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# A New Historical Inscription of Sargon II from Karkemish

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## Introduction

During the 2015 season of excavation at Karkemish, three terracotta cylinder fragments inscribed in cuneiform came to light: KH.15.O.221 (see Fig. 1), KH.15.O.300 (see Fig. 2), and KH.15.O.355 (see Fig. 3). Two of these, KH.15.O.221 and KH.15.O.355, were found in layers of fill (F.5859 and F.6309, respectively) in a well (P.5345), cut into bedrock at the beginning of the Assyrian occupation of the city, when the earlier Neo-Hittite palatial compound was refurbished in order to host a Neo-Assyrian administrative complex. The well was seemingly sealed around 605 BC (after the takeover of the city by the Babylonians) by throwing in broken objects from the palace, including stone vessels whose joining fragments were found at different elevations, thus indicating a single filling operation, albeit through different layers.<sup>1</sup> The third

cylinder fragment (KH.15.O.300) was found near the well, embedded in a floor of beaten earth (L.5896) that covered it, dating to the Neo-Babylonian phase of the palatial complex (Figs. 4–5).

The three pieces in question, now kept in the Gaziantep Archaeological Museum, were part of three different cylinders, all inscribed with the same inscription of Sargon II (see Figures A and B for their transliteration and translation):

KH.15.O.221 = Cyl. A (Figs. 6–9): ll. 5'–38'.

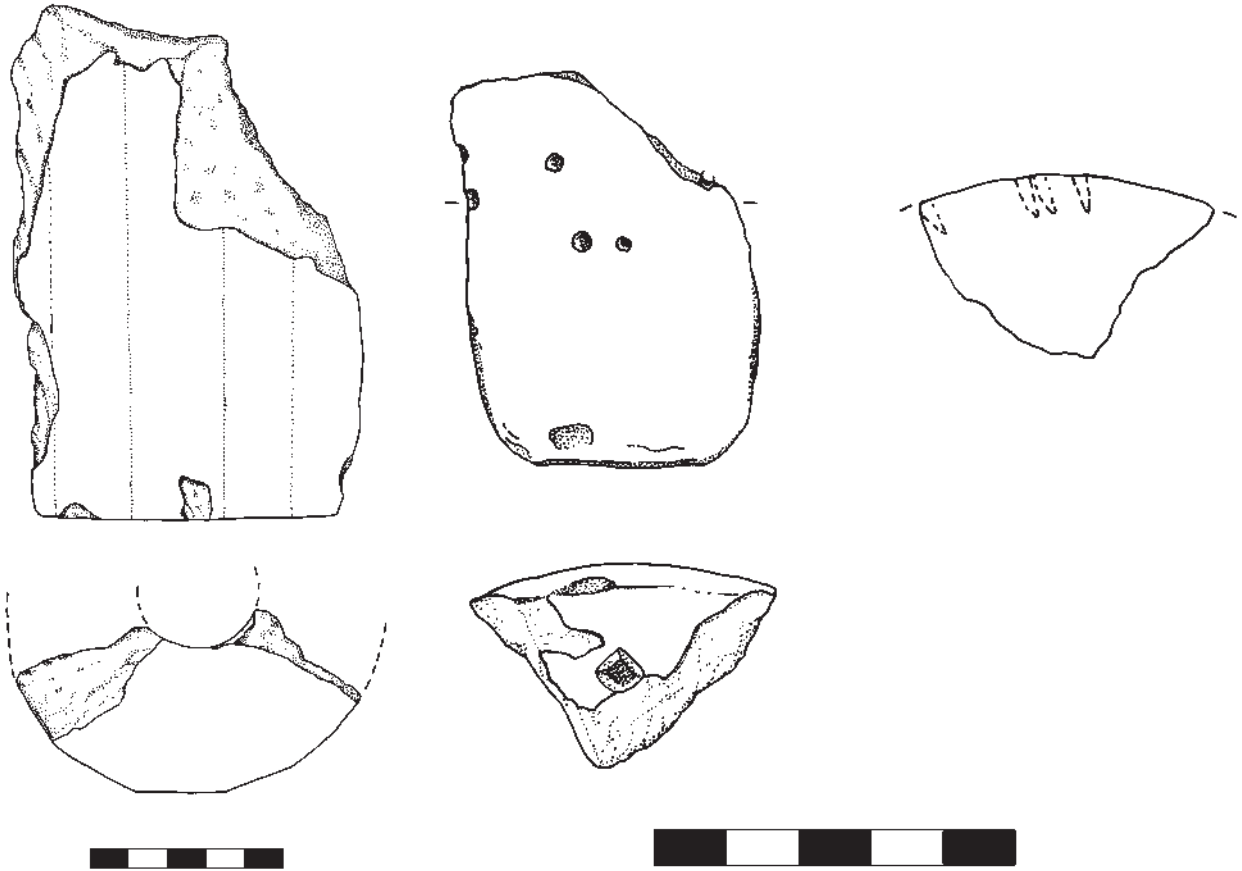
KH.15.O.300 = Cyl. B (Figs. 10–11): ll. 1'–13'.

