u* respectively before <sup>AG</sup>. i 48.72 <sup>u</sup>iš-tar for each <sup>u</sup>15. i 48.94, 122, 162–163 ša for the first šá. i 48 NINA.KI: exs. 31 has URU.NINA; ex. 38 has <sup>URU</sup><sup>1</sup>; and ex. 94 has URU.NINA.<sup>KI</sup><sup>1</sup>. i 48.2, 94 ša and <sup>ša</sup> respectively for the second šá. i 48 LÍMMU-DINGIR.KI: exs. 2, 31, 72 have URU.LÍMMU-DINGIR; ex. 42 has <sup>URU</sup><sup>1</sup>.LÍMMU-DINGIR; and ex. 204 has URU.LÍMMU-DINGIR.KI. i 48.2, 31, 36, 42, 72 omit *u* before <sup>u</sup>husku. i 49 URU.ú-nu: exs. 2, 31, 36, 44, 94, 204 have URU.<sup>u</sup>u-nu; ex. 72 has URU.<sup>u</sup>u-nu; and ex. 162 has URU.<sup>u</sup>u-nu. i 49 <sup>si</sup>š<sup>1</sup>-h<sup>1</sup>ir-ti-šú: ex. 2 has <sup>si</sup>š<sup>1</sup>-h<sup>1</sup>ir-ti-šú; ex. 6 has <sup>si</sup>š<sup>1</sup>-h<sup>1</sup>ir-ti-šú-nu<sup>1</sup>; and ex. 42 has *si-h<sup>1</sup>ir-ti-šú-nu*. i 50.31, 43, 122, 162 omit MEŠ in KÜ.BABBAR.MEŠ. i 50.31, 43, 122, 162 omit MEŠ in KÜ.GI.MEŠ. i 50.31, 44, 162 omit MEŠ in NÍG.ŠU.MEŠ. i 50.72 adds MEŠ after NÍG.GA. i 50.42, 44 add MEŠ after URU. i 50 šu-a-tu: ex. 2 has <sup>š</sup>šú-a<sup>1</sup>-tú; exs. 31, 36 have šú-a-tú; ex. 72 has šu-a-tú; ex. 122 has <sup>š</sup>šú-a<sup>1</sup>-tú; and ex. 162 has šú-a<sup>1</sup>-tú<sup>1</sup>. i 50 ba-šú-u: ex. 6 has <sup>ba</sup>šú<sup>1</sup>-[u]; exs. 31, 36, 44, 72, 161 have ba-šú-u; and ex. 122 has ba-šú-ú. i 51 lu-bul-ti: exs. 36, 72 have lu-bul-tu; and exs. 42, 162 have <sup>lu</sup>bul<sup>1</sup>-tu. i 51.31, 44, 122 omit MEŠ in ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ. i 51 *zik-ru*: exs. 31, 162 have *zik-ru*; and ex. 161 has NITA. i 51.161 MUNUS for *sin-niš*. i 52.31, 162 GÍŠ.DIM.MEŠ and GÍŠ.tim-me respectively for *tim-me*. i 54.2 ul-tú for ul-tu. i 54.162 omits *ma* in *as-suh-ma*. i 54 AN.ŠÁR.KI: exs. 2, 6, 42 have aš-šur.KI; and ex. 36 has aš-šur. i 55 LUGAL: ex. 2 has <sup>MAN</sup>; and exs. 42, 44, 62 have MAN. i 56.201 šá for ša. i 56.64 LUGAL-<sup>u</sup>í-[ti-ia] for LUGAL-ti-ia. i 57.39, 164, 201 <sup>iš</sup>š<sup>1</sup>-mu-ú for *iš-mu-u*. i 57 šap-ti-ia: ex. 42 has <sup>NUNDUM</sup><sup>1</sup>-ti-ia; ex. 44 has NUNDUM-ti-ia; ex. 62 has šap-te-ia; and ex. 161 omits *ti*. i 59 *ger-re-te*<sup>9</sup>-e-šú: exs. 2, 42 have *ger-re-ti-šú*; ex. 36 has *ger-re-te-šú*; ex. 39 has *ger-re-ti-šú*; and ex. 201 has <sup>ger</sup>re<sup>1</sup>-te-ti-šú. i 61 <sup>u</sup>šak-nis-su-nu-ti: ex. 2 has <sup>u</sup>šak-nis-su-nu<sup>1</sup>-ti<sup>1</sup>; and exs. 36, 62, 166, 167 omit *is*. i 62.42, 169 *u* for <sup>u</sup>. i 62.6, 44 omit MEŠ in DUMU.MUNUS.MEŠ. i 63.2, 36 MUNUS.AGRIG-ti and MUNUS.AGRIG-u-ti respectively for MUNUS.AGRIG-ú-ti. i 64.31 šá for ša. i 64 ma-te<sup>9</sup>-e-ma: exs. 2, 129, 168 have ma-ti-ma; ex. 6 has ma-ti-[ma]; ex. 29 has ma-ti<sup>1</sup>-ma<sup>1</sup>; ex. 31 has ma-te-ma; exs. 36, 141 have ma-te-e-ma; ex. 40 has <sup>ma</sup>ti<sup>1</sup>-ma<sup>1</sup>; and ex. 169 has [ma]<sup>1</sup>-te<sup>1</sup>-e-ma. i 64.201 [tam]<sup>1</sup>-tim<sup>1</sup> for ti-amtu. i 65.169 omits *ti* in ARAD-ti-ia. i 66 <sup>u</sup>: exs. 2, 31, 33, 141, 193 omit *it*; and ex. 169 has *u*. i 66.2, 6, 33 omit MEŠ in DUMU.MUNUS.MEŠ. i 66 *ter-ḫa-ti*: exs. 31, 33 have *ter-ḫa-a-ti*; and ex. 34 has [ter]<sup>1</sup>-ḫa<sup>1</sup>-a<sup>1</sup>-ti. i 67 ma-a<sup>1</sup>-a-si: exs. 29, 31, 33–34, 141, 169 have ma-a<sup>1</sup>-as-si; ex. 40 has ma-a<sup>1</sup>-as<sup>1</sup>-si<sup>1</sup>; ex. 42 has ma-a<sup>1</sup>-as-su; and ex. 129 has <sup>ma</sup>a<sup>1</sup>-a<sup>1</sup>-as<sup>1</sup>-si<sup>1</sup>. i 67.33, 42, 169 ar-ši-šú-ma for ar-ši-šú-ma. i 69.33, 140–141, 156, 169 MAN for LUGAL. i 69 URU.a-ru-ú-ad-da: ex. 2 has <sup>KUR</sup><sup>1</sup>.ar-u-a-da; ex. 18 has <sup>URU</sup><sup>1</sup>.ar-ú-ad<sup>1</sup>-da<sup>1</sup>; ex. 29 has KUR.ar-ú-ad-da; exs. 31, 33, 140 have KUR.a-ru-ad-da; ex. 34 has KUR.a<sup>1</sup>-ru<sup>1</sup>-ad-da; ex. 40 has URU.ar-ú-ad-da; ex. 42 has [KUR<sup>1</sup>].ar-ú-da<sup>1</sup>; ex. 77 has [KUR<sup>1</sup>].ar<sup>1</sup>-ú-ad<sup>1</sup>-da<sup>1</sup>; ex. 129 has KUR.ar-ú<sup>1</sup>-[ad<sup>1</sup>-da]; ex. 141 has KUR.ar-u-a-da; ex. 156 has KUR.a-ru-ad<sup>1</sup>-da<sup>1</sup>; ex. 168 has KUR.ar-ú<sup>1</sup>-ad-da; and ex. 169 has KUR.ar-ú-da. i 70.33, 140–

141, 169 MAN for LUGAL. i 70 KUR.tab-URU: ex. 2 has URU.tab-URU; ex. 33 has KUR.tab-ZU; and ex. 156 has KUR.URU.tab-URU<sup>1</sup>. i 70.42 [<sup>m</sup>]sa<sup>1</sup>-an-da-šar-me for <sup>ma</sup>sa-an-di-šar-me. i 71.31, 34, 141, 156 šá for ša. i 71.31, 156 add *ni* after LUGAL.MEŠ. i 71.33 la-a for la. i 71.34, 169 kan-šu for kan-šú. i 71.34, 156 ik-nu-šú<sup>1</sup> and ik-nu-šú respectively for ik-nu-šú. i 71.169 [ni]<sup>1</sup>-ri<sup>1</sup>-ia for GÍŠ.ŠUDUN-ia. i 72.169 ŠÀ-šú<sup>1</sup>-nu<sup>1</sup> for lib-bi-šú-nu. i 73.2–3, 141, 156 MUNUS.AGRIG-u-ti for MUNUS.AGRIG-ú-ti. i 73.77, 156 NINA.ḪA and URU.<sup>1</sup>NINA<sup>1</sup> respectively for NINA.KI. i 74 <sup>u</sup>na-áš-ši-qu: ex. 2 omits aš; ex. 34 has <sup>u</sup>na-áš<sup>1</sup>-š<sup>1</sup>ri<sup>1</sup>-qa; and ex. 156 has <sup>u</sup>na-áš-ši-qa. i 74 GİR.II-ia: exs. 31, 34 have GİR.II.MEŠ-ia; and ex. 156 has GİR.II.<sup>1</sup>MEŠ<sup>1</sup>-[ia]. i 75.31, 34, 156 UGU for e-li. i 75.26, 34 omit MEŠ in ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ. i 76 ma-da-at-tu: exs. 3, 34, 141 have ma-da-at-tú; and ex. 140 has ma-da-at-tú<sup>1</sup>. i 76.2 še-ru-uš-šú<sup>1</sup> for EDIN-uš-šú. i 77.3, 34, 141, 156, 168 ul-tú for ul-tu. i 77.31, 34 <sup>ma</sup>ia<sup>1</sup>-ki<sup>1</sup>-in-lu-ú and <sup>ma</sup>ia<sup>1</sup>-ki<sup>1</sup>-in<sup>1</sup>-[lu]-ú respectively for <sup>ma</sup>ia<sup>1</sup>-ki-in-lu-u. i 77.26, 31, 33, 140, 156, 168, 170 MAN for LUGAL. i 77 URU.ar-ú-ad-da: ex. 2 has KUR.<sup>1</sup>ar<sup>1</sup>-[u-a-da]; ex. 3 has KUR.ar-ú<sup>1</sup>-ad-da<sup>1</sup>; ex. 26 has KUR.<sup>1</sup>ar<sup>1</sup>-u<sup>1</sup>-ad-da; exs. 29, 31–32, 140 have KUR.ar-ú-ad-da; exs. 33, 168 have KUR.a-ru-ad-da; ex. 34 has KUR.<sup>1</sup>ar<sup>1</sup>-u<sup>1</sup>-a-da; ex. 141 has KUR.ar-u-a-da; ex. 156 has KUR.a<sup>1</sup>-ru<sup>1</sup>-[ad<sup>1</sup>-da]; ex. 170 has KUR.a-ru<sup>1</sup>-ad<sup>1</sup>-[da]; ex. 171 has KUR.ar-ú<sup>1</sup>-ad<sup>1</sup>-da; and ex. 192 has KUR.ar-ú-a-da. i 78.168 il-la-ka for il-li-ku. i 78.2, 32 <sup>šim</sup>š<sup>1</sup>-tú and *šim-te* respectively for *šim-ti*.  
ii 1.2 [<sup>ma</sup>]zi<sup>1</sup>-ba-a<sup>1</sup>-li for <sup>ma</sup>zi-ba-a<sup>1</sup>-al. ii 1 <sup>ma</sup>du-ni-ba-a<sup>1</sup>-al: ex. 2 has <sup>ma</sup>du-nu<sup>1</sup>-ba-al<sup>1</sup>; and ex. 140 omits a<sup>1</sup>. ii 2.26 omits MEŠ in DUMU.MEŠ. ii 3 ul-tú: exs. 16, 26, 29, 140, 156 have ul-tu; and exs. 32, 124 have ul<sup>1</sup>-tú<sup>1</sup>. ii 4 ta-mar-ti-šú-nu: ex. 9 has ta-mar<sup>1</sup>-ti-šú<sup>1</sup>-un; exs. 140–141, 192 have ta-mar-ti-šú-un; and ex. 168 has ta-mar<sup>1</sup>-ti-šú-un. ii 4.192 omits aš in <sup>u</sup>na-áš-ši-qu. ii 5.95 omits a<sup>1</sup> in <sup>ma</sup>zi-ba-a<sup>1</sup>-al. ii 5.95 [ap]<sup>1</sup>-pi<sup>1</sup>-lis-ma for ap-pa-lis-ma. ii 6 LUGAL-u-ti: exs. 26, 95, 192 have LUGAL-ú-ti; ex. 32 has LUGAL-ú-[ti]; exs. 34, 141 omit *u*; and ex. 48 has [LUGAL]<sup>1</sup>-tu<sup>1</sup>. ii 6 KUR.a-ru-ad-da: ex. 2 has URU.ar-u<sup>1</sup>-a<sup>1</sup>-da; ex. 9 has KUR.a<sup>1</sup>-ru<sup>1</sup>-ad-da; ex. 31 has KUR.ar-ú<sup>1</sup>-ad-da; exs. 32, 192 have KUR.ar-ú-ad-da; ex. 34 has KUR.ar<sup>1</sup>-ú<sup>1</sup>-ad-da; ex. 95 has [KUR<sup>1</sup>].ar-ú-ad-da; ex. 141 has URU.ar-ú-ad-da; and ex. 170 has KUR.a-ru-a-da. ii 6.32, 153 aš<sup>1</sup>-kun<sup>1</sup>-šú and [aš<sup>1</sup>-kun]-šú respectively for aš-kun. ii 7.2 <sup>ma</sup>du-nu-ba-a<sup>1</sup>-al for <sup>ma</sup>du-ni-ba-a<sup>1</sup>-al. ii 8 lu-bul-tu: ex. 2 has lu-bul-ti; ex. 26 has lu-bul-tú; ex. 92 has lu-bul<sup>1</sup>-ti; and ex. 170 has <sup>lu</sup>bul<sup>1</sup>-ti. ii 9.170 <sup>ri</sup>ri<sup>1</sup>-na for ina. ii 9.170 omits *is* in ul-zi-is-su-nu-ti. ii 10.48, 140–141, 170 MAN for LUGAL. ii 11 na-gu-ú: exs. 2, 31, 95, 141, 192 have na-gu-u; and ex. 86 has na<sup>1</sup>-gu-u. ii 11 šá: exs. 17, 31, 192 have ša; and ex. 170 has <sup>ša</sup>š<sup>1</sup>. ii 11.17, 31, 124, 141, 170 add *ina* before *né-ber-ti*. ii 11 ru-u-qu: exs. 26, 170 have ru-ú<sup>1</sup>-qu<sup>1</sup>; ex. 31 has ru-ú<sup>1</sup>-qu; and exs. 32, 42, 48, 192 have ru-ú-qu. ii 12.31, 141 šá for ša. ii 12.95, 192 add *ni* after LUGAL.MEŠ. ii 12.192 la-a for la. ii 12 iš-mu-u: ex. 32 has [iš<sup>1</sup>]-mu<sup>1</sup>-ú; ex. 42 has [iš<sup>1</sup>-mu]<sup>1</sup>-ú; and exs. 48, 170 have iš-mu-ú. ii 12.32, 192 šu-mi-šú and MU-šú-un respectively for MU-šú. ii 13.95, 141 LUGAL-u-ti-ia for LUGAL-ti-ia. ii 13.31, 95 <sup>u</sup>šab-ri-šú-ma and [ú]<sup>1</sup>-šab-ri<sup>1</sup>-šú respectively for <sup>u</sup>šab-ri-šú-ma. ii 13 DÜ-u-a: exs. 2, 12, 26, 95, 141 have ba-nu-u-a; ex. 9 has ba-nu-u-[a]; ex. 31 has ba<sup>1</sup>-nu<sup>1</sup>-u<sup>1</sup>-a; exs. 32, 48, 170 have ba-nu-ú-a; ex. 42 has ba<sup>1</sup>-nu<sup>1</sup>-u<sup>1</sup>-a; and ex. 124 has <sup>ba</sup>ba<sup>1</sup>-[nu-u<sup>1</sup>-a]. ii 14 u<sup>1</sup>-mi: exs. 2, 17, 31–32, 109, 141 have u<sup>1</sup>-mu; exs. 66, 170 have u<sup>1</sup>-mu<sup>1</sup>; and ex. 172 has <sup>u</sup>u<sup>1</sup>-mu. ii 14 an-ni-ta: exs. 2, 170 have an-ni-tú; ex. 31 has an-nit; ex. 86 has [a]<sup>1</sup>-ni<sup>1</sup>-tú; and ex. 141 has [a-ni]<sup>1</sup>-tú<sup>1</sup>. ii 14 e-mu-ra: exs. 26, 31–32, 141, 170 have e-mu-ru; and ex. 86 has e-mu<sup>1</sup>-ru<sup>1</sup>. ii 15.95, 141 <sup>LÚ</sup>rak-bu-u-šú<sup>1</sup> and LÚ.rak-bu-u-šú respectively for LÚ.rak-bu-šú. ii 15.2, 9 ša<sup>1</sup>-a-li and šá<sup>1</sup>-al respectively for šá<sup>1</sup>-a<sup>1</sup>-al. ii 15.170 šul-mi-ia for šul-mi-ia. ii 16 LÚ.gi-mir-a-a: exs. 2, 172 have LÚ.gi-mir-ra-a-a; ex. 31 has LÚ.gi<sup>1</sup>-mir<sup>1</sup>-ra-a-a; and ex. 170 has [LÚ.gi]-<sup>1</sup>mir-ra<sup>1</sup>-a-a. ii 16.26, 31, 43, 141 šá for ša. ii 17 at-tu-u-a: ex. 2 has at<sup>1</sup>-tú-u-a; and exs. 48, 172 have at-tu-ú-a. ii 17 iš-ba-tu: ex. 12 has <sup>iš</sup>iš<sup>1</sup>-ba-tu; ex. 31 has iš-ba-tu; ex. 37 has [iš<sup>1</sup>]-ba-tu; and ex. 42 has [iš<sup>1</sup>]-ba<sup>1</sup>-tu. ii 17.32 <sup>LUGAL</sup><sup>1</sup>-ú-ti-ia for LUGAL-ti-ia. ii 18.172 tu-kul-ti for *tukul-ti*. ii 18.2 omits *u* before <sup>u</sup>15. ii 19.2 omits *ina* before GÍŠ.ši-iš-ši. ii 19.31, 42, 48, 57, 71 add GÍŠ before

šat-qa-ti. **ii 20.26** omits *ti* in *it-ti*. **ii 20.72** *ta-mar-ti-šu* for *ta-mar-ti-šu*. **ii 21** *i-na*: ex. 2 has *a-na*; and exs. 48, 72 have *ina*. **ii 21.26**, 42, 72, 131 MAN for LUGAL. **ii 22** *uš-te-eš-še-ra*: ex. 2 omits *eš*; and ex. 72 has *uš-te-eš<sub>15</sub>-še-ra*. **ii 24.72** *uš-tar* for the first <sup>d15</sup>. **ii 24.73**, 172 <sup>f</sup>šá and ša respectively for the first šá. **ii 24.48**, 73 add URU before NINA.KI. **ii 24.2**, 57, 172 ša for the second šá. **ii 24** LÍMMU-DINGIR.KI: ex. 4 has [URU].LÍMMU-DINGIR; exs. 31, 42 have URU.LÍMMU-DINGIR; ex. 48 has <sup>f</sup>URU.LÍMMU<sup>1</sup>-[DINGIR]; ex. 57 has URU.LÍMMU-DINGIR.KI; ex. 114 has URU.LÍMMU<sup>2</sup>-DINGIR<sup>21</sup>; and ex. 172 has URU.[LÍMMU-DINGIR]. **ii 24.2** [<sup>f</sup>nin]-<sup>f</sup>urta<sup>21</sup> for <sup>d</sup>MAŠ. **ii 24.57** adds *u* before <sup>d</sup>nusku. **ii 25.4**, 31, 42, 72 *at-ta-lak* for *at-tal-lak*. **ii 26** *še-eh<sub>15</sub>-ru-ti*: exs. 2, 4, 31, 57, 72 have TUR.MEŠ; and exs. 114, 131 have <sup>f</sup>TUR<sup>1</sup>.MEŠ. **ii 26.26**, 31, 131 šá for ša. **ii 26.2**, 26, 57, and 161 omit *i* in *ni-i-ba*. **ii 26** *i-šu-u*: ex. 31 has *i-šu-ú*; ex. 80 has *i-šu-ú*; and ex. 114 has [*i-šu*]-*ú*. **ii 27.2**, 42 URU.*i-zir-tú* and URU.*i-zir-tu* respectively for URU.*i-zir-ti*. **ii 27.114** [*ak-šu*]-*du* for *ak-šu-ud*. **ii 29.2** omits *u* before US<sub>5</sub>.UDU.ĤI.A. **ii 29** US<sub>5</sub>.UDU.ĤI.A: exs. 2, 4, 31, 42, 48, 72, 73 have *še-e-ni*; ex. 32 has [*še-e*]-<sup>f</sup>ni<sup>1</sup>; ex. 57 has *še-e*-[*ni*]; ex. 80 has UDU.US<sub>5</sub>.ĤI.A; and ex. 114 has [*še*]-<sup>f</sup>e<sup>1</sup>-ni. **ii 30** *ul-tu*: ex. 2 has *ul-tú*; ex. 72 has *iš-tú*; and ex. 110 has <sup>f</sup>ul-tú<sup>1</sup>. **ii 30.4** adds *ni* after URU.MEŠ. **ii 30** *šá-a-tu-nu*: ex. 2 has *šá-tu-nu*; ex. 42 has *šá-a-at-tu-nu*; and ex. 72 has *šá-a-tú-nu*. **ii 32** *maḥ-še-e-ri*: ex. 4 has *maḥ-še-ri*; and ex. 110 omits *e*. **ii 32.10** omits *e* in *iš-me-e-ma*. **ii 33.31** *ú-maš-šir* for *ú-maš-šir*. **ii 33** URU.*i-zir-tu*: exs. 2, 4 have URU.*i-zir-ti*; and ex. 31 has URU.*i-zir-tú*. **ii 33.161** LUGAL-*ú-ti-šá*<sup>1</sup> for LUGAL-*tí-šú*. **ii 34.72** omits *a* in URU.*at-ra-a-ni*. **ii 35.48**, 80 omit *ma* in *in-na-bit-ma*. **ii 35** *mar-qí-tu*: ex. 4 has [*mar-qí*]-<sup>f</sup>tú<sup>1</sup>; ex. 10 has [*mar-qí*]-<sup>f</sup>tú<sup>2</sup>; and ex. 110 has *mar-qí-i-tu*. **ii 36** *na-gu-ú*: exs. 2, 4, 31 have *na-gu-u*; and ex. 122 has *na<sup>f</sup>-gu<sup>1</sup>-u*. **ii 36** *šu-a-tu*: exs. 2, 4 have *šu-a-tú*; and exs. 4, 72, 122 have *šu-a-tú*. **ii 36** *ak-šu-ud*: ex. 2 has *ak-šú-du*; and exs. 4, 31 have *ak-šú-ud*. **ii 37.6**, 72 UD.MEŠ for the first *u<sub>4</sub>-me*. **ii 37.72** UD.MEŠ for the second *u<sub>4</sub>-me*. **ii 37** *ú-šah<sub>15</sub>-ri-ib-ma*: exs. 2, 72, 200 have *ú-šah<sub>15</sub>-rib-ma*; ex. 31 has *ú-šah<sub>15</sub>-rib<sup>f</sup>-ma*; and ex. 161 has *ú-šah<sub>15</sub>-rib-ma<sup>1</sup>*. **ii 37** *šá-qu-um-ma-tu*: exs. 2, 31, 72, 200 have *šá-qu-ma-tú*; ex. 62 has *šá-qu<sup>f</sup>-um<sup>1</sup>-ma-tú*; ex. 80 has *šá-qu-um-ma-tu<sub>4</sub>*; and ex. 161 omits *um*. **ii 38.62** *maḥ-še-e<sup>1</sup>-ra* for *maḥ-še-e-ri*. **ii 38.72** *pa-liḥ* for *pa-liḥ*. **ii 38** EN-*ti-ia*: ex. 72 has EN-*ti-ia*; ex. 161 has EN-*ú-ti-ia*; and ex. 200 has EN-<sup>f</sup>ú-ti<sup>1</sup>-[*ia*]. **ii 38.2**, 80 omit *u* before <sup>d15</sup>. **ii 38.80** *uš-tar* for <sup>d15</sup>. **ii 38** *im-nu-šú*: ex. 72 has *im-nu-šú*; ex. 80 has *im-nu-ú-šú*; exs. 89, 110 have *im-nu-u-šú*; and ex. 119 has [*im*]-<sup>f</sup>nu<sup>1</sup>-*ú-šú*. **ii 38.4**, 72 ARAD.MEŠ-*ni-šú* for ARAD.MEŠ-*šú*. **ii 39.80** KUR-*šu* for KUR-*šú*. **ii 39** *e-li-šú*: exs. 2, 42, 161, 200 have UGU-*šú*; and ex. 72 has UGU-*šu*. **ii 39** *ú-šab-šu-ú*: ex. 2 has *ú-šab-šu<sup>1</sup>-u*; ex. 4 has <sup>f</sup>ú-šab-šu-*u*; exs. 31, 72, 80 have *ú-šab-šu-u*; ex. 37 has *ú-šab-šú<sup>f</sup>-ú*; and exs. 161, 200 have *ú-šab-šú-u*. **ii 40.80** URU-*šu* for URU-*šú*. **ii 40.2**, 31, 72, 200 *id-du-u* for *id-du-ú*. **ii 40.72**, 200 ADDA-*šu* and *pa<sup>f</sup>-gar<sup>1</sup>-[šú]* respectively for ADDA-*šú*. **ii 41** <sup>m</sup>ú-al-li-i: ex. 2 omits *al*; ex. 72 has <sup>m</sup>ú-al-li-a; and ex. 161 has <sup>m</sup>ú-a-al-li-i. **ii 41.31** *i-na* for *ina*. **ii 43** first šá: exs. 2, 160–161, 200 have ša; exs. 37, 80 have <sup>f</sup>šá; and ex. 42 omits *ti*. **ii 43.2** URU.NINA for NINA.KI. **ii 43** second šá: exs. 2, 44, 161, 200 have ša; and ex. 37 has <sup>f</sup>šá. **ii 43** LÍMMU-DINGIR.KI: exs. 2, 31, 42 have URU.LÍMMU-DINGIR; ex. 4 has <sup>f</sup>URU.LÍMMU<sup>1</sup>-DINGIR; exs. 37, 161, 200 have URU.LÍMMU-DINGIR.KI; and ex. 48 has <sup>f</sup>URU<sup>1</sup>.LÍMMU-DINGIR. **ii 43** exs. 2, 161, 200 add *u* before <sup>d</sup>nusku; and ex. 31 adds *ú* before <sup>d</sup>nusku. **ii 44.72** *ik-nu-šú* for *ik-nu-šá*. **ii 44.48** *ni-ri-ia* for GIŠ.ŠUDUN-*ia*. **ii 45.72** T.I.LA for *ba-laḥ*. **ii 45** *up-na-šú*: ex. 22 has <sup>f</sup>up-na-<sup>f</sup>a<sup>1</sup>-šú; exs. 31, 42, 48, 161, 200 have *up-na-a-šú*; ex. 37 has *up-na-a<sup>f</sup>-šú<sup>1</sup>*; ex. 43 has <sup>f</sup>up-[*na*]-<sup>f</sup>a<sup>1</sup>-šú; and ex. 80 has <sup>f</sup>up-na<sup>1</sup>-a-šú. **ii 45** *ú-šal-la-a*: exs. 2, 31, 56, 72, 80, 161, 200 have *ú-šal-la-a*; ex. 4 has <sup>f</sup>ú-šal-la<sup>1</sup>-[*a*]; exs. 42, 122 have *ú-šal<sup>f</sup>-[la-a]*; and ex. 44 has *ú-šal<sup>f</sup>-[la<sup>1</sup>-a]*. **ii 45.2**, 31 EN-*ú-ti* and EN-*u-ti* respectively for EN-*ú-ti*. **ii 46.2** <sup>m</sup>i-ri-si-in-ni for <sup>m</sup>e-ri-si-in-ni. **ii 46.31**, 72 *ri-du-u-ti-šú* for *ri-du-ti-šú*. **ii 47.2** URU.NINA for NINA.KI. **ii 47.2** *iš-pu-ra-am-ma* for *iš-pur-am-ma*. **ii 47.2**, 4 *ú-na-ši-qu* and <sup>f</sup>ú-na-š<sup>1</sup>-[*qu*<sup>2</sup>] respectively for *ú-na-š<sup>f</sup>-š<sup>1</sup>-qa*. **ii 48** *ar-ši-šú-ma*: exs. 4, 42, 200 have *ar-ši-šu-ma*; ex. 32 has [*ar-ši*]-š<sup>1</sup>-[*ma*]; ex. 43 has <sup>f</sup>ar-ši-š<sup>1</sup>-

*ma*; and ex. 161 has *ar-ši-šu<sup>f</sup>-ma<sup>1</sup>*. **ii 48.31**, 42 šá for ša. **ii 48.200** *šul-mi* for *šul-me*. **ii 49.2**, 44 ŠÁ-šú and *lib-bi* respectively for *lib-bi-šú*. **ii 49.2**, 27, 42 MUNUS.AGRIG-*u-ti* for MUNUS.AGRIG-*ú-ti*. **ii 50** *ma-da-at-ta-šú*: exs. 2, 42 omit *at*; and ex. 70 has [*ma-da-at*]-*ta-šu*. **ii 50** *maḥ-ri-ti*: ex. 2 has *maḥ-ri-tú*; ex. 4 has *maḥ-ri<sup>f</sup>-tu<sup>1</sup>*; exs. 31, 44, 161, 200–201 have *maḥ-ri-tu*; ex. 43 has <sup>f</sup>maḥ<sup>1</sup>-ri-<sup>f</sup>tu<sup>1</sup>; and ex. 173 has [*maḥ-ri*]-<sup>f</sup>tu<sup>1</sup>. **ii 51.31**, 42, 200 šá for ša. **ii 51** *iš-šu-u-ni*: ex. 2 has *iš-šú-ni*; ex. 4 has *iš-šú-[u<sup>f</sup>-ni]*; exs. 30–31, 44 have *iš-šú-u-ni*; and ex. 201 has *iš-šu-ú-ni*. **ii 52.2** *e-li* for UGU. **ii 52.2** omits *at* in *ma-da-at-ti-šú*. **ii 52.42** *ú-rad-di-i-ma* for *ú-rad-di-ma*. **ii 52.161**, 200 *e<sup>f</sup>-mid<sup>1</sup>-[su]* and *e-mi-is-su* respectively for *e-mi-is-su*. **ii 53** *i-na*: ex. 2 has *a-na*; and exs. 4, 6, 167, 201 have *ina*. **ii 53.42** omits KUR in KUR.ELAM.MA.KI. **ii 55.166** <sup>d</sup>MUATI for <sup>d</sup>AG. **ii 56** first šá: ex. 65 has <sup>f</sup>šá; and exs. 161, 200 have ša. **ii 56.65** adds URU before NINA.KI. **ii 56.2**, 34, 161 ša for the second šá. **ii 56** LÍMMU-DINGIR.KI: exs. 34, 42, 115, 201 have URU.LÍMMU-DINGIR; and ex. 161 has URU.LÍMMU-DINGIR.KI. **ii 56** exs. 2, 161, 166 add *u* before <sup>d</sup>nusku; and exs. 4, 34 add *ú* before <sup>d</sup>nusku. **ii 57.76** <sup>f</sup>ITI<sup>1</sup>.KIN-<sup>d15</sup> for ITI.KIN-<sup>d</sup>INANNA. **ii 57.4**, 76 <sup>d15</sup>.MEŠ<sup>1</sup> and <sup>d15</sup>.MEŠ respectively for <sup>d</sup>INANNA.MEŠ. **ii 59** GIM: exs. 2, 34, 44, 76, 161 have *ki-ma*; ex. 107 has [*ki*]-<sup>f</sup>ma<sup>1</sup>; and ex. 201 has <sup>f</sup>ki-<sup>f</sup>ma<sup>1</sup>. **ii 60.24** *si-ḥir-ti-šú* for *si-ḥir-ti-šá*. **ii 61.33\*** *ak-ki-is* for *ak-kis*. **ii 61.31**, 33\* ša and <sup>f</sup>šá respectively for šá. **ii 61** *ik-pu-da*: exs. 34, 42 have *ik-pu-du*; ex. 200 has [*ik-pu*]-<sup>f</sup>du<sup>1</sup>; and ex. 201 has *ik-pu<sup>f</sup>-du<sup>1</sup>*. **ii 61.2**, 34 ĤUL-tú and MUNUS.ĤUL\* (<IGI>.UR) respectively for ĤUL-tu. **ii 62.34**, 41, 76, 201, 33\* *la-a* for *la*. **ii 62** *qu-ra-de-e-šú*: exs. 24, 31, 41, 76, 138 omit *e*; ex. 70 has *qu-ra-a-di-šú*; ex. 107 has *qu-ra-a-de-e-šú*; and ex. 202 has [*qu-ra*]-<sup>f</sup>di<sup>1</sup>-šú. **ii 63** ŠU.II: exs. 34, 41, 76 have *qa-a-ti*; and exs. 42, 169 have *qa-ti*. **ii 63** T.I.MEŠ: exs. 2, 41, 76 have *bal-tu-ti*; ex. 34 has *bal-tu<sup>f</sup>-[ú-ti]*; exs. 42, 201 have *bal-tu-ú-ti*; ex. 44 has [*bal*]-<sup>f</sup>tu<sup>1</sup>-*ú-ti*; and ex. 169 has <sup>f</sup>bal<sup>1</sup>-[*tu*-*ú-ti*]. **ii 63** *ú-šab-bit*: ex. 41 has <sup>f</sup>uš<sup>1</sup>-[*šab*]-<sup>f</sup>bit<sup>1</sup>; exs. 70, 107 have <sup>f</sup>uš<sup>1</sup>-šab-bit; and ex. 76 has *uš-šab-bit*. **ii 64.2** omits *a* in *šal-ma-a-ti-šú-nu*. **ii 64** GIM: exs. 2, 34, 76, 107, 141 have *ki-ma*; and ex. 70 has [*ki*]-*ma*. **ii 64.42**, 201 add *ú* and *u* respectively before GIŠ.KIŠI<sub>16</sub>. **ii 64.42** *ta-mar-ti* for *ta-mir-ti*. **ii 65.2**, 44 *ú-šèr-di* for *ú-šar-di*. **ii 66.26** omits *šá* in A.MEŠ-šá. **ii 66** GIM: exs. 2, 26, 34, 42, 107, 201 have *ki-ma*; and ex. 44 has <sup>f</sup>ki<sup>1</sup>-*ma*. **ii 66.2** omits *as* in *na-ba-as-si*. **ii 67.24** <sup>m</sup>am-man-i-gaš for <sup>m</sup>am-man-i-gaš. **ii 67.24**, 26 A for DUMU. **ii 24.24**, 33, 42 LUGAL for MAN. **ii 67.24** omits KUR in KUR.ELAM.MA.KI. **ii 68.34** šá for ša. **ii 68.2**, 24, 42, 48 aš-šur.KI for AN.ŠÁR.KI. **ii 68** *in-nab-tu*: exs. 2, 24, 26, 42, 44 have *in-nab-ta*; ex. 33 has *in-na-bit-ma*; ex. 140 has <sup>f</sup>in<sup>1</sup>-nab-ta; and exs. 161, 201 have [*in-nab*]-*ta*. **ii 68** *iš-ba-tu*: exs. 2, 161 have *iš-ba-tú*; and exs. 24, 33–34, 141 have *iš-ba-ta*. **ii 68.2** GİR.II-*ia* for GİR.II-*ia*. **ii 69.2** *ú-bil-šú* for *ú-bil-šú*. **ii 69.26** omits *še* in *ú-še-šib-šú*. **ii 70.2**, 33 <sup>m</sup>tam-ma-ri-tú and <sup>m</sup>TU-ma-ri-tu respectively for <sup>m</sup>tam-ma-ri-tu. **ii 70.140** šal-LA-a for šal-šá-a-a. **ii 70** šá: exs. 2, 9, 24, 26, 140 have ša; and ex. 42 has <sup>f</sup>šá. **ii 70.34** [*it*]-<sup>f</sup>ti-šú<sup>1</sup> for *it-ti-šú*. **ii 70.42** *in-nab-tu* for *in-nab-ta*. **ii 71** URU.ḥi-da-la: exs. 2, 26, 42, 140, 141 have URU.ḥi-da-lu; ex. 9 has URU.ḥi-da-<sup>f</sup>li<sup>1</sup>; ex. 33 has URU.ḥi-da-<sup>f</sup>lu<sup>1</sup>; ex. 201 has [URU.ḥi]-<sup>f</sup>da<sup>1</sup>-lu; and ex. 203 has <sup>f</sup>URU<sup>1</sup>.ḥi-da-<sup>f</sup>lu<sup>1</sup>. **ii 71** LUGAL-*u-ti*: ex. 48 has LUGAL-<sup>f</sup>ti<sup>1</sup>; ex. 140 omits *u*; and ex. 203 has [LUGAL]-<sup>f</sup>ú-ti. **ii 72** *ul-tu*: exs. 2, 19, 33, 141, 168 have *ul-tú*; and ex. 43 omits *tu*. **ii 72.33** adds MEŠ after GIŠ.TUKUL. **ii 72.2** omits *u* before <sup>d15</sup>. **ii 72.19** KUR.*e-lam-ti* for KUR.ELAM.MA.KI. **ii 73.23\*** *ú* for *u*. **ii 73** *li-i-tu*: exs. 19, 203 have *li-i-tú*; and ex. 48 has *li-i-ti*. **ii 74** <sup>m</sup>du-na-ni: ex. 2 has <sup>m</sup>du-na-nu; ex. 43 has <sup>m</sup>du-na-nu; ex. 86 has <sup>m</sup>du-na-nu<sup>1</sup>; ex. 203 has [<sup>m</sup>]du<sup>1</sup>-na-nu; and ex. 23\* has [<sup>m</sup>]du<sup>1</sup>-na-nu. **ii 75.140** adds an extraneous šá after ša. **ii 77.141** <sup>f</sup>URU<sup>1</sup>.[*gam-bu-li*] for KUR.gam-bu-li. **ii 77** *ak-šu-ud*: exs. 2, 42, 141 have *ak-šu-ud*; ex. 117 has *ak-šú<sup>f</sup>-[ud]*; and ex. 174 has [*ak*]-š<sup>1</sup>-*ud*. **ii 78** *šu-a-tu*: exs. 2, 31, 33, 141 have *šú-a-tú*; ex. 168 has *šu-a-tú*; and ex. 23\* has [*šú<sup>f</sup>-a*]-<sup>f</sup>tú<sup>1</sup>. **ii 78.86** adds *ma* after *e-ru-ub*. **ii 79** *mu-nar-ri-tu*: ex. 2 has [*mu*]-<sup>f</sup>nar-ri<sup>1</sup>-*tu*; exs. 33, 168 have *mu-nar<sup>f</sup>-[ri-tu]*; ex. 42 has *mu-nar-ri<sup>f</sup>-[tu]*; exs. 43, 63 have <sup>f</sup>mu-nar-ri-tu<sup>1</sup>; ex. 67 has *mu-nar-ri-tu*; ex. 106 has *mu-nar-ri-tu*; and exs. 140–141, 23\* have *mu-nar-ri-tu*. **ii 79.140** LUGAL-*u-ti-ia* for LUGAL-*ti-ia*.

iii 1.31 adds GIŠ before *iš-qa-ti*. iii 1.2 adds *u* before *bi-re-ti*.  
 iii 1.42–43 *bi-re-tú* for *bi-re-ti*. iii 2 *u*: ex. 33 omits it; and ex. 117 has *ù*. iii 3 *še-e-ni*: exs. 19, 42 have [US<sub>5</sub>].<sup>r</sup>UDU<sup>r</sup>.ĪA; exs. 31, 43, 48, 63, 67 have US<sub>5</sub>.UDU.ĪA; ex. 37 has US<sub>5</sub>.<sup>r</sup>UDU<sup>r</sup>.[ĪA]; ex. 44 has US<sub>5</sub>.<sup>r</sup>UDU<sup>r</sup>.ĪA; and ex. 117 has [US<sub>5</sub>].UDU.<sup>r</sup>ĪA<sup>r</sup>. iii 4 *ul-tu*: ex. 2 has [ul<sup>r</sup>-tú]; and exs. 37, 63, 67, 95, 168 have *ul-tú*. iii 4.42–43, 48 *aš-šur.KI* for AN.ŠÁR.KI. iii 5.37, 42 omit *i* in URU.šá-pi-i<sup>4</sup>EN. iii 6 šá: exs. 29, 32, 153 have [ša<sup>r</sup>]; and exs. 95, 141 have ša. iii 6 *e-pu-šú*: exs. 42–44, 48, 140 have *e-pu-šú-uš*; ex. 45 has [e-pu]-šú<sup>r</sup>-uš; ex. 67 has [e<sup>r</sup>-pu-šú-uš]; and ex. 141 has *e-pu-šú-uš*. iii 7.2 [áš]-kun-[uš] for áš-ku-nu-uš. iii 7.31, 63 omit *u* in LUGAL-u-ti. iii 8.170 šá for ša. iii 8.2 *a-de-e* for *a-de-ia*. iii 9 *iš-ku-na*: exs. 29, 42–43, 67 have *iš-ku-nu*; ex. 32 has [iš-ku-nu]; and ex. 34 has [iš]-<sup>r</sup>ku-nu<sup>r</sup>. iii 10 <sup>m</sup>tam-ma-ri-tu: ex. 2 has [m<sup>t</sup>am-ma]-<sup>r</sup>ri<sup>r</sup>-tú; ex. 29 has <sup>m</sup>tam-ma-ri-tú; and ex. 95 has <sup>m</sup>tam-re-e-tu. iii 10.43 [še-ru<sup>r</sup>]-uš-šú<sup>r</sup> for EDIN-uš-šú. iii 10.34, 43 *ib-bal>-kit-ma* and *ib-bal-kit<sup>r</sup>* respectively for *ib-bal-kit-ma*. iii 11 *ú-ra-as-sib*: ex. 2 has [ú-ra-as<sup>r</sup>-sib]-<sup>r</sup>šú<sup>r</sup>; exs. 12, 29, 32, 63, 141 have *ú-ra-as-sib-šú*; ex. 34 has *ú-Si-sib-šú*; and exs. 42, 44–45, 48 omit *as*. iii 11 GIŠ.TUKUL: exs. 32, 34, 42, 44, 48 add MEŠ after it; and ex. 29 has GIŠ.TUKUL.[MEŠ<sup>r</sup>]. iii 12 <sup>m</sup>tam-ma-ri-tu: exs. 2, 141 have <sup>m</sup>tam-ma-ri-tú; and ex. 48 has <sup>m</sup>tam-ma-<sup>r</sup>ri<sup>r</sup>-tú. iii 12.31–32, 37, 42, 44–45, 48, 63, 120 šá for ša. iii 13.34 *u-ši-bu<sup>r</sup>* for *ú-ši-bu*. iii 14.12, 170 šá for ša. iii 14 *re-šu-ti*: ex. 12 has *re-šu-u-ti*; ex. 15 has [re<sup>r</sup>-šu-u-ti]; ex. 42 has *re-šu-ú-ti*; ex. 44 has [re<sup>r</sup>-šu-ú-ti]; ex. 45 has [re<sup>r</sup>-šú-te]; and ex. 192 has *re-šu-tu<sup>r</sup>*. iii 15.150 [la]-<sup>r</sup>a for *la*. iii 15.2 *ke-ni* for *ke-e-nu*. iii 16.12, 15, 31–32, 34, 44–45, 63, 141, 150, 192 omit MEŠ in ERIM.ĪA.MEŠ-ia. iii 16.45 GIŠ.TUKUL-<sup>r</sup>šú<sup>r</sup> for GIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ-šú. iii 17.48, 72 omit *up* in *su-up-pe-e*. iii 17 šá: exs. 15, 29, 32, 141, 192 have ša; and ex. 44 has [ša<sup>r</sup>]. iii 17.175 [ú-sap]-pu-ú for *ú-sap-pu-u*. iii 18 *iš-mu-ú*: exs. 2, 72–73, 141 have *iš-mu-u*; and ex. 63 has [iš-mu]-<sup>r</sup>u<sup>r</sup>. iii 20.192 *i-na* for *ina*. iii 22.34, 73 Á.II.MEŠ-šú and [i<sup>r</sup>]-<sup>r</sup>di<sup>r</sup>-šú respectively for Á.II-šú. iii 23.42 ARAD-su for ARAD-šú. iii 24.44, 73 *lib-bi.MEŠ-šú-nu* and ŠÁ.MEŠ-šú<sup>r</sup>-nu respectively for *lib-bi-šú-nu*. iii 25 AN.ŠÁR.KI: exs. 15, 42 have *aš-šur.KI*; and ex. 34 omits *KI*. iii 26.12 [in]-nab-tú-nim-ma for *in-nab-tu-nim-ma*. iii 26 *iš-ba-tú*: exs. 10, 32 have *iš-ba-tu<sup>r</sup>*; exs. 15, 31, 42 have *iš-ba-tu*; ex. 43 has [iš-ba]-<sup>r</sup>tu<sup>r</sup>; ex. 44 omits *tú*; and ex. 199 has *iš-ba-tu<sup>r</sup>*. iii 26.2 GİR.II<sup>r</sup>.MEŠ-ia for GİR.II-ia. iii 27 <sup>m</sup>tam-ma-ri-tu: exs. 2, 48 have <sup>m</sup>tam-ma-ri-tú; and ex. 72 has <sup>m</sup>tam-ma-ri-tú<sup>r</sup>. iii 27.32, 199 ARAD-ú-ti-ia for ARAD-ti-ia. iii 27.2, 31, 84, 87 omit *u* in *im-nu-u-ma*. iii 28.31 adds *ú* before *a-lak*. iii 28.10 [re<sup>r</sup>]-šú-ti-šú for Á.TAĤ-šú. iii 29 EN-ú-ti: ex. 2 has EN-u-ti; ex. 42 has EN-ú-<<u>>-tú; and ex. 84 has [EN-u-ti<sup>r</sup>]. iii 30.10, 72 *i-na* for *ina*. iii 30 *i-zi-iz-ma*: exs. 2, 15, 32 have *iz-zi-iz-ma*; and ex. 31 has *iz-zi<sup>r</sup>-iz-ma*. iii 31.31 *id-dal-la-la* for *i-dal-la-la*. iii 32.15, 31, 217 šá for ša. iii 32 *re-šu-u-ti*: ex. 31 omits *u*; ex. 32 has *re-e-šú<sup>r</sup>-ú-ti*; ex. 73 has [re]-šú<sup>r</sup>-ú-ti; and ex. 175 has [re<sup>r</sup>-šú-ú-ti]. iii 33.4, 10, 42, 44 *ina* for *i-na*. iii 33.44 adds an extraneous *e* after *5-ši*. iii 33.44 omits *ri* in *ger-ri-ia*. iii 34.2, 42–44 omit *e* in EŠ.BAR-e. iii 34 *reš-tu-u*: ex. 2 has [reš]-tú-u; ex. 6 has [reš-tu]-<sup>r</sup>ú; exs. 15, 32, 127 have *reš-tu-ú*; and ex. 42 has [reš-tu<sup>r</sup>-ú]. iii 34 *a-šá-red-du*: exs. 10, 15 have *a-šá-red-du*; ex. 25 has [a]-šá<sup>r</sup>-red-du; and ex. 43 has *a-šá-red-du<sup>r</sup>*. iii 34.2 ša for šá. iii 35.43, 72 ERIM.ĪA.MEŠ-ia and ERIM.ĪA.<A>-<sup>r</sup>ia<sup>r</sup> respectively for ERIM.ĪA-ia. iii 35 EDIN: exs. 10, 15, 32, 43–44 have *še-er*; ex. 31 has [še<sup>r</sup>-er]; exs. 42, 175 have [še]-er; ex. 111 has [še-er<sup>r</sup>]; and ex. 127 has [še-er]. iii 35.10, 42 <sup>m</sup>um-man-al-<sup>r</sup>da<sup>r</sup>-a-šé<sup>r</sup> and <sup>m</sup>um-man-al-da-šé respectively for <sup>m</sup>um-man-al-da-si. iii 35 MAN: exs. 6, 10, 31, 42, 44, 72, 191 have LUGAL; and ex. 199 has [LUGAL<sup>r</sup>]. iii 36.15, 43 omit *eš* in *uš-te-eš-še-ra*. iii 37.2, 175 <sup>m</sup>tam-ma-ri-tú and [m<sup>t</sup>am<sup>r</sup>]-ma-ri-tú respectively for <sup>m</sup>tam-ma-ri-tu. iii 37 MAN: exs. 31–32, 175, 191 have LUGAL; and ex. 199 has [LUGAL<sup>r</sup>]. iii 38.31 šá for ša. iii 38.31, 72 *in-nab-tu<sup>r</sup>-ma<sup>r</sup>* and *in-nab-tu<sup>r</sup>-[ma]* respectively for *in-nab-tu-ma*. iii 38.10, 15, 31, 44, 175 have *iš-ba-tu* for *iš-ba-ta*. iii 38.2 GİR.II.MEŠ-ia for GİR.II-ia. iii 39 URU.ĥi-il-me: ex. 10 has KUR.ĥi-il-mu; ex. 31 has URU.ĥi-il<sup>r</sup>-mu; and ex. 42 has KUR.ĥi-il-me. iii 39.10, 15, 127 KUR for URU in URU.pil-la-ti. iii 40 *iš-mu-u*: exs. 6, 31–32 have *iš-mu-ú*; ex. 15 has [iš-mu<sup>r</sup>-ú];

and ex. 25 has [iš-mu]-<sup>r</sup>ú<sup>r</sup>. iii 40 šá: exs. 2, 44 have ša; and ex. 43 has [ša<sup>r</sup>]. iii 40.43 *al-li-ku* for *al-la-ku*. iii 41.32 *nam-ri-ir-ri* for *nam-ri-ri*. iii 41.2 omits *u*. iii 41.104 [d<sup>r</sup>]-iš-tar for <sup>d</sup>is. iii 42.44 *pu-luĥ-te<sup>r</sup>* for *pu-luĥ-ti*. iii 42.32 LUGAL-ú-ti-ia for LUGAL-ti-ia. iii 42 *is-ĥup-šú-nu-ti*: ex. 10 has *is-ĥu-up-šú-nu-ti*; exs. 22, 69 have *is-ĥu<sup>r</sup>-[up-šú-nu-ti]*; and exs. 25, 42 have *is-ĥup-šú-nu-ti*. iii 43.2 [šú<sup>r</sup>]-[nu] for *šú-nu*. iii 43 US<sub>5</sub>.UDU.ĪA.MEŠ-šú-nu: exs. 2, 175 have *še-ni-šú-nu*; exs. 6, 10, 25, 42–43, 104, 191, 198 omit MEŠ; ex. 31 has *še-e-ni-šú-nu*; ex. 32 has [še-(e)]-<sup>r</sup>ni<sup>r</sup>-šú-nu; ex. 101 has [še<sup>r</sup>-e-ni-šú-nu]; and ex. 176 has [še]-<sup>r</sup>e-ni-šú-nu<sup>r</sup>. iii 44.32, 154 ARAD-ú-ti-ia and ARAD-<sup>r</sup>ú-ti-ia<sup>r</sup> respectively for ARAD-ti-ia. iii 44.25, 42 *aš-šur.KI* for AN.ŠÁR.KI. iii 45 *im-qu-tú-nim-ma*: ex. 32 has [im-qu-tu<sup>r</sup>]-[nim]-ma; ex. 42 has *im-qu-tu-nim-ma*; ex. 43 has *im-qu-tu-nim-ma<sup>r</sup>*; ex. 44 has *im-qu-tu-nim<sup>r</sup>-ma*; and ex. 154 has [im<sup>r</sup>-qu-tu-nim-ma]. iii 45 *iš-ba-tú*: ex. 10 has [iš]-<sup>r</sup>ba-tú; exs. 25, 31, 69, 175, 191, 198 have *iš-ba-tu*; ex. 42 has *iš-GIŠ-tu<sup>r</sup>*; and exs. 43, 28\* have *iš-<sup>r</sup>ba-tu<sup>r</sup>*. iii 45.2 adds MEŠ after GİR.II. iii 45 LUGAL-ti-ia: ex. 32 has [LUGAL<sup>r</sup>-ú-ti-ia]; ex. 42 has LUGAL-ú-ti-ia; ex. 104 has LUGAL-ti-a; and ex. 176 has [LUGAL<sup>r</sup>-ú-ti-ia]. iii 46.2, 31 *a-na* and *i-na* respectively for *ina*. iii 46.65 *me-tiq<sup>r</sup>* for *me-ti-iq*. iii 46 URU.É<sup>m</sup>im-bi-i: ex. 2 omits <sup>m</sup>; and exs. 42, 44 omit URU. iii 46 LUGAL-ti: ex. 2 has LUGAL-u-ti; ex. 32, 42 have LUGAL-ú-ti; ex. 43 has [LUGAL-u-ti<sup>r</sup>]; and ex. 154 has [LUGAL]-<sup>r</sup>ú-ti<sup>r</sup>. iii 47 *tuk-la-a-te*: exs. 2, 32 have *tuk-la-a-ti*; exs. 10, 31, 42, 136 have *tuk-la-a-ti*; ex. 25 has [tuk<sup>r</sup>-la-a-ti]; ex. 154 has [tuk<sup>r</sup>-la-a-ti<sup>r</sup>]; ex. 175 omits *a*; ex. 176 has [tuk-la-a]-<sup>r</sup>ti<sup>r</sup>; ex. 191 has [tuk-la-a]-<sup>r</sup>ti; and ex. 198 has [tuk-la]-<sup>r</sup>a-ti<sup>r</sup>. iii 47 šá: exs. 2, 44 have ša; and ex. 32 has [ša<sup>r</sup>]. iii 48 šá: ex. 2 omits it; and exs. 32, 44, 65 have ša. iii 48 GIM: exs. 2, 32 have *ki-ma*; and ex. 65 has *ki<sup>r</sup>-ma<sup>r</sup>*. iii 48.32, 155, 173 GAL-<sup>r</sup> for GAL-e. iii 48 *ak-šú-ud*: ex. 10 has [ak<sup>r</sup>-šú-ud]; exs. 31, 49, 176, 191 have *ak-šú-ud*; and ex. 136 *ak-šú-[ud]*. iii 49.44, 191 *lib-bi-šú* for *lib-bi-šú*. iii 49 šá: exs. 2, 32, 44 have ša; and ex. 154 has [ša<sup>r</sup>]. iii 49.32, 176 *ú-šú<sup>r</sup>-ú-nim-ma* and [ú]-šú<sup>r</sup>-ú-nim-ma respectively for *ú-šú-nim-ma*. iii 50.42 adds *ša* before *la*. iii 50.2 [la<sup>r</sup>-a] for *la*. iii 50 *iš-<sup>r</sup>a-lu*: exs. 2, 42–43 omit <sup>r</sup>; and ex. 143 has *iš-<sup>r</sup>a-lu*; and ex. 175 has *iš-<sup>r</sup>a-lu<sup>r</sup>*. iii 50.32 LUGAL-ú-ti-ia<sup>r</sup> for LUGAL-ti-ia. iii 52.25 *aš-šur.KI* for AN.ŠÁR.KI. iii 53.2, 166 <sup>m</sup>im-bi-<sup>r</sup>ap-pi<sup>r</sup> and <sup>m</sup>im-ba-<sup>r</sup>ap-pi<sup>r</sup> respectively for <sup>m</sup>im-ba-<sup>r</sup>ap-pi. iii 53.166 omits GIŠ in GIŠ.PAN. iii 53 šá: exs. 2, 128 have ša; and exs. 32, 43 have [ša<sup>r</sup>]. iii 53 KUR.ELAM.MA.KI: ex. 34 has [KUR.e<sup>r</sup>-lam-ti]; ex. 49 has KUR.e-lam-ti; ex. 143 has [KUR.e-lam]-<sup>r</sup>ti<sup>r</sup>; and ex. 166 has KUR.<sup>r</sup>e-lam-ti<sup>r</sup>. iii 54.27, 166 ša for šá. iii 54.166 *a-na* for *ina*. iii 54 URU.É<sup>m</sup>im-bi-i: ex. 2 omits <sup>m</sup>; and exs. 44, 166, 200 omit URU. iii 54.10, 34 omit *u* in EN.NUN-u-ti. iii 55.76, 166, 177 *ul-tú* for *ul-tu*. iii 55 *šú-a-tu*: exs. 32, 42, 166 have *šú-a-tú*; exs. 34, 49 have *šú-a-tú*; ex. 70 has [šú-a<sup>r</sup>]-<sup>r</sup>tú; and ex. 177 has [šú]-[a]-<sup>r</sup>tú. iii 56 *bi-re-tú*: exs. 2, 27 have *bi-re-tu*; and ex. 128 has [bi<sup>r</sup>-re-tu]. iii 56 *ad-di-šú-ma*: exs. 2, 32, 34, 42, 187 have *ad-di-šú-ma*; ex. 25 has [ad]-<sup>r</sup>di<sup>r</sup>-šú-ma; exs. 41, 49, 166 have *a-di-šú-ma*; and ex. 177 has [ad-di-šú-u-ma]. iii 57.34 *u-ra-a* for *ú-ra-a*. iii 57.2, 24, 42 *aš-šur.KI* for AN.ŠÁR.KI. iii 58.70, 177 šá and [ša<sup>r</sup>] respectively for *ša*. iii 58 LUGAL: exs. 27, 34, 49, 70 have MAN; and exs. 41, 177 have [MAN<sup>r</sup>]. iii 58 šá: exs. 2, 32, 42, 70, 76, 177 have ša; and exs. 128, 187 have [ša<sup>r</sup>]. iii 58.34 [na-áš-par]-<sup>r</sup>te<sup>r</sup> for *na-áš-par-ti*. iii 59 *i-na*: exs. 2, 32, 34, 49, 54, 70, 130, 138, 200 have *ina*; and ex. 177 has [ina<sup>r</sup>]. iii 59.2 [maĥ]-ri-ti for *maĥ-re-e*. iii 60 URU.É<sup>m</sup>im-bi-i: ex. 2 omits <sup>m</sup>; and exs. 42, 177, 187 omit URU. iii 62.2, 42 <sup>m</sup>um-man-AR-da-si and <sup>m</sup>um-[man-al]-<sup>r</sup>da<sup>r</sup>-šé respectively for <sup>m</sup>um-man-al-da-si. iii 62 LUGAL: exs. 2, 49, 70 have MAN; and ex. 34 has [MAN<sup>r</sup>]. iii 62.70 KUR.e-lam-ti for KUR.ELAM.MA.KI. iii 63.2, 25, 42, 70, 130 ša for šá. iii 63 KUR.e-lam-ti: exs. 2, 24, 27, 32, 49, 70, 200 have KUR.ELAM.MA.KI; ex. 25 has KUR.ELAM.MA.[KI]; ex. 34 has KUR.<sup>r</sup>ELAM<sup>r</sup>.MA.KI; ex. 42 has [KUR].<sup>r</sup>ELAM<sup>r</sup>.MA.KI; and ex. 177 has [KUR].<sup>r</sup>ELAM.MA.KI. iii 64 URU.ma-dak-tu: ex. 2 has URU.ma-dak-tú; ex. 34 has [URU.ma]-<sup>r</sup>dak<sup>r</sup>-tú; and ex. 177 has [URU.ma<sup>r</sup>-dak-tú]. iii 64 LUGAL-ti-šú: ex. 32 has [LUGAL<sup>r</sup>-ú-ti-šú]; ex. 34 has LUGAL-u-ti-šú; ex. 70 has LUGAL-u-ti<sup>r</sup>-šú; and ex. 132 has LUGAL-u-ti-šú<sup>r</sup>. iii 64.32 [ú-maš]-<sup>r</sup>šir<sup>r</sup>-ma for *ú-maš-šir-ma*. iii 66 šá: ex. 2 has [ša<sup>r</sup>]; and exs. 32, 70, 200 have ša. iii 66.2, 209

*mé-ḥi-ret* for *mé-ēḥ-ret*. **iii 66.42** <sup>m</sup>um-man-al-da-še for <sup>m</sup>um-man-al-da-ši. **iii 67.32** *i-na* for *ina*. **iii 67** KUR.e-lam-ti: exs. 2, 9, 27, 132, 175, 209 have KUR.ELAM.MA.KI; ex. 25 has <sup>r</sup>KUR.ELAM.MA<sup>1</sup>.KI; ex. 32 has <sup>r</sup>KUR<sup>1</sup>.ELAM.MA.KI; exs. 34, 42 have [KUR].<sup>r</sup>ELAM<sup>1</sup>.MA.KI; ex. 203 has [KUR.ELAM].<sup>r</sup>MA<sup>1</sup>.KI; and ex. 210 has [KUR.ELAM].<sup>r</sup>MA.KI<sup>1</sup>. **iii 67.200** *ša-a-šu-ma* for *ša-a-šú-ma*. **iii 68.203** ZU for URU in URU.bu-bi-lu. **iii 68** EN-ti-šú: ex. 2 has *be-lu-ti-šú*; ex. 32 has [EN]-<sup>r</sup>ú-ti-šú; and exs. 34, 203 have <sup>r</sup>EN<sup>1</sup>-u-ti-šú. **iii 69.32**, 42 <sup>r</sup>ú-maš-šir-ma and *ú-ma-šir<sup>1</sup>-[ma]* respectively for *ú-maš-šir-ma*. **iii 69.203** adds MEŠ after KU<sub>6</sub>.ḪI.A. **iii 69** ru-qu-ti: ex. 25 has ru<sup>r</sup>-qu-u<sup>r</sup>-ti; exs. 27, 203 have ru-qu-ú-ti; ex. 32 has ru<sup>r</sup>-qu<sup>r</sup>-ú-ti; ex. 34 has [ru-qu]-<sup>r</sup>ú-ti; and exs. 42, 48, 132 have ru-qu-u-ti. **iii 70** <sup>m</sup>tam-ma-ri-tu: exs. 132, 209 have [<sup>m</sup>tam-ma-ri]-<sup>r</sup>tú<sup>1</sup>; ex. 175 has [<sup>m</sup>tam-ma]-ri-tú; ex. 203 has <sup>m</sup>tam-ma-ri-tú; and ex. 210 has [<sup>m</sup>tam-ma]-<sup>r</sup>ri-tú<sup>1</sup>. **iii 70** *ša*: ex. 2 has <sup>r</sup>ša<sup>1</sup>; and ex. 203 omits it. **iii 70** in-nab-ta: ex. 2 has <sup>r</sup>in<sup>1</sup>-nab-tú; ex. 27 has in-nab-tu; and ex. 175 has in-nab-tú. **iii 70** iš-ba-tú: exs. 132, 209 have [iš]-ba-ta; ex. 27 has iš-ba-tu; ex. 32 has <sup>r</sup>iš-ba-tú; ex. 34 has [iš-ba]-<sup>r</sup>ta<sup>1</sup>; ex. 42 has <sup>r</sup>iš<sup>1</sup>-ba-ta; ex. 48 has <sup>r</sup>iš<sup>1</sup>-ba-tu; exs. 132, 203 have iš-ba-ta; ex. 178 has [iš]-<sup>r</sup>ba<sup>1</sup>-ta; and ex. 209 has iš-ba<sup>r</sup>-tú<sup>1</sup>. **iii 71.175** omits *šú* in *aš-kun-šú*. **iii 71** LUGAL-ti: ex. 32 has LUGAL<sup>1</sup>-u-ti; ex. 70 has LUGAL-u<sup>r</sup>-ti<sup>1</sup>; ex. 175 has LUGAL<sup>1</sup>-<sup>r</sup>[ti]; and ex. 203 has LUGAL-ú-ti. **iii 72** SIG<sub>5</sub>-tu: ex. 2 has <sup>r</sup>SIG<sub>5</sub><sup>1</sup>-tú; and exs. 42, 203 have SIG<sub>5</sub>-tú. **iii 72.27**, 200 *e-pu-šu-uš* and *e-pu-šú<sup>1</sup>-[uš]* respectively for *e-pu-šú-uš*. **iii 72.2** omits *ša*. **iii 72.2** *aš-pur* for *aš-pu-ru*. **iii 72.2**, 175 *re-su<sup>1</sup>-[us-su]* and *re-su<sup>1</sup>-us<sup>1</sup>-[su]* respectively for *Á.TAḪ-su*. **iii 73** in-ši-ma: ex. 2 has <sup>r</sup>im<sup>1</sup>-ši-ma; ex. 25 has <sup>r</sup>im<sup>1</sup>-<sup>r</sup>ši-ma; ex. 44 has <sup>r</sup>im<sup>1</sup>-<sup>r</sup>ši-ma; and ex. 203 has *im-ši-ma*. **iii 73.2**, 27, 203 *iš-ta-né<sup>2</sup>-a* for *iš-te-né<sup>2</sup>-a*. **iii 73** ḪUL-tú: exs. 27, 48, 203 have ḪUL-tu; ex. 42 has <sup>r</sup>ḪUL<sup>1</sup>-tú; and ex. 178 has <sup>r</sup>MUNUS<sup>1</sup>.ḪUL-tú. **iii 74.9**, 27 ERIM.ḪI.A.MEŠ-ia for ERIM.ḪI.A-ia. **iii 74.2** omits *u*. **iii 74.2** *ša* for *ša*. **iii 74.44**, 48 omit II in *Á.II-a-a*. **iii 74.44**, 48 IT<sup>1</sup>-<sup>r</sup>li<sup>1</sup>-[ku] and IT<sup>1</sup>-li<sup>1</sup>-ku respectively for *il-li-ku*. **iii 75.2** <sup>r</sup>še-er<sup>1</sup> for EDIN. **iii 75** ga-re-ia: ex. 2 has *ga-re-e<sup>1</sup>-ia*; and ex. 44 omits *ga*. **iii 76.2** <sup>m</sup>tam-ma-ri-tú for <sup>m</sup>tam-ma-ri-tu. **iii 76** ba-ra-nu-u: ex. 27 has *ba-ra-nu-ú*; ex. 42 has [ba-ra-nu]-ú; and ex. 43 has [ba-ra-nu]-ú<sup>1</sup>. **iii 77.2** *ib-ru-u-ma* for *ib-ru-ú-ma*. **iii 77** ú-ba<sup>1</sup>-u-ú: exs. 2, 203 have *ú-ba<sup>1</sup>-u-u*; and ex. 44 has [ú]-ba<sup>1</sup>-u-u. **iii 77.27**, 34 *qa-tuš-šú* and [qa]-tuš-šú respectively for *qa-tuš-šú*. **iii 78** ul-tu: exs. 2, 203 have *ul-tú*; and ex. 175 has <sup>r</sup>ul-tú<sup>1</sup>. **iii 78.203** LUGAL-u-ti-šú for LUGAL-ti-šú. **iii 79.43** [ú-ter]-<sup>r</sup>ru<sup>1</sup>-niš-šum<sup>1</sup>-ma<sup>1</sup> for *ú-ter-ru-niš-šú*. **iii 79** *ša-ni-a-nu*: ex. 2 has *ša-ni-ia-a-ni-šú*; ex. 19 has *ša<sup>1</sup>-ni<sup>1</sup>-[a-nu]*; ex. 44 has *ša<sup>1</sup>-ni-ia-a-nu*; ex. 63 has *ša-ni-a-nu*; and ex. 161 has *ša<sup>1</sup>-ni<sup>1</sup>-[ia<sup>1</sup>-[a-nu]*. **iii 79** *ú-šak-ni-šú-uš*: ex. 27 has <sup>r</sup>ú<sup>1</sup>-šak-ni-šú-uš; ex. 43 has [ú-šak]-<sup>r</sup>ni-šú-uš; ex. 44 has *ú-šak-ni-šú-uš*; and ex. 48 has [ú]-šak<sup>1</sup>-ni-šú-uš. **iii 80.44** *li-i-tú* for *li-i-ti*. **iii 80.2**, 43 omit *a* in *da-na-a-ni*. **iii 80.2**, 42, 174 *ša* for *ša*. **iii 81** KUR.e-lam-ti: exs. 2, 42, 63, 91, 152 have KUR.ELAM.MA.KI; ex. 19 has KUR.<sup>r</sup>ELAM<sup>1</sup>.MA.KI; ex. 27 has <sup>r</sup>KUR.ELAM<sup>1</sup>.MA.KI; ex. 43 has [KUR.ELAM.MA].KI; ex. 140 has KUR.ELAM.<sup>r</sup>MA.KI<sup>1</sup>; ex. 174 has KUR.ELAM.MA.<sup>r</sup>KI<sup>1</sup>; and ex. 175 has [KUR.ELAM].<sup>r</sup>MA<sup>1</sup>.KI. **iii 81.91**, 203 omit *ma* in *e-ru-ub-ma*. **iii 82** *ina*: ex. 19 has <sup>r</sup>i<sup>1</sup>-na; ex. 31 has *i<sup>1</sup>-na*; and ex. 174 has *i-na*. **iii 82** *ša*: ex. 2 has *ša*; and exs. 140, 152 have <sup>r</sup>ša<sup>1</sup>. **iii 82** *šul-me-e*: ex. 27 has <sup>r</sup>šu<sup>1</sup>-lum-me-e; and ex. 175 omits *e*. **iii 82.44**, 48 <sup>r</sup>ma-li<sup>1</sup>-tú and *ma-li-tú* respectively for *ma-li-ti*. **iii 83** *ú-ter-ra*: ex. 31 has *ú-ter-ma*; and ex. 43 appears to omit *ra*. **iii 83.175** *ana* for *a-na*. **iii 83** AN.ŠAR.KI: exs. 27, 48 have *aš-šur.KI*; ex. 43 has *aš-šur.KI*; ex. 44 has <sup>r</sup>aš<sup>2</sup>-šur<sup>2</sup>.KI; and ex. 179 has *aš<sup>1</sup>-šur<sup>1</sup>.KI*.

