

ESARHADDON'S SUCCESSION TREATY AT TELL TAYINAT: TEXT AND COMMENTARY

*Jacob Lauinger (The Johns Hopkins University)**

The Assyrian institution of the loyalty oath (*adê*) was an important mechanism by which the kings of the Neo-Assyrian Empire expanded their influence and maintained internal stability (for detailed introductions to the *adê* as instrument of empire with many textual references, see Parpola and Watanabe 1988: xv–xxv and Radner 2006a). In addition to stabilizing borders with other major powers allowing resources and attention to be focused elsewhere (e.g., Esarhaddon's *adê* with Urtaku, king of Elam), an oath of loyalty by a lesser king to the Assyrian king afforded the former the military protection of the mighty empire at the same time as it allowed the latter to expand its sphere of influence at relatively little cost. Within Assyria, royal officials such as governors, priests, and scribes—and theoretically all “servants of the king”—swore oaths of loyalty that were invoked as justification for the reports and denunciations these officials sent to the king.

In addition to the references to the institution of the *adê* in royal inscriptions, letters, oracle queries, and other genres, the text of actual loyalty oaths are preserved on a handful of tablets (collected in SAA 2). Most of these tablets seem to be archival copies that were stored in Nineveh, but one group of at least eight tablets from Nimrud is different. These tablets record oaths taken in 672 B.C.E. promising support for the succession of Esarhaddon's son Assurbanipal to the throne on Esarhaddon's death.¹ Because the tablets are sealed with three divine seals of the god Assur and were found in the throne room of the Ezida, the temple of Nabû, they seem to be the actual “oath tablets” known from contemporary references (*tuppi adê*) that were elevated by the act of sealing to the status of “tablets of destinies” (George 1986).

In all eight examples of “Esarhaddon's Succession Treaty” from Nimrud, the person taking the oath is a subject king (*bêl âli*) from Assyria's eastern periphery and so is conventionally referred to as “Median.” Scholarly opinion

* It is a pleasure to acknowledge the many people involved in the excavation, documentation, and conservation of the tablet whose text is edited here. These include Amanda Lahman, the square supervisor, her assistant, and their workers; James Osborne, the area supervisor; Jennifer Jackson, the photographer; Julie Unruh and Caird “Cricket” Harbeck, conservators for the 2009–10 and 2011 seasons respectively; Stephen Batiuk, the field director; and Timothy P. Harrison, project director. I am grateful to the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada for their financial support. The initial work on the text was done while I held the Gaylord and Dorothy Donnelley Research Fellowship at Corpus Christi, University of Cambridge, and it is a pleasure to acknowledge also the generous support of the Gaylord and Dorothy Donnelley Foundation. In 2011 as in years before, I am thankful for the kind hospitality of the staff of the Hatay Arkeoloji Müzesi. Karen Radner patiently answered a number of my questions on reading the text and supplied additional references, for which I extend my warmest thanks. Her individual contributions are acknowledged below, although of course I alone am responsible for any and all errors. The abbreviations used in this paper are those used in *AHw* and/or *CAD U/W* with the following additions: *PNAE* = K. Radner, ed. *The Prosopography of the Neo-Assyrian Empire*, Vol. 1, Part 1: A (Helsinki: The Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus Project, 1988); *RINAP* = Royal Inscriptions of the Neo-Assyrian Period; *SAAo* = State Archives of Assyria Online (<<http://oracc.museum.upenn.edu/saa/corpus>>); T = siglum of the Tayinat ms of Esarhaddon's Succession Treaty.

1. For the original composite edition with copies of most of the fragments, see Wiseman 1958; in addition to another composite edition and translation, *BaM Beiheft* 3 provides a score as well as copies and photographs of additional identified fragments; for the most recent composite edition see *SAA* 2 6; three fragments of the oath are also known from Assur, see *AfO* 13, 215 and now *KAL* 3, 70–71.



obv.



rev.

has varied as to whether or not the fact that extant tablets record oaths with exclusively Median subject kings is significant. For some, it is significant that the tablets were composed for “newly acquired vassal[s]” so that they acquired a secondary function as “vassal treaties” (Parpola and Watanabe 1988: xxix–xxxi), or restricted to a special group of Medes who served in the Assyrian heartland as the crown prince’s royal bodyguard (Liverani 1995). For others, Assurbanipal’s claim in his royal inscriptions that the oath was taken by “the people of Assyria, great and small, from the Upper to the Lower Sea” (Borger *Asb.* 15 A i 18–19) is enough to suggest that many more examples of Esarhaddon’s Succession Treaty must have existed in antiquity, and the Median focus of the extant manuscripts is only an accident of preservation (Watanabe 1987: 4; Grayson 1991: 129).

The discussion has taken a decisive new turn with the discovery in 2009 of a new exemplar of the oath (ms T) by the Tayinat Archaeological Project as one of eleven tablets and fragments found in the inner sanctum of Building XVI, a Neo-Assyrian temple at Tell Tayinat, ancient Unqi, capital of the Neo-Assyrian province of Kullania, in the Republic of Turkey’s Hatay Province. For an overview of the entire tablet collection, a discussion of some of the historical implications raised by the discovery of ms T, and the argument that ms T and at least two manuscripts of the Mesopotamian scholarly text *Iqur ipuš* found with it were actually displayed in antiquity in the temple’s inner sanctum, see Lauinger 2011. For a detailed study of the tablets’ archaeological context, see the accompanying article in this volume by Harrison and Osborne. The aim of this article is to provide a preliminary edition of the new manuscript of Esarhaddon’s Succession Treaty.²

The primary work of this edition was completed during three weeks’ study of the tablet at the Hatay Arkeoloji Müzesi in July 2011 (see Lauinger 2011: 5–6 for a description of the work done in the 2009 and 2010 seasons). One of the more significant discoveries during 2011 season was that some clay fragments originally found loose in the soil underneath the tablet joined to the tablet’s obverse and preserve part of the impression of the seal of Sennacherib known from the Nimrud manuscripts, being located in the same place on ms T as in those manuscripts. The seal impression is not the only physical feature that ms T has in common with the Nimrud manuscripts. It is similar in size, measuring 40 × 28 cm (ms 27 = 45 × 30 cm; ms 31+51 = 42.5 × 28.4 cm, and ms 36 = 42 × 28 cm, see Parpola and Watanabe 1988: xlviii), and like the Nimrud manuscripts, must be rotated along its vertical axis in order to read the reverse (note that ms T is also pierced through its horizontal axis, see Lauinger 2011: 11 with fig. 8). The text of ms T is also almost identical to that of the Nimrud manuscripts, containing the same stipulations, curses, and colophon and exhibiting the same variation in orthography and line breaks that exists between the individual Nimrud manuscripts, although one unsurprising difference is still worthy of comment here: In ms T, the treaty partners are the anonymous *bēl pāḥiti* of the province of Kullania, sixteen additional anonymous individuals or groups designated by occupation, and finally, as in the Nimrud manuscripts, “all the men of his hands, great and small, as many as there are.”

The tablet’s reverse is in much better condition than the obverse. Because the obverse was face down against the sanctum’s plaster-tiled podium, it was less exposed to the fire. Only the clay along the tablet’s top and left side was baked sufficiently to preserve text (see fig. 1). Fortunately, this area includes all of §1, and enough signs remain on the tablet’s left side that most of column i can be restored with confidence. Because the reverse faced up when the tablet toppled over in the fire that destroyed the temple, it was completely baked. It preserves most of SAA 2 6 344–670 as well as two additional curses (designated here § 54 A and B) that are lost from the Nimrud manuscripts, the first invoking the pair Adad and Šāla of Kurba’il and the second invoking the goddess Šarrat-Ekron (a

2. Ms T will be published more fully in the future with hand copies and photographs alongside full editions of the ten other texts with which it was found. In this regard, a brief justification of the decision to publish a preliminary edition of the text is in order. The justification is three-fold. First, the Tayinat Archaeological Project desires to provide a published record of the work on the Tayinat tablets at each stage of the process in order that the process itself be documented in a scientific manner (a record begun with Lauinger 2011); second, in recognition of the fact that work on the tablet may not resume for an unknown duration until further conservation is complete (see below), it seems appropriate to make the contents of the text available to the scholarly community without delay; and third, in further recognition of the fact that this conservation necessarily carries with it some small chance of damage to the text, it seems responsible to produce an edition of the text as soon as possible after autopsy.

goddess unattested in cuneiform to my knowledge but undoubtedly to be identified with the Lady of Ekron known from the Ekron inscription, see the note to line vi 47).

However, because of the accidental and incomplete firing of the tablet, its physical condition is very unstable. The tablet consists of a core of unbaked and disintegrating clay that is held in place by a thin, partial shell of baked clay (i.e., the reverse and those portions of the obverse that remain). For this reason, the conservators decided that once the tablet had been studied during the 2011 season, it should remain in stable storage until long-term protection measures can be put in place.

Text and Commentary³

Transliteration

obv.

Caption

i

T caption 1 NA₄.KIŠIB ^da-šur₄ LUGAL DINGIR.MEŠ

ii

T caption 2 EN KUR.KUR ša [la šu-un-né-e]

iii

T caption 3 [NA₄].KIŠIB 'NUN-e GAL-e' AD DINGIR.MEŠ

iv

T caption 4 ša [l]a 'pa¹-qa-a-ri

§ 1

1

T i 1 a-de-e ša ^maš-šur-PAP-AŠ MAN KUR aš-šur

2

T i 2 DUMU ^{md}30-PAP.MEŠ-SU MAN KUR aš-šur

3

T i 3 TA ^{lu}EN.NAM KUR ku-na-^rli¹-a

4

T i 4 TA ^{lu}2-e ^{lu}GAL É

4

T i 5 ^rluA¹.BA.MEŠ ^{lu}DIB.PA.MEŠ ^{lu}3.U₅.MEŠ

4

T i 6 ^{lu}GAL URU.MEŠ ^{lu}mu-tir ^{tè}me

4

3. Section numbers follow the composite edition SAA 2 6, and section rulings (not indicated) are present in ms T as in SAA 2 6 unless otherwise noted. Each line of text is accompanied by two numbers. The first refers to the corresponding line number in SAA 2 6, the second refers to the line's position in ms T. As ms T duplicates the text of the Nimrud manuscripts, I have generally taken the liberty of restoring missing text for the sake of intelligibility. The restoration follows SAA 2 6, but the possibility of orthographic variants must be acknowledged. In some lines where spacing has made restoration uncertain, I have offered none, and these uncertainties are discussed in the comments to such lines. I have tried to follow SAA 2 6 in transliterating and normalizing signs and words that are ambiguous with regard to dialect as Assyrian (e.g. *le-kul* not *li-kul*). Translation and commentary appears after the transliteration of the entire text, although I translate only those portions of the text that are not preserved or are poorly preserved in SAA 2 6 and commentary has been kept to a minimum (e.g., orthographic variants of the sort that exist between the Nimrud manuscripts are generally not mentioned). I have tried to be consistent with SAA 2 6 and the glossary of SAAo more generally in the terms chosen for translation (i.e., DUMU MAN GAL šá É UŠ-ti is translated as "the great crown prince designate"). Manuscripts from Nimrud are referred to by the abbreviated excavation numbers listed in Wiseman 1958: 92–99 and Watanabe 1987: 47–52.

T i 7 4	^{lú} GAR- <i>nu</i> .MEŠ ^{lú} GAL- <i>ki-šir</i> .MEŠ
T i 8 4	^{lú} EN ^{giš} GIGIR.MEŠ ^{lú} EN <i>pet-^ʾhal-la¹-ti</i>
T i 9 4	^{lú} <i>zak-ku-e</i> ^{lú} <i>kal-la-b[a]-^ʾni¹</i>
T i 10 4–5	^{lú} [<i>u</i>] <i>m-ma-a-ni</i> ^{lú} ^ʾ <i>a¹-[ri²-ti²]</i>
T i 11 5	^{lú} ^ʾ <i>kit¹-ki-tu-u</i> TA ^{lú} ÉRIN.MEŠ [^š U ^{II} - <i>šú gab-bu</i>]
T i 12 (Seal of Sennacherib)	^ʾ TUR <i>u</i> GAL ¹ <i>mal ba-[šú-u]</i>
§ 1 (continued)	
9–10	
T i 13 10 and 6	[<i>is-s</i>] <i>i-šú-nu</i> ÉRIN.MEŠ- <i>šú-nu ša</i> EGIR <i>a-de-e</i>
T i 14 6–7	<i>ina</i> [<i>u</i> ₄]- <i>me</i> ^ʾ <i>ša¹-a-ti ib-ba-šu-ni</i> TA <i>na-pa-aḥ</i> ^d UTU- <i>ši</i>
T i 15 7–8	[<i>x</i>] <i>a-di e-reb</i> ^d UTU- <i>ši am-mar</i> ^m <i>aš-šur</i> -PAP-AŠ
T i 16 8 and 11	MAN KUR <i>aš-šur</i> LUGAL- <i>u-tú</i> EN- <i>u-tú ina</i> UGU- <i>ḥi-šú-nu</i>
T i 17 11–12	<i>up-pa-áš-u-ni ina</i> UGU ^m <i>aš-šur</i> -DÛ-A DUMU MAN GAL- <i>u</i>
T i 18 12	<i>šá</i> Ê UŠ- <i>te</i> DUMU ^m <i>aš-šur</i> -PAP-AŠ MAN KUR <i>aš-šur</i>
T i 19 § 2	<i>šá</i> [<i>ina</i> UGU]- <i>ḥi-šú a-de-e is-si-ku-<nu> iš-kun-u-[ni]</i>
13–14	
T i 20 14–15	[<i>ina</i> IGI ^{mul} SAG]. ^ʾ ME.GAR ^{mul} <i>dil-bat</i> ^{mul} UDU.IDIM.SAG.[UŠ]
T i 21 16	^ʾ ^{mul} UDU.IDIM.GU ₄ .UD ^{mul} ^ʾ <i>šal-bat-a-nu¹</i> ^m [^{ul} GAG.SI.SÁ]
T i 22 17	[<i>ina</i> IGI ^d] <i>aš-šur</i> ^ʾ ^d <i>a-^ʾnum¹</i> ^d BAD ^ʾ ^d [É.A]
T i 23 19	^d 30 ^d UT[U] ^d IM ^d MES ^d PA ^d [...]
T i 24 21–22	^d <i>še-ru-u-^ʾa¹</i> ^d <i>be-let</i> -DINGIR.MEŠ DINGIR [...]
T i 25 22–23	AN- <i>e</i> KI. ^ʾ TIM ¹ DINGIR.MEŠ <i>ina</i> KUR ^ʾ <i>aš-šur¹</i> [DINGIR.MEŠ]
T i 26 23	^ʾ KUR ¹ <i>šu-me-ri</i> ^ʾ ^ʾ <i>u¹</i> URU.KI ^ʾ DINGIR ¹ . ^ʾ [MEŠ KUR.KUR]
T i 27 24	<i>ka-li-šú-n[u u]-dan-nin-[u-ni]</i>
T i 28 § 3	<i>iš-ba-tú</i> (space) [<i>iš-ku-nu-ni</i>]