KH.15.O.355 = Cyl. C (Figs. 12–18): ll. 14'–20' and 29'–44'.

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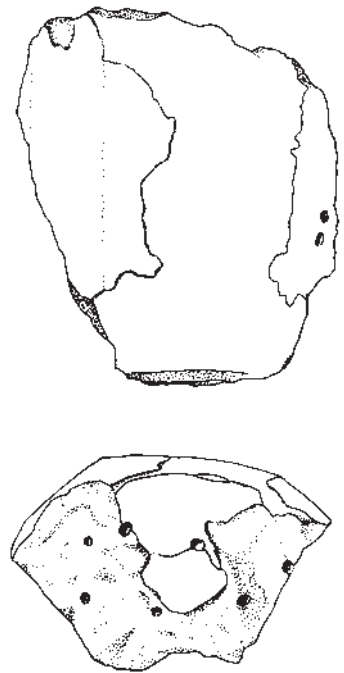
ment KH.15.O.355; Gustavo Gagliardi helped me reconstruct the original dimensions and form of the cylinder fragment KH.15.O.221; Grant Frame and Jonathan Taylor sent useful material of theirs in advance of publication. I want to express my gratitude to all of them. In addition, thanks are due to the Expedition's sponsors and to the Directorate General for Cultural Heritage and Museums, Ankara, for their constant support. In preparing this work, I also greatly benefited from the competence of Werner R. Mayer and Carlo Zaccagnini: both offered many valuable suggestions and comments. Last but not least, I would like to thank Seth Richardson for his excellent editorial work. Abbreviations used in this article follow those of the *Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago* (Chicago, 1956–2010), as well as: KH = siglum of objects excavated at Karkemish; PNA = *The Prosopography of the Neo-Assyrian Empire*, ed. K. Radner and H. Baker (Helsinki, 1998–2011) and RINAP = *Royal Inscriptions of the Neo-Assyrian Period*, ed. A. K. Grayson et al. [Winnona Lake, IN, 2011–].

<sup>1</sup> See, in more detail, *Excavations at Karkemish III. The Neo-Assyrian Well in Area C*, ed. N. Marchetti, OrientLab Series Maior 5 (Bologna, in press).



**Figure 1**—(left) Cylinder fragment KH.15.O.221 (drawing Khalil Alhamid): h. 8.8 cm; l. 13.2 cm; w. 3.9 cm.

**Figure 2**—(right) Cylinder fragment KH.15.O.300 (drawing Khalil Alhamid): h. 4 cm; l. 5 cm; w. 2.6 cm.



**Figure 3**—Cylinder fragment KH.15.O.355 (drawing Khalil Alhamid): h. 3.8 cm; l. 5.3 cm; w. 2.7 cm.



**Figure 4**—Cylinder fragment KH.15.O.300 lying in situ in a fill under the Neo-Babylonian floor L.5896, area C South—view from North.<sup>a</sup>



**Figure 5**—Detail of cylinder fragment KH.15.O.300 lying in the fill under floor L.5896 (visible in the upper left corner)—view from North-East.