**iv 1.34**, 174 [URU].<sup>r</sup>da<sup>1</sup>-i-ba and <sup>r</sup>URU.da<sup>1</sup>-i-<sup>r</sup>ba<sup>1</sup> respectively for URU.da-e-ba. **iv 2** URU.BAD<sup>1</sup>-<sup>m</sup>am-na-ni-ma: ex. 140 has URU.BAD<sup>1</sup>-<sup>m</sup>am-na-ni-ma; and exs. 175, 179 have <sup>r</sup>URU<sup>1</sup>.BAD<sup>1</sup>-<sup>m</sup>am-na-ni-ma. **iv 3.79**, 85 <sup>r</sup>URU<sup>1</sup>.ḫa-a-a-ú-su and URU.ḫa-a-a-ú-si for URU.ḫa-a-a-ú-si. **iv 4.79** <sup>r</sup>URU<sup>1</sup>.É<sup>1</sup>-ma-ra-pi for URU.É<sup>1</sup>-<sup>m</sup>ar-ra-bi. **iv 5** URU.ma-dak-tu: exs. 2, 44 have URU.ma-dak-tú; and ex. 79 has <sup>r</sup>URU<sup>1</sup>.ma-dak-tú. **iv 6.2** URU.bu-bi-i for URU.bu-bé-e. **iv 6.64**, 179 [URU.ŠE<sup>1</sup>-<sup>m</sup>d]AMAR<sup>1</sup>.UTU-MAN-a-ni and URU.ŠE<sup>1</sup>-<sup>m</sup>dAMAR.UTU-MAN-a-ni respectively for URU.ŠE<sup>1</sup>-<sup>m</sup>dŠU<sup>1</sup>-MAN-a-ni. **iv 7** URU.DU<sub>6</sub>-tu-ú-bu: exs. 1, 79 have URU.DUL-tu-ú-bu; ex. 42 has

URU.DUL-tu-<sup>r</sup>ú<sup>1</sup>-[bu]; ex. 68 has <sup>r</sup>URU<sup>1</sup>.DUL-tu-ú-bu; ex. 175 has URU.DU<sub>6</sub>-<sup>m</sup>tu<sup>1</sup>-ú-bu; and ex. 37\* has URU.DU<sub>6</sub>-<sup>m</sup>tu<sup>1</sup>-ú<sup>1</sup>bu<sup>1</sup>. **iv 8.2**, 179 URU.[BĀD<sup>1</sup>-<sup>m</sup>]un-da<sup>1</sup>-a-si and [URU.BĀD<sup>1</sup>-<sup>m</sup>]un-da-a<sup>1</sup>-si<sup>1</sup> respectively for URU.BĀD<sup>1</sup>-<sup>m</sup>un-da-si. **iv 9.2** URU.BĀD<sup>1</sup>-<sup>m</sup>un<sup>1</sup>-da-a-si-ma for URU.BĀD<sup>1</sup>-<sup>m</sup>un-da-si-ma. **iv 11.42** *šu-nu-ti* for *šú-nu-ti*. **iv 11** KUR-ud: ex. 2 has <sup>r</sup>ak<sup>1</sup>-šú-ud; exs. 12, 31–32, 42–43, 48, 188 have *ak-šú-ud*; ex. 34 has <sup>r</sup>ak<sup>1</sup>-šú-ud; ex. 44 has *ak-šú<sup>1</sup>-ud*; ex. 79 has *ak-šú-du*; and ex. 175 has *ak-šú-ud<sup>1</sup>*. **iv 12.79** omits <sup>d</sup> in <sup>d</sup>GIŠ.BAR. **iv 13** US<sub>5</sub>.UDU.ḪI.A-šú-nu: exs. 2, 31, 44, 188 have US<sub>5</sub>.UDU.ḪI.A.MEŠ-šú-nu; and ex. 79 has *še-e-ni<sup>1</sup>-šú-nu*. **iv 14.43**, 79 omit MEŠ in NĪG.ŠU.MEŠ-šú-nu. **iv 14.38\*** omits MEŠ in NĪG.GA.MEŠ-šú-nu. **iv 15.42** omits GIŠ in GIŠ.til-li. **iv 15.79** *ú-nu-tu* for *ú-nu-ut*. **iv 15** MĒ: exs. 2, 79 have *ta-ḫa-zi*; and exs. 34, 175 have *ta-ḫa<sup>1</sup>-zi*. **iv 16** AN.ŠAR.KI: exs. 42, 48 have *aš-šur.KI*; and ex. 44 has [aš]-šur.KI. **iv 17.31–32**, 44, 73 *i-na* for *ina*. **iv 17** <sup>d</sup>iš-tar: exs. 2, 12, 43–44, 48, 175 have <sup>d</sup>iš<sup>1</sup>; and ex. 38\* has <sup>d</sup>iš<sup>1</sup>. **iv 17.31–32**, 44, 175 omit MEŠ in ERIM.ḪI.A.MEŠ-ia. **iv 18** šer-er: exs. 12, 73 have EDIN; ex. 31 has <sup>r</sup>EDIN<sup>1</sup>; and ex. 61 has *še-SA*. **iv 18.42** [<sup>m</sup>]um<sup>1</sup>-man-al-da-še for <sup>m</sup>um-man-al-da-si. **iv 18** LUGAL: exs. 2, 59, 73 have <sup>r</sup>MAN<sup>1</sup>; and exs. 42–44, 101, 38\* have MAN. **iv 18.101** KUR.<sup>r</sup>e<sup>1</sup>-[lam-ti] for KUR.ELAM.MA.KI. **iv 19.43** omits *eš* in *uš-te-eš-še-ra*. **iv 19.2** *ḫar-ra-a-nu* for *ḫar-ra-ki*. **iv 20.44** omits URU in URU.É<sup>1</sup>-<sup>m</sup>im-bi-i. **iv 20** *ša*: exs. 12, 61 have <sup>r</sup>ša<sup>1</sup>; and exs. 73, 175 have *ša*. **iv 20** *ak-šú-du*: ex. 23 has <sup>r</sup>ak<sup>1</sup>-šú-ud; ex. 32 has *ak-šú-du<sup>1</sup>*; exs. 42–43 have *ak-šú-ud*; exs. 48, 101, 188 have *ak-šú-du*; and ex. 59 has <sup>r</sup>ak<sup>1</sup>-šú<sup>1</sup>-[ud]. **iv 21.2** KUR.ḫa-ma-a-nu for KUR.ḫa-ma-nu. **iv 21** *ak-šú-ud*: ex. 2 has <sup>r</sup>ak<sup>1</sup>-šú-du; exs. 12, 42–43, 48, 61, 188 have *ak-šú-ud*; exs. 14, 137 have *ak-šú<sup>1</sup>-[ud]*; ex. 32 has *ak-šú-ud*; and ex. 59 has *ak-šú-ud<sup>1</sup>*. **iv 22.101** *šu-u* for *šú-u*. **iv 22.2** [<sup>m</sup>um-man-al]-<sup>r</sup>da<sup>1</sup>-a-si for <sup>m</sup>um-man-al-da-si. **iv 22.32**, 42 MAN for LUGAL. **iv 22.12** KUR.e-lam-ti for KUR.ELAM.MA.KI. **iv 23.43**, 59 omit *e* in *iš-me-e-ma*. **iv 24.44**, 10\* <sup>r</sup>pu-luḫ-te<sup>1</sup> and *pu-luḫ<sup>1</sup>-tú<sup>1</sup>* respectively for *pu-luḫ-ti*. **iv 24** <sup>r</sup>Á.II-ia: ex. 2 has <sup>r</sup>Á.II.MEŠ-ia; ex. 42 omits II; and ex. 137 has <sup>r</sup>Á.II.MEŠ<sup>1</sup>-ia<sup>1</sup>. **iv 24** *is-ḫu-pu-šú-ma*: exs. 7, 175 have *is-ḫu-pu-šú-ma*; ex. 25 has *is-ḫu-pu-šú-ma*; ex. 32 has <sup>r</sup>is<sup>1</sup>-[ḫu<sup>2</sup>-up<sup>2</sup>]-<sup>r</sup>šú<sup>1</sup>-ma; ex. 43 has *is-ḫup-pu-šú<sup>1</sup>-ma*; exs. 48, 188 have *is-ḫu-pu-u-šú-ma*; and ex. 59 has *is-ḫup-šú-ma*. **iv 25** URU.ma-dak-tu: ex. 2 has URU.ma<sup>r</sup>-<sup>r</sup>ak<sup>1</sup>-tú; ex. 101 has URU.ma-dak-tú; and ex. 175 has URU.ma<sup>r</sup>-<sup>r</sup>ak<sup>1</sup>-tú<sup>1</sup>. **iv 25.7**, 32 LUGAL-ú-ti-šú and LUGAL<sup>1</sup>-<sup>r</sup>ú-ti-šú respectively for LUGAL-ti-šú. **iv 25.32** [ú-maš]-<sup>r</sup>šir<sup>1</sup>-ma for *ú-maš-šir-ma*. **iv 26.7** URU.BĀD-in-da-si for URU.BĀD<sup>1</sup>-<sup>m</sup>un-da-si. **iv 27.14**, 25 omit *e* in *ÍD.id-id-e*. **iv 27** *šú-a-tú*: exs. 2, 7, 59 have *šú-a-tú*; ex. 15 has <sup>r</sup>šú<sup>1</sup>-a<sup>1</sup>-tú<sup>1</sup>; exs. 25, 43, 188 have *šú-a-tu*; and exs. 32, 180 have [šú]-a-tu. **iv 27.14** omits *ti* in *dan-nu-ti-šú*. **iv 28.73** *uk-ta-ta-aš<sup>1</sup>-ra* for *uk-ta-ta-šar*. **iv 29.6** URU.na-dí-tú for URU.na-dí-tu. **iv 29** LUGAL-ú-ti: exs. 42–43 have LUGAL-u-ti; ex. 59 has LUGAL<sup>1</sup>-u-ti; ex. 143 omits *ú*; ex. 24\* has LUGAL<sup>1</sup>-u<sup>r</sup>-ti<sup>1</sup>; and ex. 25\* has LUGAL<sup>1</sup>-ti<sup>1</sup>-šú. **iv 29.25**, 43 *na-ge-e-šú* for *na-ge-šú*. **iv 29** *ak-šú-ud*: exs. 2, 7, 25, 43, 59, 8\* have *ak-šú-ud*; ex. 12 has <sup>r</sup>ak<sup>1</sup>-šú-ud; ex. 32 has *ak-šú-ud*; ex. 42 has *ak-šú-ud<sup>1</sup>*; and ex. 25\* has KUR-ud. **iv 30** URU.É<sup>1</sup>-<sup>m</sup>bu-na-ku: ex. 7 has <sup>r</sup>URU.É<sup>1</sup>-<sup>m</sup>bu-na-ki; ex. 8 has [URU].<sup>r</sup>É<sup>1</sup>-[<sup>m</sup>bu]-<sup>r</sup>na<sup>1</sup>-ki; ex. 14 has <sup>r</sup>URU<sup>1</sup>.É<sup>1</sup>-<sup>m</sup>bu-na-ki; exs. 25, 143 have URU.É<sup>1</sup>-<sup>m</sup>bu-na-ki; ex. 42 has [URU].<sup>r</sup>É<sup>1</sup>-<sup>m</sup>bu-na-ki; ex. 43 has <sup>r</sup>URU.É<sup>1</sup>-<sup>m</sup>bu-na-ki; and ex. 24\* has [URU.É<sup>1</sup>-<sup>m</sup>bu]-<sup>r</sup>na<sup>1</sup>-ki. **iv 30** LUGAL-ú-ti: exs. 42–43, 59 have LUGAL-u-ti; ex. 143 has LUGAL-u-ti-šú<sup>1</sup>; and ex. 25\* omits *ú*. **iv 30.25**, 43 *na-ge-e-šú* and <sup>r</sup>na<sup>1</sup>-ge-e-šú respectively for *na-ge-šú*. **iv 30** *ak-šú-ud*: ex. 2 has <sup>r</sup>ak<sup>1</sup>-šú-ud; exs. 7, 25, 59 have *ak-šú-ud*; ex. 12 has <sup>r</sup>ak<sup>1</sup>-šú-ud; exs. 32, 42, 143 have *ak-šú-ud<sup>1</sup>*; ex. 43 has <sup>r</sup>ak<sup>1</sup>-šú-ud; and ex. 25\* has <sup>r</sup>KUR<sup>1</sup>-ud. **iv 31** URU.ḫar-tap-pa-ni: exs. 25, 176 have URU.ḫar-tap-pa-nu; ex. 31 has URU.ḫar<sup>r</sup>-tap-a<sup>1</sup>-nu; ex. 104 has URU.ḫar<sup>r</sup>-tap-a-nu; ex. 143 has URU.ḫar-tap-a-nu; ex. 24\* has [URU.ḫar-tap-pa]-<sup>r</sup>nu<sup>1</sup>; and ex. 25\* has [URU.ḫar-tap-pa]-nu. **iv 31** LUGAL-ú-ti: exs. 8, 42–43, 59, 143 have LUGAL-u-ti; ex. 176 has LUGAL<sup>1</sup>-u<sup>r</sup>-ti-šú<sup>1</sup>; and exs. 6\*, 25\* omit *ú*. **iv 31** *na-ge-šú*: exs. 25, 42 have *na-ge-e-šú*; and ex. 43 has [na]-<sup>r</sup>ge-e-šú<sup>1</sup>. **iv 31** *ak-šú-ud*: exs. 2, 7, 25, 32, 42, 59 have *ak-šú-ud*; and exs. 43, 25\* have <sup>r</sup>ak<sup>1</sup>-šú-ud. **iv 32.176** URU.<sup>m</sup>tu-ú-bu for URU.tu-ú-bu. **iv 32** *na-ge-šú*: ex. 25 has <sup>r</sup>na<sup>1</sup>-ge-e-šú; ex. 42 has <sup>r</sup>na-ge-e<sup>1</sup>-[šú]; and ex. 43 has

*na-ge-e-šu*. **iv 32** *ak-šu-ud*: ex. 2 has *ak-šu-du*; exs. 7, 25, 32, 43, 59 have *ak-šu-ud*; and exs. 42, 25\* have *ak-šu-ud*<sup>1</sup>. **iv 33.2** omits *ID*. **iv 34** *URU.ma-dak-tu*: ex. 2 has [*URU.ma*]-*dak*<sup>1</sup>-*tú*; ex. 25 has *URU<sup>1</sup>.ma-dak-ti*; and exs. 47, 176 have *URU.ma-dak-tú*. **iv 34** *MAN-ti*: exs. 2, 8, 59 have *LUGAL-u-ti*; ex. 6 has *LUGAL<sup>1</sup>-ú-ti*; ex. 25 has *LUGAL-ú-ti*; ex. 27 has *LUGAL<sup>2</sup>-ú<sup>2</sup>-ti<sup>2</sup>*; ex. 42 has *LUGAL<sup>1</sup>-[ú<sup>2</sup>]-ti*; ex. 43 has *LUGAL-u-ti*; ex. 47 has *LUGAL<sup>1</sup>-ti*; ex. 143 has *LUGAL-u-ti-šu*; and ex. 176 has *LUGAL-u-ti-šu<sup>1</sup>*. **iv 34** *na-ge-šu*: ex. 8 has *na-ge-e-šu*; exs. 25, 43 have *na-ge-e-šu*; ex. 27 has [*na-ge*]-*e-šu*<sup>1</sup>; and ex. 34\* has *na-ge-e<sup>1</sup>-[šu]*. **iv 34** *ak-šu-ud*: ex. 2 has [*ak*]-*šu-ud*; exs. 7, 25, 27, 32, 59, 143, 176, 6\* have *ak-šu-ud*; ex. 8 has *ak-šu-ud*<sup>1</sup>; ex. 43 has *mi-ra-nu-ú<sup>2</sup>-[šu]*; and ex. 47 has *ak-šu-ud*. **iv 35.177** omits *ma* in *URU.ḫal-te-ma-áš*. **iv 35** *LUGAL-ú-ti-šu*: exs. 2, 59 have [*LUGAL*]-*u-ti-šu*; exs. 8, 25, 27, 43, 49 omit *ú*; exs. 41, 143, 176 have *LUGAL-u-ti-šu*; ex. 47 has [*LUGAL*]-*u<sup>1</sup>-ti-šu*; and ex. 6\* has *LUGAL<sup>1</sup>-u-ti-šu*. **iv 35** *ak-šu-ud*: exs. 2, 7–8, 25, 27, 32, 59, 143, 176, 6\* have *ak-šu-ud*; ex. 43 has *ak<sup>1</sup>-šu-ud*; and ex. 47 has *ak-šu-ud*. **iv 36** *LUGAL-ú-ti-šu*: ex. 2 has *LUGAL<sup>1</sup>-u-ti-šu*; exs. 8, 25, 27, 42–43, 49 omit *ú*; exs. 41, 143 have *LUGAL-u-ti-šu*; ex. 6\* has *LUGAL<sup>1</sup>-u<sup>1</sup>-ti-šu*; and ex. 34\* has *LUGAL-u<sup>1</sup>-ti-šu<sup>1</sup>*. **iv 36** *ak-šu-ud*: exs. 2, 7, 8, 25, 27, 32, 43, 59, 123, 143, 6\* have *ak-šu-ud*; ex. 47 has *ak-šu-ud*; and ex. 34\* has *ak-šu<sup>1</sup>-ud*. **iv 37.6** *URU.di-ni-LUGAL* for *URU.di-in-LUGAL*. **iv 37.2**, 123 *URU<sup>1</sup>.su<sup>1</sup>-mu-un-tú-na-áš* and [*URU.su-mu*]-*un<sup>1</sup>-tú-na-áš* respectively for *URU.su-mu-un-tu-na-áš*. **iv 37** *MAN-ti-šu*: ex. 2 has *LUGAL<sup>1</sup>-ti-šu*; exs. 8, 34\* has *LUGAL<sup>1</sup>-u-ti-šu*; ex. 25 has *LUGAL-ú-ti-šu*; ex. 27 has [*LUGAL*]-*u<sup>1</sup>-ti*; ex. 32 has *LUGAL-ú-ti-šu*; ex. 41 has [*LUGAL*]-*ú-ti-šu*; exs. 49, 143 have *LUGAL-u-ti-šu*; exs. 59, 123, 166 have *LUGAL-ti-šu*; and ex. 177 has *LUGAL-u-ti-šu<sup>1</sup>*. **iv 37** *ak-šu-ud*: ex. 2 has *ak<sup>1</sup>-šu-ud*; ex. 7 has *ak<sup>1</sup>-šu<sup>1</sup>-ud*; exs. 8, 14, 25, 27, 32, 41, 43, 59, 123, 143 have *ak-šu-ud*; ex. 47 has *ak-šu-ud*; and ex. 34\* has *ak-šu-ud*<sup>1</sup>. **iv 38** *LUGAL-ti-šu*: ex. 32 has *LUGAL<sup>1</sup>-ú-ti-šu*; exs. 47, 143 have *LUGAL-u-ti-šu*; ex. 49 has *LUGAL<sup>1</sup>-u-ti-šu*; and ex. 34\* has *LUGAL<sup>1</sup>-u-ti-šu*. **iv 38** *ak-šu-ud*: exs. 2, 8, 25, 27, 32, 59 have *ak-šu-ud*; ex. 43 has *ak<sup>1</sup>-šu<sup>1</sup>-ud*; ex. 47 has *ak-šu-ud*; ex. 123 has *ak-šu<sup>1</sup>-ud*; and ex. 6\* has *ak-šu<sup>1</sup>-ud*. **iv 39** *LUGAL-ti-šu*: ex. 32 has *LUGAL-ú-ti-šu*; ex. 47 has [*LUGAL*]-*u-ti-šu*; and exs. 49, 34\* have *LUGAL-u-ti-šu*. **iv 39** *ak-šu-ud*: exs. 2, 8, 25, 27, 32, 34\* have *ak-šu-ud*; ex. 42 has *ak<sup>1</sup>-šu<sup>1</sup>-ud*; ex. 43 has *ak-šu-ud*; ex. 47 has *ak-šu-ud*; ex. 59 has *ak<sup>1</sup>-šu-ud*; and ex. 166 has *ak-šu-ud*<sup>1</sup>. **iv 40.49**, 177 *URU.ka-bi-na-ak* and [*URU*]-*ka<sup>1</sup>-pi-in-ak* respectively for *URU.ka-bi-in-ak*. **iv 40** *LUGAL-ti-šu*: ex. 32 has *LUGAL-ú-ti-šu*; ex. 47 has *LUGAL<sup>1</sup>-u-ti-šu*; ex. 49 has *LUGAL-u-ti-šu*; and ex. 34\* has *LUGAL<sup>1</sup>-u-ti-šu*. **iv 40** *ak-šu-ud*: exs. 2, 8, 25, 27, 32, 166 have *ak-šu-ud*; ex. 42 has *ak-šu-ud*<sup>1</sup>; ex. 43 has *ak-šu-ud*; ex. 47 has *ak-šu-ud*; and ex. 20\* has [*ak*]-*šu<sup>1</sup>-ud*. **iv 41.134** *áš<sup>1</sup>-šur<sup>1</sup>* for *AN.ŠAR*. **iv 41.166** omits *u*. **iv 41.166** *áš<sup>1</sup>-tar* for *áš<sup>1</sup>*. **iv 41.2**, 42, 34\* omit *e* in *ar-de-e-ma*. **iv 42.42** *um-man-al-da-še* for *um-man-al-da-si*. **iv 42.27**, 32 *LUGAL* for *MAN*. **iv 43.2**, 49, 177 *ik-nu-ša* for *ik-nu-šu*. **iv 43.42** *ni-ri-ia* for *GIŠ.ŠUDUN-ia*. **iv 44** *URU.BAD<sup>m</sup>-un-da-si*: ex. 34 omits *m*; and ex. 47 has *URU.BAD<sup>m</sup>-un-da-a<sup>1</sup>-si*. **iv 45** *LUGAL-ti-šu*: ex. 32 has *LUGAL-ú-ti-šu*; and exs. 49, 177 have *LUGAL-u-ti-šu*. **iv 45** *ak-šu-ud*: exs. 2, 25, 27, 32, 42 have *ak-šu-ud*; ex. 47 has *ak-šu-ud*<sup>1</sup>; and ex. 20\* has *ak-šu-ud*<sup>1</sup>. **iv 46** first *u<sub>4</sub>-me*: ex. 2 has *u<sub>4</sub>-mu*; exs. 25, 49, 147, 177, 191 have *u<sub>4</sub>-mu*; and ex. 210 has *u<sub>4</sub>-mu*<sup>1</sup>. **iv 46.25**, 27 *e* and *A* respectively for 2. **iv 46** second *u<sub>4</sub>-me*: exs. 2, 32, 49, 177, 191 have *u<sub>4</sub>-mu*; ex. 25 has *u<sub>4</sub>-mi*; and ex. 210 has *u<sub>4</sub>-mu*<sup>1</sup>. **iv 46.2** *u-qí* for *ú-qí*. **iv 46.46** *ar-ki-i* for *ar-ke-e*. **iv 47.25**, 32 *u<sub>4</sub>-me-šu-ma* and *u<sub>4</sub>-mi-šu<sup>1</sup>-ma* respectively for *u<sub>4</sub>-me-šu-ma*. **iv 47.34**, 47, 210 add *ni* after *URU.MEŠ*. **iv 47** *LUGAL-ti-šu*: ex. 32 has *LUGAL-ú-ti-šu*; and exs. 46, 49 have *LUGAL-u-ti-šu*. **iv 48.191** *ù* for *a-di*. **iv 48.47**, 210 add *ni* after *URU.MEŠ*. **iv 48.34**, 210 *še-eh<sup>1</sup>-[ru-ti]* and *še<sup>1</sup>-eh<sup>1</sup>-[ru-ti]* respectively for *TUR.MEŠ*. **iv 48.2**, 32, 42, 147, 187 *ša* for *ša*. **iv 48.27**, 49, 187, 210 *ni-i-ba* for *ni-ba*. **iv 48** *i-šu-ú*: ex. 2 has *i-šu-ú*; exs. 32, 49 have *i-šu-ú*; and ex. 47 has [*i*]-*šu<sup>1</sup>-ú*. **iv 49** *ša*: exs. 2, 25, 187 have *ša*; and ex. 32 has *ša*<sup>1</sup>. **iv 49** *ak-šu-ud*: ex. 2 has *ak-šu-ud*; exs. 14, 25, 27, 32, 34, 47 have *ak-šu-ud*; and ex. 210 has *ak-šu-ud*. **iv 51.2** *ina* for *a-na*. **iv 51** *DUL*: exs. 2, 46 have *DUL*;

and ex. 187 has *DUL*<sup>1</sup>. **iv 51** *u*: exs. 2, 42 omit *it*; and ex. 210 has *ù*. **iv 51.32** *kar<sup>1</sup>-mi* for *kar-me*. **iv 52.2**, 32, 147 omit *a* in *la-a*. **iv 52.147** adds an extraneous *ni* after *mì-ni*. **iv 52.32** *ad-duk* for *a-duk*. **iv 52.10**, 32 add *LÚ* before *qu-ra-de-e-šu*. **iv 52.25**, 32, 187, 210 add *MEŠ* after *GIŠ.TUKUL*. **iv 52** *ú-ra-sib*: ex. 2 has *ú-ra<sup>1</sup>-as<sup>1</sup>-[sib]*; ex. 32 has *ú<sup>1</sup>-[ra]-as<sup>1</sup>-sib*; exs. 46, 49 have *ú-ra-as-sib*; ex. 210 has *ú-ra-as-si-ib*; and ex. 21\* has [*ú*]-*ra<sup>1</sup>-as-sib*. **iv 53** *mun-daḫ-še-e-šu*: exs. 2, 47 omit *e*; and ex. 210 has *mun-daḫ-še-e-šu*. **iv 53** *ši-ru-ti*: exs. 25, 27 have *ši-ru-ú-ti*; ex. 47 has *ši-ru-u-ti*; and ex. 210 has *ši-ru-ú<sup>1</sup>-te*. **iv 53.42**, 187 *um-man-al-da-še* for *um-man-al-da-si*. **iv 54.34**, 46, 187, 210 *MAN* for *LUGAL*. **iv 54** *me-ra-nu-uš-šu*: ex. 2 has *mi-ra-nu-ú<sup>2</sup>-[šu]*; ex. 32 has *mi<sup>1</sup>-ra<sup>1</sup>-nu-uš-šu*; ex. 34 has *mi<sup>1</sup>-ra<sup>1</sup>-[nu-uš-šu]*; ex. 98 has *mi-ra<sup>1</sup>-nu<sup>1</sup>-[uš-šu]*; and ex. 210 has *me<sup>1</sup>-ra-nu-uš-šu*. **iv 54** *KUR-ú*: exs. 2, 34 have *ša-du-ú<sup>2</sup>*; exs. 47, 55, 195 have *ša-du-u*; and ex. 210 has *ša-du-ú*. **iv 55.210** *ša* for *ša*. **iv 55.32** *URU.ta<sup>1</sup>-sa-ar-ri* for *URU.ta-sa-ar-ra*. **iv 56** *ak-šu-ud*: ex. 51 has *ak-šu-ud*; ex. 195 has [*ak*]-*šu<sup>1</sup>-ud*; and ex. 210 has *ak-šu-du*. **iv 57.191** adds *a-di* before 20. **iv 57.49** omits *ina*. **iv 57.51** *ša* for *ša*. **iv 58.25**, 191 *mì-iš-ri<sup>1</sup>* and *mì-iš-ri* respectively for *mì-iš-ri*. **iv 58.27**, 32 *URU.ḫi-da-la<sup>1</sup>* and *URU.ḫi-da-la<sup>1</sup>* respectively for *URU.ḫi-da-lu*. **iv 58** *ak-šu-ud*: ex. 2 has *ak<sup>2</sup>-šu<sup>2</sup>-ud*; ex. 49 has *ak-šu-ud*; and ex. 51 has *ak-šu-ud*. **iv 59.191** *URU.ba-si-mu* for *URU.ba-ši-mu*. **iv 59.191** *u* for *ù*. **iv 59.42** *ša* for *ša*. **iv 60.191** *ša* for *ša*. **iv 63.98** [*DINGIR*].*MEŠ-šu<sup>1</sup>-nu* for *DINGIR.MEŠ-šu*. **iv 63.32** [*NÍG.ŠU*].*MEŠ-šu-nu* for *NÍG.ŠU-šu*. **iv 63.32** *NÍG.GA.MEŠ-šu-nu* for *NÍG.GA-šu*. **iv 64.27**, 48, 81 *áš-šur.KI* for *AN.ŠAR.KI*. **iv 65.51** *áš<sup>1</sup>-tar* for *áš<sup>1</sup>*. **iv 65.2**, 48 *ša* for *ša*. **iv 65** *ú-ma<sup>1</sup>-e-er-u-in-ni*: ex. 27 has *ú<sup>1</sup>-ma<sup>1</sup>-e-ru-in-ni*; ex. 32 has *ú-ma<sup>1</sup>-e<sup>1</sup>-ru-in-ni*; ex. 48 has *ú-ma<sup>1</sup>-e-ru-in-ni*; and ex. 81 has [*ú-ma*]-*e<sup>1</sup>-ru-in-ni*. **iv 66.47** adds *ina* before *qé-reb*. **iv 66** *KUR.e-lam-ti*: ex. 25 has *KUR<sup>1</sup>.ELAM.MA.KI*; exs. 27, 42, 47, 48 have *KUR.ELAM.MA.KI*; ex. 32 has *KUR.ELAM<sup>1</sup>.MA.KI*; ex. 49 has *KUR.ELAM.MA.KI*; and ex. 126 has *KUR.ELAM.MA.KI*<sup>1</sup>. **iv 66.48** *at<sup>1</sup>-ta-lak* for *at-tal-lak*. **iv 67.42**, 48 *ta-a-ra-ti-ia* and *ta-a-ra-ti-ia* respectively for *ta-a-a-ra-ti-ia*. **iv 67.32**, 51 *ša* and *ša*<sup>1</sup> respectively for *ša*. **iv 68.2** *še-er* for *EDIN*. **iv 69.48** *ma-ḫa-SU* for *ma-ḫa-zu*. **iv 69.27**, 47 *GAL-ú* and [*GAL*]-*ú<sup>1</sup>* respectively for *GAL-u*. **iv 69.48** *DINGIR.MEŠ-šu<sup>1</sup>-nu* for *DINGIR.MEŠ-šu-un*. **iv 70.2**, 126 *a-di* for *a-šar*. **iv 70.2** *pi-riš-ti-šu-nu* for *pi-riš-ti-šu-nu*. **iv 72** *na-kam-a-te-šu-nu*: ex. 32 has *nak-kam-a-te-šu<sup>1</sup>-nu*; ex. 51 has *nak<sup>2</sup>-kam-a-te-šu-nu*; and ex. 175 has *nak<sup>1</sup>-[kam-a-te-šu-nu]*. **iv 72** *ša*: exs. 2, 32, 181 have *ša*; and ex. 19\* has *ša*<sup>1</sup>. **iv 72.27**, 32 omit *MEŠ* in *KÙ.BABBAR.MEŠ* and *KÙ.GI.MEŠ*. **iv 73.2** adds *šu* after *NÍG.ŠU.MEŠ*. **iv 73** *qé-reb-šu-nu*: ex. 2 has *qé-reb-šu-nu*; ex. 182 has [*qé-reb-šu*]-*nu*; and ex. 78 omits *un*. **iv 74.182** adds *ni* after *LUGAL.MEŠ*. **iv 74.48** adds *ina* before *KUR.ELAM.MA.KI*. **iv 74** *KUR.ELAM.MA.KI*: ex. 26 has [*KUR.e*]-*lam<sup>1</sup>-ti*; ex. 44 has *e-lam<sup>1</sup>-te*; ex. 93 has *KUR.e<sup>1</sup>-lam<sup>1</sup>-[ti]*; and ex. 40\* has *e<sup>1</sup>-lam<sup>1</sup>-ti*. **iv 74.2**, 26, 50, 126, 175 omit *ú* in *maḫ-ru-ú-ti*. **iv 75.32**, 34, 175, 19\* *ša* for *ša*. **iv 75.48** [*UD*].*MEŠ* for *u<sub>4</sub>-me*. **iv 75.50**, 175 [*an*]-*ni-i* and *an-ni-i* respectively for *an-né-e*. **iv 76.75** omits *ḫi* in *ú-paḫ-ḫi-ru*. **iv 77.27**, 44, 40\* *ša* for *ša*.

**v 1** *UGU*: ex. 2 has [*e*]-*li*; ex. 175 has *e-li*; and ex. 179 has *e<sup>1</sup>-li*<sup>1</sup>. **v 1.2** *qa-a-su* for *ŠU.II-su*. **v 1.179** *ú-bi-la<sup>1</sup>* for *ú-bi-lu*. **v 2.27**, 32, 44, 48 omit *MEŠ* in *KÙ.BABBAR.MEŠ* and *KÙ.GI.MEŠ*. **v 1.2**, 48, 175, 179, 182 add *MEŠ* after *NÍG.GA*. **v 3** *ša*: exs. 1, 44, 48, 178 omit *ša*; and exs. 32, 179 have *ša*. **v 3.2**, 32, 44, 48, 175, 179, 181–182, 19\* add *u* after *EME.GI<sub>7</sub>*. **v 3.44**, 48, 179 add *KUR* before *URL.KI*. **v 4** exs. 12, 32 add *ù* and ex. 179 adds *u* before *KUR.kár<sup>d</sup>-dun-ía-áš*. **v 4.2** *ka-la-ma* for *ka-la-mu*. **v 4** *ša*: exs. 12, 27, 52, 175, 179, 182 have *ša*; and ex. 32 has *ša*<sup>1</sup>. **v 4** *LUGAL.MEŠ*: ex. 44 has *LÚ.MEŠ*; and ex. 182 omits *MEŠ*. **v 4** *KUR.ELAM.MA.KI*: exs. 12, 179 have *KUR.e-lam<sup>1</sup>-ti*; and ex. 44 omits *MA*. **v 5** *maḫ-ru-u-te*: exs. 32, 44, 48, 175, 178–179 have *maḫ-ru-ti*; ex. 50 has [*maḫ-ru*]-*u-ti*; ex. 181 has [*maḫ-ru*]-*ú<sup>1</sup>-ti*; ex. 182 has *maḫ-ru-u-ti*; and ex. 19\* has [*maḫ*]-*ru-u<sup>1</sup>-ti*. **v 5** *ú-bi-la*: exs. 2, 12, 44, 48, 175, 179, 182 have *ú-bi-lu*; ex. 27 has *ú-bi<sup>1</sup>-lu*; ex. 32 has [*ú*]-*bi-lu*; ex. 34 has [*ú*]-*bi<sup>1</sup>-lu*; and exs. 50, 78 have *u-bi-lu*. **v 5** *KUR.ELAM.MA.KI*: exs. 2, 175 have *KUR.e-lam-ti*; ex. 50 has *KUR.e-lam<sup>1</sup>-[ti]*; ex. 100 has

[KUR.e]-<sup>l</sup>lam<sup>1</sup>-ti; and ex. 181 has <sup>l</sup>KUR<sup>1</sup>.e-lam-ti. v 6 huš-šu-u: ex. 32, 148 have huš-šu-ú; ex. 48 has huš-šu-ú; ex. 50 has BIR-šu-u; and ex. 68 has [huš]-<sup>l</sup>šu-ú. v 6.34 UR-bu for eb-bu. v 7 šu-kut-tu: exs. 2, 175, 179 have šu-kut-tú; and ex. 50 has [šu]-<sup>l</sup>kut<sup>1</sup>-tú. v 7 a-qar-tu: exs. 2, 50, 175, 179 have a-qar-tú; and ex. 182 has [a]-<sup>l</sup>qar-tú<sup>1</sup>. v 7.78, 148 LUGAL-tú and LUGAL-ú<sup>1</sup>-[ti] respectively for LUGAL-u-ti. v 8.34, 44, 48, 52, 79, 179 ša for šá. v 8.50 adds ni after LUGAL.MEŠ. v 8.50 maḥ-ru-u-ti for maḥ-ru-ti. v 8.2, 34 u and <sup>u</sup> respectively for ú. v 9.2 a-di for a-na. v 9.50 kit-ri-<sup>l</sup>šu<sup>1</sup>-nu for kit-ri-šu<sup>1</sup>-nu. v 9 KUR.e-lam-ti: exs. 2, 34, 44, 48, 175 have KUR.ELAM.MA.KI; ex. 32 has KUR.ELAM<sup>1</sup>.[MA.KI]; ex. 78 has x.MA.KI; and ex. 79 has KUR.ELAM.[MA.KI]. v 10 lu-bul-tu: ex. 34 has lu-bul<sup>1</sup>-tu<sup>1</sup>; and exs. 44, 48, 68, 175 have lu-bul-tu. v 10 šu-kut-tú: ex. 9 has <sup>l</sup>šu-kut-tu<sup>1</sup>; and exs. 48, 68 have šu-kut-tu. v 10 MAN-ti-šu: exs. 2, 50, 79, 175, 189 have LUGAL-u-ti; ex. 9 has <sup>l</sup>LUGAL<sup>1</sup>-[(u)-ti]; ex. 32 has <sup>l</sup>LUGAL<sup>1</sup>-ú-ti; exs. 34, 78 have <sup>l</sup>LUGAL<sup>1</sup>-u-ti; exs. 44, 48 have LUGAL<sup>2</sup>-(u)<sup>1</sup>-ti<sup>1</sup>; ex. 100 has [LUGAL<sup>2</sup>-(u)<sup>1</sup>]-ti<sup>1</sup>; ex. 148 has [LUGAL<sup>2</sup>]-<sup>l</sup>ú<sup>1</sup>-ti; ex. 179 has MAN-u-ti; ex. 9\* has <sup>l</sup>LUGAL<sup>1</sup>-ti; and ex. 14\* has [LUGAL<sup>2</sup>]-<sup>l</sup>ú<sup>1</sup>-ti-<sup>l</sup>[šú]. v 10.44, 48 qa-ra-bu and <sup>l</sup>qa-ra-bu<sup>1</sup> respectively for qa-ra-bi. v 11.100, 175 [si-ma-nu]-ú and si-ma-nu-DIŠ respectively for si-ma-nu-u. v 12.175 ú-nu-tú for ú-nu-ut. v 12 mut-tab-bil-ti: ex. 2 has mut-tab-bil-ti; ex. 9 has mut-tab-bil<sup>1</sup>-tu<sup>1</sup>; ex. 44 has [mut-tab-bil]-<sup>l</sup>tu<sup>1</sup>; exs. 48, 68 have mut-tab-bil-tu; ex. 50 has [mut-tab]-<sup>l</sup>bil<sup>1</sup>-tú; and ex. 175 has mut-tab-bil-tú. v 12.175 omits MEŠ in É.GAL.MEŠ-šú. v 13.2, 175 ša for šá. v 13.48 omits ina before muḥ-ḫi. v 13.175 i-ku-lu for e-ku-lu. v 14 iš-tu-ú: ex. 2 has iš-tu-u; ex. 9 has <sup>l</sup>iš<sup>1</sup>-tu-u; and ex. 175 omits ú. v 14.13, 190 [ip-pa]-<sup>l</sup>ás<sup>1</sup>-šú and [ip-pa-ás]-šú respectively for ip-pa-ás-šú. v 18.85 ša for šá. v 18.48 tal-lul-tu-šú<sup>1</sup>-un<sup>1</sup> for tal-lul-ta-šú-nu. v 18 AN.ŠÁR.KI: ex. 32 omits KI; and exs. 44, 48 have aš-šur.KI. v 19 ša: ex. 2 omits it; exs. 9, 12, 43, 48 have šá; and ex. 175 has <sup>l</sup>šá<sup>1</sup>. v 20.48 adds an extraneous bit after ub-bit. v 20.2 ú-KĀD-pi-ra for ú-kap-pi-ra. v 21.2, 12, 42, 48, 175 šá for ša. v 22 ša: exs. 2, 42, 48 have šá; and exs. 12, 175 have <sup>l</sup>šá<sup>1</sup>. v 22 pu-uz-ra-a-ti: ex. 2 has pu-zur-a-te; ex. 20 has pu<sup>1</sup>-uz-ra-a-te; exs. 34, 83, 190 have [pu]-<sup>l</sup>uz<sup>1</sup>-ra-a-te; and ex. 211 has [pu-uz-ra-a]-<sup>l</sup>tim<sup>1</sup>. v 22.2, 12, 43, 48 ša for šá. v 23.83 DINGIR-u-ti-šú for DINGIR-ti-šú. v 25.13 [d]<sup>1</sup>sa<sup>1</sup>-pa-ŠIR for <sup>l</sup>sa<sup>1</sup>-pa-ag. v 26.12 omits a in <sup>l</sup>su-un-GAM-sa-ra-a. v 27.2, 88, 175 omit a in <sup>l</sup>šú-da-a-nu. v 30.2, 9, 23, 32, 288 <sup>l</sup>na-bir-tú for <sup>l</sup>na-bir-tu. v 31.83 <sup>l</sup>ki-in-di-kar-bu for <sup>l</sup>ki-in-da-kar-bu. v 31.42 <sup>l</sup>iš-tar.MEŠ for <sup>l</sup>15.MEŠ. v 31 šá-a-tu-nu: ex. 2 has ša<sup>1</sup>-a<sup>1</sup>-[tu-nu]; ex. 12 has šá<sup>1</sup>-tu<sup>1</sup>-nu; ex. 61 has ša<sup>1</sup>-a<sup>1</sup>-tu<sup>1</sup>-nu; ex. 83 has ša-a-tu-nu; and ex. 175 has x<sup>1</sup>-a<sup>1</sup>-tu<sup>1</sup>-ni. v 32.43 [šu]-<sup>l</sup>kut-tu-šú<sup>1</sup>-[nu] for šu-kut-ti-šú-nu. v 32 NÍG.GA-šú-nu: ex. 43 has NÍG.GA.MEŠ-[šú]-nu; ex. 59 has NÍG.GA.MEŠ-[šú]-nu; ex. 61 has <sup>l</sup>NÍG.GA-šú<sup>1</sup>-[nu]; and ex. 184 has [NÍG.GA]<sup>1</sup>.MEŠ<sup>1</sup>-šú-nu. v 32 ú-na-a-ti-šú-nu: ex. 42 has ú-na-te-šú-nu; ex. 43 has <sup>l</sup>ú-na-a-te-šú-nu; and exs. 44, 48 have ú-na-a-te-šú-nu. v 33.23 omits LÚ in LÚ.šá-am-ge-e. v 33.8, 42-43 aš-šur.KI for AN.ŠÁR.KI. v 34.43 NU.<sup>l</sup>MEŠ<sup>1</sup> for ALAM.MEŠ. v 34 NA<sub>4</sub>.GIŠ.NU.GAL: exs. 7-8, 12 have NA<sub>4</sub>.GIŠ.NU<sub>11</sub>.GAL; ex. 20 has NA<sub>4</sub>.GIŠ.NU<sub>11</sub>.GAL; ex. 23 has GIŠ.NU<sub>11</sub>.GAL; ex. 42 has [NA<sub>4</sub>].GIŠ<sup>1</sup>.NU<sub>11</sub>.GAL; and ex. 83 has <sup>l</sup>NA<sub>4</sub><sup>1</sup>.GIŠ<sup>1</sup>.NU<sub>11</sub><sup>1</sup>.GAL. v 35.2 ul-tú for ul-tu. v 35.83 URU.<sup>l</sup>ma<sup>1</sup>-dak<sup>1</sup>-tú<sup>1</sup> for URU.ma-dak-tu. v 35 URU.ḫu-ra-di: exs. 2, 12 have URU.ḫu-ra-a-di; and ex. 184 has [URU].<sup>l</sup>hu<sup>1</sup>-ra-a-di. v 36 ALAM: exs. 2, 23 have NU; ex. 6 has ALAM.MEŠ; and ex. 35\* has <sup>l</sup>NU<sup>1</sup>. v 37.35\* NU for ALAM. v 37 <sup>l</sup>iš-tar-na-an-ḫu-un-di: ex. 2, 8, 25, 32, 43-44, 143, 188, 35\* omit <sup>l</sup>; and ex. 42 omits un. v 38 <sup>l</sup>tam-ma-ri-tu: ex. 2 has <sup>l</sup>tam-ma-ri-tú<sup>1</sup>; ex. 21 has [<sup>l</sup>tam-ma-ri]-<sup>l</sup>ti<sup>1</sup>; ex. 5\* has [<sup>l</sup>tam-ma-ri]-<sup>l</sup>tú<sup>1</sup>; and ex. 35\* has <sup>l</sup>tam-ma-ri-tú. v 38.12, 41 EGIR-u and <sup>l</sup>EGIR<sup>1</sup>-ú respectively for EGIR-ú. v 39 šá: exs. 2, 25, 27, 176 have ša; and exs. 7, 143 have <sup>l</sup>šá<sup>1</sup>. v 39.7 <sup>l</sup>iš-tar for <sup>l</sup>15. v 39.41 e<sup>1</sup>MU<sup>1</sup>-šú for e-pu-šú. v 39 ARAD-ú-ti: exs. 8, 42, 44, 188, 5\* omit ú; and exs. 12, 21, 41 have ARAD-u-ti. v 39 AN.ŠÁR.KI: ex. 2 omits KI; ex. 8 has aš-šur.KI<sup>1</sup>; ex. 42 has [aš]-<sup>l</sup>šur<sup>1</sup>.[KI]; and ex. 44 has aš-šur.KI. v 40.143 omits MEŠ in <sup>l</sup>ALAD.MEŠ. v 40.42 omits ma in ma-la. v 40 ba-šú-u: ex. 6 has [ba]-<sup>l</sup>šú<sup>1</sup>-u; exs. 27, 34 have [ba-šú<sup>1</sup>]-ú; ex. 42 has <sup>l</sup>GÁL<sup>1</sup>-u; ex. 123 has ba-šú-u; ex. 143 has ba-šú-ú; and ex. 180 has <sup>l</sup>ba-šú<sup>1</sup>-[u<sup>1</sup>]. v 41.25, 27, 41, 143 omit as in ú-na-as-si-ḫa. v

41.41 na-ad-ru-te for na-ad-ru-ti. v 41.2, 27, 42 omit ni in KÁ.MEŠ-ni. v 42 KUR.e-lam-ti: exs. 2, 32, 47, 75, 143, 180 have KUR.ELAM.MA.KI; ex. 12 has <sup>l</sup>KUR<sup>1</sup>.ELAM.MA.KI; ex. 27 has KUR.ELAM.MA.KI<sup>1</sup>; ex. 123 has KUR.ELAM<sup>1</sup>.[MA.KI]; and ex. 184 has [KUR.ELAM]<sup>1</sup>.MA.KI<sup>1</sup>. v 43.25, 27 DINGIR.MEŠ-šá for DINGIR.MEŠ-šú. v 43.2, 123, 180 add u before <sup>l</sup>15.MEŠ-šú. v 43 <sup>l</sup>15.MEŠ-šú: ex. 25 has <sup>l</sup>15.MEŠ<sup>1</sup>-šá; ex. 27 has [<sup>l</sup>15.MEŠ]-šá; and ex. 166 has <sup>l</sup>iš<sup>1</sup>-[tar.MEŠ-šú<sup>1</sup>]. v 44.166 omits MEŠ in GIŠ.TIR.MEŠ-šú-nu. v 44.2, 75 pa-az-ra-a-te for pa-az-ra-a-ti. v 45 šá: ex. 2 has <sup>l</sup>šá<sup>1</sup>; and exs. 12, 25, 27, 32, 166, 180 have ša. v 45 a-ḫu-u: exs. 25, 42, 44, 180 have a-ḫu-ú; ex. 27 has a-ḫu-ú<sup>1</sup>; and ex. 207 has a<sup>1</sup>-ḫu-ú<sup>1</sup>. v 45.2, 207 ú-šir and ú-šar respectively for ú-šar-ru. v 46.2, 12 [i]-<sup>l</sup>kab<sup>1</sup>-ba-sa and i-kab-ba-sa respectively for i-kab-ba-su. v 46 i-ta-šin: ex. 2 has i-ta-š<sup>1</sup>-in<sup>1</sup>; and exs. 75, 207 have i-ta-š<sup>1</sup>-in. v 47 MĒ-ia: ex. 2 has <sup>l</sup>MĒ.MEŠ<sup>1</sup>-ia; and exs. 180, 207 have ta-ḫa-zi-ia. v 47.32, 47 i-ru-bu for e-ru-bu. v 48.180 i-mu-ru for e-mu-ru. v 48 iq-mu-u: ex. 6 has [iq]<sup>1</sup>-mu<sup>1</sup>-ú; exs. 25, 27, 32, 207 have iq-mu-ú; ex. 44 omits u; ex. 51 has [iq]<sup>1</sup>-mu-ú<sup>1</sup>; and ex. 133 has <sup>l</sup>iq<sup>1</sup>-mu-ú. v 48.75 i-na for ina. v 49.207 KI.MAḤ for ki-maḥ-ḫe. v 49 LUGAL.MEŠ-šú-nu: exs. 6, 25 omit MEŠ; ex. 51 has LUGAL.MEŠ-ni-šú<sup>1</sup>-nu<sup>1</sup>; and ex. 207 has LUGAL.MEŠ-ni-šú-nu. v 49 maḥ-ru-ti: ex. 25 has maḥ-ru-ú-ti; ex. 27 has [maḥ-ru]-<sup>l</sup>ú<sup>1</sup>-ti; and ex. 47 has [maḥ-ru]-<sup>l</sup>u<sup>1</sup>-ti. v 49 u: exs. 25, 27, 32, 180, 207 have ú; and ex. 51 has <sup>l</sup>ú<sup>1</sup>. v 49 EGIR.MEŠ: ex. 32 has ar-ku-ú-ti; ex. 44 has EGIR-u-ti; ex. 47 has ar-ku-ti; and ex. 51 has ar-ku-ú<sup>1</sup>-[ti]. v 50.6, 207 pa-li-ḫu-u-ti and pa-li-ḫu-ú-ti respectively for pa-li-ḫu-ti. v 50 <sup>l</sup>15: ex. 25 has <sup>l</sup>GAŠAN; exs. 32, 207 have <sup>l</sup>iš-tar; and ex. 180 has <sup>l</sup>iš<sup>1</sup>-[tar]. v 50 GAŠAN-ia: ex. 25 has NIN-ia; ex. 27 has <sup>l</sup>NIN<sup>1</sup>-ia; and ex. 47 has GAŠAN-MU. v 51 mu-nār-ri-tu: ex. 6 has mu<sup>1</sup>-nār-ri-tu<sup>1</sup>; exs. 25, 32, 44, 180, 207 have mu-nār-ri-tu; ex. 27 has mu-nār-ri-[tu]; ex. 49 has mu-nār-ri-tu<sup>1</sup>; and ex. 51 has [mu]<sup>1</sup>-nār-ri-tu. v 51.47, 51, 180, 207 add ni after LUGAL.MEŠ. v 51.44 AD.MEŠ-ía for AD.MEŠ-ia. v 53.44, 207 <sup>l</sup>GI<sup>1</sup>.PAD.DA.MEŠ-šú-nu and GI<sup>1</sup>.PAD.DA.MEŠ<sup>1</sup>-šú-nu respectively for GI<sup>1</sup>.PAD.DU.MEŠ-šú-nu. v 53 AN.ŠÁR.KI: exs. 6, 25, 44 have aš-šur.KI; and ex. 180 has aš-šur<sup>1</sup>.[KI]. v 54 e-tém-me-šú-nu: ex. 8 has [e-tém]-<sup>l</sup>ma<sup>1</sup>-šú<sup>1</sup>-nu<sup>1</sup>; ex. 12 has GIDIM.MEŠ-šú-nu; ex. 25 has e-tém-ma-šú-nu; and ex. 27 has e-tém-ma-šú-nu. v 54.47, 207 ša-la-la for ša-la-lu. v 54.12 e-mid for e-mi-id. v 54.51 [ki-iš]-<sup>l</sup>pi<sup>1</sup> for ki-iš-pu. v 54 naq: exs. 32, 207 have na-aq; ex. 75 has [na]-aq; and ex. 32\* has <sup>l</sup>na<sup>1</sup>-aq<sup>1</sup>. v 54 me-e: exs. 25, 32, 47, 207 have A.MEŠ; and ex. 74 has [A]<sup>1</sup>.MEŠ<sup>1</sup>. v 54 ú-za-am-me-šú-nu-ti: ex. 25 has ú-za-am-me-šú<sup>1</sup>-nu-ti; ex. 47 has ú-za-am-me-šú-nu-u-ti; and ex. 207 has ú-za-me-šú-nu-te. v 55.51, 207 u-me for UD.MEŠ. v 56 MUN.MEŠ: exs. 2, 25, 47, 49, 51, 207, 32\* omit MEŠ; and ex. 46 has ṭa-[ab-ti]. v 56 Ú.sah<sup>1</sup>-le-e: ex. 2 omits Ú; ex. 12 adds SAR after it; ex. 25 has Ú.sah<sup>1</sup>-<sup>l</sup>lé<sup>1</sup>-e; ex. 47 has Ú.sah<sup>1</sup>-<sup>l</sup>lé<sup>1</sup>-e; and ex. 32\* has Ú.ZAG.ḫ.LL. v 57.2, 207 omit MEŠ in DUMU.MUNUS.MEŠ. v 57.51, 207 add ni after each LUGAL.MEŠ. v 57.2, 47, 207, 26\* omit MEŠ in NIN<sub>6</sub>.MEŠ. v 57.6, 207 qin-ni for qin-in-ni. v 58 ú: ex. 2 omits it; and exs. 6, 32, 47, 25\*, 32\* have u. v 58 ar-ki-ti: ex. 25 has <sup>l</sup>EGIR<sup>1</sup>-ti; ex. 27 has EGIR<sup>1</sup>-ti; and exs. 32, 81 have <sup>l</sup>EGIR<sup>1</sup>-[ti]. v 58 šá: ex. 25 has <sup>l</sup>šá<sup>1</sup>; and exs. 26, 47, 51, 207 have ša. v 58.47, 51, 207, 22\* add ni after LUGAL.MEŠ. v 58 KUR.ELAM.MA.KI: exs. 2, 12 have KUR.e-lam-ti; and ex. 51 has KUR.e-[lam]-ti. v 59 LÚ.qe-pa-a-ni: ex. 2 has <sup>l</sup>LÚ.qe<sup>1</sup>-pa-a-ni; exs. 27, 49 have LÚ.qe-pa-a-[ni]; ex. 32 has LÚ.qe<sup>1</sup>-e-pa-a-ni; exs. 47, 51, 207 have LÚ.qe-pa-a-ni; ex. 81 has LÚ.qe-pa<sup>1</sup>-a-ni<sup>1</sup>; and ex. 22\* has [LÚ].<sup>l</sup>qe<sup>1</sup>-pa-a-ni. v 59 LÚ.ḫa-za-na-a-ti: ex. 2 has LÚ.ḫa-za-na-a-te; exs. 6, 74 omit a; ex. 25 has <sup>l</sup>LÚ<sup>1</sup>.ḫa-[za]-<sup>l</sup>na<sup>1</sup>-te; and ex. 51 omits LÚ. v 60.74 šá for ša. v 60.51, 207, 22\* add ni after URU.MEŠ. v 60.12, 22\* <sup>l</sup>ša<sup>1</sup>-a<sup>1</sup>-tu-nu and šá-a-tú<sup>1</sup>-nu<sup>1</sup> respectively for šá-a-tu-nu. v 60 ak-šú-du: ex. 2 has ak-šú-du; ex. 6 has <sup>l</sup>ak<sup>1</sup>-šú-du; and ex. 47 has ak-šú-ud. v 60.51 omits MEŠ in GIŠ.PAN.MEŠ. v 61.27, 81 omit KUŠ in KUŠ.PA.MEŠ. v 61 pét-ḫal: exs. 6, 74, 207 have pét-ḫal-li; exs. 25, 47, 51 add MEŠ after it; ex. 50 has <sup>l</sup>pét-ḫal.MEŠ<sup>1</sup>; and ex. 13\* has <sup>l</sup>pét<sup>1</sup>-ḫal<sup>1</sup>-li<sup>1</sup>. v 62 LÚ.kit-kit-tu-u: ex. 2 has <sup>l</sup>LÚ.kit-kit-tú<sup>1</sup>-u; ex. 6 has <sup>l</sup>LÚ.kit<sup>1</sup>-kit-tu-ú; and ex. 50 has LÚ.kit<sup>1</sup>-kit-tú<sup>1</sup>-[u]. v 63 um-ma-ni: ex. 27 adds LÚ before it; exs. 47, 50-51, 207 have um-ma-a-

ni; ex. 81 has LÚ.um-ma-<sup>r</sup>a-ni<sup>1</sup>; ex. 205 has <sup>r</sup>um<sup>1</sup>-ma-a-ni; and ex. 22\* has <sup>r</sup>um<sup>1</sup>-ma-<sup>r</sup>a-ni<sup>1</sup>. v 63 ba-šú-u: exs. 47, 207 have ba-šú-u; ex. 51 has ba-<sup>r</sup>šú<sup>1</sup>-[u]; and ex. 60 has [ba]-<sup>r</sup>šú<sup>1</sup>-u. v 63 NITA: ex. 27 has zik-<sup>r</sup>ra<sup>1</sup>; ex. 81 has zik-ra; and ex. 126 has zi<sup>r</sup>-<sup>r</sup>ik<sup>r</sup>-[ra]. v 63.6, 81 [sin]-<sup>r</sup>niš<sup>1</sup> and sin-niš respectively for MUNUS. v 63.74 omits u before GAL. v 64 u: ex. 47 omits it; and ex. 182 has ù. v 64 US<sub>5</sub>.UDU.ĪIA: exs. 2, 60 have še-<sup>r</sup>e-ni; ex. 38 has <sup>r</sup>še<sup>1</sup>-e-ni; exs. 47, 50, 205 have še-e-ni; ex. 51 has ši-i-<sup>r</sup>ni<sup>1</sup>; and ex. 182 has še-e-[ni]. v 65 šá: exs. 27, 32, 116 have ša; and exs. 48, 51, 175 have <sup>r</sup>ša<sup>1</sup>. v 65 BURU<sub>5</sub>.MEŠ: exs. 2, 38, 47, 50-51 omit MEŠ; ex. 27 has BURU<sub>5</sub>.<sup>r</sup>ĪIA; ex. 74 has <sup>r</sup>BURU<sub>5</sub>.ĪIA; and ex. 81 has BURU<sub>5</sub>.ĪIA. v 65.26, 48 aš-šur.<sup>r</sup>KI and aš-<sup>r</sup>šur<sup>1</sup>.KI respectively for AN.ŠÁR.KI. v 66 URU.ma-dak-tu: exs. 2, 47 have URU.ma-dak-tú; ex. 26 has [URU.ma]-dak-tú; and ex. 38 has ZU for URU. v 67.2 omits ù. v 67.81 si-it-tu-ti for si-it-ti. v 67 ma-ḥa-ze-e-šú: ex. 2 has ma-ḥa-zi; ex. 47 omits e; ex. 48 has ma-<sup>r</sup>ḥa<sup>1</sup>-ze-e-šú-nu; and ex. 205 has [ma-ḥa-ze]-<sup>r</sup>e<sup>1</sup>-šú-un. v 67.26 aš-šur.KI for AN.ŠÁR.KI. v 68 ANŠE.EDIN.NA: ex. 50 has <sup>r</sup>ANŠE<sup>1</sup>.EDIN.NA.MEŠ; ex. 55 has ANŠE.EDIN.NA.MEŠ; ex. 97 has [ANŠE].<sup>r</sup>EDIN<sup>1</sup>.NA.MEŠ; and ex. 205 has [ANŠE.EDIN].<sup>r</sup>NA<sup>1</sup>.MEŠ. v 68.125 omits MEŠ in MAŠ.DĀ.MEŠ. v 68 ba-šú-u: ex. 38 has <sup>r</sup>ba<sup>1</sup>-šú-ú; ex. 47 has [ba]-<sup>r</sup>šú<sup>1</sup>-ú; ex. 48 has ba-šú-u; ex. 50 has ba-šú-<sup>r</sup>ú; and ex. 97 has <sup>r</sup>ba<sup>1</sup>-šú-u. v 69.55 qē-UN-šú-un for qē-reb-šú-un. v 70.2.55 a-me-lu-te for a-me-lu-ti. v 70.26 ki-bi-si for ki-bi-is. v 70.26 omits MEŠ in GU<sub>4</sub>.MEŠ. v 70.35 [US<sub>5</sub>].<sup>r</sup>UDU<sup>1</sup>.ĪIA for še-e-ni. v 71.26, 81, 125 omit <sup>d</sup> in <sup>d</sup>a-la-la. v 71.26 ṭa-a-bi for DÜG.GA. v 71.50 omits am in ú-za-am-ma-a. v 71.26 A.GĀR.MEŠ-šú-un for A.GĀR.MEŠ-šú. v 72.48 šá for ša. v 72.2 <sup>r</sup>MU<sup>1</sup>.MEŠ for MU.AN.NA.MEŠ. v 73 KUR.e-lam-ti: ex. 26 has [KUR].<sup>r</sup>ELAM<sup>1</sup>.MA.KI; exs. 48, 50, 55, 118, 125 have KUR.ELAM.MA.KI; ex. 142 has [KUR.ELAM].<sup>r</sup>MA<sup>1</sup>.KI; and ex. 175 has KUR.ELAM.[MA.KI]. v 74.142, 175 si-ma-a-ti-šá and si-ma-a-ti-<sup>r</sup>šá<sup>1</sup> respectively for si-ma-ti-šá.

v 1 u<sub>4</sub>-me-šú: ex. 44 has UD.MEŠ-šú; ex. 48 has u<sub>4</sub>-me-šú; ex. 55 has [UD].<sup>r</sup>MEŠ-šú<sup>1</sup>; and ex. 125 has [u<sub>4</sub>]-<sup>r</sup>me<sup>1</sup>-šú-ma. v 1.55 u for ù. v 1.48 AD.AD-šá for AD.MEŠ-šá. v 2.181 tab-bu-ú for tab-bu-u. v 2.55 MU for šu-mi. v 3.26 be-lu-ti-šá for EN-ti-šá. v 4.48 maš-šur-DÜ-A for <sup>m</sup>AN.ŠÁR-DÜ-A. v 4.50, 142, 145 ul-tú for ul-tu. v 4 KUR.e-lam-ti: exs. 26, 38, 48, 50 have KUR.ELAM.MA.KI; exs. 55, 112, 125, 142 have [KUR].<sup>r</sup>ELAM<sup>1</sup>.MA.KI; ex. 175 has KUR.<sup>r</sup>ELAM<sup>1</sup>.MA.KI; and ex. 4\* has KUR.<sup>r</sup>ELAM<sup>1</sup>.[MA.KI]. v 5 ú-še-rab-an-ni: ex. 2 has ú-še-reb-<sup>r</sup>an<sup>1</sup>-[ni]; ex. 26 has <sup>r</sup>ú-še-rab-<sup>r</sup>a<sup>1</sup>-ni; and ex. 175 has <sup>r</sup>ú-še-rab-a-ni. v 6 šá: exs. 50, 142 have <sup>r</sup>ša<sup>1</sup>; and exs. 83, 175 have ša. v 6.2, 50 <sup>r</sup>ul<sup>1</sup>-tú and ul-tú respectively for ul-tu. v 6 u<sub>4</sub>-me: exs. 2, 50, 125, 142, 145, 175, 189 have UD.MEŠ; ex. 112 has [UD].<sup>r</sup>MEŠ<sup>1</sup>; and ex. 2\* has [UD].MEŠ. v 6.48, 125 <sup>r</sup>ru-qu-ú-ti and ru-qu-u-ti respectively for SÜ.MEŠ. v 6.48, 78 taq-bu-<sup>r</sup>ú<sup>1</sup> and taq-bu-ú respectively for taq-bu-u. v 7 e-nen-na: ex. 26 has <sup>r</sup>i<sup>1</sup>-na-an-na; ex. 48, 181 has e-na-an-na; ex. 189 has <sup>r</sup>e<sup>1</sup>-na-an-na; and ex. 190 has e-na-<sup>r</sup>an<sup>1</sup>-[na]. v 7.26 ar-<sup>r</sup>ku-u<sup>r</sup>-[ti] for EGIR.MEŠ. v 8.26 <sup>r</sup>ḥar-ra-na<sup>1</sup> for ḥar-ra-nu. v 8 i-šir-tu: exs. 2, 38, 112 have <sup>r</sup>i<sup>1</sup>-šir-tú; ex. 96 has [i-šir]-tú; ex. 142 has [i-šir]-<sup>r</sup>tú<sup>1</sup>; and exs. 145, 157, 175 have i-šir-tú. v 8.78 ša for šá. v 9.78 ina for a-na. v 10.2 MURU.KI for UNUG.KI. v 11.44, 48, 78, 96, 178 ša for šá. v 11.2, 71 [ú-šar-me]-<sup>r</sup>šá<sup>1</sup> and [ú-šar-me]-<sup>r</sup>šá<sup>1</sup> respectively for ú-šar-mi-iš. v 11.71, 2\* pa-rak and [pa]-<sup>r</sup>ak<sup>1</sup> respectively for BĀRA. v 11 da-ra-a-te: exs. 48, 71, 142, 145, 157, 178 have da-ra-a-ti; ex. 149 has <sup>r</sup>da-ra-a-ti<sup>1</sup>; ex. 175 has <sup>r</sup>da<sup>1</sup>-ra-a-ti; and ex. 39\* has [da-ra]-<sup>r</sup>a<sup>1</sup>-ti. v 12.44, 48, 71, 178 u for ù. v 12 KUR.ELAM.MA.KI: exs. 2, 142, 145, 175 have KUR.e-lam-ti; ex. 38 has <sup>r</sup>KUR.e<sup>1</sup>-lam-ti; ex. 149 has <sup>r</sup>KUR.e-lam<sup>1</sup>-ti; and ex. 206 has KUR.e-lam-<sup>r</sup>ti<sup>1</sup>. v 12.44, 48 šá for ša. v 12.2 adds u before <sup>d</sup>AG. v 12.2 <sup>d</sup>MUATI for <sup>d</sup>AG. v 13.34 <sup>r</sup>šá<sup>1</sup> for šá. v 14.82, 149 ša and šá<sup>2</sup> respectively for šá. v 14.2, 44, 48, 145, 149, 175, 11\* URU.LĪMMU-DINGIR for LĪMMU-DINGIR.KI. v 14.57 adds u before <sup>d</sup>nusku. v 15.175, 206 re-še-e-ta and re-še<sub>20</sub>-e-ti respectively for re-še-e-ti. v 15.2 [áš-ru]-<sup>r</sup>uk<sup>1</sup> for áš-ruk. v 16.2, 38, 44, 48, 82, 142, 175, 206, 211 add LÚ before ERIM.MEŠ. v 16.82 adds MEŠ after GIŠ.PAN. v 16 GIŠ.a-rit: ex. 34 has GIŠ.a-ri-<sup>r</sup>tú<sup>1</sup>; exs. 44, 48 omit GIŠ; ex. 71 has [GIŠ.a]-<sup>r</sup>ri<sup>1</sup>-tú; ex. 78 has

<sup>r</sup>LÚ<sup>1</sup>.<sup>r</sup>a-rit<sup>1</sup>; ex. 145 has [GIŠ].<sup>r</sup>a<sup>1</sup>-ri-tú; ex. 149 has GIŠ.a-ri-<sup>r</sup>tú<sup>1</sup>; ex. 206 has GIŠ.a-ri-te; and ex. 11\* has GIŠ.a-<sup>r</sup>ri<sup>1</sup>-[tú]. v 16 LÚ.um-ma-ni: exs. 71, 145 have um-ma-a-ni; exs. 82, 142 have [LÚ<sup>1</sup>.um]-<sup>r</sup>ma<sup>1</sup>-a-ni; ex. 149 has [LÚ<sup>1</sup>.um-ma]-<sup>r</sup>a-ni<sup>1</sup>; ex. 157 has [LÚ<sup>1</sup>].um-ma-a-ni; ex. 175 has <sup>r</sup>LÚ<sup>1</sup>.um-ma-a-ni; ex. 186 has LÚ.UM.ME.A; and ex. 206 has LÚ.um-ma-a-ni. v 16 LÚ.kit-kit-tu-u: ex. 2 has <sup>r</sup>LÚ<sup>1</sup>.kit-kit-tú-u; ex. 38 has LÚ.kit-kit-tú-u; and exs. 71, 157 omit LÚ. v 17 šá: exs. 34, 183, 206 have ša; and exs. 41, 145 have <sup>r</sup>ša<sup>1</sup>. v 17 ul-tu: exs. 71, 142 have [ul]-<sup>r</sup>tú<sup>1</sup>; and ex. 82 has <sup>r</sup>ul<sup>1</sup>-tú. v 17 KUR.ELAM.MA.KI: ex. 2 has [KUR].<sup>r</sup>e-lam-ti<sup>1</sup>; exs. 38, 71, 82, 102, 142, 206 have KUR.e-lam-ti; ex. 145 has [KUR].<sup>r</sup>e<sup>1</sup>-lam-ti; and ex. 149 has [KUR].<sup>r</sup>e-lam-ti<sup>1</sup>. v 18 UGU: ex. 2 has <sup>r</sup>e-li<sup>1</sup>; and exs. 34, 41, 206, 211 have e-li. v 18 LUGAL-ti-ia: ex. 145 has [LUGAL]-u-ti-ia; ex. 183 has LUGAL-<sup>r</sup>ú-ti<sup>1</sup>-ia; and ex. 11\* has <sup>r</sup>MAN<sup>1</sup>-[ti-ia]. v 19.2 si-it-tú-ti<sup>1</sup> for si-it-tu-ti. v 20.82 omits ia in LÚ.GAL.MEŠ-ia. v 20 ma-ḥa-za-ni-ia: exs. 9, 157 have ma-ḥa-za-a-ni-ia; and ex. 183 omits ia. v 21 GIM: exs. 2, 41, 175, 183, 206 have ki-ma; ex. 34 has <sup>r</sup>ki-ma<sup>1</sup>; ex. 142 has <sup>r</sup>ki<sup>1</sup>-ma; ex. 143 has <sup>r</sup>ki<sup>1</sup>-[ma]; and ex. 145 has [ki]-<sup>r</sup>ma<sup>1</sup>. v 21 še-e-ni: ex. 34 has US<sub>5</sub>.<sup>r</sup>UDU.ĪIA; ex. 82 has <sup>r</sup>US<sub>5</sub>.UDU.ĪIA; ex. 142 has US<sub>5</sub>.UDU.ĪIA; ex. 145 has ši-i-ni; and ex. 175 has US<sub>5</sub>.UDU.ĪIA. v 21 ú-za-iz: ex. 2 has <sup>r</sup>ú-za-<sup>r</sup>i-iz; ex. 9 has ú-za-<sup>r</sup>i-iz<sup>1</sup>; exs. 41, 44, 48, 157 have ú-za-<sup>r</sup>i-iz; ex. 82 has ú-za-<sup>r</sup>i-iz; exs. 102, 175, 206 have [ú-za]-<sup>r</sup>i-iz; ex. 142 has [ú-za]-<sup>r</sup>i-iz; and ex. 143 has ú-za-<sup>r</sup>i-iz. v 22.41, 183 i-na for ina. v 22 u<sub>4</sub>-me-šú: exs. 41, 183 have u<sub>4</sub>-me-šú; exs. 34, 44, 48 add ma after it; and ex. 206 has u<sub>4</sub>-me-šú-ma. v 22 ri-du-ti: ex. 2 has <sup>r</sup>UŠ<sup>1</sup>-[u<sup>1</sup>-ti]; ex. 28 has <sup>r</sup>UŠ<sup>1</sup>-u-ti; ex. 34 has UŠ-ú-ti; ex. 41 has UŠ-<sup>r</sup>u-ti; ex. 44 has ri-du-u-ti; ex. 48 has <sup>r</sup>ri<sup>1</sup>-du-u-ti; ex. 82 has UŠ-u-<sup>r</sup>ti<sup>1</sup>; exs. 143, 206 have UŠ-u-ti; ex. 145 has <sup>r</sup>UŠ<sup>1</sup>-ú-ti; ex. 175 has <sup>r</sup>UŠ<sup>1</sup>-u-ti; and ex. 183 has <sup>r</sup>ri<sup>1</sup>-du-ú-ti. v 22.82 <sup>r</sup>te-né-e<sup>1</sup> for te-né-e. v 22 šá: exs. 2, 28, 143, 183, 206 have ša; and ex. 44 omits it. v 22 NINA.KI: ex. 34 has <sup>r</sup>URU.NINA<sup>1</sup>; and exs. 82, 145 add URU before it. v 24 šá: exs. 2, 12, 34, 82, 184 have <sup>r</sup>ša<sup>1</sup>; and exs. 20, 23, 28, 143, 206 have ša. v 24 MAN: exs. 28, 143 have LUGAL; and ex. 175 has <sup>r</sup>LUGAL<sup>1</sup>. v 24 AN.ŠÁR.KI: exs. 28, 44, 48 have aš-šur.KI; and ex. 145 has [aš]-<sup>r</sup>šur<sup>1</sup>.KI. v 25.13 DÜ-ia for ba-ni-ia. v 25 ud-di-šú: exs. 12, 28, 44, 48 have ud-di-šú; and ex. 145 has [ud]-<sup>r</sup>di<sup>1</sup>-šú. v 26 ri-du-ti: ex. 12 has UŠ-u-ti; ex. 28 has UŠ-u-<sup>r</sup>ti<sup>1</sup>; exs. 44, 48 have ri-du-u-ti; ex. 82 has [ri-du]-<sup>r</sup>u-ti; ex. 82 has [UŠ]-<sup>r</sup>u-ti; and ex. 184 has <sup>r</sup>UŠ<sup>1</sup>-[u-ti]. v 26.2 šu-a-tú for šú-a-tú. v 26.2 ri-šá-a-te for ri-šá-a-ti. v 27.44 ana-ku for a-na-ku. v 27 maš-šur-DÜ-A: exs. 2, 12, 44, 51, 75 have <sup>m</sup>AN.ŠÁR-DÜ-A; ex. 9 has <sup>m</sup>AN.ŠÁR-DÜ-IBILA; ex. 13 has <sup>m</sup>AN.ŠÁR-DÜ-A; ex. 20 has [m]AN.ŠÁR-DÜ-IBILA; ex. 82 has [m]AN<sup>1</sup>.ŠÁR-DÜ-A; and ex. 184 has <sup>m</sup>AN<sup>1</sup>.[ŠÁR-DÜ-A?]. v 27 LUGAL: exs. 2, 44, 48, 51, 75 have MAN; and ex. 12 has <sup>r</sup>MAN<sup>1</sup>. v 27.33, 44, 48, 51 omit u in GAL-u. v 28 first LUGAL: exs. 2, 33, 44, 48, 51 have <sup>r</sup>MAN<sup>1</sup>; and ex. 75 has <sup>r</sup>MAN<sup>1</sup>; v 28.2, 44, 48, 75 MAN for the second LUGAL. v 28 third LUGAL: exs. 2, 44, 75 have MAN; and ex. 48 has <sup>r</sup>MAN<sup>1</sup>. v 28 AN.ŠÁR.KI: exs. 23, 48 have aš-šur.KI; ex. 44 has aš-šur.KI; and ex. 156 has [aš]-<sup>r</sup>šur<sup>1</sup>.KI. v 28.12, 44, 48, 51, 75, 184 MAN for the fourth LUGAL. v 29.2 áš-šú for áš-šú. v 29 ri-du-ti: exs. 2, 47, 51, 82, 156 have UŠ-u-ti; ex. 13 has DU-RI-ti; ex. 44 omits ti; ex. 48 has ri-du-u-ti; and ex. 75 has UŠ-u-<sup>r</sup>ti<sup>1</sup>. v 29 šú-a-tú: exs. 23, 51 have šú-a-tu; ex. 33 has [šú]-<sup>r</sup>a<sup>1</sup>-tu; and ex. 47 has <sup>r</sup>šú<sup>2</sup>-a-tú<sup>1</sup>. v 30.2, 9 omit šú in <sup>d</sup>ALAD.MEŠ-šú. v 30 LUGAL-ú-ti: exs. 2, 9, 13, 47-48, 51, 156 have LUGAL-u-ti; exs. 12, 75 have LUGAL-u-<sup>r</sup>ti<sup>1</sup>; ex. 33 has <sup>r</sup>LUGAL<sup>1</sup>-u-<sup>r</sup>ti<sup>1</sup>; and ex. 82 has <sup>r</sup>LUGAL<sup>1</sup>-ti-ia. v 31.2, 48 u for ù. v 31.2, 13, 20, 44, 47, 51, 75, 184 add MEŠ after <sup>d</sup>GAŠAN-GARZA. v 31 AN.DÜL-ša: exs. 2, 12, 44, 48, 51, 75, 184 have AN.DÜL-la-šá; ex. 9 has [AN.DÜL]-<sup>r</sup>šú-nu<sup>1</sup>; ex. 13 has AN.DÜL-šá; ex. 20 has AN.<sup>r</sup>DÜL<sup>1</sup>-la-šá; ex. 47 has AN.DÜL-<sup>r</sup>la<sup>1</sup>-[šá]; ex. 88 has <sup>r</sup>AN<sup>1</sup>.DÜL-šá; and ex. 27\* has [AN].<sup>r</sup>DÜL-la-šá<sup>1</sup>. v 31 šá: exs. 13, 20, 47, 51, 75 have ša; exs. 44, 27\* have <sup>r</sup>ša<sup>1</sup>; and ex. 184 has <sup>r</sup>ša<sup>1</sup><sup>1</sup>. v 31 ša-la-me: exs. 13, 20, 47 have ša-la-me; exs. 51, 156 have šá-la-mi; ex. 75 has šá-la-a-<sup>r</sup>mi<sup>1</sup>; and ex. 27\* has <sup>r</sup>šá<sup>1</sup>-la-[me]. v 33 ul-tu: exs. 2, 47, 51, 75 have ul-tú; and ex. 184 has ul-<sup>r</sup>tú<sup>1</sup>. v 33 DÜ-ia: exs. 2, 51, 75, 156 have ba-ni-ia; ex. 12 has <sup>r</sup>ba<sup>1</sup>-[ni-ia]; and ex. 47 has ba-[ni-ia]. v 33 i-te-né-



ep-pu-šú: ex. 2 has *e-te-né-pu-uš*; ex. 21 has *ᵉ-te¹-[né-ep-pu-šú]*; ex. 44 has *e-te-né-ep-pu-šú*; ex. 47 has *e-te-né-ep¹-[pu-šú]*; and ex. 51 omits *né*. **vi 33** KUR.KUR: ex. 2 adds MEŠ after it; ex. 34 has *ma-ta-a-[ti]*; and ex. 156 has *ma-ta-a-ti*. **vi 34.2** u for ù. **vi 34.21** *rap-šá¹-a-ti* for DAGAL.MEŠ. **vi 34.27\*** *ka-a-a¹-na¹* for *ka-a-a-an*. **vi 34.2**, 47 omit su in *pu-us-su-rat*. **vi 35.2**, 12, 51 *šá* for *ša*. **vi 35.2**, 35 *ú-pa-si-ru-in-ni* and *ú-pa-as-sa-ru-in-ni* respectively for *ú-pa-sa-ru-in-ni*. **vi 35.2**, 35, 51, 75 *i-na* for *ina*. **vi 36** *du-um-mu-qa*: exs. 13, 156 have *du-um-mu-qu*; and ex. 151 has *[du]-mu-qu*. **vi 36** MÁŠ.GI₆.MEŠ-*ia*: ex. 35 has MÁŠ.GI₆.MEŠ-*ú-a*; exs. 51, 156 have MÁŠ.GI₆-*u-a*; and ex. 151 has MÁŠ.GI₆.MEŠ-*u-a*. **vi 37.35** *ša* for *šá*. **vi 37.47** omits *e* in *še-e-ri*. **vi 37** *ba-nu-u*: exs. 12, 21 have *ba-nu-ú¹*; exs. 35, 156 have *ba-nu-uš*; and ex. 105 has *[ba-nu]-ú¹*. **vi 37** *ger-ru-u-a*: ex. 25 has *[ger]-ru-ú¹-a*; ex. 35 has *e-ger-ru-[u-a]*; ex. 44 has *e-ger-ru-u-a*; and ex. 151 has *ger¹-ru-ú¹-a*. **vi 38** *šu-a-tu*: exs. 2, 13, 38, 151 have *šu-a-tú*; exs. 12, 47, 75, 207 have *šú-a-tú*; and ex. 13 has *šú-a-tú¹*. **vi 38.21**, 51 EN.MEŠ-šú for EN-šú. **vi 38** *šu-tu-u-ma*: exs. 2, 156 have *šu-tú-ma*; ex. 44 has *šu-tu-ma*; ex. 48 has *šu-tu-<sup>f</sup>ma¹*; and ex. 151 has *šu-tú-u-ma*. **vi 39.21**, 35 *[i]-šú¹-mu* and *i-ši-mu* respectively for *i-šim-mu*. **vi 39.151** adds MUNUS before SIG₅-*tim*. **vi 41.2**, 38 *áš-šú* for *áš-šú*. **vi 41** *ru-up-pu-uš*: exs. 13, 38 omit up; and ex. 47 has *ru-up-pu-še¹*. **vi 41.2** *tal-lak-a-ti-šú* for *tal-lak-ti-šú*. **vi 43** *pi-ti-iq-tú*: exs. 26, 27\* have *[pi-ti-iq]-<sup>f</sup>tu¹*; and exs. 27, 48, 51, 207 have *pi-ti-iq-tu*. **vi 43** *ap-ti-iq*: ex. 25 has *[ap]-ti-iq-ma*; ex. 44 has *ap-ti-iq-ma*; and ex. 48 has *ap-ti-iq-<sup>f</sup>ma¹*. **vi 43** *ú-mal-li*: ex. 11 has *[ú-mal]-al-li*; ex. 25 has *ú-ma-<sup>f</sup>al-li*; and ex. 26 has *ú-ma-al-li*. **vi 44.2** *i¹-na¹* for *ina*. **vi 44.26**, 51 add *ina* before *u-me*. **vi 44.51** *še-mé-e* for *še-me-e*. **vi 44.2** *[tam]-<sup>f</sup>la¹-a* for *tam-le-e*. **vi 44** *šú-a-tú*: ex. 21 has *[šú-a]-<sup>f</sup>tu¹*; exs. 25, 48, 51, 135 have *šú-a-tu*; and exs. 26, 44 have *šú-a-tú*. **vi 45.44**, 48 *a-di* and *ᵉ¹-[di]* for *ad-di*. **vi 46.12** *i-na* for *ina*. **vi 46.32**, 44, 48 add u before GEŠTIN. **vi 46.2** adds MEŠ after GEŠTIN. **vi 46.51** *ab-lul* for *ab-lu-ul*. **vi 46** *am-ḥa-sa*: ex. 2, 51 have *am¹-ḥa-aš-ša*; ex. 32 has *am-ḥa-aš-ša*; ex. 47 has *am-ḥa-aš-<sup>f</sup>ša¹*; and ex. 207 has *am-ḥa-aš*. **vi 47.207** *la-bi-nu* for *la-bi-in*. **vi 47.44** *za-bil* for *za-bi-lu*. **vi 48** *ni-gu-tú*: exs. 2, 32, 207 have *ni-gu-ti*; ex. 5 has *ni¹-gu-<sup>f</sup>ti¹*; exs. 12, 26 have *nin-gu-ti*; exs. 25, 51 have *nin-gu-tu*; and ex. 44 has *nin-gu-ti*. **vi 48** *ú-bal*: ex. 6 has *ub-bal*; exs. 12, 26, 32 have *ub-<sup>f</sup>ba¹*; and ex. 207 has *ub¹-[ba]*. **vi 49.207** *i-na* for *ina*. **vi 49.2** *ri-šá-a-te* for *ri-šá-a-ti*. **vi 49.2**, 12, 38, 47, 51 *ul-tú* for *ul-tu*. **vi 49** *gaba-dib-bé-e-šú*: exs. 2, 12 omit *bé*; exs. 25, 51, 74, 207 have *gaba-dib-bi-šú*; ex. 26 has GABA.DIB-šú; and ex. 36 has *[gaba-dib]-bi¹-šú*. **vi 50.51**, 74 *UGU¹* and UGU respectively for *e-li*. **vi 50.2** *šá¹* for *ša*. **vi 50.51**, 207 add *ni* after LUGAL.MEŠ. **vi 50.38** [AD].<sup>f</sup>MEŠ¹-*ia* for AD.MEŠ-*ia*. **vi 50.11**, 44 *u-rap-<sup>f</sup>piš¹* and *u-rap-piš* respectively for *ú-rap-piš*. **vi 50.44** *u-šar-ri-ḥa* for *ú-šar-ri-ḥa*. **vi 50** *ep-še-ti-šú*: ex. 2 has *ep-še-te-e-šú*; ex. 12 has *ep-še-te-e-šú¹*; ex. 25 has *ep-še-te-šú-e-šú*; ex. 26 has *ep-še-te-šú¹-[šú]*; ex. 35 has *[ep-še]-<sup>f</sup>e¹-ti-šú*; ex. 36 has *[ep]-<sup>f</sup>še-te-šú¹*; ex. 38 has *[ep]-<sup>f</sup>še¹-te-e-šú*; and ex. 44 has *ep-še-te-šú*. **vi 51** GIŠ.EREN.MEŠ: ex. 12 omits GIŠ and MEŠ; and exs. 25–26, 32, 51 omit MEŠ. **vi 51.38**, 51 omit KUR in KUR.si-ra-ra. **vi 51.26**, 44 add u before KUR.lab-na-ni. **vi 51** KUR.lab-na-ni: ex. 2 has *ᵉ¹KUR¹.[lab]-na-na*; exs. 12, 51 have *[KUR.lab-na]-<sup>f</sup>na¹*; exs. 25, 27, 32, 44 have KUR.lab-na-na; ex. 31 has *[KUR.lab-na]-na*; and ex. 175 has *ᵉ¹KUR.lab-na-na¹*. **vi 52.26** *ú-šat-ri-iš* for *ú-šat-ri-ša*. **vi 52** UGU-šú: ex. 2 has *e-li-šú*; ex. 35 has *e-<sup>f</sup>li¹-šú*; and ex. 38 has UGU-šú¹. **vi 53** *li-a-a-ri*: exs. 2, 25, 32, 44 have GIŠ.li-*ia-a-ri*; ex. 6 has *li-ía-a-ri*; ex. 26 has *GIŠ¹.[li-ia-a-ri]*; and ex. 51 has *[GIŠ.li]-<sup>f</sup>ia¹-a-ri*. **vi 53.27**, 32 *ša* and *šá¹* respectively for *šá*. **vi 53.25**, 113 *ṭa-a-bu* and *ṭa¹-[a-bu]* respectively for DÜG.GA. **vi 54.12**, 74 *me-ser* for *me-se-ri*. **vi 55.44** GIŠ.DIM.MEŠ for GIŠ.tim-me. **vi 55** *ú-ḥal-lip-ma*: exs. 2, 5–6, 44, 51 have *ú-ḥal-lip-ma*; exs. 12, 36 have *ᵉ¹ú-ḥal-lip¹-ma*; ex. 31 has *[ú-ḥal]-<sup>f</sup>lip¹-ma*; ex. 35 has *ᵉ¹ú-ḥal-lip-ma*; and ex. 113 has *ú-ḥal-<sup>f</sup>lip¹-[ma]*. **vi 56** *ḥi-le-ni-šú*: ex. 2 has *ḥi-le-né-e-šú*; ex. 25 has *ḥi-la-ni-šú¹*; ex. 26 has *ḥi-<sup>f</sup>la¹-[ni-šú]*; exs. 35, 44 have *ḥi-la-ni-šú*; ex. 38 has *ḥi-<sup>f</sup>la¹-[ni]-šú*; and ex. 51 has *[ḥi]-<sup>f</sup>le¹-né-e-šú*. **vi 56** UŠ-u-ti: ex. 12 has *ri-du-<sup>f</sup>[u-ti]*; ex. 26 has *ri-du-u-ti*; exs. 32, 35 have UŠ-*ú-ti*; ex. 40 has *ri¹-[du-u-ti]*; and ex. 74 has *UŠ²-ti¹*. **vi 56** *šu-a-tu*: exs. 2, 38, 44 have *šú-a-tú*; and ex. 94 has *šú-a-*

*ti*. **vi 57** LUGAL-ti-*ia*: exs. 2, 38, 51 have LUGAL-u-ti-*ia*; ex. 35 has LUGAL-*ú-ti-ia*; ex. 36 has *ᵉ¹LUGAL¹-u-ti-ia*; and ex. 113 has *ᵉ¹LUGAL-ú¹-ti-ia¹*. **vi 58.5**, 51 *ú-mal-li* for *ú-ma-al-li*. **vi 58.39**, 42 [GIŠ.KIRI₆.MAḤ]-*ḥu¹* and GIŠ.KIRI₆.MAḤ-*ḥi* respectively for GIŠ.KIRI₆.MAḤ. **vi 58** *ša*: exs. 35, 44 have *ša*; and ex. 42 has *ša¹*. **vi 59.38** NÍG.SA.SA¹.HLE for NÍG.SA.SA.HI.A. **vi 59.112** LA-*KA¹*-*[mu]* for *ka-la-mu*. **vi 59** *i-ta-te-e-šú*: ex. 5 has *ᵉ¹i-ta¹-ti-šú*; ex. 44 has *i-ta-ti-šú*; and ex. 51 has *i-ta-ti-<sup>f</sup>šú¹*. **vi 60** *ep-še-te-e-šú*: exs. 6, 35, 44, 163 have *ep-še-e-ti-šú*; and ex. 40 has *ep-še-ti-šú*. **vi 61.42**, 44 add u before *ri-šá-a-te*. **vi 61** *ri-šá-a-te*: exs. 6, 35, 40, 94 have *ri-šá-a-ti*; ex. 51 has *[ri]-šá-a-ti¹*; and ex. 175 has *ri-šá-a-ti¹*. **vi 61.44** *u-šar-ri-šú* for *ú-šar-ri-šú*. **vi 61.175** *ᵉ¹i-na¹* for *ina*. **vi 61.11** *[tak]-<sup>f</sup>ni¹-i* for *tak-né-e*. **vi 62.2**, 35 *ina* and *ana* respectively for *a-na*. **vi 62** UD.MEŠ: exs. 6, 40, 142 have *u-me*; and ex. 35 has *u-mi*. **vi 62.35** *a-na* for *ina*. **vi 62.38**, 175 add *ni* after LUGAL.MEŠ. **vi 62.38** DUMU.MEŠ-*ia* for DUMU.MEŠ-*ia*. **vi 62.35**, 44, 164 *ša* for *šá*. **vi 62.35**, 164 *ḫi-š-tar* and *ḫi-š-[tar]* respectively for *ḫi*. **vi 63.44** omits *be* in *be-lut*. **vi 63** *i-nam-bu-u*: exs. 35, 142 have *i-nam-bu-ú*; and ex. 140 has *i-nam-<sup>f</sup>bu-ú¹*. **vi 64.142** *i-nu-ma* for *e-nu-ma*. **vi 64** UŠ-u-ti: ex. 6 adds *šú* after it; and exs. 35, 164 have UŠ-*ᵉ¹ti¹*. **vi 64** *šú-a-tú*: exs. 8, 38, 40, 44, 140, 41\* have *šú-a-tú*; and ex. 51 has *[šú-a]-tu*. **vi 64** *e-na-ḥu*: exs. 6, 42 have *in-na-ḥu*; ex. 35 has *in¹-[na-ḥu]*; and ex. 164 has *en-na-ḥu*. **vi 65** MU.SAR-*ú*: ex. 6 has MU.SAR-*u*; ex. 8 has [MU].<sup>f</sup>SAR¹-*u*; ex. 40 has MU¹.SAR-*u*; and ex. 41\* omits *ú*. **vi 66.35** *da-ru-ú* for *da-ru-u*. **vi 66** *ša*: exs. 36, 140, 145, 175 have *ša*; and exs. 142, 164 have *ša*. **vi 66** LUGAL-ti: ex. 31 has [LUGAL]-*u-ti*; exs. 38, 44, 140, 142 have LUGAL-*u-ti*; ex. 72 has [LUGAL]-*ᵉ¹u-ti*; and exs. 145, 164 have LUGAL-*ú-ti*. **vi 67** Ì.GIŠ: exs. 6, 8, 55 have Ì.MEŠ; and ex. 40 adds MEŠ after it. **vi 67.6**, 40 *lip-šú-uš* for *lip-šú-uš*. **vi 67.2**, 38 *liq-qi* for BAL-*qi*. **vi 68.2** MU-šú for MU-šú. **vi 68.2** omits *ina*. **vi 68.72** *an-ni-i* for *an-né-e*. **vi 69** *ia-a-ti-ma*: ex. 2 has *ia-a-<sup><<a>></sup>-ti-ma*; and exs. 2, 44 omit *a*. **vi 69** *liš-ru-ku-šú*: exs. 6, 168 have *liš-ru-ku-šú*; ex. 8 has *liš-<sup>f</sup>ru-ku-uš¹*; ex. 38 has *[liš]-<sup>f</sup>ru-ku¹-uš*; exs. 40, 142 have *liš-ru-ku-<sup>f</sup>uš¹*; exs. 44, 82, 145 have *liš-ru-ku-uš*; ex. 72 has *liš-ru-ku-<sup>f</sup>uš*; and ex. 140 has *[liš¹-ru-ku-uš*. **vi 59.140**, 164 *ù* and *ᵉ¹u¹* respectively for *u*. **vi 69** *li-i-tu*: exs. 2, 6, 38, 72, 142, 162 have *li-i-tú*; ex. 31 has *li¹-i-tú*; ex. 36 has *li-<sup>f</sup>i-tú*; and ex. 168 has *li-i-ti*. **vi 70** MU.SAR-*ú*: exs. 6, 8 have [MU].<sup>f</sup>SAR¹-*u*; exs. 40, 44 have MU.SAR-*u*; ex. 142 has MU.SAR-*e*; ex. 145 has MU.SAR-<sup>f</sup>ru-*u*; and ex. 168 has MU¹.SAR-*u*. **vi 70.44**, 82, 140, 168 *ib-ba-tu* for *ib-ba-tú*. **vi 71** MU.SAR-*i-šú*: exs. 6, 40, 72, 142, 168 have MU.SAR-*ri-šú*; ex. 8 has [MU].<sup>f</sup>SAR-*ri-šú*; ex. 38 has MU.SAR-*ri-šú*; ex. 42 has MU.SAR-<sup>f</sup>ri¹-*šú*; ex. 44 has MU.SAR-*ri-šú*; ex. 92 has [MU.SAR]-<sup>f</sup>ri-*šú*; ex. 140 has [MU.SAR]-<sup>f</sup>ri¹-*šú*; ex. 145 has MU.SAR-<sup>f</sup>ri¹-*šú*; and ex. 164 has MU.SAR-<sup>f</sup>ri¹-*[šú]*. **vi 72.44**, 164 *a-šib-te* and *a-šib* respectively for *a-šib-ti*. **vi 72** exs. 6, 72, 92, 162, 164, 168 add u and ex. 38 has *ᵉ¹u¹* before KI-*tim*. **vi 72** *li-ru-ru-uš*: ex. 44 omits the second *ru*; and ex. 72 has *li¹-ru-ru-šú*. **vi 73.140** *lu-ḥal-li-qu* for *li-ḥal-li-qu*.