25	
T i 29	< ^d >aš-šur AD DINGIR.MEŠ EN KUR.KU[R <i>ti-tam-ma</i>]
26–27	
T i 30	^r d ^a l-num ^d BAD ^d É.A ^d 3[0 ...]
28	
T i 31	^r d ¹ [...] ^d URASŠ ^d rU ¹ .[GUR MIN]
29	
T i 32	^r d ¹ NIN.L[ÍL ^d še-r]u-u-a ^r d ¹ [<i>be-let</i> -DINGIR.MEŠ MIN]
30	
T i 33	^d 15 ^r šá ¹ ur[^u NINA ^k] ⁱ ^d 15 ^r ša <i>arba</i> ¹ -[il MIN]
?	
T i 34	DINGIR.MEŠ ^r ka-li ¹ -šú-nu šá ^{uru} [...]
31	
T i 35	DINGIR.MEŠ ^r ka-li-šú ¹ -nu šá ^{uru} ŠÀ-U[RU ...]
32–33	
T i 36	DINGIR.MEŠ DÛ-šú-nu š[a ^{uru} NIN]A ^{?ki} MIN DINGIR.MEŠ 'DÛ ¹ [...]
34?	
T i 37	^r x x ¹ [...] ^r x x ¹ [...]
35?	
T i 38	DINGIR.MEŠ [...]
(Approximately five lines not preserved)	
40A?	
T i 44'	[DINGIR]. ^r MEŠ ¹ [...]
40B?	
T i 45'	'DINGIR.MEŠ ¹ [...]
§ 4	
41	
T i 46'	<i>a-de-e</i> [ša ^m aš-šur-PAB-AŠ MAN KUR <i>aš-šur ina</i> IGI DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ]
42	
T i 47'	šá AN-e [u KI.TIM <i>is-si-ku-nu iš-ku-nu-u-ni</i>]
43	
T i 48'	ša <i>ina</i> U[GU ...]
44?	
T i 49'	ša ^m [...]
45?	
T i 50'	ša ^r É ^{?1} [...]
47?	
T i 51'	<i>ina</i> ^{? gš?} [GU.ZA ...]
?	
T i 52'	^r x x ¹ [...]
(approximately 9 lines missing)	
58	
T i 62'	^r te ¹ -[<i>na-a-ni tu-šá-an-na-a-ni šum-ma</i> ^m aš-šur-DÛ-A]
58	
T i 63'	DUMU [MAN GAL-u šá É UŠ-ti]
59	
T i 64'	ša ^m [<i>aš-šur-PAP-AŠ MAN KUR aš-šur EN-ku-nu</i>]

60	
T i 65'	¹ ú ¹ -k[al-lim-(u)-ka-nu-ni ḥa-an-nu-um-ma la ta-da-gal-a-ni]
61	
T i 66'	LUGAL-u-t[u EN-u-tu šá KUR aš-šur]
61	
T i 67'	ina ¹ UGU-ḥi ¹ -[ku-nu la ú-pa-áš-u-ni]
§ 5	
62	
T i 68'	¹ šum-ma ¹ [...]
?	
T i 69'	¹ x ¹ [...]
?	
T i 70'	¹ x ¹ [...]
?	
T i 71'	¹ x ¹ [...]
65–66	
T i 72'	¹ la ta-na-šar-a-ni ¹ [ina ŠÀ-bi-šú tu-ta-ḥa-ṭa-a-ni]
66–67	
T i 73'	¹ ŠU ^{III} -ku- ¹ nu ¹ ina HUL-t[i ina ŠÀ-bi-šú tu-bal-a-ni]
67–68	
T i 74'	[ep-šú] bar-tú a-bu-tú l[a DÛG.GA-tú la SIG ₅ -tú]
68–69	
T i 75'	¹ te-pa-šá-niš-šú-ni ¹ ina LUGAL-t[i KUR aš-šur tu-nak-ka-ra-šú-u-ni]
69–70	
T i 76'	¹ TA ¹ ŠÀ-bi ŠEŠ.MEŠ-šú GAL.MEŠ ¹ TUR.MEŠ ¹ [ina ku-mu-šú ^{gis} GU.ZA]
70–71	
T i 77'	KUR aš-šur ^{ki?} t[u-šá-aš]-bat-a-[ni LUGAL MAN-ma]
71	
T i 78'	¹ EN ¹ MAN-ma ina ¹ UGU ¹ -ḥi-ku-nu ¹ ta-šá-kan-a ¹ -[ni]
72	
T i 79'	a-na ¹ LUGAL ¹ MAN-ma EN MAN-ma ma-[mì]-tú ta-tam-ma-a-n[i]
§ 6	
73	
T i 80'	¹ šum-ma at-tu ¹ -nu ¹ a-bu-tú la x (x)-tú la ba-ni-tú ¹
(end column i)	
74	
T ii 1	la ta-ri-is-su šá [e-peš LUGAL-te ina UGU ^m aš-šur-DÛ-A]
75	
T ii 2	DUM[U] LUGAL <GAL> šá É UŠ-te l[a tar-ša-tú-u-ni la ṭa-bat-u-ni]
76–77	
T ii 3	lu-u ina pi-i ŠEŠ.M[EŠ-šú ŠEŠ.MEŠ AD.MEŠ-šú DUMU ŠEŠ.MEŠ AD.MEŠ-šú qin-ni-šú NUMUN É AD-šú]
77–78	
T ii 4	lu-u ina pi- ¹ i ¹ [^{lu} GAL.MEŠ ^{lu} NAM.MEŠ lu-u ina pi-i ^{lu} šá ziq-ni]
78–79?	
T ii 5	^{lu} S[AG ...]
(The remainder of the column is not preserved)	

§ 15?

T iii 1 [...]

T iii 2 [...]

T iii 3 [...]

T iii 4 [...]

178–179?

T iii 5 ^ᵀina UGU ^ᵐaš-šur-DÛ-A DUMU MAN GAL¹ [šá É UŠ-ti la tal-lak-a-ni-ni]

§ 16?

T iii 6 [...]

T iii 7 [...]

T iii 8 [...]

T iii 9 [...]

T iii 10 [...]

T iii 11 [...]

T iii 12 [...]

(The remainder of the column is not preserved)

§ 22

257–258

T iv 1 la ta-[t]a-bak-a-ni ^ᵀgi¹-[im]-lu [šá ^ᵐ]aš-šur-DÛ-A

258–259

T iv 2 DUMU LU[GAL G]AL-u šá É UŠ-te la ^ᵀtu-tar-ra¹-a-ni-ni

§ 23

259–260

T iv 3 ^ᵀšum-ma¹ [at]-^ᵀtu-nu ^ᵐ1[aš-šu]r-DÛ-[A DUMU] MAN GAL šá É UŠ-te

261–262

T iv 4 ^ᵀDUMU¹ [^ᵐaš-šur-PAP]-AŠ MAN KUR aš-šur [EN-ku]-nu šam-mu šá mu-a-^ᵀti-šú¹

262–263

T iv 5 ^ᵀtu-šá-kal¹-[a]-^ᵀšú¹-u-ni ^ᵀta¹-[šá]-^ᵀqi-a-šú¹-ú-ni

263–264

T iv 6 [ta-pa-šá-šá-šú-u-ni kis-pi] ^ᵀte¹-[p]a-šá-niš-šú-u-ni

264–265

T iv 7 [DINGIR.MEŠ u ^ᵀIŠ.TAR is-si-šú tu-šá-za]-na-a-ni

§ 24

266

T iv 8 [šum-ma at-tu-nu] ^ᵀa¹-na ^ᵐaš-šur-[DÛ]-A

266

T iv 9 [DUMU MAN GAL-u] ^ᵀšá É UŠ¹-te

267

T iv 10 [DUMU ^ᵐaš-šur-PAP-AŠ MAN KUR aš-šur EN]-ku-nu

268

T iv 11 [ki-i nap-šá-te-ku-nu la tar-^ᵀa-ma-a]-ni

(The remainder of the column is not preserved)

rev.

§ 29

344–345

T v 1 at-tu-nu ta-šam¹-ma-a-n[i l]a DÛG.GA-^ᵀtú¹ šá ŠEŠ.MEŠ-šú

345–346

T v 2	<i>ina</i> IGI-šú <i>ta-qab-ba-a-ni</i> ʽTA IGIʽ ŠEŠ.ʽMEŠʽ-šú
346–347	
T v 3	<i>ta-par-ra-sa-šú-u-ni</i> šum-ma <i>qa-bi-a-[n]u-ti</i>
347–348	
T v 4	šá <i>a-bu-tú an-ni-tú iq-ba-ka-nu-u-ni</i>
348–349	
T v 5	<i>tu-ra-ma-šú-u-ni</i> šum-ma <i>la tal-lak-ʽa-ni-niʽ</i>
349–350	
T v 6	<i>a-na</i> ^m aš-šur-DÛ-A DUMU MAN GAL- <i>u</i> šá É UŠ- <i>te</i>
350–351	
T v 7	<i>la ta-qab-ba-a-ni ma-a</i> AD- <i>ka a-de-e</i>
351–352	
T v 8	<i>ina</i> UGU- <i>ḫi is-si-ni is-sa-kan ú-tam-ma-na-a-ši</i>
§ 30	
353	
T v 9	šum-ma <i>ta-da-ga-la a-na</i> ^m aš-šur-DÛ-A DUMU MAN
353–54	
T v 10	GAL- <i>u</i> šá É UŠ- <i>te</i> ŠEŠ.MEŠ-šú <i>la pal-ḫu-uš</i>
354–355	
T v 11	<i>la kan-šu-uš</i> EN.NUN-šú <i>la i-na-šu-ru at-tu-ʽnuʽ</i>
356	
T v 12	<i>ki ra-ma-ni-ku-nu</i> ṣa- <i>a-li la ta-ga-ra-šú-nu-ni</i>
357	
T v 13	<i>pu-luḫ-tú</i> NÍG.BA.MEŠ- <i>te</i> <i>ina</i> ŠÀ-ʽbiʽ-šú- <i>nu</i>
358	
T v 14	<i>la tu-še-rab-a-ni ma-a</i> AD-ʽku-nuʽ <i>ina</i> ŠÀ- <i>bi</i>
358–359	
T v 15	<i>a-de-e is-sa-ṭar is-sa-kan ú-[t]am-ma-na-a-ši</i>
§ 30a	
353	
T v 16	šum-ma <i>ta-da-ga-la a-na</i> < ^m aš-šur-(erasure)-DÛ-A
353–354	
T v 17	DUMU LUGAL GAL- <i>u</i> šá É UŠ- <i>ti</i> ŠEŠ.MEŠ-(erasure)-šú
354–355	
T v 18	ʽ <i>la pal-ḫu-uš laʽ kan-šú-ʽušʽ</i> EN.NUN-šú <i>la i-na-šu-[r]u</i>
355–356	
T v 19	<i>at-tu-nu ki ra-[ma-ni-ku-nu]</i> ṣa- <i>a-li</i>
356–357	
T v 20	<i>la ta-ga-ra-šú-nu-ni pu-ʽluḫ-tú</i> NÍG.BA.MEŠ- <i>teʽ</i>
357–358	
T v 21	<i>ina</i> ŠÀ- <i>bi-šú-nu la tu-še-rab-a-n[i]</i>
358–359	
T v 22	<i>ma-a</i> AD- <i>ku-nu</i> <i>ina</i> ŠÀ <i>a-de-e is-sa-ṭar</i>
359	
T v 23	<i>is-sa-kan ú-tam-ma-na-a-ši</i>
§ 31	
360	

T v 24	<i>šum-ma at-tu-nu ki-ma <^m>aš-šur-PAB-AŠ MAN KUR aš-šur^{ki}</i>
360–361	
T v 25	<i>EN-ku-nu a-na šim-ti it-ta-lak</i>
361–362	
T v 26	<i>^maš-šur-DÛ-A DUMU MAN GAL-u šá É UŠ-ti</i>
362	
T v 27	<i>ina ^{gis}GU.ZA LUGAL-ti it-tu-šib</i>
363	
T v 28	<i>a-bu-tú la DÛG.GA-tú šá ŠE[Š.M]EŠ-šú DUMU AMA-šú</i>
364	
T v 29	<i>ina IGI ŠEŠ-šú-nu ta-qab-ba-a-ni ^rtu-šá¹-an-za-ra-ni</i>
365	
T v 30	<i>ma ŠU^{II}-ka ina HUL-ti ina ŠÀ-bi-šú-nu ú-bíl</i>
366–367	
T v 31	<i>šum-ma TA IGI ^maš-šur-DÛ-A DUMU MAN GAL šá É UŠ-ti</i>
367–368	
T v 32	<i>tu-nak-kar-a-šá-nu-u-ni di-ib-bi-šú-nu</i>
368–69	
T v 33	<i>^rla SIG₅.MEŠ ina IGI¹ ŠEŠ-šú-nu ta-qa-ba-a-ni</i>
369–370	
T v 34	<i>ma-za-su šá ^maš-šur-PAP-AŠ MAN KUR aš-šur AD-šú-nu u-kal-lim-u-šá-nu-^rni¹</i>
370–371	
T v 35	<i>ina IGI ^maš-šur-DÛ-A DUMU MAN GAL-u šá ^rÉ¹ UŠ-te ta-qab-ba-a-ni</i>
372	
T v 36	<i>TA ŠÀ ma-za-^rsú¹-šú-nu ú-na-^rkar¹-u-šá-nu-ni</i>
§ 32	
373	
T v 37	<i>šum-ma at-tu-nu sar-b[u^r ša ina UGU DINGIR.ME]Š šá UKKIN</i>
374	
T v 38	<i>lu pa-né-ku-nu lu ŠU^{II}-ku-^rnu¹ [(x) x x x k]u-nu</i>
375–376	
T v 39	<i>ta-pa-šá-šá-ni ina si-qi-ku-nu t[a-rak-kas-a-ni]</i>
376	
T v 40	<i>šá ma-mit pa-šá-ri¹ te-p[a]-[šá-a-ni]</i>
§ 33	
377	
T v 41	<i>šum-ma at-tu-nu tur-tu tu-tar-ra-a-ni</i>
378–379	
T v 42	<i>ma-mit ta-pa-šar-a-ni ši-in-ga-ti ^rme¹-me-né</i>
379	
T v 43	<i>šá tur-ti tur-ri ma-mit pa-ša-ri ta-ḫa-sa-sa-ni-ni</i>
380	
T v 44	<i>[t]e-ep-pa-šá-a-ni ta-mì-tú an-ni-tú a-na ^maš-šur-DÛ-^rA¹</i>
380–381	
T v 45	<i>DUMU MAN GAL-u šá É UŠ-te DUMU ^maš-šur-PAP-AŠ MAN KUR aš-šur</i>
381–382	
T v 46	<i>EN-ku-nu TA u₄-me an-ni-e a-di šá EGIR a-de-e</i>