<sup>a</sup> All photographs appearing in this article are not under copyright, and may be reproduced freely.

Figure A—Transliteration of the Karkemish Cylinder.

- 1' [mā<sup>2</sup>u gamer dunni u abāri || mušekniš Madāyī lā kansūti || šāgiš niš (māt) Ḥarḥar || mušarbu] <sup>r</sup>mi-šir<sup>1</sup> māt(KUR)  
Aš-šur<sup>rki</sup>
- 2' [mupahher Mannāyi saphi || mutaqqin Ellipi dalhi || ša šarrūt mātāti kilallān ukinnūma || ú-šar]-ri-ḥu zi-kir-šú
- 3' [. . . ina ūm bēlūtīya malku gabráya ul] ib-ši-ma
- 4' [ina (epēš) qabli u tāḥāzi ul āmura munihḥu || Piširi Gargamisāyu ina adē ilāni rabūti iḥṭīma || ana Mitā šar Muski i]na  
ṭābtī(DÜG.GA) iš-tap-par-ma
- 5' [ilqá šēṭūtu || ana Aššūr bēlīya qātī aššīma || šāšū gadu qinnišu kamússunu ušēšāšunnūtīma] || <sup>d</sup>A-šur ú-šab-ri<sup>a</sup>
- 6' [ḥurāšu kaspu itti bušē ekallišu u Gargamisāyī bēl-ḥiṭṭī ša ittīšu itti makkūrīšunu ašlulamma] || a-na qé-reb māt(KUR)  
Aš-šur<sup>ki</sup> ú-ra-a<sup>b</sup>
- 7' [50 narkabtu 2 mē pēḥallu 3 līm zūk-šēpi ina libbišunu akšurma || eli (or ina muḥḥi) kišir-šarru(LUGAL)]-ti-ia ú-  
rad-di<sup>c</sup>
- 8' [. . . niš māt Aššūr ina gereb Gargamis ušēšibma || ana . . . t]i ú-šar-ḥi-su-nu-ti lib-bu<sup>d</sup>
- 9' [. . . dūršu eššīš ú]-šab-ni-ma || elū(UGU) šá maḥ-ri ú-zaq-ger<sup>e</sup>
- 10' [. . . ultu qabal(MU)RUB<sub>4</sub>] ālū(URU) ú-še-rid-ma || ku-tal-la-šú ú-šá-aš-bit<sup>f</sup>
- 11' [. . . su<sup>2</sup>-n]u-na-bu a-na dun-nun maššartū(EN.NUN) ina libbi(ŠAG<sub>4</sub>-bi) ú-še-rib<sup>g</sup>
- 12' [. . . mé-e]ḥ-ṛet Puratti(ÍD.ZIMBIR.KI) ap-te-ma || ú-tib šur-ra-šú-un<sup>h</sup>
- 13' [. . . assuḥamma ina (. . .) ašar r]u-uq-te mi-šir<sup>kur</sup> Kam-a-ni ú-še-šib<sup>i</sup>
- 14' [. . . šādidūt ni]-ir<sup>d</sup> A-šur bēlū(EN)-ia ú-šar-ma-a li-me-e-su<sup>j</sup>
- 15' [. . . <sup>li</sup>A]-re-me māt(KUR) Šur-ri<sup>kur</sup> Mu-uš-ri<sup>kur</sup> Ta-ba-li u<sup>kur</sup> Mus-ki<sup>k</sup>
- 16' [. . . ašpukma<sup>na4p</sup>]i-i-lu dan-nu || ki-ma ši-pik šadī(KUR-i) ú-šar-šid<sup>l</sup>
- 17' [. . . ina<sup>iii</sup> Simāni(SI)G<sub>4</sub>.GA] arḥi(ITI) mit-ga-ri ú-kin uš-še-šá<sup>m</sup>
- 18' [. . . bīt-ḥilāni tam/nšūl eka(É.G)AL<sup>kur</sup> Ḥat-ti me-ēḥ-rat bābū(KÁ.MEŠ)-šá ad-di<sup>n</sup>
- 19' [. . . dalāt . . . mi/mi]-ser siparri(ZABAR) ú-rak-kis-ma || ina bābū(KÁ.MEŠ)-ši-na ú-rat-ti<sup>o</sup>
- 20' [. . .] mē(A.MEŠ) a-tap-pi ḥi-bi-ib nāri(ÍD) || la-a i-ma-ak-ki-ir ta-mer-tuš<sup>p</sup>
- 21' [. . . ugārī ḥabšūti na-gi]-<sup>r</sup>ṭ<sup>1</sup> šum-ku-ri na-mu-ú<sup>2</sup>-eš šu-ud-du-u || e-mu-u mad-ba-riš
- 22' [. . . ina zikrišu rabi ša Aššūr bēlīya ša šušub namē nadūti u petē ki-šub-b]é-e za-qáḫ šip-pa-te iš-ru-ku ši-rik-ti
- 23' [. . .] gi-it-pu-šú || ina ugārī(A.GAR.MEŠ)-šú na-<sup>r</sup>di-u<sup>1</sup>-te ú-šah-bi-ba mē(A.[MEŠ] nuḥšī)
- 24' [. . .]<sup>r</sup>X<sup>1</sup> ú-kin || a-ke-e ina šu-um-me-e la na-ḥar-šu-še ú-šah-li-la a-tap-piš
- 25' [. . .] ina <sup>r</sup>ta-mer-ti<sup>1</sup> <sup>uru</sup>Gar-ga-mis am-šú-ḥa ši-gi-i-tú || ina ta-mer-ti-šú la-la-ni-te ú-šah-ni-ba ni-sa-a-ba
- 26' [. . .]<sup>r</sup>X<sup>1</sup>-ru-ú-te ú(ŠE.IM) ina la mī-in-di ina qer-bé-ti-šú aš-pu-ka qi-ra-a-te
- 27' [. . . gimir inib] ad-na-a-te <sup>ges</sup>karānu(GEŠTIN) si-mat šarru(LUGAL)-u-ti <sup>ges</sup>erēnu(EREN) <sup>ges</sup>šurmēnu(ŠUR.MİN)  
<sup>ges</sup>burāšū(LI) se-ḥer-tuš az-qup-ma || elū(UGU) i-riš <sup>ges</sup>qišti(TIR) <sup>ges</sup>erēni(EREN) i-riš ālū(URU) ú-ṭib