## Text No. 10

**i 10.8** SIG₅-*ti* for SIG₅-*tim*. **i 20.8**, 11 *pa¹-rak* for BÁRA. **i 21.11** *e-pu-<sup>f</sup>uš¹* for DÜ-uš. **i 24.11** *ul-tú* for *ul-<sup>f</sup>tu¹*. **i 50.16** *[ru]-<sup>f</sup>a¹-a-mi* for *ru-<sup>ᶜ</sup>a-a-me*.

**ii 1.2–3** *ek-du-ú-<sup>f</sup>ti¹* and *ek-du-ú-ti* respectively for *ek-du-u-ti*. **ii 2.3** omits u in LUGAL-*u-ti-ia*. **ii 28.8** *ša* for *šá*. **ii 33.4** *šu-a-tu* for *šú¹-a-tu*. **ii 36.4** *[ul]-tú* for *ul-tu*.

**iii 8.3** *ša* for *šá*. **iii 11.3** *šad-[de]-<sup>f</sup>e¹* for KUR-*i*. **iii 11.3** *ᵉ¹u¹* for *u*. **iii 19.12** *šá* for *šá¹*. **iii 20.12** LUGAL for MAN. **iii 21.12** *šu-a-tu* for *šú-a-tú*. **iii 23.3**, 12 *šú-a-tú* and *šú-a-tu* respectively for *šú-a-tú*. **iii 28.3**, 12 *šá* for *šá¹*. **iii 30.12** *šú-a-tú* for *šú-a-tú*. **iii 35.4** *pa-rak* for BÁRA¹. **iii 36.4** *[si]-<sup>f</sup>hir¹-ti-š¹-na¹* for *si-ḥir¹-te-š¹-na*. **iii 42.4** *ti-ik-<sup>f</sup>le¹-[ia]* for *tik-le¹-ia*. **iii 43.4** *š¹-ri¹* for *š¹-ra-a-te*. **iii 37.5** KUR-*e-[lam-ti]* for KUR.ELAM.<sup>f</sup>MA.KI¹. **iii 42.3**, 5 *mi-ra-nu-uš-šú* and *mi-ra-nu-<sup>f</sup>uš¹-[šú]* respectively for *me-ra-nu-uš-šú*. **iii 45.5** *ša* for *šá*. **iii 47.3** *ša* for *šá*. **iii 47.3** URU.ḥu-un-na-ar for URU.ḥu-un-<sup>f</sup>nir¹. **iii 48.3** *mi-iš-ri* for *mì-iš-ri*. **iii 50.3** u for ù.

v 20.18 [KUR.e]-<sup>f</sup>lam-ti<sup>1</sup> for KUR.ELAM.MA.KI. v 47.3 á-ki-tu for á-ki-it.

vi 4.3 ma-ḥar-šú-<sup>f</sup>un<sup>1</sup> for ma-ḥar-šu-un. vi 9.3 <sup>f</sup>LUGAL-ú<sup>1</sup>-[ti] for LUGAL-u-ti. vi 10.2 šú-a-<sup>f</sup>tu<sup>1</sup> for šú-a-tú. vi 20.11 [lu]-ki-in-nu for lu-kin-nu. vi 25.3 [a-qab-bu]-<sup>f</sup>ú<sup>1</sup> for a-qab-bu-u. vi 28.10-11 <sup>f</sup>UD.MEŠ<sup>1</sup> and <sup>f</sup>UD<sup>1</sup>.MEŠ respectively for u-me. vi 31.18 ša for šá. vi 31.10, 18 omit u. vi 33.10 i-nam-bu-u for i-nam-bu-ú. vi 34.10 á-ki-tu for á-ki-it. vi 36.10 an-ḥu-us-sa for an-ḥu-us-su. vi 37.10 MU.SAR-u for MU.SAR-ú. vi 38.10 Ì.MEŠ for Ì.GIŠ.

### Text No. 11

i 2.2, 21 UŠ-ú-ti for ri-du-u-ti. i 4.2, 21 LUGAL-ú-ti for LUGAL-u-ti. i 5.21 SIPA-tim for SIPA-ut. i 7.2 LUGAL-ti-šú for LUGAL-ti-ia. i 8 <sup>m</sup>AN.ŠÁR-PAP-SUM.NA: exs. 2, 90 have <sup>m</sup>AN.ŠÁR-PAP-AŠ; and ex. 21 has <sup>m</sup>AN.ŠÁR-PAP-AŠ. i 8.90 LUGAL for MAN. i 9.2, 90 [tik]-le-šú and <sup>f</sup>tik<sup>1</sup>-[le-(e)-šú] respectively for ti-ik-le-e-šú. i 9.2, 21 it-ta-<sup>f</sup>i-id and [it]-<sup>f</sup>ta-<sup>f</sup>i-id<sup>1</sup> respectively for it-ta-id. i 10 iq-bu-u-šú: exs. 2, 90 omit u; ex. 21 has iq-bu-<sup>f</sup>šú<sup>1</sup>; and ex. 170 has [iq]-<sup>f</sup>bu-ú<sup>1</sup>-[šú]. i 12 KAM: exs. 21, 122 have KÁM; and ex. 90 has <sup>f</sup>KÁM<sup>1</sup>. i 15.2 ša for šá. i 15.5 adds URU before NINA.KI. i 16.2, 21 ša for šá. i 16.5, 122 <sup>f</sup>URU<sup>1</sup>.LÍMMU-DINGIR and URU.LÍMMU-DINGIR respectively for LÍMMU-DINGIR.KI. i 17.2 iq-bu-u for iq-bu-ú. i 18.5, 122 ú-pa-ḥir and <sup>f</sup>ú-pa-ḥir respectively for ú-paḥ-ḥir. i 18.170 omits KI in AN.ŠÁR.KI. i 19.5 e-liti for e-li-ti. i 19.5 u for ú. i 19.122, 170 šap-<sup>f</sup>li<sup>1</sup>-[ti] and <sup>f</sup>šap-li<sup>1</sup>-[ti] respectively for šap-liti. i 21 LUGAL-tu: exs. 2, 5 have LUGAL-ut; and exs. 21, 122 have <sup>f</sup>LUGAL-ut<sup>1</sup>. i 21 MU: ex. 2 has [ni]-<sup>f</sup>iš<sup>1</sup>; ex. 21 has ni-iš; and ex. 148 has ni-<sup>f</sup>iš<sup>1</sup>. i 22.5 [ú-šá]-áz-kír-šú-nu-<sup>f</sup>ti<sup>1</sup> for ú-šá-az-kír-šú-nu-ti. i 25.5 a-lid-<sup>f</sup>di<sup>1</sup>-[ia] for a-li-di-ia. i 26.5, 21 <sup>f</sup>LUGAL<sup>1</sup>-tu and LUGAL-u-tu respectively for the second LUGAL-tú. i 27 DÜ-u-a: ex. 5 has ba-nu-[u-a]; ex. 21 has ba-nu-u-a; and ex. 111 has ba-nu-<sup>f</sup>u<sup>1</sup>-[a]. i 28.21 ir-bu-ú for ir-bu-u. i 28.21 e-pu-šu for e-pu-šú. i 29.21 ir-du-ú for ir-du-u. i 29.5, 21 kim-tu and kim-<sup>f</sup>tu<sup>1</sup> respectively for kim-tú. i 30.5, 21 [ni]-šú-tu and ni-šú-tu respectively for ni-šú-tú. i 30.5, 21, 111 omit u. i 30.21 sal-la-tu for sa-la-tú. i 32.21 omits u in ṭap-šar-ru-u-ti. i 32.5 ša for šá. i 32.5, 111 um-ma-a-ni for um-ma-ni. i 33.5, 111 GÁL-u and ba-šú-u respectively for ba-šú-ú. i 34.21 adds MEŠ after ANŠE.KUR.RA. i 34 KUŠ.a-šá-a-te: ex. 5 has KUŠ.a-šá-a-ti; ex. 21 has KUŠ.a-šá-ti; ex. 92 has [KUŠ]<sup>f</sup>.a-šá-a-ti; and ex. 111 has [KUŠ]<sup>f</sup>.a-šá<sup>1</sup>-a-ti. i 35.5 ša for šá. i 35.21 ni-bi-sún for ni-bit-sún. i 36.176 ad-bu-ba for a-da-bu-ba. i 36.21, 111 [iq-bu]-ú for iq-bu-u. i 37.21 [ú-šad]-<sup>f</sup>gi<sup>1</sup>-la for ú-šad-gi-lu. i 38.5, 21 <sup>f</sup>ke<sup>1</sup>-e-mu-u-a and ke-e-mu-u-<sup>f</sup>a<sup>1</sup> respectively for ke-mu-u-a. i 38.111 <sup>f</sup>i-tap-pa-lu<sup>1</sup> for e-tap-pa-lu. i 38.21, 176 i-né-ru and i-né-er-ru respectively for i-na-ru. i 39.21 <sup>q</sup>iš-tar and <sup>d</sup>iš<sup>1</sup>-[tar] respectively for <sup>d</sup>iš. i 40 LUGAL-u-ti: exs. 5, 56 have LUGAL-ú-ti; and ex. 111 has [LUGAL]-<sup>f</sup>ú<sup>1</sup>-ti. i 42.56 <sup>f</sup>šá<sup>1</sup> for šá. i 43.56 <sup>f</sup>šá<sup>1</sup> for šá. i 43.56 URU.LÍMMU-DINGIR for LÍMMU-DINGIR.KI. i 43.56 adds u before <sup>h</sup>nusku. i 44.21 ba-ni-ia for DÜ-ia. i 45.5 omits šú in ŠĒG.MEŠ-šú. i 46.5, 21, 56 omit 1 in 1.KÜŠ. i 46.5 ŠE.IM for ŠE.AM. i 47.21, 56 2/3 for 5/6. i 47.5, 21, 56 omit 1 in 1.KÜŠ. i 50.56 <sup>f</sup>GURUN<sup>1</sup> for in-bu. i 51.21 i-na for each ina. i 51.94 <sup>f</sup>BALA<sup>1</sup>.MEŠ-ia for BALA-ia. i 51.21 ku-um-mu-ra for ku-um-mu-ru. i 52.2, 21 <sup>f</sup>i<sup>1</sup>-[na] and i-na respectively for ina. i 52.5 lu-u for lu. i 53.94 <sup>m</sup>tar-qu-u for <sup>m</sup>tar-qu-ú. i 53.21, 158 LUGAL and <sup>f</sup>LUGAL<sup>1</sup> respectively for MAN. i 53.21 <sup>f</sup>ú<sup>1</sup> for u. i 53.5 KUR.ku-ú-si for KUR.ku-u-si. i 54.21, 158 LUGAL for MAN. i 54.5, 21 ba-nu-u-a and ba-nu-<sup>f</sup>ú<sup>1</sup>-[a] respectively for DÜ-u-a. i 55 šu-u: exs. 5, 21, 106 have šu-ú; and ex. 158 has [šú]-<sup>f</sup>ú<sup>1</sup>. i 55.21, 106 <sup>m</sup>tar-qu-<sup>f</sup>ú<sup>1</sup> and <sup>m</sup>tar-qu-<sup>f</sup>ú<sup>1</sup> respectively for <sup>m</sup>tar-qu-u. i 56.5, 94 ù and <sup>f</sup>ú<sup>1</sup> respectively for u. i 56.118 [EN.MEŠ]-ía for EN.MEŠ-ia. i 57.5, 118 ra-ma-ni-šú and ra-ma-ni-šú respectively for ra-man-i-šú. i 58.5, 106 ša for šá. i 58.5, 118 ba-nu-u-a for DÜ-u-a. i 59.118 [ḥa-ba]-<sup>f</sup>a<sup>1</sup>-ti for ḥa-ba-a-te. i 60.118 adds ina before qé-reb. i 61.5 ša for šá. i 61.2 ba-nu-u-a for DÜ-u-a. i 61.2, 118 [ú]-<sup>f</sup>ter<sup>1</sup>-ra and ú-ter-ra respectively for ú-ter-ru. i 62.24 il-li-<sup>f</sup>ik<sup>1</sup>-[am-ma] for il-lik-am-ma. i 64 e-gug-ma: ex. 5 has i-<sup>f</sup>gug<sup>1</sup>-[ma]; ex. 24 has <sup>f</sup>i-gug<sup>1</sup>-[ma]; and ex. 118 has i-gug-ma. i 64.118 i-ša-ru-uḥ

for i-ša-ru-uḥ. i 64.5, 118 ka-bat-[ti] and ka-bat-ti respectively for ka-bit-ti. i 65.99 [aš-šur-i]-<sup>f</sup>tu<sup>1</sup> for aš-šur-i-tú. i 66 e-mu-qf-ia: ex. 24 adds LÚ before it; and ex. 118 has <sup>f</sup>e-mu<sup>1</sup>-qi-ia. i 66 ši-ra-a-te: ex. 5 has <sup>f</sup>ši<sup>1</sup>-ra-a-ti; ex. 118 has ši-ra-a-<sup>f</sup>ti; and ex. 131 has [ši-ra-a]-ti. i 66.5, 24 <sup>f</sup>ša<sup>1</sup> for šá. i 67.5, 118 [qa]-tu-u-a and qa-tu-u-a respectively for ŠU.II-u-a. i 69.5, 24 ša and <sup>f</sup>ša<sup>1</sup> respectively for šá. i 70.14, 131 [ka-bit]-tu and ka-bit-tu respectively for ka-bit-tú. i 72.2 šá-a-tu-[nu] for šá-a-tú-nu. i 72.14, 131 [e]-<sup>f</sup>mu<sup>1</sup>-qi-šú-nu and [e-mu]-qi-šú-nu respectively for e-mu-qf-šú-nu. i 75.2 omits u in na-ra-ru-u-ti. i 75.2 <sup>f</sup>ša<sup>1</sup> for šá. i 76.24 ša for šá. i 76.2 omits ni in ARAD.MEŠ-ni. i 77.14 URU.kar-<sup>d</sup>DÜ-tú for URU.kar-<sup>d</sup>DÜ-ti. i 78.14 <sup>f</sup>KUR<sup>1</sup>.ku-ú-si for KUR.ku-u-si. i 80.163 u for ù. i 82.163 <sup>f</sup>rap<sup>1</sup>-še for rap-ši. i 84.2, 163 <sup>f</sup>iš<sup>1</sup>-ḥu-pu-<sup>f</sup>šú-ma<sup>1</sup> and is-<sup>f</sup>ḥu<sup>1</sup>-pu-<sup>f</sup>šú-ma respectively for is-ḥu-pu-šú-ma. i 85 me-lam-me: ex. 2 has <sup>f</sup>mi<sup>1</sup>-lam-me; exs. 6, 163 have mi-lam-me; and ex. 96 has mi-<sup>f</sup>lam<sup>1</sup>-[me]. i 85.6 LUGAL-u-ti-<sup>f</sup>ia<sup>1</sup> for LUGAL-ti-ia. i 85.5 [ik-tu-mu]-<sup>f</sup>šu-ma for ik-tu-mu-šú-ma. i 86.2, 6 [ú-za]-<sup>f</sup>i<sup>1</sup>-nu-in-ni and ú-za-<sup>f</sup>i-nu-in-ni respectively for ú-za-<sup>f</sup>i-nu-in-ni. i 89 šú-a-tú: exs. 2, 6, 96 have šu-a-tú; and ex. 163 has šú-a-tu. i 91 <sup>m</sup>LUGAL-lu-dà-ri: ex. 2 has <sup>m</sup>MAN-lu-dà-<sup>f</sup>ri<sup>1</sup>; and exs. 6, 96 have <sup>m</sup>MAN-lu-dà-ri. i 91.96 MAN for LUGAL. i 92.96 MAN for LUGAL. i 92.6 URU.na-at-<sup>f</sup>ḥu<sup>1</sup>-u for URU.na-at-ḥu-ú. i 93.96 <sup>f</sup>MAN<sup>1</sup> for LUGAL. i 93.2 <sup>f</sup>URU<sup>1</sup>.pi-šap-tu for URU.pi-šap-tú. i 97.58 <sup>f</sup>MAN<sup>1</sup> for LUGAL. i 97.6, 35 URU.na-at-ḥu-u and <sup>f</sup>URU.na<sup>1</sup>-at-ḥu-u respectively for URU.na-at-ḥu-ú. i 98.53 omits ia in <sup>m</sup>hur-si-ia-e-šú. i 98.58 MAN for LUGAL. i 98 URU.šab-nu-ti: ex. 2 has URU.šab-nu-<sup>f</sup>u<sup>1</sup>-ti<sup>1</sup>; ex. 6 has URU.šab-nu-<sup>f</sup>ú-ti; and ex. 35 has <sup>f</sup>URU<sup>1</sup>.šab-nu-ú-ti. i 101.58 <sup>f</sup>MAN<sup>1</sup> for LUGAL. i 105.3 MAN for LUGAL. i 106.3 MAN for LUGAL. i 107.57 <sup>f</sup>mla-mi-in<sup>1</sup>-[tú] for <sup>f</sup>mla-mi-in-tú. i 107.3 MAN for LUGAL. i 108.3 <sup>f</sup>iš-pi-ma-a-tu for <sup>f</sup>iš-pi-ma-tu. i 108.3 MAN for LUGAL. i 109.3 MAN for LUGAL. i 110.6 LÚ.qe-pa-a-ni for LÚ.qe-pa-a-ni. i 110.3, 57, 139 ša for šá. i 111.6 DÜ-u-a for ba-nu-u-a. i 111.3, 57 <sup>f</sup>ša<sup>1</sup> and ša respectively for šá. i 111.2-3, 139 <sup>m</sup>tar-qu-ú for <sup>m</sup>tar-qu-u. i 112 im-lu-ú: exs. 2-3 have im-lu-u; and ex. 139 has [im]-lu-u. i 114.2-3, 6 omit u. i 114 KUR.ku-u-su: exs. 3, 6 have KUR.ku-ú-su; and ex. 5 has KUR.ku-u-si. i 114.5, 139 ša for šá. i 114.3, 139 ba-nu-u-a and <sup>f</sup>ba<sup>1</sup>-[nu-u-a] respectively for DÜ-u-a. i 114.3 ik-šú-du for ik-šú-du. i 114.3 eš-šú-ti for eš-šú-ti. i 115.3 e-li for UGU. i 116 rik-sa-a-te: exs. 2-3, 5 have rik-sa-a-ti; and ex. 136 has rik-<sup>f</sup>sa<sup>1</sup>-a-ti. i 117.2-3 šal-mi-iš and <sup>f</sup>šal<sup>1</sup>-mi-iš respectively for šal-meš. i 118.139 an-nu-u-ti for an-nu-ti. i 118.139 ap-qid-du for ap-qf-du. i 118 iḥ-tu-u: exs. 3, 73 have iḥ-tu-ú; and ex. 6 has <sup>f</sup>iḥ<sup>1</sup>-tu-ú. i 119 im-šú-ma: ex. 3 has im-šú-ma; ex. 6 has [im]-šú-ma; ex. 60 has [im]-<sup>f</sup>šú<sup>1</sup>-ma; and ex. 139 has im-šú-ma. i 120 ḥUL-tú: ex. 3 has MUNUS.ḥUL; ex. 60 has <sup>f</sup>ḥUL-tu<sup>1</sup>; and ex. 139 has le-mut-tu. i 120 sur-ra-a-te: exs. 3, 139 have sur-ra-a-ti; and ex. 60 has [sur-ra-a]-<sup>f</sup>ti<sup>1</sup>. i 120.139 id-bu-bu-u-<sup>f</sup>ma<sup>1</sup> for id-bu-bu-ma. i 121.3 mi-lik for mi-lik. i 121.3 MI-li-ku for im-li-ku. i 121.3, 60 <sup>m</sup>tar-qu-ú and <sup>m</sup>tar-qu-<sup>f</sup>ú<sup>1</sup> respectively for <sup>m</sup>tar-qu-u. i 122 ul-tú: ex. 2 has ul-<sup>f</sup>tu<sup>1</sup>; and exs. 60, 73, 139 have ul-tu. i 122 i-na-saḥ-u-ma: ex. 2 has i-na-saḥ-ú-ma; ex. 3 has i-na-saḥ-<sup>f</sup>ú-ma<sup>1</sup>; ex. 6 has in-na-saḥ-MAN-<sup>f</sup>ma<sup>1</sup>; and ex. 139 has [i-na]-<sup>f</sup>saḥ-ú-ma. i 122 mi-i-nu: exs. 3, 60 have mi-i-nu; and ex. 6 has mi-i-<sup>f</sup>nu<sup>1</sup>. i 123.2-3 <sup>m</sup>tar-qu-<sup>f</sup>ú<sup>1</sup> and <sup>m</sup>tar-qu-ú respectively for <sup>m</sup>tar-qu-u. i 123.60 <sup>f</sup>LUGAL<sup>1</sup> for MAN. i 123 KUR.ku-u-si: ex. 3 has KUR.<sup>f</sup>ku-ú-si; ex. 6 has <sup>f</sup>KUR.ku<sup>1</sup>-ú-si; and ex. 60 has KUR.ku-ú-si. i 123.2, 60 <sup>f</sup>ú<sup>1</sup> for u. i 124.54 omits e in LÚ.rak-bé-e-šú-un. i 124.2 su-lum-mu-ú for su-lum-mu-u. i 125.3 bi-ri-in-ni for bi-ri-ni. i 125.2 ni-in-da-ga-ra for ni-in-dag-ga-ra. i 126.3 bi-ri-in-ni for bi-ri-ni. i 127 EN-ti-ia: ex. 2 has be-lu-ti-<sup>f</sup>ia<sup>1</sup>; and exs. 6, 54 have EN-ú-ti-ia. i 128.3 <sup>f</sup>iš-te<sup>1</sup>-né-<sup>f</sup>u<sup>1</sup> for iš-te-né-<sup>f</sup>u-u. i 128 ḥUL-tim: ex. 2 has <sup>f</sup>ḥUL<sup>1</sup>-ti; ex. 3 has ḥUL-ti; and ex. 54 has ḥUL-tu. i 128 LÚ.šú-ut SAG.MEŠ-ia: ex. 2 omits MEŠ; and ex. 6 has šu-ut LÚ<sup>1</sup>.SAG.MEŠ-ia. i 128 a-ma-a-te: ex. 2 has a-ma-a-<sup>f</sup>ti<sup>1</sup>; exs. 3, 6 have a-ma-a-ti; and ex. 54 has [a]-<sup>f</sup>ma<sup>1</sup>-a-ti. i 128 an-na-a-te: ex. 2 has [an-na]-<sup>f</sup>a<sup>1</sup>-ti; and exs. 3, 6, 54 have an-na-a-ti. i 129 LÚ.rak-bé-e-šú-un: ex. 2 has LÚ.rak-bé-e-šú-<sup>f</sup>nu<sup>1</sup>; and ex. 54 omits e. i 129 šip-ra-a-te-šú-un: ex. 2 has [šip]-<sup>f</sup>ra<sup>1</sup>-a-ti-šú-nu; ex. 3 has šip-ra-a-ti-šú-nu; and ex. 6 has šip-ra-ti-šú-nu. i 129 iḥ-bat-nim-ma: ex. 2 has iḥ-ba-tu-nim-ma; ex. 3 omits u; and ex. 54 has iḥ-

bat-ú-nim-ma. **i 130** sur-ra-a-te-šú-un: ex. 2 has [sur-ra-a]-<sup>r</sup>ti-šú-un<sup>1</sup>; exs. 3, 6 have sur-ra-a-ti-šú-un; and ex. 54 has <sup>r</sup>sur<sup>1</sup>-ra-ti-šú-un. **i 130** an-nu-te: ex. 2 has an-nu-<sup>r</sup>ti<sup>1</sup>; and exs. 3, 6 have <sup>r</sup>an<sup>1</sup>-nu-ti. **i 130.6, 54** <sup>r</sup>iš-ba<sup>1</sup>-tu-nim-ma and <sup>r</sup>iš-ba-tu-<sup>r</sup>nim<sup>1</sup>-ma respectively for <sup>r</sup>iš-bat-u-nim-ma. **i 132.2–3, 21** LUGAL for MAN. **i 132.3** ik-šú-us-su-nu-ti-ma for ik-šú-su-nu-ti-ma. **i 132.2–3, 21** ša for šá. **i 132.3** <sup>r</sup>iḫ-tu<sup>1</sup>-ú for <sup>r</sup>iḫ-tu-u. **i 133.2** [ta-ab]-<sup>r</sup>ti<sup>1</sup> for MUN. **i 133** ŠU.ÍI-šú-un: exs. 2, 21 have qa-tuš-šú-un; ex. 3 has qa-<sup>r</sup>tuš<sup>1</sup>-[šú]-<sup>r</sup>un<sup>1</sup>. **i 133.3, 21** ša for šá. **i 133.3** omits us in e-pu-us-su-nu-ti. **i 134.3, 21** URU.pí-in-<sup>r</sup>di-dí<sup>1</sup> and URU.pí-in-di-di respectively for URU.pí-in-di-di.

**ii 1.3, 21** [MUNUS].<sup>r</sup>HUL<sup>1</sup> and HUL-tu respectively for HUL-tú. **ii 2.21** omits MEŠ in GIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ. **ii 2.21** ú-šam-qí-tu for ú-šam-qí-tu. **ii 2.21** a-me-lum for a-me-lu. **ii 3.3** <sup>r</sup>i<sup>2</sup>-lu<sup>1</sup>-lu for e-lu-lu. **ii 5.21** [an]-<sup>r</sup>nu<sup>1</sup>-te for an-nu-ti. **ii 5.21, 84** ša for šá. **ii 5** HUL-tu: ex. 3 has MUNUS.HUL; ex. 21 has le-mut-tu; and ex. 84 has HUL-tim. **ii 6.3** omits us in bal-tu-us-su-nu. **ii 8.84** <sup>r</sup>ni-ku-ú for <sup>r</sup>ni-ku-u. **ii 8.84** [u]-<sup>r</sup>tu<sup>1</sup> for TA. **ii 8.3** ar-ší-šú-ma for ar-ší-ma. **ii 10.21, 1\* <sup>r</sup>ú<sup>1</sup>-lab-bi-is-su and [ú-lab-bi]-<sup>r</sup>is<sup>1</sup>-su-ma respectively for ú-lab-bi-su. **ii 12.3, 21** <sup>r</sup>rit<sup>1</sup>-te-e-<sup>r</sup>šú<sup>1</sup> and rit-ti-šú-un respectively for rit-te-e-šú. **ii 13.21** omits ma in áš-tur-ma. **ii 13.14, 21** a-[dín-šú] and a-dí-ma respectively for ad-dín-šú. **ii 15.14** <sup>r</sup>šu-ut<sup>1</sup> LÚ.SAG.MEŠ-ia for LÚ.šu-ut SAG.MEŠ-ia. **ii 15.14** it-ti-šú for it-ti-šú. **ii 16** DÛ-u-a: exs. 14, 110 have ba-nu-u-a; and ex. 21 has [ba-nu-u]-<sup>r</sup>a<sup>1</sup>. **ii 16.128** LUGAL-u-ti for LUGAL-ti. **ii 16** ip-qid-du-uš: exs. 14, 110 have ip-qí-du-uš; and ex. 128 has ip-qí-du-<sup>r</sup>uš<sup>1</sup>. **ii 17.14, 21** maš-kan-šú and maš-kan-i-ma respectively for maš-kán-i-šú. **ii 17.128** [ú]-ter-šú for ú-ter-šú. **ii 17.14, 110** <sup>m</sup>MUATI-še-zib-a-ni for <sup>m</sup>MUATI-še-zib-an-ni. **ii 18.14, 110** ina for a-na. **ii 18.128** AD-qid for ap-qid. **ii 18.14, 110** SIG-<sup>r</sup>tú for SIG-tu. **ii 19.14, 110** UGU for e-li. **ii 19.14** ša for šá. **ii 20.110** <sup>r</sup>tar-qu-u for <sup>r</sup>tar-qu-ú. **ii 20** in-nab-tu: ex. 14 has in-nab-<sup>r</sup>tú<sup>1</sup>; ex. 110 has in-nab-tú; and exs. 117, 128 have <sup>r</sup>in<sup>1</sup>-nab-tú. **ii 21** is-ḫu-up-šú-ma: ex. 14 has is-ḫup-šú-<sup>r</sup>ma<sup>1</sup>; ex. 87 has is-<sup>r</sup>ḫup<sup>1</sup>-šú-ma; ex. 110 has is-ḫup-šú-ma; and ex. 117 has [is]-<sup>r</sup>ḫup<sup>1</sup>-šú-ma. **ii 21.87** <sup>r</sup>nam<sup>1</sup>-mu-ší-šú for nam-mu-ší-šú. **ii 22.87** LUGAL-ú-ti-šú for LUGAL-ti-šú. **ii 24.110** mit-ḫu-uš-ší for mit-ḫu-ší. **ii 25.160** šá for ša. **ii 27.21** <sup>r</sup>LÚ.DUMU<sup>1</sup> for LÚ.A. **ii 28.78** [í]-<sup>r</sup>na<sup>1</sup> for ina. **ii 28** KUR.ku-u-si: ex. 14 has URU.ku-u-si; ex. 131 has KUR.ku-ú-si; and ex. 174 has [KUR.ku]-<sup>r</sup>ú<sup>1</sup>-si. **ii 28.78** <sup>r</sup>uš<sup>1</sup>-te-eš-še-<sup>r</sup>ra<sup>1</sup> for uš-te-še-ra. **ii 29.47, 52** iš-me-e-ma for iš-me-ma. **ii 32.47, 174** ša for šá. **ii 33** il-li-ku-ú-nim-ma: ex. 5 has il-lik-u-nim-ma; and exs. 47, 171, 174 omit ú. **ii 37.5** šu-a-tu for šu-a-tú. **ii 39.47** ba-šú-ú for ba-šú-u. **ii 40.5** lu-bul-tu for lu-bul-ti. **ii 40.5** zik-ra for zik-ru. **ii 40.47, 174** ú for u. **ii 41.5** adds GIŠ before tim-me. **ii 45.118** <sup>r</sup>UGU<sup>1</sup> for e-li. **ii 45.174** u for ú. **ii 45.174** <sup>r</sup>KUR<sup>1</sup>.ku-u-<sup>r</sup>si<sup>1</sup> for KUR.ku-ú-si. **ii 47.118** šal-mi-[iš] for šal-meš. **ii 49.118** ina for i-na. **ii 49.47** [<sup>m</sup>ba-<sup>r</sup>a]-<sup>r</sup>al<sup>1</sup> for <sup>m</sup>ba-<sup>r</sup>a-li. **ii 49.2, 47** LUGAL for MAN. **ii 51.2** LUGAL-u-ti-ia for LUGAL-ti-ia. **ii 51** šap-te-ia: exs. 2, 47 have šap-ti-ia; and ex. 37 has [šap]-ti-ia. **ii 55.2** [ú]-<sup>r</sup>šak<sup>1</sup>-ni-is-su-nu-ti for ú-šak-ni-su-nu-ti. **ii 58.2** <sup>m</sup>ia-a-ḫi-mil-ki for <sup>m</sup>ia-ḫi-mil-ki. **ii 58.2** [ma]-<sup>r</sup>ti<sup>1</sup>-ma for ma-te-ma. **ii 62.2** ar-ší-<sup>r</sup>šú<sup>1</sup>-[ma] for ar-ší-šú-ma. **ii 62.2** lib-bi-šú for ŠA-šú. **ii 62.2** ad-dín-<sup>r</sup>šú<sup>1</sup> for a-dín-šú. **ii 63.2** <sup>m</sup>ia-ki-in-lu-ú for <sup>m</sup>ia-ki-in-lu-u. **ii 63.2** LUGAL for MAN. **ii 67.2** ú-na-<sup>r</sup>ás<sup>1</sup>-šiq for ú-na-ás-ší-qa. **ii 70.2** bi-in-tu for bi-in-tú. **ii 71.2** MUNUS.AGRIG-u-ti for MUNUS.AGRIG-ti. **ii 74.5, 49** man-da-at-<sup>r</sup>tu<sup>1</sup> and <sup>r</sup>man<sup>1</sup>-da-at-tu respectively for man-da-at-tú. **ii 75.77** [<sup>m</sup>sa-an]-<sup>r</sup>di<sup>1</sup>-šar-me for <sup>m</sup>sa-an-da-šar-me. **ii 79** MUNUS.AGRIG-u-ti: ex. 2 has MUNUS.AGRIG-ú-ti; ex. 83 has [MUNUS.AGRIG]-<sup>r</sup>ú<sup>1</sup>-ti; ex. 99 has MUNUS.AGRIG-ú<sup>1</sup>-[ti]; and ex. 168 has MUNUS.AGRIG-ú<sup>1</sup>-[ti]. **ii 80.168** [ú]-<sup>r</sup>bi-lam<sup>1</sup>-ma for ú-bil-am-ma. **ii 81.2, 99** ul-tu for ul-tú. **ii 81.2, 168** LUGAL for MAN. **ii 82.2, 168** <sup>m</sup>a-zi-ba-a<sup>1</sup>-al and [<sup>m</sup>a]-<sup>r</sup>zi<sup>1</sup>-ba-<sup>r</sup>a<sup>1</sup>-al respectively for <sup>m</sup>a-zi-ba-al. **ii 82.2, 168** <sup>m</sup>a-bi-ba-<sup>r</sup>a<sup>1</sup>-al and <sup>m</sup>a-bi-ba-a<sup>1</sup>-al respectively for <sup>m</sup>a-bi-ba-al. **ii 82.2, 115** omit a<sup>1</sup> in <sup>m</sup>a-du-ni-ba-a<sup>1</sup>-al. **ii 83.168** [<sup>m</sup>sa]-<sup>r</sup>pa-<sup>r</sup>ti-ba-a<sup>1</sup>-al for <sup>m</sup>sa-pa-<sup>r</sup>ti-ba-al. **ii 83.168** <sup>m</sup>bu-di-ba-a<sup>1</sup>-al for <sup>m</sup>bu-di-ba-al. **ii 83.168** <sup>m</sup>ba-a<sup>1</sup>-al-ia-a-šú-pu for <sup>m</sup>ba-a<sup>1</sup>-al-ia-šú-pu. **ii 84.2, 168** <sup>m</sup>ba-a<sup>1</sup>-al-ma-lu-ku for <sup>m</sup>ba-al-ma-lu-ku. **ii 84.2** <sup>m</sup>a-ḫi-mil-ki for <sup>m</sup>PAP-mil-ki. **ii 85.7** [<sup>m</sup>ia-ki-in]-<sup>r</sup>lu<sup>1</sup>-ú for <sup>m</sup>ia-ki-in-lu-u. **ii 86.2, 168** ul-tu for ul-tú. **ii 86.2, 115** ka-bit-tu and [ka]-bit-tu respectively**

for ka-bit-ti. **ii 87** il-li-ku-ú-nim-ma: exs. 2, 6, 158 omit ú; and ex. 5 has il-lik-u-nim-ma. **ii 89.2, 168** LUGAL-u-ti and LUGAL-ú-ti respectively for LUGAL-ti. **ii 89.2, 7, 146, 168** omit šú in áš-kun-šú. **ii 90** <sup>m</sup>a-bi-ba-al: ex. 2 has [<sup>m</sup>]<sup>r</sup>a<sup>1</sup>-bi-<sup>r</sup>ba<sup>1</sup>-a<sup>1</sup>-al; ex. 8 has <sup>m</sup>a-bi-ba-<sup>r</sup>a<sup>1</sup>-[al]; and ex. 168 has <sup>m</sup>a-bi-ba-a<sup>1</sup>-al. **ii 90.146, 168** [<sup>m</sup>a-du]-<sup>r</sup>ni<sup>1</sup>-ba-a<sup>1</sup>-al and <sup>m</sup>a-du-ni-ba-a<sup>1</sup>-al respectively for <sup>m</sup>a-du-ni-ba-al. **ii 90.168** <sup>m</sup>sa-pa-<sup>r</sup>ti-ba-a<sup>1</sup>-al for <sup>m</sup>sa-pa-<sup>r</sup>ti-ba-al. **ii 91.146, 168** [<sup>m</sup>bu]-<sup>r</sup>di<sup>1</sup>-ba-a<sup>1</sup>-<sup>r</sup>al<sup>1</sup> and <sup>m</sup>bu-di-ba-a<sup>1</sup>-al respectively for <sup>m</sup>bu-di-ba-al. **ii 91.103, 168** [<sup>m</sup>]<sup>r</sup>ba-a<sup>1</sup>-al-ia<sup>1</sup>-a<sup>1</sup>-šú-pu<sup>1</sup> and <sup>m</sup>ba-al-ia-a-šú-pu respectively for <sup>m</sup>ba-a<sup>1</sup>-al-ia-šú-pu. **ii 91.146** [<sup>m</sup>]<sup>r</sup>ba-a<sup>1</sup>-al-ḫa-nu-nu for <sup>m</sup>ba-al-ḫa-nu-nu. **ii 92.103, 168** [<sup>m</sup>]<sup>r</sup>ba-a<sup>1</sup>-al-ma-lu-ku<sup>1</sup> and [<sup>m</sup>ba]-<sup>r</sup>a<sup>1</sup>-al-ma-lu-ku for <sup>m</sup>ba-al-ma-lu-ku. **ii 92.146, 168** <sup>m</sup>PAB-mil-ki for <sup>m</sup>a-ḫi-mil-ki. **ii 93.103** <sup>r</sup>ú-lab-biš-ma<sup>1</sup> for ú-lab-biš. **ii 94** rit-te-e-šú-un: ex. 103 has <sup>r</sup>rit<sup>1</sup>-ti-šú-<sup>r</sup>un<sup>1</sup>; ex. 144 has <sup>r</sup>rit-ti<sup>1</sup>-<sup>r</sup>šú-un<sup>1</sup>; and ex. 146 omits e. **ii 94** ul-zis-su-nu-ti: ex. 103 has <sup>r</sup>ul-zi-is-su-nu-<sup>r</sup>ti<sup>1</sup>; ex. 144 has <sup>r</sup>ul-zí<sup>1</sup>-is-su-[nu-ti]; and ex. 168 has <sup>r</sup>ul<sup>1</sup>-zi-is-su-nu-ti. **ii 95.144, 168** <sup>r</sup>LUGAL<sup>1</sup> for MAN. **ii 95.139** ša<sup>1</sup> for šá. **ii 96.139** ša for šá. **ii 97.146** [ba]-<sup>r</sup>nu<sup>1</sup>-a for ba-nu-u-a. **ii 98.54** <sup>r</sup>LUGAL<sup>1</sup> for MAN. **ii 101.144** <sup>r</sup>šul-mí-<sup>r</sup>á<sup>1</sup> for šul-mí-ia. **ii 102.26** <sup>r</sup>šip<sup>1</sup>-ri-šú for KIN-šú. **ii 103.26, 60** ul<sup>1</sup>-tu and <sup>r</sup>ul-tu<sup>1</sup> respectively for ul-tú. **ii 103** ŠA: exs. 3, 60 have lib-bi; and ex. 26 has <sup>r</sup>lib<sup>1</sup>-[bi]. **ii 103.3, 14** iš-ba-tu and [iš]-<sup>r</sup>ba<sup>1</sup>-tu respectively for iš-ba-tú. **ii 103.26** LUGAL-u-ti-ia for LUGAL-ti-ia. **ii 104.3, 60** LÚ.gi-mir-ra-a-a and LÚ.gi-mir-ra-<sup>r</sup>a<sup>1</sup>-[a] respectively for LÚ.gi-mir-a-a. **ii 104.3, 14** mu-dal-li-pu and mu-[da]-<sup>r</sup>al<sup>1</sup>-li-pu respectively for mu-dal-li-pu. **ii 105.6, 14, 60** ša for šá. **ii 105.6, 26** ip-la-<sup>r</sup>ḫu<sup>1</sup> and ip-la-ḫu respectively for ip-tal-la-ḫu. **ii 105.26** AD.MEŠ-ia for AD.MEŠ-ia. **ii 105** iš-ba-tú: exs. 3, 26 have iš-ba-tu; and ex. 14 has <sup>r</sup>iš<sup>1</sup>-ba-tu. **ii 106.14, 26** MAN-ti-ia and LUGAL-ti-ia respectively for LUGAL-ti-ia. **ii 107.26** EN.MEŠ-ia for EN.MEŠ-ia. **ii 107.14, 60** iš-[tu] and ul-<sup>r</sup>tu<sup>1</sup> respectively for TA. **ii 107.60** lib-bi for ŠA. **ii 108.3** ša for ša. **ii 108.3** LÚ.gi-mir-ra-a-a for LÚ.gi-mir-a-a. **ii 108.26, 60** ša for šá. **ii 108.3** ik-šú-[du] for ik-šú-du. **ii 109.3** omits GIŠ in GIŠ.ší-iš-ší. **ii 109.26** <sup>r</sup>bi-re-tu<sup>1</sup> for bi-re-ti. **ii 109.26** ú-ta-me-eḫ-ma for ú-tam-me-ḫ-ma. **ii 110.3, 26** ta-mar-ti-šú for ta-mar-ti. **ii 110** ka-bit-te: exs. 3, 14 have ka-bit-ti; and ex. 26 has <sup>r</sup>ka-bit<sup>1</sup>-ti. **ii 111.26** ša for šá. **ii 111.2, 14** <sup>r</sup>ka<sup>1</sup>-a-a-na and ka-a-a-na respectively for ka-a-a-an. **ii 112.3, 14** ba-ḫi-il-tu for ba-ḫi-il-tú. **ii 112** ša: exs. 2–3 have ša; and ex. 75 has <sup>r</sup>ša<sup>1</sup>. **ii 113.2** ra-<sup>m</sup>a-<sup>r</sup>ni-šú for ra-man-i-šú. **ii 114.3, 14** e-<sup>r</sup>mu<sup>1</sup>-qí-šú and e-mu-qí-šú respectively for e-mu-qé-e-šú. **ii 114.21** LUGAL for MAN. **ii 115.21** <sup>r</sup>ša<sup>1</sup> for ša. **ii 115.2** [iš-lu]-<sup>r</sup>ú<sup>1</sup> for iš-lu-u. **ii 115.14** omits e in áš-me-e-ma. **ii 116.21** <sup>r</sup>iš-tar<sup>1</sup> for <sup>r</sup>iš-tar. **ii 116** pa-gar-šú: ex. 14 has <sup>r</sup>ADDA<sup>1</sup>-šú; and exs. 21, 66 have ADDA-šú. **ii 116.14** li-in-na-dí-ma for li-na-dí-ma. **ii 117.14** omits u in liš-šú-u-ni. **ii 117.14, 21** GÌR.<sup>r</sup>PAD.DA<sup>1</sup>.MEŠ-šú and GÌR.PAD.DA.MEŠ-šú respectively for GÌR.PAD.DU.MEŠ-šú. **ii 117** ša: exs. 2–3 have <sup>r</sup>ša<sup>1</sup>; and ex. 21 has ša. **ii 117.14, 21** am-ḫu-ra and <sup>r</sup>am<sup>1</sup>-ḫu-ra respectively for am-ḫu-ru. **ii 117** iš-lim-ma: ex. 3 has iš-li-<sup>r</sup>im<sup>1</sup>-[ma]; ex. 11 has [iš]-<sup>r</sup>li<sup>1</sup>-im-ma; ex. 14 has iš-<sup>r</sup>li<sup>1</sup>-im-ma; ex. 17 has <sup>r</sup>iš<sup>1</sup>-li<sup>1</sup>-im-ma; ex. 21 has iš-li-im-ma; and ex. 66 has iš-<sup>r</sup>li<sup>1</sup>-[im-ma]. **ii 118** pa-gar-šú: ex. 3 has <sup>r</sup>ADDA<sup>1</sup>-[šú]; and exs. 21, 66 have ADDA-šú. **ii 118** iš-šú-u-ni: ex. 3 has iš-šú-u-ni; exs. 14, 21 have iš-šú-ú-ni; and ex. 17 has <sup>r</sup>iš<sup>1</sup>-šú-u-<sup>r</sup>ni<sup>1</sup>. **ii 118.14, 21** GÌR.PAD.<sup>r</sup>DA.MEŠ<sup>1</sup>-šú and GÌR.PAD.DA.MEŠ-šú respectively for GÌR.PAD.DU.MEŠ-šú. **ii 119.3, 21** <sup>r</sup>LÚ<sup>1</sup>.gi-mir-ra-<sup>r</sup>a<sup>1</sup>-[a] and LÚ.gi-mir-ra-a<sup>1</sup> respectively for LÚ.gi-mir-a-a. **ii 119**. 21 i-na for ina. **ii 120.21** EGIR-nu for EGIR-šú. **ii 120.21** i-na for ina. **ii 121** HUL-tim: ex. 3 has MUNUS.HUL; ex. 21 has le-mut-tú; ex. 66 has <sup>r</sup>MUNUS<sup>1</sup>.HUL; and ex. 147 has MUNUS.<sup>r</sup>HUL<sup>1</sup>. **ii 121.87** ša for šá. **ii 121.3, 21** ti-ik-le-ia for tik-le-ia. **ii 122** pa-an: exs. 21, 66, 87 have IGI; and ex. 147 has <sup>r</sup>IGI<sup>1</sup>. **ii 122** DÛ-šú: ex. 3, 66 have ba-ni-šú; and ex. 147 has <sup>r</sup>ba<sup>1</sup>-ni-šú. **ii 122.21** i-na for the second ina. **ii 122.21** LÚ.DUMU šip-ri-šú for LÚ.A KIN-šú. **ii 123.21** iš-ba-tu for iš-ba-ta. **ii 123.3, 21, 147** omit u in i-du-u-šú. **ii 124.3** ana for ina. **ii 125.2** omits a in ia-a-ti. **ii 125.52** [kur]-<sup>r</sup>ba<sup>1</sup>-ni-i-<sup>r</sup>ma<sup>1</sup> for kur-ban-ni-ma. **ii 125.3** <sup>r</sup>la<sup>1</sup>-šú-ḫa for la-šú-ḫa. **ii 126.21** i-na for ina. **ii 126.21** omits e in 4-e. **ii 126.21** EDIN for UGU. **ii 126.52** <sup>r</sup>aḫ-še-e-ra for <sup>r</sup>aḫ-še-e-ri. **ii 127.2** LUGAL for MAN. **ii 127.2, 52** [uš]-<sup>r</sup>te<sup>1</sup>-eš-še-ra and <sup>r</sup>uš<sup>1</sup>-te-eš-še-ra respectively for uš-te-še-ra. **ii 128**

first *ša*: exs. 2, 128 have *ša*; and ex. 52 has <sup>1</sup>ša. **ii 128** <sup>d</sup>GAŠAN-kid-mu-ri: exs. 2, 17, 21 have <sup>d</sup>šar-rat-kid-mu-ri; ex. 3 has <sup>d</sup>šar-rat<sup>1</sup>-kid-mu-ri; ex. 52 has <sup>d</sup>šar-rat-kid<sup>1</sup>-mu<sup>1</sup>-[ri]; and ex. 121 has <sup>d</sup>šar-rat<sup>1</sup>-kid<sup>1</sup>-[mu-ri]. **ii 128.2**, 128 *ša* and <sup>1</sup>ša<sup>1</sup> respectively for the second *ša*. **ii 128** URU.LÍMMU-DINGIR: exs. 2, 52 have LÍMMU-DINGIR.KI; ex. 3 has <sup>1</sup>LÍMMU-DINGIR.KI<sup>1</sup>; and ex. 5 has <sup>1</sup>LÍMMU<sup>1</sup>-DINGIR.KI. **ii 129.2-3**, 17, 21, 52, 121, 128 add *ma* after *e-ru-ub*. **ii 129** *it-ta-lak*: exs. 2, 17 have *at-ta-lak*; ex. 3 has <sup>1</sup>at-tal<sup>1</sup>-lak; ex. 52 has <sup>1</sup>at<sup>1</sup>-tal-lak<sup>1</sup>; and ex. 121 has <sup>1</sup>at<sup>1</sup>-[ta-lak]. **ii 130.52** omits *šu* in URU.MEŠ-*šu*. **ii 130.5**, 17, 128 *ša* for *ša*. **ii 130.17** omits *i* in *ni-i-ba*. **ii 130.3** *i-šu-u* for *i-šu-u*. **ii 131.2** URU.*i-zir-tú* for URU.*i-zir-ti*. **ii 131** KUR-*ud*: exs. 2, 17 have *ak-šu-ud*; and ex. 52 has <sup>1</sup>ak<sup>1</sup>-[šu-ud]. **ii 132** u: ex. 2 has <sup>1</sup>ù; and ex. 5 omits it. **ii 132** *še-e-ni*: exs. 3, 17 have US<sub>5</sub>.UDU.ĪIA; and ex. 5 has <sup>1</sup>US<sub>5</sub><sup>1</sup>.UDU.ĪIA. **ii 132** TA: exs. 2, 52, 128 have *ul-tu*; and ex. 17 has <sup>1</sup>ul<sup>1</sup>-tu. **ii 132** *ša-a-tú-nu*: ex. 2 has [šá-a]-<sup>1</sup>tu<sup>1</sup>-nu; exs. 5, 17 have *ša-a-tu-nu*; ex. 52 has <sup>1</sup>ša<sup>1</sup>-a<sup>1</sup>-tu<sup>1</sup>-nu; and ex. 112 has <sup>1</sup>ša<sup>1</sup>-a<sup>1</sup>-tu-nu. **ii 134.2** *iš-me<sup>1</sup>-e<sup>1</sup>-ma* for *iš-me-ma*. **ii 134.2** URU.*i-zir-tú* for URU.*i-zir-tu*. **ii 134.2**, 93 LUGAL-<sup>1</sup>ti-<sup>1</sup>šú<sup>1</sup> and [LUGAL]-<sup>1</sup>ti<sup>1</sup>-šú<sup>1</sup> respectively for LUGAL-ti-šú. **ii 2.2**, 5 have *mar-qt-tu* for *mar-qt-tú*. **iii 2.17** <sup>1</sup>na<sup>1</sup>-gu-ú for *na-gu-u*. **iii 2** *šu-a-tú*: ex. 5 has *šu-a-šu*; ex. 17 has *šu-a-tu*; and ex. 112 has <sup>1</sup>šu<sup>1</sup>-a-tu. **iii 3.52**, 122 [ú]-<sup>1</sup>šaĥ<sup>1</sup>-ri-ib-ma and [ú]-<sup>1</sup>šaĥ<sup>1</sup>-ri-ib-ma<sup>1</sup> respectively for *ú-šaĥ-rib-ma*. **iii 3** *ša-qu-um-ma-tú*: ex. 2 has [šá-qu]-<sup>1</sup>um<sup>1</sup>-ma-tu; ex. 17 has *ša-qu-um-ma-tu*; and ex. 86 has *ša-qu-um-ma-tú*. **iii 4.52** *pa-liĥ* for *pa-liĥ*. **iii 5** URU.LÍMMU-DINGIR: exs. 2, 17 have LÍMMU-DINGIR.KI; and exs. 86, 112 have LÍMMU-DINGIR.KI<sup>1</sup>. **iii 5.5**, 17 *ša* for *ša*. **iii 5** TA: ex. 2 has *ul-tú*; ex. 5 has *ul-tu*; and ex. 52 has [ul]-<sup>1</sup>tu<sup>1</sup>. **iii 5.52** *re-e-še<sup>1</sup>* for *re-e-ši*. **iii 5.2**, 17 *taq-bu-u* for *taq-bu-ú*. **iii 6** *ana-ku*: ex. 2 has <sup>1</sup>a-na<sup>1</sup>-ku; ex. 5, 86 have *a-na-ku*; and ex. 93 has [a]-<sup>1</sup>na<sup>1</sup>-ku. **iii 6.2**, 36 LUGAL and <sup>1</sup>LUGAL<sup>1</sup> respectively for MAN. **iii 7** *ša*: ex. 17 omits it; and ex. 86 has *ša*. **iii 7** *aq-bu-u*: exs. 2, 17 have *aq-bu-ú*; and ex. 36 has [aq]-<sup>1</sup>bu<sup>1</sup>-ú. **iii 7.2**, 5, 36, 52 omit *u* in *tam-nu-šu-u-ma*. **iii 8** UGU-*šú*: ex. 5 has *e-li-šú*; ex. 36 has [e]-<sup>1</sup>li<sup>1</sup>-šú; and ex. 86 has *e-li-šú*. **iii 8** *ú-šab-šu-u*: exs. 2, 5 have *ú-šab-šu-u*; and ex. 36 has *ú-šab-šu-ú*. **iii 8.5** omits LÚ in LÚ.*ša-lam-ta-šú*. **iii 9** *id-du-u*: exs. 2, 36 have *id-du-ú*; ex. 5 has *it-ta-du-u*; and ex. 93 has [id-du]-<sup>1</sup>ú. **iii 9** *pa-gar-šú*: exs. 17, 86 have <sup>1</sup>ADDA<sup>1</sup>-[šú]; and ex. 36. has *ADDA-šú*. **iii 13.2**, 124 *ša* for *ša*. **iii 14.2**, 124 *ša* for *ša*. **iii 14** LÍMMU-DINGIR.KI: ex. 36 has URU.[LÍMMU-DINGIR]; ex. 72 has URU.LÍMMU-DINGIR; and ex. 124 has URU.LÍMMU-DINGIR<sup>1</sup>. **iii 17.2**, 5 EN-*ú-ti* for EN-*u-ti*. **iii 19.2**, 72 *ú-na-áš-šiq* and *ú-na-ši<sup>1</sup>-qa<sup>1</sup>* respectively for *ú-na-áš-ši-qa*. **iii 20** *ar-ši-šu-u-ma*: exs. 2, 164 omit *u*; ex. 72 has <sup>1</sup>ar<sup>1</sup>-ši-šu-u-ma; and ex. 150 has *ar-ši-šú-ma*. **iii 22** MUNUS.AGRIG-*u-ti*: ex. 2, 164 have MUNUS.AGRIG-*ú-ti*; and ex. 150 has MUNUS.AGRIG-<sup>1</sup>ú<sup>1</sup>-[ti]. **iii 23** *ma-da-ta-šú*: exs. 2, 150 have *ma-da-at-ta-šú*; ex. 37 has *ma<sup>1</sup>-da-at<sup>1</sup>-[ta-šú]*; and ex. 164 has [ma-da]-at-ta-šú. **iii 23.2**, 150, 164 *maĥ-ri-tu* for *maĥ-ri-tú*. **iii 23.47** has <sup>1</sup>ša<sup>1</sup> for *ša*. **iii 24.164** [iš]-*šu-ú-ni* for *iš-šu-u-ni*. **iii 25.2**, 149–150 UGU for *e-li*. **iii 25** *ma-da-ti-šú*: ex. 149 has *ma-da<sup>1</sup>-[ti-šú]*; and exs. 150, 164 have *ma-da-at-ti-šú*. **iii 26.2**, 149–150, 164 omit *i* in *ú-rad-di-i-ma*. **iii 26.2**, 149 <sup>1</sup>e<sup>1</sup>-mid-su and *e-mi<sup>1</sup>-[is-su]* respectively for *e-mi-is-su*. **iii 27.2**, 47 *i-na* and <sup>1</sup>i<sup>1</sup>-[na] respectively for *ina*. **iii 30.2** *ša* for *ša*. **iii 31.2**, 150 *ša* for *ša*. **iii 32.149** <sup>1</sup>IT<sup>1</sup>.KIN-<sup>d</sup>INANNA for ITL.KIN. **iii 32.149–150** <sup>d</sup>iš-tar.MEŠ and <sup>d</sup>15.MEŠ for <sup>d</sup>INNIN.MEŠ. **iii 35** *ak-tu-um*: exs. 2, 145 have *ak-tum*; and ex. 149 has <sup>1</sup>ak<sup>1</sup>-túm. **iii 36.149** <sup>1</sup>ak<sup>1</sup>-ki-is for *ak-kis*. **iii 37.2**, 145 *ša* for *ša*. **iii 37.5** [ik]-*pu-du* for *ik-pu-da*. **iii 38.2** omits *e* in *qu-ra-de-e-šú*. **iii 39.2** <sup>1</sup>bal-tu<sup>1</sup>-ti for TL.LA.MEŠ. **iii 39.2** *ú-ša-bit<sup>1</sup>* for *ú-šab-bit*. **iii 40** u: ex. 2 has *ú*; and ex. 149 omits it. **iii 41.2** *ú-ma-al<sup>1</sup>-la<sup>1</sup>-a* for *ú-mal-la-a*. **iii 43.2** <sup>1</sup>GIM<sup>1</sup> for *ki-ma*. **iii 44.5** LUGAL for MAN. **iii 45.2** *ša* for *ša*. **iii 46.5** omits MA in KUR.ELAM.MA.KI. **iii 48.2**, 5 <sup>m</sup>tam<sup>1</sup>-<sup>1</sup>ri-tu and <sup>m</sup>tam-ma-ri-tu respectively for <sup>m</sup>tam-ma-ri-tú. **iii 48.2** *ša* for *ša*. **iii 49.2** omits *šú* in *áš-kun-šú*. **iii 50.2**, 5 <sup>1</sup>ul<sup>1</sup>-tu and *ul-tu* respectively for *ul-tú*. **iii 50.5** omits MEŠ in GIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ. **iii 51.2** *ù* for *u*. **iii 52.5** <sup>m</sup>du-na-nu for <sup>m</sup>du-na-ni. **iii 53.7** *ša* for *ša*. **iii 55** *šu-a-tú*: ex. 2 has *šu-a-tu*; ex. 38 has <sup>1</sup>šu<sup>1</sup>-a<sup>1</sup>-tu; and ex. 146 has *šu-a-tu*. **iii 56.146** <sup>1</sup>ú-ta<sup>1</sup>-(ab)-bi-iĥ for *ú-tab-bi-iĥ*. **iii 57.2** <sup>m</sup>f<sup>1</sup>sa-am<sup>1</sup>-<<a>>-gu-nu for

<sup>m</sup>sa-am-gu-nu. **iii 58.146** *mu-nar-ri-tu* for *mu-nàr-ri-tu*. **iii 58.12** <sup>1</sup>MAN<sup>1</sup>-ti-ia for LUGAL-ti-ia. **iii 61.2** *qin-nu-šu* for *qin-nu-šú*. **iii 61.12** [AD]-<sup>1</sup>šu<sup>1</sup> for AD-*šú*. **iii 62.2**, 7 *ba-šu-ú* and *ba<sup>1</sup>-šú-ú<sup>1</sup>* respectively for *ba-šu-u*. **iii 62** <sup>m</sup>MUATI-I: exs. 2, 7 have <sup>m</sup>AG-I; and ex. 146 has <sup>m</sup>AG-<sup>1</sup>I<sup>1</sup>. **iii 63** <sup>m</sup>MUATI-MU-KAM-eš: ex. 2 has <sup>m</sup>AG-MU-KAM-eš; ex. 7 has <sup>m</sup>AG-MU-<sup>1</sup>KAM<sup>1</sup>-eš; and exs. 115, 146 have <sup>m</sup>AG<sup>1</sup>-[MU-KAM-eš]. **iii 64.7** ĠR.PAD.DA.<sup>1</sup>MEŠ<sup>1</sup> for ĠR.PAD.DU.MEŠ. **iii 66** *še-e-ni*: ex. 7 has <sup>1</sup>US<sub>5</sub><sup>1</sup>.UDU.ĪIA; ex. 38 has [US<sub>5</sub>.UDU.ĪI].<sup>1</sup>A<sup>1</sup>; and ex. 115 has <sup>1</sup>US<sub>5</sub>.UDU<sup>1</sup>.[ĪIA]. **iii 67.7**, 115 *ul<sup>1</sup>-tu<sup>1</sup>* and *ul-tu<sup>1</sup>* respectively for *ul-tú*. **iii 71.144**, 168 *ša* for *ša*. **iii 71.144** <sup>1</sup>e-pu<sup>1</sup>-šú<sup>1</sup>-uš<sup>1</sup> for *e-pu-šu-uš*. **iii 72.144** <sup>1</sup>LUGAL<sup>1</sup>-ti for LUGAL-*ut*. **iii 73.168** *si-ma-a<sup>1</sup>-ti<sup>1</sup>* for *si-ma-a-te*. **iii 77.168** <sup>1</sup>ša<sup>1</sup> for *ša*. **iii 78.14** <sup>1</sup>šu<sup>1</sup>-ú for *šu-u*. **iii 78.2** *an-ni-tu<sup>1</sup>* for *an-ni-tú*. **iii 79** *le-mut-tú*: ex. 2 has ĤUL-tu; ex. 13 has [x (x)]-tu; and ex. 14 has MUNUS.<sup>1</sup>ĤUL<sup>1</sup>. **iii 80.168** *šap-ti-šú* for *šap-te-e-šú*. **iii 80.13** [tu-ub]-<sup>1</sup>ba<sup>1</sup>-a-te for *tu-ub-ba-a-ti*. **iii 80.12** [lib]-<sup>1</sup>ba<sup>1</sup>-šu for *lib-ba-šú*. **iii 82.17**, 168 *ša* for *ša*. **iii 82.6** omits *ina*. **iii 82.17** *muĥ-ĥi* for UGU. **iii 83.14** *pa-a-ni<sup>1</sup>-ia<sup>1</sup>* for *pa-ni-ia*. **iii 84** *kit-te*: exs. 2, 168 have *kit-ti<sup>1</sup>*; and exs. 6, 14 have *kit-ti*. **iii 84.6**, 17 *id-bu<sup>1</sup>-bu<sup>1</sup>* and *id-bu-bu* respectively for *id-bu-ba*. **iii 86** *iš-pu-raš-šú-nu-ti*: ex. 2 has *iš-pu-raš-šú-nu-ti*; ex. 6 has <sup>1</sup>iš<sup>1</sup>-pu-raš-šú-[nu-ti]; and ex. 17 has *iš-pu-raš-šú-nu-ti*. **iii 88.14**, 17 MUNUS.SIG<sub>5</sub> for SIG<sub>5</sub>-*tim*. **iii 88** *i-ši-mu-uš*: ex. 2 has *i-ši-mu-šú*; ex. 14 has [i-š]-*mu-šú*; and ex. 17 has *i-š<sup>1</sup>-mu<sup>1</sup>-šú*. **iii 89.2**, 14 omit *u* in *ib-nu-u-šú*. **iii 89** *kit-te*: ex. 2 has [kit]-<sup>1</sup>ti<sup>1</sup>; and ex. 14, 17, 27 have *kit-ti*. **iii 89** u: ex. 17 omits it; and ex. 27 has *ù*. **iii 89.2-3** *me-šá-ri* and <sup>1</sup>me-šá-ri<sup>1</sup> respectively for *mi-šá-ri*. **iii 91.14**, 27 *lu-bul-tu* and [lu-bul]-<sup>1</sup>tu<sup>1</sup> respectively for *lu-bul-ti*. **iii 92** *ú-lab-bi-su-nu-ti*: ex. 3 has [ú-lab]-<sup>1</sup>bis<sup>1</sup>-su-nu-ti; ex. 17 has [ú]-<sup>1</sup>lab<sup>1</sup>-bis-su-nu-ti; and ex. 27 has *ú-lab-bis-su-nu-ti*. **iii 92.2**, 17 <sup>1</sup>ú-rak-ki-sa and <sup>1</sup>ú-rak-ki-sa<sup>1</sup> respectively for *ú-rak-kis*. **iii 93** *rit-te-e-šú-un*: ex. 2 has *rit-te<sub>9</sub>-e-šú-un*; ex. 3 has *rit<sup>1</sup>-ti-šú-un*; ex. 11 has *rit-ti-šú-un*; ex. 14 omits *e*; ex. 17 has [rit]-<sup>1</sup>ti<sup>1</sup>-šú-un; and ex. 27 has *rit-ti-šú-[un]*. **iii 92.2** omits MEŠ in DUMU.MEŠ. **iii 93.14** *šú-nu-ti* for *šu-nu-ti*. **iii 94.11**, 14, 17, 27 omit *uz* in *ú-šu-uz-zu*. **iii 96.17**, 50 *šu-ú* and [šú]-<sup>1</sup>ú<sup>1</sup> respectively for *šu-u*. **iii 97.2**, 14 *ša* for *ša*. **iii 97.3** [KUR.kal]-<sup>1</sup>di<sup>1</sup> for KUR.kal-du. **iii 98** *ul-tú*: ex. 2 has <sup>1</sup>ul<sup>1</sup>-tu; and exs. 11, 14, 17 have *ul-tu*. **iii 101.11**, 14 *mun-nab<sup>1</sup>-tu<sup>1</sup>* and *mun-nab-tú* respectively for *mun-nab-tu*. **iii 101.11**, 17, 89 <sup>1</sup>šá<sup>1</sup> for *ša*. **iii 101** *iš-ba-tú*: exs. 2, 14 have *iš-ba-tu*; ex. 3 has <sup>1</sup>iš<sup>1</sup>-ba-tu; ex. 27 has [iš]-<sup>1</sup>ba<sup>1</sup>-tu; and ex. 89 has *iš-ba-ta*. **iii 101.3**, 11 MAN-ti-ia for LUGAL-ti-ia. **iii 102.2** *ša* for *ša*. **iii 103.89** *u* for *ù*. **iii 103** KUR.gu-te<sub>9</sub>-e.KI: ex. 2 has KUR.gu-ti.KI<sup>1</sup>; and exs. 11, 17, 27 omit KI. **iii 103** MAR.TU-e.KI: exs. 2, 11, 17, 27, 89 omit *e*; ex. 2 has [MAR.TU]-<sup>1</sup>e<sup>1</sup>; and ex. 14 has MAR.TU. **iii 103** KUR.me-luĥ-ĥe-e ex. 11 adds KI after it; and ex. 17 omits *ĥe*. **iii 104.2** *ša* for *ša*. **iii 104.14** *a-na* for *ina*. **iii 104.11**, 14 omit *u* before <sup>d</sup>IN.LÍL. **iii 106** *pi-i-šú-nu*: ex. 2 has *pi-i-šú-un*; ex. 3 has [pi]-i-šú-un; exs. 5, 21 have <sup>1</sup>pi<sup>1</sup>-i-šú-un; ex. 11 has *pi-i-šú-un*; and ex. 27 has <sup>1</sup>pi<sup>1</sup>-i-šú-un. **iii 107.27** <sup>1</sup>ZIMBIR<sup>1</sup>.NA for ZIMBIR.KI. **iii 107.26** adds *u* after ZIMBIR.KI. **iii 108.17**, 27 *ú-di-il-ma* and [ú]-*di-il-ma* respectively for *ú-dil-ma*. **iii 108** *ŠEŠ-u-tu*: exs. 2, 26 have *ŠEŠ-u-tú*; ex. 3 has <sup>1</sup>ŠEŠ<sup>1</sup>-u<sup>1</sup>-ti<sup>1</sup>; ex. 17 has *ŠEŠ-u-ti*; ex. 21 has <sup>1</sup>ŠEŠ<sup>1</sup>-ú-tu; and ex. 27 has <sup>1</sup>ŠEŠ<sup>1</sup>-u-tú. **iii 109** *e-li*: exs. 2, 21 have <sup>1</sup>UGU<sup>1</sup>; exs. 11, 17 have UGU; and ex. 27 has <sup>1</sup>UGU<sup>1</sup>. **iii 109.5** adds MEŠ after BĀD. **iii 109.17** *ša-a-tu-nu* for *ša-a-tu-nu*. **iii 110.26** omits *e* in *mun-daĥ-še-e-šú*. **iii 110.2**, 5, 11, 17, 26–27 omit *i* in *ú-še-li-i-ma*. **iii 111** *e-te-né-ep-pu-šú*: ex. 2 has [e]-*ta-<sup>1</sup>nap-pu-šú*; ex. 3 has [e-ta]-*nap-pu-šú*; ex. 17 has *e-ta<sup>1</sup>-nap-pu-šú*; ex. 27 has <sup>1</sup>e<sup>1</sup>-ta-<sup>1</sup>nap-pu-šú; and ex. 89 has <sup>1</sup>e<sup>1</sup>-ta<sup>1</sup>-<sup>1</sup>nap<sup>1</sup>-[pu-šú]. **iii 111** MĒ: exs. 2, 5, 17 have *ta-ĥa-zu*; exs. 11, 27 have *ta-ĥa<sup>1</sup>-zu*; ex. 21 has [ta]-<sup>1</sup>ĥa<sup>1</sup>-zu; and ex. 25 has [ta-ĥa]-zu. **iii 113.21** [<sup>d</sup>šá]-*maš* for <sup>d</sup>UTU. **iii 113** u: exs. 2, 21 have <sup>1</sup>ù; ex. 17 has *ù*; and exs. 26–27 omit it. **iii 113** *qu-ra-di*: exs. 3, 5, 11, 17, 26 have *qu-ra-du*; ex. 8 has [qu-ra]-<sup>1</sup>du<sup>1</sup>; ex. 25 has [qu-ra]-<sup>1</sup>du; and ex. 27 has *qu-ra<sup>1</sup>-du*. **iii 114.17**, 21 *ik-la-a-ma* and [ik-la]-<sup>1</sup>a<sup>1</sup>-ma respectively for *ik-la-ma*. **iii 114.5** [ú-šab]-<sup>1</sup>ti<sup>1</sup>-lu for *ú-šab-ṭi-la*. **iii 115.26** GIŠ-*ĥa-zi* for *ma-ĥa-zi*. **iii 116.2** *ša* for *ša*. **iii 116.2**, 5, 25–26 omit *e* in *eš-re-e-ti-šú-nu*. **iii 116.5**, 26 *ud-di-šú* for *ud-di-šú*. **iii 116.2**, 5 add *u* before KÛ.BABBAR. **iii 117.26** *qé-reb-šu-nu*

for *qé-reb-šú-nu*. **iii 117** *áš-tak-ka-nu*: ex. 8 has [áš]-<sup>f</sup>tak<sup>1</sup>-ka-na; ex. 11 has [áš-tak]-<sup>f</sup>ka<sup>1</sup>-na; and ex. 26 has *áš-tak-ka-na*. **iii 117** *si-ma-a-te*: ex. 2 has [si]-<sup>f</sup>ma-a-ti; ex. 3 has [si]-<sup>f</sup>ma-a-ti; exs. 5, 11, 17, 26, 175 have *si-ma-a-ti*; and ex. 8 has *si-ma-a-ti*<sup>1</sup>. **iii 117** *ḪUL-tú*: exs. 5, 11, 17, 26, 29 have MUNUS.ḪUL; ex. 8 has [MUNUS].<sup>f</sup>ḪUL<sup>1</sup>; ex. 14 has MUNUS.SIG<sub>5</sub>; and ex. 175 has [MUNUS].<sup>f</sup>ḪUL. **iii 118** *u<sub>4</sub>-me-šú*: exs. 2–3, 36 add *ma* after it; ex. 5 has [u<sub>4</sub>]-<sup>f</sup>m<sup>1</sup>-šú; and ex. 26 omits *šú*. **iii 119.2**, 5 *ú-tuls-<sup>f</sup>ma<sup>1</sup>* and *ú-tuls-ma* respectively for *ú-tul-ma*. **iii 120** *i-na-aṭ-ṭa-al*: exs. 2, 11, 14, 26, 36 have *i-na-ṭal*; ex. 5 has [i]-<sup>f</sup>na<sup>1</sup>-ṭal; and ex. 8 has *i<sup>1</sup>-na-ṭal*. **iii 121.11**, 36 *ša* and *ša<sup>1</sup>* respectively for *ša*. **iii 121** *ša-ṭir-ma*: exs. 29, 175 have *ša<sup>1</sup>-ṭi-ir-ma*; and ex. 36 has *ša-ṭi-ir-[ma]*. **iii 122** *ša*: exs. 17, 36 have *ša<sup>1</sup>*; and ex. 26 has *ša*. **iii 122** <sup>m</sup>AN.ŠĀR-DÛ-A: ex. 2 has <sup>m</sup>AN<sup>1</sup>.ŠĀR-DÛ-IBILA; ex. 8 has <sup>m</sup>aš-šur-DÛ-A; and ex. 36 has <sup>m</sup>AN.ŠĀR-DÛ-IBILA<sup>1</sup>. **iii 122** MAN: exs. 2, 5, 11 have LUGAL; and ex. 175 has LUGAL<sup>1</sup>. **iii 122.11** *aš-šur<sup>1</sup>*.KI for AN.ŠĀR.KI. **iii 123.26** *ik-pu-ud* for *ik-pu-du*. **iii 123.2–3** [ḪUL]-*tu* and [ḪUL]-*[tu]* respectively for MUNUS.ḪUL. **iii 123.26** *e-pu-šú* for *i-pu-šú*. **iii 123** *še-lu-ú-tú*: ex. 2 has *še-lu-u-tú*; ex. 3 has *še-lu-tu*; ex. 8 has *še-lu-u-[tú]*; ex. 11 has *še-lu-u-tu*; ex. 26 has *še-lu-ú-tú*<sup>1</sup>; ex. 29 has *še-e-lu-tú*; ex. 36 has *še-e-lu-u-ú-tú*<sup>1</sup>; and ex. 175 has *še-lu-ú-tu*. **iii 124.17** *mu-ú<sup>1</sup>-[tu]* for *mu-u-tu*. **iii 124** *a-šar-rak-šú-nu-ti*: ex. 2 has *a<sup>1</sup>-šar-rak-šú-nu-ti*; ex. 3 has [a-šar-rak]-*šú-nu-ti*; ex. 8 has *a-šar-rak-šú-[nu]-<sup>f</sup>ti*<sup>1</sup>; ex. 11 has [a-šar]-*rak-šú-nu-ti*; ex. 17 has [a]-*šar<sup>1</sup>-rak-šú-nu-ti*; ex. 26 has *a-šar-rak-šú-nu-ti*; and ex. 36 has *a-šar-rak-šú-nu-<sup>f</sup>ti*<sup>1</sup>. **iii 126** TAG-it: exs. 3, 36 have *li<sup>1</sup>-pit*; and ex. 17 has *li-pit*. **iii 126** *ú-qát-ta-a*: ex. 5 has *ú-qát-ta-a*; and ex. 17 omits *ú*. **iii 127** *an-na-a-te*: exs. 2, 5, 17 have *an-na-a-ti*; exs. 3, 93 have *an-na-a-ti<sup>1</sup>*; and ex. 8 has [a]-*na<sup>1</sup>-a-ti*. **iii 127.17** omits *e* in *áš-me-e-ma*. **iii 128.17** *i-na* for *ina*. **iii 128.5** ERIM.ḪIA.MEŠ-*ia* for ERIM.ḪIA-*ia*. **iii 131.17** [e]-*si<sup>1</sup>-ir-šú-ma* for *e-si-ir-ma*. **iii 132.2**, 17 *ú-šab-bit* for *ú-šab-bi-it*. **iii 132.8** omits *uš* in *mu-uš-ša-šú-un*. **iii 134.3**, 5 omits *u* in *si-it-tu-u-ti*. **iii 135** *na-piš-tu*: exs. 3, 5 have *na-piš-tú*; and ex. 8 has *na-piš-tú<sup>1</sup>*. **iii 136.3** omits MA in KUR.ELAM.MA.KI. **iii 137.5** *ša* for *ša*. **iii 137** *ṭa-<sup>1</sup>a-a-tu*: ex. 2 has *ṭa<sup>1</sup>-<sup>1</sup>a-a-tú*; and ex. 5 omits *a*. **iii 137.5** *im-ḫu-ru-šú-ma* for *im-ḫu-ru-šú-ma*. **iii 138.2** *ana* for *a-na*.

**iv 1** <sup>m</sup>tam-ma-ri-tú: exs. 3, 5 have <sup>m</sup>tam-ma-ri-tu; and ex. 11 has [<sup>m</sup>tam-ma-ri]-<sup>f</sup>tu<sup>1</sup>. **iv 2.2**, 5, 11 add *šú* after *ú-ras-sib*. **iv 3.5**, 11 <sup>m</sup>tam-ma-ri-tu and [<sup>m</sup>tam-ma-ri]-<sup>f</sup>tu<sup>1</sup> respectively for <sup>m</sup>tam-ma-ri-tú. **iv 5.5**, 11 *iš-a-lum* and [iš]-*a<sup>1</sup>-lum<sup>1</sup>* respectively for *iš-a-lu*. **iv 6** *re-šu-ut*: ex. 2 has *re-šu-ut*; ex. 5 has *re-šu-u-ti*; ex. 11 has [re]-*šu-<sup>f</sup>tu*<sup>1</sup>; and ex. 74 has [re-šu]-*ti<sup>1</sup>*. **iv 7.5** ERIM.ḪIA.MEŠ-*ia* for ERIM.ḪIA-*ia*. **iv 9.30**, 74 *ša* for *ša*. **iv 9** *ú-sap-pu-ú*: exs. 2, 5, 11 have *ú-sap-pu-u*; and ex. 17 has [ú-sap-pu]-*u*. **iv 10** *iš-mu-ú*: ex. 2 has *iš-mu-ú<sup>1</sup>*; and exs. 5, 11, 30 have *iš-mu-u*. **iv 10.5**, 11 omit II in NUNDUM.II-*ia*. **iv 12.2** <sup>m</sup>tam-ma-ri-tú for <sup>m</sup>tam-ma-ri-tu. **iv 13.30** LUGAL for MAN. **iv 13.30** *ša* for *ša*. **iv 13.30** *e-<sup>1</sup>li<sup>1</sup>* for UGU. **iv 14.5** *me-re-eh-tú* for *mé-re-eh-tu*. **iv 14** *iq-bu-ú*: ex. 5 has *iq<sup>1</sup>-bu-u*; and exs. 11, 30 have *iq-bu-u*. **iv 15.2**, 11 *ša* for *ša*. **iv 15.2**, 5 omit *ur* in *a-ḫu-ur-ru-u*. **iv 16.2** LUGAL for MAN. **iv 16.5** omits MA in KUR.ELAM.MA.KI. **iv 18** *ša-ni-ia-a-nu*: ex. 2 has *ša-ni-<sup>1</sup>a-a-nu*; ex. 5 omits *a*; and ex. 30 omits *ia*. **iv 19.5** *ki-i* for *ke-e*. **iv 20.2**, 5 IGI for *pa-an*. **iv 20.2**, 5, 30 add MEŠ after KIN. **iv 20.2** <sup>m</sup>AN.ŠĀR-DÛ-IBILA for <sup>m</sup>AN.ŠĀR-DÛ-A. **iv 21.2**, 5, 11 *an-na-a-ti* for *an-na-a-te*. **iv 22.2**, 5 *i-ri-ḫu-šú-ma* and *e-ri-ḫu-šú-ma* respectively for *e-ri-ḫu-šú-ma*. **iv 23** <sup>m</sup>tam-ma-ri-tú: exs. 2, 5 have <sup>m</sup>tam-ma-ri-tu; ex. 11 has [<sup>m</sup>tam-ma]-<sup>f</sup>ri<sup>1</sup>-*tu*; and ex. 164 has <sup>m</sup>tam-ma-ri-<sup>f</sup>tu<sup>1</sup>. **iv 24** *i-di-šú*: exs. 2, 12, 30 have *Á.II-šú*; and ex. 5 has *i-de-e-šú*. **iv 25** *in-nab-tú-nim-ma*: ex. 5 omits *nim*; ex. 12 has *in-nab-tu-nim-ma*; and ex. 30 has *in<sup>1</sup>-nab-tu-nim-ma*. **iv 26.149** muḫ-*ḫi<sup>1</sup>* for UGU. **iv 26.2**, 5 *lib-bi-šú-nu* for ŠĀ.MEŠ-*šú-nu*. **iv 27.149** [il]-*lik-ú<sup>1</sup>-ni* for *il-lik-u-ni*. **iv 28.11** MAN-*ti<sup>1</sup>-[ia]* for LUGAL-*ti-ia*. **iv 29.5** *ú-še-eš-šir* for *ú-še-šir*. **iv 29.12**, 155 *ziq-né-e-šú* and *ziq-né<sup>1</sup>-e-šú* respectively for *ziq-ni-šú*. **iv 30.12** GIŠ.man-gar-ri-*ia* for GIŠ.ma-gar-ri-*ia*. **iv 31.12**, 155 *im-nu-u-ma* for *im-nu-ma*. **iv 34.2**, 5, 116 omit *u* in *i-zi-zu-u-ma*. **iv 36.2**, 5, 116 *ša* for *ša*. **iv 36.2**, 5, 155 omit *ú* in *re-šu-ú-ti*. **iv 37.2** [<sup>m</sup>AN].ŠĀR<sup>1</sup>-DÛ-IBILA for <sup>m</sup>AN.ŠĀR-DÛ-A. **iv 38** *ḫi-ṭa-a-te*: exs. 2, 5 have *ḫi-ṭa-a-ti*; and ex.