- 383–384
T v 47 *ib-ba-šú-u-ni at-tu-nu DUMU.ṽMEŠ¹-ku-nu <ša> a-na u₄-me*
384
T v 48 *ša-a-ti ib-ba-šú-u-ni ta-² a-ku-nu*
§ 34
385
T v 49 *šum-ma at-tu-ṽnu¹ ki ina kaq-qar ta-mì-ti*
385–386
T v 50 *ṽan¹-ni-ti ta-za-za-ṽa¹-ni ta-mì-tú šá ṽda¹-bab-ti*
386–387
T v 51 *ṽšap¹-ti ta-tam-ma-ni ina ṽgu¹-mur-ti ŠÀ-ku-nu*
387
T v 52 *la ṽta-tam-ma¹-a-ni a-na [DUMU.MEŠ]-ku-nu*
387–388
T v 53 *šá EGIR a-de-e ib-ba-áš-ṽšú¹-[u]-ṽni¹*
388–389
T v 54 *la tu-šal-ma-da-a-ni šum-ma at-tu-nu*
389–390
T v 55 *GIG la SIKIL ina UGU ra-ma-ni-ku-ṽnu¹ ta-šá-kan-a-ṽni¹*
390–391
T v 56 *ina ŠÀ a-de-e šá ṽaš-šur-PAP-AŠ MAN KUR aš-šur šá ina UGU ṽaš-šur-DÛ-A*
391–392
T v 57 *DUMU MAN GAL šá É UŠ-te la te-er-rab-a-ni*
393
T v 58 *a-na EGIR u₄-me a-na u₄-me ša-a-ti aš-šur DINGIR-ku-nu*
394
T v 59 *ṽaš-šur-DÛ-A DUMU MAN GAL šá É UŠ-te E[N]-ku-nu*
395–396
T v 60 *ṽDUMU¹.MEŠ-ku-nu DUMU.DUMU.MEŠ-ku-nu a-ṽna DUMU¹.MEŠ-šú ṽlip¹-lu-ḫu*
§ 35
397–398
T v 61 *šá ma-mit ṽtup-pi an-ni-e e-nu-u e-gu-u ṽi-ḫaṭ-tu¹*
398–399
T v 62 *i-pa-sa-su AD EN a'(text: e)-de-e DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ ṽe-te¹-qu*
399–400
T v 63 *i-par-ra-šu ma-mit-su-un gab-ba-šú-nu ṽtup-pi¹*
400–401
T v 64 *a-de-e an-ni-e ṽtup-pi aš-šur MAN ṽDINGIR¹.MEŠ u DINGIR.ṽMEŠ¹*
401–402
T v 65 *ṽGAL.MEŠ EN.<MEŠ>¹-iá ú-na-kar-u-ma ša-lam ṽaš-šur-PAP-ṽAŠ¹*
402–403
T v 66 *MAN KUR aš-šur ṽša-lam ṽaš-šur-DÛ-A DUMU MAN¹ GAL ša É UŠ-t[e]*
404
T v 67 *lu ša-lam ṽŠEŠ.MEŠ¹-šú DUMU.NITA.MEŠ-šú ša ṽina UGU¹-ḫ[i-šu]*
404–405
T v 68 *ú-na-kar-u-ni NA₄.KIŠIB <NUN> GAL-e an-ni-e*
405–406

T v 69 406?	<i>šá a-de-e šá^m aš-šur-DÛ-A DUMU MAN GAL šá É UŠ-te</i>
T v 70 407–408	<i>DUMU^m aš-šur-PAP-AŠ MAN KUR aš-šur EN-ku-nu ina ŠÀ šá-ṭir-u-ni</i>
T v 71 408–409	<i>ina NA₄.KIŠIB šá aš-šur LUGAL DINGIR.MEŠ ka-nik-u-ni</i>
T v 72 § 36 410	<i>ina IGI-ku-nu šá-kín-u-ni ki DINGIR-ku-nu la ta-na-^ršar¹-a-ni</i>
T v 73 411	<i>šum-ma at-tu-nu tu-na-kar-a-ni ina ^dGIŠ.BAR</i>
T v 74 412	<i>^rta¹-pa-qid-da-a-ni a-na A.MEŠ ta-na-da-a-ni</i>
T v 75 412–413	<i>ina ep-^rri¹ ta-kàt-ta-ma-a-ni ina mim-ma</i>
T v 76 413	<i>ši-pir ^rni-kil-ti¹ ta-bat-a-ni tu-ḫal-la-qa-a-ni</i>
T v 77 § 37 414	<i>ta-sa-^rpa¹-na-a-ni</i>
T v 78 414–415	<i>^daš-šur MAN DINGIR.MEŠ ^rmu¹-šim NAM.MEŠ</i>
T v 79 § 38 417	<i>ši-mat^{mi} HUL¹ la DÛG.GA-ti li-ši-im-ku-nu</i>
T v 80 417–418	<i>^dNI[N].LÍL ḫi-ir-tú na-ram-ta-šú</i>
T v 81 418	<i>a-m[a]-ti-ku-nu li-^rlam¹-mì-in</i>
T v 82 § 38 A 418A	<i>a-a i-ši-ba-ta a-bu-tú-ku-nu</i>
T v 83 418A–B	<i>^dr^a¹-num MAN DINGIR.<MEŠ> GIG ta-n[i]-ḫu</i>
T v 84 418B–C	<i>di-^ru¹-u di-lip-tú ni-sa-tú la DÛG.^rGA UZU¹</i>
T v 85 § 39 419	<i>^rUGU¹ nap-ḫar É.MEŠ-ku-nu l[i-šá-az-nin]</i>
T v 86 420	<i>^d30 na-nar AN-[e u KI.TIM ina SAHAR.ŠUB-bu]</i>
T v 87 420–421	<i>li-ḫal-lip-ku-nu [ina IGI DINGIR.MEŠ u LUGAL]</i>
T v 88 421	<i>^re-re¹-eb-ku-nu [a-a iq-bi ki-ma šér-re]-me</i>
T v 89 § 40	<i>^rMAŠ.DÀ¹ ED[IN ru-up]-da</i>

422

T v 90 [...] ¹x¹ [x]

(remainder of column v not preserved = sections § 41–42, approximately 8 lines)

§ 43

431

T vi 1 ^dSAG.ME.[GAR EN DI]NGIR.MEŠ MAH *e-rab* ^dE[N]

431–432

T vi 2 *ina* É.sag-gíl ¹a¹-a ¹ú'(text: *i*)-kal-lim-ku-¹nu¹

432

T vi 3 *ma li-ḥ[al]-li-qa nap-šat-ku-¹un¹*

§ 44

433

T vi 4 ^dAMAR.UTU [I]BILA *reš-tu-ú ḥi-¹tu¹*

433

T vi 5 ¹kab¹-tú [m]a-mit la pa-¹šá¹-a-ri

434

T vi 6 *a-na* ¹šim¹-ti-ku-nu ¹li¹-ši-im

§ 45

435

T vi 7 ^dNUMUN-DÛ-tú na-¹dī¹-na-at MU u NUMUN

435–436

T vi 8 MU-ku-nu NUMUN-a-ku-[n]u *ina* KUR li-ḥal-liq-qi

§ 46

437

T vi 9 ^dbe-let-DINGIR.MEŠ EN-¹lat¹ nab-ni-ti ta-lit-tú

437–438

T vi 10 *ina* KUR-ku-nu lip-ru-¹us¹ ik-kil GENNA

438–439

T vi 11 *u la-ke-e ina* SILA re-[b]i-ti li'(text: *la*)-iz-za-ma-a

439

T vi 12 *ta-ret-ku-un*

§ 47

440

T vi 13 ^dIM GÚ.G[AL AN]-e KI.TIM ŠÈG *šam-ut-e*

440–441

T vi 14 *ina* KUR-ku-nu li[p-r]u-us ta-me-ra-a-ti-ku-nu

441

T vi 15 *li-iz-za-am-[m]a-a a-¹na¹ la* DÛG.GA

442

T vi 16 *ina* ri-iḥ-ši da[n-ni K]UR-ku-¹nu¹ li-ir-ḥi-iš

442–43

T vi 17 BURU₅ mu-ša-ḥi-ir [KUR BUR]U₁₄-[k]u-nu li-kul

443–444

T vi 18 *ik-kil* NA₄.UR₅ u [NINDU *ina* É.MEŠ-ku-nu] ¹a-a ib-ši¹

444–445

T vi 19 ŠE.PAD.MEŠ ¹a-na ṭe-a-ni¹ lu taḥ-[li]-qa-ku-nu

445–446

T vi 20 446	<i>ku-um</i> ŠE.PAD.MEŠ <i>eš-mat-tú-ku-n[u]</i> DUMU.MEŠ- <i>ku-nu</i>
T vi 21 446–447	DUMU.MUNUS.MEŠ- <i>e-ku-nu li-ṭ[e]-e-nu</i>
T vi 22 447	<i>ki-šir šá</i> ŠU.SI.MEŠ- <i>e-ku-nu ina l[e]-e-ši</i>
T vi 23 447	¹ <i>lu</i> <i>la i-ṭa-bu qa-qa-¹a¹-nu</i>
T vi 24 448	TA ŠÀ <i>a-šu-da-a-ti-ku-n[u]</i> NÍG.SILA ₁₁ .GÁ
T vi 25 448–449	<i>le-kul</i> ¹ AMA ¹ UGU DUMU.MUNUS- <i>ti-¹šá¹ KÁ-šá</i>
T vi 26 449–450	<i>le-di-il ina bu-ri-ku-nu</i> UZ[U] DUMU.MEŠ- <i>ku-nu</i>
T vi 27 450	<i>ak-la ina bu-bu-u-¹ti ḫu-šaḫ¹-ḫi</i>
T vi 28 451	LÚ UZU LÚ <i>le-kul</i> LÚ KUŠ LÚ
T vi 29 451–452	<i>li-la-biš</i> UZU.M[EŠ]- <i>ku-nu [U]R.GI₇.MEŠ</i>
T vi 30 452	ŠAH.MEŠ <i>le-ku-[l]u e-¹ṭam¹-ma-ku-¹nu¹</i>
T vi 31 § 48 453	<i>pa-qi-du na-¹aq¹ <<TA>> A a-a ir-š[i]</i>
T vi 32 453–454	^d IŠ.TAR <i>be-let</i> M[URU]B ₄ MÈ <i>ina</i> MÈ <i>dan-ni</i>
T vi 33 454	^{giš} BAN- <i>ku-nu liš-b[i]r ¹i¹-di-ku-nu lik-si</i>
T vi 34 § 49 455	<i>ina</i> KI.TA ¹ [^u KÚR- <i>ku-n</i>] <i>u lu li-še-šib-ku-nu</i>
T vi 35 455–456	^d U.GUR <i>qar-¹rad¹</i> DINGIR <i>ina</i> ¹ GÍR ¹ -šú <i>la ga-mi-li</i>
T vi 36 456	<i>nap-šat-ku-nu li-bal-li šag-gaš-tú</i>
T vi 37 § 50 457–458	NAM.ÚŠ.MEŠ <i>ina</i> ŠÀ- <i>ku-n[u]</i> [<i>liš</i>]- ¹ <i>kun¹</i>
T vi 38 458	¹ dNIN ¹ .LÍL <i>a-ši-bát <^{uru}>NINA^{k[i]} G</i> ÍR <i>ḫa-an-ṭu</i>
T vi 39 § 51 459–460	<i>it-ti-ku-nu li-ir-ku-us</i>
T vi 40 § 52 461	^d 15 <i>a-ši-bát ^{uru}arba-il</i> ARHUŠ ₄ [<i>gi</i>] <i>m-lu a-a i-šá-kan</i> UGU- <i>ku-un</i>

- T vi 41 ^dgu-la a-zu-gal-l[a-t]ú GAL-tú GI[G] ta-né-ḫu ina ŠÀ-bi-ku-nu
462
- T vi 42 si-mu la-zu ina zu-u²-r[i¹²]-¹ku¹-nu li-šab-[š]i ÚŠ.MEŠ šar-ku
463
- T vi 43 ki-ma A.MEŠ ru-[u]n-ka
§ 54
466
- T vi 44 ^da-ra-miš EN URU KUR SI EN URU KUR ¹az-a-i²¹ A.MEŠ SIG₇.MEŠ li-mal-li-¹ku-nu¹
§ 54 A
- T vi 45 ^dIM ^d<DIŠ>>ša-la šá ^{uru}kur-ba-il si-¹ih-lu¹ UZU.MEŠ
T vi 46 ¹la DÜG.GA¹ ina ¹zu¹-mur KUR-ku-[n]u li-šab-ši
§ 54 B
- T vi 47 ^dšar-rat-a-am-qár-¹ru-u-na¹ TA ŠÀ-ku-[n]u li-šá-ḫi-ḫa tul-t[u]
§ 54 C
467
- T vi 48 ^dba-a-a-ti¹(text: bal)-DINGIR <^d>a-na-an-ti-^{1d1}ba-a-a-ti-DINGIR
468
- T vi 49 ina ŠU¹¹ UR.MAH a-ki-li lim¹-nu-ku-nu
§ 55
469–470
- T vi 50 ^dkù-bába ^dkar-ḫu-ḫa šá ^{uru}gar-¹ga¹-miš ri^{1?}-im-tu
470–471
- T vi 51 dan-nu ina ŠÀ-ku-nu liš-kun ¹ÚŠ¹.MEŠ-ku-nu ki-m[a t]i-ki ina qaq-qar lit-tu-tuk¹
§ 56
472
- T vi 52 DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ šá AN-e [K]I.TIM a-ši-bu-te
472–473
- T vi 53 kib-ra-a-ti ma-la ina [t]up-pi an-ni-e
473–474
- T vi 54 MU-šú-<nu> zak-ru lim-ḫa-¹šu¹-ku-u-nu
474–475
- T vi 55 li-kal-mu-ku-nu a-ra-[t]ú ma-ru-uš-tú
475–476
- T vi 56 ag-giš li-ru-ru-ku-[n]u e-liš ina TI.LA.MEŠ
476–477
- T vi 57 li-sa-ḫu-u-ku-nu šap-liš ina KI.TIM e-¹ṭam¹-ma-ku-nu
477–478
- T vi 58 A.MEŠ li-za-mu-u GIŠ.¹MI¹ [u] Ú.DA lik-ta-še-du-ku-nu
478–479
- T vi 59 a-na pu-uz-ri šá-ḫa-ti ¹la¹ ta-nem-mi-da
479–480
- T vi 60 ¹NINDA.MEŠ¹ u A.MEŠ li-zi-bu-[k]u-nu ¹su-un-qu ḫu-šaḫ-ḫu¹
480–481
- T vi 61 bu-bu-tú mu-ta-nu ina IGI-¹ku¹-nu a-a ip-pi-ṭir
481–482
- T vi 62 ¹si-si¹ šá ar-da-ti-ku-n[u] ¹mat-nat šá ¹⁰GURUŠ-ku-nu¹
482

T vi 63 483	<i>ina ni-ṭil IGI^{II}.MEŠ -ku-nu UR.GI₇.MEŠ ŠAH.MEŠ</i>
T vi 64 483–484	<i>ina ʾre¹-bit ^{uru}aš-šur ʾli¹-in-da-šá-ru</i>
T vi 65 484–485	<i>^{lu}ÚŠ.MEŠ-ku-ʾnu KI¹.TIM a-a ʾim¹-ḫur ina kar-ši UR.GI₇.MEŠ</i>
T vi 66 485	<i>ŠAH.MEŠ lu na-ʾaq¹-bar-ku-n[u] u₄-me.MEŠ-ku-ʾnu¹ lu e-ṭu-u</i>
T vi 67 486	<i>MU.MEŠ-ku-nu lu ek-ʾla¹ ek-le-ti</i>
T vi 68 487	<i>la na-ma-ri a-na ʾšim¹-ti-ku-nu li-ši-mu</i>
T vi 69 488	<i>ina ta-né-ḫi di-lip-ti n[a]-piš-ti-ku-nu ʾliq-ti¹</i>
T vi 70 489	<i>U₄.NÁ.ÀM a-bu-bu la maḫ-ru ul-tú KI.TIM</i>
T vi 71 489–490	<i>li-la-am-ma na-aš-pan-ta-[k]u-nu liš-(erasure)-kun</i>
T vi 72 490	<i>mim-ma DÜG.GA lu ik-kib-ku-nu mim-ma GIG lu ši-mat-ku-nu</i>
T vi 73 491	<i>qi-i-ru ku-up-ru lu ʾma¹-ka-la-ku-nu</i>
T vi 74 492	<i>KÀŠ.ANŠE<.NÍTA> lu maš-qit-ku-nu nap-ṭu lu pi-iš-šat-ku-nu</i>
T vi 75 493	<i>e-la-pu-u šá ÍD lu tak-ti-im-ku-nu</i>
T vi 76 § 57 494	<i>še-e-du ú-tuk-ku ʾMÁŠKIM¹ [l]em-nu É-ku-nu li-ḫi-ru</i>
T vi 77 494–495	<i>DINGIR.MEŠ an-nu-ti lid-gu-lu šum-ma a-né-ni</i>
T vi 78 495–496	<i>ina UGU ^maš-šur-PAP-AŠ MAN KUR aš-šur ù ^maš-šur-DÛ-A DUMU MAN GA[L]-ʾu¹</i>
T vi 79 496	<i>šá É UŠ-te u ŠEŠ.MEŠ-šú DUMU AMA-[šú]</i>
T vi 80 497	<i>šá ^maš-šur-DÛ-A DUMU MAN GAL-u šá É UŠ-t[e]</i>
T vi 81 497–498	<i>u re-eḫ-ti DUMU.MEŠ ši-it lib-bi šá ^maš-šur-[PAP]-AŠ</i>
T vi 82 498–499	<i>ʾMAN KUR aš-šur si-ḫu¹ bar-tú né-ep-pa-áš-u-[n]i</i>
T vi 83 499–500	<i>[pi-i-ni TA ^{lu}KÚ]R-šú ni-ša-kan-u-[n]i</i>
T vi 84 500–501	<i>ʾšum-ma¹ [mu-šam-ḫi]-ṣu-u-te mu-šad-bi-bu-ʾti¹</i>
T vi 85 501–502	<i>ʾli-iḫ¹-[šu ša] a-mat HUL.ʾTIM¹</i>