<sup>a</sup> Text after B; A only shows traces of broken signs.<sup>b</sup> Composite text; A: [. . .] a-na qé-reb KUR Aš-šur<sup>rki</sup>[i] <sup>r</sup>ú<sup>1</sup>-[. . .]; B: [. . .-re]b KUR Aš-šur<sup>rki</sup> ú-ra-a.<sup>c</sup> Composite text; A: [. . .]-ti-ia ú-ra[d-. . .]; B: [. . .] ú-rad-di.<sup>d</sup> Composite text; A: [. . .-t]i ú-šar-ḥi-su-nu-ti lū[b-. . .]; B: [. . .]-su-nu-ti lib-bu.<sup>e</sup> Composite text; A: [. . .]-šab-ni-ma UGU šá maḥ-ri ú-za-[. . .]; B: [. . . m]aḥ-ri ú-zaq-ger.<sup>f</sup> Text after A; B: [. . .-tá]l-la-šú ú-šá-aš-bit.<sup>g</sup> Text after A; B: [. . . N]UN ina ŠAG<sub>4</sub>-bi ú-še-rib.<sup>h</sup> Text after A; B: [. . .]-te-ma ú-tib šur-ra-šú-[. . .].<sup>i</sup> Text after A; B: [. . .]-ni <sup>r</sup>ú<sup>1</sup>-[. . .].<sup>j</sup> Text after A; C: traces of broken signs.<sup>k</sup> Text after A; C: traces of broken signs.<sup>l</sup> Text after A; C: [. . .] KUR-i ú-[. . .].<sup>m</sup> Text after A; C: [. . .-r]i ú-kin u[š-. . .].<sup>n</sup> Text after A; C: [. . .]-rat KÁ.MEŠ-šá [. . .].<sup>o</sup> Text after A; C: [. . .]-<sup>r</sup>ak-kis-ma<sup>1</sup> i[na] <sup>r</sup>KÁ.MEŠ-ši-na<sup>1</sup> ú-[. . .].<sup>p</sup> Text after A; C: [. . .]-<sup>r</sup>mer<sup>1</sup>-[. . .].