88 has [ḫi]-<sup>f</sup>ṭa<sup>1</sup>-*a-ti*. **iv 39** <sup>m</sup>tam-ma-ri-tú: ex. 2 has [<sup>m</sup>tam<sup>1</sup>]-*ma-ri-tu*; ex. 5 has <sup>m</sup>tam-ma-ri-tu; ex. 116 has [<sup>m</sup>tam]-*ma-ri-tu*; and ex. 155 has [<sup>m</sup>tam<sup>1</sup>]-*ma-ri-tu<sup>1</sup>*. **iv 39.5** *ar-ši-šú-ma* for *ar-ši-šú-ma*. **iv 40.2**, 5 omit *ina* before *qé-reb*. **iv 42** *ša*: exs. 5, 12 have *ša*; and ex. 38 has *ša<sup>1</sup>*. **iv 43** *ḪUL-tú*: exs. 2, 5 have MUNUS.ḪUL; and ex. 88 has [MUNUS].<sup>f</sup>ḪUL. **iv 43** *né-eb-re-e-tú*: ex. 2 omits *e*; and exs. 5, 38 have *né-eb-re-tu*. **iv 44.5**, 12, 38 add MEŠ after UZU. **iv 47.2**, 38 *ša* for *ša*. **iv 48** *ša*: exs. 2, 38 have *ša*; and ex. 152 has *ša<sup>1</sup>*. **iv 48.2**, 152 LÍMMU-DINGIR.KI and LÍMMU-[DINGIR.KI] respectively for URU.LÍMMU-DINGIR. **iv 50.2** *ša* for *ša*. **iv 51.5**, 152 *id-du-šú-ma* and *id-du-šú<sup>1</sup>-[ma]* respectively for *id-du-šú-ma*. **iv 52.5** *ú-<sup>f</sup>hal-li<sup>1</sup>-qa* for *ú-<sup>f</sup>hal-li-qu*. **iv 53** *ša*: ex. 2 has *ša*; and exs. 34, 152 have *ša<sup>1</sup>*. **iv 55.2**, 5, 152 *ep-še-e-tu* for *ep-še-e-tú*. **iv 55** *an-ni-tú*: ex. 2 has *an-<sup>f</sup>ni<sup>1</sup>-tu*; ex. 5 has *an-ni-tu*; and ex. 152 has *an-ni-<sup>f</sup>tu<sup>1</sup>*. **iv 55.2**, 5 <sup>f</sup>ḪUL-*tu* and *le-mut-tu* respectively for *ḪUL-tú*. **iv 55.5** *e-pu-šú* for *e-pu-šú*. **iv 56.2** *ša* for *ša*. **iv 59.2**, 5 *ša* for *ša*. **iv 59.34** [su]-<sup>f</sup>un<sup>1</sup>-*qu* for *su-un-<sup>f</sup>qí*. **iv 59.34** *bu-bu-ti* for *bu-bu-ti*. **iv 60.2** omits *i* in *mar-<sup>f</sup>qí-i-tú*. **iv 61.2** *ša* for *ša*. **iv 62.5**, 34 [is-ḫu]-<sup>f</sup>up<sup>1</sup>-*šú-nu-ti* and [is]-<sup>f</sup>ḫup<sup>1</sup>-*šú-nu-ti* respectively for *is-ḫu-up-šú-nu-ti*. **iv 63.34** *im<sup>1</sup>-nu-ú* for *im-nu-u*. **iv 63.34** *qa-tu-u-a* for *ḪU.II-u-a*. **iv 64.34** GIŠ.ša for each GIŠ.ša. **iv 64.34** omits *e* in MUNUS.sek-re-*e-ti-šú*. **iv 65.34** NÍG.ŠU for NÍG.GA. **iv 66.5**, 34 [ša]-<sup>f</sup>a<sup>1</sup>-*tu<sup>1</sup>-nu* and *ša-a-tu-nu* respectively for *ša-a-tú-nu*. **iv 66.2** [šil-la]-*tu* for *šil-la-tú*. **iv 67.2** [šil]-*la<sup>1</sup>-tu* for *šil-la-tú*. **iv 68.2** omits *u* in *ik-pu-du-u-ni*. **iv 68** *ḪUL-tú*: exs. 2, 17 have *ḪUL-tu*; and ex. 34 has *le-mut-tú*. **iv 70.40** [bal-tu]-<sup>f</sup>us-su<sup>1</sup>-[un] for *bal-tu-sún*. **iv 74.2** omits *u* in *nu-ukku-su-u-ti*. **iv 76.17** omits MEŠ in MUŠEN.MEŠ. **iv 76.13**, 17 [KU<sup>1</sup>].ḪIA and KU<sup>1</sup>.ḪI.[A] respectively for KU<sup>1</sup>.MEŠ. **iv 77** *ul-tú*: exs. 2, 14 have *ul-tu*; and ex. 17 has *ul-<sup>f</sup>tu<sup>1</sup>*. **iv 77.2**, 13 *i-te-ep-pu-šú* and *i-te<sup>1</sup>-ep-pu-šú* respectively for *e-te-ep-pu-šú*. **iv 79.17**, 165 *ša* for *ša*. **iv 79.13** *ú-šam-<sup>f</sup>qí-tu* for *ú-šam-<sup>f</sup>qí-tú*. **iv 80.25** *ša<sup>1</sup>* for *ša*. **iv 80.14**, 165 *su-<sup>f</sup>un-<sup>f</sup>qí<sup>1</sup>* and *su<sup>1</sup>-un-<sup>f</sup>qí<sup>1</sup>* respectively for *su-un-<sup>f</sup>qí*. **iv 82.2**, 13 *ša* for *ša*. **iv 82** *re-ba-a-te*: ex. 2 has *re-ba-a-ti*; ex. 13 has *re-ba<sup>1</sup>-a-ti*; and ex. 14 has *re-ba-ti*. **iv 83.14**, 25 GİR.PAD.DA.MEŠ-*šú-nu* and GİR.PAD.<sup>f</sup>DA<sup>1</sup>.MEŠ-[šú-nu] respectively for GİR.PAD.DU.MEŠ-*šú-nu*. **iv 83.17** TA for *ul-tú*. **iv 85.2**, 13–14, 25 omit *ad* in *at-ta-ad-di*. **iv 87** *su-le-e-šú-nu*: ex. 2 has *su-ul-le-šú-nu*; ex. 3 has *su-ul<sup>1</sup>-le-e-šú-nu<sup>1</sup>*; and ex. 14 has *su-ul<sup>1</sup>-le<sup>1</sup>-šú-nu*. **iv 87.17** *lu-<sup>1</sup>u-ú-ti* for *lu-<sup>1</sup>u-u-ti*. **iv 88.3** omits *nu* in DINGIR.MEŠ-*šú-nu*. **iv 88** *ze-nu-u-ti*: exs. 2, 13 omit *u*; and exs. 3, 17 have *ze-nu-ú-ti*. **iv 88.3** omits *nu* in <sup>15</sup>MEŠ-*šú-nu*. **iv 88** *šab-sa-a-te*: ex. 2 has *šab-sa-a-<sup>f</sup>ti<sup>1</sup>*; ex. 5 has *šab-sa<sup>1</sup>-a-ti*; ex. 14 has *šab-šá-a-<sup>f</sup>ti<sup>1</sup>*; and ex. 17 has *šab-sa-a-ti*. **iv 89** *u*: ex. 2 has *u*; and ex. 17 omits *it*. **iv 89.17** ÉR.ŠĀ<sup>1</sup>.GĀ.ḪUN for ÉR.ŠĀ.ḪUN.GĀ. **iv 90.3** omits *tuk* in *sat-tuk-ki-šú-un*. **iv 90.3**, 17 *ša* for each *ša*. **iv 90.3**, 5, 14, 17 GIM for *ki-ma*. **iv 90.5** *ul-lu-u-ti* for *ul-lu-ti*. **iv 91** *šal-me*: exs. 5, 14 have *šal-mi*; and ex. 17 has *šal-meš*. **iv 92.17** omits MEŠ in DUMU.MEŠ. **iv 93.5**, 13–14, 156 *ša* for *ša*. **iv 93.3**, 5, 14, 17 *u* for *ù*. **iv 93** *né-eb-re-e-ti*: exs. 3, 5, 17, 153 omit *e*; and ex. 14 has *né-eb-re-tú*. **iv 94.3**, 17 *i-še-tu-<sup>f</sup>ni<sup>1</sup>* and *ú-še-tu-u-ni* respectively for *i-še-tu-u-ni*. **iv 94.5**, 14 *ar<sup>1</sup>-š<sup>1</sup>-šú-nu-ti* and *ar-š<sup>1</sup>-šú-nu-ti* respectively for *ar-š<sup>1</sup>-šú-nu-ti*. **iv 95** *na-piš-ti-šú-nu*: exs. 2, 5, 153 have [Zi]-*ti-šú-nu*; exs. 3, 14, 17 have *Zi-ti-šú-nu*; ex. 13 has *Zi-<sup>f</sup>ti<sup>1</sup>-[šú-nu]*; and ex. 21 omits *ti*. **iv 96.21** adds URU before KĀ.DINGIR.RA.KI. **iv 96.5** *ú-še-šib-šú-nu-ti* for *ú-še-šib-šú-nu-ti*. **iv 97.3** KUR.kal-*di* for KUR.kal-*du*. **iv 98.2**, 5, 13, 21 *ša* for *ša*. **iv 98.17** *a-na* for *ša*. **iv 98** *ik-ter-u-ma*: ex. 3 has *ik-ter-<sup>f</sup>u<sup>1</sup>-ma*; ex. 17 has *ik-ter-ú-ma*; ex. 21 has *ik-<sup>f</sup>ter<sup>1</sup>-ú-ma*; ex. 133 has *ik-ter-<sup>f</sup>u<sup>1</sup>-[ma]*; and ex. 153 has *ik<sup>1</sup>-ter-ú-ma*. **iv 100** *pa-ra-as*: exs. 3, 5 have *pa-<sup>f</sup>ras<sup>1</sup>*; and exs. 17, 21, 133, 153 have *pa-ras*. **iv 100** *ra-ma-ni-šú-nu*: exs. 3, 17, 153 have *ra-man-i-šú-nu*; and ex. 14 has *ra-man-ni-šú-nu<sup>1</sup>*. **iv 101.21** *i-na* for *ina*. **iv 101.3**, 17, 133 omit *u*. **iv 101.2** adds *u* before DINGIR.MEŠ. **iv 102.17** *ak-bu-uš* for *ak-bu-us*. **iv 103.3**, 14, 17 *ša* for *ša*. **iv 103** *iš-lu-u*: exs. 2–3, 21 have *iš-lu-ú*; and ex. 11 has *iš-<sup>f</sup>lu-ú<sup>1</sup>*. **iv 104.26** LÚ<sup>1</sup>.GAR-*nu* KUR.MEŠ for LÚ.GAR.KUR.MEŠ. **iv 104** LÚ.TIL.GÍD.MEŠ: exs. 5, 11, 14, 21 have LÚ.TIL.GÍD.DA.MEŠ; ex. 26 has LÚ<sup>1</sup>.TIL.GÍD.<sup>f</sup>DA<sup>1</sup>.MEŠ; and ex. 133 has [LÚ.TIL].<sup>f</sup>GÍD<sup>1</sup>.DA.MEŠ. **iv 106.14** omits MEŠ in SÁ.DUG<sub>4</sub>.MEŠ. **iv 106** *gi-né-e*: exs. 3, 21, 153 have *gi-nu-ú*; and exs.

5, 11, 14, 17 have *gi-nu-u*. **iv 106.14** adds *ša* before AN.ŠĀR. **iv 106.11**, 14 add *u* before <sup>d</sup>NIN.LÍL. **iv 107.11** *aš-šur*.KI for AN.ŠĀR.KI. **iv 108.3**, 26, 29 <sup>r</sup>GUN<sup>1</sup> for *bi-tu*. **iv 108** *man-da-at-tú*: ex. 2 has *man-da-at-ti*; ex. 3 has <sup>r</sup>man<sup>1</sup>-*da-at-tu*; exs. 5, 11, 14, 21 have *man-da-at-tu*; ex. 17 has *man-da-at-ta*; ex. 26 has <sup>r</sup>man-*da-at-tu*; ex. 130 has [*man-da*]-<sup>r</sup>at-tu<sup>1</sup>; and ex. 133 has [*man-da-at*]-<sup>r</sup>tu<sup>1</sup>. **iv 109.14**, 17 omit *ma* in *šat-ti-šam-ma*. **iv 109.133** *e-mi-is-su-nu-ti* for *e-mid-is-su-nu-ti*. **iv 110.2**, 17 [*i*]-<sup>r</sup>na<sup>1</sup> and *i-na* respectively for *ina*. **iv 110.26** *ger-rí-íá* for *ger-ri-ia*. **iv 111.21** [*reš-tu*]-<sup>r</sup>ú<sup>1</sup> for *reš-tu-u*. **iv 111.11**, 14 *a-šá-red-<sup>r</sup>du<sup>1</sup>* and *a-šá-red-du* respectively for *a-šá-re-du*. **iv 111** *ša*: ex. 5, 17 have *ša*; and ex. 11 has <sup>r</sup>ša<sup>1</sup>. **iv 111.2** <sup>4</sup>BAD for <sup>4</sup>EN.LÍL. **iv 112** <sup>m</sup>um-man-al-da-si: exs. 2, 17 have <sup>m</sup>um-man-al-daš; and ex. 27 has <sup>m</sup>um-man-<sup>r</sup>al-daš<sup>r</sup>. **iv 113.5** omits MA in KUR.ELAM.MA.KI. **iv 114** <sup>m</sup>tam-ma-ri-tú: exs. 5, 17 have <sup>m</sup>tam-ma-ri-tu; ex. 14 has <sup>m</sup>tam-ma-<sup>r</sup>ri-tu; ex. 130 has [<sup>m</sup>tam-ma]-<sup>r</sup>ri-tu; and ex. 133 has [<sup>m</sup>tam-ma]-<sup>r</sup>ri-tu. **iv 114.3**, 5 omit MA in KUR.ELAM.MA.KI. **iv 115.2-3** *ša* and <sup>r</sup>ša<sup>1</sup> respectively for *ša*. **iv 115.151** ARAD-šú for ARAD-šú. **iv 115** *iš-ba-ta*: exs. 5, 17 have *iš-ba-tu*; ex. 11 has *iš-ba-<sup>r</sup>tu<sup>1</sup>*; ex. 130 has [*iš*]-<sup>r</sup>ba-<sup>r</sup>tu<sup>1</sup>; and ex. 151 has [*iš-ba*]-<sup>r</sup>tu<sup>1</sup>. **iv 116** URU.ḫi-il-mu: ex. 3 has URU.ḫi-<sup>r</sup>il-me<sup>1</sup>; exs. 5, 11, 14, 27 have URU.ḫi-il-me; and ex. 17 has URU.ḫi-<sup>r</sup>il-me<sup>1</sup>. **iv 116** URU.du-mu-qu: ex. 3 has URU.du-<sup>r</sup>um-<sup>r</sup>mu-<sup>r</sup>qu<sup>1</sup>; exs. 5, 17 have URU.du-um-mu-qu; ex. 8 has URU.du-um-mu-[qu]; ex. 14 has URU.du-<sup>r</sup>um-<sup>r</sup>[mu-qu]; ex. 130 has URU.du-um-<sup>r</sup>mu-qu; and ex. 151 has <sup>r</sup>URU<sup>1</sup>.du-um-mu-qu. **iv 117.8** omits the final *a* of URU.su-la-a-a. **iv 117** URU.la-ḫi-ra-di-bi-ri-na: ex. 5 has URU.la-ḫi-ra-di-i-bi-ri-na; and ex. 17 omits *i*. **iv 118.5** omits *ia* in MĒ-ia. **iv 118** *iš-mu-u*: exs. 5, 8 have *iš-mu-ú*; and ex. 17 has *iš-<sup>r</sup>mu-ú<sup>1</sup>*. **iv 118.3**, 5, 8, 14, 17 *ša* for *ša*. **iv 118.14** *al-li-ku* for *al-la-ku*. **iv 120** *pu-luḫ-ti*: exs. 3, 8, 11, 14 have *pu-luḫ-tu*; and ex. 17 has *pu-luḫ-ti*. **iv 120** *iš-ḫu-up-šú-nu-ti*: ex. 3 has <sup>r</sup>iš-<sup>r</sup>ḫup-šú-nu-ti; ex. 8 has [*iš*]-<sup>r</sup>ḫup-šú-nu-ti; ex. 14 has *iš-ḫup-šú-[nu-ti]*; and ex. 17 has *iš-ḫup-šú-nu-ti*. **iv 121** *še-e-ni-šú-nu*: ex. 3 has US<sub>5</sub>.UDU.ḫi-šú-nu; exs. 5, 8, 17 have US<sub>5</sub>.UDU.ḫi.A-šú-nu; ex. 14 has US<sub>5</sub>.UDU.<sup>r</sup>ḫi<sup>1</sup>.[A-šú-nu]; and ex. 151 has [US<sub>5</sub>.UDU].<sup>r</sup>ḫi<sup>1</sup>.A-šú-nu. **iv 122** *im-quit-nim-ma*: exs. 3, 8 have *im-qu-tú-nim-ma*; ex. 5 has *im-qu-tu-nim-ma*; ex. 17 has *im-qu-<sup>r</sup>tu<sup>1</sup>-nim-ma*; and ex. 151 has *im-qu-tú-<sup>r</sup>nim-ma<sup>1</sup>*. **iv 123** *iš-ba-tú*: exs. 2, 5, 11, 17 have *iš-ba-tu*; and exs. 3, 8, 33 have *iš-ba-<sup>r</sup>tu<sup>1</sup>*. **iv 124** LUGAL-u-ti: ex. 3 omits *u*; and ex. 8 has LUGAL-ú-ti. **iv 124** *tuk-la-a-te*: ex. 2 has *tuk-la-a-<sup>r</sup>ti<sup>1</sup>*; exs. 5, 8, 11 have *tuk-la-a-ti*; ex. 17 has *tuk<sup>1</sup>-la-a-ti*; and ex. 33 has [*tuk-la*]-<sup>r</sup>a-<sup>r</sup>ti. **iv 124.5**, 11, 17 *ša* for *ša*. **iv 125.2**, 8 *ša* for *ša*. **iv 125.5** GIM for *ki-ma*. **iv 125.5** omits MA in KUR.ELAM.MA.KI. **iv 126.2** *ša* for *ša*. **iv 126.8** <sup>r</sup>ma<sup>1</sup>30-PAP.MEŠ-<sup>r</sup>eri<sup>1</sup>-ba for <sup>r</sup>ma<sup>1</sup>30-PAP.MEŠ-SU. **iv 126.8** LUGAL for MAN. **iv 127.17** <sup>r</sup>el-la-<sup>r</sup>mu-u-a for *il-la-mu-u-a*. **iv 127** *ik-šú-du*: exs. 8, 11 have *ik-šú-du*; and ex. 17 has *ik-šú-ud*. **iv 127.5** *u* for *ú*. **iv 127** *šú-u*: ex. 5 has *šú-ú*; ex. 8 has <sup>r</sup>šú-ú<sup>1</sup>; and ex. 17 has <sup>r</sup>šú-ú<sup>1</sup>. **iv 127** *e-la-mu-ú*: ex. 2 has *e-<sup>r</sup>la-mu-ú*; ex. 3 has LÚ.<sup>r</sup>e-la-<sup>r</sup>mu-<sup>r</sup>u; exs. 5, 11, 17 have LÚ.<sup>r</sup>e-la-mu-u; ex. 8 adds LÚ before it; ex. 82 has [LÚ].<sup>r</sup>e-<sup>r</sup>la-<sup>r</sup>mu-u; and ex. 151 has [LÚ].<sup>r</sup>e-la]-<sup>r</sup>mu-<sup>r</sup>u. **iv 129.3** *ša-nam-ma* for *ša-nam-ma*. **iv 129.2-3** *e-pu-šú-<sup>r</sup>ma<sup>1</sup>* and *e-pu-uš-[u-ma]* for *e-pu-šú-ma*. **iv 129.11** omits *šú* in BĀD-šú. **iv 129.8**, 17 [*ú-dan*]-<sup>r</sup>nin<sup>1</sup>-ú-ma and *ú-dan-nin-ú-ma* respectively for *ú-dan-nin-u-ma*. **iv 130** *šal-ḫu-u-šú*: ex. 3 has *šal-ḫu-ú-šú*; ex. 8 has [*šal-ḫu*]-<sup>r</sup>ú-šú<sup>1</sup>; exs. 11, 17 have *šal-ḫu-u-šú*; and ex. 151 has [*šal-ḫu*]-<sup>r</sup>u-šú<sup>1</sup>. **iv 132.17** *mé-ti-iq* for *me-ti-iq*. **iv 133.8** *lib-bi-šú-<sup>r</sup>un<sup>1</sup>* for *lib-bi-šú*. **iv 133.11**, 17 <sup>r</sup>ša<sup>1</sup> and *ša* respectively for *ša*. **iv 133** *ú-šú-ú-nim-ma*: exs. 2, 5, 8, 11, 17 omit *ú*. **iv 134** *iš-a-lu*: exs. 2, 11 have *iš-a-lum*; ex. 3 has *iš-<sup>r</sup>a-lum*; ex. 5 has [*iš-<sup>r</sup>a-lum*]; and ex. 17 has *iš-<sup>r</sup>a-a-<sup>r</sup>lu<sup>1</sup>*. **iv 137.2** omits KI in AN.ŠĀR.KI.

**v 1** LÚ.<sup>r</sup>qe-e-pu: ex. 5 has LÚ.<sup>r</sup>qe-e-pu; and exs. 8, 11 have LÚ.<sup>r</sup>qe-[e-pu]. **v 2.2** <sup>m</sup>um-man-al-daš for <sup>m</sup>um-man-al-da-si. **v 2.2** LUGAL for MAN. **v 3.2**, 5 *ul-tu* for *ul-tú*. **v 3** *šú-a-tú*: ex. 2 has *šú-a-tu*; ex. 15 has [*šú-<sup>r</sup>a-<sup>r</sup>tú<sup>1</sup>*]; and ex. 138 has [*šú-a*]-<sup>r</sup>tu. **v 4.5**, 11 *bi-re-tu* for *bi-re-tú*. **v 5** *ad-di-šú-u-ma*: ex. 2 omits *u*; ex. 5 has *ad-di-šú-u-ma*; ex. 15 has *ad-di-šú-[u]-ma*; ex. 17 has [*ad*]-<sup>r</sup>di-šú-ma; and ex. 30 has *ad-<sup>r</sup>di-šú-ma*. **v 5.5** omits *šú* in *ú-ra-a-šú*. **v 6.2**, 5 <sup>r</sup>ša<sup>1</sup> and *ša* respectively for *ša*. **v 7.2** LUGAL<sup>1</sup> for MAN. **v 7.5**, 11, 30 *ša* for *ša*. **v 8.11** *ger-re-e* for *ger-ri-ia*. **v 11.2** <sup>m</sup>um-man-al-daš for <sup>m</sup>um-

*man-al-da-si*. **v 11.5**, 15 LUGAL for MAN. **v 12.5**, 11 *ša* for *ša*. **v 12.19** [*iš-me*]-<sup>r</sup>e<sup>1</sup>-*ma* for *iš-me-ma*. **v 13.5**, 11 URU.ma-dak-tu and URU.ma-dak-<sup>r</sup>tu<sup>1</sup> respectively for URU.ma-dak-tú. **v 15.100** *ša* for *ša*. **v 15.2**, 100 *ul-tu* and TA respectively for *ul-tú*. **v 16.2** omits *u* in *in-nab-tu-u-ma*. **v 17.2** <sup>m</sup>um-man-al-daš for <sup>m</sup>um-man-al-da-si. **v 18.2** *ša-a-šú-ma* for *ša-a-šú-ma*. **v 18.4**, 15 *iš-me-e-[ma]* and *iš-me-e-<sup>r</sup>ma<sup>1</sup>* respectively for *iš-me-ma*. **v 20.100** KU<sub>6</sub>.ḫi.A for KU<sub>6</sub>.MEŠ. **v 20.4** *ru-qu-<sup>r</sup>ú-<sup>r</sup>[ti]* for *ru-qu-u-ti*. **v 21.100** <sup>m</sup>tam-ma-ri-tu for <sup>m</sup>tam-ma-ri-tú. **v 21.4** *iš-ba-tú* for *iš-ba-ta*. **v 22.15** *ana* for *a-na*. **v 23.2**, 100 MUNUS.SIG<sub>5</sub> and SIG<sub>5</sub>-<sup>r</sup>tú respectively for SIG<sub>5</sub>-<sup>r</sup>tu. **v 23.100** *e-pu-šú-uš* for *e-pu-šú-uš*. **v 23.62**, 100 <sup>r</sup>ša<sup>1</sup> and *ša* respectively for *ša*. **v 23.62** omits *Á* in *Á.TAḫ-su*. **v 23.4**, 100 *in-šú-<sup>r</sup>ma<sup>1</sup>* and *in-šú-ma<sup>1</sup>* respectively for *in-šú-ma*. **v 24.2** [ḫUL]-<sup>r</sup>tú<sup>1</sup> for ḫUL-tu. **v 27** IGI: exs. 4, 15 have *pa-an*; and ex. 62 has [*pa*]-<sup>r</sup>[an]. **v 28.2**, 62 *iḫ-ta-nab-ba-tu* and [*iḫ-ta-nab*]-<sup>r</sup>ba-<sup>r</sup>tu respectively for *iḫ-ta-nab-ba-tú*. **v 29.15**, 62 *ša* and <sup>r</sup>ša<sup>1</sup> respectively for *ša*. **v 30.15** [*ú*]-<sup>r</sup>ša<sup>1</sup>-<sup>r</sup>zi-<zu>-in-ni for *ú-šá-zi-zu-in-ni*. **v 30.2** <sup>r</sup>še<sup>1</sup>-er for EDIN. **v 31.2**, 15 <sup>m</sup>tam-ma-ri-tu and [<sup>m</sup>]tam-ma-ri-tu respectively for <sup>m</sup>tam-ma-ri-tú. **v 31** *ib-ru-u-ma*: ex. 4 has [*ib-ru*]-<sup>r</sup>u-ma; ex. 15 has [*ib-ru*]-<sup>r</sup>ú-<sup>r</sup>ma; and ex. 62 omits *u*. **v 32.2**, 4 *ú-ba-<sup>r</sup>u-u* for *ú-ba-<sup>r</sup>u-ú*. **v 32.4**, 15 *qa-tuš-šú* and *qa-tuš-šú-<sup>r</sup>šú<sup>1</sup>* respectively for *qa-tuš-šú*. **v 33.2** *ul-tú* for *ul-tu*. **v 34.14** omits *ia* in *šá-ni-<sup>r</sup>ia<sup>1</sup>-a-nu*. **v 35.15** [*ú*]-<sup>r</sup>šak<sup>1</sup>-ni-šú-uš for *ú-šak-ni-šú-uš*. **v 37.4**, 15 ŠĀ-ia for *lib-bi-ia*. **v 38.2** <sup>m</sup>tam-ma-ri-tu for <sup>m</sup>tam-ma-ri-tú. **v 39.2** omits *u*. **v 40.2**, 4, 15 *at-tal-lak* for *at-ta-lak*. **v 41.5** *ša* for *ša*. **v 41** *šul-me-e*: ex. 2 has <sup>r</sup>šul-<sup>r</sup>lum-me-e; ex. 4 has <sup>r</sup>šul-lum-me-e; and ex. 15 has <sup>r</sup>šul-lum<sup>1</sup>-me-e. **v 41.2** ŠU<sup>2</sup> for ŠU.II. **v 42.4** GIŠ.ni-ri-ia for GIŠ.ŠUDUN-ia. **v 45.34** omits *am* in URU.BĀD-<sup>m</sup>am-na-ni-ma. **v 49.2**, 5 URU.ma-dak-tú for URU.ma-dak-tu. **v 50.34** URU.bu-bi-lu for URU.bu-bé-e. **v 50.2**, 34 URU.ŠE-<sup>m</sup>AMAR.UTU-LUGAL-an-ni and URU.ŠE-<sup>m</sup>ŠÚ-LUGAL<sup>1</sup>-[a-ni] respectively for URU.ŠE-<sup>m</sup>ŠÚ-MAN-a-ni. **v 55.2**, 5 URU.sa-am-u-nu for URU.sa-am-ú-nu. **v 55.2**, 22 URU.É-<sup>m</sup>bu-na-ki for URU.É-<sup>m</sup>bu-na-ku. **v 58.17** omits *ina*. **v 59** *še-e-ni-šú-nu*: exs. 15, 22 have <sup>r</sup>US<sub>5</sub>.UDU.ḫi.A-šú-nu; and ex. 17 has US<sub>5</sub>.UDU.ḫi.A-šú-<sup>r</sup>nu<sup>1</sup>. **v 62.2** *ú-nu-tu* for *ú-nu-ut*. **v 62.2**, 22 *ta-ḫa-zi* and [*ta-ḫa*]-<sup>r</sup>zi<sup>1</sup> respectively for MĒ. **v 64.2** <sup>m</sup>um-man-al-daš for <sup>m</sup>um-man-al-da-si. **v 65.2** LUGAL for MAN. **v 65.15** omits *še* in *uš-te-eš-še-ra*. **v 68.2**, 17 KUR.ḫa-ma-nu and [URU<sup>1</sup>.ḫa]-<sup>r</sup>ma-a-nu respectively for URU.ḫa-ma-nu. **v 68.17** *ak-šú-du* for *ak-šú-ud*. **v 69.2**, 17 <sup>m</sup>um-man-al-daš and [<sup>m</sup>um-man-al]-<sup>r</sup>daš<sup>1</sup> respectively for <sup>m</sup>um-man-al-da-si. **v 70.2**, 40 KUR for URU in URU.ḫa-ma-nu. **v 70.40** [*iš-me*]-<sup>r</sup>e<sup>1</sup>-<sup>r</sup>ma for *iš-me-ma*. **v 71.15** *pu<sup>1</sup>-luḫ-tú* for *pu-luḫ-ti*. **v 71.15** <sup>r</sup>iš-<sup>r</sup>tar<sup>1</sup> for <sup>r</sup>iš. **v 72.2**, 17 *iš-ḫu-pu-šú-<<šú>>-ma* and *iš-ḫup-šú-ma* respectively for *iš-ḫu-up-šú-ma*. **v 72** URU.ma-dak-tú: exs. 2, 17 have URU.ma-dak-tu; and ex. 40 has <sup>r</sup>URU<sup>1</sup>.ma-dak-tu. **v 72.15**, 40 MAN-ti-šú and MAN-<sup>r</sup>ti-<sup>r</sup>[šú] respectively for LUGAL-ti-šú. **v 74.2** <sup>r</sup>šú-<sup>r</sup>a-tu for *šú-a-tú*. **v 77.2**, 17 URU.na-di-tu for URU.na-di-tú. **v 77.17** LUGAL-ti-šú<sup>1</sup> for LUGAL-ti. **v 77** KUR-ud: ex. 2 has *ak-šú-ud*; ex. 17 has *ak-šú-du*; and ex. 173 has *ak-šú-ud*. **v 78.2**, 17 <sup>r</sup>URU<sup>1</sup>.É-<sup>m</sup>bu-na-ki and URU.É-<sup>m</sup>bu-na-ki respectively for URU.É-<sup>m</sup>bu-na-ku. **v 78.17** LUGAL-ti-šú for LUGAL-ti. **v 78** KUR-ud: ex. 15 has [*ak*]-<sup>r</sup>šú-<sup>r</sup>ud; ex. 17 has *ak-šú-du*; and ex. 173 has *ak-šú-ud*. **v 79.17** omits *na* in *na-ge-šú*. **v 79** KUR-ud: ex. 15 has [*ak*]-<sup>r</sup>šú-<sup>r</sup>ud; ex. 17 has *ak-šú-du*; and ex. 173 has *ak-šú-ud*. **v 80.17** omits *na* in *na-ge-šú*. **v 80.17**, 173 *ak-šú-du* and <sup>r</sup>ak-šú-<sup>r</sup>ud respectively for KUR-ud. **v 82.17**, 173 LUGAL-u-ti and <sup>r</sup>LUGAL<sup>1</sup>-u-ti respectively for LUGAL-ti. **v 82.15**, 17 [*ak*]-<sup>r</sup>šú-<sup>r</sup>ud and *ak-šú-du* respectively for KUR-ud. **v 83.17**, 173 *ak-šú-du* and <sup>r</sup>ak-šú-<sup>r</sup>ud respectively for *ak-šú-ud*. **v 84.15** omits *šú* in LUGAL-ti-šú. **v 84.17**, 173 *ak-šú-du* and <sup>r</sup>ak<sup>1</sup>-šú-<sup>r</sup>ud respectively for *ak-šú-ud*. **v 86.17** *ak-šú-du* for *ak-šú-ud*. **v 87.17** *ak-šú-du* for *ak-šú-ud*. **v 88.17** *ak-šú-du* for *ak-šú-ud*. **v 89.17** *ak-šú-du* for *ak-šú-ud*. **v 90.2** omits *u*. **v 91.2** <sup>m</sup>um-man-al-daš for <sup>m</sup>um-man-al-da-si. **v 91.5** LUGAL<sup>1</sup> for MAN. **v 92.2** *ša* for *ša*. **v 92.17** [*ik*]-<sup>r</sup>nu<sup>1</sup>-šú for *ik-nu-šá*. **v 92.17** *ni-ri-ia* for GIŠ.ŠUDUN-ia. **v 93.3** *me-tiq* for *me-ti-iq*. **v 94.2** *ak-šú-ud* for KUR-ud. **v 96.5** adds *ma* after *e-mu-ru*. **v 96.2**, 10 *né-ba-ar-ti* and [*né*]-<sup>r</sup>ba-<sup>r</sup>ti respectively for *né-ba-ar-te*. **v 97.2-3** LÍMMU-DINGIR.KI for URU.LÍMMU-DINGIR. **v 98.3** ERIM.ḫi.A.MEŠ-ia for ERIM.ḫi.A-ia.

v 98.21, 26 *ú-šab-ri-šú-ma* and *u-šab-ri-ma* respectively for *ú-šab-ri-ma*. v 99.2-3 *iq-bi-šú-nu-ti*<sup>1</sup> and *iq-bi-šú-nu* respectively for *iq-bi-šú-nu-ti*. v 100.21 *al-lik* for *al-lak*. v 100.5, 21 omit *ina*. v 102.17 'UGU' for *e-li*. v 102.5, 8 *an-ni-tu* and *an-ni-tú* respectively for *an-ni-ti*. v 102.21 adds *ma* after *ir-ḥu-šu*. v 103.3, 21 'ša<sup>1</sup>-mì-iš and šal-mì-iš respectively for *šal-meš*. v 104.21 LUGAL-*u-ti-šú* for LUGAL-*ti-šú*. v 105.153 *ša* for *šá*. v 105 *i-šu-u*: ex. 3 has *i-šú-u*; ex. 10 has *i-šú-ú*; and ex. 21 has *i-šú-ú*. v 106.5 'ša<sup>1</sup> for *šá*. v 107.3 KUR-*ud* for *ak-šu-ud*. v 108.1, 21 DUL for DU<sub>6</sub>. v 108.21 *ù* for *u*. v 109.21 [i]-*na* for *ina*. v 109 *qu-ra-de-e-šú*: ex. 3 has *qu-ra-a-de-šú*; and ex. 26 omits *e*. v 110.11 omits MEŠ in GIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ. v 110 *ú-ras-sib*: exs. 2, 21 have *ú-ra-sib*; exs. 3, 11 have *ú-ra-as-sib*; exs. 8, 130 have *ú-ra-<sup>1</sup>as<sup>1</sup>-[sib]*; and ex. 10 has 'ú<sup>1</sup>-*ra-as-sib*. v 110.2 omits *e* in *mun-daḥ-še-e-šú*. v 110 MAḤ.MEŠ: ex. 8 has *ši-ru-[(u)-ti]*; ex. 10 has 'š<sup>1</sup>-*ru-ti*; ex. 17 has [š<sup>1</sup>]-*ru-ti*; ex. 21 has *ši-ru-u-ti*; ex. 130 has *ši-ru<sup>1</sup>-[(u)-ti]*; and ex. 133 has *ši-ru-<sup>1</sup>ti<sup>1</sup>*. v 111 *um-man-al-da-si*: ex. 2 has [mum]-*man-al-daš*; ex. 21 omits *si*; and ex. 153 has *um-man-al-<sup>1</sup>daš<sup>1</sup>*. v 111 MAN: ex. 5 has 'LUGAL'; and exs. 8, 21 have LUGAL. v 112.3 'mì<sup>1</sup>-*ra-nu-uš-šú* for *mì-ra-nu-uš-šú*. v 112.21 *iš-ba-tu* for *iš-ba-ta*. v 112 KUR-*ú*: exs. 3, 17 have *šá-du-u*; ex. 5 has *šá-[du-u]*; ex. 8 has *šá-<sup>1</sup>da<sup>1</sup>-[a<sup>1</sup>]*; and ex. 21 has *šá-du-ú*. v 113 *šá*: ex. 2 has 'šá'; and exs. 3, 11 have *ša*. v 113 URU.*ta-sa-ar-ra*: ex. 2 omits *ar*; and ex. 17 has URU.*ta-sa-ar-ri*. v 114.3, 21 KUR-*ud* for *ak-šu-ud*. v 115 *šá*: exs. 2, 5, 17, 21 have *ša*; and ex. 8 omits *it*. v 116.17 *mì-iš-ri* for *mì-iš-ri*. v 116.2, 11, 17, 21 *šá* for *šá*. v 116.2, 8 URU.*ḥi-da-li* and URU.*ḥi-da-a-lu* respectively for URU.*ḥi-da-lu*. v 116.2 *ak-šú-ud* for *ak-šu-ud*. v 117 *ù*: ex. 21 has 'u'; and ex. 161 omits *it*. v 117.2, 17 'šá' and *ša* respectively for *šá*. v 118 *lib-bi-šú-un*: ex. 2 has *lib-bi-šú-nu*; and ex. 17 omits *un*. v 121.17 omits šú in DINGIR.MEŠ-šú. v 121.8 omits MEŠ in <sup>15</sup>MEŠ-šú. v 122.161 *aš-šur*. [KI] for AN.ŠÁR.KI. v 123.151 *qaq-<sup>1</sup>qar<sup>1</sup>* for *qaq-qa-ru*. v 123.21 [i]-*na* for *ina*. v 123.21 *qiš-tar* for <sup>15</sup>. v 124.2 *šá* for *ša*. v 124.3, 17, 161 omit *e* in *ú-ma-<sup>1</sup>e-<sup>1</sup>ru-in-ni*. v 125.3, 161 add *ma* after *e-ru-ub*. v 126.17 'ta-ia<sup>1</sup>-*ar-ti* for *ta-a-ar-ti-ia*. v 128 GAL-*ú*: ex. 3 has GAL-<sup>1</sup>u'; and exs. 5, 17 have GAL-*u*. v 129.17 *pi-riš-ti-šú-nu* for *pi-riš-ti-šú-un*. v 129.3 KUR-*ud* for *ak-šu-ud*. v 130.98 'i-na<sup>1</sup> for *ina*. v 130.3 omits *reb* in *qé-reb*. v 131.8 *e-ru-bu* for *e-ru-ub*. v 132 *nak-kam-a-ti-šú-nu*: ex. 2 has *nak-kam-a-ti-šú-nu*; ex. 3 has 'nak<sup>1</sup>-*kam-a-te-šú-nu*; and ex. 14 has *nak-kam-[a-ti-šú-nu]*. v 133 ex. 2 omits MEŠ in KÜ.BABBAR.MEŠ, KÜ.GI.MEŠ, NÍG.ŠU.MEŠ, and NÍG.GA.MEŠ; exs. 8, 17 omit MEŠ in KÜ.BABBAR.MEŠ and KÜ.GI.MEŠ; ex. 19 omits MEŠ in KÜ.BABBAR.MEŠ; and ex. 98 omits MEŠ in KÜ.BABBAR.MEŠ, KÜ.GI.MEŠ, and NÍG.ŠU.MEŠ.

v 1.3, 17 omit *u* in *maḥ-ru-u-ti*. v 2.17 *ša* for *šá*. v 2.3, 14, 17 *lib-bi* for ŠÁ. v 2.19 'UD' for *u-me*. v 4.3, 19 *a-a-ši* and *a-a-[š]* respectively for *ia-a-ši*. v 5.17 *ú-bi-la* for *ú-bi-lu*. v 7.3, 19 add MEŠ after KÜ.BABBAR and KÜ.GI. v 7.2 omits MEŠ in NÍG.ŠU.MEŠ and NÍG.GA.MEŠ. v 7.2-3, 14 *ša* for *šá*. v 8.3, 14, 17 omit *u*. v 8.2, 17 add *u* and *ù* respectively before KUR.*kár-<sup>d</sup>dun-ía-áš*. v 9.2, 14, 17 omit *u* in *maḥ-ru-u-ti*. v 11.17 'huš<sup>1</sup>-*šu-ú* for *huš-šu-u*. v 12.17 'LUGAL-*u-ti* for LUGAL-*ti*. v 13.11, 14 omit *u* in *maḥ-ru-u-ti*. v 14.11 omits NA in <sup>md</sup>GIŠ.NU<sub>11</sub>-MU-GI.NA. v 16.2, 11 *šu-kut-tu* for *šu-kut-tú*. v 16.11 omits *u* in LUGAL-*u-ti*. v 17.2, 11, 14 *si-ma-nu-ú* for *si-ma-nu-u*. v 19.2, 14 *ú-nu-tu* and [ú]-*nu-tú* respectively for *ú-nu-tu*. v 19 *mut-tab-bil-ti*: ex. 2 has *mut-tab-bil-tu*; ex. 11 has *mut-tab-bil-tú*; and ex. 14 has *mu-tab-bil-tú*. v 21.14 *iš-tu-ú* for *iš-tu-u*. v 21.2, 5 *ip-pa-áš-šu* and [ip-pa]-<sup>1</sup>áš<sup>1</sup>-*šu* respectively for *ip-pa-áš-šú*. v 22.11 GIŠ.šá for GIŠ.ša. v 23 *za-ḥa-lu-u*: exs. 2, 9 have *za-ḥa-lu-ú*; and ex. 5 has 'za<sup>1</sup>-*ḥa-lu-ú*. v 28.5 *šá* for *ša*. v 29.2 *qar-na<sup>2</sup>-šá* for SI.MEŠ-šá. v 31.2 *šá* for *ša*. v 37 *ip-tal-la-ḥu*: ex. 4 has *ip-ta-na-la-ḥu*; ex. 5 has [ip-ta]-<sup>1</sup>na<sup>1</sup>-*la-ḥu*; and ex. 9 has [ip-ta]-<sup>1</sup>na<sup>1</sup>-*al-la-ḥu*. v 43.4 *na-bir-tú* for *na-bir-tu*. v 45 *ú-nu-ti-šú-nu*: ex. 4 has *ú-na-te-šú-nu*; ex. 5 has 'ú<sup>1</sup>-*na-a-ti-šú-nu*; ex. 64 has [ú]-<sup>1</sup>na-te<sup>1</sup>-šú-*nu*; and ex. 71 has 'ú<sup>1</sup>-[na]-*a-te-šú-nu*. v 46.4, 22 omit LÚ in LÚ.*bu-uḥ-la-le-e*. v 48.2 omits MEŠ in ALAM.MEŠ. v 49 *pi-tiq*: exs. 4, 22 have *pi-ti-iq*; and ex. 64 has *pi-ti-<sup>1</sup>iq<sup>1</sup>*. v 49 NA<sub>4</sub>.GIŠ.NU.GAL: ex. 2 has NA<sub>4</sub>.GIŠ.NU<sub>11</sub>.<sup>1</sup>GAL; exs. 4, 22 have NA<sub>4</sub>.GIŠ.NU<sub>11</sub>.GAL; and ex. 71 has

'NA<sub>4</sub>.GIŠ.NU<sub>11</sub>.<sup>1</sup>GAL'. v 50.22 URU.*šu-šá-na-an* for URU.*šu-šá-an*. v 51.4, 64 URU.*ma-dak-tú* and 'URU<sup>1</sup>.*ma-<sup>1</sup>dak<sup>1</sup>-ti* respectively for URU.*ma-dak-tu*. v 51.71 'URU<sup>1</sup>.*ḥu-<sup>1</sup>ra-a-<sup>1</sup>d<sup>1</sup>* for URU.*ḥu-ra-dí*. v 53.64 omits *an* in <sup>m</sup>iš-*tar-na-an-ḥu-un-dí*. v 55.4, 71 <sup>m</sup>tam-*ma-ri-tú* and <sup>m</sup>tam-*ma-ri<sup>1</sup>-tú* respectively for <sup>m</sup>tam-*ma-ri-tu*. v 55.64, 71 EGIR-*u* for EGIR-*ú*. v 56.64 'šá<sup>1</sup> for *ša*. v 56.64 omits *u* before <sup>d</sup>15. v 56.4 ARAD-*ú-ti* for ARAD-*ti*. v 59 *ba-šú-ú*: exs. 2, 4 have *ba-šú-u*; ex. 64 has 'ba<sup>1</sup>-šú<sup>1</sup>-*u*; ex. 71 has *ba-šú<sup>1</sup>-u*; ex. 166 has [ba]-šú<sup>1</sup>-*u*; and ex. 173 has 'ba<sup>1</sup>-šú-*u*. v 60.71 adds *an* extraneous 'AN' before *na-ad-ru-u-ti*. v 60.2, 4, 71, 166 omit *u* in *na-ad-ru-u-ti*. v 62.71 'e<sup>1</sup>-*lam-ti* for KUR.ELAM.MA.KI. v 66.2 *a-ḥu-ú* for *a-ḥu-u*. v 67.2 *i-ta-šin* for *i-ta-ši-in*. v 68.173 omits LÚ in LÚ.ERIM.MEŠ. v 70.173 omits šú-*nu* in LUGAL.MEŠ-šú-*nu*. v 70.2, 4 omit *u* in *maḥ-ru-u-ti*. v 70.4 *ar-ku-ti* for EGIR.MEŠ. v 71 *pa-li-ḥu-u-ti*: exs. 2, 4 omit *u*; and ex. 17 has 'pa-li-ḥu-ú<sup>1</sup>-[ti]. v 72.2 *mu-nār-ri-tu* for *mu-nar-ri-tu*. v 76.17 *ki-iš-pu* for *ki-iš-pi*. v 76.2 *maq* for *na-aq*. v 76.17 omits *me* in *ú-za-am-me-šú-nu-ti*. v 78.17 omits MA in KUR.ELAM.MA.KI. v 79.2 omits Ú in Ú.ZAG.ḪI.LI.SAR. v 81.17 omits MEŠ in NIN<sub>9</sub>.MEŠ. v 82.17 *qin-ni* for *qin-ni*. v 82.2 *ù* for *u*. v 82.17 ar-<sup>1</sup>ki<sup>1</sup>-[ti] for EGIR-*ti*. v 84.140 LÚ.*ḥa-za-na-a-<sup>1</sup>te<sup>1</sup>* for LÚ.*ḥa-za-na-a-ti*. v 85.2 *šá* for *ša*. v 87.2 LÚ.DAD for LÚ.mu-kil. v 88 *pét-ḥal-li*.MEŠ: ex. 2 omits *li*; and ex. 17 omits MEŠ. v 88.2 omits MEŠ in LÚ.ERIM.MEŠ. v 89 LÚ.kit-*kit-tu-ú*: exs. 2, 140 have LÚ.kit-*kit-tu-u*; and ex. 17 has LÚ.kit<sup>1</sup>-*ki-tu-u*. v 90.2, 17 *um-ma-a-ni* for *um-ma-ni*. v 90 *ba-šú-ú*: ex. 2 has *ba-šú-u*; and exs. 17, 140 have *ba-šú-u*. v 91.17 omits *u* before MUNUS. v 93 US<sub>5</sub>.UDU.ḪI.A: ex. 2 has *še-e-ni*; ex. 17 has 'US<sub>5</sub>.UDU<sup>1</sup>.ḪI.A.MEŠ; ex. 46 has [US<sub>5</sub>.UDU].ḪI.A.MEŠ; and ex. 140 has 'še-e<sup>1</sup>-ni. v 94.140 *šá* for *ša*. v 94.17 UGU for *e-li*. v 96 URU.*ma-dak-tú*: ex. 2 has URU.*ma-dak-tu*; and ex. 17 omits URU. v 96.46 [URU.ḥal]-<sup>1</sup>ti<sup>1</sup>-*ma-áš* for URU.*ḥal-te-ma-áš*. v 97 *ma-ḥa-zi-šú-nu*: ex. 2 has *ma-ḥa-zi-šun*; ex. 17 has *ma-ḥa-<sup>1</sup>ze-<sup>1</sup>šú*; and ex. 46 omits *nu*. v 99.21 *a-na* for *ina*. v 100.2, 17, 21, 46 omit *e* in *gim-re-e-šá*. v 101 *a-me-lu-ti*: ex. 2 has LÚ.MEŠ; ex. 21 has *a-me-lu-te*; and ex. 140 has 'LÚ'.MEŠ. v 101.17, 21 US<sub>5</sub>.UDU.ḪI.A for *še-e-ni*. v 102.21 adds <sup>d</sup> before *a-la-la*. v 105 *ba-šú-u*: exs. 2, 17, 140 have *ba-šú-u*; and ex. 21 has GÁL-*u*. v 106.2 *qé-reb-šú-un* for *qé-reb-šú*. v 107.21 '30<sup>1</sup> 5.ĀM for 30.ĀM 5. v 108 *ta-as-bu-šú*: ex. 10 has 'ta<sup>1</sup>-*as-bu-<sup>1</sup>su*; and ex. 21 adds *ma* after *it*. v 108 *si-ma-te-e-šá*: ex. 2 has [si-ma]-<sup>1</sup>ti<sup>1</sup>-šá; ex. 17 has [si-ma]-<sup>1</sup>ti<sup>1</sup>-šá; and ex. 21 has *si-ma-ti-šá*. v 110.2 *i-na* for *ina*. v 110.10 *u-me-šú-ma* for *u-me-šú-ma*. v 111 *tab-bu-u*: exs. 2, 10 have *tab-bu-ú*; ex. 17 has [tab]-<sup>1</sup>bu-ú; and ex. 21 has *tab-bu-<sup>1</sup>ú*. v 113.10 'ul-tu<sup>1</sup> for *ul-tú*. v 116.21 *a-ma-tu* for *a-mat*. v 116.2 DINGIR-*ti-šú-nu* for DINGIR-*ti-šú-un*. v 117.2, 10 *ul-tu* for *ul-tú*. v 120.2 *ḥar-ra-na* for *ḥar-ra-nu*. v 120.2, 10 *i-šir-tu* and [i]-šir<sup>1</sup>-*tu* respectively for *i-šir-tu*. v 120.17 *ša* for *šá*. v 122.2, 17 KAM for KÁM. v 122.17, 26 MÚRU.KI for UNUG.KI. v 123.2, 17 'ša<sup>1</sup> and *šá* respectively for *šá*. v 124.26 *ú-šar-mì-iš* for *ú-šar-me-ši*. v 124.26 *da-ra-a-te* for *da-ra-a-ti*. v 127.2, 17 *ša* for *šá*. v 127 <sup>d</sup>GAŠAN-*kid-mu-ri*: ex. 2 has <sup>d</sup>šar-*rat<sup>1</sup>-kid-mu-ri*; ex. 3 has <sup>d</sup>šar-*rat-[kid-mu-ri]*; ex. 15 has <sup>d</sup>šar-*rat-kid-<sup>1</sup>mu<sup>1</sup>-[ri]*; ex. 17 has <sup>d</sup>šar-*rat-kid-mu-ri*; and ex. 26 has <sup>d</sup>šar-*rat-kid-mu-ri*. v 128.2, 17 *ša* for *šá*. v 128 URU.LÍMMU-DINGIR: exs. 2-3, 17, 26 have LÍMMU-DINGIR.KI; and ex. 5 has LÍMMU-<sup>1</sup>DINGIR<sup>1</sup>. [KI]. v 128.177 adds *u* before <sup>dn</sup>usku.

v 1.26 *re-še-e-tú* for *re-še-e-ti*. v 2.3 adds MEŠ after GIŠ.PAN. v 2 GIŠ.*a-ri-ti*: ex. 3 has GIŠ.*a-ri-tú*; ex. 21 has GIŠ.*a-ri-te*; and ex. 26 has GIŠ.*a-ri-te*. v 3.17, 26 LÚ.*um-ma-a-ni* for LÚ.*um-ma-ni*. v 4 *ul-tú*: exs. 2, 17, 26 have *ul-tu*; ex. 15 has 'ul-tu<sup>1</sup>; and ex. 21 has 'ul<sup>1</sup>-*tu*. v 5.17, 26 'UGU' and UGU respectively for *e-li*. v 5.21 LUGAL-*ú-ti-ia* for LUGAL-*ti-ia*. v 7.2, 15-16, 21 add LÚ before GAL.MEŠ-*ia*. v 9.2, 16, 21 LUGAL for MAN. v 10.15 *šá* for *ša*. v 11.2, 5, 16, 21 omit *ú* in *dan-nu-ú-ti*. v 11.2, 15, 17 *ul-tu* for *ul-tú*. v 12.21 *mar-qi-ti-šú* for *mar-qi-ti-šú*. v 12.21 *i-tu-ra-am-ma* for *i-tu-ram-ma*. v 13 URU.*ma-dak-tú*: ex. 5 has URU.*ma-dak-tu*; ex. 17 has URU.*ma-dak-ti*; and ex. 21 has [URU.*ma-dak*]-*tu*. v 13.15 *ša* for *šá*. v 14.15 *aq-qur* for *aq-qu-ru*. v 14.16, 21 'áš<sup>1</sup>-*lu-<sup>1</sup>la<sup>1</sup>* and *áš-lu-la* respectively for *áš-lu-lu*. v 15.2 KI.ḪUL-*e* for *ki-ḫul-le-e*. v 16.143 <sup>md</sup>MUATI-EN-

MU.<sup>1</sup>MEŠ<sup>1</sup> for <sup>md</sup>AG-EN-MU.MEŠ. **vii 17.2**, 16 <sup>md</sup>ŠŪ-A-SUM.NA and <sup>md</sup>ŠŪ-A-SUM<sup>1</sup>.NA respectively for <sup>md</sup>AMAR.UTU-A-SUM.NA. **vii 18.2**, 16 *iḫ-tu-u* and *iḫ-tu<sup>1</sup>-u* respectively for *iḫ-tu-ú*. **vii 19.2-3** *iḫ-lu-u* for *iḫ-lu-ú*. **vii 22** <sup>mtam</sup>ma-ri-tu: exs. 2, 5, 15 have <sup>mtam</sup>ma-ri-tu; and ex. 16 has <sup>mtam</sup>ma-ri<sup>1</sup>-tu. **vii 24.2-3**, 15, 17 *ša* for *ša*. **vii 24.2** *e-pu-šu* for *e-pu-šú*. **vii 25.2**, 15 <sup>md</sup>AG-EN-MU.MEŠ and <sup>md</sup>AG-EN-<sup>f</sup>MU<sup>1</sup>.[MEŠ] respectively for <sup>md</sup>MUATI-EN-MU.MEŠ. **vii 26.15** *lib-ba-a-te* for *lib-ba-a-ti*. **vii 28.2-3** <sup>md</sup>AG-EN-MU.<sup>f</sup>MEŠ<sup>1</sup> and <sup>md</sup>AG-EN-MU.MEŠ respectively for <sup>md</sup>MUATI-EN-MU.MEŠ. **vii 28** <sup>md</sup>AMAR.UTU-A-AŠ: exs. 2, 15 have <sup>md</sup>ŠŪ-A-AŠ; ex. 5 has <sup>md</sup>AMAR.UTU-A-SUM.NA; ex. 16 has [<sup>md</sup>ŠŪ-A-] <sup>f</sup>SUM.NA<sup>1</sup>; and ex. 143 has [<sup>md</sup>ŠŪ-A-SUM.NA]. **vi 29.5**, 31 *ša* for *ša*. **vii 31.3** *na-kut-tú* for *na-kut-tu*. **vii 32** *e-qir-ma*: exs. 2-3, 5, 15 have *i-qir-ma*; ex. 31 has *i-qir-<sup>f</sup>ma<sup>1</sup>*; and ex. 143 has *i<sup>f</sup>1*-[*qir-ma*]. **vii 33** *mi-tu-tu*: exs. 2-3 have *mi-tu-ú-tu*; exs. 5, 15 have *mi-tu-ú-tu*; ex. 16 has [*mi<sup>f</sup>2*-tu]-*ú-tu<sup>f</sup>1*; and ex. 31 has *mi-tu-ú<sup>f</sup>1-tu*. **vii 35** *ra-si-ban-ni*: ex. 3 has *ra<sup>f</sup>1*-*as-si-ban-ni*; ex. 5 has *ra-as<sup>f</sup>1*-*si-ban-ni*; and ex. 143 has *ra<sup>f</sup>1*-*as-si<sup>f</sup>1*-*ban-ni*. **vi 35.2**, 5, 15, 31 add MEŠ after GIŠ.TUKUL. **vii 36.2** *šu-ú* for *šu-u*. **vii 36.143** omits *ina*. **vii 37** *up-ta-at-te-ḫu*: ex. 2 omits *at*; ex. 3 *up<sup>f</sup>1*-*ta<sup>f</sup>1*-*at-ti-ḫu*; ex. 31 [*up-ta*]-*at-ti-ḫu<sup>f</sup>1*; and ex. 143 *up-ta-ti-ḫu<sup>f</sup>1*. **vii 39.2** <sup>md</sup>AG-EN-MU.MEŠ for <sup>md</sup>MUATI-EN-MU.MEŠ. **vii 39** *šu-a-tu*: ex. 2 has *šu-a<sup>f</sup>1*-*tu*; ex. 3 has *šu-a-tú*; ex. 5 has *šu-a-tu*; and ex. 31 has *š<sup>f</sup>1*-*u-a-tu<sup>f</sup>1*. **vii 42.9**, 143 omits *as* in *ú-ra-si-bu-šú*. **vii 42.4-5** add MEŠ after GIŠ.TUKUL. **vii 45.2**, 9 *a-a ad-din* for *a-a-din*. **vii 46** *ša*: exs. 2, 157 have *ša*; and ex. 9 has *š<sup>f</sup>1*. **vii 46** *mi-tu-us-su*: ex. 5 has *mi-tu<sup>f</sup>1*-*us<sup>f</sup>1*-*su*; ex. 9 has *mi-tu<sup>f</sup>1*-*us<sup>f</sup>1*]-*su*]; and ex. 157 has *mi<sup>f</sup>1*-*tu<sup>f</sup>1*]-*us-su*. **vii 47** <sup>md</sup>MUATI-ŠU.II-*ša-bat*: ex. 2 has [<sup>md</sup>AG-ŠU.II-*ša-bat*]; ex. 4 has <sup>md</sup>AG-<sup>f</sup>ŠŪ<sup>1</sup>.[II-*ša-bat*]; and ex. 5 has <sup>md</sup>AG-ŠU.II-*ša-bat*. **vii 49.5**, 9, 11 *ša* for *ša*. **vi 51.32** omits *e* in <sup>mpa</sup>’*e-e*. **vii 52** *e-pu-šú*: ex. 4, 9, 11, 32 have *e-pu-šú*; and ex. 5 has *e<sup>f</sup>1*-*pu-šú*. **vii 56.4**, 31 *ul-tu* and *ul<sup>f</sup>1*-*tu* respectively for *ul-tú*. **vi 58.2**, 32 *mul-taḫ-ḫi<sup>f</sup>1* and *mul-taḫ-ḫi<sup>f</sup>1* respectively for *mul-taḫ-ḫe*. **vii 59** URU.ku-zur-te-e-in: ex. 2 has URU.ku-zur-te-ia-*in<sup>f</sup>1*; ex. 4 omits *e*; and ex. 166 has <sup>URU</sup>1.ku-zur-te-ia-in. **vii 63.4** omits *ú* in URU.gur-ú-ki-ir-ra. **vii 65.2** URU.ar-an<sup>f</sup>1-ze-e-še for URU.ar-an-zi-a-še. **vii 66** URU.na-qí-da-a-te: exs. 2, 4, 166 have URU.na-qí-da-a-ti; and ex. 71 has [URU]<sup>f</sup>1.na-qí<sup>f</sup>1-da-a-*ti<sup>f</sup>1*. **vii 66.166** URU.AN.ZÀ.GÀR-ša-<sup>msi</sup>ma-me for URU.dim-tú-ša-<sup>msi</sup>ma-me. **vii 68.1**, 4 URU.DUL-ḫu-um-ba and URU.DU<sub>e</sub>-ḫu-um-ba respectively for URU.DU<sub>e</sub>-ḫu-um-ba. **vii 69.4** *ša* for *ša*. **vii 70.4** *ša* for *ša*. **vii 70.2** omits MEŠ in GIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ. **vii 70.2** *ú* for *u*. **vii 71** *dan-nu-ú-ti*: ex. 4 has *dan-nu-te*; and ex. 166 omits *ú*. **vii 71.4**, 166 *in-nab-tú* for *in-nab-tu*. **vii 72.2**, 71 KUR for URU in URU.sa-al-ad-ri. **vii 73** *ša-a-tú-nu*: exs. 2, 4, 71 have *ša-a-tu-nu*; and ex. 166 has *š<sup>f</sup>1*-*a<sup>f</sup>1*-*tu<sup>f</sup>1*-*nu*. **vii 73.2**, 4, 166 *ša* for *ša* before URU.sa-al-ad-ri. **vii 73.2**, 71 <sup>KUR</sup>1.sa-al-ad-ri and <sup>KUR</sup>2[.sa-al-ad-ri] respectively for URU.sa-al-ad-ri. **vii 73.4** *ša-du-ú* for *KUR-ú*. **vii 75.4** RI-ri-ri for *nam-ri-ri*. **vii 76.2**, 4 *is-ḫup-šú-nu-ti* and *is-ḫu-up-šú-nu-ti* respectively for *is-ḫu-up-šú-nu-ti*. **vii 78.2**, 4 *in<sup>f</sup>1*-*nab-tú-nim-ma* and *in-nab-tú-nim-ma* respectively for *in-nab-tu-nim-ma*. **vii 78.2** *iš-ba-tu* for *iš-ba-tú*. **vii 79.123** [*ak-šur*]-*šú<sup>f</sup>1*-*nu-ti* for *ak-šur-šú<sup>f</sup>1*-*nu-ti*. **vii 80** UGU: exs. 2, 4 have *e-li*; and ex. 71 has *e-li<sup>f</sup>1*. **vii 80.2** LUGAL-*ú-ti<sup>f</sup>1*-ia for LUGAL-ti-ia. **vii 81.2** *ú-mal-lu-ú* for *ú-mal-lu-u*. **vii 81.4** *qa-tu-u-a* for ŠU.II-u-a. **vii 82** *ina*: exs. 2, 4 have *i-na*; and ex. 22 has *i<sup>f</sup>1*-*na*. **vii 83.2**, 4 LUGAL for MAN. **vii 85.2**, 4, 39 *iḫ-tu-u* for *iḫ-tu-ú*. **vii 86.4** *iš-šur-u-ma* for *iš-šur-ú-ma*. **vii 87.2** EN-*ú-ti-ia* for EN-ti-ia. **vii 88.4**, 22 *ša* for *ša*. **vii 88.4** *e-mi-du-šú* for *e-mi-du-uš*. **vii 88.4**, 39 *ab-ša-ni* and *ab-š<sup>f</sup>1*-*ni* respectively for *ab-ša-a-ni*. **vii 89** *ša-al*: exs. 2, 4-5, 71 have *ša-a-al*; and ex. 22 has [*ša-a*]-[*al*]. **vii 89.39** *šul<sup>f</sup>1*-*mi-ia* for *šul-mi-ia*. **vii 90** *man-da-ta-šú*: ex. 4 has *man-da-at-ta-šú*; ex. 5 has *man-<sup>f</sup>da<sup>f</sup>1*-*at-ta-šú*; and ex. 39 has [*man*]-*da<sup>f</sup>1*-*at-ta-šú*. **vii 90.4-5** *ka-bit-tu* for *ka-bit-tú*. **vii 91.4** omits *ma* in KUR.ELAM.MA.KI-ma. **vii 91.2**, 4 *sur-ra-a-ti* and *sur-ra-a-<sup>f</sup>ti<sup>f</sup>1* respectively for *sur-ra-a-te*. **vii 92.2** omits *e* in *iš-me-e-ma*. **vii 94.5** [*a-a*]-*te* for *ia-a-ti*. **vii 94.5** <sup>maš</sup>šur-DÜ-A for <sup>AN</sup>AN.ŠAR-DÜ-A. **vii 94.2** add LÚ before SANGA. **vii 95.2**, 5 *mut-nen-nu-u* for *mut-nen-nu-ú*. **vii 96.2** [*bi-nu*]-*tu* for *bi-nu-ut*. **vii 97.5** omits *ia* in <sup>ma</sup>a-bi-ia-te-e. **vii 97.2**, 5 <sup>me</sup>te-e-ri for <sup>me</sup>te-e-ri. **vii 98.2**, 5 *id-din<sup>f</sup>1*-*šú-nu-ti* for *id-din-šú-nu-ti*. **vii 99.2**, 5 *re-šú-ti* and

[*re*]-*šú-ti<sup>f</sup>1* respectively for *re-šú-tu*. **vii 100.2**, 71 omits *am* in *iš-pur-am-ma*. **vii 103** *iḫ-ta-nab-ba-ta*: ex. 44 has [*iḫ-ta*]-*nab-ba-tú*; ex. 69 has [*iḫ-ta*]-*nab<sup>f</sup>1*-*ba-tu*; and ex. 91 has [*iḫ-ta-nab-ba*]-*tu<sup>f</sup>1*. **vii 104.44**, 64 add *u* before <sup>d15</sup>. **vii 104.44** omits *u* before DINGIR.MEŠ. **vii 105.2** *id-din-ú-ni* for *id-din-u-ni*. **vii 105.2** *e-pe-šú* for *e-pe-šú*. **vii 106.2**, 91 *qa-tu-u-[a]* and *qa<sup>f</sup>1*-[*tu-u-a*] respectively for ŠU.II-u-a. **vii 110.17**, 46 URU<sup>f</sup>.É<sup>2</sup>-<sup>am</sup>ma-na and URU.É<sup>1</sup>-<sup>am</sup>ma-na<sup>1</sup> respectively for URU.É<sup>2</sup>-<sup>am</sup>ma-na. **vii 111.2** *ša* for *ša*. **vii 111.2** omits *i* in URU.ḫa-ú-ri-i-na. **vii 112.17** URU.mu-<sup>a</sup>a-ba-a<sup>2</sup> for URU.mu-<sup>a</sup>a-ba. **vii 114.2**, 17, 46 *ša* for *ša*. **vii 114.2** URU.šú-bi-te for URU.šú-bi-ti. **vii 116.21**, 140 *i-na* and *i<sup>f</sup>1*-[*na*] respectively for *ina*. **vii 116.17** *aš-ku-na* for *aš-kun*. **vii 118** *ú-ra-as-sib*: exs. 17, 21 have *ú-ra-sib*; and ex. 46 omits *as*. **vii 118.2** omits MEŠ in GIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ. **vii 119.21** *šu-u* for *šu-ú*. **vii 120.21** *ru-qe-e-ti* for *ru-qe-e-ti*. **vii 121** *kul-ta-ra-a-te*: ex. 2 has *kul-ta<sup>f</sup>1*-*ra-a<sup>f</sup>1*-*ti*; and exs. 17, 46 have *kul-ta-ra-ti*. **vii 121.21** *mu-šab-šú-nu* for *mu-šá-bi-šú-nu*. **vii 122.46** *ú-šá-ḫi-iz-zu* for *ú-šá-ḫi-zu*. **vii 123.2** *ma-ru-uš<sup>f</sup>1*-*tu* for *ma-ru-uš-tú*. **vii 123** *im-ḫur-šú-u-ma*: exs. 17, 21 omit *u*; and ex. 46 has *im<sup>f</sup>1*-*hur-šú-ma*. **vii 124.17**, 46 URU.na-ba-a-a-*ti<sup>f</sup>1* and <sup>KUR</sup>1.na-ba-a-a-ti respectively for <sup>KUR</sup>na-ba-a-a-te.

**viii 1.46** [<sup>m</sup>]<sup>ha</sup>za-a-DINGIR for <sup>ma</sup>ha-za-DINGIR. **viii 2** *ša*: exs. 2, 21, 46 have *ša*; and exs. 17, 178 have *š<sup>f</sup>1*. **viii 3.46** *iš-kun<sup>f</sup>1* for *iš-ku-nu*. **viii 4.46** omits *u* in LUGAL-u-ti. **viii 5.17** GAL-u for GAL-ú. **viii 7.17** *il<sup>f</sup>1*-*lik<sup>f</sup>1*-ku for *il-li-ka*. **viii 8.21** *ta<sup>f</sup>1*-*nit-tú* for *tan-it-ti*. **viii 9.17**, 21 *ú* for *u*. **viii 10.21** [*e-mid*]-*su<sup>f</sup>1*-*ú-ma* for *e-mid-su-ma*. **viii 11.17**, 21 *aš-kun-šú<sup>f</sup>1*-*ma* and *aš-kun-šú-u-ma* respectively for *aš-kun-šú-ma*. **viii 12** *ar-ku-us-šú-ma*: ex. 17 has *ar-ku-[us]-šú<sup>f</sup>1*-*ma*; ex. 21 has [*ar-ku*]-*us<sup>f</sup>1*-*šú-u*-GIŠ; and ex. 46 has *ar-ku-us-šú-ma*. **viii 13.21** *ú-šá-an-šir-šú* for *ú-šá-an-šir-šú*. **viii 14.21** [*mas*]-*naq-te<sup>f</sup>1* for *mas-naq-ti*. **viii 14.21** *ad-na-a-te* for *ad-na-a-ti*. **viii 15.17**, 46 *šu-ú* for *šu-u*. **viii 15.2** <sup>LUGAL</sup> for MAN. **viii 16.46** *mit-ḫu-uš-šú* for *mit-ḫu-šú*. **viii 16.17** omits KI in MAR.TU.KI. **viii 17.2** *ša* for *ša*. **viii 17** *u*: ex. 46 and possibly ex. 17 add it before <sup>d15</sup>, while both omit *u* before DINGIR.MEŠ. **viii 20.2**, 17 *ša* for *ša*. **viii 21** <sup>GAŠAN</sup>kid-mu-ri: exs. 2, 46 have <sup>GAŠAN</sup>rat-*kid<sup>f</sup>1*-[*mu-ri*]; ex. 17 has <sup>GAŠAN</sup>rat-*kid-mu-[ri]*; and ex. 51 has <sup>GAŠAN</sup>rat-*kid-mu-ri*. **viii 21.2** *ša* for *ša*. **viii 21.2**, 17 <sup>LIMMU</sup>-DINGIR.KI and <sup>LIMMU</sup>1-DINGIR.KI respectively for URU.LIMMU-DINGIR. **viii 25.17** <sup>LUGAL</sup> for MAN. **viii 27.21** <sup>EN</sup>1.MEŠ-*ú-ti* for EN.MEŠ-ia. **viii 29.2** omits GIŠ in GIŠ.šú-ga-ru. **viii 30.16** *ú* for *u*. **viii 30.59** EN.MEŠ-*ú-ti* for EN.MEŠ-ia. **viii 32.5** *re-šú-u-<sup>f</sup>tu<sup>f</sup>1* for *re-šú-tu*. **viii 35.17** *ša* for *ša*. **viii 37.17** *e-lu-KU* for *e-ku-lu*. **viii 39** *ul-tú*: exs. 5, 17 have *ul-tu*; and ex. 16 has *ul<sup>f</sup>1*-*tu*. **viii 40** *e-mu-qí-ia*: exs. 2, 16 add LÚ before it; and ex. 5 has *e-mu-qí-ia*. **viii 40.21** *ša* for *ša*. **viii 40.21** *i-na* for *ina*. **viii 41.5**, 16-17, 135 omits *ia* in *ša-ni-ia-a-nu*. **viii 41** *iš-ku-nu-ma*: ex. 17 omits *ma*; and ex. 21 has *iš-kun-u-ma*. **viii 42.5** *šu-u* for *šu-ú*. **viii 43** *iš-ba-tú*: ex. 2 has *iš-ba-at*; ex. 5 has *iš-ba<sup>f</sup>1*-*tu*; ex. 17 has *iš-ba<sup>f</sup>1*-*ta*; and ex. 21 has *iš<sup>f</sup>1*-*ba-ta*. **viii 44.17**, 21, 63, 135 omits *u* in *ar-šú-šú-u-ma*. **viii 45** *ú-šá-az-kír-šú-ma*: ex. 17 has *ú-šá-az-kír-šú-ma*; ex. 21 has *ú-šá-az-kír<sup>f</sup>1*-*šú-ú-ma*; and ex. 28 has [*ú-šá-az*]-*kír-šú<sup>f</sup>1*-[*ma*]. **viii 46.21** <sup>ma</sup>ha-za-a-DINGIR for <sup>ma</sup>ha-za-DINGIR. **viii 47** LUGAL-u-ti: ex. 2 has LUGAL-*ú-ti*; ex. 3 omits *u*; and ex. 5 has LUGAL-*ut*. **viii 47.21**, 63 *aš-kun-šú* for *aš-kun-šú*. **viii 48.2**, 5, 21, 63 *šu-ú* for *šu-u*. **viii 49.21** *pi-i-šú* for *pi-i-šú*. **viii 51.2** *iḫ-ta-ab-ba-ta* for *iḫ-tab-ba-ta*. **viii 51.17**, 21 *mi-šir* for *mi-šir*. **viii 53.2** *ša* for *ša*. **viii 54.2** *ša* for *ša*. **viii 54** URU.LIMMU-DINGIR: exs. 2-3, 21, 28 have LIMMU-DINGIR.KI; and ex. 17 has [LIMMU]-DINGIR.KI. **viii 56** MAN: ex. 2 has LUGAL; and exs. 5, 21, 28 have <sup>LUGAL</sup>1. **viii 56.21**, 28 KUR.na-ba-a-a-te for KUR.na-ba-a-a-ti. **viii 57.5**, 17 *š<sup>f</sup>1* and *ša* respectively for *ša*. **viii 57** *ru-ú-qu*: exs. 2, 17 have *ru-u-qu*; and ex. 137 has *ru<sup>f</sup>1*-*u-qu*. **viii 58** *ina*: ex. 2 has *a<sup>f</sup>1*-*na*; ex. 5 has [*a*]-*na*; exs. 9, 21, 28 have *a-na*; ex. 17 has *a<sup>f</sup>1*-*na*; and ex. 63 has *ana*. **viii 58.2**, 28 *maḫ<sup>f</sup>1*-*ri-šú* and *maḫ-ri-šú* respectively for *maḫ-ri-šú*. **viii 58** *in-nab-tu*: ex. 2 has *in<sup>f</sup>1*-*nab-tú*; ex. 17 has *in-nab-tú*; ex. 63 has *in-nab-ta*; and ex. 129 has [*in*]-*nab<sup>f</sup>1*-*ta*. **viii 59** *iš-me-ma*: ex. 2 has *iš-me-e-ma*; ex. 3 has *iš<sup>f</sup>1*-*me-e-ma*; and ex. 21 has [*iš-me*]-*e-ma<sup>f</sup>1*. **viii 59.63** *ú<sup>f</sup>1*-*tak-kil-a-ni* for *ú-tak-kil-an-ni*. **viii 60.3** *ma<sup>f</sup>1*-*te<sub>9</sub>-e-ma* for *ma-te-e-ma*. **viii 62.3**, 9 *iš<sup>f</sup>1*-*a-a-lum* and *iš<sup>f</sup>1*-*a<sup>f</sup>1*-*lu* respectively for *iš-a-lu*. **viii 63.2** omits