- T vi 86 ¹*la* DÛG.GA¹ [*la*] ¹*ba*¹-*ni-tú da-bab sur-ra-*¹*a*¹-*te*
502–503
- T vi 87 ¹*la ki-na-a-te*¹ [*ša ina* UG]U ^m*aš-šur-DÛ-A DUMU MAN* ¹GAL¹-*u*
503–504
- T vi 88 ¹*ša É UŠ-te u ŠEŠ*¹. [MEŠ]-*šú* DUMU ¹AMA¹-*šú*
504–505
- T vi 89 ¹*ša*¹ ^m*aš-šur-DÛ-A DUMU MAN GAL-u* *ša* [*É UŠ-te ni-šam*]-*mu-u-ni*
505–506
- T vi 90 [*nu*]-*pa-za-*¹*ar*¹-*u-ni a-*[*na* ^m*aš-šur-DÛ-A DUMU*] MAN GAL-*u*
506–507
- T vi 91 [*ša É UŠ-t*]*e* EN-*in-*¹*ní*¹ [*la ni-qa*]-*bu-u-ni*
507–508
- T vi 92 [*u*₄-*me am-mar*] *a-né-ni* [DUMU.MEŠ-*ni* DUMU.DUM]U.MEŠ-*ni*
508
- T vi 93 [*bal-ṭa-a-ni-ni* ^m*aš-šur-DÛ-A DUMU MAN*] GAL-*u*
(The remainder of column not preserved, approximately four or five lines missing)
- § 58
- 513
- T vii 1 [š]*um-ma at-tu-nu ina ŠÀ* ¹*a-de*¹-[*e an-nu-te ša* ^m*aš-šur-PAP-AŠ*]
513–514
- T vii 2 [M]AN KUR *aš-šur ina* UGU ^m*aš-šur-DÛ-A DU*[MU MAN GAL-*u ša*] ¹É-UŠ-*te*¹
515
- T vii 3 ¹*ú*¹ ŠEŠ.MEŠ-*šú* DUMU AM[A-*šú ša* ^m*aš-šur-DÛ-A*]
515–516
- T vii 4 [DU]MU MAN GAL-*u ša É UŠ-*¹*te u*¹ [*re*]-¹*eḫ-ti* DUMU¹. [MEŠ]
516–517
- T vii 5 [š]*i-it ŠÀ-bi ša* ^m*aš-šur*-[PAP-A]Š MAN K[UR *aš-šur*] ¹EN¹-[*ku*]-¹*nu*¹
517
- T vii 6 <<¹*a-de-e*>> *is-si-ku*-[*nu i*]š-*k[un]-u-ni*
517–518
- T vii 7 ¹*ta-ḫa-ṭa-a-ni*¹ ^d[*aš-šur* AD] DINGIR.MEŠ [G]AL.MEŠ
518
- T vii 8 [*ina*] ^{giš}TUKUL.MEŠ-*šú* ¹*e*¹-[*zu*]-*ti li-*¹*šam*¹-*qit-ku-nu*
§ 59
- 519
- T vii 9 ¹*d*¹IGI.DU EN *a-ša-*¹*re*¹-*du* UZU.MEŠ-*ku-nu*
520
- T vii 10 [T]I₈ ^{mušen} *zi-i-bu li-ša-kil*
§ 60
- 521–522
- T vii 11 ¹*d*¹É.A MAN ZU.AB EN IDIM A.M[EŠ] *la ba-la-ṭi liš-<te>-šir*₄-*ku-nu*
522
- T vii 12 ¹*a*¹-*ga-nu-til-la-a* ¹*li*¹-*mal-li-ku-nu*
§ 61
- 523
- T vii 13 [D]INGIR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ *ša* AN-¹*e*¹ KI.TIM A.MEŠ *u* Ī.GIŠ
523

T vii 14	ʿa¹-na NÍG.GIG-ku-nu ʿliš¹-ku-nu
§ 62	
524	
T vii 15	ʿd¹GÍŠ.BAR na-din ma-ka-[l]i ʿa¹-na DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ
525	
T vii 16	[M]U.MEŠ-ku-nu NUMUN.MEŠ-[k]u-nu ina ʰGÍŠ.BAR liq-mu
§ 63	
526	
T vii 17	KIMIN DINGIR.MEŠ ma-la ina ʧup-ʿpi¹ a-ʿde-e¹ an-ni-e
526–527	
T vii 18	[M]U-šú-nu ʿzak-ru am-mar SIG₄ kaq-qu¹-ru
527–528	
T vii 19	ʿlu-si-qu-ni-ku-nu¹ kaq-qar-ku-nu k[i-i A]N.ʿBAR¹
528–529	
T vii 20	le-pu-šu me-me-ʿni ina ŠÀ-bi¹ lu ʿla i¹-par-ru-³a
§ 64	
530	
T vii 21	ki-i šá ʿTA ŠÀ¹ A[N-e] šá ZABAR [Š]ÈG
530–531	
T vii 22	la i-za-nun-a-ni ki-i ʧa-an-ni-e
531–532	
T vii 23	[Š]ÈG na-al-šu ina A.ŠÀ.[M]EŠ-ku-nu ta-me-ra-te-[ku-n]u
532	
T vii 24	lu la il-lak ku-um ŠÈG
533	
T vii 25	[p]e-³e-na-a-ti [i]na KUR-ku-nu li-iz-nu-na
§ 65	
534–535	
T vii 26	[k]i-i šá AN.NA [ina IGI I]ZI la i-za-zu-u-ʿni¹ at-ʿtu¹-nu
535	
T vii 27	[ina] IGI ʰKÚR-ku-nu l[a ta]-za-a-za DUMU.MEŠ-ku-ʿnu¹
536	
T vii 28	[DU]MU.MUNUS.MEŠ-ku-<nu> ina ŠU¹¹-k[u-nu] la ta-šab-ba-ta
§ 66	
537–538	
T vii 29	[k]i-i šá NUMUN šá ANŠE.ku-di[n-ni] la-áš-šu-u-ni MU-ku-nu
538	
T vii 30	[NU]MUN-ku-nu NUMUN šá ŠEŠ.[M]EŠ-ku-nu DUMU.MEŠ-ku-nu
539	
T vii 31	[DUM]U.ʿMUNUS¹.MEŠ-ku-nu TA [K]UR li-iḫ-li-iq
§ 67	
540	
T vii 32	ʿki-i šá SI¹ [šá(-)x x]-ni NUMUN u sik-kit KAŠ
541	
T vii 33	ina ŠÀ-bi [šak-nu]-ni ʿki¹-i šá NUMUN.MEŠ-ni an-nu-te
541–542	
T vii 34	[l]a ʿi¹-p[ar-ru-u]³-u-ni-ʿni¹ ù sik-kit KAŠ

- 542
T vii 35 [a]-^rna² x x¹-ni-šá la ^rta¹-sa-ḫar-u-ni
- 543
T vii 36 [M]U-ku-nu NUMUN-ku-nu NUMUN šá ŠEŠ.MEŠ-ku-nu DUMU.MEŠ-ku-nu
- 544
T vii 37 [in]a UGU pa-ni šá kaq-qi-ri li-iḫ-li-iq
- § 68
- 545
T vii 38 ^rd¹UTU ina ^{giš}APIN šá AN.BAR ^rURU¹-ku-nu KUR-ku-nu
- 545–546
T vii 39 [n]a-gi-ku-nu lu-šá-bal-kit
- § 69
- 547
T vii 40 KIMIN.KIMIN ki-i šá U₈ an-[n]i-ti
- 547–548
T vii 41 [ša]l-qa-at-u-ni UZU šá DUMU-šá ina KA-šá
- 548–549
T vii 42 [š]á-kín-u-ni ki-i ḫa-an-ni-i [U]ZU.MEŠ
- 549–550
T vii 43 [š]á DUMU.MEŠ-ku-nu DUMU.MUNUS.MEŠ-ku-<nu> ina bu-r[i]-ku-nu li²-<šá>-kil²-ku-^rnu¹
- § 70
- 551
T vii 44 ki-i šá kab-su kab-su-tú UDU.NIM ^rMUNUS¹.NIM-tú
- 551–552
T vii 45 [š]al-qu-u-ni ir-ri-šú-nu TA GÌR^{II}-^ršú¹-nu
- 552–553
T vii 46 [k]ar-ku-u-ni ir-ri šá DUMU.MEŠ-k[u]-nu
- 553–554
T vii 47 [DU]MU.MUNUS.MEŠ-ku-<nu> TA GÌR^{II}.MEŠ-ku-nu ^rli¹-kar-ka
- § 71
- 555
T vii 48 [ki-i] ^ršá¹ MUŠ ^rd¹NIN.KILIM ina ŠĀ [1]-et ḫu-re-te
- 556
T vii 49 [l]a e-rab-u-[n]i la i-rab-[b]i-ṣu-u-ni
- 557
T vii 50 [ina] UGU <na-kas> ZI.MEŠ ^ršá¹ a-ḫi-iš id-d[a]-bu-ub-u-ni
- 558
T vii 51 [a]t-tu-nu MUNUS.MEŠ-[k]u-nu ina ŠĀ 1-en É la te-ra-ba
- 559
T vii 52 [i]na UGU 1-et ^{giš}^rNÁ¹ la ta-^rtal¹-la ina UGU na-kas
- 559
T vii 53 [Z]I.MEŠ šá a-^rḫe¹-iš du-[u]b-ba
- § 72
- 560–561
T vii 54 ki-i šá NINDA.MEŠ ^rGEŠTIN¹ ina <ŠĀ> ir-ri-ku-nu e-ra[b]-^ru¹-ni ta-mì-tú
- 561–562

T vii 55	¹ <i>an-ni-tú ina ŠÀ ir-ri¹-ku-nu ir-ri šá DUMU.MEŠ-ku-¹nu¹ DU[MU.MUNUS].¹MEŠ¹-ku-nu lu-še-ri-¹bu¹</i>
§ 73	
563–564	
T vii 56	<i>ki-i šá ¹A.MEŠ¹ ina ¹ŠÀ¹ tak-ku-si ta-nap¹-pa-ḥa-a-ni a-na ¹ka-šú¹-[nu]</i>
564–565	
T vii 57	<i>[MUNUS].¹MEŠ-ku-nu DUMU.MEŠ¹-ku-nu DUMU.MUNUS.MEŠ-ku-nu li-pu-ḥu-ku-nu</i>
565–566	
T vii 58	<i>¹ÍD.MEŠ-ku-nu IGI¹¹. [MEŠ]-ku-nu A.MEŠ-ši-na a-na qí-niš ¹lu¹-sa-ḥi-ra</i>
§ 74	
567	
T vii 59	<i>[N]INDA.MEŠ ina pi-¹it¹-ti KÙ.GI ina KUR-ku-nu ¹lil¹-qú</i>
§ 75	
568	
T vii 60	<i>KIMIN.KIMIN ¹ki-i¹ šá LÀ[L] ma-ti-qu-u-ni ÚŠ.MEŠ šá ¹MUNUS¹.MEŠ-ku-nu</i>
569	
T vii 61	<i>DUMU.MEŠ-ku-nu DUMU.M[UNUS].MEŠ-ku-nu ina pi-i-ku-nu li-im-ti-iq</i>
§ 76	
570	
T vii 62	<i>ki-i šá šá-aš-b[u]-ti tul-tú ta-kul-u-ni</i>
571	
T vii 63	<i>ina bal-ṭu-ti-ku-n[u] UZU.MEŠ-ku-nu UZU.MEŠ šá M[UNUS].MEŠ-ku-nu</i>
572	
T vii 64	<i>¹DUMU¹.MEŠ-ku-nu DUMU.M[UNUS.M]EŠ-ku-nu tu-es-su lu ¹ta¹-kul</i>
§ 77	
573–574	
T vii 65	<i>^{gis}PA[N]-ku-nu liš-b[i-r]u ina KI.TA ^{1a}KÚR-ku-nu lu-še-ši-[bu]-ku-nu</i>
574–575	
T vii 66	<i>^{gis}PAN ina ŠU¹¹-ku-nu lu-¹šá¹-bal-ki-tú ^{gis}GIGIR.MEŠ-ku-nu a-na qí-niš l[u]-¹šá-di-lu¹</i>
§ 78	
576–577	
T vii 67	<i>ki-i šá a-a-lu kaš-šu-[d]u-u-ni de-¹ku¹-u-ni a-na ka-a-šú-nu</i>
577–578	
T vii 68	<i>ŠEŠ.MEŠ-ku-nu ¹DUMU¹.MEŠ-ku-¹nu¹ lu-kaš-ši-du li-du-ku-ku-nu</i>
§ 79	
579–580	
T vii 69	<i>ki-i šá bur-¹dī¹ šá-ḥi la [t]a-da-gal-u-ni ina bé-eš-ka-ni-šá</i>
580–581	
T vii 70	<i>la ta-sa-ḥar-¹u-ni¹ [a]t-tu-¹nu¹ <ina UGU> MUNUS.MEŠ-ku-nu DUMU.MEŠ-ku-nu</i>
581	
T vii 71	<i>a-na ¹É¹. [MEŠ-k]u-nu la ta-sa-ḥu-ra</i>
§ 80	
582	
T vii 72	<i>¹KIMIN¹.KIMIN ki-i šá MUŠEN ina ¹du-ba¹-qi</i>
582–583	
T vii 73	<i>i-sa-pak-u-ni a-na ka-šú-nu ŠEŠ.MEŠ-ku-nu</i>
583–584	