Figure B—Translation of the Karkemish Cylinder.

- 1' [. . . the victorious one, perfect in power and strength, subduer of the insubmissive Medes, exterminator of the people of (the land of) Harhar, extender of] the territory of Assyria,  
 2' [assembler of dismembered Mannea, orderer of chaotic Ellipi, he who established (his) kingship over both (these) countries mak]ing his name glorious.  
 3' [. . . During my reign] there was [no ruler (who could be) my opponent] and,  
 4' [in (doing) battle and combat, I have never met an adversary overpowering (me). Pisiri, the Karkemishite, sinned against the loyalty oath (sworn) by the great gods and] repeatedly wrote [to Mita (= Midas), king of Musku (= Phrygia), i]n friendship,  
 5' [showing contempt. I raised my hand (in prayer) to Assur, my lord, and then he (= Pisiri) together with (the members of) his clan—I brought them out as prisoners and] showed (them) to Assur.  
 6' [Gold, silver, along with the possessions of his palace, and the guilty Karkemishites who stood by him, along with their goods, I took as booty and] brought (them) to Assyria.  
 7' [50 chariots, 200 riding horses (and) 3000 foot soldiers from among them I gathered and] added to my [roya]ll [contingent.]  
 8' [. . . People of Assyria I settled in Karkemish and] encouraged them [to . . . ]  
 9' [. . . I] had [its wall] built [anew] and I raised (it) higher than before.  
 10' [. . . (people of Karkemish)] I brought down [from the cen]ter of the city and made (them) occupy its rear part.  
 11' [. . . ] I brought a [*co*]ntingent into it to reinforce the watch.  
 12' [. . . The . . . *in fr*]ont of the Euphrates I opened, making them happy.  
 13' [. . . (people of Karkemish) I uprooted and] I settled (them) [in (. . .), a d]istant [place] on the border of Kammanu.  
 14' [. . . people who pull the yo]lke of Assur, my lord, I made dwell in its (Karkemish's) region.  
 15' [. . . the A]rameans, the land of Tyre, Egypt, Tabal, and Musku (= Phrygia)  
 16' [. . . I piled up] solid [li]mestone (slabs) and made it (= the wall) as solid as the bulk of a mountain.  
 17' [. . . In (the month of) Si]manu, a favorable month, I established its (= of the palace) foundations.  
 18' [. . . ] In front of its gates I erected [a *bīt-hilāni*, a replica of a pal]ace of Hatti.  
 19' [. . . Doors made of . . .-wood] I fastened [with a ba]nd of bronze and I installed (them) in their gates.  
 20' [. . . *I caused*] the water of the irrigation ditches (and) the murmur of the *current* [*to stop*,] (saying) “let him (= Pisiri) not irrigate its (= Karkemish) arable land.”  
 21' [. . . The luxuriant meadows] of the irrigation [*district*] were let go fallow like pastureland, they became a desert.  
 22' [. . . By the august command of Assur, my lord, who] granted me as a gift (the power) [to resettle abandoned pasture land and bring wastelan]d [into cultivation,] (and) to plant orchards,  
 23' [. . . ] massive [. . .;] I made abundant water murmur in its abandoned meadows.  
 24' [. . . ] I set up [. . . (= some kind of water supply);] in order that the destitute does not collapse from thirst, I caused it to gurgle like an irrigation ditch.  
 25' [. . . ] In the environs of Karkemish I measured the irrigated land; in its luxuriant environs I made grain grow abundantly.  
 26' [. . . ] . . . in its countryside I heaped up grain in the granaries in measureless quantities.  
 27' [. . . every type of fruit tree] from all over the world, grapevine(s) worthy of a king (lit., “worthy of kingship”), the cedar, the cypress, (and) the juniper I planted in its surroundings, and I made the scent of the city sweeter than the scent of a cedar forest.