MEŠ in GIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ. **viii 63.3, 5, 17, 28** omit *u* in *ka-ši-du-u-ti*. **viii 64** *iš-a-la*: ex. 3 has *iš-<sup>2</sup>a-a-la*; ex. 5 has [*iš*]-<sup>f</sup>*a-la*; ex. 9 has *iš-<sup>2</sup>a-la*; ex. 17 has [*iš-<sup>2</sup>a-a*]-<sup>f</sup>*lu*; ex. 28 has [*iš*]-<sup>f</sup>*a-a-la*; and ex. 70 has *iš-<sup>2</sup>a-a*-[*la*]. **viii 65.2** [*te*]-<sup>e</sup>*ri* for *te-<sup>e</sup>ri*. **viii 66** *ta-ab-ti*: exs. 2, 17, 95 have MUN; and ex. 70 has <sup>f</sup>MUN<sup>1</sup>. **viii 68.2, 70, 95** *sur-ra-a-ti* for *sur-ra-a-te*. **viii 70.3** MAN for LUGAL. **viii 71.2-3, 31** add LÚ before *e-mu-qí-šú-nu*. **viii 72** *ḪUL-tim*: ex. 2 has [MUNUS].<sup>f</sup>*ḪUL*; ex. 3 has MUNUS.ḪUL; and ex. 31 has <sup>f</sup>MUNUS.ḪUL<sup>1</sup>. **viii 72.17** *mí-šir-ia* for *mí-šir-ia*. **viii 74.2** <sup>f</sup>*ša* for *ša*. **viii 75.2, 95** <sup>f</sup>*ša* and *ša* respectively for *ša*. **viii 79.2** *u*: ex. 2 has *ú*; and ex. 3 omits it. **viii 80.3** *šal-mi-<sup>f</sup>iš* for *šal-meš*. **viii 81.5** *ir-du-u* for *ir-du-ú*. **viii 81.3, 5** [*ru-qu*]-*ú-ti* and [*ru-qu*]-*ú<sup>f</sup>-[ti]* respectively for *ru-qu-ú-ti*. **viii 82.5** *e-tel-lu-u* for *e-tel-lu-ú*. **viii 82.5** *hur-sa-a-ni* for *hur-ša-a-ni*. **viii 82.2** omits *u* in *ša-qu-u-ti*. **viii 83.2** *ša* for *ša*. **viii 84.3** [*gi*]-*iš-šu* for *gi-iš-ši*. **viii 86.2** *šal-meš* for *šal-mi-iš*. **viii 88.5** *ša* for *ša*. **viii 90.2, 136** [*ir-te*]-*u<sup>f</sup>u* and [*ir-te*]-*u<sup>f</sup>u* respectively for *ir-te-<sup>f</sup>u-ú*. **viii 91.2-3** *ul-[tu<sup>2</sup>]* and *ul<sup>f</sup>-tú* respectively for TA. **viii 92.166** <sup>d</sup>15 for <sup>d</sup>*iš-tar*. **viii 93.2** EDIN for EGIR. **viii 94.2** adds LÚ before *e-mu-qí*. **viii 95.2, 4** *LÚ.na-ba-a-a-ta-a-<sup>f</sup>a* and *LÚ.na-ba-a-[a]-<sup>f</sup>ta-<sup>f</sup>a* respectively for *KUR.na-ba-a-a-ti-a*. **viii 95.3, 39** [*il-l*]-*ku* and *il<sup>f</sup>-li-ku* respectively for *il-li-ka*. **viii 96.2, 4** *ir-du-ú* and *ir-du-ú<sup>f</sup>* respectively for *ir-du-u*. **viii 97.2, 4** *reš<sup>1</sup>-te<sup>e</sup>e* and *reš-te<sup>e</sup>e* respectively for *reš-tu-u*. **viii 97.4** *ša* for *ša*. **viii 98.4, 15, 39** KÁM for KAM. **viii 98.15, 39** *ša-da-ḫu* for *ša-da-ḫu*. **viii 100** *ul-tú*: ex. 2 has *ul-tu*; and exs. 4-5, 15, 39 have TA. **viii 100.4** omits *da* in URU.*ḫa-da-at-ta-a*. **viii 101** *ša*: ex. 2 has <sup>f</sup>*ša*; and exs. 4, 15, 104 have *ša*. **viii 102.104** *ša* for *ša*. **viii 103** *at-ta-ad-di*: exs. 2, 4 omit *ad*; and ex. 15 has *ad-di*. **viii 105.2, 4, 15** *ir-du-u* for *ir-du-ú*. **viii 106.39** *šu-um-<sup>f</sup>mi* for *šu-um-me*. **viii 108.104, 114** *u* and *u<sup>f</sup>* respectively for *ú*. **viii 108.120** *ru-ú-qu* for *ru-u-qu*. **viii 109** *ib-ba-šu-u*: ex. 2 has *ib-ba-áš-šu-u*; exs. 4, 114 have *ib-ba-šú-u*; and ex. 120 has *ib<sup>f</sup>-ba-áš-šu-u*. **viii 110.4** *i-šak-kan-nu* for *i-šak-ka-nu*. **viii 111.2** *LÚ.i-sa-am-mi-<sup>f</sup>i* for *LÚ.i-sa-am-me-<sup>e</sup>*. **viii 112** *ša*: exs. 2, 4 have *ša*; and ex. 5 has <sup>f</sup>*ša*. **viii 113.2** *u* for *ú*. **viii 113.2** *LÚ.na-ba-a-a-ta-a-a* for *KUR.na-ba-a-a-ta-a-a*. **viii 114.2** *ú* for *u*. **viii 114** US<sub>3</sub>.UDU.ḪI.A: ex. 2 has *še-e-ni*; and ex. 120 adds MEŠ after it. **viii 117.114** [ERIM].<sup>f</sup>*ḪI.A<sup>1</sup><<DIŠ?>>-ia* for ERIM.ḪI.A-ia. **viii 117.2, 5** *lu-u* for *lu*. **viii 118.2** *šal-meš* for *šal-mi-iš*. **viii 118.4-5** <sup>f</sup>*lu*-*u* and *lu-u* respectively for *lu*. **viii 119.120** <sup>f</sup>URU<sup>1</sup>.*a-za-al-la* for URU.*a-za-al-li*. **viii 119.2, 5** *lu-u* for *lu*. **viii 120** URU.*a-za-al-la*: ex. 2 has <sup>f</sup>URU<sup>1</sup>.*[a-za]-<sup>f</sup>al<sup>f</sup>-li*; ex. 4 has [URU.*a-za-al*]-<sup>f</sup>*li*; and ex. 5 has [URU].*a-za-al-li*. **viii 121.4** URU.*qu-ra-ši-te* for URU.*qu-ra-ši-ti*. **viii 124.2, 5** *ša* and <sup>f</sup>*ša* respectively for *ša*. **ix 2.2** LUGAL for MAN. **ix 5.2** *u* for *u*. **ix 5.4** [US<sub>3</sub>.UDU].<sup>f</sup>*ḪI<sup>1</sup>.A* for *še-e-ni*. **ix 8.2, 5** URU for KUR in KUR.*di-maš-qa*. **ix 10.2, 5, 17** DUMU.MUNUS for *ma-rat*. **ix 10.4** [*qa*]-*rit<sup>f</sup>-tú* for *qa-rit-tu*. **ix 11.2, 5** *nu-bat-tu* for *nu-bat-tú*. **ix 11.2, 5, 17, 125** <sup>f</sup>*ša* for *ša*. **ix 12.2, 5** *ul-tu* and TA respectively for *ul-tú*. **ix 12.5** adds ŠA before URU.*di-maš-qa*. **ix 13.2** *mu-ši-tú* for *mu-ši-tu*. **ix 15** KUR.*ḫu-uk-ri-na*: ex. 2 has URU.*ḫu-uk-<sup>f</sup>ku<sup>f</sup>[ru-na]*; ex. 5 has KUR.*ḫu-uk-ku-ru-na*; and ex. 125 has [KUR].*ḫu-uk-ku<sup>f</sup>[ru-na]*. **ix 16.5** *LÚ.a<sup>f</sup>-ku* for *LÚ.a<sup>f</sup>-lu*. **ix 16.2, 5** *ša* for *ša*. **ix 17.5, 21** LÚ for KUR in KUR.*qid-ra-a*. **ix 19.2, 17** omit *am* in <sup>m</sup>*a-a-am-mu*. **ix 21** *bal-ṭu-us-su*: ex. 2 has *bal-ṭu-sún*; ex. 17 omits *un*; and ex. 21 omits *us*. **ix 21.17, 21** ḪAL and *i-na* respectively for the second *ina*. **ix 21.2** *qa-ti* for ŠU.II. **ix 22.21** omits II in ŠU.II. **ix 22.17** *bi-re-tu* for *bi-re-tú*. **ix 24.17** omits KUR. **ix 25.21** *mun-nab-tú* for *mun-nab-ti*. **ix 25.17, 21** *in-nab-tú* and <sup>f</sup>*in<sup>1</sup>-nab-tú* respectively for *in-nab-tu*. **ix 26.21, 107** *iš-ba-tu* and [*iš-ba*]-<sup>f</sup>*tu* respectively for *iš-ba-tú*. **ix 31** *ba-šú-u*: ex. 17 has [*ba*]-<sup>f</sup>*šú-u*; exs. 21, 107 have *ba-šú-u*; and ex. 65 has [*ba-šú*]-<sup>f</sup>*ú*. **ix 33.17** *ba-<sup>f</sup>ta<sup>f</sup>* for TLLA. **ix 34** *pi-i-šú-un*: ex. 21 has *pi-i-šú-nu*; ex. 65 has [*pi*]-<sup>f</sup>*i-šú-nu*; and ex. 107 has *pi-<sup>f</sup>i-šú-nu*. **ix 35.21** *lap<sup>1</sup>-lap-te* for *lap-lap-ti*. **ix 35** *na-piš-tú*: ex. 21 has *na-piš-tu*; ex. 65 has <sup>f</sup>ZI<sup>f</sup>-*tú*; and ex. 107 has <sup>f</sup>*na<sup>1</sup>-piš-tu*. **ix 36.21, 107** *ru-ku-pi-šú-nu* and *ru-ku-pi-šú<sup>f</sup>-nu* respectively for *ru-ku-pi-šú-nu*. **ix 37.107** *u* for *u*. **ix 37** *par-šú*: exs. 21, 107 have *par-šú*; and ex. 65 has <sup>f</sup>*par<sup>1</sup>-šú*. **ix 38.21** adds an extraneous *ša* after *ša*. **ix 40.102, 107** *uš-š<sup>f</sup>i* and *uš-š<sup>f</sup>i* respectively for *ú-š<sup>f</sup>i*. **ix 41.21, 107** omit *us* in *ik-šú-us-su-nu-ti*. **ix 42.102** *zik-ru* for NITA. **ix 42.21, 107** NIŠ-SIN

and [*sin*]-<sup>f</sup>*niš<sup>1</sup>* respectively for MUNUS. **ix 44.102** <sup>f</sup>*ša* for *ša*. **ix 45.107** *paṭ-<sup>f</sup>ti* for *paṭ*. **ix 48.21, 43** omit MEŠ in ANŠE.A.AB.BA.MEŠ. **ix 50.21, 43** *ḫa-bé-e* and *ḫa<sup>1</sup>-bé-e* respectively for *ḫa-pe-e*. **ix 51.43** [*ki-š<sup>f</sup>*]-<sup>f</sup>*š<sup>f</sup>i* for *ki-š<sup>f</sup>-š<sup>f</sup>i*. **ix 51.21, 43** *ša* for *ša*. **ix 52.21, 43** omit MEŠ in ANŠE.A.AB.BA.MEŠ. **ix 55.17, 67** omit MEŠ in GIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ. **ix 56.45** [*in-nab*]-<sup>f</sup>*tu<sup>f</sup>-ni* for *in-nab-tu*. **ix 57.17** [*ú*]-<sup>f</sup>*šam<sup>1</sup>-qí-su-nu-<sup>f</sup>ti* for *ú-šam-qit-su-nu-ti*. **ix 59.21** *ina* for *a-na*. **ix 60.21, 28** [*šaṭ*]-<sup>f</sup>*ru* and *šaṭ-ru* respectively for *šaṭ-ra*. **ix 61.21** *pi-it<sup>f</sup>-ti* for *pit-ti*. **ix 62** *ša*: exs. 3, 28 have *ša*; and ex. 21 has <sup>f</sup>*ša*. **ix 63.3, 21, 28** *ša* for *ša*. **ix 63.45** <sup>f</sup>URU.LÍMMU<sup>1</sup>-DINGIR for LÍMMU-DINGIR.KI. **ix 66** *mu-še-ni-qa-a-te*: exs. 3, 45 have *mu-še-ni-qa-a-ti*; ex. 28 has [*mu-še*]-<sup>f</sup>*ni-qa-a-ti*; and ex. 41 has [*mu-še-ni-qa-a*]-<sup>f</sup>*ti*. **ix 66** *e-ni-qu-u-ma*: ex. 3 has *e-ni-qu-ú-ma*; ex. 28 omits *u*; and ex. 41 has *i-ni-qu-ma*. **ix 67.45** [*ú-šab-bu*]-<sup>f</sup>*ú* for *ú-šab-bu-u*. **ix 67.3, 28, 41** *ka-ras-sún* for *ka-ras-sún*. **ix 69** *iš-ta-na-a-lu*; ex. 3 has *iš-ta-na-<sup>f</sup>a-lu*; ex. 41 has [*iš<sup>1</sup>-ta-na-<sup>f</sup>a-lu*]; ex. 80 has [*iš*]-<sup>f</sup>*ta<sup>1</sup>-na-<sup>f</sup>a-lu*; and ex. 167 has [*iš-ta*]-<sup>f</sup>*na<sup>1</sup>-a-lu*. **ix 70** *ep-še-e-tú*: exs. 3, 28 have *ep-še-e-tu*; exs. 41, 167 have [*ep-še-e*]-<sup>f</sup>*tu*; and ex. 80 has *ep-še-e<sup>f</sup>-tu<sup>f</sup>*. **ix 70** *an-ni-tú*: exs. 3, 41, 167 have *an-ni-tu*; and ex. 28 has *an-nit*. **ix 72.137** *ša* for *ša*. **ix 73** *ni-iḫ-tu-ú*: ex. 5 has [*ni*]-<sup>f</sup>*iḫ-tu-ú*; ex. 48 has [*ni-iḫ*]-<sup>f</sup>*tu<sup>f</sup>-u*; and ex. 59 has [*ni-iḫ-tu-ú*]-<sup>f</sup>*ti*. **ix 74.134** [<sup>d</sup>]<sup>f</sup>BAD for <sup>d</sup>EN.LÍL. **ix 75.2, 5** <sup>d</sup>EN.LÍL-*i-[tu]* and <sup>d</sup>EN.LÍL-*i-ti* respectively for <sup>d</sup>EN.LÍL.LÁ-*i-tu*. **ix 77.5, 46, 59** *ša* for *ša*. **ix 77.5, 48** add *u* before <sup>d</sup>EN.LÍL. **ix 78** *ú-na-kip*: ex. 3 has *ú-<sup>f</sup>nak<sup>1</sup>-[kip]*; ex. 46 has *ú-<sup>f</sup>nak<sup>1</sup>-[kip]*; and ex. 48 has *ú-na-SI*. **ix 78.5** omits MEŠ in LÚ.KÚR.MEŠ-ia. **ix 78.134** [*gaš-ra*]-<sup>f</sup>*a-ti* for *gaš-ra-a-te*. **ix 79.2, 132** [LÍMMU-DINGIR].<sup>f</sup>KI<sup>1</sup> and LÍMMU-DINGIR.<sup>f</sup>KI<sup>1</sup> respectively for URU.LÍMMU-DINGIR. **ix 80.132** *mi-lam-me* for *me-lam-me*. **ix 80.48, 132** *na-šá-at* for *na-šá-a-ta*. **ix 83** *ú-ra-as-si-pa*: ex. 5 has *ú-ra-si-<sup>f</sup>ba*; ex. 48 has *ú-ra-si-ba*; and ex. 132 has *ú-ras-si-ba*. **ix 84** <sup>d</sup>MAŠ: exs. 2, 5, 132 have <sup>d</sup>*nin-urta*; and ex. 46 has <sup>d</sup>*nin<sup>f</sup>-[urta]*. **ix 84.2** GAL-*ú* for GAL-*u*. **ix 85.59** [<sup>f</sup>]-*na* for *ina*. **ix 87.2** [<sup>f</sup>]<sup>f</sup>NIN<sup>1</sup>.É for <sup>d</sup>NIN.LÍL. **ix 87.2** *qa-rit-tu* for *qa-rit-tú*. **ix 87.2** [<sup>f</sup>*be-let*-LÍMMU-DINGIR].<sup>f</sup>KI<sup>1</sup> for <sup>d</sup>*be-let-URU*. LÍMMU-DINGIR. **ix 88.2** [*iš*]-<sup>f</sup>*šu<sup>f</sup>-ru* for [*iš*]-<sup>f</sup>*šu-ra*. **ix 90.5** omits MEŠ in GIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ. **ix 90.2, 23** omit *u*. **ix 91.2** adds *ú* before DINGIR.MEŠ. **ix 92.23** *re-šu-ú-ti* for *re-šu-ti*. **ix 94.23** omits *u* in *iš-mu-u-ma*. **ix 96.23** omits *tu* in *ul-tu*. **ix 96.23** *in-<sup>f</sup>nab<sup>f</sup>-tú* for *in-nab-tu*. **ix 99.2, 23** LÍMMU-DINGIR.KI and LÍMMU-DINGIR.<sup>f</sup>KI<sup>1</sup> respectively for URU.LÍMMU-DINGIR. **ix 101** *ik-šú-us-su-ma*: ex. 23 has [*ik*]-<sup>f</sup>*šú<sup>f</sup>-us-su-ú-ma*; and ex. 104 omits *us*. **ix 102.2** [*ú*]-<sup>f</sup>*[ra]-<sup>f</sup>a-šú* for *ú-ra-áš-šú*. **ix 103.104** *ša* for *ša*. **ix 104.2, 104** *an-da-aḫ<sup>1</sup>-ḫa-ru* and *an-da-aḫ-ḫa-ru* respectively for *am-da-ḫa-ru*. **ix 104.23** omits *u*. **ix 105** *ma-še-ri*: ex. 20 has <sup>f</sup>*ma-še-e<sup>f</sup>-ri*; and ex. 23 adds GIŠ before it. **ix 107.18** [*la-aḫ-š<sup>f</sup>i*]-<sup>f</sup>*šú* for *la-aḫ-š<sup>f</sup>i-šú*. **ix 107** *šer-re-tú*: exs. 2, 4 have *šer-re-tu*; ex. 18 has <sup>f</sup>*šer<sup>1</sup>-re-tu*; ex. 20 has *šer-re-ti*; and ex. 61 has <sup>f</sup>*šer<sup>1</sup>-re-tu*. **ix 108** *ad-di-šú-ma*: ex. 4 has *ad-di<sup>f</sup>-šú-ma*; ex. 18 has *ad-di-šú-ma*; ex. 20 has [*ad*]-<sup>f</sup>*di<sup>f</sup>-šú-ma*; and ex. 61 has <sup>f</sup>*ad<sup>1</sup>-di-šú-ma*. **ix 110.120** *ša* for *ša*. **ix 110** *ad-na-a-te*: exs. 4, 104 have *ad-na-a-ti*; exs. 18, 31 have *ad-na-a-ti*; and ex. 61 has [*ad*]-*na-a-ti*. **ix 113.31** *u* for *ú*. **ix 113.31** EN.MEŠ-ia for EN.MEŠ-ia. **ix 114** *ar-š<sup>f</sup>i-šú-ma*: ex. 4 has <sup>f</sup>*ar-š<sup>f</sup>i-šú-ma*; ex. 18 has [*ar*]-<sup>f</sup>*š<sup>f</sup>i-šú-ma*; and ex. 31 has *ar-š<sup>f</sup>i-šú-ma*. **ix 115.4** URU.*ú-šú-ú* for URU.*ú-šú-u*. **ix 116.120** <sup>f</sup>*ša* for *ša*. **ix 116.4, 31** *na<sup>1</sup>-da-at* and *na-da-at* respectively for *na-da-ta*. **ix 116.4, 18** KUR-*ud* for *ak-šú-ud*. **ix 117.4** URU.*ú-šú-ú* for URU.*ú-šú-u*. **ix 117.4** *ša* for *ša*. **ix 120.4** *līb-bi* for ŠÀ. **ix 120.4, 31** omit *u* in *kan-šú-u-ti*. **ix 124** *ú-šal-mi*: exs. 2, 4, 127 have *ú-šal-me*; and ex. 113 has [*ú*]-*šal-me*. **ix 127.2** ERIM.ḪI.A.<sup>f</sup>MEŠ-ia for ERIM.ḪI.A-ia. **ix 128.4** *ša* for *ša*. **x 1** <sup>m</sup>*te-e-ri*: exs. 4, 127 have <sup>m</sup>*te-e-ri*; and ex. 113 has [<sup>m</sup>]-<sup>f</sup>*e<sup>1</sup>-ri*. **x 2.4** adds *šá<sup>2</sup>* before *it-ti*. **x 3.4** *ta-ḫa-zu* for MÈ. **x 5.4** EN-*ú-ti-ia* for EN-*ti-ia*. **x 5.2, 127** *ma-šak-šú<sup>f</sup>* and <sup>f</sup>KUŠ<sup>1</sup>-*šú* respectively for KUŠ-*šú*. **x 6.2, 4** LUGAL for MAN. **x 7** *ul-tú*: exs. 2, 127 have *ul<sup>f</sup>-tu*; ex. 4 has *ul-tu*; and ex. 179 has [*ul*]-<sup>f</sup>*tu<sup>f</sup>*. **x 8.2, 4** *iq-bu-u* for *iq-bu-ú*. **x 8.4** omits *a-na*. **x 8.4** ARAD-*ú-ti-ia* for ARAD-*ti-ia*. **x 9.2, 4** <sup>f</sup>*šir<sup>1</sup>-ti* and *šir-ti* respectively for *šir-tu*. **x 9.148** [*in*]-<sup>f</sup>*nen-nu-ú* for *in-nen-nu-u*. **x 10.127** *e-li-šú* for UGU-*šú*. **x 11.4** *ša* for *ša*. **x 11.4** *e-li-šú<sup>f</sup>* for UGU-*šú*. **x 12.4** *e-diš-š<sup>f</sup>i-šú*

for *e-diš-ši-šú*. x 13.119 <sup>TA</sup> for *ul-tu*. x 15.119, 159 *a-bar-šú-ma* and [*a-bar-šú*]-<sup>u</sup>-*ma*<sup>1</sup> respectively for *a-bar-šú-ma*. x 16.119 <sup>al</sup>-[*qa*]-*a-šú* for *al-qa-áš-šú*. x 17.4, 119 <sup>mtam</sup>-*ma-ri-tu*<sup>1</sup> and [<sup>mtam</sup>-*ma*]-<sup>ri</sup>-*tu* respectively for <sup>mtam</sup>-*ma-ri-tú*. x 18 *e-pu-šú*: exs. 2, 85 have <sup>e</sup>-*pu-šú*; and ex. 119 has *e-pu-šú*. x 21.119 LUGAL for MAN. x 23.119 *al-qa-a-šú* for *al-qa-áš-šú*. x 25.2, 180 *be-lu*<sup>1</sup>-[*ti-šú*]-<sup>un</sup><sup>1</sup> and EN-*ú-ti*-[*šú-un*] respectively for EN-*ti-šú-un*. x 27.85 *hi-ir-tú* for *hi-ir-tu*. x 28.5 *e-pu-šú* for *e-pu-šú*. x 28.85 *á-ki-ti*<sup>1</sup> for *á-ki-it*. x 29.3, 5 *šad-da-di* and [*šad*]-*da-di* respectively for *šad-da-di*. x 29.180 *ú-šá-aš-bit-É-nu-te* for *ú-šá-aš-bit-su-nu-ti*. x 34.2-3 <sup>ša</sup> for *šá*. x 35.2-3 <sup>ša</sup> for *šá*. x 36.3, 21 *ša* for *šá*. x 36.21, 55 *kan-šú-te-ia* and [*kan-šú*]-<sup>te-ia</sup><sup>1</sup> respectively for *kan-šú-ti-ia*. x 37.3 *ú-šak-ni-šú* for *ú-šak-ni-šú*. x 38.3, 21, 55 *u* for *ù*. x 40.21 <sup>md</sup>15-BAD for <sup>md</sup>15-BAD. x 40.3 MAN for LUGAL. x 40.21 KUR.*ur-ar-ta*<sup>1</sup> for KUR.*ur-ar-ti*. x 42.3, 21 *iš-ta-nap-pa-ru-ú-ni* and *iš-ta-nap-par-ú-ni* respectively for *iš-ta-nap-par-u-ni*. x 42 ŠEŠ-*ú-tú*: ex. 2 has [ŠEŠ]-*u-tú*; ex. 5 has ŠEŠ<sup>1</sup>-*u-tú*; and ex. 21 has ŠEŠ-<sup>ú</sup>-*tu*. x 43.65 [<sup>md</sup>15-BAD] for <sup>md</sup>15-BAD. x 43.3, 5 *da-na-a-nu* and [*da*]-<sup>na</sup>-*an* respectively for *da-na-nu*. x 43 *ep-še-e-tú*: exs. 3, 5 have *ep-še-e-tu*; and ex. 21 has *ep-še-e-tu*. x 44.5, 21 omit *e* in *iš-me-e-ma*. x 45.21 *ša* for *šá*. x 45.5 [*iš-ta*]-*x-pa-ru* for *iš-ta-nap-pa-ra*. x 45.21 EN-*u-tu* for EN-*ú-tú*. x 46.21, 65 *šu-ú* and [*šu*]-<sup>ú</sup> respectively for *šu-u*. x 48.21 [*be*]-*li-ia* for EN-*ia*. x 49.2, 21 [*ka*]-<sup>bit</sup>-*tu* and *ka-bit-tu* respectively for *ka-bit-tú*. x 50 *uš-ta-né-eb-ba-la*: ex. 65 has <sup>ú</sup>-*še-ba-la*; and ex. 142 omits *eb*. x 51.21 *re-du*<sup>1</sup>-[*u-ti*] for UŠ-*u-ti*. x 51.21 KID.GAL for É.GAL. x 51.21 <sup>ša</sup> for *šá*. x 51.21 <sup>ni-na</sup>-*a* for NINA.KI. x 53.65 <sup>LUGAL</sup> for MAN. x 54.5, 21 [*ud-di*]-*šú* and [*ud*]-*di-šú* respectively for [*ud*]-*di-šú*. x 54.172 LUGAL-<sup>ú</sup>-[*ti-šú*] for LUGAL-*ti-šú*. x 55.21, 65 *šu-a-tu* and *šú-a*<sup>1</sup>-*tu* respectively for *šu-a-tú*. x 56.65 adds *ma* after *il-lik*. x 57 GAL: ex. 5 has GAL-*u*; ex. 101 has <sup>GAL</sup>-*u*; and ex. 172 has GAL-*ú*. x 58.21, 28 ŠÚ for *kiš-šá-ti*. x 59.21, 172 *ri-du-u-te* and UŠ-*ú-ti* respectively for UŠ-*u-ti*. x 59 *šu-a-tú*: exs. 5, 21 have *šu-a-tu*; ex. 28 has <sup>šu-a</sup>-[*tú*]; and ex. 101 has [*šu*]-<sup>a</sup>-*ti*. x 60.21 <sup>šá</sup>-*maš* for <sup>šá</sup>-*maš*. x 61.28 *ša* for *šá*. x 61.96 [URU].<sup>ni</sup>-*nu-a*<sup>1</sup> for NINA.KI. x 62 *šá*: ex. 21 omits *it*; and ex. 28 has *ša*. x 62.21 LÍMMU-DINGIR.KI for LÍMMU-DINGIR.KI. x 62.21, 28 omit MEŠ in <sup>GASAN</sup>-GARZA.MEŠ. x 63.23 omits *ú* in LUGAL-*ú-ti*. x 64.21, 28 *šá* for *ša*. x 64.23, 45 <sup>šá-la-a-me</sup> and *šá-la-mi* respectively for *šá-la-me*. x 66.21, 28, 45 TA for <sup>ul</sup>-*tu*. x 66.21 omits GIŠ in GIŠ.GU.ZA. x 66.21 <sup>ba</sup>-*ni-ia* for DÜ-*ia*. x 67 *e-te-né-ep-pu-šú*: ex. 21 has *e-te-né-ep-pu-šú*; ex. 23 has [*e-te-né-ep*]-<sup>pu</sup>-*šú*; and exs. 28, 45 have *e-te-né-ep-pu-šú*. x 68.28 *ka-a-a-na* for *ka-a-a-an*. x 69.23 *ka-šá-ad* for *ka-šad*. x 70 MÁŠ.GI<sub>6</sub>.MEŠ-*u-a*: ex. 2 has <sup>MÁŠ.GI<sub>6</sub>.MEŠ-ia</sup>; and exs. 5, 21 omit MEŠ. x 71.23, 45 *šá* for *ša*. x 71.23 *še-e-rim* for *še-e-ri*. x 72 *šu-a-tú*: exs. 18, 28 have *šu-a-tu*; and ex. 23 has <sup>šu-a-tu</sup>. x 72.5 [EN.MEŠ]-*šu* for EN.MEŠ-*šú*. x 72 *šu-ú-ma*: exs. 2, 21 have *šu-u-ma*; and ex. 5 has <sup>šu</sup>-*u-ma*. x 73.2 [*i*]-<sup>šim-mu</sup> for *i-šim-mu*. x 73 MUNUS.SIG<sub>5</sub>: exs. 2, 5, 21 have SIG<sub>5</sub>-*tim*; and ex. 28 has SIG<sub>5</sub>-[*tim*]. x 75 *ru-up-pu-uš*: ex. 18 has *ru-up-pu-šú*; ex. 21 has [*ru-up*]-<sup>pu</sup>-*šú*; and ex. 28 omits *up*. x 76.18 <sup>40</sup> for 50. x 77.18 *pi-tiq-tú* for *pi-tiq-tu*. x 77.2, 134 [*ap*]-<sup>ti</sup>-*iq* and *ap-ti-iq* respectively for *ap-tiq*. x 77.106 <sup>uš</sup>-*ma-al-li* for *uš-ma-li*. x 79 *šu-a-tú*: ex. 2 has [*šu*]-<sup>a</sup>-*tu*; exs. 45, 134 have *šu-a-tu*; and ex. 106 has [*šu*]-<sup>a</sup>-*tu*. x 81 UD: exs. 18, 134 have *u<sub>4</sub>-me*; and ex. 24 has [*u<sub>4</sub>*]-<sup>me</sup>. x 81 ŠE.GA: ex. 2 has [*še*]-*me-e*; exs. 18, 134 have *še-me-e*; ex. 24 has *še-me-e*; and ex. 106 has [*še*]-<sup>me</sup>-*e*. x 81 *šu-a-tú*: ex. 106 has [*šu*]-<sup>a</sup>-*tu*; ex. 134 has *šu-a-te*; and ex. 169 has <sup>šu</sup>-*a-tu*. x 82.24 adds *ma* after *ad-di*. x 82 SIG<sub>4</sub>-*su*: ex. 2 has *lib-na*<sup>1</sup>-[*as-su*]; ex. 24 has *lib-na-as*<sup>1</sup>-[*su*]; ex. 134 has *lib-na-as*<sup>1</sup>-[*su*]; and ex. 169 has [*lib*]-<sup>na</sup>-*as-su*. x 83.24, 45 <sup>ú</sup> and *ú* respectively for *u*. x 83.24, 106 *ab-lu-ú-lu*<sup>1</sup> and [*ab*]-<sup>lu</sup>-*ul*<sup>1</sup> for *ab-lu-lu*. x 84.24 [*am-ša*]-*aš-ša* for *am-ša-ša*. x 86.18 *áš-la-lu* for *áš-lu-la*. x 87.24, 45 UŠ-*u-ti*<sup>1</sup> for *ri-du-u-ti*. x 87.5 <sup>šu</sup>-*a-tu* for *šu-a-tú*. x 88.2, 5, 24 add *šú* after SIG<sub>4</sub>.H.A. x 89.21, 45 <sup>šá</sup> and *šá* respectively for *ša*. x 90.2 *šá* for *ša*. x 90.5, 24 [*bal-tu*]-*us-su-un* and *bal-tu-us-sún* respectively for *bal-tu-us-su-nu*. x 90.18 *ú-šab-bi-tu* for *ú-šab-bi-tú*. x 90.24 *qa-ti* for ŠU.II. x 91.18, 24 <sup>UŠ</sup>-[*u-ti*] and [*ri*]-*du-ú-ti* respectively for *ri-du-u-ti*. x 96.2, 24 *ri-šá-a-ti* and [*ri-šá-a*]-*ti* respectively for *ri-šá-a-te*. x 96.2, 24 <sup>ul</sup>-*tu*<sup>1</sup> and *ul-tu*

respectively for *ul-tú*. x 97.24 *ep-še-e-ti-šú* for *ep-še-te-e-šú*. x 99.61 *ša* for *šá*. x 102.2 adds MEŠ after KÁ. x 102.108 [*hi*]-*le-ni-šú* for *hi-la-ni-šú*. x 102.24 *e-mi-id* for *e-mid*. x 103.2 UŠ-*ú-ti* for UŠ-*u-ti*. x 103.2 *šu-a-tú*<sup>1</sup> for *šu-a-tú*. x 104.3 <sup>ú</sup>-*ma*<sup>1</sup>-[*al-li*] for *ú-malli*. x 105.3 *i-ta-a-te-šú*<sup>1</sup> for *i-ta-te-e-šú*. x 106.2-3 *ep-še-ti-šú* and *ep-še-te-e-šú* respectively for *ep-še-te-e-šú*. x 107 *ri-šá-a-te*: ex. 2 has [*ri-šá-a*]-<sup>ti</sup>; ex. 3 has *ri-šá-a-ti*; and ex. 108 has [*ri-šá-a*]-<sup>ti</sup>. x 108.3 *za-šíta* for *za-mar*. x 108.2 *u<sub>4</sub>-me* for UD.MEŠ. x 109 *šá*: exs. 2-3 have *ša*; and ex. 4 has <sup>ša</sup>. x 109. *ú* for *u* before UN.MEŠ. x 109.2-3 *i-nam-bu-ú* and [*i*]-[*nam*]-*bu-ú* respectively for *i-nam-bu-u*. x 110.3 *šú-a-tú* for *šu-a-tú*. x 109.3 [*i-lab-bi*]-<sup>ru-ú</sup>-*ma* for *i-lab-bi-ru-u-ma*. x 112 *da-ru-u*: ex. 3 has *da-ru-ú*; ex. 4 has *da-ru-ú*; ex. 20 has *da-ru-ú*; and ex. 57 has [*da*]-<sup>ru-ú</sup>. x 112.2-3 <sup>ša</sup> for *šá*. x 112.3 [*le*]-*e-mur-ma* for *li-mur-ma*. x 112.20 Ì.MEŠ for Ì.GIŠ. x 113.6 MU.<sup>SAR</sup>-*re-e*<sup>1</sup> for MU.SAR-*e*. x 114.6 MU.SAR-*re-e* for MU.SAR-*e*. x 115.6 GIM for *ki-ma*. x 115 *u*: exs. 2, 20 have <sup>ú</sup>; and ex. 6 has *ù*. x 115 *li-i-tú*: exs. 2-3, 6 have *li-i-tu*; and ex. 57 has [*li*]-*i-tu*. x 116.4 MU.SAR-*e* for MU.SAR-*ú*. x 116 *ib-ba-tú*: exs. 2, 4 have *ib-ba-tu*; ex. 5 has *ib-ba-tu*; ex. 6 has *ib-ba-ta*; and ex. 57 has [*ib*]-*ba-tu*<sup>1</sup>. x 118.2-3 *ša* and <sup>ša</sup> respectively for *šá*. x 118.4 adds URU before NINA.KI. x 119.2-3 *ša* and <sup>ša</sup> respectively for *šá*. x 119 URU.LÍMMU-DINGIR: ex. 2 has LÍMMU-DINGIR.KI; ex. 3 has LÍMMU-DINGIR.<sup>KI</sup>; ex. 5 has [LÍMMU-DINGIR].<sup>KI</sup>; and ex. 6 has [LÍMMU]-<sup>DINGIR</sup>.KI<sup>1</sup>. x 119.20 adds *u* before <sup>dn</sup>*nusku*. x 120.2, 159 *de-e-nu* for *de-e-ni*.

### Text No. 13

i 18.2 <sup>muati</sup> for <sup>dag</sup>. i 19.2 *šá* for the first *ša*. i 21.2 *it-tal-la-ku-ma* for *it-tal-lak-ú-ma*.

viii 18.4 [*na-kut*]-<sup>tu</sup> for [*na*]-*kut-tú*.

### Text No. 20

ii' 8'.2 [KI].<sup>MAH</sup> for *ki-mah-ḫi*.

### Text No. 23

2.5 *šá* for *ša*. 3.5 *šu-tu-qat* for *šu-tu-qát*. 3.5-6 <sup>ša</sup> and *ša* respectively for *šá*. 4.5 DAGAL.MEŠ for *rap-šú-ti*. 4.5 *šur-šu-du*<sup>1</sup> for *šur-šú-du*. 5.5 *in-nen-nu-u* for *in-nen-nu-ú*. 7.6 <sup>qar</sup>-*na-a-šá* for *qar-na-šá*. 8.5 *i-šu-ú* for *i-šu-u*. 9.5 *sa-parš-šá* for *sa-par-šá*. 11.5, 35 ZI-*tim* and [*ZI*]-*tim* respectively for *na-piš-ti*. 13.7 [GAL]-<sup>tú</sup> for GAL-*tu*. 18.8 <sup>ú</sup>-*rab-ba-an-ni* for *ú-rab-ban-ni*. 22.22 Á.II-a-[*a*] for *i-da-a-a*. 24.8 omits *u* in LUGAL-*u-ti-ia*. 24.11 *a-na* for *ana*. 24.11 *u-me* for UD.MEŠ. 24.9 [*da-ru*]-<sup>ú</sup>-[*te*] for *da-ru-te*. 25.10 *šir-tu* for *šir-te*. 31.10 GAL-<sup>tú</sup> for GAL-*tu*. 35.8 <sup>uš</sup>-[*šir*] for *ú-šir*<sup>1</sup>. 35.11 URU.*ni-na-a* for <sup>NINA</sup>.KI. 36.10 *is-pal-lu*-[*ur-ti*] for *iš-pil-lu-ur-ti*<sup>1</sup>. 37.10 [*ul*]-<sup>tu</sup> for *ul-tú*. 46.12 GIŠ.MES.<sup>MÁ</sup>.I.NA for GIŠ.MES.<sup>MÁ</sup>.KAN.NA. 46.11 A.GI for <sup>KÜ</sup>.GI. 60.12 *ul-tú* for *ul-tu*. 74.12 *be-lu*-[*ti-šú*] for EN-*ti-šú*. 75.14 *ša* for *šá*. 76.14 [*pu*]-<sup>luḫ</sup>-*tú* for *pu-luḫ-tu*. 77.13.14 [*eš*]-<sup>re</sup>-*e-ti* for *eš-ret*. 79.14 omits *la* in AN.DÜL-*la-šú-nu*. 80.14 *e-liti* for AN.[TA]. 82.15 LUGAL-<sup>ú</sup>-[*ti*] for LUGAL-*u-ti*. 84.14 *ú* for *u*. 87.7, 15 [<sup>AN</sup>.ŠÁR-DÜ]-<sup>IBILA</sup> for <sup>AN</sup>.ŠÁR-DÜ-A. 87.19 <sup>MAN</sup> for LUGAL. 88.31 *ina* for [*i*]-*na*. 98.9 <sup>ša</sup> for *šá*. 99.9 <sup>mtam</sup>-*ma-ri-tú* for <sup>mtam</sup>-*ma-ri-tu*. 100.9 *šá* for *ša*. 100.9 LÍMMU-DINGIR.KI for URU.LÍMMU-DINGIR. 101.7 *it-tak-lu* for *it-tak-lu*. 102.9 [*na*]-*da-at-tú* for *na-da-at*. 102.9 KUR-[*ud*] for *ak-šú-ud*. 103.9 ŠU.II for *qa-ti*. 103.37 omits *tú* in DUGUD-*tú*. 104.9 <sup>md</sup>AMAR.UTU-A-<sup>AŠ</sup> for <sup>md</sup>AMAR.UTU-<sup>IBILA</sup>-<sup>AŠ</sup>. 104.3 omits *da* in *da-gíl*. 104.37 [*ih-tu*]-*u* for *ih-tu-ú*. 105.7 [*ú*]-<sup>ra</sup>-*as-si-bu* for [*ú*]-*ras-si-bu*. 106.9 MAN for LUGAL. 106.7 ADDA-*šú* for *pa-gar-šú*. 108.9 I-*ku-nu-uš* for *áš-ku-nu-uš*. 108.37 [*áš-ku-nu*]-*šú* for *áš-ku-nu-uš*. 108.3 <sup>MAN</sup>-*ti*<sup>1</sup> for LUGAL-*u-ti*. 109.7 IGI-*ia* for *pa-ni-ia*. 110.7, 9 [*re*]-*šu-u-ti*-[*(ma)*] and *re-šu-u-ti-ma*<sup>1</sup> respectively for *re-šú-ti*. 111.9 NI-<sup>ú</sup>-*a-a-te-e*<sup>1</sup> for <sup>mu</sup>-*a-a-te-e*<sup>1</sup>. 111.9 KUR.*qé-da-ri* for KUR.*qé-da-ri*. 113.7 omits *us* in *bal-tu-us-su*. 114.9 omits *ú*

in KUR.par-su-ú-ma-áš. 115.9 ru-u-qu for ru-ú-qu. 116.7, 9 LÍMMU-DINGIR.[KI] and LÍMMU<sup>1</sup>-DINGIR.KI respectively for URU.LÍMMU-DINGIR. 116.7 is-*hu-up*-[šú]-nu-ti-ma for is-*hup*-šú-nu-ti-ma. 116.9 ir-šú-u for ir-šú-u. 116.9 na-kut-tu for na-kut-tú. 117.9 [DUGUD]-ti for DUGUD-tú. 117.9 ana for a-na. 117.9 IGI-ia for mah-ri<sup>1</sup>-ia. 117.9 GİR.II-ía for GİR.II-ia. 118.9 <sup>m</sup>tam-ma-ri-tú for <sup>m</sup>tam-ma-ri-tu. 118.9 MAN for LUGAL. 119.7 anomalous sign for šá. 119.3 <sup>d</sup>iš-[tar] for <sup>d</sup>is. 121.9 [ab-šá]-<sup>r</sup>a-ni for ab-šá-ni. 122.9 [iš-ta-na]-<sup>r</sup>ap<sup>1</sup>-pa-ru-u-[ni] for iš-ta-*nap*-pa-ru-u-ni. 122.9 da-na-nu for da-na-an. 129.16 <sup>r</sup>ša<sup>1</sup> for šá. 131.9 tik-le-ia for ti-ik-le-ia. 132.16 is-*hup*-šú<sup>1</sup>-[ma] for is-*hup*-šú-ma. 133.9 adds šá before KUR.qa-de-e. 134.16 šá for ša. 139.16 LUGAL-u-ti-<sup>r</sup>ia<sup>1</sup> for LUGAL-ú-ti-ia. 141.4 man-da-<sup>r</sup>at<sup>1</sup>-[ta-šú] for man-da-ta-šú. 142.9 be-lu-[u-ti] for EN-u-<sup>r</sup>ti<sup>1</sup>. 143.4 [hal]-ga-ti-i for hal-ga-ti-[i]. 145.16 AD-šú for AD-šu. 145.9 omits II in Á.II-šú. 146.16 AŠ for AN.ŠÁR.KI. 146.16 šá for ša. 146.16 i-du-u for i-du-ú. 147.16 MÈ for ta-*ha*-<sup>r</sup>zi<sup>1</sup>. 148.16 e-ziz-u-ma for e-ziz-ú-ma. 150.9 ina for i-na. 151.4 <sup>r</sup>is-su<sup>1</sup>-u<sup>h</sup>-[ma] for is-su<sup>h</sup>-ma. 153.4 ANŠE.[KUR].<sup>r</sup>DA<sup>1</sup>.[MEŠ] for ANŠE.<sup>r</sup>KUR<sup>1</sup>.RA.MEŠ. 154.16, 38 [ka]-<sup>r</sup>bit<sup>1</sup>-tú and ka-<sup>r</sup>bit<sup>1</sup>-[tú] respectively for <sup>r</sup>DUGUD<sup>1</sup>-[tú]. 155.9 [áš]-<sup>r</sup>ta<sup>1</sup>-KAM for áš-ta-kan. 155.16 šu-ú for šu-u. 157.4 is-*hup*-šú-ma for is-*hup*-šú-ma. 157.16 ú-na-áš-šak for ú-na-šak. 160.16 si-it-te for si-it-ti. 164.16 [ab]-<sup>r</sup>tu<sup>1</sup>-[uq-ma] for ab-tuq-ma. 176.9 it-ti for TA. 181 GAL-tú for GAL-tu. 182.17 u for 'ú.

### Text No. 59

1.16 ana for a-na. 1.13 <sup>d</sup>MUATI for <sup>d</sup>AG. 2 <sup>m</sup>AN.ŠÁR-DÛ-A: ex. 1 omits ŠÁR; and ex. 9 has <sup>m</sup>ÁŠ-DÛ-A. 2.16 AN.ŠÁR for AŠ. 3.16 DINGIR-ti-šú for DINGIR-ti-šú. 3 GAL-ti: ex. 6 has <sup>r</sup>GAL<sup>1</sup>-tú; ex. 9 has GAL-<sup>r</sup>tú; and exs. 13, 16, 19–20 have GAL-tú. 4.13 na-din for SUM. 4.16, 19 DUGUD-tú for DUGUD-ti. 5 mit-*hu*-si: exs. 3, 6, 16 have mit-*hu*-u<sup>š</sup>; ex. 7 has <sup>r</sup>mit<sup>1</sup>-[hu]-u<sup>š</sup>; and ex. 19 has mit-*h*[u]-u<sup>š</sup>. 5.12 ik-ki-su for KUD-su. 6.3 <sup>r</sup>LUGAL<sup>1</sup> for MAN. 6.2, 4–6, 15, 18–20 omit MA in KUR.ELAM.MA.KI. 6.16 <sup>m</sup>tam-ma-ri-tu for <sup>m</sup>tam-ma-ri-tú. 7.16 <sup>m</sup>um-man-al-da-si for <sup>m</sup>um-man-al-daš. 8.3, 15 <sup>r</sup>LUGAL<sup>1</sup>-ut and LUGAL-ut respectively for MAN-ut. 8 KUR.ELAM.KI: ex. 2 has <sup>r</sup>KUR<sup>1</sup>.ELAM.<sup>r</sup>MA<sup>1</sup>.KI; ex. 6 has KUR.ELAM.MA.<sup>r</sup>KI<sup>1</sup>; ex. 7 has <sup>r</sup>KUR<sup>1</sup>.ELAM.<sup>r</sup>MA.KI<sup>1</sup>; and exs. 9, 13 have KUR.ELAM.MA.KI. 8.11 i-na for ina. 8.3, 6, 9, 16, 18–19 GAL-tú for GAL-ti. 9.9, 15 KUR-su-TAR-ti-<sup>r</sup>ma<sup>1</sup> and ik-šú-us-su-nu-ti-ma respectively for KUR-su-nu-ti-ma. 9 šá-da-di: exs. 9, 11 have GÍD; and ex. 16 has GÍD.DA. 10 MAN-ti-ia: exs. 3, 15 have LUGAL-ti-ia; ex. 4 has MAN-u-ti-ia; exs. 5, 14 have LUGAL-u-ti-ia; ex. 19 has LUGAL-ti-ia; and ex. 16 allows for any combination of MAN/LUGAL-ti-ia/iá and MAN/LUGAL-u-ti-ia/iá. 10.15 aš-mid-su-nu-ti for LAL-su-nu-ti. 11.20 tukul-RI-šú for tukul-ti-šú. 11 GAL-ti: exs. 5, 16, 19 have GAL-tú; and ex. 7 has [GAL]-<sup>r</sup>tú<sup>1</sup>. 11.5–6, 8, 14–15, 18, 20 nap-*har* for NIGIN. 11.16 KUR.MEŠ for KUR.KUR. 12.9 omits nu in GAR.GAR-nu. 12 si-mat: ex. 15 has si-ma-a-ti; ex. 16 has si-ma-a-tú / si-ma-a-te; and ex. 19 has si-ma-a-<sup>r</sup>te<sup>1</sup>. 12.16 u<sup>4</sup>\* (copy: ERIM)-me-šú for u<sup>4</sup>-me-šú. 12 <sup>d</sup>MUATI: ex. 5 has <sup>d</sup>AG<sup>1</sup>; and exs. 14–15, 19–20 have <sup>d</sup>AG. 13 EN-ía: ex. 14 has <sup>r</sup>EN\* (copy: malformed sign)-ia<sup>1</sup>; and exs. 15, 19 have EN-ia. 13.5 pe-e-li for pi-i-li. 13.7 UD-kit-<sup>r</sup>ta<sup>1</sup>-šú for ši-kit-ta-šú. 14.16 u-rab-bi for ú-rab-bi. 14.5–6, 14–15 a-na for ana. 14.3, 6, 14–15, 19 šá-at-ti for šat-ti. 14 <sup>d</sup>MUATI: exs. 5–6, 9, 14–15, 19–20 have <sup>d</sup>AG; ex. 7 has <sup>d</sup>AG<sup>1</sup>;

ex. 13 has <sup>d</sup>AG\* (copy: anomalous sign); and ex. 16 has <sup>d</sup>na-bi-um. 15.16 pa-nu-uk-ka for IGI-uk-ka. 15.14–15 sat-tak-ki-ka and sa-tak-ki-ka respectively for SANTAK<sub>1</sub>-ki-ka. 16 ke-e-ni: exs. 6, 20 have ke-e-nu; and exs. 16, 19 have GIN. 16 TIN: exs. 2, 9 have <sup>r</sup>ba<sup>1</sup>-la<sup>q</sup>; exs. 3, 8, 13, 16 have ba-la<sup>q</sup>; ex. 4 has <sup>r</sup>TI<sup>1</sup>; ex. 5 has TI; ex. 14 has ba\* (copy: GÁ)-la<sup>q</sup>; and ex. 16 also has T.I.LA. 16 UD.ME-ía: ex. 2 has <sup>r</sup>UD.MEŠ<sup>1</sup>-ía; exs. 3–6, 8–9, 13, 15, 19–20 have UD.MEŠ-ía; ex. 7 has <sup>r</sup>UD<sup>1</sup>.MEŠ-<sup>r</sup>ia<sup>1</sup>; and ex. 14 has UD.MEŠ-ia\* (copy: malformed sign). 17.16 šap-uk-ka for šap-tuk-ka. 17.15–16 i-tal-lu-ku and DU.DU-lik respectively for DU.DU-ku. 18.16, 18 ma-*har* and <sup>r</sup>ma<sup>1</sup>-*har* respectively for IGI. 18.16 DINGIR-ú-ti-ka for DINGIR-ti-ka. 18.7 <sup>r</sup>lu<sup>1</sup>-lab-bi-ra for li-lab-bi-ra.

### Text No. 60

1 a-na: ex. 4 has [ana]; exs. 7, 11 have <sup>r</sup>ana<sup>1</sup>; and ex. 12 has ana. 1 be-let: exs. 3–4, 6, 11–12 have GAŠAN; and ex. 7 has <sup>r</sup>GAŠAN<sup>1</sup>. 1.10 [KUR].KUR-te for KUR.KUR. 2 AN.ŠÁR.KI: exs. 3–6, 11–12 have AŠ.KI; ex. 7 has AŠ.<sup>r</sup>KI<sup>1</sup>; and ex. 13 has AŠ. 2.5 pa-li<sup>h</sup>-šá<sup>1</sup> for pa-li<sup>h</sup>-šá. 3 GAL-ti: exs. 2, 4–5, 8, 11–12 have GAL-tú; and ex. 3 has <sup>r</sup>GAL-tú<sup>1</sup>. 4.10–11, 14 have MÈ for ta-*ha*-zi. 4 ik-ki-su: exs. 2, 4, 6–8 have KUD-su; and ex. 3 has <sup>r</sup>KUD-su<sup>1</sup>. 5.2–3, 5, 7–8, 13 MAN for LUGAL. 5.5 omits MA in KUR.ELAM.MA.KI. 8 LUGAL-ut: exs. 3, 10 have <sup>r</sup>MAN<sup>1</sup>-ut; ex. 4 has MAN-(erasure)-ut; exs. 5, 8 have MAN-ut; and ex. 7 has MAN-<sup>r</sup>ut<sup>1</sup>. 8 KUR.ELAM.MA.KI: exs. 4, 6–8, 12–13 omit MA; and ex. 10 omits KUR. 8.5, 11 GAL-tú for GAL-ti. 9 ŠU.II: exs. 3–4, 8 have <sup>r</sup>qa<sup>1</sup>-ti; exs. 5–6, 12–14 have qa-ti; ex. 7 has <sup>r</sup>qa-ti<sup>1</sup>; and ex. 11 has [qa]-<sup>r</sup>ti<sup>1</sup>. 9 šá-da-di: ex. 2 has šad-da-di; exs. 7, 11 have GÍD; and ex. 10 has <šá>-da-di. 10 LUGAL-ti-ia: ex. 2 has LUGAL-u-ti-ia; ex. 3 has MAN-ti-ia<sup>1</sup>; exs. 4, 6, 8, 10, 14 have MAN-ti-ia; ex. 5 has MAN-ti-ia; exs. 7, 13 have <sup>r</sup>MAN<sup>1</sup>-ti-ia; and ex. 11 has <sup>r</sup>MAN<sup>1</sup>-ti-ia. 10 aš-mid-su-nu-ti: exs. 2, 4–5, 8, 10, 12–14 have LAL-su-nu-ti; ex. 3 has <sup>r</sup>LAL<sup>1</sup>-su-nu-ti<sup>1</sup>; ex. 6 has LAL-<sup>r</sup>su<sup>1</sup>-nu-<sup>r</sup>ti<sup>1</sup>; and ex. 7 has <sup>r</sup>LAL<sup>1</sup>-su-nu-ti. 11.14 adds šá before ina. 11.2, 5, 13–14 KUR.MEŠ for KUR.KUR. 11 DU.MEŠ-ma: exs. 3–5, 7–8, 10–14 have DU-u-ma; and ex. 6 has DU-u-<sup>r</sup>ma<sup>1</sup>. 12.2 ki-sal for KISAL. 12 <sup>d</sup>15: ex. 2 has <sup>d</sup>INANNA<sup>1</sup>; exs. 4–5, 7–8, 10–12, 14 have <sup>d</sup>INANNA; ex. 6 has <sup>r</sup>dINANNA<sup>1</sup>; and ex. 13 has <sup>d</sup>(erasure?) INANNA. 13 GAŠAN-ia: exs. 4, 6–7, 13 have GAŠAN-ía; and ex. 10 has GAŠAN\* (copy: anomalous sign)-ía\* (copy: ŠÁ). 13 pi-i-li: exs. 2, 5 have pe-e-li; and ex. 14 omits i. 14.4, 6–8, 10, 12–14 ana for a-na. 14 šat-ti: exs. 2–4, 12 have šá-at-ti; ex. 6 has <sup>r</sup>šá<sup>1</sup>-at-ti; and ex. 10 has šá-<sup>r</sup>at<sup>1</sup>-ti. 15 ki-sal-lu: exs. 2–4, 7, 12–13 have KISAL; exs. 5, 10, 14 have <sup>r</sup>KISAL<sup>1</sup>; ex. 6 has ki-sal; and ex. 8 has [KISAL]. 15.2, 7 šú-a-tu and šú-a-ti respectively for šú-a-tú. 15.3 pa-nu-<sup>r</sup>uk-ki<sup>1</sup> for IGI-uk-ki. 16 <sup>m</sup>aš-šur-DÛ-A: exs. 2, 8, 12–13 have <sup>m</sup>AN.ŠÁR-DÛ-A; ex. 3 has <sup>m</sup>AN.ŠÁR-DÛ-A<sup>1</sup>; ex. 4 has <sup>m</sup>AN.ŠÁR-DÛ-IBILA; and ex. 10 has <sup>m</sup>AN.ŠÁR-[DÛ-A]. 16.4 DINGIR-ú-ti-ki for DINGIR-ti-ki. 16.2 GAL-tú for GAL-ti. 17.7–10, 12–13 TIN for ba-la<sup>q</sup>. 17.2, 5 UD.ME and <sup>r</sup>UD.ME<sup>1</sup> respectively for UD.MEŠ. 17.2 GÍD.DA.MEŠ for GÍD.MEŠ. 17.3–4, 7–8, 10, 12 lib-bi for ŠÁ.

### Text No. 68

1.6\* omits dan in dan-nu. 1.12\* omits MAN after ŠÚ.



# Index of Museum Numbers

## Baghdad, Iraq Museum

No.	RINAP 5	No.	RINAP 5	No.	RINAP 5
IM 11528+	4.2	IM 67611	7.1	IM —+	9.51
IM 56875	7.14	IM 67613	7.2		
IM 67608	7.6	IM 194015	59.19		

## Berkeley, Hearst Museum of Anthropology, University of California at Berkeley

No.	RINAP 5
HMA 9-1773+	22
HMA 9-1774+	22

## Berlin, Vorderasiatisches Museum

No.	RINAP 5	No.	RINAP 5	No.	RINAP 5
VA 2972+	6.2	VA 8997	60.9	VAT 4104	11.174
VA 3150	60.8			VAT 17108	13.5
VA 4332+	22	VA Ass 2256	68.2		
VA 8429	9.210				
VA 8434	9.208	VA Bab 1973	13.5		

## Birmingham, Birmingham Museums and Art Gallery

No.	RINAP 5
BCM 567 '31	60.13
BCM 568 '31	59.17
BCM 569 '31	60.14

## Breslau, Diözesanmuseum

No.	RINAP 5
—	59.10

**Brussels, Musées royaux d'Art et d'Histoire**

No.	RINAP 5
O 782	60.10

**Cambridge, Massachusetts, Harvard Semitic Museum**

No.	RINAP 5
HSM 890.3.7	9.202

**Chicago, Oriental Institute**

No.	RINAP 5	No.	RINAP 5	No.	RINAP 5
A 7919+	2.3*	A 7963	3.105*	A 8008+	4.6
A 7920+	1.2	A 7964+	3.75*	A 8009	4.17
A 7921	3.76*	A 7965+	3.94*	A 8010+	4.7
A 7922	3.77*	A 7966	3.106*	A 8011+	8.1
A 7923	3.78*	A 7967+	3.75*	A 8012+	8.1
A 7924	3.79*	A 7968+	3.107*	A 8013+	9.33
A 7925	3.80*	A 7969+	3.108*	A 8014	9.156
A 7926	3.81*	A 7970	3.109*	A 8015	9.157
A 7927+	3.82*	A 7971+	3.110*	A 8016+	9.34
A 7928+	3.5	A 7972+	3.94*	A 8017+	9.35
A 7929	3.83*	A 7973+	3.111*	A 8018+	9.31
A 7930+	3.5	A 7974+	3.112*	A 8019+	9.21
A 7931	3.84*	A 7975+	3.111*	A 8020	9.36*
A 7932	3.85*	A 7976+	3.113*	A 8021	9.158
A 7933+	3.5	A 7977	3.114*	A 8022	9.36
A 7934	3.86*	A 7978	3.115*	A 8023	9.159
A 7935+	3.6	A 7979	3.116*	A 8024	9.160
A 7936	3.87*	A 7980+	3.117*	A 8025	9.161
A 7937+	4.6	A 7981	3.118*	A 8026+	9.37
A 7938+	3.5	A 7982+	8.1	A 8027+	9.38
A 7939	3.88*	A 7983	3.119*	A 8028	9.162
A 7940	3.89*	A 7984+	3.120*	A 8029	9.163
A 7941	3.142*	A 7985+	8.1	A 8030+	9.39
A 7942+	6.7*	A 7986+	3.120*	A 8031	9.164
A 7943	3.90*	A 7987	3.121*	A 8032	9.165
A 7944+	3.5	A 7988+	8.2	A 8033	9.166
A 7945+	9.32	A 7989+	3.122*	A 8034	9.167
"A 7945b"+	3.91*	A 7990	3.123*	A 8035	9.168
A 7946+	3.91*	A 7991	3.124*	A 8036	9.169
A 7947+	3.92*	A 7992	3.125*	A 8037+	9.40
A 7948	3.93*	A 7993+	3.110*	A 8038+	9.41
A 7949+	3.94*	A 7994	3.126*	A 8039	9.170
A 7950	3.95*	A 7995+	3.62*	A 8040	9.171
A 7951+	3.92*	A 7996+	3.5	A 8041+	9.42
A 7952+	3.96*	A 7997	3.127*	A 8042	9.172
A 7953	3.97*	A 7998	3.128*	A 8043+	9.43
A 7954	3.98*	A 7999	3.129*	A 8044+	9.37
A 7955	3.99*	A 8000	3.130*	A 8045+	9.43
A 7956	3.100*	A 8001+	6.10*	A 8046+	9.44
A 7957	3.101*	A 8002+	3.75*	A 8047	9.173
A 7958	3.102*	A 8003+	8.1	A 8048+	9.43
A 7959	3.103*	A 8004+	8.2	A 8049+	9.19
A 7960+	8.1	A 8005+	4.4	A 8050	9.174
A 7961+	3.5	A 8006+	4.2	A 8051+	9.45
A 7962+	3.104*	A 8007	4.16	A 8052+	9.32

No.	RINAP 5	No.	RINAP 5	No.	RINAP 5
A 8053	9.175	A 8096+	11.30	A 8149	8.5
A 8054	9.176	A 8097	11.166	A 8150+	8.1
A 8055	9.177	A 8098+	11.31	A 8151+	8.1
A 8056	9.178	A 8099+	11.32	A 8152+	11.33
A 8057	9.179	A 8100+	11.32	A 8154	3.147*
A 8058+	9.34	A 8101	11.167	A 8155+	11.33
A 8059	9.37*	A 8102	9.192	A 8156	9.40*
A 8060	9.38*	A 8103	11.168	A 8159+	8.1
A 8061	9.180	A 8104+	8.1	A 8160+	11.33
A 8062+	9.6	A 8105+	12.3	A 8161+	3.117*
A 8063+	9.2	A 8106+	8.1	A 8162+	8.1
A 8064+	9.46	A 8107+	8.1	"A 10622"	9.196
A 8065	9.181	A 8109	8.3	"A 10623"	9.197
A 8066	9.182	A 8110	13.3	A 11848	9.198
A 8067+	9.34	A 8111+	8.1	A 11849	9.199
A 8068+	9.12	A 8112	5.6	A 11850	11.171
A 8069	9.183	A 8113	5.7	A 11851+	9.39
A 8070+	9.20	A 8114	5.8	A 11852+	9.7
A 8071	9.184	A 8115	5.9	A 11853	3.133*
A 8072+	9.2	A 8116	5.10	A 11854	11.172
A 8073	9.185	A 8117+	8.1	A 11855+	3.5
A 8074	9.186	A 8120	11.169	A 11856	3.134*
A 8075+	9.34	A 8122+	11.33	A 11857+	9.37
A 8076+	9.47	A 8124	9.193	A 11858	3.135*
A 8077+	9.48	A 8126	9.39*	A 11859	3.136*
A 8078+	9.44	A 8127	3.131*	A 11860	11.173
A 8079+	9.38	A 8128	8.1*	A 11861+	3.6
A 8080+	9.42	A 8129	11.170	A 11862+	4.10
A 8081	9.187	A 8130	1.3	A 11863	9.200
A 8082	9.188	A 8131	5.2	A 11864+	9.9
A 8083	9.189	A 8133+	3.5	A 11865+	3.6
A 8084	9.190	A 8136	3.132*	A 11866+	9.27
A 8085+	9.34	A 8137+	8.1	A 11867+	8.1
A 8086	9.191	A 8138+	1.2	A 11868+	9.50
A 8087+	9.49	A 8139	9.194	A 11869	9.201
A 8088	11.163	A 8140	2.4*	A 11870+	9.1
A 8089	6.15*	A 8142+	3.122*	A 11870A+	8.1
A 8090	6.16*	A 8143+	3.41*	A 16917+	9.2
A 8091	11.164	A 8144+	9.25		
A 8092+	11.29	A 8145	9.195	P1	3.135*
A 8093+	11.30	A 8146	3.146*	P2	3.136*
A 8094+	8.2	A 8147+	9.44		
A 8095	11.165	A 8148+	11.29		

### Como, Italy, Civico Museo Archeologico Paolo Giovio

No.	RINAP 5
—	53

### Geneva, Musée d'Art et d'Histoire

No.	RINAP 5
MAH 15849+	9.18
MAH 16513	3.137*
MAH 16514+	12.3

**Istanbul, Archaeological Museum**

No.	RINAP 5	No.	RINAP 5	No.	RINAP 5
A 647	9.206, 207	EŞ 60	59.12	EŞ 7832	12.1
EŞ 39	59.11	EŞ 6332	31	EŞ —	12.2
		EŞ 6699	61		

**Jerusalem, École Biblique et Archéologique Française**

No.	RINAP 5
ÉB 131+	9.2
ÉB 132+	9.42
ÉB 133+	9.47

**Leiden, Böhl Collection**

No.	RINAP 5	No.	RINAP 5	No.	RINAP 5
LB 1310+	9.33	LB 1313+	9.14	LB 1316	59.8
LB 1311+	9.24	LB 1314+	9.27	LB 1317	60.11
LB 1312	9.203	LB 1315+	4.8		

**Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden**

No.	RINAP 5
RMO 5468	60.11

**Liverpool, Garstang Museum**

No.	RINAP 5
—	45

**London, British Museum**

No.	RINAP 5	No.	RINAP 5	No.	RINAP 5
BM 22467	59.1	BM 84643	66	BM 98556+	3.1
BM 23577	60.1	BM 84645	65.2	BM 98557+	3.1*
BM 23578	60.2	BM 84599	65.4	BM 98569	11.137
BM 25026	9.68	BM 84648	65.5	BM 98629	4.13
BM 30422	9.61	BM 91086+	11.2	BM 98689	11.138
BM 30423+	11.12	BM 91588	68.3	BM 98865	62
BM 30425	9.62	BM 93007+	6.1	BM 98940+	11.4
BM 32646	11.108	BM 93008+	3.1	BM 99045	11.130
BM 32649	11.109	BM 93009+	11.4	BM 99049	11.131
BM 50790	67	BM 93010+	11.3	BM 99052	11.132
BM 84534	65.1	BM 94436	9.69	BM 99059	11.133



No.	RINAP 5	No.	RINAP 5	No.	RINAP 5
BM 99060	11.134	BM 123424+	11.28	BM 127880	9.82
BM 99061+	3.1*	BM 123425+	13.2	BM 127881	9.83
BM 99321	9.155	BM 123426	11.145	BM 127883	9.84
BM 99322	11.135	BM 123429	11.146	BM 127884+	9.14
BM 99326	15.1*	BM 123434	11.147	BM 127885	11.150
BM 99330	11.136	BM 123436+	3.6	BM 127886	3.40*
BM 99529+	4.1	BM 123437	11.148	BM 127887+	4.7
BM 100672	60.3	BM 123438+	3.32*	BM 127889+	10.1
BM 105315+	9.2	BM 123440+	11.27	BM 127890+	9.3
BM 105316+	9.2	BM 123441	3.33*	BM 127891+	9.12
BM 105317+	9.2	BM 124485+	9.30	BM 127892+	9.15
BM 105318+	9.2	BM 124793	49	BM 127893+	11.23
BM 105319+	9.2	BM 124794	50	BM 127894+	9.16
BM 105320+	9.2	BM 124801a-c	25-28	BM 127895	9.85
BM 105321+	9.2	BM 124802a-c	33-36	BM 127896+	5.3
BM 105322+	9.2	BM 124811	59.4	BM 127897	11.151
BM 105323	4.14	BM 124812	60.4	BM 127898	9.86
BM 105324+	9.2	BM 124813	60.5	BM 127899+	3.41*
BM 105325A	9.26*	BM 124814	59.5	BM 127900	9.87
BM 105326+	9.2	BM 124815	60.6	BM 127901+	9.42
BM 105327+	9.2	BM 124816	60.7	BM 127902	3.42*
BM 105328+	9.2	BM 124817	59.6	BM 127904+	9.11
BM 105328B+	9.2	BM 124819	59.7	BM 127905	9.88
BM 115024	59.2	BM 124886	57-58	BM 127906+	9.17
BM 115637	68.2*	BM 124919+	41	BM 127907	9.89
BM 115698	59.3	BM 124924	39	BM 127908	9.90
BM 117901+	9.2	BM 124931	40	BM 127909+	4.5
BM 117902+	11.26	BM 124941	29	BM 127910	9.91
BM 117903+	9.2	BM 124946	38	BM 127911+	9.49
BM 117904+	9.2	BM 127836+	11.26	BM 127912+	10.12
BM 117905+	9.2	BM 127838+	3.6	BM 127913	11.152
BM 117906+	9.2	BM 127839+	3.94*	BM 127915	9.92
BM 118766	70	BM 127840	4.15	BM 127916+	4.7
BM 121006+	10.1	BM 127841	9.72	BM 127917	9.93
BM 121008+	9.6	BM 127842+	9.9	BM 127918	6.9*
BM 121009+	9.32	BM 127843+	9.8	BM 127920+	9.18
BM 121010+	9.7	BM 127844	3.34*	BM 127921	9.94
BM 121012	11.139	BM 127847+	9.9	BM 127922 +	9.42
BM 121013+	9.8	BM 127848	3.35*	BM 127923+	2.2
BM 121014	11.140	BM 127849+	9.38	BM 127924	3.43*
BM 121015+	3.28*	BM 127850+	9.10	BM 127925+	9.17
BM 121016+	3.3	BM 127851	3.36*	BM 127926	3.44*
BM 121017+	4.10	BM 127852+	9.41	BM 127927	9.95
BM 121018+	2.1	BM 127853	9.73	BM 127928	9.96
BM 121020	3.4	BM 127854+	9.44	BM 127930+	9.12
BM 121021	9.70	BM 127855	9.74	BM 127933	9.97
BM 121023	9.71	BM 127856	9.75	BM 127934	3.45*
BM 121027	13.4	BM 127857	3.37*	BM 127935+	9.13
BM 121029+	2.3*	BM 127858	11.149	BM 127936	3.46*
BM 121051+	9.45	BM 127859	9.76	BM 127937	11.153
BM 121078	9.27*	BM 127860+	9.11	BM 127938+	9.19
BM 121080+	18	BM 127861+	3.3	BM 127940+	2.3
BM 121108+	18	BM 127862+	9.12	BM 127941	6.5*
BM 121118	3.144*	BM 127863	9.77	BM 127942+	4.10
BM 121130	3.29*	BM 127864+	9.13	BM 127943	9.98
BM 122095	71	BM 127865	3.38*	BM 127944+	9.15
BM 122616+	21	BM 127866	9.78	BM 127945	9.99
BM 122621	11.141	BM 127867+	4.8	BM 127946+	9.50
BM 123405	11.142	BM 127868	9.79	BM 127947+	9.20
BM 123406	3.30*	BM 127869	9.80	BM 127948	9.100
BM 123410+	13.1	BM 127870+	9.6	BM 127949	9.101
BM 123411+	11.27	BM 127871+	9.6	BM 127954	9.102
BM 123419+	11.28	BM 127873+	3.75*	BM 127955	9.103
BM 123420	11.143	BM 127874	9.81	BM 127956+	3.96*
BM 123421	3.31*	BM 127877	3.39*	BM 127957+	9.21
BM 123423	11.144	BM 127878+	9.7	BM 127958	6.2*

No.	RINAP 5	No.	RINAP 5	No.	RINAP 5
BM 127959+	9.20	BM 128117+	3.55*	BM 128302+	15.2
BM 127960+	9.22	BM 128121	11.158	BM 128303+	9.1
BM 127961+	3.41*	BM 128127+	3.28*	BM 128304	9.134
BM 127962+	9.9	BM 128130+	6.7*	BM 128305+	2.1
BM 127963	9.104	BM 128133+	6.7*	BM 128306+	2.4
BM 127965	9.105	BM 128134+	9.24	BM 128307+	6.10*
BM 127966+	21	BM 128136+	6.7*	BM 128308+	9.27
BM 127967	9.106	BM 128151	3.58*	BM 128309+	9.26
BM 127968	9.107	BM 128220+	3.6	BM 128310	9.135
BM 127971	9.108	BM 128224+	9.25	BM 128311+	15.2
BM 127973	9.109	BM 128226+	9.4	BM 128312	9.136
BM 127974	3.47*	BM 128227+	9.24	BM 128313+	9.9
BM 127976+	3.82*	BM 128230+	2.3*	BM 128315	9.137
BM 127977	11.154	BM 128231+	9.26	BM 128317+	3.59*
BM 127978	9.28*	BM 128233	11.159	BM 128319	3.65*
BM 127980	11.155	BM 128234+	9.26	BM 128320	9.138
BM 127981+	9.46	BM 128235+	9.25	BM 128321+	3.82*
BM 127982	9.29*	BM 128236+	9.25	BM 128324+	2.2
BM 127983	9.110	BM 128239+	9.27	BM 128325+	9.27
BM 127984	9.111	BM 128240+	3.59*	BM 128326+	9.12
BM 127986	9.30*	BM 128241+	3.55*	BM 128328	9.139
BM 127987	11.176	BM 128244	19	BM 128329	3.66*
BM 127988+	9.23	BM 128246+	9.44	BM 128330+	9.29
BM 127989	9.112	BM 128247+	9.27	BM 128331	3.67*
BM 127990+	9.42	BM 128248+	3.6	BM 128332	3.68*
BM 127991+	9.7	BM 128249	9.122	BM 134386+	41
BM 127992	9.31*	BM 128250+	5.3	BM 134431	9.140
BM 127993+	9.51	BM 128251+	9.26	BM 134433	9.141
BM 127994	17	BM 128252+	3.107*	BM 134434+	9.25
BM 127995	11.156	BM 128253	9.123	BM 134435+	3.5
BM 127997	3.48*	BM 128254+	9.124	BM 134436+	8.1
BM 127998	3.49*	BM 128255+	3.92*	BM 134437	9.142
BM 127999+	3.32*	BM 128256	3.60*	BM 134438+	9.6
BM 128000	9.113	BM 128257+	9.124	BM 134439+	3.69*
BM 128002+	9.10	BM 128258+	9.124	BM 134440	9.143
BM 128003	9.114	BM 128259+	9.26	BM 134441+	4.9
BM 128004+	5.3	BM 128260+	3.112*	BM 134442	5.5
BM 128005	9.32*	BM 128261+	9.28	BM 134443	9.144
BM 128006	9.115	BM 128262+	9.27	BM 134444	9.145
BM 128007	3.50*	BM 128263	10.13	BM 134445+	2.4
BM 128009+	3.107*	BM 128264	9.125	BM 134447+	9.29
BM 128011	9.33*	BM 128266+	4.4	BM 134448	3.70*
BM 128012+	4.5	BM 128267+	9.48	BM 134449+	3.71*
BM 128013	9.116	BM 128268	3.61*	BM 134450+	9.25
BM 128014+	3.96*	BM 128270	9.126	BM 134453+	9.26
BM 128015	3.51*	BM 128272+	9.26	BM 134454	2.5
BM 128021+	9.117	BM 128273+	3.62*	BM 134455+	2.3
BM 128031	9.118	BM 128275	3.63*	BM 134459+	9.26
BM 128039+	9.22	BM 128276+	4.10	BM 134460+	9.32
BM 128043	3.52*	BM 128277	9.2*	BM 134462	5.1
BM 128044	9.119	BM 128278+	9.124	BM 134463+	9.29
BM 128053	3.53*	BM 128281	9.127	BM 134464+	5.4
BM 128058	9.34*	BM 128282+	3.41*	BM 134466+	9.35
BM 128060+	4.5	BM 128283	9.44	BM 134467+	9.30
BM 128064	3.54*	BM 128284	9.128	BM 134470+	9.32
BM 128073+	21	BM 128286+	9.117	BM 134471	9.146
BM 128075	9.4*	BM 128287+	4.8	BM 134472+	9.32
BM 128078+	9.14	BM 128288	3.64*	BM 134473+	9.32
BM 128085+	3.55*	BM 128291	9.129	BM 134474+	9.26
BM 128086	3.56*	BM 128293	9.130	BM 134477+	3.71*
BM 128096	3.57*	BM 128294+	9.28	BM 134478	9.147
BM 128098	9.120	BM 128296+	5.3	BM 134479+	5.4
BM 128100	9.35*	BM 128298+	2.3*	BM 134480+	10.12
BM 128102	9.121	BM 128299	9.131	BM 134481+	2.1
BM 128105+	9.42	BM 128300	9.132	BM 134483+	9.23
BM 128113	11.157	BM 128301	9.133	BM 134484+	9.26

No.	RINAP 5	No.	RINAP 5	No.	RINAP 5
BM 134486	3.72*	79-7-8,1	11.110	82-5-22,21	15.1
BM 134487+	3.69*	79-7-8,9+	11.24	82-5-22,530	11.125
BM 134491	10.14	79-7-8,10+	4.3	82-5-22,609A	68.9*
BM 134493	9.148	79-7-8,12+	11.25	82-5-22,611A	68.8*
BM 134494+	11.24	79-7-8,13	11.111	82-5-22,1796	68.8
BM 134495+	9.40	79-7-8,279	11.112	82-5-22,1797	68.12*
BM 134509	10.15	79-7-8,284	9.24*	83-1-18,600+	13.2
BM 134516	9.149	79-7-8,308	9.63	83-1-18,602+	4.9
BM 134547	9.150	80-7-19,6	11.113	83-1-18,603	9.64
BM 134558+	9.16	80-7-19,7+	11.3	83-1-18,604	9.65
BM 134579	10.16	80-7-19,8+	9.5	83-1-18,613	65.3
BM 134607	11.160	80-7-19,212	68.6*		
BM 134608	11.161	80-7-19,213	68.11*	Bu 89-4-26,47	11.126
BM 134609	20.2	80-7-19,214	68.3	Bu 89-4-26,144	3.27*
BM 134824	11.162	80-7-19,215	68.13*	Bu 89-4-26,146	65.11
BM 134830	3.73*	80-7-19,274+	11.25	Bu 89-4-26,151	2.2*
BM 135122	32	80-7-19,276	3.145*	Bu 89-4-26,153+	11.21
BM 135453	69.1	80-7-19,278	11.114	Bu 89-4-26,180	68.10*
BM 136973	63	80-7-19,284	10.9	Bu 91-5-9,77	9.66
BM 138182+	9.31	80-7-19,298+	9.5	Bu 91-5-9,129+	11.127
BM 138183+	9.2	81-2-4,6	32	Bu 91-5-9,139+	13.1
BM 138186	9.151	81-2-4,7	71	Bu 91-5-9,175+	11.127
BM 138187+	9.34	81-2-4,25	69.1	Bu 91-5-9,190	11.128
BM 138189	3.74*	81-2-4,26	70	Bu 91-5-9,195	9.67
BM 138190	9.3*	81-2-4,43+	10.3	Bu 91-5-9,200+	11.127
BM 138191+	3.75*	81-2-4,167+	10.5		
BM 138192+	4.5	81-2-4,172+	6.1	97-5-16,41	60.1
BM 138193+	3.75*	81-2-4,176+	10.8	97-5-16,42	60.2
BM 138194+	9.31	81-2-4,177	10.10	98-2-16,80	9.68
BM 139431	68.4*	81-2-4,180	11.115	1901-10-12,89	9.69
BM 139432	68.17*	81-2-4,181+	11.16		
BM 139999a	23.14	81-2-4,325	11.116	Ki 1902-5-10,8+	9.44
		81-2-4,343+	10.3	Ki 1902-5-10,11	9.152
48-11-4,34	59.4	81-2-4,491+	11.15	Ki 1902-5-10,12	11.129
51-9-2,7a-c	33-36	81-7-27,10	3.23*	Ki 1902-5-10,18	9.153
51-9-2,8a-c	25-28	81-7-27,11+	11.22	Ki 1902-5-10,22	9.154
51-9-2,51	65.1	81-7-27,12	3.24*	Ki 1904-10-9,74	11.130
51-9-2,118	65.4	81-7-27,13+	11.64	Ki 1904-10-9,78	11.131
51-9-2,162	66	81-7-27,14	11.117	Ki 1904-10-9,81	11.132
51-9-2,164	65.2	81-7-27,15	9.25*	Ki 1904-10-9,88	11.133
51-9-2,167	65.5	81-7-27,16+	6.1	Ki 1904-10-9,89	11.134
55-12-5,2	68.9	81-7-27,18+	3.7*	Ki 1904-10-9,90+	3.1*
55-12-5,3	68.4	81-7-27,92	3.25*	Ki 1904-10-9,354	9.155
55-12-5,4	68.14*	81-7-27,112+	10.3	Ki 1904-10-9,355	11.135
55-12-5,8	68.18*	81-7-27,177	68.1	Ki 1904-10-9,359	15.1*
55-12-5,9	68.6	81-7-27,181	68.3*	Ki 1904-10-9,362+	4.1
55-12-5,10+	68.7	81-7-27,250+	10.3	Ki 1904-10-9,363	11.136
55-12-5,11	69.2*	81-7-27,263	2.5*		
55-12-5,12	68.15*	82-3-23,76+	11.15	Th 1905-4-9,62+	3.1
55-12-5,14	68.16*	82-3-23,1782	67	Th 1905-4-9,63+	3.1*
55-12-5,15	68.5	82-5-22,1+	11.13	Th 1905-4-9,75	11.137
55-12-5,18	68.2*	82-5-22,2	14	Th 1905-4-9,135	4.13
55-12-5,33+	68.7	82-5-22,3	11.118	Th 1905-4-9,195	11.138
56-9-9,17-18	40	82-5-22,4+	11.14	Th 1905-4-9,371	62
56-9-9,30	39	82-5-22,5+	11.9	Th 1905-4-9,446+	11.4
56-9-9,34	38	82-5-22,6	10.11		
56-9-9,38	29	82-5-22,7	3.26*	1905-7-8,1	60.3
56-9-9,51	57-58	82-5-22,9	11.119	1913-4-16,147+	9.2
56-9-9,52+	41	82-5-22,11	11.120	1913-4-16,148+	9.2
56-9-9,55	50	82-5-22,14	11.121	1913-4-16,149+	9.2
66-5-19,1	16	82-5-22,15+	6.1	1913-4-16,150+	9.2
76-11-17,145	9.61	82-5-22,16	11.122	1913-4-16,151+	9.2
76-11-17,146+	11.12	82-5-22,17	11.123	1913-4-16,152+	9.2
76-11-17,148	9.62	82-5-22,18+	13.1	1913-4-16,153+	9.2
76-11-17,2413	11.108	82-5-22,19+	3.1	1913-4-16,154+	9.2
76-11-17,2416	11.109	82-5-22,20	11.124	1913-4-16,155	4.14

No.	RINAP 5	No.	RINAP 5	No.	RINAP 5
1913-4-16,156+	9.2	1929-10-12,529+	3.75*	1929-10-12,611	9.103
1913-4-16,157A	9.26*	1929-10-12,530	9.81	1929-10-12,612+	3.96*
1913-4-16,158+	9.2	1929-10-12,533	3.39*	1929-10-12,613+	9.21
1913-4-16,159+	9.2	1929-10-12,534+	9.7	1929-10-12,614	6.2*
1913-4-16,160+	9.2	1929-10-12,536	9.82	1929-10-12,615+	9.20
1913-4-16,160B+	9.2	1929-10-12,537	9.83	1929-10-12,616+	9.22
1922-8-12,75	59.3	1929-10-12,539	9.84	1929-10-12,617+	3.41*
1926-2-15,21+	9.2	1929-10-12,540+	9.14	1929-10-12,618+	9.9
1926-2-15,23+	9.2	1929-10-12,541	11.150	1929-10-12,619	9.104
1926-2-15,24+	9.2	1929-10-12,542	3.40*	1929-10-12,621	9.105
1926-2-15,25+	9.2	1929-10-12,543+	4.7	1929-10-12,622+	21
1926-2-15,26+	9.2	1929-10-12,545+	10.1	1929-10-12,623	9.106
1929-10-12,2+	10.1	1929-10-12,546+	9.3	1929-10-12,624	9.107
1929-10-12,4+	9.6	1929-10-12,547+	9.12	1929-10-12,627	9.108
1929-10-12,5+	9.32	1929-10-12,548+	9.15	1929-10-12,629	9.109
1929-10-12,6+	9.7	1929-10-12,549+	11.23	1929-10-12,630	3.47*
1929-10-12,8	11.139	1929-10-12,550+	9.16	1929-10-12,632+	3.82*
1929-10-12,9+	9.8	1929-10-12,551	9.85	1929-10-12,633	11.154
1929-10-12,10	11.140	1929-10-12,552+	5.3	1929-10-12,634	9.28*
1929-10-12,11+	3.28*	1929-10-12,553	11.151	1929-10-12,636	11.155
1929-10-12,12+	3.3	1929-10-12,554	9.86	1929-10-12,637+	9.46
1929-10-12,13+	4.10	1929-10-12,555+	3.41*	1929-10-12,638	9.29*
1929-10-12,14+	2.1	1929-10-12,556	9.87	1929-10-12,639	9.110
1929-10-12,16	3.4	1929-10-12,557+	9.42	1929-10-12,640	9.111
1929-10-12,17	9.70	1929-10-12,558	3.42*	1929-10-12,642	9.30*
1929-10-12,19	9.71	1929-10-12,560+	9.11	1929-10-12,643	11.177
1929-10-12,23	13.4	1929-10-12,561	9.88	1929-10-12,644+	9.23
1929-10-12,25+	2.3*	1929-10-12,562+	9.17	1929-10-12,645	9.112
1929-10-12,47+	9.45	1929-10-12,563	9.89	1929-10-12,646+	9.42
1929-10-12,74	9.27*	1929-10-12,564	9.90	1929-10-12,647+	9.7
1929-10-12,76+	18	1929-10-12,565+	4.5	1929-10-12,648	9.31*
1929-10-12,104+	18	1929-10-12,566	9.91	1929-10-12,649+	9.51
1929-10-12,114	3.144*	1929-10-12,567	9.49	1929-10-12,650	17
1929-10-12,126	3.29*	1929-10-12,568+	10.12	1929-10-12,651	11.156
1929-10-12,492+	11.26	1929-10-12,569	11.152	1929-10-12,653	3.48*
1929-10-12,495+	3.94*	1929-10-12,571	9.92	1929-10-12,654	3.49*
1929-10-12,496	4.15	1929-10-12,572+	4.7	1929-10-12,655+	3.32*
1929-10-12,497	9.72	1929-10-12,573	9.93	1929-10-12,656	9.113
1929-10-12,498+	9.9	1929-10-12,574	6.9*	1929-10-12,658+	9.10
1929-10-12,499+	9.8	1929-10-12,576+	9.18	1929-10-12,659	9.114
1929-10-12,500	3.34*	1929-10-12,577	9.94	1929-10-12,660+	5.3
1929-10-12,503+	9.9	1929-10-12,578+	9.42	1929-10-12,661	9.32*
1929-10-12,504	3.35*	1929-10-12,579+	2.2	1929-10-12,662	9.115
1929-10-12,505+	9.38	1929-10-12,580	3.43*	1929-10-12,663	3.50*
1929-10-12,506+	9.10	1929-10-12,581+	9.17	1929-10-12,665+	3.107*
1929-10-12,507	3.36*	1929-10-12,582	3.44*	1929-10-12,667	9.33*
1929-10-12,508+	9.41	1929-10-12,583	9.95	1929-10-12,668+	4.5
1929-10-12,509	9.73	1929-10-12,584	9.96	1929-10-12,669	9.116
1929-10-12,510+	9.44	1929-10-12,586+	9.12	1929-10-12,670+	3.96*
1929-10-12,511	9.74	1929-10-12,589	9.97	1929-10-12,671	3.51*
1929-10-12,512	9.75	1929-10-12,590	3.45*	1929-10-12,677+	9.117
1929-10-12,513	3.37*	1929-10-12,591+	9.13	1929-10-12,687	9.118
1929-10-12,514	11.149	1929-10-12,592	3.46*	1929-10-12,695+	9.22
1929-10-12,515	9.76	1929-10-12,593	11.153	1929-10-12,699	3.52*
1929-10-12,516+	9.11	1929-10-12,594+	9.19	1929-10-12,700	9.119
1929-10-12,517+	3.3	1929-10-12,596+	2.3	1929-10-12,709	3.53*
1929-10-12,518+	9.12	1929-10-12,597	6.5*	1929-10-12,714	9.34*
1929-10-12,519	9.77	1929-10-12,598+	4.10	1929-10-12,716+	4.5
1929-10-12,520+	9.13	1929-10-12,599	9.98	1929-10-12,720	3.54*
1929-10-12,521	3.38*	1929-10-12,600+	9.15	1929-10-12,729+	21
1929-10-12,522	9.78	1929-10-12,601	9.99	1929-10-12,731	9.4*
1929-10-12,523+	4.8	1929-10-12,602+	9.50	1929-10-12,734+	9.14
1929-10-12,524+	9.79	1929-10-12,603+	9.20	1929-10-12,741+	3.55*
1929-10-12,525	9.80	1929-10-12,604	9.100	1929-10-12,742	3.56*
1929-10-12,526+	9.6	1929-10-12,605	9.101	1929-10-12,752	3.57*
1929-10-12,527+	9.6	1929-10-12,610	9.102	1929-10-12,754	9.120