T vii 74	DUMU.MEŠ-ku-nu ina ŠU ^{II} ¹⁶ KÚR-ku-nu liš-ka-nu-ku-nu
§ 81	
585–586	
T vii 75	UZU.MEŠ-ku-nu UZU.MEŠ šá [ŠEŠ ³].MEŠ-ku-nu MUNUS.MEŠ-ku-nu DUMU.MEŠ-ku-nu
586–587	
T vii 76	ki qi-i-ri ku-u[p]-ri ¹ (text: <i>ḥu</i>) nap-ṭi lu-šal-li-mu
§ 82	
588–589	
T vii 77	ki-i šá ḥa- ^r e-pa-ru ¹ -u[š]-ḥi ú-ma-mu ina kip-pi i-sa-pa-ku-u-ni
589–590	
T vii 78	at-tu-nu ŠEŠ.MEŠ-ku-nu D[UM]U.MEŠ-ku-nu ina ŠU ^{II} ¹⁶ KÚR-ku-nu na-ša-bi-ta
§ 83	
591–592	
T vii 79	UZU.MEŠ-ku-nu UZU.MEŠ šá ŠEŠ.MEŠ-ku-nu DUMU.MEŠ-ku-nu
592–593	
T vii 80	DUMU.MUNUS.MEŠ-ku-nu ki-i UZ[U] šá ḥur-ba-bil-li lig-mu-ru
§ 84	
594–595	
T vii 81	ki-i šá ina ^r ŠÀ ¹ [k]a-ma- ^r ni ¹ [šá] LÀL ḤABRUD.MEŠ pa-lu-za-a-[n]i
596–597	
T vii 82	ki-i ḥa-an-ni-e UZU.[M]EŠ-ku-nu UZU.MEŠ šá ŠEŠ.MEŠ-k[u]-nu
597–598	
T vii 83	DUMU.MEŠ-ku-nu DUMU. ^r MUNUS.MEŠ ¹ -ku-n[u] ^r ina ¹ bal-ṭu-ti-ku-nu ^r HABRUD ¹ .MEŠ lu pa- ^r lu-za ¹
§ 85	
599	
T vii 84	ki-[i šá] ^r BURU ₅ .MEŠ ¹ NUMUN bar ¹ (text: <i>me</i>)-mu kal-ma-tú mu-nu
(599)–600	
T vii 85	[(a-ki-lu) URU.MEŠ]-ku-nu KUR-ku-nu A.ŠÀ.MEŠ-ku-nu lu- ^r šá ¹ -ki-lu
§ 86	
601	
T vii 86	ki-i zu-um-bi ina ŠU ^{II} ¹⁶ KÚR-ku-nu le-pa-šu-ku-nu
602	
T vii 87	[¹] ¹⁶ KÚR-ku-nu li-im-ri-iš-ku-nu
§ 87	
603	
T vii 88	[ki-i šá] ^r pi ¹ -is-pi-su an-ni- ^r ú ¹
603–604	
T vii 89	[bé]- ² i-šu-u-ni ^r ki ¹ -i ḥa-an-ni-e
604	
T vii 90	^r ina ¹ IGI DINGIR.MEŠ ^r u ¹ [LUGAL] u a-me-lu-te
605	
T vii 91	^r ni-piš-ku-nu ¹ [lib]- ^r i- ^r i ¹ -šu
§ 88	
606	
T viii 1	[a]-n[a ka-na-šú-nu MUNUS.MEŠ-ku-nu ŠEŠ.MEŠ-ku-nu]
606–607	

T viii 2 § 89 608	DUMU.MEŠ-ku-nu ina pi-til-[ti li-iḫ-na-qu-ku-nu]
T viii 3 609	ki-i šá ša-lam šá DU[HLĀL ina IZI iš-šar-rap-u-ni]
T viii 4 610	[š]á IM ina A.MEŠ im-ma-ḫa- ^r aḫ-ḫu-u-ni ¹
T viii 5 611	[ki]-i ḫa-an-ni-e la-an-ku-nu ina ^d GIŠ.BAR liq- ^r mu ¹ -[u]
T viii 6 § 90 612–613	[ina] A.MEŠ li-ṭa-bu-[u]
T viii 7 613–614	[k]i-i šá ^{gis} GIGIR a- ^r di ¹ sa-se-šá ina ŪŠ.MEŠ ^r ra ¹ -[aḫ-sa-tu-u-ni]
T viii 8 614–615	[k]i-i ḫa-an-ni-e ^{gis} GIGIR.MEŠ-ku-[nu]
T viii 9 § 91 616	[in]a MÚRU ^{la} KÚR-ku-<nu> ina ŪŠ.MEŠ šá ra-ma-ni-ku- ^r nu li ¹ -[ra-aḫ-ša]
T viii 10 617	ki-i pi-laḳ-qi lu-šá-aš-bir-ku-n[u]
T viii 11 § 92 618	[k]i-i MUNUS ina IGI ^{la} KÚR-ku-nu le-pa-šú-k[u-nu]
T viii 12 618–619	[K]IMIN.KIMIN a-na ka-a-šú-nu ŠEŠ.MEŠ-ku- ^r nu ¹
T viii 13 619–620	DUMU.MEŠ-ku-nu ki-i al-lu-t[i]
T viii 14 § 93 621	[a]-na qí-in-niš lu-šá-di-lu-ku- ^r nu ¹
T viii 15 § 94 622	ki-i IZI la DÛG.GA-tú la SIG ₅ -tú lu-šal-bu-ku-[nu]
T viii 16 623	ki-i šá Ī.MEŠ ina ŠĀ-bi UZU.MEŠ e-rab-u-ni
T viii 17 624–625	[t]a-mì-tú an-ni-tú ina ŠĀ ¹ -bi UZU.MEŠ-ku-nu
T viii 18 § 95 626	[UZ]U.MEŠ šá DUMU.MEŠ-ku-nu lu-še-ri-bu
T viii 19 627	ki-i šá a- ^r ra ¹ -ru a-na ^d EN iḫ-ṭu-u-ni
T viii 20 627–628	[k]ap-pi šá Á.MEŠ-šú-nu GÌR ^{II} .MEŠ-šú-nu
T viii 21 628–629	^r ú ¹ -bá-ti-qu-u-ni IGI.MEŠ-šú-nu

T viii 22 629–630	¹ ú ¹ -ga-lil-u-ni ki-i ḥa-an-ni-e
T viii 23 630–631	[l]ig-ma-ru-ku-nu ki-i ¹ GI ¹ .AMBAR.MEŠ ina A.MEŠ
T viii 24 631	[l]u-ni-šú-u-ku-nu ki-i GI.MEŠ ina rik-si
T viii 25 § 96 632	[¹] ^a KÚR-ku-nu li-šá-lip-ku-nu
T viii 26 633	[šu]m- ¹ ma ¹ at-tu-nu ^m aš-šur-PAP-AŠ MAN KUR aš-šur
T viii 27 633B–C	¹ ú ¹ ^m aš-šur-DÛ-A DUMU MAN GAL-u ¹ šá É ¹ UŠ-te
T viii 28 633C–634	¹ ú ¹ re-eḥ-ti DUMU.MEŠ ši-it ŠÀ-bi
T viii 29 634–635	¹ šá ¹ ^m aš-šur-PAP-AŠ ¹ MAN KUR aš-šur tu-ram ¹ -ma-a-ni
T viii 30 635	a-na ZAG ¹ GÛB ¹ tal-lak-a-ni šá a-na ZAG
T viii 31 636	il-lak-u-ni GÍR.MEŠ le-ku-la-šu
T viii 32 § 96A 636A–B	[š]á a-na GÛB il-lak-u-ni GÍR.MEŠ-me le-ku-l[a-šu]
T viii 33 636C	¹ a ¹ -na ka-a-šú-nu DUMU.MEŠ-ku-nu DUMU.MUNUS.MEŠ-ku-nu
T viii 34 § 97 637	[k]i-i UDU.NIM ga- ¹ de ¹ -e li-qi-lu-ku-nu
T viii 35 637–638	ki-i šá ki-il-lu šá su- ² e-e an- ¹ nu ¹ -[te]
T viii 36 638–639	¹ i ¹ -ḥal-la-lu-u-ni at-tu- ¹ nu MUNUS.MEŠ ¹ -ku-nu
T viii 37 639–640	[D]UMU.MEŠ-ku-nu DUMU.MUNUS.MEŠ-ku-nu la ta-nu-ḥa
T viii 38 640	[l]a ta-ša-la-la eṣ-mat- ¹ e ¹ -ku-nu
T viii 39 § 98 641	¹ a ¹ -na a-ḥe-iš lu la i-qar-ri-ba
T viii 40 642	ki-i šá lib-bu šá ḥup-<pi> ra- ¹ qu ¹ -u-ni
T viii 41 § 99 643	ki ḥa-an-ni-e lib-ba-ku-nu li-ri-iq
T viii 42 644	KIMIN.KIMIN ki-i ¹ KÚR-ku-nu ú-pa-taḥ-u- ¹ ka ¹ -[nu-ni]

T viii 43 645	[L]ÀL Ī.MEŠ <i>zi-i²-za-ru-²u</i> ÚŠ.MEŠ ^{giš} ERIN
T viii 44 § 100 646–647	<i>a-na šá-kan¹ pi-it¹-hi-ku-nu li-iḫ-liq-qi</i>
T viii 45 647	<i>ki-i šá mar-tú mar-rat-u-ni¹ at-tu-nu¹</i>
T viii 46 648	[MUNUS].MEŠ-ku-nu DUMU.MEŠ-ku-nu DUMU.MUNUS.MEŠ-ku-nu
T viii 47 § 101 649	[ina] UGU <i>a-ḫe-iš lu mar-ra-ku-nu</i>
T viii 48 649–650	^r d ¹ UTU <i>ḫu-ḫa-^rru¹ šá ZABAR ina UGU-ḫi-ku-nu</i>
T viii 49 650–651	[DU]MU.MEŠ-ku-nu <i>li-is-ḫu-up ina giš-par-ri</i>
T viii 50 651	[l]a <i>na-par-šu-di li-di-ku-nu a-a ú-še-ši</i>
T viii 51 § 102 652	[n]ap-šat-ku-un
T viii 52 652–653	<i>ki-i šá na-a-du an-ni-tú šal-qa-tu-u-ni</i>
T viii 53 654–655	A.MEŠ-šá <i>ša-pa-ḫu-u-ni ina kaq-qar šu-ma-mi-ti lap-^rlap¹-[tu]</i>
T viii 54 § 103 656	<i>na-da-ku-nu lu ta-ḫi-bi ina šu-um me-e m[u-u-ta]</i>
T viii 55 657	KI.MIN KI.MIN <i>ki-i šá^{kuš}E¹.SIR an-ni-tú bat-qa-tu-u-n[i]</i>
T viii 56 658	<i>ina kaq-qar pu-qut-ti ga-zi-ri^{kuš}E.SIR-ku-nu</i>
T viii 57 § 104 659	<i>lib-tu¹-qu ina UGU ŠĀ-bi-ku-nu piš-la</i>
T viii 58 § 105 660–661	^d EN.LÍL EN ^{giš} G[U].ZA- <i>e</i> ^{giš} G[U].ZA-ku-nu <i>lu-šá-bal-kit</i>
T viii 59 661	^r dAG ¹ <i>na-ši ṭup-pi NAM.MEŠ DINGIR.MEŠ MU-ku-nu</i>
T viii 60 § 106 662	<i>lip-šiṭ NUMUN-ku-nu ina KUR li-ḫal-líq</i>
T viii 61 663	^{giš} IG <i>ina IGI-e-ku-nu lu-šar-ḫi-šu</i>
T viii 62 § 107: Colophon	^{giš} IG.MEŠ- <i>e-ku-nu lu la i-pat-ti-a</i>

664	
T viii 63	^{iti} GU ₄ .SI.SÁ UD. ^r 16 ¹ [+x]?.KÁM
665	
T viii 64	<i>lim-mu</i> ^{md} AG-EN-PAP
665	
T viii 65	^{lu} GAR KUR ^{uru} BÁD-LUGAL- <i>uk-ka</i>
666	
T viii 66	^r <i>a-de-e</i> ¹ <i>ina</i> UGU ^m <i>aš-šur</i> -DÛ-IBILA
667	
T viii 67	DUMU LUGAL GAL- <i>u šá Ê ri-du-ti</i>
667–668	
T viii 68	<i>ša</i> KUR <i>aš-šur</i> ^r ú ¹ ^{md} GIŠ.NU ₁₁ -MU-GI.NA
669	
T viii 69	DUMU LUGAL <i>ša Ê ri-du-ti</i>
669	
T viii 70	<i>ša</i> KÁ.DINGIR.RA ^{ki}
670	
T viii 71	[š] <i>a-ak-nu</i>

Translation

§ 1

“The *adê* of Esarhaddon, king of Assyria, son of Sennacherib, king of Assyria, with the governor of Kunalia, with the deputy, the majordomo, the scribes, the chariot drivers, the third men, the village managers, the information officers, the prefects, the cohort commanders, the charioteers, the cavalrymen, the exempt, the outriders, the specialists, the shi[eld bearers (?)], the craftsmen, (and) with [all] the men [of his hands], great and small, as many as there are—[wi]th them and with the men who are born after the *adê* in the [f]uture, from the east [...] to the west, all those over whom Esarhaddon, king of Assyria, exercises kingship and lordship, concerning Assurbanipal, the great crown prince designate, the son of Esarhaddon, king of Assyria, on whose behalf he established the *adê* with you.”

§ 30

“You will not look at Assurbanipal, the great crown prince designate, or his brothers without reverence or submission. If someone does not protect him, you will fight them as if fighting for yourselves. You will bring frightful terror into their hearts, saying: ‘Your (pl.) father wrote (this) in the *adê*, he established it, and he has made us swear (it).’”

§ 35

“Whoever changes, neglects, violates, or voids the oath of this tablet (and) transgresses against the father, the lord, (and) the *adê* of the great gods(?) (and) breaks their entire oath, or whoever discards this *adê*-tablet, a tablet of Aššur, king of the gods, and the great gods, my lords, or whoever removes the statue of Esarhaddon, king of Assyria, the statue of Assurbanipal, the great crown prince designate, or the statue(s) of his brothers (and) his sons *which are over him*—you will guard like your god this sealed tablet of the great ruler on which is written the *adê* of Assurbanipal, the great crown prince designate, the son of Esarhaddon, king of Assyria, your lord, which is sealed with the seal of Aššur, king of the gods, and which is set up before you.”

§ 54

“May Aramiš, lord of the city and land of Qarnê (and) lord of the city and land of Aza’i, fill you with green water.”

§ 54 A

“May Adad (and) Šāla of Kurba’il create piercing pain and ill health everywhere in your land.”

§ 54 B

“May Šarrat-Ekron make a worm fall from your insides.”

§ 67

“Just as a shoot is [...], (and) seed(s) and the *sikkitu* of beer are placed within, (and) just as these seeds do not sprout, and the *sikkitu* of beer does not turn to its ..., may your name, your seed, (and) the seed of your brothers (and) your sons disappear from the face of the earth.”

§ 96A

“May they strike down you, your sons, and your daughters like a spring lamb or kid.”

§ 106

“May they cause the door to be soaked (in blood?) before your eyes. May your doors not open.”

Commentary

i 1–12: Ms T follows the general pattern of SAA 2 6 1–5 in a tripartite hierarchical presentation of the individuals who take the oath, with the preposition *issi* marking each level of the hierarchy. In the Nimrud manuscript, the hierarchy is as follows:

- A named *bēl āli*;
- his unnamed sons and grandsons (although three of six manuscripts omit the TA before DUMU.MEŠ-šú);
- the residents of his city and “all the men of his hands, as many as there are.”

In ms T, the hierarchy consists of:

- An unnamed *bēl pāḫiti*;
- sixteen additional unnamed officials or groups of officials, all connected to the civil or military provincial administration;
- and “all the men of his hands, great and small, as many as there are.”

In contrast to the Nimrud manuscripts, two features of ms T stand out: The anonymity of the *bēl pāḫiti* and other officials, intended perhaps to ensure that the text of the *adē* remained applicable even as personnel changed; and the undoubtedly intentional omission of any mention of sons and grandsons, reflecting the non-hereditary nature of the governorship, cf. line i 13 below.

i 10: For the restoration ^{lur}a¹-[ri²-ti²], compare the list of personnel whom Esarhaddon adds to his army in his “Gottesbrief,” see *RINAP* 4 84 iii 16’–18’; and cf. also Borger *Asb.* 58 A vii 2.

i 11: I owe the reading ^{lur}kit¹-ki-tu-u to the suggestion of Karen Radner.

i 13–19: The sequence of these lines follows the sequence of ms 27 against all other extant manuscripts. Ms T also follows ms 27 against all other extant manuscripts in appending the qualification “concerning Assurbanipal, the great crown prince designate, the son of Esarhaddon, king of Assyria, on whose behalf he established the *adē*

with you” (SAA 2 6 11–12) to the end of the section. This qualification represents the first mention of Assurbanipal in the text, that is, the subject of the specific *adê*. Perhaps § 1 in the other extant manuscripts presents a basic template for the preamble of an *adê* to which the names of the contracting parties can simply be added (cf. SAA 2 5 1–3, SAA 2 8 1–8, and SAA 2 11 1–5, other *adê*’s whose opening text is preserved), while § 1 in manuscripts 27 and T presents that preamble adapted to the particular circumstances. Why the addition of a qualification at the end of the section should be accompanied by a different order of the lines prior is unclear to me.⁴

i 13: As in the previous lines, ms T omits any mention of “sons and grandsons,” as in the Nimrud manuscripts. The parallel line in the Nimrud manuscripts also marks the commencement of 2nd m. pl. forms to refer to the oath takers. In contrast, 3rd m. pl. forms continue here in ms T, with the 2nd m. pl. not appearing until line i 19.

i 15: There is space for a single sign in the damage before *adi*, although we expect simply *issu napāḥ šamši adi erēb šamši*, as in all Nimrud manuscripts that preserve the line (with some semantic variation of the second infinitive).

i 17: In contrast to the sole other ms preserving this line, 27, ms T omits *ša* before *ina muḥḥi*. Emendation is not necessary to preserve the sense of the passage.

i 23: There is space for approximately four signs in the damaged end of the line. However, in the Nimrud manuscripts, four DN’s requiring eleven signs appear between Nabû (the last preserved DN of i 23) and Šerua (the first DN of i 24). It seems likely, therefore, that i 23 ends with Nusku (^d[NUSKU]) and that Uraš, Nergal, and Mullissu are omitted in ms T, cf. ms 45 A, which omits a line (SAA 2 6 28, consisting of Nabû, Nusku, Uraš, and Nergal) in the parallel list of deities in § 3.

i 24: The situation is similar to the preceding line: There is space for approximately five signs in the damaged end of the line, yet restoring the text in parallel to the Nimrud manuscripts requires 17 signs. Given that i 25 begins with the genitive nouns *šamê kaqqiri*, perhaps one should restore [MEŠ *a-ši-bu-ti*] at the end of i 24 and understand ^d15 šá ^{uru}NINA^{ki} ^d15 šá *arba-il* to have been omitted? Depending on the method of the text’s transmission, however, it is equally possible to restore ^d[15 šá ^{uru}NINA^{ki}] and understand ^d15 šá *arba-il* DINGIR.MEŠ *a-ši-bu-ti* to have been omitted.

i 28: Ms T confirms the sequence of verbs *udanninuni iṣbatu iškununi* as read in Wiseman 1958 and SAA 2 6 against the various attempts to achieve the phrase well-attested elsewhere in the text *udanninuni issikunu iškununi*, for example, the suggested emendation in ms 45 A of *iṣ-ši-bat-tu* to *is-si-ku-nu* (Frankena 1965: 126 n. 2, followed by Reiner 1969: 534 with n. 3); or the deletion of *-ši-bat-tu* and subsequent emendation of *iṣ-* to *-si-* (Watanabe 1987: 59 and 178, after collation).⁵ Syntactically, the verb *ṣabātu*, like *dunnunu* and *šakānu*, is part of a relative clause that goes back to the *ša* in line i 1, the antecedent of which is the preceding *adê*, cf. Parpola and Watanabe 1987: xxxvi, “This latter meaning [“treaty which”] occurs in the second paragraph of no. 6 (divine witnesses), where the words *adê ša* have been omitted as unnecessary but are implied by the subjunctive predicates concluding the paragraph.” For other examples of *adê* as the direct object of *ṣabātu* in the G and Š-stems, see Watanabe 1987: 14–15.

i 30–31: It is difficult to see how the four DN’s preserved in the Nimrud manuscripts could fit in the damaged area at the end of i 30 and the beginning of i 31, and so one or more may have been omitted, cf. lines i 23–24 above.

i 34–36: These lines are very poorly preserved, but it is apparent from the position of Libbi-āli that the sequence of Assyrian cities in ms T differs in some degree from that preserved in the Nimrud manuscripts. But see SAA 2 6 37–40B, in which the presence and arrangement of lines in the extant Nimrud manuscripts also shows considerable variation.

4. Cf. the opinion of Frankena (1965: 126): “In l. 12 [of ms 27] he writes automatically after the name of Ashurbanipal a stock phrase we find often after the name of the crown-prince. It is interesting to see that all the duplicates avoid the anakalouth by placing ll. 6–7 after 10a and by omitting the lines 10b–12.”

5. See also the suggestion of Borger (1961: 175) to read *iṣ-ši-bat-tu* as ^ḡšf-mit-tu, “Abmachung, Bestimmung.” The form *iṣ-ši-bat-tu* in SAA 2 6 24 is cited by Luukko (2004: 104) as an example of an anaptyctic vowel before the stress.

i 44'–45': The length of the section implies that these lines be identified with SAA 2 6 40A and B, which appear in only two of the four Nimrud manuscripts preserving the end of the section.

i 47': While only the leftmost signs are preserved for each line in the beginning of this section, the text can still be confidently restored for in the preceding three lines. However, the sign combination *ša* + a single horizontal wedge, which should be the *Personenkeil* as it is followed by space before the break, does not appear in the corresponding text as known from the Nimrud manuscripts.

i 50'–51': If the signs are read correctly, and they are poorly preserved, then some text present in the Nimrud manuscripts must have been omitted ms T, or else i 50' would comprise 33 signs.

i 66': The spacing of the line suggests that *ša KUR aš-šur*, present in four of the five Nimrud manuscripts, was present in ms T as well.

i 80': Only traces of the sign(s) following the first *lā* are preserved, and it is unclear whether the traces fit better DÜG.GA or SIG₅ (each of which occurs in the parallel line in a ms from Nimrud).

ii 3: Ms 36 has *lu-u UN.MEŠ-šú* in place of *ŠEŠ.MEŠ AD.MEŠ-šú qin-ni-šu* found in the two other Nimrud manuscripts, 27 and 49 I (SAA 2 6 76–77). Such a restoration is also possible in ms T and may fit the line's spacing better.

iii 1–12: Column iii is very poorly preserved, with twelve almost entirely illegible lines divided into two sections of five and seven lines by two rulings. Assurbanipal's name is preserved in the line immediately before the first ruling, which allows for a tentative identification of the section. The name is similarly situated before the end of a section in SAA 2 6 178–179 and the following section, § 16, is approximately the same number of lines as the second "section" in column iii of ms T. However, the identification of ms T iii 1–5 with § 15 must remain tentative. First, the identification requires column ii to consist of approximately 100 lines (barring the omission of lines), whereas column i, preserved in full, consists of only 80 lines and even the columns on the reverse—uninterrupted by a seal impression—consist of 90 to 100 lines.⁶ Second, strictly speaking, the second ruling does not demarcate a section but rather the top of the seal impression, and the seal impression is not necessarily coterminous with a section break in the Nimrud manuscripts (e.g., ms 27, in which the seal impression in column iii occurs in the middle of § 14).

iv 5: This line presents the only occurrence in ms T of a plene spelling of the 3rd m. s. accusative suffix with *-ú-* and not *-u-*, perhaps under the influence of the writing *šam-mu*, which occurs almost directly above it on the tablet.

v 1: The sign *šam*¹ lacks the final two horizontal wedges.

v 8: The writing of the verb, which was previously extant in only one ms from Nimrud, x 15+, is confirmed as present tense by ms T, and so the writing in x 15+ cannot be a mistake for the perfect as suggested by Watanabe (1987: 160). Should the form be understood as an aspectual use of the present? Cf. Parpola 1974: 275 note to line 16.

v 10–11: The phrase *lā palḫuš lā kanšuš* is only partially preserved in the Nimrud manuscripts. It is a variant of the common adverbial pair *palḫiš kanšiš*, for example, *palḫiš kanšiš tāmartašu kabittu uštanebbala*, "He continually brings to me his substantial audience gift reverently and submissively" (Borger *Asb.* 71–72 A x 49–50).

v 11: The phrase *maššartušu lā inaššuru* is only partially preserved in one Nimrud ms. 27. The reading *ma-šar-t[u]* in that ms goes back to Borger (1961: 185) who transliterated *ma-šar-[tu(?)]*. Watanabe (1987: 105) and Parpola and Watanabe (1988: 43) transliterate the traces preserved before the break as *-t[u]*. In addition to the

6. However, column iv starts at line 257, so that columns ii and iii should have contained a total of 183 lines or an average of 91.5 lines. The Nimrud manuscripts show a wide divergence in line counts per column. For example, with respect to column iii, ms 27 begins at line 155, ms 39 at line 163, and ms 46 E at line 171 (or at least, column ii ends at line 170). Ms 45 D may begin column iii as early as line 129 (as preserved, the column's text begins at line 141, but this line is below the seal impression and there are typically about twelve lines before the seal impression). Cf. Parpola and Watanabe 1988: xlviii: "the average number of lines per column is only 80 on the obverse of A [= ms 27] and 85 on that of B [= ms 35+]. The many dividing lines reduce the average number of lines per column to about 90 on the reverse of A; data for B and C [= ms 29] are not available."

case vowel, this sign can also be the auxiliary vowel *a* > *u* before a no-longer-preserved 3rd m. s. pronominal suffix, that is, *ma-šar-t[u-šu]*. For a discussion of instances in SAA 2 6 where a single *šumma* serves a double function, introducing both a conditional clause and also a following “solemn statement,” see Watanabe 1987: 30 (although the designation “solemn statement” follows the interpretation of Parpola and Watanabe [1988: xl]). On the irregular use of the subjunctive after *šumma* in the *adê*, see Parpola 1987: 173. The pronoun *attunu* at the end of the line emphasizes the transition from a 3 m. s. subject back to a 2 m. pl. subject.

v 12: The infinitive *šâli* is not preserved in the Nimrud manuscripts.

v 13: Following the suggestion of Karen Radner (personal communication), NÍG.BA.MEŠ-*te* is understood as a pseudo-logogram for *namurrate*, derived from the occasional use of NÍG.BA as a logogram for *nāmurtu*, “audience-gift.”

v 15: The verb *issaṭar* is partially preserved in ms x 15+ (*is-sa-t[ar]*) but has been restored by Parpola and Watanabe (1988: 43) as *is-sa-k[an]* in parallel with ms 45c, and so the verb is absent from their composite edition.

v 16–23: This section, designated here § 30a, duplicates lines v 9–15 with different line breaks and some variant orthography (e.g., LUGAL in place of MAN and UŠ-*ti* in place of UŠ-*te* in v 17). A preliminary comparison of the forms of the signs (e.g., ŠEŠ) indicates that these two sections may have been written by different hands, but the matter requires further study.

v 37: The trace of the sign going into the break could be equally BU or ŠE and provides no help in deciding whether to read *sar-bu* (Wiseman 1958: 57; Borger 1961: 185; *AHw* 1029a; *BaM Beiheft* 3 108, see Watanabe 1987: 187–88; and SAA 2 6 373, see Parpola and Watanabe 1988: 43–44 n. to lines 373–376) or *šar-še-rum* (Reiner 1969: 537 with n. 13; *CAD* S s.v. *sīqu*; *CAD* Š/2 s.v. *šaršerru* usage b; and *CAD* Š/3 s.v. *šupuḥru* usage b). Other extant manuscripts omit *attunu* at the beginning of the line.

v 40: -*ri* has one vertical before the Winkelhaken and two after.

v 42: The reading ¹*me*¹-*me-né* in ms T allows us to discard the restoration [*ina* I]GI-*ni* in the only other extant ms, x 14, as in *BagM Beiheft* 3 and SAA 2 6. Note that the copy of ms x 14 in Wiseman 1958: plate 37 shows no damage to the signs *ina* IGI-*ni*, but the ms was collated by Watanabe.

v 55: The adjective modifying *muṣṣu*, which is well preserved among the Nimrud manuscripts only in ms 37 (with traces remaining in ms 27), has presented a challenge to the text’s different editors. Wiseman copied and read *la iṣ-ba-tu* but offered no translation (Wiseman 1958: 57), about which Borger (1961: 186) remarked “Die Lesung ... dürfte sicher falsch sein; doch gelang es mir nicht, sie nach den Photos zu verbessern” (he did not translate the signs in Borger 1983: 169). Reiner (1969: 538 n. 16) suggested restoring [NÍG].GIG? at the beginning of the line, but it is unclear to me from her translation how she interpreted the signs that follow. Watanabe (1987: 189) read LA IS LA ¹*x*¹ after collation and emended the text to *la pa¹-a¹-ru¹*. After collation, Parpola and Watanabe (1988: 44 n. to line 389) read *la pa²-la²-¹lu¹* in ms 37 and [*pa-a*]*t-lu* in ms 27 (the latter from the photo), and so the composite edition reads *la pa-a¹-ru¹*. In ms T, the sign following GIG is clearly SIKIL for *muṣṣu lā ellu*, “an unclean disease.” On the basis of the published photos, it seems possible to read ¹SIKIL¹ in ms 27 but less so in ms 37.

v 57: Ms T follows this line with a ruling, not present in the other manuscripts according to the plates in Wiseman 1958.

v 61–72: Ms T accords with Watanabe’s (1987: 190) observation that the section as preserved in the Nimrud manuscripts falls into two parts, the first distinguished by the Babylonian subjunctive and the second by the Assyrian subjunctive.

v 62: The majority of the line is elsewhere only preserved in ms 37, where Parpola and Watanabe (1988: 44) read *x šú a-de-e* ¹*x* ¹*[e]*-*gu-ma*. The signs as copied in Wiseman 1958: plate 38 can fit the text of ms T fairly easily. The meaning of the lines is less clear, as one can interpret the sequence of substantives AD EN *a-de-e* DINGIR. MEŠ GAL.MEŠ a variety of ways. I have opted for “the father, the lord, (and) the *adê* of the great gods.” Compare an almost parallel construction, Streck *Asb.* 160 33–34; see Borger *Asb.* 185, where the first two substantives, *abu* and *bānûa*, are actually not objects in the main clause but subjects in a subordinate clause absent in ms T: RN₁ RN₂ RN₃ *šarrāni ša qereb māt Muṣur iškunu abu bānûa / adê Aššur u ilāni rabûti êtiqû iprušû māmīssun*, “RN₁, RN₂, and

RN₃, the kings whom (my) father, who engendered me, established in Egypt, transgressed against the *adê* of Aššur and the great gods and broke their oath.”

v 64: The demonstrative pronoun *anniê* (gen. s.) agrees with neither *tuppi* (acc. s.) nor *adê* (pl.). The sole extant manuscript from Nimrud, 37, shows a similar lack of agreement: *[tu]p-pi a-de-e an-ni-i* (line 401). To my knowledge, a similar lack of agreement between *anni'u* and a noun it modifies does not occur elsewhere in the Nimrud manuscripts (in ms. 37 l. 385, *tamîtu annîtu* agree, even if the nominative case is unexpected), but cf. the comment to v 68.

v 67: The sense of *ina muhḫišu* in this context is unclear to me.