No.	RINAP 5	No.	RINAP 5	No.	RINAP 5
1929-10-12,756	9.35*	1932-12-10,523+	4.4	1932-12-12,444+	3.71*
1929-10-12,758	9.121	1932-12-10,524	9.48	1932-12-12,445+	9.25
1929-10-12,761+	9.42	1932-12-10,525	3.61*	1932-12-12,448+	9.26
1929-10-12,769	11.157	1932-12-10,527	9.126	1932-12-12,449	2.5
1929-10-12,773+	3.55*	1932-12-10,529+	9.26	1932-12-12,450+	2.3
1929-10-12,777	11.158	1932-12-10,530	3.62*	1932-12-12,454+	9.26
1929-10-12,783+	3.28*	1932-12-10,532	3.63*	1932-12-12,455+	9.32
1929-10-12,786+	6.7*	1932-12-10,533+	4.10	1932-12-12,457	5.1
1929-10-12,789+	6.7*	1932-12-10,534	9.2*	1932-12-12,458+	9.29
1929-10-12,790+	9.24	1932-12-10,534+	9.124	1932-12-12,459+	5.4
1929-10-12,792+	6.7*	1932-12-10,538	9.127	1932-12-12,461+	9.35
1929-10-12,807	3.58*	1932-12-10,539+	3.41*	1932-12-12,462+	9.30
1930-5-8,5+	21	1932-12-10,540+	9.44	1932-12-12,465+	9.32
1930-5-8,10	11.141	1932-12-10,541	9.128	1932-12-12,466	9.146
1932-12-10,348	11.142	1932-12-10,543+	9.117	1932-12-12,467+	9.32
1932-12-10,349	3.30*	1932-12-10,544+	4.8	1932-12-12,468+	9.32
1932-12-10,353+	13.1	1932-12-10,545	3.64*	1932-12-12,469+	9.26
1932-12-10,354+	11.27	1932-12-10,548	9.129	1932-12-12,472+	3.71*
1932-12-10,362+	11.28	1932-12-10,550	9.130	1932-12-12,473	9.147
1932-12-10,363	11.143	1932-12-10,551+	9.28	1932-12-12,474+	5.4
1932-12-10,364	3.31*	1932-12-10,553+	5.3	1932-12-12,475+	10.12
1932-12-10,366	11.144	1932-12-10,555+	2.3*	1932-12-12,476+	2.1
1932-12-10,367+	11.28	1932-12-10,556	9.131	1932-12-12,478+	9.23
1932-12-10,368+	13.2	1932-12-10,557	9.132	1932-12-12,479+	9.26
1932-12-10,369	11.145	1932-12-10,558	9.133	1932-12-12,480+	9.30
1932-12-10,372	11.146	1932-12-10,559+	15.2	1932-12-12,481	3.72*
1932-12-10,377	11.147	1932-12-10,560+	9.1	1932-12-12,482+	3.69*
1932-12-10,379+	3.6	1932-12-10,561	9.134	1932-12-12,486	10.14
1932-12-10,380	11.148	1932-12-10,562+	2.1	1932-12-12,488	9.148
1932-12-10,381+	3.32*	1932-12-10,563+	2.4	1932-12-12,489+	11.24
1932-12-10,383+	11.27	1932-12-10,564+	6.10*	1932-12-12,490+	9.40
1932-12-10,384	3.33*	1932-12-10,565+	9.27	1932-12-12,504	10.15
1932-12-10,477+	3.6	1932-12-10,566+	9.26	1932-12-12,511	9.149
1932-12-10,481+	9.25	1932-12-10,567	9.135	1932-12-12,542	9.150
1932-12-10,483+	9.4	1932-12-10,568+	15.2	1932-12-12,553+	9.16
1932-12-10,484+	9.24	1932-12-10,569	9.136	1932-12-12,574	10.16
1932-12-10,487+	2.3*	1932-12-10,570+	9.9	1932-12-12,602	11.160
1932-12-10,488+	9.26	1932-12-10,572	9.137	1932-12-12,603	11.161
1932-12-10,490	11.159	1932-12-10,574+	3.59*	1932-12-12,604	20.2
1932-12-10,491+	9.26	1932-12-10,576	3.65*	1932-12-12,619	11.162
1932-12-10,492+	9.25	1932-12-10,577	9.138	1932-12-12,625	3.73*
1932-12-10,493+	9.25	1932-12-10,578+	3.82*	1932-12-12,909+	9.31
1932-12-10,494+	3.6	1932-12-10,581+	2.2	1932-12-12,910+	9.2
1932-12-10,496+	9.27	1932-12-10,582+	9.27	1932-12-12,913	9.151
1932-12-10,497+	3.59*	1932-12-10,583+	9.12	1932-12-12,914+	9.34
1932-12-10,498+	3.55*	1932-12-10,585	9.139	1932-12-12,916	3.74*
1932-12-10,501	19	1932-12-10,586	3.66*	1932-12-12,917	9.3*
1932-12-10,503+	9.44	1932-12-10,587+	9.29	1932-12-12,918+	3.75*
1932-12-10,504+	9.27	1932-12-10,588	3.67*	1932-12-12,919+	4.5
1932-12-10,505+	3.6	1932-12-10,589	3.68*	1932-12-12,920+	3.75*
1932-12-10,506	9.122	1932-12-12,426	9.140	1932-12-12,921+	9.31
1932-12-10,507+	5.3	1932-12-12,428	9.141	1964-7-11,1+	41
1932-12-10,508+	9.26	1932-12-12,429+	9.25	1983-1-1,6	68.4*
1932-12-10,509+	3.107*	1932-12-12,430+	3.5	1983-1-1,7	68.17*
1932-12-10,510	9.123	1932-12-12,431+	8.1	1983-1-1,352	23.14
1932-12-10,511+	9.124	1932-12-12,432	9.142		
1932-12-10,512+	3.92*	1932-12-12,433+	9.6	2007-6024,453	54-55
1932-12-10,513	3.60*	1932-12-12,434+	3.69*	2007-6024,479	43
1932-12-10,514+	9.124	1932-12-12,435	9.143		
1932-12-10,515+	9.124	1932-12-12,436+	4.9	Add. MS 38981	30
1932-12-10,516+	9.26	1932-12-12,437	5.5		
1932-12-10,517+	3.112*	1932-12-12,438	9.144	DT 94+	10.8
1932-12-10,518+	9.28	1932-12-12,439	9.145	DT 100+	10.3
1932-12-10,519+	9.27	1932-12-12,440+	2.4	DT 102+	4.3
1932-12-10,520	10.13	1932-12-12,442+	9.29	DT 145	20.1
1932-12-10,521	9.125	1932-12-12,443	3.70*	DT 158	11.93

No.	RINAP 5	No.	RINAP 5	No.	RINAP 5
DT 159	11.94	K 1745	11.41	K 1788	11.56
DT 160+	10.3	K 1746+	11.5	K 1789	11.57
DT 162+	11.20	K 1747A+	11.2	K 1790+	11.4
DT 293	11.180	K 1747B+	11.2	K 1791	11.58
DT 501	68.7*	K 1747C+	11.2	K 1792	11.59
		K 1747D+	11.2	K 1793+	11.11
K 1678+	11.2	K 1747E+	11.2	K 1794+	6.1
K 1697+	11.3	K 1752+	3.3*	K 1795+	11.5
K 1698+	11.4	K 1754A+	11.2	K 1796	3.5*
K 1700+	4.3	K 1758A+	11.9	K 1797	11.60
K 1701	11.34	K 1758B	11.42	K 1798	11.61
K 1703+	6.3	K 1761A+	11.5	K 1800+	11.13
K 1704+	6.3	K 1762A+	11.2	K 1801	6.12*
K 1705+	6.2	K 1762B+	11.2	K 1805+	11.14
K 1706A+	11.5	K 1762C+	11.2	K 1811+	4.1
K 1706B	11.35	K 1762D+	11.2	K 1815+	3.6*
K 1706C+	11.2	K 1762E+	11.2	K 1816	9.211
K 1706D+	11.2	K 1762F+	11.2	K 1817+	11.3
K 1706E+	11.2	K 1762G+	11.2	K 1818A+	11.3
K 1706F +	11.2	K 1763A+	11.2	K 1819+	11.10
K 1706G+	11.2	K 1763B+	11.2	K 1820	9.5*
K 1706H+	11.2	K 1763C+	11.2	K 1821	1.1
K 1706I+	11.2	K 1763D+	11.2	K 1822+	11.15
K 1706J+	11.2	K 1763E+	11.2	K 1823+	11.9
K 1706K+	11.2	K 1763F+	11.2	K 1824+	11.16
K 1706L+	11.2	K 1763G+	11.6	K 1825	11.62
K 1707+	6.2	K 1763H+	11.2	K 1826	11.63
K 1708A+	11.2	K 1763I+	11.2	K 1827+	11.10
K 1708B+	11.2	K 1763J+	11.2	K 1828	2.1*
K 1708C+	11.2	K 1763K+	11.2	K 1829+	11.11
K 1708D+	11.2	K 1763L+	11.2	K 1830	10.4
K 1708E+	11.2	K 1763M+	11.2	K 1831+	11.17
K 1708F+	11.2	K 1763N+	11.2	K 1833+	11.64
K 1708G+	11.2	K 1763O+	11.2	K 1836+	4.3
K 1708H+	11.2	K 1763P+	11.2	K 1837+	10.5
K 1708I+	11.2	K 1763Q+	11.2	K 1839+	4.1
K 1708J+	11.2	K 1763R+	11.2	K 1840+	11.18
K 1709	6.8*	K 1763S+	11.2	K 1841+	11.18
K 1710+	3.1*	K 1763T+	11.2	K 1842+	11.11
K 1712+	11.6	K 1764	11.43	K 1843+	3.7*
K 1712A+	11.6	K 1766	11.44	K 1844+	4.3
K 1712B+	11.6	K 1768+	11.8	K 1847*+	3.1
K 1713+	4.3	K 1769+	10.3	K 1848	6.3*
K 1716+	3.2*	K 1770	11.45	K 1850A+	11.11
K 1717+	4.3	K 1771	11.46	K 1851	11.65
K 1719+	11.5	K 1772	11.47	K 1852+	4.1
K 1720+	11.5	K 1773	11.48	K 1854	6.6*
K 1721+	11.5	K 1774	11.49	K 1855	9.52
K 1722+	11.7	K 1775+	3.1	K 2730+	3.3*
K 1723+	11.36	K 1775A+	11.2	K 2732+	3.1
K 1724+	11.7	K 1775B	11.50	K 2733+	3.6*
K 1726	11.37	K 1775C+	11.2	K 2734	11.66
K 1727	11.38	K 1775D+	11.2	K 2735	11.67
K 1729	10.2	K 1775E+	11.2	K 2737	11.68
K 1730+	11.8	K 1775F+	11.2	K 2738	11.69
K 1731	4.11	K 1777+	11.10	K 2739	11.70
K 1732+	4.3	K 1778	11.51	K 2750	11.71
K 1734+	11.36	K 1779+	4.3	K 3057	11.72
K 1735	11.39	K 1780+	11.11	K 3058+	11.15
K 1736+	11.5	K 1781	11.52	K 3061A+	10.6
K 1737+	4.3	K 1782	11.53	K 3407	11.73
K 1738+	11.8	K 1783+	11.11	K 6002	3.8*
K 1739+	11.5	K 1784	11.54	K 6376+	11.3
K 1741+	4.1	K 1785+	11.12	K 6377	11.74
K 1742+	11.5	K 1786	3.4*	K 6378+	11.19
K 1744	11.40	K 1787	11.55	K 6381	10.1*

No.	RINAP 5	No.	RINAP 5	No.	RINAP 5
K 6383	10.17	K 21420	3.140*	Rm 2,81	11.107
K 7563+	11.2	K 21651	3.141*	Rm 2,84+	11.3
K 7564+	11.2	K 21813+	11.84	Rm 2,85+	3.1
K 7565+	11.2	K 22109	9.16*	Rm 2,89+	11.23
K 7566+	11.2	K 22110+	3.15*	Rm 2,182	9.22*
K 7567+	11.2	K 22111	9.17*	Rm 2,183	9.60
K 7568+	11.2	K 22113+	3.15*	Rm 2,231+	9.4
K 7569+	11.2			Rm 2,387	6.4*
K 7572	3.9*	Rm 1+	11.1	Rm 2,397	9.23*
K 7573	3.10*	Rm 2+	11.21	Rm 2,433	65.8
K 8015	9.53	Rm 3+	6.2	Rm 2,546	6.1*
K 8537+	11.2	Rm 5+	11.21	Rm 2,573+	11.17
K 10012	9.6*	Rm 6+	11.21	Rm 2,593+	11.5
K 11367	9.1*	Rm 7+	11.21	Rm 2,604+	11.5
K 11715	11.177	Rm 8+	11.17		
K 12008	9.7*	Rm 9+	11.21	Sm 1+	11.14
K 13282	9.8*	Rm 10	11.95	Sm 344	3.16*
K 13730+	6.1	Rm 11+	11.21	Sm 581	9.18*
K 13736+	3.11*	Rm 12	9.56	Sm 1712+	3.1
K 13751	6.13*	Rm 14+	11.21	Sm 1878+	4.3
K 13754	9.9*	Rm 15+	3.108*	Sm 1879+	4.1
K 13764+	3.1	Rm 16+	9.3	Sm 1882	6.11*
K 13778	8.4	Rm 17+	11.31	Sm 1887+	4.1
K 14435	11.75	Rm 18+	3.113*	Sm 1888+	11.8
K 14981	11.1*	Rm 19	9.57	Sm 1890	3.17*
K 15110+	11.1	Rm 20+	11.96	Sm 1989+	4.3
K 15149	11.76	Rm 22	9.58	Sm 2018+	11.14
K 15199	11.77	Rm 23	11.97	Sm 2020+	4.3
K 15331	10.7	Rm 24+	3.104*	Sm 2023+	11.11
K 15347+	3.2*	Rm 27	6.4	Sm 2024	11.85
K 15348+	11.5	Rm 28	3.22*	Sm 2026	6.14*
K 15352+	11.3	Rm 29	11.98	Sm 2028+	3.1
K 15355	9.54	Rm 31	4.12	Sm 2031	11.86
K 16017+	3.1	Rm 32	11.99	Sm 2032	9.55
K 16018	9.10*	Rm 33	11.100	Sm 2033	3.2
K 16019+	11.2	Rm 34	11.101	Sm 2036	11.87
K 16020+	10.5	Rm 35	9.21*	Sm 2038	11.88
K 16029	3.12*	Rm 36	11.102	Sm 2041	3.18*
K 16030	9.11*	Rm 496	11.103	Sm 2044	9.19*
K 16032+	11.2	Rm 631	65.6	Sm 2046+	11.15
K 16033	3.138*	Rm 639	65.7	Sm 2048	11.89
K 16775	3.139*	Rm 1093	49	Sm 2053	11.90
K 16777+	11.2	Rm 2,46+	11.5	Sm 2094+	3.19*
K 16778	11.78	Rm 2,49+	11.3	Sm 2100	3.20*
K 16779+	11.2	Rm 2,51+	11.5	Sm 2101+	6.1
K 16907	9.12*	Rm 2,55+	11.22	Sm 2103+	6.1
K 16962	9.13*	Rm 2,57+	11.5	Sm 2104	11.91
K 16986	11.79	Rm 2,58	11.104	Sm 2107+	3.19*
K 17212	9.14*	Rm 2,59+	11.5	Sm 2109+	6.1
K 17471	9.15*	Rm 2,61+	11.3	Sm 2110	11.92
K 17588	3.143*	Rm 2,62	11.105	Sm 2111+	10.3
K 18083+	3.11*	Rm 2,63+	11.5	Sm 2114+	11.19
K 18114	3.13*	Rm 2,64+	11.5	Sm 2117	9.20*
K 18164	11.178	Rm 2,65+	11.5	Sm 2127	3.21*
K 18813	11.80	Rm 2,66+	11.96	Sm 2207	65.9
K 19421	3.14*	Rm 2,67+	11.3	Sm 2220	69.3*
K 19424	11.81	Rm 2,68+	11.5	Sm 2240	65.10
K 19670	11.82	Rm 2,70	9.59	Sm 2243	69.1*
K 19681+	11.20	Rm 2,73+	11.6	Sm 2246	68.5*
K 20076	11.179	Rm 2,74+	11.3	Sm 2374	68.19*
K 20616+	10.6	Rm 2,76+	11.17	Sm 2409	68.1*
K 20749	11.83	Rm 2,77	11.106	Sm 2492	63
K 21389+	11.84	Rm 2,78+	11.17		
K 21417+	11.84	Rm 2,79	10.18		

**New Haven, Yale Babylonian Collection**

No.	RINAP 5	No.	RINAP 5	No.	RINAP 5
YBC 2385	59.9	YBC 7128	9.204	YBC 7651	9.205
YBC 7116	9.41*	YBC 7133	11.175		

**New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art**

No.	RINAP 5
MMA 86.11.413+	22

**Oslo, Schøyen Collection**

No.	RINAP 5
MS 2180	59.18

**Paris, Louvre**

No.	RINAP 5	No.	RINAP 5	No.	RINAP 5
AO 19903	55-56	AO 19905	44, 46	AO 19939+	9.1
AO 19904	47	AO 19914	37		

**Rome, Vatican**

No.	RINAP 5
VAT 14985+	42
VAT 14996+	42



# Index of Excavation Numbers

## Aššur

No.	RINAP 5	No.	RINAP 5	No.	RINAP 5
Ass 289	68.2	Ass 900+	61	Ass 19286	9.209
Ass 825a	9.206	Ass 904+	61	Ass 19397	9.210
Ass 825b	9.207	Ass 905+	61		
Ass 877+	61	Ass 9892	9.208		

## Babylon

No.	RINAP 5	No.	RINAP 5	No.	RINAP 5
BE 31663	12.1	BE 38075	13.5	BE —	12.2

## Nimrud

No.	RINAP 5	No.	RINAP 5	No.	RINAP 5
ND 814	7.14	ND 5413E+	7.1	ND 5533+	7.1
ND 4306+	7.1	ND 5517+	7.6	ND 5534	7.8
ND 4326	7.13	ND 5518+	7.1	ND 5536+	7.3
ND 4378+	7.3	ND 5519+	7.1	ND 5537+	7.1
ND 4378A+	7.3	ND 5520+	7.1	ND 5538+	7.5
ND 4378B+	7.1	ND 5521+	7.1	ND 5541+	7.2
ND 4378C+	7.1	ND 5522+	7.1	ND 5543	7.16
ND 4378D+	7.3	ND 5523+	7.1	ND 5546+	7.5
ND 5405	7.9	ND 5524+	7.1	ND 5547+	7.5
ND 5406+	7.6	ND 5525+	7.1	ND 5548+	7.1
ND 5407+	7.1	ND 5526+	7.2	ND 5549+	7.3
ND 5408	7.10	ND 5527	7.15	ND 6205A+	7.3
ND 5409+	7.3	ND 5528+	7.3	ND 6205B-D+	7.4
ND 5410	7.11	ND 5529+	7.1	ND 6205E+	7.4
ND 5411A-E+	7.4	ND 5530+	7.3	ND 6206	7.12
ND 5412+	7.4	ND 5531+	7.1		
ND 5413A-D+	7.4	ND 5532+	7.1		

## Nineveh

No.	RINAP 5	No.	RINAP 5	No.	RINAP 5
TM 1931-2,—+	9.32	TM 1931-2,12	9.145	TM 1931-2,22	5.1
TM 1931-2,5+	9.6	TM 1931-2,14+	2.3	TM 1931-2,25	9.142
TM 1931-2,9	5.5	TM 1931-2,15+	4.9	TM 1931-2,26+	8.1
TM 1931-2,10	9.144	TM 1931-2,16+	9.29		
TM 1931-2,11+	2.4	TM 1931-2,19	9.140		



# Index of Names

## Personal Names

- Abī-Ba'al (king of Samsimurruna):** 6 ii 35'; 7 ii 6'.
- Abī-Ba'al (son of Yakīn-Lû):** 3 ii 77, 84; 4 ii 51', 58'; 6 iii 108', 115'; 7 iii 9'', 15''; 8 iii 34', 42'; 9 ii 1, 7; 11 ii 82, 90.
- Abī-Milki:** 11 ii 84, ii 92.
- Abī-Yate':** 3 viii 25; 4 viii 29; 6 x 6'; 7 x 3'; 11 vii 97, viii 31, 65, 77, 94, ix 16, 19, x 2; 22 i' 3''.
- Adad-nārārī III:** 7 x 54'.
- Adapa:** 15 i 8'.
- Adāsi:** 10 v 40.
- Adiya:** 8 ix 1''; 11 viii 24.
- Admēsu:** 6 ii 44'; 7 ii 15'.
- Adūni-Ba'al:** 3 ii 77, 84; 4 ii 51', 58'; 6 iii 108', 115'; 7 iii 9'', 15''; 8 iii 35', 42'; 9 ii 1, 7; 11 ii 82, 90.
- Aḫī-Milki (king of Ashdod):** 6 ii 37'; 7 ii 8'.
- Aḫī-Milki (son of Yakīn-Lû):** 11 ii 84, ii 92.
- Aḫšeri:** 3 iii 16, 23, 43, 76; 4 iii 9, 13, 30; 6 iv 1'', 24'', 69''; 7 iv 3', 18', 36''; 9 ii 21, 32, 38; 11 ii 126, 133, iii 4, 6.
- Aḫu-ilā'i:** 3 viii 94B, 93C, 93E.
- Akkudāya:** 1 vi 5; 2 vi 4.
- Amba-LAGABua:** See Umba-LAGABua.
- Ammi-nadbi:** 6 ii 36'; 7 ii 7'.
- Ammu-ladin:** 3 viii 32, 39; 4 viii 36, 43; 6 x 13'; 7 x 13', 23'; 11 viii 15; 23 112.
- Andaria:** 3 iv 6, 13; 4 iv 1, 7; 6 v 13, 22; 7 iv 66'', 73''.
- Aplāya:** 3 vi 61, 64, 77; 4 vi 64, 68, 85; 6 vii 7', vii 12', 37'; 7 vi 28'', vii 1, 29; 8 vii 11''.
- Arukku:** 12 vi 11'.
- Ashurbanipal (Aššur-bāni-apli):** 2 i 1, v 5, vi 6', 12'; 3 i 1, v 28; 4 i 1, v 9'; 5 i 1, ii 6', iv 31; 6 i 69', vi 3'; 7 i 1, 43', v 99; 8 viii 29'; 9 i 1, 24, vi 4, 27; 10 i 1, ii 33, v 19, vi 15; 11 i 1, 31, ii 98, iii 87, 122, iv 20, 37, v 100, vi 113, vii 94, ix 73, x 57; 12 viii 15'; 13 i 1; 18 ii' 7'; 21 1; 22 ii' 2'; 23 13, 87; 31 1; 32 2; 35 1; 38 1; 43 1; 46 1; 47 1; 51 1; 54 1; 55 1; 56 1; 57 1; 58 1; 59 2; 60 2, 16; 61 obv. 1; 62 obv. 5, 13; 63 1; 64 1; 65 1; 66 1; 67 1; 68 1; 69 1; 70 1.
- Ashurnasirpal II (Aššur-nāšir-apli):** 5 ii 11'; 6 i 73'; 7 i 47'; 10 ii 40; 23 162.
- Aššur-aḫu-iddina:** See Esarhaddon.
- Aššur-bāni-apli:** See Ashurbanipal.
- Aššur-nāšir-apli:** See Ashurnasirpal II.
- Atta-metu (commander of archers of Ummanigaš II):** 3 vii 10, 17, 23; 4 vii 10, 17, 23; 6 viii 5', viii 15'; 7 vii 5'; 8 viii 3'; 19 7'.
- Atta-metu (father of Ummanaldašu III):** 6 ix 51''; 7 ix 8; 8 ix 36'; 17 5'.
- Awiānu:** 61 rev. 24'.
- Aya-ammu:** 11 vii 97, viii 31, ix 19, x 1; 22 i' 3''.
- Azi-Ba'al:** 3 ii 77, 82; 4 ii 51', 56'; 6 iii 107', 113'; 7 iii 9'', 13''; 8 iii 34', 40'; 9 ii 1, 5; 11 ii 82, 88.
- Ba'al-ḫanūnu:** 11 ii 84, 91.
- Ba'al-iašūpu:** 11 ii 83, 91.
- Ba'al-maluku:** 11 ii 84, 92.
- Ba'alu:** 3 ii 38, 58; 4 ii 12', 29'; 6 ii 26', iii 59', 82'; 7 iii 16', 38'; 8 iii 8'; 9 i 55; 11 ii 49; 12 ii 14'; 23 83.
- Barburu:** 7 ix 11'; 8 x 1'.
- Bēl-bāni:** 10 v 40.
- Bēl-ētir:** 3 vi 79; 4 vi 87; 6 vii 39'; 7 vii 31; 8 vii 13''; 11 iii 62.
- Bēl-iqīša:** 3 iv 25, 54, vi 10, 66; 4 iv 23', vi 13, 71; 6 v 38, 79, vii 12, 15'; 7 iv 90'', v 22, vi 24', vii 4; 8 vii 12'; 11 iii 61; 12 v 7; 16 2'; 23 101.
- Bēlšunu:** 3 viii 94A, 94D; 4 viii 94A, 94B, 94C; 5 v 36.
- Bir-Dāda:** 11 viii 2, ix 2.
- Birishatri:** 3 iii 92; 4 iii 16'; 6 v 6; 7 iv 59''; 8 iv 22''.
- Bokennife (Bukkunanni'pi, ruler of Aḫni):** 11 i 102.
- Bokennife (Bukkunanni'pi, ruler of Athribis):** 11 i 94.
- Būdi-Ba'al:** 11 ii 83, ii 91.
- Bukurninip:** 11 i 105.
- Buṣusu:** 6 ii 47'; 7 ii 18'.
- Cyrus I (Kuraš):** 12 vi 7'; 23 114.
- Damāsu:** 6 ii 43'; 7 ii 14'.
- Damysos:** 6 ii 45'; 7 ii 16'.
- Dunānu:** 3 vi 10, 18, 31, 35, 42, 66, 71, 75, 76; 4 vi 13, 20, 35, 37, 45, 70, 77, 81, 84; 6 vii 12, 21, 37, 39, 48, 50, 14', 29', 33', 36'; 7 vi 23', 31', 6'', 8'', vii 3, 21, 25, 28; 8 vii 12', 21', 43', 46', 5'', 10''; 9 ii 74, 79; 11 iii 52, 57; 12 v 7, 11; 23 101.
- Ekištūra:** 6 ii 38'; 7 ii 9'.
- Eptimu-rtešu:** 11 i 103.
- Erēsu:** 6 ii 42'; 7 ii 13'.
- Erisinni:** 3 iii 85; 4 iii 8'; 6 iv 81''; 7 iv 49''; 8 iv 8''; 9 ii 46; 11 iii 18; 12 iii 3''; 13 iii 8''.
- Esarhaddon (Aššur-aḫu-iddina):** 2 i 11, iii 8, 6'; 3 i 3, 51; 4 i 3, 39; 5 i 3, iv 10, v 14; 6 i 6', ii 7', x 20'', 16'', 23''; 7 i 3, x 84'; 9 i 6, 20, 40; 10 i 4, iii 19; 11 i 8, 27, 54; 13 i 11; 21 3; 23 27; 63 4; 64 3; 65 1; 66 1; 67 2; 68 1; 69 1; 70 1.
- Gagī:** 3 iv 1; 4 iii 18'; 6 v 7; 7 iv 61''.
- Gyges (Gūgu):** 2 vi 14; 3 ii 86; 4 ii 61'; 7 iii 17''; 9 ii 10; 11 ii 95; 23 86.
- Ḫallušu (Ḫallušu-Inšušinak):** 9 v 37; 11 vi 54; 20 ii' 2'.
- Hazael:** 3 vii 77; 4 vii 80; 7 ix 64''; 8 ix 38'; 11 viii 1, 46.
- Ḫundāru:** 23 131.
- Ḫur-ši-Ēšu:** 11 i 98.
- Iauta' (also called Uaite'):** 3 vii 77, viii 24, 28; 4 vii 80, viii 27, 32; 6 x 4', 9', 2'', 5''; 7 ix 64'', x 1', 8', 35', 39'; 8 ix 38', 12'', 16''; 11 vii 83, 123, viii 1, 25, 46, 58.

- Ikausu:** 6 ii 32'; 7 ii 3'.
- Imbappi:** 8 ix 35''; 9 iii 53; 11 v 1.
- Inaros (Niherau, ruler of Athribis):** 6 ii 80'; 7 ii 5''.
- Indabibi:** 3 vii 41, 61, 71; 4 vii 46, 64, 74; 6 viii 16'', 13''', ix 11'', 20'', 31'', 49''; 7 vii 32', viii 80', 90', 101', ix 6; 8 viii 22'', 37''', ix 1', 12', 33'; 9 iii 19, 23, 38; 11 iv 11, 25, 115, vii 23; 17 3'; 18 ii 9', 11', 13'.
- Išpimātu:** 11 i 108.
- Ištar-dūri (Sarduri III):** 11 x 40, 43; 23 121.
- Ištar-nandi:** 6 vii 49; 7 vi 7''.
- Ištar-nanḥundi:** 9 v 37; 11 vi 53.
- Itūandar:** 6 ii 41'; 7 ii 12'.
- Itunī:** 29 1.
- Kamas-ḥaltā:** 3 viii 36; 4 viii 40; 6 x 20'; 7 x 20'.
- Kīsu:** 6 ii 40'; 7 ii 11'.
- Kudurru:** 3 iv 74, 83; 4 iv 44', 54'; 6 v 101; 7 v 42, 52; 16 12'.
- Kuraš:** See Cyrus I.
- Lamintu:** 11 i 107.
- Manasseh (Menassē):** 6 ii 27'.
- Mannu-kī-ahḥē:** 3 vi 71; 4 vi 77; 6 vii 29'; 7 vii 21.
- Manti-me-ḥē:** See Monthemhet.
- Marduk-apla-iddina II (Merodach-baladan):** 3 vi 61, vii 66; 4 vi 64, vii 70; 6 vii 8', ix 16'', 25''; 7 vi 29'', viii 85', 95'; 8 ix 6'; 11 vii 17, 28; 23 104.
- Marduk-šarru-ušur:** 3 vii 51; 4 vii 55; 7 vii 43'.
- Marduk-šuma-ibni:** 3 iv 27, 58; 4 iv 28'; 6 v 41, 84; 7 iv 92'', v 27.
- Massirā:** 3 vi 30; 4 vi 34; 6 vii 35; 8 vii 40'.
- Menassē:** See Manasseh.
- Merodach-baladan:** See Marduk-apla-iddina II.
- Milki-ašapa:** 6 ii 33'; 7 ii 4'.
- Mitinti:** 6 ii 31'; 7 ii 2'.
- Monthemhet (Manti-me-ḥē):** 11 i 109.
- Mugallu:** 3 ii 67, 73; 4 ii 39', 47'; 6 iii 94', 104'; 7 iii 5''; 8 iii 20', 30'; 9 i 70, 75; 11 ii 68, 73; 23 139.
- Mussi:** 23 141.
- Mušuri:** 6 ii 29'.
- Nabû-bêl-šumāti:** 3 vii 66, 69; 4 vii 69, 72; 6 ix 16'', 18'', 25'', 29''; 7 viii 85', 88', 95', 99'; 8 ix 6', 10'; 11 vii 16, 25, 28, 39; 23 104.
- Nabû-damiq:** 3 iv 89, vi 48, 56; 4 iv 61', vi 50, 58; 6 vii 1', 27'; 7 v 58, vi 13'', 23'', vii 19; 35 7.
- Nabû-nādin-aḥi:** 7 x 91'; 8 x 8''.
- Nabû-na'id:** 3 vi 79; 4 vi 87; 6 vii 39'; 7 vii 31; 8 vii 13''; 11 iii 62.
- Nabû-qātī-šabat:** 11 vii 47.
- Nabû-salim (Nabû-ušallim):** 3 vi 61, 64; 4 vi 64, 68; 6 vii 7', 12'; 7 vi 28'', vii 1.
- Nabû-šar-ahḥēšu:** 9 vi 74A, 74B, 74C, 74E, 74F, 74G, 74H, 74J, 74K, 75M, 74P, 74R, 74S, 74U, 74V, 74W; 10 vi 53A, 53B.
- Nabû-šēzibanni:** 6 iii 12'; 11 ii 17.
- Nabû-šuma-ēreš:** 3 iv 26, 56, vi 79, 81; 4 iv 26', vi 88, 91; 6 v 39, 82, vii 40', 43'; 7 iv 90'', v 25, vii 31, 33; 8 vii 13'', 16''; 11 iii 63.
- Nabû-ušalli:** 3 vi 72; 4 vi 78; 6 vii 30'; 7 vii 22.
- Nabû-ušallim:** See Nabû-salim.
- Naḥkē:** 6 ii 81'; 7 ii 6''; 11 i 95.
- Naḥti-ḥuru-ansini:** 11 i 104.
- Natnu:** 3 viii 43; 4 viii 47; 6 x 4'', 5'', 9''; 7 x 28', 38', 39', 43'; 8 ix 7'', 15'', 16'', 20''; 11 viii 56, 69, ix 56; 22 i 15''; 23 124.
- Necho (Nikkû):** 2 iv 2', 32', v 8; 6 ii 76', 3''; 7 ii 1'', 19'', 38'', 50'', 54''; 8 ii 13'; 11 i 90, ii 8.
- Nēšu:** 3 vii 11, 17; 4 vii 11, 17; 6 viii 6', 15'; 8 viii 3'.
- Niherau:** See Inaros.
- Nikkû:** See Necho.
- Nuḥūru:** 23 129.
- Padê:** 23 133.
- Pa'ê:** 11 vii 51, x 17; 23 99, 118; 50 2; 59 7; 60 6.
- Parihi:** 3 iv 1; 4 iii 17'; 6 v 7; 7 iv 60''.
- Parrû (ruler of Hilmu):** 3 vii 9, 17, 23; 4 vii 9, 17, 23; 6 viii 4', 14'; 7 vii 5'; 8 viii 2'; 17 7'.
- Parrû (son of Ummanaldašu II):** 3 iv 74, 83; 4 iv 44', 54'; 6 v 101; 7 v 42, 52; 16 12'.
- Pa-qruru:** 2 iv 3'; 6 ii 79', 3''; 7 ii 4'', 19''; 8 ii 14'; 11 i 93.
- Pilagurâ:** 6 ii 39'; 7 ii 10'.
- Pislumê:** 12 vi 14'; 23 115.
- Pišamelki:** See Psammetichus I.
- Pi-šan-Ḥuru:** 6 ii 78'; 7 ii 3''; 11 i 92.
- Psammetichus I (Pišamelki):** 11 ii 114.
- Pūiama:** 11 i 99.
- Puṭu-Bāšti:** 11 i 96.
- Qa'uš-gabri:** 6 ii 28'.
- Rayadišadi:** 3 iii 62; 4 iii 52; 6 iv 48''; 7 iv 19''.
- Rusâ:** See Ursâ.
- Salmānu-ašarēd:** See Shalmaneser III.
- Samgunu:** 3 vi 66; 4 vi 70; 6 vii 49, 14'; 7 vi 7'', vii 3; 9 ii 79; 11 iii 57.
- Sanda-šarme:** 3 ii 68; 4 ii 40'; 6 iii 95'; 8 iii 21'; 9 i 70; 11 ii 75; 23 85.
- Sapaṭ-Ba'al:** 11 ii 83, ii 90.
- Sarduri III:** See Ištar-dūri.
- Sarati:** 3 iv 1; 4 iii 17'; 6 v 7; 7 iv 60''.
- Sargon II (Šarru-(u)kīn):** 10 v 38; 13 i 13; 23 17; 63 6; 70 1.
- Sennacherib (Sîn-ahḥē-eriba):** 2 vii 5'; 3 i 5, viii 57, 79; 4 i 5, viii 59, 81; 5 i 6; 7 i 5, ix 30'', x 85'; 8 x 14''; 9 i 18, vi 24; 10 i 7; 11 i 25, iv 71, 126, x 53; 13 i 12; 23 17; 63 5; 64 4; 65 1; 66 1; 67 3; 69 1; 70 1.
- Shabako (Šabakû):** 11 ii 22.
- Shalmaneser III (Salmānu-ašarēd):** 5 ii 11'; 6 i 73'; 7 i 47'; 10 ii 39.
- Sheshonq (Susinqu):** 11 i 100.
- Sîn-ahḥē-eriba:** See Sennacherib.
- Susinqu:** See Sheshonq.
- Šilli-Bêl:** 6 ii 30'; 7 ii 1'.
- Ši-ḥû:** 11 i 106.
- Šabakû:** See Shabako.
- Šamaš-da''inanni:** 11 x 122A, x 122B, x 122C.
- Šamaš-šuma-ukīn:** 3 vi 90, vii 18, 35; 4 vii 1, 18, 39; 6 vii 48', viii 7', 16', 7'', 9'', 9''', ix 21'; 7 vii 36, 21', 24', viii 55', ix 5'; 8 viii 4', 12'', 14'', 16''''; 9 iii 9, 14, v 8; 11 iii 70, 96, 129, iv 6, 42, 50, 53, 57, 98, vi 14, vii 48, 99, viii 32, 40; 23 108; 38 4.
- Šamši-Adad V:** 7 x 54'.
- Šarru-lū-dāri:** 2 iv 2', 32'; 3 ii 1; 4 i 82; 6 ii 77', 3''; 7 ii 2'', 19'', 38'', 50'', 52''; 8 ii 13'; 11 i 91.
- Šarru-(u)kīn:** See Sargon II.
- Šilum:** 23 136.
- Taharqa (Tarqû):** 2 iii 10, iv 13, 11', 14', 28'; 3 i 50, 71, 76, 84, 92, ii 4; 4 i 39, 55, 60, 68, 77, 86; 6 ii 6', 60', 67', 84', 8'', 10'', iii 16'; 7 ii 31', 9'', 24'', 26''; 8 ii 1', 19', 21'; 11 i

- 53, 55, 78, 83, 111, 121, 123, ii 20; 15 iii 8'.
- Tammarītu (king of Elam):** 3 vii 31, 32, 43, 55, 59, 61; 4 vii 33, 35, 48, 58, 62, 64; 6 viii 3'', 5'', 18'', 2'', ix 11''; 7 vii 17', 19', 34', 47', 54', viii 1, 80', ix 13'; 8 viii 8'', 10'', 23'', 31'', 37'', x 2'; 9 iii 10, 12, 21, 27, 37, 70, 76, v 38; 11 iv 1, 3, 12, 23, 28, 39, 114, v 21, 31, 38, vi 55, vii 22, x 17; 23 99, 118; 50 2; 59 6; 60 6.
- Tammarītu (son of Teumman):** 26 2.
- Tammarītu (son of Urtaku, king of ʔildālu):** 3 iv 72, 82, vi 1; 4 iv 42', 53', vi 3; 6 v 99, vii 2; 7 v 40, 51, vi 12'; 8 vii 1'; 9 ii 70; 11 iii 48; 12 v 1; 16 10'; 23 96.
- Tandāya:** 2 v 4', 33'; 3 iii 7, 12; 4 ii 74', iii 5; 6 iv 10', 18'; 7 iii 33''.
- Tanutamon (URdammani):** 3 ii 5, 13, 20; 4 ii 1, 10; 6 iii 18', 30', 37'; 9 i 36, 43; 11 ii 22, 29, 34.
- Tap-naḥte:** 11 i 101.
- Tarqū:** See Taharqa.
- Te'ri:** 3 viii 25; 4 viii 29; 6 x 6'; 7 x 3'; 11 vii 97, 31, 65, ix 16, x 1.
- Teumman:** 3 iv 68, 78, 80, v 4, 21, 25, 34, 39, 71, 78, 79, 81, 93, vi 30, 42, 49, 50, 53, 57, 60, vii 7, 22, 45; 4 iv 37', 48', 50', v 1, 1', 5', 27'', 36'', 37'', 41'', 55'', vi 34, 44, 51, 52, 54, 60, 63, vii 7, 22, 50; 6 v 94, 106, vi 11', 19', 11'', 20'', 22'', 26'', vii 35, 47, 2', 6', viii 2', 20'', ix 38''; 7 v 35, 46, 48, 64, 70, 74, 89, 94, 106, 114, vi 8, 17, 19, 5', 5'', 14'', 15'', 19'', 24'', 27'', vii 4', 36', viii 108'; 8 v 1', 6', vii 41', 54', 24'', ix 20', 1''; 9 ii 61, 68, 69, iii 58; 11 iii 36, 45, 47, iv 13, v 6; 16 7', 15', 18'; 18 i' 2'; 19 6'; 25 1; 26 1; 27 1; 28 1; 29 1; 32 1; 33 5; 59 5, 7; 60 5, 7; 63 7.
- Tugdammī:** 13 viii 6, 18; 21 19'; 23 143, 146, 151.
- Uaite':** See Iauta'.
- Uaite' (son of Bīr-Dāda):** 11 viii 2, 93, ix 1, 53, 93, x 21; 22 i' 4', 15''; 23 111, 118.
- Ualfī:** 3 iii 80; 4 iii 2'; 6 iv 73''; 7 iv 41''; 9 ii 41; 11 iii 11; 13 iii 1'', 3''; 23 90.
- Umbadarā (envoy of Teumman):** 3 iv 88, vi 48, 55; 4 iv 60', vi 50, 57; 6 vii 27'; 7 v 58, vi 13'', 22'', vii 19; 35 7.
- Umbadarā (father of Ummanigaš I):** 9 v 36; 11 vi 52.
- Umba-LAGABua (Amba-LAGABua):** 7 ix 3'; 8 x 14'; 9 iii 66; 11 v 15.
- Ummanaldašu (ʔumban-ḥaltaš II):** 3 iv 70, 74, 83; 4 iv 40', 45', 55'; 6 v 97, 102; 7 v 38, 42, 52; 16 8', 12'.
- Ummanaldašu (ʔumban-ḥaltaš III):** 6 ix 51''; 7 ix 8, 3''; 8 ix 36', x 10', 14'; 9 iii 35, 62, 66, iv 18, 22, 42, 53; 10 iv 40; 11 iv 112, v 2, 11, 17, 64, 69, 91, 111, vii 9, 23, 27, 38, 51, x 6, 17; 17 5'; 23 99, 106, 118; 49 1, 5; 50 2; 59 7; 60 7.
- Ummanappa:** 3 iv 72, 81; 4 iv 42', 52'; 6 v 99; 7 v 40, 50; 16 10'; 54 6.
- Ummanigaš (ʔumban-nikaš II):** 3 iv 72, 81, v 97, vi 63, 86, vii 14, 26, 30; 4 iv 42', 52', vi 1, 66, 96, vii 14, 27, 32; 6 v 99, vii 11', viii 9', 11', 2'', 5'', 12''; 7 v 40, 50, vi 10', 32'', vii 40, 9', 15', 19'; 8 viii 1'', 7'', 10'', 27''; 9 ii 67, iii 6, 12, v 36; 11 iii 44, 100, 136, iv 3, 18, vi 52, vii 22; 16 10'; 19 11', 17'; 23 96; 33 1; 59 6; 60 6.
- Unamunu:** 11 i 97.
- Unasagusu:** 6 ii 46'; 7 ii 17'.
- Undasu:** 3 vii 6, 14, 17, 22; 4 vii 6, 14, 17, 22; 6 viii 2', viii 14'; 7 vii 4'; 8 viii 2'; 19 6'.
- URdammani':** See Tanutamon.
- Ursā (Rusā):** 6 vii 20'; 7 vii 11; 35 3.
- Urtaku (king of Elam):** 3 iv 15, 27, 29, 30, 34, 49, 59, 69, 70, 73, 75, 82, 84, vi 80; 4 iv 9, 2', 18', 29', 38', 39', 40', 43', 46', 53', 55', vi 89; 6 v 24, 41, 45, 46, 53, 73, 85, 95, 96, 98, 100, 103, vii 41'; 7 iv 75'', 92'', 95'', 96'', 101'', v 17, 28, 36, 37, 39, 41, 43, 51, 53, vii 32; 8 vii 14''; 9 ii 67; 11 iii 44; 12 iii 10'', iv 4', 11'; 16 7', 8', 11', 13'; 54 6.
- Urtaku (in-law of Teumman):** 28 1.
- Yāḥi-Milki:** 11 ii 58; 13 iii 7'.
- Yakīn-Lū:** 3 ii 66, 75, 78; 4 ii 38', 49', 52'; 6 ii 34', iii 93', 106', 109'; 7 ii 5', iii 7'', 10''; 8 iii 19', 32', 36'; 9 i 69, 77, ii 2; 11 ii 63, 81, 85; 13 iii 9'; 23 85.
- Zazaz:** 3 vii 8, 17, 23; 4 vii 8, 17, 23; 6 viii 3', 14'; 7 vii 5'; 8 viii 2'; 19 7'.

## Geographic, Ethnic, and Tribal Names

- Acco (Akkū):** 11 ix 122.
- Adumānu:** 2 v 25'.
- Aḥni:** 11 i 102.
- Akbarīna:** 11 vii 63.
- Akkad (Māt-Akkadī):** 2 i 14, 5'; 3 i 4, iv 28, 42, vi 81; 4 i 4, iv 9', vi 90; 5 i 5; 6 i 5', 94', v 43, 64, vii 42', viii 10'', 19'', ix 8'; 7 i 4, 66', iv 94'', v 8, vii 32, viii 42'; 8 i 2', vii 15'', viii 5''; 9 v 3, 8; 10 i 6, iii 36; 11 iii 97, iv 41, 97, vi 8, 13, vii 92, x 122A, 122B; 12 iv 1'; 13 i 14; 23 17, 109.
- Akkū:** See Acco.
- Algarīga:** 7 ix 18''; 9 iv 7; 11 v 51.
- Amanus (Mount):** 9 iv 21.
- Amqarrūna:** See Ekron.
- Amurru:** 3 vii 87, viii 33; 4 viii 1, 37; 6 x 15'; 7 x 9, 15'; 11 iii 103, viii 16.
- Apparu:** 11 ix 27.
- Aqaba:** 11 iii 98.
- Arabia (Arubu):** 3 vii 86, viii 1; 4 vii 90, viii 4; 6 x 2''; 7 x 7, 13, 35'; 8 ix 1'', 12''; 11 vii 83, 102, 117, viii 4, 25, 47, 93, ix 2, 68, 71, 81, x 21, 89; 22 i' 4'.
- Arab(s):** 3 viii 16; 4 viii 19.
- Arallu:** 61 obv. 26.
- Aram:** 11 iii 98, iv 97; 23 109.
- Aranziāše:** 11 vii 65.
- Arbela:** 3 v 19, 28, vi 69, 74; 4 v 9', vi 75, 80; 6 vi 2', vii 18', 23', 32'; 7 iv 7', v 86, 98, vii 9, 15, 24; 8 vii 3'; 14 i' 15'; 35 6; 37 1. See also Ištar of Arbela.
- Arsiyaniš:** 3 iii 57; 4 iii 47; 6 iv 42'; 7 iv 15''.
- Arubu:** See Arabia and Arab(s).
- Arwad:** 3 ii 67, 75, 83; 4 ii 38', 49', 57'; 6 ii 34', iii 93', 106', iii 114'; 7 ii 5', iii 7'', 14''; 8 iii 19', 32', 41'; 9 i 69, 77, ii 6; 11 ii 63, 81, 89; 13 iii 9'; 23 85.
- Ashdod (Asdūdu):** 6 ii 37'; 7 ii 8'.
- Ashkelon (Isqalūna):** 6 ii 31'; 7 ii 2'.
- Assyria (Māt-Aššur):** 1 vi 4; 2 i 2, 12, 3', 4', iii 8, 15, 4', 6', v 5, 3', vi 3, 16, 13', vii 5'; 3 i 2, 3, 5, 51, ii 2, 3, 8, 32, iii 13, 56, 69, 70, 73, 75, iv 21, v 28, 42, vi 82, vii 12, 15, 65, viii 10, 57; 4 i 2, 3, 5, 40, 84, 85, ii 5, 7', iii 6, 58, 60, vi 92, vii 12, 15, 68, viii 13, 59; 5 i 2, 3, 7, iv 10, v 14; 6 i 5', 6', 94', ii 7', 2'', 17'', iii 22', 51', iv 41'', 57'', 60'', 66'', 68'', v 31, vi 3', 22', vii 44', viii 8', 12', 3'', 4'', ix 22', 7'', 15'', 28'', x 14', 7'', 20''; 7 i 2, 3, 5, 66', ii 18'', 33'', iii 9', iv

- 14'', 26'', 28'', 33'', 35'', 82'', v 99, 118, vii 34, viii 3, 4, 56', 74', 84', 98', ix 14', 29'', 39'', 43'', 46'', x 23, 14', 40', 54'; 8 i 2', ii 12', 29', iii 14', vii 53', 17'', viii 29'', 17''', 33''', 41''', ix 9', 6'', 18'', 34'', x 3'; 9 i 4, 6, 11, 14, 21, 40, 54, ii 68, iii 4, 25, 44, 52, 57, 83, iv 16, 64, v 18, 33, 39, 53, 65, 67, vi 24, 28; 10 i 2, 4, 8, iii 20, 36, v 4; 11 i 5, 8, 18, 21, 28, 54, 61, 127, ii 6, 24, 43, 98, iii 45, 67, 82, 87, 94, 122, iv 20, 107, 122, 126, 137, v 5, 27, 42, 62, 122, vi 26, 47, 57, 74, 95, 98, ix 24, 43, 47, 102, 121, 125, x 16, 23, 53, 58; 12 ii 14', iii 17'', v 5, viii 16'; 13 i 2, 11, 12, 13, viii 11, 32, 35, 36; 18 ii' 7'; 20 ii' 9'; 22 i' 5'', 11''; 23 13, 17, 27, 77, 82, 87, 95, 103, 128, 134, 146, 147, 155, 156; 27 4; 28 3; 31 1; 32 3; 35 1; 38 1; 43 1; 47 1; 51 1; 54 1; 55 1; 56 1; 57 1; 58 1; 59 2; 60 2; 61 obv. 1; 62 obv. 5; 63 1, 4, 5, 6; 64 2, 3, 4; 65 1; 66 1; 67 1, 2, 4; 68 1; 69 1; 70 1.
- Assyrian(s):** See Assyrian Ištar.
- Ašdiyaš:** 3 iii 34; 4 iii 23; 6 iv 15''.
- Aššaš:** 3 iii 34; 4 iii 23; 6 iv 14''.
- Athribis (Ḥaṭḥariba):** 6 ii 80', iii 13'; 7 ii 5''; 11 i 94, ii 18.
- Atrāna:** 3 iii 45; 4 iii 32; 6 iv 26''; 7 iv 1''; 9 ii 34.
- Ayusiaš:** 3 iii 33; 4 iii 22; 6 iv 14''.
- Azalla:** 11 viii 108, viii 119, viii 120.
- Azaqayani:** 3 iii 58; 4 iii 48; 6 iv 43''; 7 iv 15''.
- Azarilu:** 11 vii 108.
- Babsaḥ:** 2 v 29'.
- Babylon (Bābili):** 2 i 13; 3 i 4, iv 42; 4 i 4, iv 9'; 5 i 4; 6 v 65; 7 i 4, v 9, vii 39; 10 i 5; 11 iii 72, 82, 90, 93, 107, 130, iv 83, 92, 96, viii 33, 35, 39, x 123C; 13 i 14, ii 13'; 15 ii 10; 23 17, 41, 44, 53, 108.
- Babylonia:** See Karduniaš.
- Bābili:** See Babylon.
- Bāb-salimēti:** 11 iii 99.
- Banunu:** 9 iv 55; 11 v 113.
- Barsipa:** See Borsippa.
- Bašimu:** 9 iv 59; 10 iv 49; 11 v 117.
- Binṭiṭi:** See Mendes.
- Birat-Adad-rēmanni:** 24 1.
- Birrūa:** 3 iii 69; 4 iii 59; 6 iv 58''; 7 iv 27''.
- Bīt-Ammon (Bīt-Ammāna):** 6 ii 36'; 7 ii 7'; 11 vii 110.
- Bīt-Amuk(k)āni:** 7 ix 42''.
- Bīt-Arrabi:** 9 iv 4; 11 v 48, vii 61.
- Bīt-Bunāki:** 7 ix 21''; 9 iv 10, iv 30; 11 v 55, v 78; 42 1.
- Bīt-Dakkūri:** 7 ix 42''.
- Bīt-Imbī:** 3 v 80; 4 v 38''; 6 iv 23''; 7 vi 20, ix 13, 11', 15''; 8 ix 30'', 36'', 4'', x 1'; 9 iii 46, 54, 60, iv 5, 20; 11 iv 123, 128, 131, v 1, 9, 48, 66, vii 58.
- Bīt-kunukki-bissu:** 9 iv 4; 11 v 47.
- Bīt-Luppi:** 51 3.
- Bīt-Qatatti:** 11 vii 67.
- Bīt-Unzāya:** 11 vii 61.
- Borsippa (Barsipa):** 6 i 47'; 7 i 17'; 10 ii 6; 11 iii 107, 130; 12 i 6'; 13 ii 17'; 22 i 8'; 23 55.
- Bubē:** 7 ix 16''; 9 iv 6; 11 v 50, vii 60.
- Bubilu:** 7 ix 6'', 20''; 8 x 16'; 9 iii 68, iv 9, 39; 11 v 16, 18, 54, 88.
- Busiris (Puširu):** 11 i 100.
- BusuD:** 3 iii 34; 4 iii 23; 6 iv 15''.
- Byblos (Gubla):** 6 ii 33'; 7 ii 4'.
- Calah:** See Kalḥu.
- Carchemish (Gargamiš):** 3 viii 95B, 94C, 94E.
- Chaldea (Kaldu):** 3 vii 5; 4 vii 5; 6 viii 1'; 11 iii 97, iv 97; 23 109.
- Cilicia:** See Ḥilakku and Que.
- Cimmerians (Gimirāyu):** 2 vi 23; 3 ii 92; 4 ii 67'; 6 iv 1'; 7 iii 24''; 9 ii 16; 11 ii 104; 108, 119.
- Curium (Kurī):** 6 ii 43'; 7 ii 14'.
- Cutha (Kutē):** 11 iii 130, iv 84, 92; 12 i 13'; 21 10'; 22 i 14'; 23 61.
- Daeba:** 7 ix 10''; 9 iv 1; 11 v 44.
- Damascus (Dimašqa):** 11 ix 8, ix 12; 22 i' 2''.
- Dēr:** 2 v 14'; 3 v 81; 4 v 39''; 6 vi 24'', ix 45''; 7 vi 21, ix 1; 8 ix 28'; 10 iii 16; 23 73.
- Dilmun:** 23 131, 137.
- Dimašqa:** See Damascus.
- Dimtu-ša-Simame:** 11 vii 66.
- Dimtu-ša-Tapapa:** 11 vii 62.
- Din-šarri:** 9 iv 37; 11 v 85; 43 3.
- Dummuqu:** 11 iv 116.
- Dunnu-Šamaš:** 11 vii 64.
- Dun-šarri:** 7 ix 19''; 9 iv 8; 11 v 53.
- Dūr-Amnani:** 7 ix 11'', ix 12''; 9 iv 2; 11 v 45.
- Dūr-Aššur:** 3 iii 21; 4 iii 12; 7 iv 16'.
- Dūr-šarri:** 11 vii 59.
- Dūr-Undasi:** 7 ix 19'', 20''; 9 iv 8, 9, iv 26, 44; 11 v 53, 54, 73, 94.
- Edi'il:** See Idalion.
- Edom (Udūmu):** 6 ii 28'; 11 vii 109.
- Egypt (Mušur):** 1 vi 8; 2 iii 12, 4', iv 10, 14, 3', 11', vi 9; 3 i 50, 54, 56, 67, 71, 83, 88, ii 1, 12, 14, 18, 34, iii 15; 4 i 39, 43, 45, 53, 55, 67, 72, 82, ii 9, 9', iii 8; 6 ii 6', 12', 13', 24', 57', 60', 83', 8'', iii 28', 31', 35', 54'; 7 ii 28', 31', 8'', 13'', 24'', iii 12'; 8 ii 5', 19'; 9 i 36, 37, 41; 11 i 53, 58, 59, 67, 76, 78, 110, 114, 122, ii 28, 30, 32, 45, 114; 12 ii 7'; 15 iii 5'; 21 17'; 23 82; 61 obv. 24. See also Makan.
- Ekron (Amqarrūna):** 6 ii 32'; 7 ii 3'.
- Elam (Elamtu):** 3 iv 15, 17, 29, 38, 49, 67, 73, 77, 80, 82, 84, v 1, 9, 34, 39, 71, 78, 79, 93, 96, vi 8, 12, 30, 42, 43, 49, 60, 63, 87, vii 7, 11, 22, 33, 43, 48, 62, 64, 71; 4 iv 9, 11, 5', 18', 36', 43', 47', 51', 53', 56', 62', v 27'', 36'', 38'', 55'', 57'', vi 11, 15, 34, 44, 46, 51, 63, 66, 67, 97, vii 7, 11, 22, 36, 48, 53, 65, 67, 74; 6 v 24, 26, 45, 57, 73, 93, 100, 105, vi 12', 19', 11'', 20'', 22'', vii 9, 14, 36, 47, 51, 6', 10', 11', 27', viii 2', 6', 6'', 18'', 23'', 2'', ix 12'', 14'', 20'', 27'', 46'', 48'', 49''; 7 iv 75'', iv 77'', 95'', v 3, 17, 34, 41, 45, 49, 51, 53, 60, 74, 107, 114, vi 8, 17, 19, 5', 8', 20', 25', 5'', 9'', 14'', 27'', 31'', 32'', vii 19, 41, 4', 20', 34', 39', viii 1, 2, 81', 83', 90', 97', ix 2, 5, 11, 13, 3', 10', 13', 15', 18', 4'', 30'', 35'', 44'', 45'', 51''; 8 v 6', vii 9', 14', 41', 54', viii 11'', 23'', 26'', 38''', 40''', ix 1', 8', 29', 31', 32', 29'', 30'', 35'', 1'', x 1', 2', 3', 4', 10', 11', 15'; 9 ii 53, 60, 67, 69, 72, 75, iii 7, 13, 35, 37, 40, 47, 48, 53, 58, 62, 63, 67, 81, iv 18, 22, 42, 49, 54, 66, 74, v 4, 5, 9, 42, 55, 58, 73, vi 4, 12, 17; 10 iv 37, v 6, 12, 20; 11 iii 27, 35, 44, 46, 50, 53, 102, 136, iv 4, 13, 16, 113, 114, 118, 124, 125, v 2, 7, 11, 12, 15, 17, 26, 28, 40, 65, 69, 91, 106, 111, 125, vi 1, 9, 10, 15, 36, 62, 78, 83, 99, 109, 113, 125, vii 4, 9, 20, 24, 29, 50, 52, 54, 56, 91, x 6, 18, 85; 12 iii 10'', 12'', iv 4', v 4, vi 9', 15', 21'; 16 6', 11', 14'; 17 2', 3'; 18 ii' 12'; 19 6'; 20 ii' 4'; 23 92, 93, 99, 101, 104, 106, 114, 115, 118; 26 1; 27 1; 29 1; 31 1; 32 1; 35 7; 40 1; 41 1; 42 1; 43 3; 44 1; 45 1; 46 7; 49 1; 50 2; 54 6; 59 6, 8; 60 5, 8; 63 2; 71 2.
- Elam, gen.:** 3 iv 24, 32, 41, v 20; 4 iv 8'; 6 v 35, 49, 62; 7 iv 87'', v 7, 87; 11 iv 127; 18 ii' 8'.
- Enzikarme:** 11 ix 30.

- Eristeyana:** 3 iii 64; 4 iii 53; 6 iv 50''; 7 iv 21''.
- Euphrates (Purattu):** 11 viii 79.
- Gambulu:** 3 vi 11, 14, 31, 44, 72, 82; 4 vi 14, 35, 46, 78, 91; 6 vii 13, 17, 36, 51, 30', 43'; 7 vi 24', 27', 9'', vii 22, 33; 8 vii 13', 17', 42', 17''; 9 ii 77, iii 4; 11 iii 54, 65, 67; 12 v 8.
- Gambulu, gen.:** 3 iv 25, 54, vi 67; 4 iv 23', vi 17, 71; 6 v 38, 79, vii 15'; 7 iv 90'', v 22; vii 4; 9 ii 75; 11 iii 52; 16 2'; 23 101.
- Gargamiš:** See Carchemish.
- Gatudu:** 7 ix 9'', 10''; 9 iv 1; 11 v 43.
- Gaza (Ḥazzat):** 6 ii 30'; 7 ii 1'.
- Gimirāyu:** See Cimmericians.
- GubBAD:** 2 v 27'.
- Gubla:** See Byblos.
- Gurukirra:** 11 vii 63.
- Gusinê:** 3 iii 70; 4 iii 59; 6 iv 59''; 7 iv 27''.
- Gutian:** 11 iii 103; 23 146.
- Ḥadattâ:** 11 viii 100.
- Ḥalēḥasta (Ḥarēḥasta):** 2 v 19'; 3 iii 6; 4 ii 74'; 6 iv 9'; 7 iii 32''.
- Ḥallāya:** 2 v 25'.
- Ḥaltemaš:** 9 iv 35, v 66; 11 v 83, vi 96.
- Ḥamānu:** 7 ix 12''; 9 iv 3, 21, 23; 11 v 46, 68, 70, vii 64; 40 1; 41 1.
- Ḥara':** 7 ix 14''; 9 iv 11; 11 v 56.
- Ḥarēḥasta:** See Ḥalēḥasta.
- Ḥargê:** 11 vii 113.
- Ḥarrān:** 23 64.
- Ḥarsi:** 3 iii 59; 4 iii 49; 6 iv 44''; 7 iv 16''.
- Ḥartapānu:** 9 iv 31; 11 v 79.
- ḤARZallê:** 13 viii 19.
- Ḥatḥariba:** See Athribis.
- Ḥāurīna:** 11 vii 111.
- Ḥayyūsi:** 7 ix 13''; 9 iv 3; 11 v 47.
- Ḥazmāni:** 23 136.
- Ḥazzat:** See Gaza.
- Heliopolis (Unu):** 3 ii 6; 4 ii 3; 6 iii 20'; 9 i 49; 11 ii 23.
- Heracleopolis (Ḥininši):** 6 ii 81'; 7 ii 6''; 11 i 95.
- Hermopolis (Ḥimuni):** 11 i 107.
- Ḥidālu:** 3 vi 2; 4 vi 4; 6 vii 3, ix 35''; 7 vi 13', viii 105'; 8 vii 2', ix 17'; 9 ii 71, iv 58; 10 iv 48; 11 iii 49, v 116; 12 v 2; 23 97.
- Ḥilakku (Cilicia):** 3 ii 68; 4 ii 40'; 6 iii 95'; 8 iii 21'; 9 i 70; 11 ii 75; 23 85.
- Ḥilmu:** 3 vii 9; 4 vii 9; 6 viii 4'; 9 iii 39; 11 iv 116.
- Ḥimuni:** See Hermopolis.
- Ḥindānu:** 3 viii 94A, 94D; 4 95A, 95B, 95C; 5 v 36.
- Ḥininši:** See Heracleopolis.
- Ḥiratāqašaya:** 11 vii 109.
- Ḥudimiri:** 12 vi 14'; 23 115.
- Ḥukkuruna:** 11 ix 15, 26; 22 i' 6''.
- Ḥukrina:** See Ḥukkuruna.
- Ḥulḥuliti:** 11 ix 14.
- Ḥunnir:** 9 iv 57; 10 iv 47; 11 v 115.
- Ḥurādu:** 9 v 35; 11 vi 51.
- Ḥurarīna:** 11 viii 107.
- İbrat:** 11 vii 62.
- Idalion (Edi'il):** 6 ii 38'; 7 ii 9'.
- Idide:** 9 iv 27; 11 v 74, v 95, v 103.
- Idiqlat:** See Tigris.
- Isamme':** 11 viii 111.
- Isqalūna:** See Ashkelon.
- Ištatti:** 11 iii 1.
- Izirtu:** 3 iii 38, 44, 46; 4 iii 27, 32, 34; 6 iv 19'', 25'', 28''; 7 iv 3''; 9 ii 27, 33; 11 ii 131, 134.
- Izkê:** 23 133.
- Judah (Yaudu):** 6 ii 27'.
- Kabinak:** 9 iv 40; 11 v 89.
- Kaldu:** See Chaldea.
- Kalḥu (Calah):** 7 x 53'.
- Kanišu:** 11 vii 65.
- Kapar-Marduk-šarrāni:** 7 ix 17''; 9 iv 6; 11 v 50.
- Karduniaš (Babylonia):** 3 iv 31, vii 4; 4 vii 4; 6 v 48; 7 iv 97''; 9 v 4; 11 vi 8.
- Kār-Bāniti:** 3 i 70; 4 i 55; 6 ii 59'; 7 ii 30'; 11 i 77; 15 iii 7'.
- Kār-Shalmaneser:** 7 x 92'; 8 x 9''.
- Kār-...:** 14 i' 18'.
- Kipkipi:** 3 ii 23; 4 ii 1'; 6 iii 40'; 9 i 46; 11 ii 37.
- Kitrusi:** 6 ii 39'; 7 ii 10'.
- Kullimmeri:** 3 iv 7, 9; 4 iv 2, 4; 6 v 15, 17; 7 iv 67'', 69''.
- Kumurdeans:** 3 iii 60; 4 iii 50; 6 iv 45''; 7 iv 17''.
- Kurī:** See Curium.
- Kush (Kūsu):** 2 iii 10, 12, iv 14, 14', 28'; 3 i 50, 71, 88, ii 12, 34; 4 i 39, 55, 72, ii 9, 9'; 6 ii 6', 24', 60', 10'', iii 28', 54'; 7 ii 31', 13'', 26'', iii 12'; 8 ii 5', 21'; 9 i 36; 11 i 53, 67, 78, 114, 123, ii 28, 45; 12 ii 8'; 15 iii 8'; 21 17'; 23 82; 61 obv. 24.
- Kutê:** See Cutha.
- Kuzurtēin:** 11 vii 59.
- Labnāna:** See Lebanon (Mount).
- Laḥira-Dibirina:** 11 iv 117.
- Larak:** 7 ix 41''.
- Laribda:** 11 viii 101.
- Lebanon (Mount):** 9 vi 51; 11 x 98.
- Lidir:** 6 ii 46'; 7 ii 17'.
- Luddu:** See Lydia.
- LULbasta:** 2 v 29'.
- Lušanda:** 2 v 28'.
- Lydia (Luddu):** 2 vi 14; 3 ii 86; 4 ii 61'; 7 iii 17''; 9 ii 10; 11 ii 95; 23 86.
- Mā<sup>3</sup>ab:** See Moab.
- Madaktu:** 6 ix 35''; 7 viii 105', ix 1', 15''; 8 ix 17', x 13'; 9 iii 64, iv 5, 25, 34, v 35, 66; 11 v 13, 49, 72, 81, vi 51, 96, vii 13; 33 2; 34 1.
- Madāyu:** See Medes.
- Makan (Egypt):** 3 i 49; 4 i 38; 6 ii 5'; 9 i 35; 11 i 52.
- Mangisu:** 3 vii 20; 4 vii 20; 6 viii 19'; 7 vii 1'; 8 viii 7'; 17 4'.
- Manḥabbi:** 11 ix 27.
- Mannea/Manneans (Mannāyu):** 3 iii 17, 20, 32, 53, 60, 71, 72; 4 iii 9, 11, 21, 43, 51, 62, 63; 6 iv 12'', 38'', 46'', 62'', 64''; 7 iv 3', 10', 15', 12'', 17'', 29'', 31''; 8 iv 1', 3'; 9 ii 21, 25; 11 ii 127, 129, iii 6; 21 20'; 23 90; 24 2.
- Marqanâ:** 11 ix 29.
- Masūtu:** 11 vii 60.
- Matuḥanzaḥ:** 2 v 27'.
- Māt-Akkadī:** See Akkad.
- Māt-Aššur:** See Assyria.
- Medes (Madāyu):** 3 iii 92; 4 iii 16'; 6 v 6; 7 iv 59''; 8 iv 22''; 21 20'.
- Meluḥḥa:** 3 i 49; 4 i 38; 6 ii 5'; 9 i 35; 11 i 52, iii 103.
- Memphis (Mempi):** 2 iii 23, 3''; 3 i 58, 72, 76, 80, ii 8, 15; 4 i 46, 56, 60, 64, ii 5; 6 ii 15', 61', 67', 73', 76', iii 23', 32'; 7 ii 32', 1'; 9 i 38; 11 i 60, 78, 83, 87, 90, ii 25, 30.

- Mendes (Pintīti):** 3 i 91; 4 i 76; 7 ii 44''; 11 i 99, i 134.
- Moab (Mā'ab):** 3 viii 36; 4 viii 40; 6 ii 29', x 20'; 7 x 20'; 11 vii 112.
- Murūbisi:** 49 3.
- Mušur:** See Egypt.
- Nabayatean:** 3 viii 43; 4 viii 47; 6 x 5', 3''; 7 x 2', 28', 37'; 8 ix 7'', 14''; 11 vii 124, viii 48, 56, 70, 95, 113; 23 124, 125.
- Nadi':** 7 ix 11''; 9 iv 2; 11 v 44.
- Nadītu:** 9 iv 29; 11 v 77.
- Naqidāte:** 11 vii 66.
- Natho (Nathū):** 6 ii 78'; 7 ii 3''; 11 i 92, i 97.
- Naziniri:** 3 iii 36; 4 iii 24; 6 iv 16''.
- Nī':** See Thebes.
- Nineveh (Ninua):** 1 vi 7'; 2 v 3, vii 4'; 3 i 61, ii 11, 37, 62, 72, iii 86, iv 5, 14, 33, vi 41, 47, 53, 58, 75, 84, viii 26, 42, 56; 4 i 48, ii 8, 11', 33', 45', iii 9', 22', iv 8, vi 43, 49, 55, 61, 81, 94, viii 30, 46, 58, 69; 5 iv 10; 6 ii 18', iii 26', 57', 88', 102', iv 82'', v 12, 23, 50, vii 46, 3', 33', 46', x 7', 19''; 7 ii 51'', iii 15', 43', 4'', iv 49'', 65'', 74'', 99'', vi 4', 12'', 20'', 24'', vii 25, 35, x 4', 26'; 8 iii 28', iv 9''; 9 i 73, ii 47, vi 22; 10 iii 19, v 34; 11 i 62, 117, ii 7, 27, 48, 66, 71, 79, iii 19, 86, iv 27, viii 13, 91, ix 109, x 5, 51; 12 iii 4'', vi 12', 24'; 13 iii 13', 8'; 20 ii 7'; 21 5'; 22 i 13'; 23 12, 35, 38, 132; 59 2; 63 8. See also Ištar of Nineveh.
- Nippur:** 7 ix 41''.
- Nūria:** 6 ii 47'; 7 ii 18'.
- Paddiri:** 3 iii 52; 4 iii 42; 6 iv 37''; 7 iv 10''.
- Paḥnutu:** 11 i 105.
- Palaetyrus (Ušū):** 11 ix 115, ix 117.
- Paphos (Pappa):** 6 ii 41'; 7 ii 12'.
- Parsumaš (Persia):** 12 vi 7'; 23 114.
- Pelusium (Ši'nu):** 6 ii 77'; 7 ii 2'', 45''; 11 i 91, 134.
- Persia:** See Parsumaš.
- Pidilma:** 9 iv 38; 11 v 87; 23 94.
- Piḥattiḥurunpiki:** See Trenuthis.
- Pillatu:** 3 vii 8; 4 vii 8; 6 viii 3'; 9 iii 39; 11 iv 116.
- Pintīti:** See Mendes.
- Pišapdi'a:** 11 i 104.
- Pišaptu (Šaptu):** 6 ii 79'; 7 ii 4''; 11 i 93.
- Punubu:** 11 i 101.
- Purattu:** See Euphrates.
- Puširu:** See Busiris.
- Qabrīna:** 7 ix 22'', ix 23''; 9 iv 10; 11 v 56.
- Qadē:** 21 21'; 23 133.
- Qarti-ḥadasti:** 6 ii 45'; 7 ii 16'.
- Qedar (Qidru):** 3 vii 77, viii 32; 4 vii 81, viii 36; 6 x 13'; 7 ix 65'', x 13'; 8 ix 39'; 11 viii 15, ix 4; 23 112.
- Qedar, gen.:** 11 ix 1, 17.
- Qirbit:** 1 vi 10; 2 v 20', vi 12; 3 iii 5, 8, 14; 4 ii 73', iii 2, 7; 6 iv 8', 12'; 7 iii 31'', 35''.
- Que:** 61 rev. 25'.
- Qurašitu:** 11 viii 121.
- Rāši:** 9 iv 21, iv 23; 11 v 67, v 70.
- Sa'arru:** See Seir.
- Saḥi:** 3 iv 2; 4 iii 18'; 6 v 7; 7 iv 61''.
- Sai:** See Sais.
- Saladri:** 11 vii 72, vii 73.
- Salamis (Silluwa):** 6 ii 40'; 7 ii 11'.
- Samaria (Samerīna):** 9 vi 75A, 75B, 75C, 75E, 75F, 74G, 75H, 75J, 75K, 76M, 75P, 75R, 75S, 75U, 75V, 75W; 10 vi 54A, 54B.
- Samsimurruna:** 6 ii 35'; 7 ii 6'.
- Samunu:** 7 ix 21''; 9 iv 9; 11 v 55.
- Sarāqa:** 11 ix 30.
- Saratein:** 11 ix 29.
- Sais (Sai):** 3 i 91; 4 i 76; 6 ii 76', iii 9'; 7 ii 1'', 44''; 11 i 90, 134, ii 16.
- Sebennytos (Šabnūti):** 11 i 98.
- Seir (Sa'arru):** 11 vii 112.
- Siḥūa:** 3 iii 35; 4 iii 24; 6 iv 16''.
- Sillu:** See Soloi.
- Silluwa:** See Salamis.
- Sippar:** 11 iii 107, 130, iv 84, 92.
- Sirāra (Mount):** 9 vi 51; 11 x 98.
- Sissil:** 2 v 24'.
- Siut (Ši-yāutu):** 11 i 106.
- Sōbā (Šubat):** 11 vii 114.
- Soloi (Sillu):** 6 ii 42'; 7 ii 13'.
- Subaḥē:** 11 vii 68.
- Sulāya:** 11 iv 117.
- Sumandir:** 3 vii 20; 4 vii 20; 6 viii 19'; 7 vii 1'; 8 viii 8'; 19 4'.
- Sumer (Šumerī):** 2 i 14, 5'; 3 i 4, iv 28; 4 i 4; 5 i 5; 6 v 43; 7 i 4, iv 94''; 9 v 3; 10 i 6; 11 vi 7; 13 i 14; 23 17.
- Sumuntunaš:** 9 iv 37; 11 v 85.
- Sumu'el:** 23 111, 118.
- Susa (Šušan):** 3 v 82, 92, vi 6; 4 v 42'', 54'', vi 8; 6 vi 27'', vii 7, ix 35''; 7 vi 4', 17', viii 105', ix 16''; 8 vii 6', ix 16'; 9 ii 64, iii 71, iv 5, 36, 69, v 19, 35, 66; 11 iii 41, v 22, 49, 84, 128, vi 27, 50, 96; 23 94, 98; 33 3.
- Šabnūti:** See Sebennytos.
- Ša'nu:** See Tanis.
- Šayuran:** 11 ix 28.
- Ši'nu:** See Pelusium.
- Šubat:** See Sōbā.
- Šurru:** See Tyre.
- Šaḥarasi':** 2 v 26'.
- Šanḥara:** 2 v 24'.
- Šaptu:** See Pišaptu.
- Šarru-iqbi:** 3 iii 70; 4 iii 59; 6 iv 58''; 7 iv 27''.
- Ša-Kisāya:** 11 vii 67.
- Ša-pī-Bēl:** 3 vi 16, 32; 4 vi 18, 36; 6 vii 19, 37; 7 vi 29'; 8 vii 19', 44'; 9 ii 77, iii 5; 11 iii 54, 68; 12 v 9; 23 102.
- Šeliḥiram:** 2 v 26'.
- Ši-yāutu:** See Siut.
- Šuanna:** 6 i 23'; 10 i 26; 61 obv. 20, 25. See also Babylon.
- Šumerī:** See Sumer.
- Šušan:** See Susa.
- Tabal:** 6 iii 94'; 8 iii 20'; 9 i 70; 11 ii 68; 23 139.
- Tabal, gen.:** 3 ii 67, 4 ii 39'.
- Tamassos (Tamesu):** 6 ii 44'; 7 ii 15'.
- Tamesu:** See Tamassos.
- Ta'nā:** 11 ix 30.
- Tanis (Ša'nu):** 3 i 91; 4 i 76; 11 i 96.
- Taraqu:** 7 ix 13''; 9 iv 3; 11 v 46.
- Tarbišu:** 5 ii 1'; 6 i 64'; 7 i 38'; 10 ii 28; 23 76.
- Tasarra:** 9 iv 55; 11 v 113.
- Tayani:** See Thinis.
- Tazi':** 2 v 28'.
- Tenuquri:** 11 ix 28.
- Thebes (Nī'):** 2 iv 2, 16; 3 i 81, ii 6, 16, 21, 22, 34; 4 i 65, ii 3, 9'; 6 ii 74', iii 20', 33', 38', 39', 53'; 7 iii 11'; 9 i 39, 44, 45, 49; 11 i 88, 109, ii 23, 31, 35, 36, 44; 12 ii 7'; 21 17'; 23



82.  
**Thinis (Tayani):** 11 i 108.  
**Tigris (Idiqlat):** 11 viii 79.  
**Tilmun:** See Dilmun.  
**Til-Ḥumba:** 11 vii 68.  
**Til-Tūba:** 3 v 89; 4 v 51''; 6 vi 37''; 7 vi 1'; 9 iv 7; 11 v 52; 32 2.  
**Trenuthis (Piḥattihurunpiki):** 11 i 103.  
**Tūbu:** 7 ix 18''; 9 iv 7, iv 32; 11 v 52, v 80.  
**Tyre (Šurru):** 3 ii 38, 58; 4 ii 12', 30'; 6 ii 26', iii 59', 83'; 7 iii 16', 38'; 8 iii 9'; 9 i 55; 11 ii 49; 12 ii 14'; 23 83.  
**Udūmu:** See Edom.  
**Ulāya:** 3 v 86, 90, vi 6; 4 v 47'', 52'', vi 8; 6 vi 32'', 38'', vii 7; 7 vi 2', 17'; 8 vii 6'; 9 ii 65; 11 iii 42.  
**Unu:** See Heliopolis.  
**Uppiš:** 3 iii 35; 4 iii 24; 6 iv 16''.