v 68: The emendation <NUN> seems justified on two accounts. First, a word must be missing between NA₄.KIŠIB and GAL-*e* as the latter is explicitly marked as genitive with the phonetic complement -*e* yet NA₄.KIŠIB is in the accusative case as the direct object of *našāru* (v 72; I understand *anniê* to modify *kunuk* despite the lack of agreement; cf. the comment to v 64). Second, the corresponding line in ms 27, the only other extant ms, reads NA₄.KIŠIB NUN-*ṛe*¹ [...] (SAA 2 6 405), and cf. the description of the seals of Aššur with which the *adê* tablets are sealed in the caption as NA₄.KIŠIB NUN-*e* GAL-*e* (SAA 2 6 iii-iv). However, I extend a Babylonian meaning, “sealed tablet,” to NA₄.KIŠIB in line v 68. This meaning derives from the context of the passage, for the NA₄.KIŠIB has the text of the *adê* written on it (*ina libbi šaṭiruni*, v 70), after which it is sealed (*kanikuni*, v 71) before being set up (*šakinuni*, v 72). All of these actions suggest that NA₄.KIŠIB in the phrase NA₄.KIŠIB <NUN> GAL-*e* should refer to the tablet itself while NA₄.KIŠIB *šá aš-šur* LUGAL DINGIR.MEŠ (v 71) should refer to the divine seals with which the tablet was impressed (following Watanabe 1985: 388 in understanding NA₄.KIŠIB *šá aš-šur* in SAA 2 6 407 to refer collectively to all three seals, just as the caption mentions only NA₄.KIŠIB *ṛa-šur*₄, see also George 1986: 140). In this regard, the self-designation of the text as a “sealed tablet” is obviously quite significant, providing further support for George’s convincing argument that “the document ratified by Aššur’s sealing is, on the mythological plane, the Tablet of Destinies” (1986: 141).

v 72: The semantic range of *našāru* in conjunction with the prepositional phrase makes this stipulation ambiguous. The verb is well attested with *adê* as its direct object with the meaning “to keep an *adê*-oath,” e.g., *adê annûte ušrâ* “(You will speak to your sons and your grandsons, your seed and your seed’s seed ... saying:) Keep this *adê*!” (SAA 2 6 291–292) and see Watanabe 1987: 13–14 for additional references. But the object of the verb in v 72 is the sealed tablet and not the *adê*. Perhaps, then, the stipulation refers to safeguarding the physical tablet as one would safeguard the statue of one’s god. Or, more provocatively, the verb might convey the sense of obeying or heeding the (divine) sealed tablet’s stipulations as if they were divine commands, for example, compare *aššu ša amat Aššur ili bāniya lā iṣṣuru*, “because he did not obey the word of Aššur, the god who created me (he trusted in his own power)” (Borger *Asb.* 31 A ii 112–113). A section ruling following this line, present in all three extant manuscripts from Nimrud, is absent from ms T.

v 78–79: Like ms 29, this section in ms T lacks an additional curse (present in ms 27, the only other ms with this section preserved).

v 79: HUL lacks its IGI-component.

v 81: The sole other extant ms, 27, has the variant *a-mat KA-šu* “(May Mullissu ... make evil) the utterance of his (Aššur’s) mouth.”

v 82: For the writing *i-ši-ba-ta* with an anaptyctic vowel, cf. the writing *iṣ-ši-bat-tu* for *iṣbatu* in SAA 2 6 24 (ms 45 A) and see the commentary to line i 28 above.

vi 2: The appearance of the i-prefix transforms an expected D-preterite (as in the three extant Nimrud manuscripts) into a G-present and is unexpected in two ways: The verb *kullumu* is not attested in the G; and the vetitive is built on the preterite and not the present. Perhaps the form reflects a scribal slip between the literary vetitive and the more vernacular prohibitive, cf. vi 40?

vi 3: Only 35+ has no break between *ai ukallimkunu* and *liḫalliqa*, and it lacks the *mā* of ms T. The presence of *mā* fixes the meaning of the curse, which must be translated “May Jupiter ... not show you the entrance of Bēl into

the Esagil, saying ‘May he (Bēl) destroy your life.’ Absent *mā* as in ms 35+, the subject of *liḥalliqa* can be either Jupiter or Bēl.

vi 8: Evidently, ms T indicates a stressed auxiliary vowel in the writing NUMUN-*a-ku-nu* (or else a Babylonian acc. case vowel before the suffix reflecting the historical final aleph) while the four other extant manuscripts have simply NUMUN-*ku-nu*. Ms T presents the Babylonian form of the precativ with final auxiliary vowel, which the three other extant manuscripts lack. The prefix is preserved for the verb in only one Nimrud ms, 39, where it is damaged and read by Borger (1961: 188), as ‘*lu*’-, followed by Watanabe (1987: 113) and Parpola and Watanabe (1988: 46), but which should be collated (the ms is in Baghdad and so was not collated by Watanabe).

vi 11: For the emendation of *la-* to *li’-*, see line vi 15. Ms T confirms the restoration of the verb in the one extant Nimrud ms, 39, to *liza[mmā]* in CAD I/J s.v. *ikkillu* usage d against the restoration *li-za-a[m-mi/e]* by Borger (1961: 188); Watanabe (1987: 114); Parpola and Watanabe (1988: 46); and CAD T s.v. *tarītu* a s. mng 1, although cf. HKL I, 610 s.v. *AfO* 8 (1932/33) IV 12, (correcting Borger 1961: 188, cited by Reiner 1969: 538 n. 21 misattributed to line 441). As to my knowledge the verb is unattested in the N-stem, the writing in ms T is probably best analyzed as a D-precative with consonantal gemination of the initial radical, cf. Parpola 1974: 274 note to line 11. The ending in -a supports understanding a transitive and not factitive use of the verb with *tarētkunu* as its subject, “may your nurses be deprived of the cries of little children in the streets and squares,” cf. v 15 and *ikkil Adad lizammē’ūma*, “may they (Mati’-ilu’s subjects) be deprived of Adad’s thunder” (SAA 2 2 r. iv 12).

vi 13: For the abnormal syllabification of *šamūte*, see Luukko 2004: 27–29. The form of UD written here and in vi 20 (with two superimposed vertical wedges) differs from the form elsewhere on the tablet and may provide another piece of evidence that the text of this tablet was written by at least two scribes, cf. the note to v 16–23.

vi 15: As in vi 11, the verb is written with the first radical explicitly doubled, and the ending in -a suggests the 3 f.pl. morpheme and so a transitive but not factitive use of the verb, that is, that *tamerātikunu* and not Adad is the verb’s subject so that we should translate “may your fields lack (grain).”

vi 22: The only other ms preserving “finger(s),” 50 A, has the singular ŠU.SI-*ku-nu*. One might expect the phonetic complement to the plural form *ubānāte* to be written as -te, but cf. the previous line where the phonetic complement to *mar’ātikunu* is written similarly as -e, and cf. also line viii 62.

vi 23: The subject of *lēkul* is not preserved in any other extant ms. It seems unlikely that the word should be identified with the *qāqānu*-bird, known to me only from Hg., as *qāqānu* is equated there with the *pa’ū*-bird, described as *iššur Tiāmat*, that is, a sea bird, in the bird-call text KAR 125 obv. 19 (and cf. its Sumerian equivalence *u₅-mun-mušen*, which also points to its aquatic nature, see Veldhuis 2004: 297). Perhaps it is better to normalize *qāqānu*, understanding a variant of *qūqānu*, for Uruanna equates the *qūqāni qaqqari* with the *išqippu* worm and the *qūqāni eqli* with the devouring insect known as *mubattir eqli*.

vi 31: TA is cramped but recognizable. Still, the sign must be in error given that it follows an infinitive in construct. The two other manuscripts preserving this phrase have *na-aq* A.MEŠ, “the pouring of libations.”

vi 34: 46 M, the only other ms preserving the end of the line in full, lacks *lu*.

vi 40: *ai išakkan* is grammatically unexpected form, see the comment to vi 2. The form may be preserved in the other extant manuscripts. Ms 27 has only [...] -*kan* preserved, so one cannot tell if the text had the expected prohibitive. Ms 35+ preserves only the head of a vertical before *i-šá-kan*. Watanabe (1987: 116), followed by Parpola and Watanabe (1988: 48) restores [lu l]a’ for the expected prohibitive, but the traces equally support the restoration [a]-‘a’, in parallel to ms T. The last extant ms, X 17, preserves only ‘a’ at the beginning of the line. Watanabe (1987: 116) restores the grammatically expected form ‘a’-[a iš-kun?], but again a restoration paralleling ms T, ‘a’-[a i-šá-kan] is equally possible.

vi 42: Note the form *zu’ rikunu* where other extant manuscripts have *zumru* or write the word logographically. The sign read as -r[*i*’] starts with two horizontals followed by a vertical before the break. The verb is a precativ of *šubšū* and not *šakānu* as in another extant ms, X 17. That ms. preserves only *liš-k[un]*, but the use of the sign *liš-* would seem to preclude a precativ of *šubšū*, no matter how little of -k[un] is preserved (only a single horizontal wedge). In a second ms, 48 U, the verb clearly begins with *li[i]-*, but of course either verb can be restored. Both

verbs are attested elsewhere with this traditional curse, which also appears in Esarhaddon's treaty with Ba'al of Tyre (SAA 2 5 r. iv 3'–4') although the verb is no longer preserved in that text.

vi 44: Ms T omits § 53 (SAA 2 6 464–465). The god Aramiš (or Aramis), is known primarily from a few personal names (*PNEA* s.v. Aramiš). Scattered attestations in Neo-Assyrian sources of names such as Aramiš-et[el]-il[āni] (RA 65 85 6) and especially Aramiš-šar-ilāni (SAA 16 105 obv. 11) suggest that Aramiš was the head of a local pantheon (Aynard and Nougayrol 1971: 87 n. 1). The fact that persons bearing these and other theophoric names mentioning Aramiš are associated with northern Syria led Aynard and Nougayrol (1971: 87) to suggest that “les rares noms propres en Aramis-, encore que bien assyriens dans leur structure, *puissant* être originaires de cette région.” The designation of Aramiš in ms T as “lord of the city and land of Qarnê (and) lord of the city and land of Aza'i” supports a location farther to the south, as Qarnê/Qarnīna is the name of the Assyrian province to the south of Damascus (Radner 2006b: 61–62), whose eponymous capital should be identified with Šēḫ Sa'd (biblical Qarnaim and classical Carneas), see Lipiński 2000: 353 and 365–366. For a suggested identification of Aza'i with Rasm et-Tanjara in the Ghab Plain, see Athanassiou 1977: 327 n. 7.

vi 45–46: I am grateful to Karen Radner for her assistance in reading these lines. The section is not known from the Nimrud manuscripts. The transition from § 54 to § 55 is not preserved on any extant Nimrud manuscripts, and Watanabe (1987: 116 and plates 12–13) published a fragment, ms 85 (misabeled as ms 88 in plate 13), that belongs in between the two sections (her § 54 A, renamed § 54 C here), noting that “Das neue Fragment 85 läßt erkennen, daß der VTE-Text zwischen 54–55 mindestens noch einen weiteren Paragraphen enthielt” (p. 196, see already Borger 1961: 190). Ms T demonstrates that two more sections, designated here as § 54 A and § 54 B are not preserved in the Nimrud manuscripts. For Adad and Šāla of Kurba'il, see Schwemer 2001: 595–600 and cf. SAA 2 2 r. vi 17. The verb is singular despite having two subjects, cf. vi 51 and perhaps also vi 48–49.

vi 47: The *-am-* and the *-qār-* are cramped, as if the scribe was anticipating having to fit many signs into the line. This writing of the toponym Ekron is otherwise unattested in cuneiform to my knowledge. In particular, the other writings use QAR or QA, not KAR (= *qār*). A plene writing of the initial vowel is also unattested, but cf. ^{uru}*a-am-qa-[ar²]-ru-na* (Fuchs, *Sargon* 277 V:10). Šarrat-Ekron should be identified with Ptgyh, the Lady of Ekron known from the Ekron inscription (Gitin, Dothan, and Naveh 1997: 9; on the reading of the divine name, see now Press 2012, discussing previous literature).

vi 48: Watanabe (1987: 116) and Parpola and Watanabe (1988: 49) restore MEŠ after DINGIR in both DNs in ms 85, the only other extant ms with this curse, in accordance with SAA 2 5 r. iv 6' but nothing in the spacing of the line requires these restorations. In ms T, the absence of the divine determinative before Anath-Bethel is perhaps due to haplography. Similarly, does the AN before TI represent a scribal error in a line with numerous DINGIR signs?

vi 49: *lim-* is written with an initial horizontal wedge, that is, <<ina>> *lim-*.

vi 50: Ms T confirms the reading of the divine name in the only other extant ms, 37, by Watanabe (1987: 116) as ^d*kù*-KÁ and not ^d15 as in previous editions. Following ms T, the subsequent signs in ms 37 read by her as ^d1[5] are better read as ^d*k[ar]*, the beginning of Karḫuḫa, the divine name. The sign read *ri*¹⁷ lacks a vertical wedge and has three *Winkelhaken*. Perhaps it is a different sign altogether? To my knowledge, the word *rimtu* is a hapax, only attested in ms 37.

vi 51: The *-tuk* sign is defective, although differently so than in other extant ms for this line.

vi 55: The verb in the only extant Nimrud manuscript, 37, is written *li-kel-mu-ku-nu*, showing Babylonian vowel harmony.

vi 58: Note the writing Ū.DA instead of the expected writing UD.DA as in the sole other extant manuscript, 37.

vi 66: Ms T confirms the emendation in ms 37 suggested by Reiner (1969: 539 n. 22) of SAH.MEŠ-*ku-nu* to SAH.MEŠ *lu*. The sign in ms T emended to 'aq¹ is 'na¹ or 'qa¹. The former would present an instance of ditto-graphy, while the latter might reflect an alternate pronunciation of the rarely attested word *naqbaru* (written as *naq-bar*-<<qa>>-*ku-nu* in ms 37, one of two extant ms from Nimrud).

vii 6: As *adê* in line vii 1 is the antecedent of the relative pronoun *ša* (vii 1), which acts as the direct object of *iškununi* (vii 6), the repetition of *adê* in this line is syntactically unexpected and the text should be emended (unless we understand the *ša* in vii 1 as a periphrastic genitive to which vii 6 stands in apposition as an asyntetic relative clause). Interestingly, two of the other three extant manuscripts for this line present similar syntax. Ms 49 O, a very small fragment, has 'ša ina UGU-ḫi'-[šu-nu is-si-ku-nu iš-kun-u]-ni ta-ḫa-ṭa-[a-ni] after MAN KUR aš-šur (the restorations follows Parpola and Watanabe 1988: 50 n. to line 517; EN-ku-nu is omitted from the text). While this relative clause is not difficult in and of itself, it is redundant, essentially summarizing lines 514–16 and requires that the *ša* in line 513 be translated as a periphrastic genitive. Ms 27 has x]x-nu a-de-e with the trace of only a single vertical wedge coming out of the break. Watanabe (1987: 121, see also Parpola and Watanabe 1988: 50 note to line 517) takes this as a damaged -šu so that ms 27 parallels ms 49 O. However, the spacing could also allow the restoration -[k]u-nu so that the text parallels ms T. In any event, it seems noteworthy that only one of the four extant manuscripts, 49 C, offers the expected syntax.

vii 7: Ms 46 C, the only other ms to preserve the epithet of Aššur omits the qualification of the gods as “great.”

vii 11: The verb in the two extant Nimrud manuscripts is *šaḳû*. Ms T has *šutēšuru*, a verb used elsewhere in connection with gods and springs, for example, the name of a gate at Khorsabad, *Ea-muštēšir-nagbišu*, “Ea-is-the-one-who-keeps-his-spring-in-order” (*Fuchs Sargon* 43: 70 and 71: 88). But this sense does not seem to fit the context of the curse in ms T and perhaps represents an inadvertent substitution of another word commonly written with *nagbu*.

vii 15: Only one ms from Nimrud, 28 A, preserves the end of this line, and it reads TUR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ. As Watanabe (1987: 198) notes, the sign TUR is unexpected, given the relatively common epithet born by gods *nādin nindabê ana ilāni* or similar, see for example the many references presented under CAD N/2 s.v. *nindabû* usage a-4' and especially, with reference to Girra, *Maqlu* II 138, cited by Watanabe (1987: 198). Watanabe suggests therefore that ms 28 may be better translated as “der den kleinen und großen Göttern Speiseopfer (Brandopfer) verschafft.” The appearance of the expected DINGIR in place of TUR in ms T implies that TUR was written in error in ms 28 A, although whether that error should be understood to have been an ocular slip (TUR for DINGIR?) or anticipatory (TUR with GAL?) is unclear. Ms 28 A may have an error in the following line as well, see the comment below.

vii 16: Ms 28 A, the only other extant ms with the end of the line preserved, omits *ina girri*.

vii 20: Ms T provides further support for Watanabe's (1987: 198) observation that “nur Text 27 zwischen §63 und §64 einen Trennungsstrich aufweist, d.h. die beiden Paragraphen gehören zusammen.”

vii 32: There is no reason to read M[UNU₄] in the three extant Nimrud manuscripts as originally suggested by Watanabe (1987: 199) and accepted by Parpola and Watanabe (1988: 51). Only the slightest trace of the sign remains in all three manuscripts, and the -ni preserved after the break in ms T may imply that a subjunctive verb should be restored. Whether the sign *ša* preserved before the break in all three extant Nimrud manuscripts but not in ms T should be understood as the relative particle or as the first sign of this verb is unclear. Previously, the end of the line was preserved only in ms 31, restored by Watanabe (1987: 199) as [ti]-ta-bé, but now to be restored as [sík]-kit KAŠ (Watanabe's -ta- is clearly -kit- according to Wiseman's copy). *Sikkitu* should be a variant of *sikkatu*, which has been understood to be a type of beer yeast (MSL 8/2 108 followed by Röllig 1970: 25 and 43 [as *šikkatu*]) or alternatively a plant utilized in the fermentation process (Stol 1971: 168). Evidently, the curse refers to the method by which the germination of barley is halted during the malting process.

vii 43: The signs written at the end of the line are very cramped. The verb is formed with a Babylonian precativ (in contrast to Assyrian precatives in the three other extant manuscripts) with apocopation of the 3 m. pl. morpheme (attested in one other ms). The final -^rnu¹ is written over the vertical ruling that divides the column.

vii 47: The three extant manuscripts from Nimrud have the grammatically expected form *likkarkû*.

vii 50: The two extant ms from Nimrud have *i-da-ba-bu-u-ni*, that is, without consonantal gemination of the initial radical but with regressive dissimilation of u > a, cf. viii 36.

vii 56: -*nap*¹- is written with the final two verticals side by side instead of superimposed.

vii 59: The three other extant manuscripts all have the verb *lušālikû*.

vii 62: Ms T supports the reading *šašbutu* put forward by Parpola and Watanabe (1988: 53). On *šašbutu*, “cheese,” see Stol 1993: 106–7.

vii 65: Ms T agrees with ms 37 against three other manuscripts and omits an explicit subject for the verbs.

vii 68: Three of the four extant Nimrud manuscripts add the phrase (*ina qātī*) *bēl dāmikunu*, while a fourth is too poorly preserved to tell.

vii 70: On the basis of the line's spacing, very little text can have been lost after ¹*ni* and before *-tu-* (no more than the *-[t]a* of previous line), and so *kī ḥanni'e*, present in all other extant manuscripts, must have been omitted in ms T. Note that at least two Nimrud manuscripts omit the following word *attunu*. Both *ina muḥḥi* and *mar' ātikunu* have also been omitted in ms T. In the case of the prepositional phrase, emendation is necessary for the sense of the passage. With regard to *mar' ātikunu*, no emendation is necessary as this word or others in the common sequence “your brothers, your women, your sons, and your daughters” are omitted on multiple occasions in both ms T and the Nimrud manuscripts (e.g., ms 37 omits both *mar' ikunu* and *mar' ātikunu* in this line).

vii 73: The verb in ms T is *sapāku* instead of *šabātu* as in all five other extant manuscripts. Is this possibly an error of anticipation in light of same verb in vii 77? On the other hand, *sapāku* and *šabātu* are synonyms, as both § 82 and SAA 9 2 i 11' demonstrate (see Parpola 1997: 14 n. to line i 11' for a suggested connection to Syriac **sbk*) so perhaps the use of the verb in this line is simply a matter of semantic variation.

vii 74: Ms T has ¹⁶KUR where the five other extant manuscripts have EN ÚŠ.MEŠ.

vii 77: Watanabe (1987: 203) reconstructs *ḥaeruṣḥu* from *ḥa-e-...* (ms 37) and *...-ru-uš-ḥi* (ms 47 D), in which she is followed by Parpola and Watanabe (1987: 54). Ms T shows that *-pa-* is missing from both manuscripts. The verb *sapāku* is written with gemination of the initial radical in the only other extant ms. On the verb, see the comment to line vii 73.

vii 80: With a G-precative of *gamāru*, Ms T supports Parpola and Watanabe's (1988: 54 n. to line 593) interpretation of *li-ga-am-ru* in the only other preserved manuscript, 30 C, as an N-precative of *gamāru* against Watanabe's (1987: 130 and 203–4) reading *li-ga-ru*.

vii 81: In contrast to the other three extant manuscripts from Nimrud, the final radical of *palāšu* is written in ms T with the sign ZA here and in vii 83. This writing should be seen as an example of the Neo-Assyrian allophone /z/ for /s/ typically written with Š, see Hämeen-Anttila 2000: 10.

vii 82: Ms T omits *ina ŠĀ-bi* before UZU.MEŠ, which is present in all other extant manuscripts. It also includes *kī ḥanni'e* at the beginning of the main clause. On the basis of spacing, this phrase seems to have been omitted in four of the extant Nimrud manuscripts but was clearly present in ms 90 against the transliteration of the text by Watanabe (1987: 130).

vii 83: The final radical of *palāšu* is again written with the sign ZA, see the comment to vii 81 above.

vii 84–85: Besides ms T, only two extant manuscripts (27 and 51 C), contain this section. Manuscripts 30 C, 32, 50 P, and 90 omit it.

vii 84: The reading *bar-* follows the collation of SAA 2 6 for ms 27 (absent in the copy of Wiseman 1958: plate 8), but the sign as written in ms T is clearly ME.

vii 85: Ms T may omit *ākilu*, which is preserved in the two other extant manuscripts, as there doesn't seem to be room for more than three signs in the line's damaged opening. Ms T has A.ŠĀ.MEŠ in place of *na-gi-ku-nu* in the two other extant manuscripts.

vii 91: The different manuscripts offer a number of variant writings of the verb, and it is possible that, with ms X 21, the form in ms T should be restored as a D precative.

(Although the lower edge of the tablet is destroyed, no text is missing.)

viii 3: The other extant manuscripts vary as to whether the verb is in the G- or N-stem. The N-stem is restored here on the basis of the following line, where the parallel verb is in the N-stem.

viii 4: The three other manuscripts in which the verb is fully preserved show G-stem forms (*i-ma-aḥ/maḥ*). The verb in ms T is in the N-stem with consonantal gemination of the final radical.

viii 17: ŠĀ¹ has only one Winkelhaken and two verticals.

viii 28: Two of eight extant Nimrud ms add the common phrase “his brothers, sons of the same mother as Assurbanipal, the great crown prince designate (and) the other sons, the offspring of Esarhaddon, king of Assyria” (SAA 2 6 633A–C) as third and fourth direct objects of the verb *turammâni*. Ms T omits the third but includes the fourth (i.e., it has the second half of 633B and all of 633C)

viii 32: In contrast to all six extant manuscripts from Nimrud, the enclitic *-ma* in ms T is written *-me*.

viii 33–34: Although the section is present in all extant manuscripts except ms 27, the verb is preserved in none. Ms T has a Babylonian D-precative of a verb **q’l* (that the verb is in the D-stem seems clear from ms 31, which preserves the prefix of an Assyrian precative). On *qâlu*, “to fall,” see von Soden 1967: 295–96 and Richter 1992: 20.

viii 36: Unlike in the one other extant ms, 27, the verb in ms T shows regressive dissimilation of *u > a*, cf. vii 50, where the two extant Nimrud manuscripts, 27 and 37, show such dissimilation and ms T does not.

viii 39: Ms T lacks a horizontal ruling separating § 97 from § 98.

viii 55: The verb is *batâqu*, not *šalâqu* as in the only other ms to preserve this verb, 30 B.

viii 56: No ms from Nimrud preserves the transition from *pu-qu-ti* to ^{kuš}E.SIR-ku-nu, so *ga-zi-ri* is absent from earlier composite editions. The word *gâziru* should be a loan word from WSem. **gʒr*, “to cut.” For possible occurrences of this root in the Akkadian lexicon “mit geringen lautlichen Abwandlungen,” see Dietrich and Loretz 1977: 55–56 and add SAA 3 16 obv. 26. The word perhaps designates a sharp stone, cf. the description of the land of Bāzu in Esarhaddon’s inscriptions as *kaqqar bāši puquṭti u šinni šabīti*, “(120 leagues) of desert, thorns, and ‘gazelle-tooth’-stones,” (*RINAP 4 20 iv 55 et alibi*).

viii 57: *-tu’-* has two initial horizontal wedges instead of one and two horizontals before the vertical wedge instead of three. The precative in ms T, *libtuqū*, repeats the verb two lines prior and has “they” (the gods) as the subject, while ms 51 H, the only other ms to preserve this passage, has *lipparmā* with ^{kuš}E.SÍR as the subject. The concluding imperative, preserved only in ms T, finds parallels in royal inscriptions, for example, *mīrānuššun ina muḥḥi libbišunu ipšilūnimma illikūni adi Ninua*, “Nakedly they crawled here on their bellies and came to Nineveh” (Borger *Asb.* 43 A iv 26–27).

viii 61–62: The verbs are not preserved in any Nimrud manuscripts.

viii 63: The top of the numeral designating the day is damaged. The numeral is at least 16 but could be as high as 19. This date is in accordance with the Nimrud manuscripts, two of which date to the 18th and one of which dates to the 16th.

References

- Athanassiou, H.
 1977 Rasm et-Tanjara: A Recently Discovered Syrian Tell in the Ghab. Part I: Inventory of the Chance Finds. Ph.D. dissertation, University of Missouri-Columbia.
- Aynard, J.-M. and Nougayrol, J.
 1971 Une tablette néo-assyrienne de Syrie (?) et le dieu Aramis. *RA* 65: 85–87.
- Borger, R.
 1961 Zu den Asarhaddon-Verträgen aus Nimrud. *ZA* 54: 173–96.
 1983 Assyrische Staatsverträge. Pp. 160–76 in *Rechts- und Wirtschaftsurkunden, Historisch-chronologische Texte*, ed. O. Kaiser. Texte aus der Umwelt des Alten Testaments 1. Gütersloh: Mohn.
- Dietrich, M. and Loretz, O.
 1977 *GZR* “Abschneiden, Abkneifen” im Ugar. und Hebr. *UF* 9: 51–56.
- Frankena, R.
 1965 The Vassal-Treaties of Esarhaddon and the Dating of Deuteronomy. *Oudtestamentische Studiën* 14: 122–54.
- George, A. R.
 1986 Sennacherib and the Tablet of Destinies. *Iraq* 48: 133–46.
- Gitin, S., Dothan, T., and Naveh, J.
 1997 A Royal Dedicatory Inscription from Ekron. *IEJ* 47: 1–16.
- Grayson, A. K.
 1991 Assyria: Sennacherib and Esarhaddon (704–669 B.C.). Pp. 103–41 in *The Cambridge Ancient History*, Vol. 3, Part

2. *The Assyrian and Babylonian Empires and Other States of the Near East, from the Eighth to the Sixth Centuries B.C.*, ed. J. Boardman; I. E. S. Edwards; N. G. L. Hammond; E. Sollberger; and C. B. F. Walker. New York: Cambridge University.
- Hämeen-Anttila, J.
2000 *A Sketch of Neo-Assyrian Grammar*. SAAS 13. Helsinki: The Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus Project.
- Lauinger, J.
2011 Some Preliminary Thoughts on the Tablet Collection in Building XVI from Tell Tayinat. *JCSMS* 6: 5–14.
- Lipiński, E.
2000 *The Arameans: Their Ancient History, Culture, Religion*. OLA 100. Leuven: Peeters/Department of Oriental Studies.
- Liverani, M.
1995 The Medes at Esarhaddon's Court. *JCS* 47: 57–62.
- Luukko, M.
2004 *Grammatical Variation in Neo-Assyrian*. SAAS 16. Helsinki: The Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus Project.
- Parpola, S.
1974 The Forlorn Scholar. Pp. 257–78 in *Language, Literature, and History: Philological and Historical Studies Presented to Erica Reiner*, ed. F. Rochberg-Halton. American Oriental Series 67. New Haven: American Oriental Society.
1987 Neo-Assyrian Treaties from the Royal Archives of Nineveh. *JCS* 39: 161–89.
1997 *Assyrian Prophecies*. SAA 9. Helsinki: Helsinki University Press.
- Parpola, S., and Watanabe, K.
1988 *Neo-Assyrian Treaties and Loyalty Oaths*. SAA 2. Helsinki: Helsinki University Press.
- Press, M.
2012 (Pytho)Gaia in Myth and Legend: The Goddess of the Ekron Inscription Revisited. *BASOR* 365: 1–25.
- Radner, K.
2006a Assyrische *tuppi adê* als Vorbild für Deuteronomium 28,20–44? Pp. 352–78 in *Die deuteronomistischen Geschichtswerke: Redaktions- und religionsgeschichtliche Perspektiven zur "Deuteronomismus"-Diskussion in Tora und Vorderen Propheten*, ed. M. Witte; K. Schmid; D. Prechel; and J. C. Gertz. Beiheft zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft 365. New York: de Gruyter.
2006b Provinz. C. Assyrien. *RLA* 11/1–2: 42–68.
- Reiner, E.
1969 The Vassal Treaties of Esarhaddon. Pp. 534–41 in *Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament*, 3rd edition, ed. J. B. Pritchard. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Richter, T.
1992 Weitere Anmerkungen zu CAD Q. *NABU* 1992/24: 19–21.
- Röllig, W.
1970 *Das Bier im alten Mesopotamien*. Berlin: Gesellschaft für die Geschichte und Bibliographie des Brauwesens/Institut für Gärungsgewerbe und Biotechnologie.
- Schwemer, D.
2001 *Die Wettergottgestalten Mesopotamiens und Nordsyriens im Zeitalter der Keilschriftkulturen: Materialien und Studien nach den schriftlichen Quellen*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Stol, M.
1971 Zur altmesopotamischen Bierbereitung. *BiOr* 28: 167–71.
1993 Milk, Butter, and Cheese. *BSA* 7: 99–113.
- Veldhuis, N.
2004 *Religion, Literature, and Scholarship: The Sumerian Composition Nanše and the Birds, with a Catalogue of Sumerian Bird Names*. CM 22. Leiden: Brill/Styx.
- von Soden, W.
1967 Kleine Beiträge zum Ugaritischen und Hebräischen. Pp. 291–300 in *Hebräische Wortforschung: Festschrift zum 80. Geburtstag von Walter Baumgartner*. VTSup 16. Leiden: Brill.
- Watanabe, K.
1985 Die Siegelung der "Vasallenverträge Esarhaddons" durch den Gott Aššur. *BaM* 16: 377–92.
1987 Die *adê*-Vereidigung anlässlich der Thronfolgeregelung Esarhaddons. *BaM* Beiheft 3. Berlin: Mann.
- Wiseman, D. J.
1958 The Vassal-Treaties of Esarhaddon. *Iraq* 20: 1–99 + plates.