#### Divine, Planet, and Star Names

**Adad:** 2 i 6; 3 i 27; 4 i 22, viii 61; 5 iii 9'; 6 i 57'; 7 i 29', i 81'; 8 i 21'; 9 i 5; 10 ii 18, iv 8; 11 i 6, 14, 41, 45, ii 128, iii 12, 29, iv 46, vi 126, viii 19, 52, 73, ix 62, 97, x 33, 60, 118; 13 i 3, 17; 61 rev. 22'.  
**Amman-kasiMAŠ:** 9 v 24; 11 vi 34.  
**Antu:** 23 11.  
**Anu:** 6 i 27'; 10 i 31; 11 ix 77; 15 ii 14; 23 6, 46.  
**Anunnakū:** 23 1; 62 obv. 3.  
**Anu-rabū:** See Great Anu.  
**Asalluḫi:** 23 44. See also Marduk.  
**Assyrian Ištār (Ištār Aššurītu):** 11 i 65.  
**Aššur:** 1 vi 10', vii 10', 24'; 2 i 4, iv 5', 21', 35'; 3 i 44, 52, 65, 74, 77, ii 4, 25, 90, iii 1, 4, 10, 31, 77, 81, iv 62, v 14, 29, 37, 40, 73, 76, 87, 94, 95, vi 5, 7, vi 40, 45, 59, vii 29, 37, 49, 57, viii 21, 34, 45, 66, 72; 4 i 35, 41, 51, 58, 61, 87, ii 2', 65', 69', 72', iii 4, 20, 46, 3', iv 33', v 29'', 34'', 49'', 56'', 57'', vi 7, 10, 41, 47, 62, vii 30, 42, 54, 60, viii 24, 38, 48, 71, 76; 5 i 1', 6', v 5; 6 i 11', 16', 53', ii 9', 23', 64', 69', iii 17', 42', iv 4', 15', 10'', 70'', 75'', v 90, vi 4', 16', 20', 13'', 18'', 34'', vii 6, 8, 52, 5', 21', viii 12'', 24'', 6'', 14'', 16'', ix 23', 42'', x 1', 16', 5'', 10''; 7 i 24', 100', ii 35', 40'', iii 1', 21'', 27'', iv 37'', 43'', v 31, 66, 100, 111, 115, vi 10, 15, 6', 8', 16', 19', 10'', 26'', vii 12, 12', 27', 41', 51', viii 7, 57', 111', ix 8', 9', 37'', 52'', x 16', 30', 67', 74'; 8 iv 2'', vii 5', 8', viii 5'', 17'', 29'', 30'', 18'', ix 24', 8'', 2'', x 6''; 9 i 1, 32, 47, ii 13, 18, 23, 38, 42, 55, 57, 72, iii 17, 29, 41, 58, 74, iv 17, 24, 41, 65, 67, 70, v 39, vi 12, 62; 10 i 15, 19, ii 12, iv 31, v 50, vi 6, 31; 11 i 1, 3, 9, 14, 39, 41, 56, 65, 66, 81, 84, 132, ii 20, 38, 97, 107, 112, 116, 117, 127, iii 12, 29, 32, 50, 104, iv 9, 22, 33, 46, 67, 101, 103, 106, 119, v 7, 29, 63, 71, 90, 123, 126, 130, vi 56, 71, 126, vii 10, 13, 53, 70, 75, 88, 96, 104, 107, 119, viii 5, 8, 17, 19, 30, 52, 59, 63, 73, ix 6, 20, 44, 55, 61, 72, 87, 90, 97, 104, 112, 128, x 7, 19, 22, 27, 33, 60, 109, 118; 12 iii 20'', v 3, vi 8', 20'; 13 i 3, 9, 17, 35, iii 4'', viii 24, 37, 9'; 15 ii 3, 6; 16 22'; 17 2'; 18 ii' 16'; 19 14'; 20 ii' 15'; 21 2, 22', 23'; 22 i' 3'', 6''; 23 24, 27, 28, 29, 86, 90, 92, 100, 101, 105, 107, 114, 116, 119, 126, 129, 131, 134, 137, 140, 143, 148, 152, 155, 157, 159, 160, 183; 26 5; 35 2, 4; 43 2; 46 6; 47 2; 49 1, 4; 50 2; 51 2; 52 1, 4; 54 1, 4; 56 2; 58 1; 61 obv. 3, 32, rev. 16', 22'; 63 8.  
**Atar-samayin:** 3 vii 81; 4 vii 85; 7 ix 69''; 11 viii 112, 124.  
**Aya:** 5 iv 4, 9, 24, 29; 10 iii 18, 32; 23 38, 39.

**Uppumu:** 3 iv 7; 4 iv 2; 6 v 14; 7 iv 67''.  
**Urartū:** 3 iv 6; 4 iv 1; 6 v 13, vii 20'; 7 iv 66'', vii 11; 11 x 40; 23 121; 35 4.  
**Urdalika:** 7 ix 17''; 9 iv 6; 11 v 51.  
**Urkiyamun:** 3 iii 35; 4 iii 24; 6 iv 15''.  
**Urmēte:** 3 iii 46; 4 iii 34; 6 iv 28''; 7 iv 3''.  
**Uruk:** 7 ix 41''; 9 vi 10; 10 v 30; 11 vi 122; 20 ii' 13'; 23 98.  
**Ušū:** See Palaetyrus.  
**Uzbia:** 3 iii 47; 4 iii 35; 6 iv 28''; 7 iv 3''.  
**Yabrūdu:** 11 vii 110.  
**Yamutbal:** 2 v 11'; 3 iii 9; 4 iii 3; 6 iv 14'.  
**Yarki:** 11 viii 107.  
**Yaudu:** See Judah.  
**Zarzāta:** 2 v 23'.  
**...uppi:** 21 21'; 23 133.

**Ayapagsina:** 9 v 28; 11 vi 40.

**Bēl (Marduk):** 3 i 74, iii 10, 81, iv 44, vi 40, vii 29, 57, viii 22, 34, 66; 4 i 58, iii 4, 3', iv 11', vi 41, vii 30, 60, viii 25, 38, 71; 5 i 10', ii 1; 6 i 20', 40', ii 64', iv 16', 75'', v 66, viii 6'', ix 42'', x 1', 16', 5''; 7 i 9', ii 35', iv 43'', v 10, 66, vii 12', 51', viii 7, 111', ix 52'', x 17', 68'; 8 iv 2'', viii 5'', ix 24', 2''; 9 i 47, ii 23, 42, 55, vi 12; 10 i 23, 49; 11 i 15, 41, 81, ii 128, iii 12, 29, 112, iv 46, vi 127, viii 20, 53, 74, ix 62, 98, x 34, 60, 118; 12 v 3, vi 8', 20'; 13 i 9, ii 4'; 16 23'; 17 2'; 19 14'; 21 22', 23', 26'; 23 42, 49, 148, 152. See also Marduk.  
**Bēlet-Arbail:** 11 ix 87.  
**Bēlet-Bābili:** 5 i 10'; 6 i 20'; 10 i 23; 11 viii 98; 23 42.  
**Bēlet-ilī:** 2 i 5.  
**Bēlet-parši:** 9 vi 31; 11 x 62.  
**Bēltiya:** 5 i 10', ii 1; 6 i 20', i 40'; 7 i 9'; 10 i 23, i 49; 13 ii 4'; 23 42, 49. See also Zarpanitu.  
**Bilala:** 9 v 28; 11 vi 41.  
**Ea:** 2 i 5, ii 5; 3 i 28; 4 i 22; 5 iii 10'; 6 i 21'; 7 i 81'; 8 i 22'; 9 i 9; 10 i 24, iv 9; 11 i 11, i 45; 23 42.  
**Enlil:** 3 i 38, v 17; 4 i 30; 5 iii 23'; 6 i 8''; 7 i 89', v 84; 9 iii 34; 10 iv 11; 11 iv 111, viii 92, 97, ix 74, 77, 84; 23 5, 29, 110.  
**Erra:** 3 viii 17; 4 viii 20; 11 iii 113, 126, 134, iv 79, ix 57, ix 82.  
**Great Anu (Anu-rabū = Ištārān):** 10 iii 15; 23 73.  
**Gula:** 9 i 10; 11 i 12; 12 viii 8'; 13 ii 13'; 23 53.  
**Igīgū:** 23 1; 62 obv. 3.  
**Inšušinak:** 9 v 21; 11 vi 30.  
**Ištār:** 1 vii 10', 24'; 3 i 44, 52, 65, 77, ii 25, iii 77, 81, 82, iv 64, v 2, 14, 22, 25, 45, 50, 51, 56, 75, 76, 95, vi 5, 59, vii 37, 49, viii 22, 35, 67, 72; 4 i 35, 41, 51, 61, ii 2', iii 3', 4', iv 34', 63', v 2', 6', 2'', 4'', 10'', 32'', 34'', 57'', vi 7, 62, vii 42, 54, viii 25, 39, 72, 75; 6 ii 9', 23', 69', iii 42', iv 4', 16', 70'', 76'', v 91, vi 26', 33', 34', 16'', 18'', vii 6, 5', 21', viii 12'', 24'', 6'', ix 43'', x 2', 17', 18', 6'', 10''; 7 i 100', iii 1', 27'', iv 37'', 44'', v 32, 67, 81, 90, 95, 122, 129, 130, 136, vi 13, 15, 8', 16', 26'', vii 12, 27', 41', viii 8, 9, 112', ix 9', 37'', 53'', 54'', x 17', 18', 68', 69', 74'; 8 iv 3'', v 12', vii 5', viii 17'', ix 25', x 6''; 9 i 32, 48, ii 18, 24, 38, 43, 56, 72, iii 17, 29, 41, 74, iv 17, 24, 41, 65, 67, 70, v 39, 50, vi 13, 14, 62; 10 v 33; 11 i 6, 15, 16, 39, 42, 43, 56, 66, 84, ii 38, 107, 116, 128, iii 4, 13, 14, 30, 31, 50, iv 9, 22, 33, 47,

- 48, 119, v 29, 63, 71, 90, 97, 123, 126, 130, vi 56, 71, 127, 128, vii 10, 13, 53, 70, 75, 104, 107, viii 17, 20, 21, 30, 53, 54, 74, 75, 92, ix 6, 20, 62, 63, 79, 90, 98, 99, 112, x 7, 19, 22, 34, 35, 61, 62, 109, 118, 119; **13** i 18, 19, iii 5'', viii 13, 25; **14** i' 17'; **16** 23'; **22** i' 3', 3'', ii' 1'; **23** 2, 100, 116, 119, 129, 137, 148, 152, 161; **26** 5; **35** 2; **47** 2; **51** 2; **52** 1; **54** 1, 4; **56** 2; **58** 2; **60** 12; **61** rev. 16', 22'.
- Ištar Aššuritu:** See Assyrian Ištar.
- Ištar of Arbela:** **3** iii 82, v 51, viii 22, 35, 67; **4** iii 4', v 4'', viii 25, 39, 72; **6** iv 16', 76'', vi 34', viii 6'', ix 43'', x 2', 18', 6''; **7** iv 44'', v 67, 130, viii 9, 112', ix 54'', x 18', 69'; **8** iv 3'', ix 25'; **9** i 48, ii 24, 43, 56, vi 14; **11** i 16, 43, ii 128, iii 5, 14, 31, iv 48, v 97, vi 128, viii 21, 54, 75, ix 63, 79, 99, x 35, 62, 119; **13** i 19, viii 13, 25; **16** 23'; **23** 100, 116, 119, 148, 152, 161.
- Ištar of Nineveh:** **3** iii 81, viii 22, 35, 67; **4** iii 3', viii 25, 39, 72; **6** iv 16', 76'', viii 6'', ix 43'', x 2', 17', 6''; **7** iv 44'', v 67, viii 8, 112', ix 53'', x 17', 68'; **8** iv 3'', ix 25'; **9** i 48, ii 24, 43, 56, vi 13; **11** i 15, 42, ii 128, iii 13, 30, iv 47, vi 127, viii 20, 53, 74, ix 62, 98, x 34, 61, 118; **13** i 18, iii 5'', viii 13, 25; **16** 23'; **22** i' 3'. See also Mullissu.
- Ištarān:** See Great Anu.
- Karsa:** **9** v 26; **11** vi 39.
- Kindakarbu:** **9** v 31; **11** vi 43.
- Kirsamas:** **9** v 27; **11** vi 39.
- Kulla:** **12** i 24'; **22** i 19'.
- Kusibanda:** **7** i 74'; **8** i 13'; **10** iii 51.
- Lagamaru:** **9** v 23; **11** vi 33.
- Lamma-RA.BI:** See "Lamma-RA.BI Gate."
- Lugaldimmeranki:** **15** 7'. See also Marduk.
- Mandānu:** **6** i 21'; **10** i 24; **23** 42.
- Marduk:** **2** i 7; **3** iii 1, 4, iv 60, v 87, 94, viii 45; **4** ii 69', 72', iv 30', v 49'', 56'', viii 48; **6** i 31', 33', 36', v 86, vi 34'', vii 8; **7** i 2', 5', v 29, vi 6', 19', x 30'; **8** ix 8''; **10** i 36, 39, 43; **11** ix 11; **12** i 3'; **13** i 4, 17, ii 9', viii 9'; **15** i 2', ii 21; **21** 1'; **22** i 2', 4'; **23** 47, 51, 110; **61** obv. 4, 15, 17; **63** 8. See also Asalluḫi, Bēl and Lugaldimmeranki.
- Mār-biti:** **23** 73.
- Mullissu:** **2** i 4; **8** viii 29'', 30''; **9** i 1, vi 23; **10** iv 31, v 50, vi 6, 31; **11** i 1, 9, 14, iii 104, iv 101, 106, ix 75, 87, 104, x 26, 52; **12** iii 20'; **13** i 3, 9, 17, iii 4'', viii 9'; **16** 22'; **18** ii 16'; **21** 22', 23'; **23** 1, 24, 30, 36, 90, 100, 107, 110, 116, 119, 126, 131, 134, 140, 148, 152, 155, 161, 162, 164, 166, 179, 181; **43** 2; **50** 2; **58** 1; **60** 1, 14; **61** obv. 3. See also Ištar of Nineveh.
- Nabirtu:** **9** v 30; **11** vi 43.
- Nabsā:** **9** v 30; **11** vi 42.
- Nabû:** **2** i 8; **3** i 74, iii 10, 81, iv 44, vi 40, vii 29, 57, viii 22, 34, 66; **4** i 58, iii 3', iv 11', vi 41, vii 30, 60, viii 25, 38, 71; **6** ii 64', iv 16', 75'', v 66, viii 6'', ix 42'', x 1', 16', 5''; **7** ii 35', iv 43'', v 10, 66, vii 12', 51', viii 7, 111', ix 52'', x 17', 53', 68'; **8** iv 2'', viii 5'', ix 24', 2''; **9** i 25, 47, ii 23, 42, 55, vi 12; **11** i 15, 31, 41, 81, ii 128, iii 12, 29, iv 46, vi 127, viii 20, 53, 74, ix 62, 98, x 34, 60, 118; **12** v 3, vi 8', 20'; **13** i 5, 9, 18, viii 10'; **15** i 4'; **16** 23'; **17** 2'; **18** i' 7'; **21** 3', 22'; **22** i 12'; **23** 38, 148, 152; **59** 1, 12, 14; **61** obv. 4.
- Nanāya:** **2** i 8; **9** v 72; **10** v 9; **11** vi 107; **20** ii' 10'; **21** 12'; **23** 97.
- Nannaru:** **3** v 75; **4** v 31''; **6** vi 15''; **7** vi 12.
- Nergal:** **3** vii 29, viii 67; **4** vii 30, viii 72; **6** i 64', iv 76'', viii 7'', ix 43'', x 19', 6''; **7** i 37', iv 45'', vii 13', 51', viii 10, 113', ix 54'', x 19', 69'; **8** iv 3'', viii 5'', ix 25'; **9** i 48, ii 24, 43, 56, vi 14; **11** i 17, 43, ii 129, iii 14, 31, iv 48, vi 128, viii 22, 55, 76, ix 64, 84, 100, x 36, 62, 119; **13** i 20; **15** i 6'; **57** 3.
- Ninagal:** **7** i 74'; **8** i 13'; **10** iii 51.
- Ningal:** **5** iv 4, iv 9, 24, 29; **10** iii 18, 32; **23** 38, 39.
- Ninkura:** **5** iii 1'; **7** i 75'; **8** i 14'; **10** iii 52.
- Ninurta:** **3** viii 67; **4** viii 72; **6** iv 76'', viii 7'', ix 43'', x 18', 6''; **7** iv 45'', vii 13', 51', viii 10, 113', ix 54'', x 19', 69'; **8** iv 3'', ix 25'; **9** i 48, ii 24, 43, 56, vi 14; **11** i 17, 43, ii 129, iii 14, 31, iv 48, vi 128, viii 22, 55, 76, ix 64, 84, 100, x 36, 62, 119; **13** i 20; **15** i 6'; **57** 3.
- Ninzadim:** **23** 35.
- Nisaba:** **3** i 31, iv 19; **4** i 24, iv 12; **5** iii 13'; **6** i 1'', v 28; **7** i 83', iv 79''; **8** i 25'; **11** i 48; **12** iii 14''.
- Nunnamnir:** **9** ii 58; **11** iii 33.
- Nūru:** **12** i 7'; **13** ii 22'; **22** i 9'; **23** 57.
- Nusku:** **3** viii 67; **4** viii 72; **5** ii 16', iv 24, 29; **6** i 77', 80', 92', iv 76'', viii 7'', ix 43''; **7** i 51', 54', 64', iv 45'', vii 13', 51', viii 10, 113', x 19', 69'; **8** i 1', iv 3'', ix 25'; **9** i 48, ii 24, 43, 56, vi 14; **10** ii 44, 49, iii 13, 32; **11** i 17, i 43, ii 129, iii 14, 31, iv 48, vi 128, viii 22, 55, 76, ix 64, 86, 100, x 36, 62, 119; **13** i 20; **19** 15'; **23** 39, 66, 69, 71, 72.
- Palil:** **54** 2; **55** 3.
- Panintimri:** **9** v 29; **11** vi 41.
- Partikira:** **9** v 24; **11** vi 34.
- Ragiba:** **9** v 25; **11** vi 38.
- Sapag:** **9** v 25; **11** vi 35.
- Silagarā:** **9** v 29; **11** vi 42.
- Sîn:** **2** i 6; **3** iii 31, v 5, 74, 76, vii 29, 57, viii 21, 34, 66; **4** iii 4, 20, v 30'', 34'', vii 30, 60, viii 24, 38, 71; **5** ii 5', 8', 11', 16', iv 4, 9, 24, 29, v 5; **6** i 68', 71', 73', 77', 87', 92', iv 15', 10'', 75'', vi 14'', 18'', viii 6'', ix 42'', x 1', 16', 5''; **7** i 42', 45', 47', 51', 60', 64', iv 43'', v 66, 71, 81, vi 11, 15, vii 12', 51', viii 7, 111', ix 52'', x 16', 67'; **8** i 1', iv 2'', v 2', 12', viii 5'', ix 24'; **9** i 3, 47, ii 23, 42, 55, iii 33, vi 12; **10** ii 32, 36, 39, 44, iii 6, 13, 18, 32; **11** i 3, 14, 41, ii 127, iii 12, 29, 121, 127, iv 46, 110, vi 126, viii 19, 52, 73, 96, ix 10, 61, 97, x 33, 60, 118; **13** i 3, 17, viii 24; **16** 22'; **19** 14'; **23** 38, 39, 64, 66, 69, 70, 72.
- SunGAMsarā:** **9** v 26; **11** vi 38.
- Šamaš:** **2** i 6; **3** iii 31, v 7, vii 29, 57, viii 21, 34, 66; **4** iii 20, vii 30, 60, viii 24, 38, 71; **5** iv 4, 9, 24, 29, v 5; **6** i 57', iv 15', 10'', 75'', viii 6'', ix 42'', x 1', 16', 5''; **7** i 29', iv 43'', v 66, 73, vii 12', 51', viii 7, 111', ix 52'', x 16', 67'; **8** iv 2'', v 4', viii 5'', ix 24'; **9** i 5, 47, ii 23, 42, 55, v 52, vi 12; **10** ii 18, iii 18, 32; **11** i 6, 14, 41, ii 127, iii 12, 29, 113, iv 46, vi 126, viii 19, 52, 73, ix 61, 97, x 33, 60, 118; **13** i 3, 17, viii 24; **16** 22'; **19** 14'; **23** 38, 39.
- Šarrat-Dēri:** **23** 73.
- Šarrat-Kidmuri:** **6** i 50', viii 6'', x 17'; **7** i 21', viii 8, ix 53'', x 18'; **9** vi 13; **10** ii 9; **11** i 16, 42, ii 128, iii 13, 30, iv 47, vi 127, viii 21, 54, 75, ix 63, 99, x 35, 61, 119.
- Šudānu:** **9** v 27; **11** vi 40.
- Šumudu:** **9** v 23; **11** vi 33.
- Šušinak:** See Inšušinak.
- Tašmētu:** **2** i 8; **13** i 5, 18, viii 10'.
- Uduran:** **9** v 25; **11** vi 35.
- Zarpanītu:** **2** i 7; **5** ii 4; **6** i 42'; **7** i 12'; **10** i 52; **13** i 4, 18, ii 6', viii 9'; **21** 1''; **22** i 1'; **23** 50. See also Bēltiya.
- Uncertain** (<sup>d</sup>[...]): **61** obv. 31, 32.

## Gate, Palace, Temple, and Wall Names

**Bīt-Kidmuri:** 13 i 19.

**“Citadel Gate”:** 3 vi 57, 83; 4 vi 60, 94; 6 vii 3', 46'; 7 vi 24'', vii 35; 11 viii 13.

**Duku:** 17 6'.

**Eanna (more accurately Eana):** 9 vi 5, 9; 10 v 23, 29; 11 vi 115, 121; 23 98.

**Eastern Gate:** 11 ix 109.

**Edimgalkalama:** 10 iii 15; 23 73.

**Egallammes:** 6 i 64'; 7 i 37'; 10 ii 27; 23 76.

**Egašankalama:** 3 i 20; 4 i 17; 6 i 48'; 7 i 18'; 10 ii 7; 21 5'; 23 40.

**Ehiliana:** 9 vi 10; 10 v 31; 11 vi 123; 20 ii' 13'; 21 13'.

**Eḫulḫul:** 3 i 20; 4 i 17; 5 ii 4'; 6 i 67', 91'; 7 i 41', 64'; 10 ii 31, iii 12; 23 64, 67.

**Eḫursaggalkurkurra (more accurately Eḫursaggalkurkura):** 5 i 1'; 6 i 11'; 10 i 14; 15 ii 3; 23 27.

**Eḫursaggula:** 5 i 6'; 6 i 16'; 10 i 19; 15 ii 7.

**Ekibikuga:** 23 35.

**Emašmaš:** 3 i 20; 4 i 16; 6 i 48'; 7 i 18'; 10 ii 7; 11 x 25; 23 30, 120, 162, 164; 60 1, 18.

**Emelamana:** 6 i 80'; 7 i 54'; 10 ii 49; 23 65, 71.

**Emeslam:** 12 i 13'; 21 10'; 22 i 14'; 23 61.

**Emešarra (more accurately Emešara):** 13 ii 20'.

**Esabad:** 13 ii 13'; 23 53.

**Esagil:** 5 i 8'; 6 i 18'; 7 vii 44; 10 i 21; 13 ii 12'; 15 ii 10; 23 41, 52; 61 obv. 14, 21.

**Ešarra (more accurately Ešara):** 3 i 19; 4 i 16; 6 i 22'; 10 i 24; 23 29, 120; 61 obv. 7.

**Ezida:** 6 i 47'; 7 i 17', vii 44; 10 ii 5; 12 i 6', 8'; 13 ii 17', 24'; 22 i 8'; 23 55, 58; 59 1.

**“Gate of the Abundance of the Lands”:** 5 i 5'; 6 i 15'; 10 i 18; 23 29.

**“Gate of the Rising Sun”:** 5 ii 8; 6 i 46'; 7 i 16'; 10 ii 3; 12 i 5'; 13 ii 16'; 23 55.

**“House of Succession”:** 1 vii 13'; 2 ii 7; 9 i 2, 17, vi 22, 26, 29, 56, 64; 11 i 2, 23, x 51, 55, 59, 87, 91, 103, 110.

**Kaḫilisu:** 5 ii 4; 6 i 42'; 7 i 12'; 10 i 52; 13 ii 6'; 22 i 1'; 23 50.

**Kamaḫ:** 12 i 11'; 13 ii 27'; 23 59.

**Kanamtila:** 12 i 11'; 13 ii 27'; 23 59.

**Kizalaga:** 12 i 7'; 13 ii 22'; 22 i 9'; 23 57.

**“Lamma-RA.BI Gate”:** 5 ii 8; 6 i 46'; 7 i 16'; 10 ii 4; 12 i 5'; 13 ii 16'; 23 55.

**“Luguduene Gate”:** 12 i 5'; 13 ii 16'; 23 54.

## Object Names

**Matummal:** 23 36.



# Concordances of Selected Publications

## Barnett, Sculptures from the North Palace

Pl.	RINAP 5	Pl.	RINAP 5	Pl.	RINAP 5
I	11.1	LVII	56-58	LXVIII	47
XVII	40	LVIII	56	LXX g	42
XXI	48	LIX	57-58	LXXI h	45
XXIV	29	LX-LXI	44, 46	B	40
XXV-XXVI	37	LXII a	39	C	37, 49
XXXIV	49	LXIII-LXIV	50	D	38
XXXV	38	LXVI	41	E	44, 46, 54-58
LVI	54-58	LXVII	43	F	41, 43, 50

## Barnett et al., Sculptures from the Southwest Palace 1

P.	No.	RINAP 5	P.	No.	RINAP 5
94-95	381-383	25-28	98	400	31
96-97	384-386	33-36	100	419	32

## Barnett et al., Sculptures from the Southwest Palace 2

Pl.	No.	RINAP 5	Pl.	No.	RINAP 5
286	381-386	25-28, 33-36	304-305	385	33
288-289	381	27	307	385	33
292-293	382	28	308-311	386	34-35
295-297	383	25-26	317	400	31
299	383	25-26	320	419	32
300-302	384	36			

## Bauer, Asb. 1

Pl.	RINAP 5	Pl.	RINAP 5	Pl.	RINAP 5
1-5	9.2	47	8.4	59-60	14
5-13	6.1	50	4.1	60	6.1; 10.11
13-16	4.3	51	3.2	62	2.2*; 9.69; 13.2
17	1.1; 2.1*	52	10.8; 20.1	63	3.1; 9.153
19	4.3	53	10.3	63-64	4.14
19-20	10.3	56	10.8		
20	6.3*; 10.5	57	10.3		

**Bauer, Asb. 2**

P.	RINAP 5	P.	RINAP 5	P.	RINAP 5
1-3 no. 1	11.1-2	24-26 no. 5	3.2; 4.3, 11, 14;	29-33 no. 12	2.2*; 4.14; 6.1;
3-8 no. 2	9.2, 55, 62, 69;		6.1, 6*		10.3, 8, 11; 9.2,
	11.6, 39	27-28 no. 6	1.1; 2.1*		66, 153; 13.2; 14;
8-12 no. 3	3.1, 1*-5*, 7*,	28 no. 7	9.36, 44, 48		20.1
	21*; 4.1, 3, 11;	28 no. 8	6.3	36	10.3
	6.1-3, 6*, 8*;	28 no. 9	12.1	48	60
	11.72, 131	28 no. 10	12.2	52-53	59.15
13-24 no. 4	6.1, 3*	28-29 no. 11	10.1, 3, 5, 8, 11	69	8.4

**Borger, BIWA**

P.	RINAP 5	P.	RINAP 5	P.	RINAP 5
1-7	11	137-147	5-8, 10	222	12-13
7-14	9	147-155	6-8	222-223	3-4, 6-8
14-16	9, 11	158-163	7-8	223	12
16-17	3-8, 11	163-164	6	224-226	3-4, 6-8
17-18	3-4, 6-8, 11	164-165	7	226	9, 11-12
19	6-8, 11	165-167	8	226-228	3-4, 6-8
20-21	3-4	167-172	10	228	9, 11-12
20-23	6-8, 11	171-172	5	228-231	3-4, 6-8
23-24	3-4, 6-8, 11	173-178	15	231-232	6-8
24-26	3-4, 6-8, 9, 11	173-184	1-2	232	9, 11-12, 17
28-37	3-4, 6-8, 9, 11	189-193	12	233-234	9, 11
37-39	9, 11	193	17	234-235	11
39-41	11	193-197	13	235-237	7-8
41	9, 11	197-198	20	237	8
41-42	3-4, 6-9, 11	198	16	237-239	9, 11
42-43	9, 11	198-199	14	239	10
43-45	11	199	18-19	239-242	9, 11
45-56	9, 11	199-200	21	242	10
57-58	9-11	204	2, 15	242-243	11
58-59	9, 11	205	3-4	243-245	3-4, 6-8
59-72	11	205-208	5-8, 10	245-250	11
72-76	9, 11	208-209	9, 11	250	12
86-91	3-4	209-210	13	250-251	13
92-94	3-8, 10	210	12	251-252	1-2
94-101	3-4, 6-8	210-212	2	252	3
103-117	3-4, 6-8	211	15	252-253	4
117-118	3	212-215	3-4, 6-8, 11	253-254	6
118	4	215	3-4, 6-9, 11, 12	254	7
119-120	4-5, 8	216-217	3-4, 6-9, 11	254-255	5, 10
121	4	217	2, 12-13	255-257	9, 11
122-127	6	218	1-2	257	1-13, 17
127-130	7	218-219	3-4, 6-9, 11	258-296	23
130-132	8	219	1-2	297-299	24-58
132-134	10	220	3-4, 6-8		
134-136	5	220-221	3-4, 6-9, 11		

**Jensen in Schrader, KB 2**

P.	RINAP 5	P.	RINAP 5	P.	RINAP 5
152-236	11.1	262-265	3.1	266-269	6.1
238-241	6.2	266-267	3.1		

**Layard, ICC**

Pl.	RINAP 5	Pl.	RINAP 5
85 no. 1	59.4	86	60.4

**Luckenbill, ARAB 2**

P.	RINAP 5	P.	RINAP 5	P.	RINAP 5
290-323 §§763-840	11.1-2, 174	391 §1021	58	393 §1032	29
323-340 §§841-873	3.1; 4.1, 3, 11; 6.2	391 §1022	56	393 §1033	33
340-344 §§874-887	6.1, 2, 3*	391-392 §1023	57	393 §1034	36
345 §§888-890	4.3	392 §1024	55	393-394 §1035	35
346 §§891-894	1.1; 2.1*	392 §§1025-1026	54	394 §1036	38
347 §§895-897	9.36, 44, 48	393 §1028	25	394 §1037	41
355-356 §921	6.3	393 §1029	26	394 §1038	43
382-383 §§991-994	59.1-2, 4	393 §1030	27		
383-384 §§995-998	60.1-3	393 §1031	28		

**Millard, Iraq 30 (1968) pls. XIX-XXVII**

Pl.	RINAP 5	Pl.	RINAP 5	Pl.	RINAP 5
XIX	2.1, 3, 3*	XXII	3.55*; 4.8, 15; 6.7*	XXIV	9.98; 13.1; 17
XX	2.1-2, 4-5	XXIII	4.9; 6.5*; 10.1, 12;	XXV	5.3
XXI	4.7; 5.4		13.2; 15.2	XXVI	21

**Novotny, SAACT 10**

P.	No.	RINAP 5	P.	No.	RINAP 5
xi-xiii	1	5	49-53	1	5
xiii-xvi	2	10	53-61	2	10
3-5	1	5	86-88	1	5
7-10	2	10	88-92	2	10

**Piepkorn, Asb.**

P.	RINAP 5	P.	RINAP 5
8-17	1-2	95-99	4
19-94	3	101-103	6.3

**1 R**

Pl.	RINAP 5	Pl.	RINAP 5	Pl.	RINAP 5
7 no. IX A	58	7 no. IX C	55	7 no. IX E	54
7 no. IX B	56	7 no. IX D	57	8 no. 1	24, 38

**2 R**

Pl.	RINAP 5
66 no. 2	60

**3 R**

Pl.	RINAP 5	Pl.	RINAP 5	Pl.	RINAP 5
17-26	11.2	29	2.1*; 3.1; 4.3	34	6.1; 10.2
27	3.1; 4.3; 6.1, 3*	30-34	3.1	37	25-28, 33, 35-36

**5 R**

Pl.	RINAP 5
1-10	11.1

**G. Smith, Assurbanipal**

P.	RINAP 5	P.	RINAP 5	P.	RINAP 5
3-8	11.2	89-99	3.1	178-181	6.1
10-12	3.1	100-107	3.1	199-200	38
15-30	11.2	110-116	11.2	205-214	11.2
30	3.1	116-138	3.1	218-243	11.2
30-32	6.1, 3*	143	25	245	41
32-33	3.1	143-144	26	245-246	43
34-35	2.1*	144	27	256-283	11.2
52-55	11.2	144-145	28	283-290	3.1
58-68	11.2	145-146	29	293	6.1
68-73	3.1	146	33	300-303	11.2
76-77	1.1	146-147	35	308-316	11.2
79-80	3.1	148	36	317-318	4.3
82-83	1.1	151-170	11.2		
84-88	11.2	170-178	3.1		

**S.A. Smith, Keilschrifttexte 1**

P.	RINAP 5	P.	RINAP 5	P.	RINAP 5
2-111	11.1	112	60	112-114	59

**S.A. Smith, Keilschrifttexte 2**

P.	RINAP 5	P.	RINAP 5	P.	RINAP 5
10-12	60.5	18-25	6.1	25-30	6.2



**S.A. Smith, Keilschrifttexte 3**

P.	RINAP 5
128-129	59

**Streck, Asb.**

P.	RINAP 5	P.	RINAP 5	P.	RINAP 5
XVI-XVII	Annals	LVI ε	29	308-309 δ	55
XVII-XXI no. 1	11.1-2	LVI ζ	33	308-311 ε	54
XXI-XXVII no. 2	3.1; 6.2-3	LVI η	36	310-313 α	25
XXVII-XXX no. 3	6.1-2, 3*	LVI θ	35	312-313 β	26
XXX-XXXI no. 4	4.3; 6.1	LVII ι	38	312-313 γ	27
XXXI no. 5	1.1; 2.1*	LVII κ	41	314-315 δ	28
XXXIV no. 3	6.2	LVII λ	43	314-315 ε	29
XLVII-XLVIII no. 1059.1		2-91 no. 1	11.1-2	314-317 ζ	33
XLVIII-XLIX no. 11	60.1-2, 5, 8-9, 12	92-139 no. 2	3.1	316-317 η	36
LII-LIII α	58	138-153 no. 3	6.1-2, 3*	316-319 θ	35
LIII β	56	152-155 no. 4	4.3	318-319 ι	38
LIII γ	57	154-157 no. 5	1.1; 2.1*	318-319 κ	41
LIII δ	55	174-177 no. 3	6.2	318-321 λ	43
LIII ε	54	272-275 no. 10	59.1	836-837 ν	49
LVI α	25	275-277 no. 11	60.1-2, 5, 8-9, 12	837 ξ	50
LVI β	26	304-305 α	58		
LVI γ	27	304-307 β	56		
LVI δ	28	306-307 γ	57		

**Thompson, Iraq 7 (1940) figs. 1-20**

No.	RINAP 5	No.	RINAP 5	No.	RINAP 5
14	4.2	22	9.145	30	3.69*
16	9.6	23	2.3	31	5.1
17	9.32	24	3.71*	32	9.142
18	5.5	25	4.9	33	21
19	9.144	26	9.29	34	8.1
20	2.4	27	3.5	35	13.4
21	2.1	29	9.140		

**Winckler, Sammlung 3**

P.	RINAP 5	P.	RINAP 5	P.	RINAP 5
1-37	11.1	63	6.2	69	3.1*
38-48	3.1	64	11.72	69	4.3
49-54	4.1	64-65	3.2*	70	3.5*
54-55	4.11	65	4.3	70	3.3*
55-56	3.4*	66-67	6.3	71	4.3
56-58	4.3	67	6.6*	71	3.1
59-61	6.2	68	3.7*	76-78	6.3
62	6.8*	68	4.1		



# Concordances of RINAP 5–BIWA Line Numbers

## Text No. 1 (Prism E<sub>1</sub>)

RINAP 5	BIWA	RINAP 5	BIWA	RINAP 5	BIWA	RINAP 5	BIWA
	Stück 12	vi 5	38	vi 10	43	vi 14	47*
vi 1	34	vi 6	39		Stück 13	vi 15	48*
vi 2	35	vi 7	40	vi 11	44*	vi 1'–31'	Stück 16
vi 3	36	vi 8	41	vi 12	45*		
vi 4	37	vi 9	42	vi 13	46*	vii 1'–28'	Stück 19

## Text No. 2 (Prism E<sub>2</sub>)

RINAP 5	BIWA	RINAP 5	BIWA	RINAP 5	BIWA	RINAP 5	BIWA
i 1–14	Stück 1	iv 12	17	iv 40'	38b–39	vi 19	49
i 1'–5'	Stück 3	iv 13	18			vi 20	50
		iv 14	19	v 1	40	vi 21	51
ii 1–9	Stück 4	iv 15	20	v 2	41	vi 22	52
ii 1'–7'	Stück 5	iv 16	21	v 3	42	vi 23	53
		iv 17	—	v 4	43	vi 24	54
iii 1–23	Stück 7		Stück 11	v 5	44	vi 25	55
	Stück 8	iv 1'–11'	1–11	v 6	45	vi 1'–15'	Stück 15
iii 1'	—	iv 12'	12a	v 7	46		Stück 17
iii 2'	1	iv 13'	12b	v 8	47	vi 1''	1
iii 3'	2	iv 14'	13	v 9	48	vi 2''	2
iii 4'	3	iv 15'	14	v 10	49	vi 3''	3
iii 5'	4	iv 16'	15	v 11	50	vi 4''	4
iii 6'	5	iv 17'	16–17a	v 12	51	vi 5''	5
iii 7'	6	iv 18'	17b		Stück 12	vi 6''	6
iii 8'	7	iv 19'	18	v 1'–34'	1–34	vi 7''	7
iii 9'	—	iv 20'	19			vi 8''	8
	Stück 10	iv 21'	20	vi 1	35a	vii 1	9
iii 1''	1	iv 22'	21	vi 2	35b–36a	vii 2	10
iii 2''	2	iv 23'	22	vi 3	36b–37	vii 3	11
iii 3''	3	iv 24'	23	vi 4	38a	vii 4	12
iii 4''	4	iv 25'	24	vi 5	38b–39a	vii 5	13
iii 5''	5	iv 26'	25	vi 6	39b	vii 6	14
iii 6''	6	iv 27'	26	vi 7	40a	vii 7	15
		iv 28'	27	vi 8	40b–41a	vii 8	16
iv 1	7	iv 29'	28	vi 9	41b–42a	vii 9	17
iv 2	8	iv 30'	29a	vi 10	42b	vii 10	18
iv 3	9	iv 31'	29b	vi 11	42c	vii 11	19
iv 4	10	iv 32'	30	vi 12	43a	vii 12	20
iv 5	11	iv 33'	31	vi 13	43b	vii 13	21
iv 6	12	iv 34'	32		Stück 14	vii 14	22
iv 7	13	iv 35'	33	vi 14	44	vii 15	—
iv 8	14	iv 36'	34a	vi 15	45	vii 1'–8'	Stück 18
iv 9	15	iv 37'	34b–35	vi 16	46		
iv 10	16a	iv 38'	36	vi 17	47		
iv 11	16b	iv 39'	37–38a	vi 18	48		

**Text No. 3 (Prism B)**

RINAP 5	BIWA	RINAP 5	BIWA	RINAP 5	BIWA
i 1	B I 1	i 66	B I 67b–68a	ii 35	B II 38a
i 2	B I 2	i 67	B I 68b–69a	ii 36	B II 38b–39
i 3	B I 3	i 68	B I 69b	ii 37	B II 40
i 4	B I 4	i 69	B I 70a	ii 38	B II 41
i 5	B I 5	i 70	B I 70b	ii 39	B II 42
i 6	B I 6	i 71	B I 71	ii 40	B II 43
i 7	B I 7	i 72	B I 72–73a	ii 41	B II 44
i 8	B I 8	i 73	B I 73b–74a	ii 42	B II 45
i 9	B I 9	i 74	B I 74b–75a	ii 43	B II 46
i 10	B I 10	i 75	B I 75b–77a	ii 44	B II 47
i 11	B I 11	i 76	B I 77b–78	ii 45	B II 48
i 12	B I 12	i 77	B I 79–80a	ii 46	B II 49
i 13	B I 13	i 78	B I 80b–82a	ii 47	B II 50
i 14	B I 14	i 79	B I 82b–83	ii 48	B II 51
i 15	B I 15	i 80	B I 84	ii 49	B II 52
i 16	B I 16	i 81	B I 85	ii 50	B II 53
i 17	B I 17	i 82	B I 86–87a	ii 51	B II 54
i 18	B I 18	i 83	B I 87b	ii 52	B II 55
i 19	B I 19	i 84	B I 88–89a	ii 53	B II 56
i 20	B I 20	i 85	B I 89b	ii 54	B II 57
i 21	B I 21	i 86	B I 90	ii 55	B II 58
i 22	B I 22	i 87	B I 91	ii 56	B II 59–60
i 23	B I 23	i 88	B I 92–93a	ii 57	B II 61–62a
i 24	B I 24	i 89	B I 93b–94	ii 58	B II 62b
i 25	B I 25	i 90	B I 95a	ii 59	B II 63
i 26	B I 26	i 91	B I 95b–96	ii 60	B II 64
i 27	B I 27	i 92	B I 97	ii 61	B II 65
i 28	B I 28	i 93	B I 98	ii 62	B II 66
i 29	B I 29	i 94	B I 99a	ii 63	B II 67
i 30	B I 30	i 95	B I 99b–II 2a	ii 64	B II 68
i 31	B I 31–32a			ii 65	B II 69
i 32	B I 32b–34a	ii 1	B II 2b–4a	ii 66	B II 70–71a
i 33	B I 34b	ii 2	B II 4b–5	ii 67	B II 71b–72
i 34	B I 35	ii 3	B II 6	ii 68	B II 73–74a
i 35	B I 36–37	ii 4	B II 7–8a	ii 69	B II 74b–75
i 36	B I 38	ii 5	B II 8b–10a	ii 70	B II 76–77a
i 37	B I 39	ii 6	B II 10b–12a	ii 71	B II 77b–78a
i 38	B I 40	ii 7	B II 12b–13	ii 72	B II 78b–79
i 39	B I 41	ii 8	B II 14–15a	ii 73	B II 80
i 40	B I 42	ii 9	B II 15b–16a	ii 74	B II 81
i 41	B I 43	ii 10	B II 16b–17a	ii 75	B II 82
i 42	B I 44	ii 11	B II 17b	ii 76	B II 83a
i 43	B I 45	ii 12	B II 18–19	ii 77	B II 83b
i 44	B I 46	ii 13	B II 20	ii 78	B II 84
i 45	B I 47	ii 14	B II 21a	ii 79	B II 85
i 46	B I 48	ii 15	B II 21b–22a	ii 80	B II 86
i 47	B I 49	ii 16	B II 22b	ii 81	B II 87
i 48	B I 50a	ii 17	B II 23a	ii 82	B II 88
i 49	B I 50b–51	ii 18	B II 23b	ii 83	B II 89
i 50	B I 52	ii 19	B II 24	ii 84	B II 90–91a
i 51	B I 53–54a	ii 20	B II 25	ii 85	B II 91b–92a
i 52	B I 54b–55	ii 21	B II 26	ii 86	B II 92b–93a
i 53	B I 56	ii 22	B II 27a	ii 87	B II 93b–94a
i 54	B I 57	ii 23	B II 27b–28a	ii 88	B II 94b
i 55	B I 58	ii 24	B II 28b	ii 89	B II 95
i 56	B I 59	ii 25	B II 29	ii 90	B II 96–97a
i 57	B I 60a	ii 26	B II 30a	ii 91	B II 97b–98a
i 58	B I 60b	ii 27	B II 30b–31a	ii 92	B II 98b–99a
i 59	B I 61	ii 28	B II 31b–32a	ii 93	B II 99b
i 60	B I 62–63a	ii 29	B II 32b		
i 61	B I 63b	ii 30	B II 33	iii 1	B III 1
i 62	B I 64a	ii 31	B II 34	iii 2	B III 2
i 63	B I 64b	ii 32	B II 35	iii 3	B III 3
i 64	B I 65	ii 33	B II 36a	iii 4	B III 4
i 65	B I 66–67a	ii 34	B II 36b–37	iii 5	B III 5

RINAP 5	BIWA	RINAP 5	BIWA	RINAP 5	BIWA
iii 6	B III 6	iii 73	B III 78–79	iv 47	B IV 52
iii 7	B III 7	iii 74	B III 80	iv 48	B IV 53
iii 8	B III 8	iii 75	B III 81	iv 49	B IV 54
iii 9	B III 9	iii 76	B III 82	iv 50	B IV 55
iii 10	B III 10a	iii 77	B III 83	iv 51	B IV 56
iii 11	B III 10b–11	iii 78	B III 84	iv 52	B IV 57
iii 12	B III 12	iii 79	B III 85	iv 53	B IV 58a
iii 13	B III 13	iii 80	B III 86	iv 54	B IV 58b–59
iii 14	B III 14	iii 81	B III 87	iv 55	B IV 60–61
iii 15	B III 15	iii 82	B III 88–89a	iv 56	B IV 62
iii 16	B III 16	iii 83	B III 89b–90	iv 57	B IV 63
iii 17	B III 17	iii 84	B III 91–92a	iv 58	B IV 64
iii 18	B III 18	iii 85	B III 92b–93a	iv 59	B IV 65
iii 19	B III 19	iii 86	B III 93b–94	iv 60	B IV 66
iii 20	B III 20a	iii 87	B III 95–96	iv 61	B IV 67
iii 21	B III 20b–21a	iii 88	B III 97	iv 62	B IV 68–69a
iii 22	B III 21b–22	iii 89	B III 98	iv 63	B IV 69b
iii 23	B III 23	iii 90	B III 99	iv 64	B IV 70–71a
iii 24	B III 24	iii 91	B IV 1–2a	iv 65	B IV 71b
iii 25	B III 25–26	iii 92	B IV 2b–3	iv 66	B IV 72
iii 26	B III 27			iv 67	B IV 73
iii 27	B III 28	iv 1	B IV 4	iv 68	B IV 74–75a
iii 28	B III 29	iv 2	B IV 5	iv 69	B IV 75b–76
iii 29	B III 30a	iv 3	B IV 6	iv 70	B IV 77–78a
iii 30	B III 30b	iv 4	B IV 7	iv 71	B IV 78b
iii 31	B III 31	iv 5	B IV 8	iv 72	B IV 79
iii 32	B III 32	iv 6	B IV 9	iv 73	B IV 80
iii 33	B III 33–34a	iv 7	B IV 10	iv 74	B IV 81
iii 34	B III 34b–35	iv 8	B IV 11	iv 75	B IV 82
iii 35	B III 36a	iv 9	B IV 12	iv 76	B IV 83
iii 36	B III 36b–37a	iv 10	B IV 13	iv 77	B IV 84
iii 37	B III 37b	iv 11	B IV 14	iv 78	B IV 85
iii 38	B III 38	iv 12	B IV 15	iv 79	B IV 86
iii 39	B III 39	iv 13	B IV 16	iv 80	B IV 87–88a
iii 40	B III 40	iv 14	B IV 17	iv 81	B IV 88b–89a
iii 41	B III 41	iv 15	B IV 18	iv 82	B IV 89b–90
iii 42	B III 42	iv 16	B IV 19	iv 83	B IV 91–92a
iii 43	B III 43	iv 17	B IV 20	iv 84	B IV 92b–93
iii 44	B III 44	iv 18	B IV 21	iv 85	B IV 94
iii 45	B III 45	iv 19	B IV 22	iv 86	B IV 95
iii 46	B III 46–47a	iv 20	B IV 23	iv 87	B IV 96
iii 47	B III 47b	iv 21	B IV 24	iv 88	B IV 97
iii 48	B III 48	iv 22	B IV 25	iv 89	B IV 98
iii 49	B III 49	iv 23	B IV 26		
iii 50	B III 50	iv 24	B IV 27	v 1	B IV 99
iii 51	B III 51a	iv 25	B IV 28	v 2	B V 1
iii 52	B III 51b–52	iv 26	B IV 29	v 3	B V 2
iii 53	B III 53	iv 27	B IV 30–31a	v 4	B V 3
iii 54	B III 54	iv 28	B IV 31b	v 5	B V 4
iii 55	B III 55	iv 29	B IV 32	v 6	B V 5
iii 56	B III 56	iv 30	B IV 33–34a	v 7	B V 6
iii 57	B III 57	iv 31	B IV 34b	v 8	B V 7
iii 58	B III 58	iv 32	B IV 35–36a	v 9	B V 8
iii 59	B III 59	iv 33	B IV 36b–37	v 10	B V 9
iii 60	B III 60	iv 34	B IV 38	v 11	B V 10
iii 61	B III 61a	iv 35	B IV 39	v 12	B V 11
iii 62	B III 61b–62a	iv 36	B IV 40	v 13	B V 12
iii 63	B III 62b	iv 37	B IV 41	v 14	B V 13
iii 64	B III 63–64a	iv 38	B IV 42–43a	v 15	B V 14
iii 65	B III 64b–65	iv 39	B IV 43b	v 16	B V 15
iii 66	B III 66	iv 40	B IV 44–45	v 17	B V 16
iii 67	B III 67	iv 41	B IV 46	v 18	B V 17
iii 68	B III 68–69a	iv 42	B IV 47	v 19	B V 18
iii 69	B III 69b–71a	iv 43	B IV 48	v 20	B V 19
iii 70	B III 71b–73	iv 44	B IV 49	v 21	B V 20–21a
iii 71	B III 74–76a	iv 45	B IV 50	v 22	B V 21b–22
iii 72	B III 76b–77	iv 46	B IV 51	v 23	B V 23–24a

## Concordances of RINAP 5–BIWA Line Numbers

RINAP 5	BIWA	RINAP 5	BIWA	RINAP 5	BIWA
v 24	B V 24b–25a	v 91	B V 97b–98	vi 60	B VI 69
v 25	B V 25b–26	v 92	B V 99	vi 61	B VI 70
v 26	B V 27	v 93	B VI 1–2a	vi 62	B VI 71–72a
v 27	B V 28	v 94	B VI 2b	vi 63	B VI 72b–73a
v 28	B V 29–30a	v 95	B VI 3–4a	vi 64	B VI 73b–74
v 29	B V 30b–31a	v 96	B VI 4b–5	vi 65	B VI 75
v 30	B V 31b	v 97	B VI 6–7a	vi 66	B VI 76–77a
v 31	B V 32a			vi 67	B VI 77b–78
v 32	B V 32b–33	vi 1	B VI 7b–8	vi 68	B VI 79–80a
v 33	B V 34	vi 2	B VI 9	vi 69	B VI 80b–81
v 34	B V 35	vi 3	B VI 10	vi 70	B VI 82
v 35	B V 36	vi 4	B VI 11	vi 71	B VI 83
v 36	B V 37	vi 5	B VI 12	vi 72	B VI 84
v 37	B V 38–39a	vi 6	B VI 13	vi 73	B VI 85
v 38	B V 39b–40a	vi 7	B VI 14	vi 74	B VI 86–87a
v 39	B V 40b–41a	vi 8	B VI 15	vi 75	B VI 87b–88
v 40	B V 41b–42a	vi 9	B VI 16	vi 76	B VI 89–90
v 41	B V 42b–43a	vi 10	B VI 17	vi 77	B VI 91
v 42	B V 43b–44a	vi 11	B VI 18	vi 78	B VI 92
v 43	B V 44b	vi 12	B VI 19	vi 79	B VI 93–94
v 44	B V 45	vi 13	B VI 20	vi 80	B VI 95–96a
v 45	B V 46	vi 14	B VI 21	vi 81	B VI 96b–97a
v 46	B V 47	vi 15	B VI 22	vi 82	B VI 97b–98
v 47	B V 48	vi 16	B VI 23	vi 83	B VI 99–VII 1a
v 48	B V 49	vi 17	B VI 24	vi 84	B VII 1b
v 49	B V 50	vi 18	B VI 25	vi 85	B VII 2
v 50	B V 51	vi 19	B VI 26	vi 86	B VII 3
v 51	B V 52	vi 20	B VI 27	vi 87	B VII 4
v 52	B V 53	vi 21	B VI 28	vi 88	B VII 5
v 53	B V 54–55	vi 22	B VI 29–30	vi 89	B VII 6
v 54	B V 56	vi 23	B VI 31–32a	vi 90	B VII 7
v 55	B V 57	vi 24	B VI 32b–33		
v 56	B V 58	vi 25	B VI 34	vii 1	B VII 8
v 57	B V 59	vi 26	B VI 35a	vii 2	B VII 9
v 58	B V 60	vi 27	B VI 35b–36	vii 3	B VII 10
v 59	B V 61	vi 28	B VI 37a	vii 4	B VII 11
v 60	B V 62	vi 29	B VI 37b–38	vii 5	B VII 12
v 61	B V 63–64a	vi 30	B VI 39	vii 6	B VII 13
v 62	B V 64b–65	vi 31	B VI 40	vii 7	B VII 14
v 63	B V 66	vi 32	B VI 41a	vii 8	B VII 15
v 64	B V 67–68a	vi 33	B VI 41b	vii 9	B VII 16
v 65	B V 68b	vi 34	B VI 42a	vii 10	B VII 17
v 66	B V 69	vi 35	B VI 42b	vii 11	B VII 18
v 67	B V 70	vi 36	B VI 43	vii 12	B VII 19
v 68	B V 71–72	vi 37	B VI 44	vii 13	B VII 20–21
v 69	B V 73	vi 38	B VI 45	vii 14	B VII 22
v 70	B V 74	vi 39	B VI 46	vii 15	B VII 23–24a
v 71	B V 75	vi 40	B VI 47–48a	vii 16	B VII 24b
v 72	B V 76	vi 41	B VI 48b–49	vii 17	B VII 25–26
v 73	B V 77	vi 42	B VI 50–51	vii 18	B VII 27–28a
v 74	B V 78	vi 43	B VI 52	vii 19	B VII 28b–29
v 75	B V 79	vi 44	B VI 53	vii 20	B VII 30
v 76	B V 80–81a	vi 45	B VI 54	vii 21	B VII 31
v 77	B V 81b	vi 46	B VI 55	vii 22	B VII 32
v 78	B V 82	vi 47	B VI 56	vii 23	B VII 33
v 79	B V 83	vi 48	B VI 57	vii 24	B VII 34–35
v 80	B V 84	vi 49	B VI 58	vii 25	B VII 36–37a
v 81	B V 85–86a	vi 50	B VI 59	vii 26	B VII 37b
v 82	B V 86b	vi 51	B VI 60	vii 27	B VII 38
v 83	B V 87–88	vi 52	B VI 61	vii 28	B VII 39
v 84	B V 89	vi 53	B VI 62	vii 29	B VII 40–41a
v 85	B V 90	vi 54	B VI 63	vii 30	B VII 41b–42
v 86	B V 91–92	vi 55	B VI 64	vii 31	B VII 43–44a
v 87	B V 93–94	vi 56	B VI 65	vii 32	B VII 44b–46a
v 88	B V 95	vi 57	B VI 66	vii 33	B VII 46b–47
v 89	B V 96	vi 58	B VI 67	vii 34	B VII 48
v 90	B V 97a	vi 59	B VI 68	vii 35	B VII 49–50

RINAP 5	BIWA	RINAP 5	BIWA	RINAP 5	BIWA
vii 36	B VII 51	vii 85	B VIII 3	viii 44	B VIII 52
vii 37	B VII 52	vii 86	B VIII 4	viii 45	B VIII 53
vii 38	B VII 53	vii 87	B VIII 5	viii 46	B VIII 54
vii 39	B VII 54	vii 88	B VIII 6	viii 47	B VIII 55
vii 40	B VII 55	vii 89	B VIII 7	viii 48	B VIII 56
vii 41	B VII 56			viii 49	B VIII 57
vii 42	B VII 57	viii 1	B VIII 8	viii 50	B VIII 58
vii 43	B VII 58	viii 2	B VIII 9	viii 51	B VIII 59
vii 44	B VII 59	viii 3	B VIII 10	viii 52	B VIII 60
vii 45	B VII 60	viii 4	B VIII 11	viii 53	B VIII 61
vii 46	B VII 61	viii 5	B VIII 12	viii 54	B VIII 62
vii 47	B VII 62	viii 6	B VIII 13	viii 55	B VIII 63
vii 48	B VII 63	viii 7	B VIII 14	viii 56	B VIII 64
vii 49	B VII 64–65	viii 8	B VIII 15	viii 57	B VIII 65–66a
vii 50	B VII 66	viii 9	B VIII 16	viii 58	B VIII 66b
vii 51	B VII 67	viii 10	B VIII 17	viii 59	B VIII 67
vii 52	B VII 68	viii 11	B VIII 18	viii 60	B VIII 68
vii 53	B VII 69	viii 12	B VIII 19	viii 61	B VIII 69
vii 54	B VII 70	viii 13	B VIII 20	viii 62	B VIII 70
vii 55	B VII 71	viii 14	B VIII 21	viii 63	B VIII 71
vii 56	B VII 72	viii 15	B VIII 22	viii 64	B VIII 72
vii 57	B VII 73	viii 16	B VIII 23	viii 65	B VIII 73
vii 58	B VII 74	viii 17	B VIII 24	viii 66	B VIII 74
vii 59	B VII 75	viii 18	B VIII 25	viii 67	B VIII 75–76a
vii 60	B VII 76	viii 19	B VIII 26	viii 68	B VIII 76b–77
vii 61	B VII 77	viii 20	B VIII 27a	viii 69	—
vii 62	B VII 78	viii 21	B VIII 27b–28a	viii 70	—
vii 63	B VII 79	viii 22	B VIII 28b–29	viii 71	B VIII 79a
vii 64	B VII 80	viii 23	B VIII 30a	viii 72	B VIII 79b–80
vii 65	B VII 81	viii 24	B VIII 30b–31a	viii 73	B VIII 81–82a
vii 66	B VII 82–83a	viii 25	B VIII 31b–32	viii 74	B VIII 82b
vii 67	B VII 83b–84a	viii 26	B VIII 33	viii 75	B VIII 83
vii 68	B VII 84b	viii 27	B VIII 34	viii 76	B VIII 84
vii 69	B VII 85–86a	viii 28	B VIII 35	viii 77	B VIII 85
vii 70	B VII 86b	viii 29	B VIII 36	viii 78	B VIII 85A
vii 71	B VII 87	viii 30	B VIII 37	viii 79	B VIII 85B
vii 72	B VII 88	viii 31	B VIII 38	viii 80	B VIII 85C
vii 73	B VII 89	viii 32	B VIII 39a	viii 81	B VIII 85D
vii 74	B VII 90	viii 33	B VIII 39b–40	viii 82	B VIII 85E
vii 75	B VII 91	viii 34	B VIII 41	viii 83	B VIII 85F
vii 76	B VII 92	viii 35	B VIII 42	viii 84	B VIII 85G
vii 77	B VII 93–94a	viii 36	B VIII 43	viii 85	B VIII 85H
vii 78	B VII 94b–95	viii 37	B VIII 44	viii 86	B VIII 85I
vii 79	B VII 96	viii 38	B VIII 45	viii 87	B VIII 91a
vii 80	B VII 97	viii 39	B VIII 46	viii 88	B VIII 91b
vii 81	B VII 98	viii 40	B VIII 47–48	viii 89	B VIII 92
vii 82	B VII 99	viii 41	B VIII 49	viii 90	B VIII 93
vii 83	B VIII 1	viii 42	B VIII 50	viii 91	B VIII 94–95
vii 84	B VIII 2	viii 43	B VIII 51	viii 92	B VIII 96

**Text No. 4 (Prism D)**

RINAP 5	BIWA	RINAP 5	BIWA	RINAP 5	BIWA
i 1	B I 1	i 11	B I 12b–13a	i 21	B I 25b–26
i 2	B I 2	i 12	B I 13b–14	i 22	B I 27–28
i 3	B I 3	i 13	B I 15	i 23	B I 29–30
i 4	B I 4	i 14	B I 16	i 24	B I 31–32a
i 5	B I 5	i 15	B I 17–18a	i 25	B I 33b–34a
i 6	B I 6	i 16	B I 18b–20a	i 26	B I 34b
i 7	B I 7–8a	i 17	B I 20b–21	i 27	B I 35
i 8	B I 8b–9	i 18	B I 22–23a	i 28	B I 36–37
i 9	B I 10–11a	i 19	B I 23b–24a	i 29	B I 38
i 10	B I 11b–12a	i 20	B I 24b–25a	i 30	B I 39–40

## Concordances of RINAP 5–BIWA Line Numbers

RINAP 5	BIWA	RINAP 5	BIWA	RINAP 5	BIWA
i 31	B I 41	ii 9	B II 18–19	ii 65'	B II 96–97a
i 32	B I 42	ii 10	B II 20	ii 66'	B II 97b–98a
i 33	B I 43–44a			ii 67'	B II 98b–99a
i 34	B I 44b–45	ii 1'	B II 27b–28a	ii 68'	B II 99b
i 35	B I 46–47a	ii 2'	B II 28b–29a	ii 69'	B III 1–2a
i 36	B I 47b–48	ii 3'	B II 29b–30	ii 70'	B III 2b
i 37	B I 49	ii 4'	B II 31–32a	ii 71'	B III 3
i 38	B I 50–51a	ii 5'	B II 32b–33a	ii 72'	B III 4
i 39	B I 51b–53a	ii 6'	B II 33b–34	ii 73'	B III 5–6a
i 40	B I 53b–54	ii 7'	B II 35	ii 74'	B III 6b–7a
i 41	B I 55	ii 8'	B II 36a		
i 42	B I 56	ii 9'	B II 36b–38a	iii 1	B III 7b–8a
i 43	B I 57	ii 10'	B II 38b–39a	iii 2	B III 8b
i 44	B I 58–59a	ii 11'	B II 39b–40	iii 3	B III 9
i 45	B I 59b–60a	ii 12'	B II 41	iii 4	B III 10
i 46	B I 60b	ii 13'	B II 42a	iii 5	B III 11–12
i 47	B I 61–62a	ii 14'	B II 42b–43a	iii 6	B III 13
i 48	B I 62b–63a	ii 15'	B II 43b	iii 7	B III 14–15a
i 49	B I 63b–64a	ii 16'	B II 44–45a	iii 8	B III 15b
i 50	B I 64b–65	ii 17'	B II 45b–46a	iii 9	B III 16–17
i 51	B I 66–67a	ii 18'	B II 46b–47	iii 10	B III 18–19
i 52	B I 67b–68a	ii 19'	B II 48–49a	iii 11	B III 20a
i 53	B I 68b–69a	ii 20'	B II 49b–50	iii 12	B III 20b–21a
i 54	B I 69b–70a	ii 21'	B II 51	iii 13	B III 21b–23a
i 55	B I 70b–71	ii 22'	B II 52	iii 14	B III 23b–24
i 56	B I 72–73a	ii 23'	B II 53	iii 15	B III 25–26
i 57	B I 73b–74a	ii 24'	B II 54	iii 16	B III 27
i 58	B I 74b–75a	ii 25'	B II 55–56a	iii 17	B III 28
i 59	B I 75b–77a	ii 26'	B II 56b–57	iii 18	B III 29
i 60	B I 77b–78	ii 27'	B II 58	iii 19	B III 30
i 61	B I 79–80a	ii 28'	B II 59–60	iii 20	B III 31–32a
i 62	B I 80b–82a	ii 29'	B II 61–62a	iii 21	B III 32b–33
i 63	B I 82b–83	ii 30'	B II 62b–63a	iii 22	B III 34
i 64	B I 84	ii 31'	B II 63b–64a	iii 23	B III 35
i 65	B I 85a	ii 32'	B II 64b–65	iii 24	B III 36
i 66	B I 85b–86	ii 33'	B II 66	iii 25	B III 37a
i 67	B I 87a	ii 34'	B II 67	iii 26	B III 37b
i 68	B I 87b–88	ii 35'	B II 68	iii 27	B III 38–39a
i 69	B I 89	ii 36'	B II 69	iii 28	B III 39b–40a
i 70	B I 90	ii 37'	B II 70	iii 29	B III 40b–41
i 71	B I 91	ii 38'	B II 71	iii 30	B III 42–43a
i 72	B I 92–93a	ii 39'	B II 72	iii 31	B III 43b–44a
i 73	B I 93b	ii 40'	B II 73	iii 32	B III 44b–45a
i 74	B I 94	ii 41'	B II 74	iii 33	B III 45b–46a
i 75	B I 95a	ii 42'	B II 75–76a	iii 34	B III 46b–47a
i 76	B I 95b–96	ii 43'	B II 76b	iii 35	B III 47b
i 77	B I 97	ii 44'	B II 77	iii 36	B III 48
i 78	B I 98	ii 45'	B II 78	iii 37	B III 49
i 79	B I 99	ii 46'	B II 79	iii 38	B III 50a
i 80	B II 1	ii 47'	B II 80	iii 39	B III 50b
i 81	B II 2	ii 48'	B II 81	iii 40	B III 51a
i 82	B II 3	ii 49'	B II 82	iii 41	B III 51b–52a
i 83	B II 4	ii 50'	B II 83a	iii 42	B III 52b–53a
i 84	B II 5	ii 51'	B II 83b	iii 43	B III 53b
i 85	B II 6	ii 52'	B II 84	iii 44	B III 54
i 86	B II 7	ii 53'	B II 85	iii 45	B III 55
i 87	B II 8	ii 54'	B II 86	iii 46	B III 56
i 88	B II 9	ii 55'	B II 87	iii 47	B III 57
		ii 56'	B II 88	iii 48	B III 58
ii 1	B II 10	ii 57'	B II 89	iii 49	B III 59
ii 2	B II 11	ii 58'	B II 90	iii 50	B III 60a
ii 3	B II 12	ii 59'	B II 91	iii 51	B III 60b–61a
ii 4	B II 13	ii 60'	B II 92	iii 52	B III 61b–62a
ii 5	B II 14–15a	ii 61'	B II 93a	iii 53	B III 62b–63
ii 6	B II 15b–16a	ii 62'	B II 93b–94a	iii 54	B III 64–65a
ii 7	B II 16b–17a	ii 63'	B II 94b	iii 55	B III 65b–66a
ii 8	B II 17b	ii 64'	B II 95	iii 56	B III 66b–67



RINAP 5	BIWA	RINAP 5	BIWA	RINAP 5	BIWA
iii 57	B III 68–69a	iv 22'	B IV 58a	v 11''	B V 59
iii 58	B III 69b–70	iv 23'	B IV 58b–59	v 12''	B V 60
iii 59	B III 71–72a	iv 24'	B IV 60	v 13''	B V 61
iii 60	B III 72b–73	iv 25'	B IV 61	v 14''	B V 62
iii 61	B III 74–75a	iv 26'	B IV 62	v 15''	B V 63
iii 62	B III 75b–76	iv 27'	B IV 63	v 16''	B V 64
iii 63	B III 77	iv 28'	B IV 64	v 17''	B V 65
iii 64	B III 78	iv 29'	B IV 65	v 18''	B V 66
		iv 30'	B IV 66	v 19''	B V 67
iii 1'	B III 85	iv 31'	B IV 67	v 20''	B V 68
iii 2'	B III 86	iv 32'	B IV 68	v 21''	B V 69
iii 3'	B III 87	iv 33'	B IV 69	v 22''	B V 70
iii 4'	B III 88–89a	iv 34'	B IV 70–71	v 23''	B V 71
iii 5'	B III 88b–90	iv 35'	B IV 72	v 24''	B V 72
iii 6'	B III 91–92a	iv 36'	B IV 73	v 25''	B V 73
iii 7'	B III 92b	iv 37'	B IV 74	v 26''	B V 74
iii 8'	B III 93	iv 38'	B IV 75	v 27''	B V 75
iii 9'	B III 94	iv 39'	B IV 76	v 28''	B V 76
iii 10'	B III 95–96	iv 40'	B IV 77–78a	v 29''	B V 77
iii 11'	B III 97	iv 41'	B IV 78b	v 30''	B V 78a
iii 12'	B III 98	iv 42'	B IV 79	v 31''	B V 78b–79a
iii 13'	B III 99	iv 43'	B IV 80	v 32''	B V 79b
iii 14'	B IV 1	iv 44'	B IV 81a	v 33''	B V 80a
iii 15'	B IV 2	iv 45'	B IV 81b–82a	v 34''	B V 80b–81a
iii 16'	B IV 3	iv 46'	B IV 82b–83a	v 35''	B V 81b
iii 17'	B IV 4a	iv 47'	B IV 83b–84	v 36''	B V 82
iii 18'	B IV 4b–5a	iv 48'	B IV 85	v 37''	B V 83a
iii 19'	B IV 5b	iv 49'	B IV 86	v 38''	B V 83b–84a
iii 20'	B IV 6	iv 50'	B IV 87	v 39''	B V 84b–85a
iii 21'	B IV 7	iv 51'	B IV 88	v 40''	B V 85b
iii 22'	B IV 8	iv 52'	B IV 89a	v 41''	B V 86a
		iv 53'	B IV 89b–90	v 42''	B V 86b
iv 1	B IV 9	iv 54'	B IV 91a	v 43''	B V 87
iv 2	B IV 10	iv 55'	B IV 91b–92	v 44''	B V 88
iv 3	B IV 11	iv 56'	B IV 93	v 45''	B V 89
iv 4	B IV 12–13	iv 57'	B IV 94	v 46''	B V 90
iv 5	B IV 14	iv 58'	B IV 95	v 47''	B V 91
iv 6	B IV 15	iv 59'	B IV 96	v 48''	B V 92
iv 7	B IV 16	iv 60'	B IV 97	v 49''	B V 93–94
iv 8	B IV 17	iv 61'	B IV 98	v 50''	B V 95
iv 9	B IV 18–19a	iv 62'	B IV 99	v 51''	B V 96
iv 10	B IV 19b–20a	iv 63'	B V 1	v 52''	B V 97
iv 11	B IV 20b–21	iv 64'	B V 2	v 53''	B V 98
iv 12	B IV 22	iv 65'	B V 3a	v 54''	B V 98
iv 13	B IV 23			v 55''	B VI 1
		v 1	B V 3b–4a	v 56''	B VI 2–3
iv 1'	B IV 38a			v 57''	B VI 4
iv 2'	B IV 38b–39	v 1'	B V 21	v 58''	B VI 5
iv 3'	B IV 40	v 2'	B V 22		
iv 4'	B IV 41	v 3'	B V 23	vi 1	B VI 6
iv 5'	B IV 42	v 4'	B V 24	vi 2	B VI 7
iv 6'	B IV 43	v 5'	B V 25	vi 3	B VI 8
iv 7'	B IV 44–45	v 6'	B V 26	vi 4	B VI 9
iv 8'	B IV 46	v 7'	B V 27	vi 5	B VI 10
iv 9'	B IV 47	v 8'	B V 28	vi 6	B VI 11
iv 10'	B IV 48	v 9'	B V 29	vi 7	B VI 12
iv 11'	B IV 49a			vi 8	B VI 13a
iv 12'	B IV 49b	v 1''	B V 50	vi 9	B VI 13b
iv 13'	B IV 50	v 2''	B V 51	vi 10	B VI 14
iv 14'	B IV 51a	v 3''	B V 52a	vi 11	B VI 15
iv 15'	B IV 51b–52a	v 4''	B V 52b–53a	vi 12	B VI 16
iv 16'	B IV 52b	v 5''	B V 53b	vi 13	B VI 17
iv 17'	B IV 53	v 6''	B V 54	vi 14	B VI 18
iv 18'	B IV 54	v 7''	B V 55	vi 15	B VI 19
iv 19'	B IV 55	v 8''	B V 56	vi 16	B VI 20
iv 20'	B IV 56	v 9''	B V 57	vi 17	B VI 21
iv 21'	B IV 57	v 10''	B V 58	vi 18	B VI 22–23

RINAP 5	BIWA	RINAP 5	BIWA	RINAP 5	BIWA
vi 19	B VI 24	vi 86	B VI 92	vii 53	B VII 63
vi 20	B VI 25	vi 87	B VI 93	vii 54	B VII 64–65
vi 21	B VI 26	vi 88	B VI 94	vii 55	B VII 66–67
vi 22	B VI 27	vi 89	B VI 95	vii 56	B VII 68–69
vi 23	B VI 28	vi 90	B VI 96	vii 57	B VII 70
vi 24	B VI 29	vi 91	B VI 97	vii 58	B VII 71
vi 25	B VI 30	vi 92	B VI 98	vii 59	B VII 72
vi 26	B VI 31	vi 93	B VI 99	vii 60	B VII 73
vi 27	B VI 32	vi 94	B VII 1	vii 61	B VII 74
vi 28	B VI 33	vi 95	B VII 2	vii 62	B VII 75
vi 29	B VI 34	vi 96	B VII 3	vii 63	B VII 76
vi 30	B VI 35a	vi 97	B VII 4	vii 64	B VII 77
vi 31	B VI 35b–36	vi 98	B VII 5	vii 65	B VII 78
vi 32	B VI 37a	vi 99	B VII 6	vii 66	B VII 79
vi 33	B VI 37b–38			vii 67	B VII 80
vi 34	B VI 39	vii 1	B VII 7	vii 68	B VII 81
vi 35	B VI 40	vii 2	B VII 8	vii 69	B VII 82
vi 36	B VI 41	vii 3	B VII 9–10	vii 70	B VII 83
vi 37	B VI 42a	vii 4	B VII 11	vii 71	B VII 84
vi 38	B VI 42b–43	vii 5	B VII 12	vii 72	B VII 85–86a
vi 39	B VI 44–45a	vii 6	B VII 13	vii 73	B VII 86b
vi 40	B VI 45b–46	vii 7	B VII 14	vii 74	B VII 87
vi 41	B VI 47–48a	vii 8	B VII 15	vii 75	B VII 88
vi 42	B VI 48b	vii 9	B VII 16	vii 76	B VII 89
vi 43	B VI 49	vii 10	B VII 17	vii 77	B VII 90
vi 44	B VI 50	vii 11	B VII 18	vii 78	B VII 91
vi 45	B VI 51	vii 12	B VII 19	vii 79	B VII 92
vi 46	B VI 52–53	vii 13	B VII 20–21	vii 80	B VII 93
vi 47	B VI 54	vii 14	B VII 22	vii 81	B VII 94
vi 48	B VI 55	vii 15	B VII 23–24a	vii 82	B VII 95
vi 49	B VI 56	vii 16	B VII 24b	vii 83	B VII 96
vi 50	B VI 57	vii 17	B VII 25–26	vii 84	B VII 97
vi 51	B VI 58	vii 18	B VII 27–28a	vii 85	B VII 98
vi 52	B VI 59–60a	vii 19	B VII 28b–29	vii 86	B VII 99
vi 53	B VI 60b–61	vii 20	B VII 30	vii 87	B VIII 1a
vi 54	B VI 62a	vii 21	B VII 31	vii 88	B VIII 1b
vi 55	B VI 62b–63a	vii 22	B VII 32	vii 89	B VIII 2
vi 56	B VI 63b	vii 23	B VII 33	vii 90	B VIII 3–4a
vi 57	B VI 64	vii 24	B VII 34	vii 91	B VIII 4b
vi 58	B VI 65a	vii 25	B VII 35		
vi 59	B VI 65b	vii 26	B VII 36	viii 1	B VIII 5
vi 60	B VI 66	vii 27	B VII 37	viii 2	B VIII 6
vi 61	B VI 67	vii 28	B VII 38	viii 3	B VIII 7
vi 62	B VI 68	vii 29	B VII 39	viii 4	B VIII 8
vi 63	B VI 69	vii 30	B VII 40	viii 5	B VIII 9
vi 64	B VI 70	vii 31	B VII 41	viii 6	B VIII 10
vi 65	B VI 71–72a	vii 32	B VII 42	viii 7	B VIII 11
vi 66	B VI 72b–73a	vii 33	B VII 43	viii 8	B VIII 12
vi 67	B VI 73b	vii 34	B VII 44	viii 9	B VIII 13
vi 68	B VI 74	vii 35	B VII 45	viii 10	B VIII 14
vi 69	B VI 75	vii 36	B VII 46	viii 11	B VIII 15
vi 70	B VI 76	vii 37	B VII 47	viii 12	B VIII 16
vi 71	B VI 77	vii 38	B VII 48	viii 13	B VIII 17
vi 72	B VI 78	vii 39	B VII 49	viii 14	B VIII 18
vi 73	B VI 79	vii 40	B VII 50	viii 15	B VIII 19
vi 74	B VI 80	vii 41	B VII 51	viii 16	B VIII 20
vi 75	B VI 81	vii 42	B VII 52	viii 17	B VIII 21
vi 76	B VI 82	vii 43	B VII 53	viii 18	B VIII 22
vi 77	B VI 83	vii 44	B VII 54	viii 19	B VIII 23
vi 78	B VI 84	vii 45	B VII 55	viii 20	B VIII 24
vi 79	B VI 85	vii 46	B VII 56	viii 21	B VIII 25
vi 80	B VI 86	vii 47	B VII 57	viii 22	B VIII 26
vi 81	B VI 87	vii 48	B VII 58	viii 23	B VIII 27a
vi 82	B VI 88	vii 49	B VII 59	viii 24	B VIII 27b–28a
vi 83	B VI 89	vii 50	B VII 60	viii 25	B VIII 28b–29
vi 84	B VI 90	vii 51	B VII 61	viii 26	B VIII 30a
vi 85	B VI 91	vii 52	B VII 62	viii 27	B VIII 30b–31a

RINAP 5	BIWA	RINAP 5	BIWA	RINAP 5	BIWA
viii 28	B VIII 31b	viii 50	B VIII 56	viii 72	D VIII 78
viii 29	B VIII 32	viii 51	B VIII 57	viii 73	D VIII 79
viii 30	B VIII 33	viii 52	B VIII 58	viii 74	D VIII 80
viii 31	B VIII 34	viii 53	B VIII 59	viii 75	D VIII 81
viii 32	B VIII 35	viii 54	B VIII 60	viii 76	D VIII 82
viii 33	B VIII 36	viii 55	B VIII 61	viii 77	D VIII 83
viii 34	B VIII 37	viii 56	B VIII 62	viii 78	D VIII 84
viii 35	B VIII 38	viii 57	B VIII 63	viii 79	D VIII 85
viii 36	B VIII 39	viii 58	D VIII 64	viii 80	D VIII 86
viii 37	B VIII 40	viii 59	D VIII 65	viii 81	D VIII 87
viii 38	B VIII 41	viii 60	D VIII 66	viii 82	D VIII 88–89a
viii 39	B VIII 42	viii 61	D VIII 67	viii 83	D VIII 89b–90a
viii 40	B VIII 43	viii 62	D VIII 68	viii 84	D VIII 90b–91
viii 41	B VIII 44	viii 63	D VIII 69	viii 85	D VIII 92
viii 42	B VIII 45	viii 64	D VIII 70	viii 86	D VIII 93
viii 43	B VIII 46	viii 65	D VIII 71	viii 87	D VIII 94
viii 44	B VIII 47–48	viii 66	D VIII 72a	viii 88	D VIII 95
viii 45	B VIII 49	viii 67	D VIII 72b–73	viii 89	D VIII 96
viii 46	B VIII 50	viii 68	D VIII 74	viii 90	D VIII 97
viii 47	B VIII 51–52	viii 69	D VIII 75	viii 91	D VIII 98
viii 48	B VIII 53	viii 70	D VIII 76	viii 92	D VIII 99
viii 49	B VIII 54–55	viii 71	D VIII 77	viii 93	D VIII 100

**Text No. 5 (Prism I)**

RINAP 5	BIWA	RINAP 5	BIWA	RINAP 5	BIWA
i 1	T I 1–2a	ii 4	T I 52	iii 14'	TVar 3 I' 14'
i 2	T I 2b–3	ii 5	T I 53–54	iii 15'	TVar 3 I' 15'
i 3	T I 4	ii 6	T II 1	iii 16'	TVar 3 I' 16'
i 4	T I 5	ii 7	T II 2	iii 17'	TVar 3 I' 17'
i 5	T I 6	ii 8	T II 3–4	iii 18'	TVar 3 I' 18'
i 6	T I 7	ii 1'	T II 28b	iii 19'	TVar 3 I' 19'
i 7	T I 8	ii 2'	T II 29	iii 20'	TVar 3 I' 20'
i 8	T I 9	ii 3'	T II 30	iii 21'	TVar 3 I' 21'
i 9	T I 10	ii 4'	T II 31	iii 22'	TVar 3 I' 22'
i 10	C I 5B	ii 5'	T II 32	iii 23'	TVar 3 I' 23'
i 11	C I 6a	ii 6'	T II 33–34a	iii 24'	T IV 12a
i 12	C I 6b	ii 7'	T II 34b–35	iii 25'	T IV 12b–13
i 13	T I 11	ii 8'	T II 36a	iii 26'	T IV 14–15
i 14	T I 12	ii 9'	T II 36b–37a	iii 27'	T IV 16–17
i 15	T I 13	ii 10'	T II 37b–38	iii 28'	T IV 18
i 1'	T I 14	ii 11'	T II 39–40a	iii 29'	T IV 19–20
i 2'	T I 15	ii 12'	T II 40b–41	iii 30'	T IV 21–22a
i 3'	T I 16	ii 13'	T II 42		
i 4'	T I 17	ii 14'	T II 43	iv 1	T IV 28
i 5'	T I 18	ii 15'	T II 43A	iv 2	T IV 29
i 6'	T I 19	ii 16'	T II 44–45a	iv 3	T IV 30
i 7'	T I 20	ii 17'	T II 45b–46	iv 4	T IV 31
i 8'	T I 21	ii 18'	T II 47	iv 5	T IV 32
i 9'	T I 22			iv 6	T IV 33
i 10'	T I 23	iii 1'	T III 52	iv 7	T IV 34
i 11'	—	iii 2'	T IV 1	iv 8	T IV 35
i 12'	—	iii 3'	T IV 2	iv 9	T III 18
i 13'	—	iii 4'	T IV 3	iv 10	T III 19–20a
i 14'	T I 28	iii 5'	T IV 4	iv 11	T III 20b
i 15'	T I 29	iii 6'	T IV 5	iv 12	T III 21a
i 16'	T I 30	iii 7'	T IV 6	iv 13	T III 21b–22a
i 17'	T I 31	iii 8'	T IV 7	iv 14	T III 22b
		iii 9'	TVar 3 I' 9'	iv 15	T III 23
		iii 10'	TVar 3 I' 10'	iv 16	T III 24
ii 1	T I 49	iii 11'	TVar 3 I' 11'	iv 17	T III 25
ii 2	T I 50	iii 12'	TVar 3 I' 12'	iv 18	T III 26
ii 3	T I 51	iii 13'	TVar 3 I' 13'	iv 19	T III 27

RINAP 5	BIWA	RINAP 5	BIWA	RINAP 5	BIWA
iv 20	T III 28	iv 40	BM 134464 I' 8'	v 17	D VIII 89
iv 21	T III 29	iv 41	BM 134464 I' 9'	v 18	D VIII 90a
iv 22	T III 30	iv 42	—	v 19	D VIII 90b
iv 23	T III 31			v 20	D VIII 91
iv 24	T III 32	v 1	T VI 24–25	v 21	D VIII 92a
iv 25	T III 33a	v 2	T VI 26–27	v 22	D VIII 92b
iv 26	T III 33b–34a	v 3	T VI 28	v 23	T VI 41a
iv 27	T III 34b–35a	v 4	T VI 29–30	v 24	T VI 41b
iv 28	BM 127896+ II' 9'	v 5	T VI 31–32	v 25	T VI 42
iv 29	BM 127896+ II' 10'	v 6	T VI 33	v 26	T VI 43
iv 30	BM 127896+ II' 11'	v 7	T VI 34	v 27	TVar4 II' 21'
iv 31	BM 127896+ II' 12'	v 8	T VI 35	v 28	TVar4 II' 22'
iv 32	BM 127896+ II' 13'	v 9	T VI 36	v 29	T VI 45
iv 33	BM 134464 I' 1'	v 10	T VI 37	v 30	T VI 46–47a
iv 34	BM 134464 I' 2'	v 11	T VI 38	v 31	T VI 47b
iv 35	BM 134464 I' 3'	v 12	T VI 39–40	v 32	T VI 48–49
iv 36	BM 134464 I' 4'	v 13	D VIII 87a	v 33	T VI 50
iv 37	BM 134464 I' 5'	v 14	D VIII 87b	v 34	T VI 51
iv 38	BM 134464 I' 6'	v 15	D VIII 87c–88a		
iv 39	BM 134464 I' 7'	v 16	D VIII 88b		

**Text No. 6 (Prism C)**

RINAP 5	BIWA	RINAP 5	BIWA	RINAP 5	BIWA
i 1'	C I 6	i 40'	C I 45	i 79'	C I 84
i 2'	C I 7	i 41'	C I 46	i 80'	C I 85
i 3'	C I 8	i 42'	C I 47	i 81'	C I 86
i 4'	C I 9	i 43'	C I 48	i 82'	C I 87
i 5'	C I 10	i 44'	C I 49	i 83'	C I 88
i 6'	C I 11	i 45'	C I 50	i 84'	C I 89
i 7'	C I 12	i 46'	C I 51	i 85'	C I 90
i 8'	C I 13	i 47'	C I 52	i 86'	C I 91
i 9'	C I 14	i 48'	C I 53	i 87'	C I 92
i 10'	C I 15	i 49'	C I 54	i 88'	C I 93
i 11'	C I 16	i 50'	C I 55	i 89'	C I 94
i 12'	C I 17	i 51'	C I 56	i 90'	C I 95
i 13'	C I 18	i 52'	C I 57	i 91'	C I 96
i 14'	C I 19	i 53'	C I 58	i 92'	C I 97
i 15'	C I 20	i 54'	C I 59	i 93'	C I 98
i 16'	C I 21	i 55'	C I 60	i 94'	C I 99
i 17'	C I 22	i 56'	C I 61	i 95'	C I 100
i 18'	C I 23	i 57'	C I 62	i 96'	C I 101
i 19'	C I 24	i 58'	C I 63	i 97'	C I 102
i 20'	C I 25	i 59'	C I 64	i 98'	C I 103
i 21'	C I 26	i 60'	C I 65		
i 22'	C I 27	i 61'	C I 66	i 1''	C I 122
i 23'	C I 28	i 62'	C I 67	i 2''	C I 123
i 24'	C I 29	i 63'	C I 68	i 3''	C I 124–125
i 25'	C I 30	i 64'	C I 69–70	i 4''	C I 126–127
i 26'	C I 31	i 65'	C I 71	i 5''	C I 128–129
i 27'	C I 32	i 66'	C I 72	i 6''	C I 130–131
i 28'	C I 33	i 67'	C I 73	i 7''	C II 1
i 29'	C I 34	i 68'	C I 74	i 8''	C II 2
i 30'	C I 35	i 69'	C I 75	i 9''	C II 3–4
i 31'	C I 36	i 70'	C I 76		
i 32'	C I 37	i 71'	C I 77a	ii 1'	C II 13
i 33'	C I 38	i 72'	C I 77b–78a	ii 2'	C II 14
i 34'	C I 39	i 73'	C I 78b	ii 3'	C II 15
i 35'	C I 40	i 74'	C I 79	ii 4'	C II 16
i 36'	C I 41	i 75'	C I 80	ii 5'	C II 17
i 37'	C I 42	i 76'	C I 81	ii 6'	C II 18
i 38'	C I 43	i 77'	C I 82	ii 7'	C II 19
i 39'	C I 44	i 78'	C I 83	ii 8'	C II 20

RINAP 5	BIWA	RINAP 5	BIWA	RINAP 5	BIWA
ii 9'	C II 21	ii 76'	C II 85	iii 37'	C III 47
ii 10'	C II 22	ii 77'	C II 86	iii 38'	C III 48
ii 11'	C II 23	ii 78'	C II 87	iii 39'	C III 49
ii 12'	C II 24	ii 79'	C II 88	iii 40'	C III 50
ii 13'	C II 25	ii 80'	C II 89	iii 41'	C III 51
ii 14'	C II 26	ii 81'	C II 90	iii 42'	C III 52
ii 15'	C II 27	ii 82'	C II 91	iii 43'	C III 53
ii 16'	C II 28	ii 83'	C II 92	iii 44'	C III 54
ii 17'	C II 29	ii 84'	C II 93	iii 45'	C III 55
ii 18'	C II 30	ii 85'	C II 94	iii 46'	C III 56
ii 19'	C II 31			iii 47'	C III 57
ii 20'	C II 32	ii 1''	C II 103	iii 48'	C III 58
ii 21'	C II 33	ii 2''	C II 104	iii 49'	C III 59
ii 22'	C II 34	ii 3''	C II 105–106a	iii 50'	C III 60
ii 23'	C II 35	ii 4''	C II 106b–107	iii 51'	C III 61
ii 24'	C II 36	ii 5''	C II 108	iii 52'	C III 62
ii 25'	C II 37	ii 6''	C II 109	iii 53'	C III 63
ii 26'	C II 38	ii 7''	C II 110	iii 54'	C III 64
ii 27'	C II 39	ii 8''	C II 111	iii 55'	C III 65
ii 28'	C II 40	ii 9''	C II 112	iii 56'	C III 66
ii 29'	C II 41	ii 10''	C II 113	iii 57'	C III 67
ii 30'	C II 42	ii 11''	C II 114	iii 58'	C III 68
ii 31'	C II 43	ii 12''	C II 115	iii 59'	C III 69
ii 32'	C II 44	ii 13''	C II 116–117	iii 60'	C III 70
ii 33'	C II 45	ii 14''	C II 118	iii 61'	C III 71
ii 34'	C II 46	ii 15''	C II 119	iii 62'	C III 72
ii 35'	C II 47	ii 16''	C II 120	iii 63'	C III 73
ii 36'	C II 48	ii 17''	C II 121	iii 64'	C III 74
ii 37'	C II 49	ii 18''	C II 122–123a	iii 65'	C III 75
ii 38'	C II 50	ii 19''	C II 123b–124a	iii 66'	C III 76
ii 39'	C II 51			iii 67'	C III 77
ii 40'	C II 52	iii 1'	C III 11	iii 68'	C III 78
ii 41'	C II 53	iii 2'	C III 12	iii 69'	C III 79
ii 42'	C II 54	iii 3'	C III 13	iii 70'	C III 80
ii 43'	C II 55	iii 4'	C III 14	iii 71'	C III 81
ii 44'	C II 56	iii 5'	C III 15	iii 72'	C III 82
ii 45'	C II 57	iii 6'	C III 16	iii 73'	C III 83
ii 46'	C II 58	iii 7'	C III 17	iii 74'	C III 84a
ii 47'	C II 59	iii 8'	C III 18	iii 75'	C III 84b
ii 48'	C II 60	iii 9'	C III 19	iii 76'	C III 85
ii 49'	C II 61	iii 10'	C III 20	iii 77'	C III 86
ii 50'	C II 62	iii 11'	C III 21	iii 78'	C III 87
ii 51'	C II 63	iii 12'	C III 22	iii 79'	C III 88
ii 52'	C II 64	iii 13'	C III 23	iii 80'	C III 89
ii 53'	C II 65a	iii 14'	C III 24	iii 81'	C III 90
ii 54'	C II 65b–66a	iii 15'	C III 25	iii 82'	C III 91a
ii 55'	C II 66b–67	iii 16'	C III 26	iii 83'	C III 91b–92
ii 56'	C II 68	iii 17'	C III 27	iii 84'	C III 93
ii 57'	C II 69	iii 18'	C III 28	iii 85'	C III 94
ii 58'	C II 70a	iii 19'	C III 29	iii 86'	C III 95
ii 59'	C II 70b	iii 20'	C III 30	iii 87'	C III 96
ii 60'	C II 71	iii 21'	C III 31	iii 88'	C III 97
ii 61'	C II 72	iii 22'	C III 32	iii 89'	C III 98
ii 62'	C II 73	iii 23'	C III 33	iii 90'	C III 99
ii 63'	C II 74	iii 24'	C III 34	iii 91'	C III 100
ii 64'	C II 75	iii 25'	C III 35	iii 92'	C III 101
ii 65'	C II 76a	iii 26'	C III 36	iii 93'	C III 102
ii 66'	C II 76b–77	iii 27'	C III 37	iii 94'	C III 103
ii 67'	B I 78	iii 28'	C III 38	iii 95'	C III 104
ii 68'	B I 79	iii 29'	C III 39	iii 96'	C III 105
ii 69'	B I 80a	iii 30'	C III 40	iii 97'	C III 106
ii 70'	B I 80b–81	iii 31'	C III 41	iii 98'	C III 107
ii 71'	B I 82	iii 32'	C III 42	iii 99'	C III 108
ii 72'	B I 83	iii 33'	C III 43	iii 100'	C III 109
ii 73'	B I 84	iii 34'	C III 44	iii 101'	C III 110
ii 74'	C II 83	iii 35'	C III 45	iii 102'	C III 111
ii 75'	C II 82	iii 36'	C III 46	iii 103'	C III 112

## Concordances of RINAP 5–BIWA Line Numbers

RINAP 5	BIWA	RINAP 5	BIWA	RINAP 5	BIWA
iii 104'	C III 113	iv 34''	C IV 63	v 16	C V 16
iii 105'	C III 114	iv 35''	C IV 64	v 17	C V 17
iii 106'	C III 115	iv 36''	C IV 65a	v 18	C V 18
iii 107'	C III 116–117a	iv 37''	C IV 65b	v 19	C V 19
iii 108'	C III 117b–118	iv 38''	C IV 66–67a	v 20	C V 20
iii 109'	C III 119	iv 39''	C IV 67b	v 21	C V 21
iii 110'	C III 120	iv 40''	C IV 68	v 22	C V 22
iii 111'	C III 121	iv 41''	C IV 69	v 23	C V 23
iii 112'	C III 122	iv 42''	C IV 70a	v 24	C V 24–[25a]
iii 113'	C III 123	iv 43''	C IV 70b	v 25	[C V 25b–26]
iii 114'	C III 124	iv 44''	C IV 71	v 26	C V 27
iii 115'	C III 125	iv 45''	C IV 72a	v 27	C V 28
		iv 46''	C IV 72b	v 28	C V 29
iv 1	C III 126	iv 47''	C IV 73	v 29	C V 30
		iv 48''	C IV 74	v 30	C V 31
iv 1'	C IV 8	iv 49''	C IV 75	v 31	C V 32
iv 2'	C IV 9	iv 50''	C IV 76a	v 32	C V 33
iv 3'	C IV 10	iv 51''	C IV 76b–77a	v 33	C V 34
iv 4'	C IV 11	iv 52''	C IV 77b	v 34	C V 35–36
iv 5'	C IV 12	iv 53''	C IV 77c	v 35	C V 37
iv 6'	C IV 13	iv 54''	C IV 79	v 36	C V 38
iv 7'	C IV 14	iv 55''	C IV 80a	v 37	C V 39
iv 8'	C IV 15	iv 56''	C IV 80b–81a	v 38	C V 40a
iv 9'	C IV 16	iv 57''	C IV 81b	v 39	C V 40b
iv 10'	C IV 17	iv 58''	C IV 82a	v 40	C V 41
iv 11'	C IV 18	iv 59''	C IV 82b–83a	v 41	C V 42
iv 12'	C IV 19	iv 60''	C IV 83b	v 42	C V 43
iv 13'	C IV 20	iv 61''	C IV 84a	v 43	C V 44
iv 14'	C IV 21	iv 62''	C IV 84b	v 44	C V 45a
iv 15'	C IV 22	iv 63''	C IV 85	v 45	C V 45b
iv 16'	C IV 23	iv 64''	C IV 86	v 46	C V 46a
iv 17'	C IV 24	iv 65''	C IV 87	v 47	C V 46b
iv 18'	C IV 25	iv 66''	C IV 88	v 48	C V 47
		iv 67''	C IV 89	v 49	C V 48
iv 1''	C IV 31	iv 68''	C IV 90	v 50	C V 48A
iv 2''	C IV 32	iv 69''	C IV 91	v 51	C V 48B
iv 3''	C IV 33	iv 70''	C IV 92	v 52	C V 48C
iv 4''	C IV 34	iv 71''	C IV 93	v 53	C V 48D
iv 5''	C IV 35	iv 72''	C IV 94	v 54	C V 48E
iv 6''	C IV 36	iv 73''	C IV 95	v 55	C V 48F
iv 7''	C IV 37	iv 74''	C IV 109	v 56	C V 48G
iv 8''	C IV 38	iv 75''	C IV 110	v 57	C V 48H
iv 9''	C IV 39	iv 76''	C IV 111	v 58	C V 48I
iv 10''	C IV 40	iv 77''	C IV 112	v 59	C V 49
iv 11''	C IV 41	iv 78''	C IV 113	v 60	C V 50
iv 12''	C IV 42	iv 79''	C IV 114	v 61	C V 51
iv 13''	C IV 43	iv 80''	C IV 115	v 62	C V 52
iv 14''	C IV 44	iv 81''	C IV 116	v 63	C V 53
iv 15''	C IV 45	iv 82''	C IV 117	v 64	C V 54
iv 16''	C IV 46	iv 83''	C IV 118	v 65	C V 55
iv 17''	C IV 47	iv 84''	C IV 119–121	v 66	C V 56
iv 18''	C IV 48			v 67	C V 57
iv 19''	C IV 49	v 1	C IV 122–123	v 68	C V 58
iv 20''	C IV 50	v 2	C IV 124–125	v 69	C V 59a
iv 21''	C IV 51	v 3	C IV 126	v 70	C V 59b–60a
iv 22''	C IV 52	v 4	C IV 127–128a	v 71	C V 60b
iv 23''	C IV 53	v 5	C IV 128b–129	v 72	C V 61
iv 24''	C IV 54	v 6	C IV 130	v 73	C V 62a
iv 25''	C IV 55	v 7	B IV 4–5a	v 74	C V 62b
iv 26''	C IV 56a	v 8	B IV 5b	v 75	C V 63
iv 27''	C IV 56b–57a	v 9	C V 9	v 76	C V 64
iv 28''	C IV 57b–58a	v 10	C V 10	v 77	C V 65
iv 29''	C IV 58b	v 11	C V 11	v 78	C V 66
iv 30''	C IV 59	v 12	C V 12	v 79	C V 67
iv 31''	C IV 60	v 13	C V 13	v 80	C V 68
iv 32''	C IV 61	v 14	C V 14	v 81	C V 69
iv 33''	C IV 62	v 15	C V 15	v 82	C V 70

RINAP 5	BIWA	RINAP 5	BIWA	RINAP 5	BIWA
v 83	C V 71	vi 1''	C VI 67	vii 28	C VII 28b–29
v 84	C V 72	vi 2''	C VI 68	vii 29	C VII 30a
v 85	C V 73	vi 3''	C VI 69	vii 30	C VII 30b–31
v 86	C V 74a	vi 4''	C VI 70	vii 31	C VII 32
v 87	C V 74b	vi 5''	C VI 71	vii 32	C VII 33
v 88	C V 75a	vi 6''	C VI 72	vii 33	C VII 34a
v 89	C V 75b	vi 7''	C VI 73	vii 34	C VII 34b–35
v 90	C V 76	vi 8''	C VI 74	vii 35	C VII 36–36Aa
v 91	C V 77	vi 9''	C VI 75	vii 36	C VII 36Ab–36B
v 92	C V 78	vi 10''	C VI 76	vii 37	C VII 37
v 93	C V 79	vi 11''	C VI 77	vii 38	C VII 38
v 94	C V 80	vi 12''	C VI 78	vii 39	C VII 39
v 95	C V 81	vi 13''	C VI 79	vii 40	C VII 40–41a
v 96	C V 82	vi 14''	C VI 80	vii 41	C VII 41b
v 97	C V 83	vi 15''	C VI 81	vii 42	C VII 41c–42
v 98	C V 84	vi 16''	C VI 82	vii 43	C VII 43
v 99	C V 85	vi 17''	C VI 83	vii 44	C VII 44
v 100	C V 86	vi 18''	C VI 84	vii 45	C VII 45
v 101	C V 87a	vi 19''	C VI 85	vii 46	C VII 46
v 102	C V 87b	vi 20''	C VI 86	vii 47	C VII 47
v 103	C V 88	vi 21''	C VI 87	vii 48	C VII 48
v 104	C V 89	vi 22''	C VI 88	vii 49	C VII 49
v 105	C V 90	vi 23''	C VI 89	vii 50	C VII 50
v 106	C V 91a	vi 24''	C VI 115	vii 51	C VII 51
v 107	C V 91b–92	vi 25''	C VI 116	vii 52	C VII 52
		vi 26''	C VI 117	vii 53	C VII 53
		vi 27''	C VI 118		
v 1'	C V 100	vi 28''	C VI 119	vii 1'	C VII 62
v 2'	C V 101	vi 29''	C VI 120	vii 2'	C VII 63a
vi 1'	C VI 21	vi 30''	C VI 121	vii 3'	C VII 63b
vi 2'	C VI 22	vi 31''	C VI 122	vii 4'	C VII 64
vi 3'	C VI 23	vi 32''	C VI 123	vii 5'	C VII 65
vi 4'	C VI 24–25a	vi 33''	C VI 124	vii 6'	C VII 66
vi 5'	C VI 25b	vi 34''	C VI 125	vii 7'	C VII 67a
vi 6'	C VI 25c	vi 35''	C VI 126	vii 8'	C VII 67b
vi 7'	C VI 26	vi 36''	C VI 127	vii 9'	C VII 68a
vi 8'	C VI 27	vi 37''	C VI 128	vii 10'	C VII 68b
vi 9'	C VI 28	vi 38''	C VI 129	vii 11'	C VII 69
vi 10'	C VI 29a	vi 39''	C VI 130	vii 12'	C VII 70a
vi 11'	C VI 29b			vii 13'	C VII 70b
vi 12'	C VI 30	vii 1	C VI 138	vii 14'	C VII 71a
vi 13'	C VI 31	vii 2	C VII 1	vii 15'	C VII 71b
vi 14'	C VI 32	vii 3	C VII 2	vii 16'	C VII 72
vi 15'	C VI 33	vii 4	C VII 3	vii 17'	C VII 73
vi 16'	C VI 34	vii 5	C VII 4	vii 18'	C VII 74
vi 17'	C VI 35	vii 6	C VII 5	vii 19'	C VII 75
vi 18'	C VI 36	vii 7	C VII 6	vii 20'	C VII 76
vi 19'	C VI 37	vii 8	C VII 7	vii 21'	C VII 77
vi 20'	C VI 38–39	vii 9	C VII 8	vii 22'	C VII 78
vi 21'	C VI 40	vii 10	C VII 9	vii 23'	C VII 79
vi 22'	C VI 41	vii 11	C VII 10	vii 24'	C VII 80
vi 23'	C VI 42	vii 12	C VII 11	vii 25'	C VII 81
vi 24'	C VI 43	vii 13	C VII 12	vii 26'	C VII 82
vi 25'	C VI 44	vii 14	C VII 13	vii 27'	C VII 83
vi 26'	C VI 45	vii 15	C VII 14	vii 28'	C VII 84
vi 27'	C VI 46	vii 16	C VII 15	vii 29'	C VII 85
vi 28'	C VI 47	vii 17	C VII 16	vii 30'	C VII 86
vi 29'	C VI 48	vii 18	C VII 17	vii 31'	C VII 87
vi 30'	C VI 49	vii 19	C VII 18	vii 32'	C VII 88a
vi 31'	C VI 50	vii 20	C VII 19	vii 33'	C VII 88b–89
vi 32'	C VI 51	vii 21	C VII 20	vii 34'	C VII 90
vi 33'	C VI 52	vii 22	C VII 21	vii 35'	C VII 107
vi 34'	C VI 53	vii 23	C VII 22–23a	vii 36'	C VII 108
vi 35'	C VI 54	vii 24	C VII 23b–24	vii 37'	C VII 109
vi 36'	C VI 55	vii 25	C VII 25	vii 38'	C VII 110
vi 37'	C VI 56	vii 26	C VII 26	vii 39'	C VII 111
vi 38'	C VI 57	vii 27	C VII 27–28a	vii 40'	C VII 112

RINAP 5	BIWA	RINAP 5	BIWA	RINAP 5	BIWA
vii 41'	C VII 113	viii 13'''	C VIII 82	ix 33''	C IX 67
vii 42'	C VII 114	viii 14'''	C VIII 83	ix 34''	C IX 68
vii 43'	C VII 115	viii 15'''	C VIII 84	ix 35''	C IX 69
vii 44'	C VII 116	viii 16'''	C VIII 85	ix 36''	C IX 70
vii 45'	C VII 117	viii 17'''	C VIII 86	ix 37''	C IX 71
vii 46'	C VII 118	viii 18'''	C VIII 87	ix 38''	C IX 72
vii 47'	C VII 119	viii 19'''	C VIII 88	ix 39''	C IX 73
vii 48'	C VII 120	viii 20'''	C VIII 89	ix 40''	C IX 74
		viii 21'''	C VIII 90	ix 41''	C IX 75
viii 1'	C VIII 2			ix 42''	C IX 76
viii 2'	C VIII 3	ix 1'	C IX 4	ix 43''	C IX 77
viii 3'	C VIII 4	ix 2'	C IX 5	ix 44''	C IX 78
viii 4'	C VIII 5	ix 3'	C IX 6	ix 45''	C IX 79
viii 5'	C VIII 6	ix 4'	C IX 7	ix 46''	C IX 80
viii 6'	C VIII 7	ix 5'	C IX 8	ix 47''	C IX 81
viii 7'	C VIII 8	ix 6'	C IX 9	ix 48''	C IX 82
viii 8'	C VIII 9	ix 7'	C IX 10	ix 49''	C IX 83
viii 9'	C VIII 10	ix 8'	C IX 11	ix 50''	C IX 84
viii 10'	C VIII 11	ix 9'	C IX 12	ix 51''	C IX 85
viii 11'	C VIII 12	ix 10'	C IX 13	ix 52''	C IX 86
viii 12'	C VIII 13	ix 11'	C IX 14		
viii 13'	C VIII 14	ix 12'	C IX 15	x 1'	B VIII 28
viii 14'	C VIII 15	ix 13'	C IX 16	x 2'	B VIII 29
viii 15'	C VIII 16	ix 14'	C IX 17	x 3'	B VIII 30
viii 16'	C VIII 17	ix 15'	C IX 18	x 4'	C X 39
viii 17'	C VIII 18	ix 16'	C IX 19	x 5'	C X 40
viii 18'	C VIII 19	ix 17'	C IX 20	x 6'	C X 41
viii 19'	C VIII 20	ix 18'	C IX 21	x 7'	C X 42
viii 20'	C VIII 21	ix 19'	C IX 22	x 8'	C X 43
		ix 20'	C IX 23	x 9'	C X 44
viii 1''	C VIII 31	ix 21'	C IX 24	x 10'	C X 45
viii 2''	C VIII 32	ix 22'	C IX 25	x 11'	C X 46
viii 3''	C VIII 33	ix 23'	C IX 26	x 12'	C X 47
viii 4''	C VIII 34	ix 24'	C IX 27	x 13'	C X 48
viii 5''	C VIII 35			x 14'	C X 49
viii 6''	C VIII 36	ix 1''	C IX 36	x 15'	C X 50
viii 7''	C VIII 37	ix 2''	C IX 37	x 16'	C X 51–52a
viii 8''	C VIII 38	ix 3''	C IX 38	x 17'	C X 52b–53a
viii 9''	C VIII 39	ix 4''	C IX 39	x 18'	C X 53b–54a
viii 10''	C VIII 40	ix 5''	C IX 40a	x 19'	C X 54b
viii 11''	C VIII 41–42a	ix 6''	C IX 40b	x 20'	C X 55
viii 12''	C VIII 42b	ix 7''	C IX 41		
viii 13''	C VIII 43	ix 8''	C IX 42	x 1''	C X 69
viii 14''	C VIII 44	ix 9''	C IX 43	x 2''	C X 70
viii 15''	C VIII 45	ix 10''	C IX 44	x 3''	C X 71–72a
viii 16''	C VIII 46	ix 11''	C IX 45	x 4''	C X 72b–73
viii 17''	C VIII 47	ix 12''	C IX 46	x 5''	C X 74a
viii 18''	C VIII 48	ix 13''	C IX 47	x 6''	C X 74b
viii 19''	C VIII 49	ix 14''	C IX 48	x 7''	C X 75–76
viii 20''	C VIII 50	ix 15''	C IX 49	x 8''	C X 77
viii 21''	C VIII 51	ix 16''	C IX 50	x 9''	C X 78
viii 22''	C VIII 52	ix 17''	C IX 51	x 10''	C X 79
viii 23''	C VIII 53	ix 18''	C IX 52	x 11''	C X 80
viii 24''	C VIII 54	ix 19''	C IX 53	x 12''	C X 81
		ix 20''	C IX 54	x 13''	C X 82
viii 1'''	C VIII 68	ix 21''	C IX 55	x 14''	C X 83
viii 2'''	C VIII 69–70a	ix 22''	C IX 56	x 15''	C X 84
viii 3'''	C VIII 70b–71	ix 23''	C IX 57	x 16''	C X 85
viii 4'''	C VIII 72	ix 24''	C IX 58	x 17''	C X 86
viii 5'''	C VIII 73	ix 25''	C IX 59	x 18''	C X 87
viii 6'''	C VIII 74–75	ix 26''	C IX 60	x 19''	C X 88
viii 7'''	C VIII 76	ix 27''	C IX 61	x 20''	C X 89
viii 8'''	C VIII 77	ix 28''	C IX 62	x 21''	C X 90
viii 9'''	C VIII 78	ix 29''	C IX 63		
viii 10'''	C VIII 79	ix 30''	C IX 64	x 1'''	C X 96
viii 11'''	C VIII 80	ix 31''	C IX 65	x 2'''	C X 97
viii 12'''	C VIII 81	ix 32''	C IX 66	x 3'''	C X 98



RINAP 5	BIWA	RINAP 5	BIWA	RINAP 5	BIWA
x 4'''	C X 99	x 13'''	C X 108	x 22'''	C X 117
x 5'''	C X 100	x 14'''	C X 109	x 23'''	C X 118
x 6'''	C X 101	x 15'''	C X 110	x 24'''	C X 119
x 7'''	C X 102	x 16'''	C X 111	x 25'''	C X 120
x 8'''	C X 103	x 17'''	C X 112	x 26'''	C X 121
x 9'''	C X 104	x 18'''	C X 113	x 27'''	C X 122
x 10'''	C X 105	x 19'''	C X 114	x 28'''	C X 123
x 11'''	C X 106	x 20'''	C X 115		
x 12'''	C X 107	x 21'''	C X 116		

**Text No. 7 (Prism Kh)**

RINAP 5	BIWA	RINAP 5	BIWA	RINAP 5	BIWA
i 1	C I 1	i 44'	C I 76	i 94'	C II 9
i 2	C I 2	i 45'	C I 77a	i 95'	C II 10
i 3	C I 3	i 46'	C I 77b–78a	i 96'	C II 11
i 4	C I 4	i 47'	C I 78b	i 97'	C II 12
i 5	C I 5	i 48'	C I 79	i 98'	C II 12A
i 6	C I 5A	i 49'	C I 80	i 99'	C II 12B
		i 50'	C I 81	i 100'	C II 12C–13
i 1'	C I 37	i 51'	C I 82	i 101'	C II 14–15
i 2'	C I 38	i 52'	C I 83		
i 3'	C I 39	i 53'	C I 84	ii 1'	C II 42
i 4'	C I 40	i 54'	C I 85	ii 2'	C II 43
i 5'	C I 41	i 55'	C I 86–87	ii 3'	C II 44
i 6'	C I 42	i 56'	C I 88	ii 4'	C II 45
i 7'	C I 43	i 57'	C I 89	ii 5'	C II 46
i 8'	C I 44	i 58'	C I 90	ii 6'	C II 47
i 9'	C I 45	i 59'	C I 91	ii 7'	C II 48
i 10'	C I 46a	i 60'	C I 92	ii 8'	C II 49
i 11'	C I 46b	i 61'	C I 93	ii 9'	C II 50
i 12'	C I 47	i 62'	C I 94	ii 10'	C II 51
i 13'	C I 48	i 63'	C I 95	ii 11'	C II 52
i 14'	C I 49	i 64'	C I 96–97a	ii 12'	C II 53
i 15'	C I 50	i 65'	C I 97b–98	ii 13'	C II 54
i 16'	C I 51	i 66'	C I 99	ii 14'	C II 55
i 17'	C I 52	i 67'	C I 100	ii 15'	C II 56
i 18'	C I 53a	i 68'	C I 101	ii 16'	C II 57
i 19'	C I 53b	i 69'	C I 102	ii 17'	C II 58
i 20'	C I 54	i 70'	C I 103–104	ii 18'	C II 59
i 21'	C I 55	i 71'	C I 105–106	ii 19'	C II 60
i 22'	C I 56	i 72'	C I 107–108	ii 20'	C II 61–62
i 23'	C I 57	i 73'	C I 109	ii 21'	C II 63
i 24'	C I 58	i 74'	C I 110	ii 22'	C II 64
i 25'	C I 59	i 75'	C I 111	ii 23'	C II 65a
i 26'	C I 60	i 76'	C I 112	ii 24'	C II 65b–66a
i 27'	C I 61a	i 77'	C I 113	ii 25'	C II 66b–67a
i 28'	C I 61b	i 78'	C I 114	ii 26'	C II 67b–68a
i 29'	C I 62a	i 79'	C I 115	ii 27'	C II 68b
i 30'	C I 62b	i 80'	C I 116–117	ii 28'	C II 69
i 31'	C I 63	i 81'	C I 118–119	ii 29'	C II 70a
i 32'	C I 64	i 82'	C I 120	ii 30'	C II 70b
i 33'	C I 65	i 83'	C I 121–122	ii 31'	C II 71
i 34'	C I 66	i 84'	C I 123	ii 32'	C II 72
i 35'	C I 67	i 85'	C I 124–125	ii 33'	C II 73
i 36'	C I 68	i 86'	C I 126–127	ii 34'	C II 74
i 37'	C I 69	i 87'	C I 128–129	ii 35'	C II 75a
i 38'	C I 70	i 88'	C I 130–131	ii 36'	C II 75b–76
i 39'	C I 71	i 89'	C II 1–2	ii 37'	C II 77
i 40'	C I 72	i 90'	C II 3–4		
i 41'	C I 73	i 91'	C II 5–6	ii 1''	C II 85
i 42'	C I 74	i 92'	C II 7	ii 2''	C II 86
i 43'	C I 75	i 93'	C II 8	ii 3''	C II 87

## Concordances of RINAP 5–BIWA Line Numbers

RINAP 5	BIWA	RINAP 5	BIWA	RINAP 5	BIWA
ii 4''	C II 88	iii 10'	C III 62	iii 30''	C IV 14
ii 5''	C II 89	iii 11'	C III 63	iii 31''	C IV 15
ii 6''	C II 90	iii 12'	C III 64	iii 32''	C IV 16
ii 7''	C II 91	iii 13'	C III 65	iii 33''	C IV 17
ii 8''	C II 92	iii 14'	C III 66	iii 34''	C IV 18
ii 9''	C II 93	iii 15'	C III 67	iii 35''	C IV 19
ii 10''	C II 94	iii 16'	C III 68–69		
ii 11''	C II 95	iii 17'	C III 70	iv 1'	C IV a
ii 12''	C II 96	iii 18'	C III 71	iv 2'	C IV b
ii 13''	C II 97	iii 19'	C III 72	iv 3'	C IV c
ii 14''	C II 98	iii 20'	C III 73	iv 4'	C IV d
ii 15''	C II 99	iii 21'	C III 74	iv 5'	C IV e
ii 16''	C II 100	iii 22'	C III 75a	iv 6'	C IV f
ii 17''	C II 101–103	iii 23'	C III 75b–76	iv 7'	C IV g
ii 18''	C II 104	iii 24'	C III 77	iv 8'	C IV h
ii 19''	C II 105–106a	iii 25'	C III 78	iv 9'	C IV i
ii 20''	C II 106b–107	iii 26'	C III 79–80	iv 10'	C IV j/IV a'
ii 21''	C II 108	iii 27'	C III 81	iv 11'	C IV k/IV b'
ii 22''	C II 109	iii 28'	C III 82	iv 12'	C IV l/IV c'
ii 23''	C II 110	iii 29'	C III 83	iv 13'	C IV d'
ii 24''	C II 111	iii 30'	C III 84a	iv 14'	C IV 27
ii 25''	C II 112	iii 31'	C III 84b	iv 15'	C IV 28
ii 26''	C II 113	iii 32'	C III 85	iv 16'	C IV 29
ii 27''	C II 114	iii 33'	C III 86	iv 17'	C IV 30
ii 28''	C II 115	iii 34'	C III 87	iv 18'	C IV 31
ii 29''	C II 116–117	iii 35'	C III 88	iv 19'	C IV 32
ii 30''	C II 118	iii 36'	C III 89	iv 20'	C IV 33
ii 31''	C II 119	iii 37'	C III 90	iv 21'	C IV 34
ii 32''	C II 120	iii 38'	C III 91	iv 22'	C IV 35
ii 33''	C II 121–122	iii 39'	C III 92	iv 23'	C IV 36
ii 34''	C II 123	iii 40'	C III 93	iv 24'	C IV 37
ii 35''	C II 124	iii 41'	C III 94	iv 25'	C IV 38
ii 36''	C II 125a	iii 42'	C III 95	iv 26'	C IV 39
ii 37''	C II 125b–126a	iii 43'	C III 96–97		
ii 38''	C II 126b	iii 44'	C III 98a	iv 1''	C IV 56a
ii 39''	C II 127	iii 45'	C III 98b–99	iv 2''	C IV 56b–57a
ii 40''	C II 128a	iii 46'	C III 100	iv 3''	C IV 57b–58a
ii 41''	C II 128b–129a			iv 4''	C IV 58b
ii 42''	C II 129b	iii 1''	C III 107	iv 5''	C IV 59
ii 43''	C II 129c–130a	iii 2''	C III 108–109	iv 6''	C IV 60
ii 44''	C II 130b–III 1a	iii 3''	C III 110	iv 7''	C IV 61–62a
ii 45''	C III 1b	iii 4''	C III 111–112	iv 8''	C IV 62b–63
ii 46''	C III 2	iii 5''	C III 113	iv 9''	C IV 64
ii 47''	C III 3	iii 6''	C III 114	iv 10''	C IV 65
ii 48''	C III 4	iii 7''	C III 115	iv 11''	C IV 66
ii 49''	C III 5	iii 8''	C III 116	iv 12''	C IV 67
ii 50''	C III 6	iii 9''	C III 117–118	iv 13''	C IV 68
ii 51''	C III 7	iii 10''	C III 119	iv 14''	C IV 69
ii 52''	C III 8	iii 11''	C III 120	iv 15''	C IV 70
ii 53''	C III 9	iii 12''	C III 121–122	iv 16''	C IV 71
ii 54''	C III 10	iii 13''	C III 123	iv 17''	C IV 72
ii 55''	C III 10A	iii 14''	C III 124	iv 18''	C IV 73
ii 56''	C III 10B	iii 15''	C III 125–126	iv 19''	C IV 74
ii 57''	C III 11	iii 16''	C III 127–128	iv 20''	C IV 75
ii 58''	C III 12	iii 17''	C IV 1	iv 21''	C IV 76
ii 59''	C III 13	iii 18''	C IV 2–3a	iv 22''	C IV 77
ii 60''	C III 14	iii 19''	C IV 3b	iv 23''	C IV 78
		iii 20''	C IV 4a	iv 24''	C IV 79
iii 1'	C III 52	iii 21''	C IV 4b–5	iv 25''	C IV 80
iii 2'	C III 53	iii 22''	C IV 6a	iv 26''	C IV 81
iii 3'	C III 54	iii 23''	C IV 6b–7	iv 27''	C IV 82
iii 4'	C III 55	iii 24''	C IV 8	iv 28''	C IV 83
iii 5'	C III 56	iii 25''	C IV 9	iv 29''	C IV 84
iii 6'	C III 57	iii 26''	C IV 10	iv 30''	C IV 85
iii 7'	C III 58	iii 27''	C IV 11	iv 31''	C IV 86
iii 8'	C III 59–60	iii 28''	C IV 12	iv 32''	C IV 87
iii 9'	C III 61	iii 29''	C IV 13	iv 33''	C IV 88

RINAP 5	BIWA	RINAP 5	BIWA	RINAP 5	BIWA
iv 34''	C IV 89	iv 101''	C V 48Db–48E	v 66	C V 111
iv 35''	C IV 90			v 67	C V 112
iv 36''	C IV 91	v 1	C V 48F	v 68	C V 113
iv 37''	C IV 92	v 2	C V 48G	v 69	C V 114
iv 38''	C IV 93	v 3	C V 48H	v 70	C V 115
iv 39''	C IV 94a	v 4	C V 48I	v 71	C V 116
iv 40''	C IV 94b	v 5	C V 49–50	v 72	C V 117
iv 41''	C IV 95	v 6	C V 51	v 73	C V 118
iv 42''	C IV 109	v 7	C V 52–53	v 74	C V 119
iv 43''	C IV 110	v 8	C V 54	v 75	C V 120
iv 44''	C IV 111a	v 9	C V 55	v 76	C V 121
iv 45''	C IV 111b–112a	v 10	C V 56	v 77	C VI 1
iv 46''	C IV 112b–113	v 11	C V 57	v 78	C VI 2
iv 47''	C IV 114	v 12	C V 58	v 79	C VI 3
iv 48''	C IV 115	v 13	C V 59a	v 80	C VI 4
iv 49''	C IV 116–117a	v 14	C V 59b–60a	v 81	C VI 5
iv 50''	C IV 117b–118	v 15	C V 60b	v 82	C VI 6
iv 51''	C IV 119–120	v 16	C V 61	v 83	C VI 7
iv 52''	C IV 121	v 17	C V 62	v 84	C VI 8
iv 53''	C IV 122	v 18	C V 63	v 85	C VI 9
iv 54''	C IV 123	v 19	C V 64	v 86	C VI 10
iv 55''	C IV 124–125a	v 20	C V 65	v 87	C VI 11
iv 56''	C IV 125b–126	v 21	C V 66	v 88	C VI 12
iv 57''	C IV 127–128a	v 22	C V 67	v 89	C VI 13
iv 58''	C IV 128b–129	v 23	C V 68	v 90	C VI 14
iv 59''	C IV 130	v 24	C V 69	v 91	C VI 15
iv 60''	B IV 4a	v 25	C V 70	v 92	C VI 16
iv 61''	B IV 4b–5a	v 26	C V 71	v 93	C VI 17
iv 62''	B IV 5b	v 27	C V 72	v 94	C VI 18
iv 63''	C V 9–10	v 28	C V 73	v 95	C VI 19
iv 64''	C V 11	v 29	C V 74	v 96	C VI 20
iv 65''	C V 12	v 30	C V 75	v 97	C VI 21
iv 66''	C V 13	v 31	C V 76	v 98	C VI 22
iv 67''	C V 14–15	v 32	C V 77	v 99	C VI 23
iv 68''	C V 16	v 33	C V 78	v 100	C VI 24–25a
iv 69''	C V 17	v 34	C V 79	v 101	C VI 25b
iv 70''	C V 18	v 35	C V 80	v 102	C VI 25c
iv 71''	C V 19–20a	v 36	C V 81	v 103	C VI 26
iv 72''	C V 20b–21	v 37	C V 82	v 104	C VI 27
iv 73''	C V 22	v 38	C V 83	v 105	C VI 28
iv 74''	C V 23	v 39	C V 84	v 106	C VI 29
iv 75''	C V 24	v 40	C V 85	v 107	C VI 30
iv 76''	[C V 25–26]	v 41	C V 86	v 108	C VI 31
iv 77''	C V 27	v 42	C V 87	v 109	C VI 32
iv 78''	C V 28	v 43	C V 88	v 110	C VI 33
iv 79''	C V 29	v 44	C V 89	v 111	C VI 34
iv 80''	C V 30	v 45	C V 90	v 112	C VI 35
iv 81''	C V 31	v 46	C V 91	v 113	C VI 36
iv 82''	C V 32	v 47	C V 92	v 114	C VI 37
iv 83''	C V 33	v 48	C V 93	v 115	C VI 38
iv 84''	C V 34	v 49	C V 94	v 116	C VI 39
iv 85''	C V 35	v 50	C V 95	v 117	C VI 40
iv 86''	C V 36	v 51	C V 96	v 118	C VI 41
iv 87''	C V 37	v 52	C V 97	v 119	C VI 42
iv 88''	C V 38	v 53	C V 98	v 120	C VI 43
iv 89''	C V 39	v 54	C V 99	v 121	C VI 44
iv 90''	C V 40	v 55	C V 100	v 122	C VI 45
iv 91''	C V 41	v 56	C V 101	v 123	C VI 46
iv 92''	C V 42	v 57	C V 102	v 124	C VI 47
iv 93''	C V 43	v 58	C V 103	v 125	C VI 48
iv 94''	C V 44	v 59	C V 104	v 126	C VI 49
iv 95''	C V 45	v 60	C V 105	v 127	C VI 50
iv 96''	C V 46	v 61	C V 106	v 128	C VI 51
iv 97''	C V 47	v 62	C V 107	v 129	C VI 52
iv 98''	C V 48	v 63	C V 108	v 130	C VI 53
iv 99''	C V 48A	v 64	C V 109	v 131	C VI 54
iv 100''	C V 48B–48Da	v 65	C V 110	v 132	C VI 55

RINAP 5	BIWA	RINAP 5	BIWA	RINAP 5	BIWA
v 133	C VI 56	vi 31'	C VII 20	vii 17	C VII 81
v 134	C VI 57	vi 32'	C VII 21	vii 18	C VII 82
v 135	C VI 58	vi 33'	C VII 22	vii 19	C VII 83
v 136	C VI 59	vi 34'	C VII 23	vii 20	C VII 84
v 137	C VI 60	vi 35'	C VII 24	vii 21	C VII 85
v 138	C VI 61	vi 36'	C VII 25	vii 22	C VII 86
v 139	C VI 62	vi 37'	C VII 26	vii 23	C VII 87
v 140	C VI 63	vi 38'	C VII 27	vii 24	C VII 88
v 141	C VI 64	vi 39'	C VII 28	vii 25	C VII 89
v 142	C VI 65	vi 40'	C VII 29	vii 26	C VII 90
v 143	C VI 66	vi 41'	C VII 30	vii 27	C VII 107
v 144	C VI 67	vi 42'	C VII 31	vii 28	C VII 108
v 145	C VI 68	vi 43'	C VII 32	vii 29	C VII 109
v 146	C VI 69	vi 44'	C VII 33	vii 30	C VII 110
		vi 45'	C VII 34	vii 31	C VII 111–112
		vi 46'	C VII 35	vii 32	C VII 113–114
vi 1	C VI 70			vii 33	C VII 115
vi 2	C VI 71			vii 34	C VII 116–117
vi 3	C VI 72	vi 1''	C VII 43	vii 35	C VII 118–119
vi 4	C VI 73	vi 2''	C VII 44	vii 36	C VII 120
vi 5	C VI 74	vi 3''	C VII 45	vii 37	C VII 121
vi 6	C VI 75	vi 4''	C VII 46	vii 38	C VII 122
vi 7	C VI 76	vi 5''	C VII 47	vii 39	C VII 123
vi 8	C VI 77	vi 6''	C VII 48	vii 40	C VII 124
vi 9	C VI 78	vi 7''	C VII 49	vii 41	C VII 125
vi 10	C VI 79	vi 8''	C VII 50	vii 42	C VII 126
vi 11	C VI 80	vi 9''	C VII 51	vii 43	C VII 127
vi 12	C VI 81	vi 10''	C VII 52	vii 44	C VII 128
vi 13	C VI 82	vi 11''	C VII 53	vii 45	C VII 129
vi 14	C VI 83	vi 12''	C VII 54		
vi 15	C VI 84	vi 13''	C VII 55		
vi 16	C VI 85	vi 14''	C VII 56	vii 1'	C VIII 20
vi 17	C VI 86	vi 15''	C VII 57a	vii 2'	C VIII 21
vi 18	C VI 87	vi 16''	C VII 57b	vii 3'	C VIII 22
vi 19	C VI 88	vi 17''	C VII 58a	vii 4'	C VIII 23
vi 20	C VI 89	vi 18''	C VII 58b	vii 5'	C VIII 24
vi 21	C VI 115	vi 19''	C VII 59	vii 6'	C VIII 25
		vi 20''	C VII 60a	vii 7'	C VIII 26
vi 1'	C VI 128	vi 21''	C VII 60b	vii 8'	C VIII 27
vi 2'	C VI 129	vi 22''	C VII 61	vii 9'	C VIII 28
vi 3'	C VI 130	vi 23''	C VII 62	vii 10'	C VIII 28A
vi 4'	C VI 131	vi 24''	C VII 63	vii 11'	C VIII 29
vi 5'	C VI 132	vi 25''	C VII 64	vii 12'	C VIII 30a
vi 6'	C VI 133	vi 26''	C VII 65	vii 13'	C VIII 30b
vi 7'	C VI 134	vi 27''	C VII 66	vii 14'	C VIII 31
vi 8'	C VI 135	vi 28''	C VII 67a	vii 15'	C VIII 32a
vi 9'	C VI 136	vi 29''	C VII 67b	vii 16'	C VIII 32b
vi 10'	C VI 137	vi 30''	C VII 68a	vii 17'	C VIII 33
vi 11'	C VI 138	vi 31''	C VII 68b	vii 18'	C VIII 34
vi 12'	C VII 1	vi 32''	C VII 69a	vii 19'	C VIII 35
vi 13'	C VII 2	vi 33''	C VII 69b	vii 20'	C VIII 36
vi 14'	C VII 3			vii 21'	C VIII 37
vi 15'	C VII 4	vii 1	C VII 70a	vii 22'	C VIII 38a
vi 16'	C VII 5	vii 2	C VII 70b	vii 23'	C VIII 38b
vi 17'	C VII 6a	vii 3	C VII 71a	vii 24'	C VIII 39
vi 18'	C VII 6b	vii 4	C VII 71b	vii 25'	C VIII 40
vi 19'	C VII 7a	vii 5	C VII 72a	vii 26'	C VIII 41–42a
vi 20'	C VII 7b–8a	vii 6	C VII 72b	vii 27'	C VIII 42b
vi 21'	C VII 8b	vii 7	C VII 73a	vii 28'	C VIII 43a
vi 22'	C VII 9	vii 8	C VII 73b	vii 29'	C VIII 43b
vi 23'	C VII 10–11a	vii 9	C VII 74	vii 30'	C VIII 44
vi 24'	C VII 11b–12	vii 10	C VII 75	vii 31'	C VIII 45
vi 25'	C VII 13	vii 11	C VII 76	vii 32'	C VIII 46
vi 26'	C VII 14	vii 12	C VII 77a	vii 33'	C VIII 47
vi 27'	C VII 15–16	vii 13	C VII 77b	vii 34'	C VIII 48
vi 28'	C VII 17	vii 14	C VII 78	vii 35'	C VIII 49
vi 29'	C VII 18	vii 15	C VII 79	vii 36'	C VIII 50
vi 30'	C VII 19	vii 16	C VII 80	vii 37'	C VIII 51

RINAP 5	BIWA	RINAP 5	BIWA	RINAP 5	BIWA
vii 38'	C VIII 52	viii 36'	C IX 4	viii 103'	C IX 67
vii 39'	C VIII 53a	viii 37'	C IX 5	viii 104'	C IX 68
vii 40'	C VIII 53b	viii 38'	C IX 6	viii 105'	C IX 69
vii 41'	C VIII 54	viii 39'	C IX 7	viii 106'	C IX 70
vii 42'	C VIII 55	viii 40'	C IX 8–9	viii 107'	C IX 71
vii 43'	C VIII 56	viii 41'	C IX 10	viii 108'	C IX 72–73
vii 44'	C VIII 57	viii 42'	C IX 11	viii 109'	C IX 74
vii 45'	C VIII 58	viii 43'	C IX 12	viii 110'	C IX 75
vii 46'	C VIII 59	viii 44'	C IX 13	viii 111'	C IX 76
vii 47'	C VIII 60	viii 45'	C IX 14	viii 112'	C IX 77a
vii 48'	C VIII 61	viii 46'	C IX 15	viii 113'	C IX 77b
vii 49'	C VIII 62	viii 47'	C IX 16	viii 114'	C IX 78a
vii 50'	C VIII 63	viii 48'	C IX 17	viii 115'	C IX 78b
vii 51'	C VIII 64	viii 49'	C IX 18		
vii 52'	C VIII 65	viii 50'	C IX 19	ix 1	C IX 79a
vii 53'	C VIII 66	viii 51'	C IX 20	ix 2	C IX 79b–80a
vii 54'	C VIII 67	viii 52'	C IX 21	ix 3	C IX 80b
vii 55'	C VIII 68	viii 53'	C IX 22	ix 4	C IX 81
		viii 54'	C IX 23	ix 5	C IX 82–83a
viii 1	C VIII 69	viii 55'	C IX 24	ix 6	C IX 83b
viii 2	C VIII 70	viii 56'	C IX 25	ix 7	C IX 84
viii 3	C VIII 71	viii 57'	C IX 26a	ix 8	C IX 85
viii 4	C VIII 72a	viii 58'	C IX 26b	ix 9	C IX 86
viii 5	C VIII 72b	viii 59'	C IX 27a	ix 10	C IX 87
viii 6	C VIII 73	viii 60'	C IX 27b	ix 11	C IX 88
viii 7	C VIII 74	viii 61'	C IX 28	ix 12	C IX 89
viii 8	C VIII 75a	viii 62'	C IX 29	ix 13	C IX 90
viii 9	C VIII 75b	viii 63'	C IX 30	ix 14	C IX 91
viii 10	C VIII 76a	viii 64'	C IX 31	ix 15	C IX 92
viii 11	C VIII 76b	viii 65'	C IX 32		
viii 12	C VIII 77	viii 66'	C IX 33	ix 1'	C IX 1'
		viii 67'	C IX 34	ix 2'	C IX 2'
viii 1'	—	viii 68'	C IX 35a	ix 3'	C IX 3'
viii 2'	—	viii 69'	C IX 35b	ix 4'	C IX 4'
viii 3'	—	viii 70'	C IX 36	ix 5'	C IX 5'
viii 4'	—	viii 71'	C IX 37	ix 6'	C IX 6'
viii 5'	C [VIII 102]	viii 72'	C IX 38–39	ix 7'	C IX 7'
viii 6'	C [VIII 103]	viii 73'	C IX 40	ix 8'	C IX 8'
viii 7'	C [VIII 104]	viii 74'	C IX 41	ix 9'	C IX 9'
viii 8'	C VIII 105	viii 75'	C IX 42a	ix 10'	C IX 10'
viii 9'	C VIII 106	viii 76'	C IX 42b	ix 11'	C IX 11'
viii 10'	C VIII 107	viii 77'	C IX 43a	ix 12'	C IX 12'
viii 11'	C VIII 108	viii 78'	C IX 43b	ix 13'	C IX 13'
viii 12'	C VIII 109	viii 79'	C IX 44	ix 14'	C IX 14'
viii 13'	C VIII 110	viii 80'	C IX 45	ix 15'	C IX 15'
viii 14'	C VIII 111	viii 81'	C IX 46	ix 16'	C IX 16'
viii 15'	C VIII 112	viii 82'	C IX 47	ix 17'	C IX 17'
viii 16'	C VIII 113	viii 83'	C IX 48	ix 18'	C IX 18'
viii 17'	C VIII 114	viii 84'	C IX 49a	ix 19'	C IX 19'
viii 18'	C VIII 115	viii 85'	C IX 44b–50		
viii 19'	C VIII 116–117a	viii 86'	C IX 51a	ix 1''	C IX 27'
viii 20'	C VIII 117b–118	viii 87'	C IX 52b	ix 2''	C IX 28'
viii 21'	C VIII 119	viii 88'	C IX 52	ix 3''	C IX 29'
viii 22'	C VIII 120	viii 89'	C IX 53	ix 4''	C IX 30'
viii 23'	C VIII 121	viii 90'	C IX 54	ix 5''	C IX 31'
viii 24'	C VIII 122	viii 91'	C IX 55	ix 6''	C IX 32'
viii 25'	C VIII 123	viii 92'	C IX 56	ix 7''	C IX 33'
viii 26'	C VIII 124	viii 93'	C IX 57	ix 8''	C IX 34'
viii 27'	C VIII 125	viii 94'	C IX 58	ix 9''	C IX 35'
viii 28'	C VIII 126	viii 95'	C IX 59	ix 10''	C IX 36'
viii 29'	C VIII 127	viii 96'	C IX 60	ix 11''	C IX 37'
viii 30'	C VIII 128	viii 97'	C IX 61	ix 12''	C IX 38'
viii 31'	C VIII 129	viii 98'	C IX 62	ix 13''	C IX 39'
viii 32'	C VIII 130	viii 99'	C IX 63	ix 14''	C IX 40'
viii 33'	C IX 1	viii 100'	C IX 64	ix 15''	C IX 41'
viii 34'	C IX 2	viii 101'	C IX 65	ix 16''	C IX 42'
viii 35'	C IX 3	viii 102'	C IX 66	ix 17''	C IX 43'

RINAP 5	BIWA	RINAP 5	BIWA	RINAP 5	BIWA
ix 18''	C IX 44'	x 5	C X 5	x 34'	C X 69
ix 19''	C IX 45'	x 6	C X 6	x 35'	C X 70
ix 20''	C IX 46'	x 7	C X 7	x 36'	C X 71
ix 21''	C IX 47'	x 8	C X 8	x 37'	C X 72
ix 22''	C IX 48'	x 9	C X 9	x 38'	C X 73
ix 23''	C IX 49'	x 10	C X 10	x 39'	C X 74
ix 24''	C IX 50'	x 11	C X 11	x 40'	C X 75
ix 25''	C IX 51'	x 12	C X 12	x 41'	C X 76
ix 26''	C IX 52'	x 13	C X 13	x 42'	C X 77
ix 27''	C IX 53'	x 14	C X 14	x 43'	C X 78
ix 28''	C IX 54'	x 15	C X 15	x 44'	C X 79
ix 29''	C IX 55'	x 16	C X 16	x 45'	C X 80
ix 30''	C IX 56'	x 17	C X 17	x 46'	C X 81
ix 31''	C IX 57'	x 18	C X 18	x 47'	C X 82
ix 32''	C IX 58'	x 19	C X 19–20a	x 48'	C X 83
ix 33''	C IX 59'	x 20	C X 20b–21	x 49'	C X 84
ix 34''	C IX 60'	x 21	C X 22	x 50'	C X 85
ix 35''	C IX 61'	x 22	C X 23	x 51'	C X 86
ix 36''	C IX 62'	x 23	C X 24	x 52'	C X 87
ix 37''	C IX 63'	x 24	C X 25	x 53'	CKalach X 88
ix 38''	C IX 64'	x 25	C X 26	x 54'	CKalach X 89
ix 39''	C IX 65'	x 26	C X 27	x 55'	CKalach X 90a
ix 40''	C IX 66'	x 27	C X 28	x 56'	CKalach X 90b
ix 41''	C IX 67'			x 57'	CKalach X 91
ix 42''	C IX 68'	x 1'	C X 39	x 58'	CKalach X 92
ix 43''	C IX 69'	x 2'	C X 40	x 59'	CKalach X 93
ix 44''	C IX 70'	x 3'	C X 41	x 60'	CKalach X 94
ix 45''	C IX 71'	x 4'	C X 42a	x 61'	CKalach X 95a
ix 46''	C IX 72'	x 5'	C X 42b	x 62'	CKalach X 95b
ix 47''	C IX 73'	x 6'	C X 43a	x 63'	CKalach X 96
ix 48''	C IX 74'	x 7'	C X 43b	x 64'	CKalach X 97
ix 49''	C IX 75'	x 8'	C X 44	x 65'	CKalach X 98a
ix 50''	C IX 76'	x 9'	C X 45	x 66'	CKalach X 98b
ix 51''	C IX 77'	x 10'	C X 46	x 67'	CKalach X 99
ix 52''	C IX 78'	x 11'	C X 47a	x 68'	CKalach X 100
ix 53''	C IX 79'	x 12'	C X 47b	x 69'	CKalach X 101a
ix 54''	C IX 80'	x 13'	C X 48	x 70'	CKalach X 101b
ix 55''	C IX 81'	x 14'	C X 49	x 71'	CKalach X 102
ix 56''	C IX 82'	x 15'	C X 50	x 72'	CKalach X 103
ix 57''	C IX 83'	x 16'	C X 51	x 73'	CKalach X 104
ix 58''	C IX 84'	x 17'	C X 52	x 74'	CKalach X 105a
ix 59''	C IX 85'	x 18'	C X 53	x 75'	CKalach X 105b–106
ix 60''	C IX 86'	x 19'	C X 54	x 76'	CKalach X 107
ix 61''	C IX 87'	x 20'	C X 55	x 77'	CKalach X 108
ix 62''	C IX 88'	x 21'	C X 56	x 78'	CKalach X 109
ix 63''	C IX 89'	x 22'	C X 57	x 79'	CKalach X 110a
ix 64''	C IX 90'	x 23'	C X 58	x 80'	CKalach X 110b
ix 65''	C IX 91'	x 24'	C X 59	x 81'	CKalach X 111a
ix 66''	C IX 92'	x 25'	C X 60a	x 82'	CKalach X 111b
ix 67''	C IX 93'	x 26'	C X 60b–61	x 83'	CKalach X 112
ix 68''	C IX 94'	x 27'	C X 62	x 84'	CKalach X 113
ix 69''	C IX 95'	x 28'	C X 63	x 85'	CKalach X 114
		x 29'	C X 64	x 86'	CKalach X 115
x 1	C X 1	x 30'	C X 65	x 87'	CKalach X 116
x 2	C X 2	x 31'	C X 66	x 88'	CKalach X 117a
x 3	C X 3	x 32'	C X 67	x 89'	CKalach X 117b
x 4	C X 4	x 33'	C X 68	x 90'	CKalach X 118

**Text No. 8 (Prism G)**

RINAP 5	BIWA	RINAP 5	BIWA	RINAP 5	BIWA
i 1'	C I 97–98a	i 3'	C I 100	i 5'	C I 102
i 2'	C I 98b–99	i 4'	C I 101	i 6'	C I 103

RINAP 5	BIWA	RINAP 5	BIWA	RINAP 5	BIWA
i 7'	C I 104	iii 5'	C III 88	iv 22''	C IV 130
i 8'	C I 105	iii 6'	C III 89		
i 9'	C I 106	iii 7'	C III 90	v 1'	C V 115
i 10'	C I 107	iii 8'	C III 91a	v 2'	C V 116
i 11'	C I 108	iii 9'	C III 91b–92	v 3'	C V 117
i 12'	C I 109	iii 10'	C III 93	v 4'	C V 118a
i 13'	C I 110	iii 11'	C III 94	v 5'	C V 118b
i 14'	C I 111	iii 12'	C III 95	v 6'	C V 119
i 15'	C I 112	iii 13'	C III 96	v 7'	C V 120
i 16'	C I 113	iii 14'	C III 97	v 8'	C V 121
i 17'	C I 114	iii 15'	C III 98a	v 9'	C VI 1
i 18'	C I 115	iii 16'	C III 98b–99	v 10'	C VI 2–3
i 19'	C I 116	iii 17'	C III 100	v 11'	C VI 4
i 20'	C I 117	iii 18'	C III 101	v 12'	C VI 5
i 21'	C I 118	iii 19'	C III 102	vii 1'	C VII 1
i 22'	C I 119	iii 20'	C III 103	vii 2'	C VII 2
i 23'	C I 120	iii 21'	C III 104	vii 3'	C VII 3
i 24'	C I 121	iii 22'	C III 105	vii 4'	C VII 4
i 25'	C I 122	iii 23'	C III 106	vii 5'	C VII 5
i 26'	C I 123	iii 24'	C III 107	vii 6'	C VII 6a
i 27'	C I 124	iii 25'	C III 108	vii 7'	C VII 6b
i 28'	C I 125	iii 26'	C III 109	vii 8'	C VII 7–8a
i 29'	C I 126	iii 27'	C III 110	vii 9'	C VII 8b
i 30'	C I 127	iii 28'	C III 111	vii 10'	C VII 9
i 31'	C I 128	iii 29'	C III 112	vii 11'	C VII 10
i 32'	C I 129	iii 30'	C III 113	vii 12'	C VII 11
i 33'	C I 130	iii 31'	C III 114	vii 13'	C VII 12
i 34'	C I 131	iii 32'	C III 115	vii 14'	C VII 13
		iii 33'	C III 116	vii 15'	C VII 14
ii 1'	C II 93	iii 34'	C III 117	vii 16'	C VII 15
ii 2'	C II 94	iii 35'	C III 118	vii 17'	C VII 16
ii 3'	C II 95	iii 36'	C III 119	vii 18'	C VII 17
ii 4'	C II 96	iii 37'	C III 120	vii 19'	C VII 18
ii 5'	C II 97	iii 38'	C III 121	vii 20'	C VII 19
ii 6'	C II 98	iii 39'	C III 122	vii 21'	C VII 20
ii 7'	C II 99	iii 40'	C III 123	vii 22'	C VII 21
ii 8'	C II 100	iii 41'	C III 124	vii 23'	C VII 22
ii 9'	C II 101	iii 42'	C III 125	vii 24'	C VII 23
ii 10'	C II 102	iii 43'	C III 126	vii 25'	C VII 24
ii 11'	C II 103	iii 44'	C III 127	vii 26'	C VII 25
ii 12'	C II 104	iii 45'	C III 128	vii 27'	C VII 26
ii 13'	C II 105			vii 28'	C VII 27
ii 14'	C II 106	iv 1'	C IV 84	vii 29'	C VII 28
ii 15'	C II 107	iv 2'	C IV 85	vii 30'	C VII 29
ii 16'	C II 108	iv 3'	C IV 86	vii 31'	C VII 30a
ii 17'	C II 109	iv 4'	C IV 87	vii 32'	C VII 30b
ii 18'	C II 110	iv 1''	C IV 109	vii 33'	C VII 31
ii 19'	C II 111	iv 2''	C IV 110	vii 34'	C VII 32
ii 20'	C II 112	iv 3''	C IV 111	vii 35'	C VII 33a
ii 21'	C II 113	iv 4''	C IV 112	vii 36'	C VII 33b
ii 22'	C II 114	iv 5''	C IV 113	vii 37'	C VII 34a
ii 23'	C II 115	iv 6''	C IV 114	vii 38'	C VII 34b
ii 24'	C II 116–117	iv 7''	C IV 115	vii 39'	C VII 35
ii 25'	C II 118	iv 8''	C IV 116	vii 40'	C VII 36
ii 26'	C II 119	iv 9''	C IV 117	vii 41'	C VII 36A
ii 27'	C II 120a	iv 10''	C IV 118	vii 42'	C VII 36B
ii 28'	C II 120b	iv 11''	C IV 119	vii 43'	C VII 37a
ii 29'	C II 121	iv 12''	C IV 120	vii 44'	C VII 37b
ii 30'	C II 122–123	iv 13''	C IV 121	vii 45'	C VII 38
ii 31'	C II 124	iv 14''	C IV 122	vii 46'	C VII 39
ii 32'	C II 125a	iv 15''	C IV 123	vii 47'	C VII 40–41a
ii 33'	C II 125b	iv 16''	C IV 124	vii 48'	C VII 41b
		iv 17''	C IV 125	vii 49'	C VII 41c–42
iii 1'	C III 84	iv 18''	C IV 126	vii 50'	C VII 43
iii 2'	C III 85	iv 19''	C IV 127	vii 51'	C VII 44
iii 3'	C III 86	iv 20''	C IV 128	vii 52'	C VII 45
iii 4'	C III 87	iv 21''	C IV 129	vii 53'	C VII 46

## Concordances of RINAP 5–BIWA Line Numbers

RINAP 5	BIWA	RINAP 5	BIWA	RINAP 5	BIWA
vii 54'	C VII 47	viii 5'''	C VIII 106	ix 7'	C IX 60
vii 1''	G3 I' 1'	viii 6'''	C VIII 107	ix 8'	C IX 61
vii 2''	G3 I' 2'	viii 7'''	C VIII 108	ix 9'	C IX 62
vii 3''	G3 I' 3'	viii 8'''	C VIII 109	ix 10'	C IX 63
vii 4''	G3 I' 4'	viii 9'''	C VIII 110	ix 11'	C IX 64
vii 5''	G3 I' 5'	viii 10'''	C VIII 111	ix 12'	C IX 65
vii 6''	G3 I' 6'	viii 11'''	C VIII 112	ix 13'	C IX 66
vii 7''	G3 I' 7'	viii 12'''	C VIII 113	ix 14'	C IX 67
vii 8''	G3 I' 8'	viii 13'''	C VIII 114	ix 15'	C IX 68
vii 9''	G3 I' 9'	viii 14'''	C VIII 115–116	ix 16'	C IX 69a
vii 10''	C VII 108	viii 15'''	C VIII 117–118	ix 17'	C IX 69b
vii 11''	C VII 109a	viii 16'''	C VIII 119–120	ix 18'	C IX 70
vii 12''	C VII 109b–110	viii 17'''	C VIII 121	ix 19'	C IX 71
vii 13''	C VII 111–112	viii 18'''	C VIII 122	ix 20'	C IX 72
vii 14''	C VII 113	viii 19'''	C VIII 123	ix 21'	C IX 73
vii 15''	C VII 114	viii 20'''	C VIII 124	ix 22'	C IX 74
vii 16''	C VII 115a	viii 21'''	C VIII 125–126	ix 23'	C IX 75
vii 17''	C VII 115b–116	viii 22'''	C VIII 127	ix 24'	C IX 76
				ix 25'	C IX 77
viii 1'	C VIII 14	viii 1''''	C IX 6	ix 26'	C IX 78a
viii 2'	C VIII 15	viii 2''''	C IX 7	ix 27'	C IX 78b
viii 3'	C VIII 16	viii 3''''	C IX 8–9	ix 28'	C IX 79
viii 4'	C VIII 17	viii 4''''	C IX 10	ix 29'	C IX 80
viii 5'	C VIII 18	viii 5''''	C IX 11	ix 30'	C IX 81
viii 6'	C VIII 19	viii 6''''	C IX 12–13	ix 31'	C IX 82
viii 7'	C VIII 20a	viii 7''''	C IX 14	ix 32'	C IX 83a
viii 8'	C VIII 20b	viii 8''''	C IX 15	ix 33'	C IX 83b
		viii 9''''	C IX 16	ix 34'	C IX 83c
viii 1''	C VIII 28b	viii 10''''	C IX 17	ix 35'	C IX 84
viii 2''	C VIII 28Aa	viii 11''''	C IX 18	ix 36'	C IX 85
viii 3''	C VIII 28Ab	viii 12''''	C IX 19	ix 37'	C IX 86
viii 4''	C VIII 29	viii 13''''	C IX 20	ix 38'	C IX 90'
viii 5''	C VIII 30	viii 14''''	C IX 21	ix 39'	C IX 91'
viii 6''	C VIII 31	viii 15''''	C IX 22	ix 40'	C IX 92'
viii 7''	C VIII 32	viii 16''''	C IX 23–24		
viii 8''	C VIII 33	viii 17''''	C IX 25	ix 1''	G1E II' 1'
viii 9''	C VIII 34	viii 18''''	C IX 26	ix 2''	G1E II' 2'
viii 10''	C VIII 35	viii 19''''	C IX 27	ix 3''	G1E II' 3'
viii 11''	C VIII 36	viii 20''''	C IX 28	ix 4''	G1E II' 4'
viii 12''	C VIII 37	viii 21''''	C IX 29	ix 5''	G1E II' 5'
viii 13''	C VIII 38	viii 22''''	C IX 30	ix 6''	G1E II' 6'
viii 14''	C VIII 39	viii 23''''	C IX 31	ix 7''	C X 63–64
viii 15''	C VIII 40	viii 24''''	C IX 32	ix 8''	C X 65–66
viii 16''	C VIII 41–42a	viii 25''''	C IX 33	ix 9''	C X 67
viii 17''	C VIII 42b	viii 26''''	C IX 34	ix 10''	C X 68
viii 18''	C VIII 43a	viii 27''''	C IX 35	ix 11''	C X 69
viii 19''	C VIII 43b	viii 28''''	C IX 36	ix 12''	C X 70
viii 20''	C VIII 44	viii 29''''	C IX 37	ix 13''	C X 71
viii 21''	C VIII 45	viii 30''''	C IX 38	ix 14''	C X 72
viii 22''	C VIII 46–47a	viii 31''''	C IX 39	ix 15''	C X 73
viii 23''	C VIII 47b–G1B II' 38'	viii 32''''	C IX 40	ix 16''	C X 74a
viii 24''	G1B II' 39'	viii 33''''	C IX 41	ix 17''	C X 74b
viii 25''	G1B II' 40'	viii 34''''	C IX 42	ix 18''	C X 75–76
viii 26''	G1B II' 41'	viii 35''''	C IX 43	ix 19''	C X 77
viii 27''	G1B II' 42'	viii 36''''	C IX 44	ix 20''	C X 78
viii 28''	G1B II' 43'	viii 37''''	C IX 45	ix 21''	C X 79
viii 29''	G1B II' 44'	viii 38''''	C IX 46	ix 22''	C X 80
viii 30''	G1B II' 45'	viii 39''''	C IX 47	ix 23''	C X 81
viii 31''	G1B II' 46'	viii 40''''	C IX 48	ix 24''	C X 82–83
viii 32''	G1B II' 47'	viii 41''''	C IX 49a	ix 25''	C X 84
viii 33''	G1B II' 48'			ix 26''	C X 85
viii 34''	G1B II' 49'	ix 1'	C IX 54	ix 27''	C X 86
		ix 2'	C IX 55	ix 28''	C X 87
viii 1'''	C VIII 102	ix 3'	C IX 56	ix 29''	G1E II' 29'
viii 2'''	C VIII 103	ix 4'	C IX 57	ix 30''	G1E II' 30'
viii 3'''	C VIII 104	ix 5'	C IX 58	ix 31''	G1E II' 31'
viii 4'''	C VIII 105	ix 6'	C IX 59	ix 32''	G1E II' 32'



RINAP 5	BIWA	RINAP 5	BIWA	RINAP 5	BIWA
ix 33''	G1E II' 33'	x 6'	C IX 20'	x 9''	G1E III' 9'
ix 34''	G1E II' 34'	x 7'	C IX 21'	x 10''	G1E III' 10'
ix 35''	G1E II' 35'	x 8'	C IX 22'	x 11''	G1E III' 11'
ix 36''	G1E II' 36'	x 9'	C IX 23'	x 12''	G1E III' 12'
ix 37''	G1E II' 37'	x 10'	C IX 24'	x 13''	G1E III' 13'
		x 11'	C IX 25'	x 14''	G1E III' 14'
ix 1'''	G1D I' 1'	x 12'	C IX 26'	x 15''	G1D II' 1'
ix 2'''	G1D I' 2'	x 13'	C IX 27'–28'	x 16''	G1D II' 2'
ix 3'''	G1D I' 3'	x 14'	C IX 29'	x 17''	G1D II' 3'
ix 4'''	G1D I' 4'	x 15'	C IX 30'–31'	x 18''	G1D II' 4'
ix 5'''	G1D I' 5'	x 16'	C IX 32'	x 19''	G1D II' 5'
ix 6'''	G1D I' 6'			x 20''	G1D II' 6'
ix 7'''	G1D I' 7'	x 1''	G1E III' 1'	x 1'''	G1C I' 1'
ix 8'''	G1D I' 8'	x 2''	G1E III' 2'	x 2'''	G1C I' 2'
		x 3''	G1E III' 3'	x 3'''	G1C I' 3'
x 1'	C IX 10'b–11'	x 4''	G1E III' 4'	x 4'''	G1C I' 4'
x 2'	C IX 12'–13'	x 5''	G1E III' 5'	x 5'''	G1C I' 5'
x 3'	C IX 14'–15'	x 6''	G1E III' 6'	x 6'''	G1C I' 6'
x 4'	C IX 16'–18'a	x 7''	G1E III' 7'		
x 5'	C IX 18'b–19'	x 8''	G1E III' 8'		

**Text No. 9 (Prism F)**

RINAP 5	BIWA	RINAP 5	BIWA	RINAP 5	BIWA
i 1	I 1	i 29	I 30	i 57	I 58
i 2	I 2	i 30	I 31	i 58	I 59
i 3	I 3	i 31	I 32	i 59	I 60
i 4	I 4	i 32	I 33	i 60	I 61
i 5	I 5–6	i 33	I 34	i 61	I 62
i 6	I 7	i 34	I 35	i 62	I 63
i 7	I 8	i 35	I 36	i 63	I 64
i 8	I 9	i 36	I 37	i 64	I 65
i 9	I 10	i 37	I 38	i 65	I 66
i 10	I 11	i 38	I 39	i 66	I 67
i 11	I 12	i 39	I 40	i 67	I 68
i 12	I 13	i 40	I 41	i 68	I 69
i 13	I 14	i 41	I 42	i 69	I 70
i 14	I 15	i 42	I 43	i 70	I 71
i 15	I 16	i 43	I 44	i 71	I 72
i 16	I 17	i 44	I 45	i 72	I 73
i 17	I 18	i 45	I 46	i 73	I 74
i 18	I 19	i 46	I 47	i 74	I 75
i 19	I 20	i 47	I 48	i 75	I 76
i 20	I 21	i 48	I 49	i 76	I 77
i 21	I 22	i 49	I 50	i 77	I 78
i 22	I 23	i 50	I 51	i 78	I 79
i 23	I 24	i 51	I 52		
i 24	I 25	i 52	I 53	iii 1	III 1
i 25	I 26	i 53	I 54	iii 2	III 2a
i 26	I 27	i 54	I 55	iii 3	III 2b–3a
i 27	I 28	i 55	I 56	iii 4	III 3b–4a
i 28	I 29	i 56	I 57	iii 5	III 4b–5

(The line counts for cols. ii and iii 6–vi are the same in both volumes.)

**Text No. 10 (Prism T)**

(The line count is the same in both volumes. Note, however, that BIWA T II 43a and T III 3\* are not included in the line count of the present edition since neither line is present in ex. 1, the exemplar on whose line count the master line is generally based.)

**Text No. 11 (Prism A)**

(The line count is the same in both volumes.)

**Text No. 12 (Prism H)**

RINAP 5	BIWA	RINAP 5	BIWA	RINAP 5	BIWA
i 1'-25'	H 1 I	iv 1'-12'	H 3 II'	vi 1'-25'	H 2 II'
ii 1'-24'	H 1 II	v 1-13	H 3 III'	vii 1'-5'	[H 2 III']
iii 1'-2'	[H 3 I']	v 1'-21'	[H 2 I']	viii 1'-16'	H 1 VIII
iii 1''-22''	H 1 III	vi 1-2	[H 3 IV']	[Text no. 17]	H 4

**Text No. 13 (Prism J)**

RINAP 5	BIWA	RINAP 5	BIWA	RINAP 5	BIWA
i 1-42	Stück 1	iii 1''-9''	Stück 4	viii 1'-17'	Stück 7
ii 1'-30'	Stück 2	vii 1'-3'	Stück 5		
iii 1'-13'	Stück 3	viii 1-45	Stück 6		

**Text No. 14 (82-5-22,2)**

(The line count is the same in both volumes.)

**Text No. 15 (82-5-22,21; BM 128302+; BM 99326)**

RINAP 5	BIWA	RINAP 5	BIWA	RINAP 5	BIWA
i 1'-9'	E Stück 4	ii 1-21	E Stück 6	iii 1'-9'	E Stück 9

**Text No. 23 (IIT)**

RINAP 5	BIWA	RINAP 5	BIWA	RINAP 5	BIWA
1	1	14	14	27	27-28a
2	2	15	15	28	28b-29a
3	3	16	16	29	29b-30a
4	4	17	17	30	30b-31a
5	5	18	18	31	31b-32a
6	6	19	19	32	32b-33a
7	7	20	20	33	33b-34a
8	8	21	21	34	34b-35
9	9	22	22	35	36
10	10	23	23	36	37-38a
11	11	24	24	37	28b-39a
12	12	25	25	38	39b-40a
13	13	26	26	39	40b-41a

Concordances of RINAP 5–BIWA Line Numbers

RINAP 5	BIWA	RINAP 5	BIWA	RINAP 5	BIWA
40	41b–42a	88	86	136	135
41	42b–43a	89	87	137	136
42	43b–44a	90	88–89a	138	137
43	44b–45a	91	89b–90a	139	138–139a
44	45b	92	91b–98a	140	139b–140a
45	45(a)	93	98b–99a	141	140b–141a
46	45(b)	94	99b–100a	142	141b–142a
47	45(c)	95	100b–101a	143	142b–143a
48	46a	96	101b–102a	144	143b–144a
49	46b–47a	97	102b–103a	145	144b–145a
50	47b–48a	98	103b	146	145b–146
51	48b–49a	99	103c–104a	147	147–148a
52	49b–50a	100	104b–105a	148	148b–149a
53	50b–51a	101	105b–106a	149	149b–150a
54	51b–52a	102	106b	150	150b–151a
55	52b	103	107a	151	151b–152a
56	53a	104	107b–108a	152	152b–153a
57	53b–54a	105	108b–109a	153	153b–154
58	54b–55a	106	109b	154	155–156a
59	55b–56a	107	109c–110a	155	156b–157a
60	56b–57a	108	110b	156	157b–159a
61	57b	109	111a	157	159b–160a
62	58	110	111b–112a	158	160b–161
63	59	111	112b–113a	159	162–163a
64	60	112	113b–114a	160	163b–164a
65	61–62a	113	114b	161	164b–165
66	62b–63a	114	115a	162	166
67	63b–64a	115	115b–116a	163	167
68	64b–65a	116	116b–117a	164	168
69	65b–66a	117	117b–118a	165	169
70	66b–67	118	118b–119a	166	170
71	68a	119	119b–120a	167	171
72	68b–69a	120	120b	168	172
73	69b–70a	121	121a	169	173–174a
74	70b–71a	122	121b–122a	170	174b
75	71b–72	123	122b–123a	171	175
76	73–74a	124	123b	172	176
77	74b–75a	125	124a	173	176A
78	75b–76a	126	124b–125a	174	177
79	76b–77a	127	125b	175	178
80	77b–78	128	126a	176	179
81	79	129	126b–127a	177	180
82	80	130	127b–128a	178	181
83	81	131	128b–130a	179	182
84	82	132	130b–131a	180	183
85	83–84a	133	131b–132a	181	183A
86	84b	134	132b–133a	182	184
87	85	135	133b–134	183	185