## Figure A—continued

- 28' [. . .<sup>sc</sup>] *karānu*(GEŠTIN) *u riqqū*(ŠIM.ḪI.A) *iš-qu-ma* || *ba-<sup>3</sup>u-lat libbī*(ŠAG<sub>4</sub>-bi)-*šú qur-ru bu-luṭ libbī*(ŠAG<sub>4</sub>-bi) *in-da-na-ḫa-ra* || *nu-um-mu-ru zi-mu-šun*
- 29' [. . . *ana* . . . ]<sup>r</sup> *u<sup>1</sup> ru-up-pu-uš ta-lit-ti su-gul-lat alpū*(GUD.MEŠ) *u se-e-ni sab-ḫu ap-te-ma* || *ú-šam-ki-ra mé*(A.MEŠ) *ṭābūti*(DÜG.GA.MEŠ)<sup>q</sup>
- 30' [. . . *b*] *a-<sup>3</sup>u-lat libbī*(ŠAG<sub>4</sub>)-*šú a-bur-riš ú-šar-bi-šu-ma* || <sup>sc</sup>*kirātū*(KIRI<sub>6</sub>.MEŠ)-*šú-nu in-ba iz-za-a<sup>3</sup>-na-ma* || [*i*] *ḫ-nu-ba ta-mer-tuš<sup>r</sup>*
- 31' [. . . ]<sup>r</sup> *x<sup>1</sup> bēlī*(EN.MEŠ)-*ia* <sup>d</sup>*Kar-ḫu-ḫu* <sup>d</sup>*Gu-bābu*(KÁ) *a-šī-bu-ut* <sup>uru</sup>*Gar-ga-mis àna qé-reb ekallā*(É.GAL)-*ia aq-ri<sup>s</sup>*
- 32' [. . . ]-*ti šu<sup>7</sup>ū*(UDU.NÍTA.< MEŠ>) *ú-re-e mi-it-ru-te kurkī*(KUR.GI.MEŠ) *paspasī*(UZ.TUR.MUŠEN.MEŠ) *iššūrū*(MUŠEN.MEŠ) *šamé*(AN-e) *mut-tap-ri-šú-te ma-ḫar-šú-nu aq<sup>r</sup> qí<sup>t</sup>*
- 33' [. . . *mandattu kabittu ša mātāti kišitti qātīya eliš*] <sup>r</sup> *u<sup>1</sup> šap-liš ina tukul*(TUKUL)-*ti* <sup>d</sup>*A-šur bēlī*(EN)-*ia ina qé-reb* <sup>uru</sup>*Gar-ga<sup>1</sup>-mis am-ḫur<sup>u</sup>*
- 34' [. . . *ekal*(É.G)AL] <sup>1</sup>*Pi-si-ri áš-lu-la ina nu-um-mur pa-ni a-qis-su-nu-ti<sup>v</sup>*
- 35' [. . . *ina līti u*] <sup>r</sup> *ki<sup>1</sup>-šit-ti qātī*(ŠU.II) *ra-biš uš-zi<sup>r</sup> za<sup>1</sup>-ni<sup>w</sup>*
- 36' [. . . ]<sup>r</sup> *x<sup>1</sup> na-ki-ru*(-)[. . . *maḫ*]-<sup>r</sup> *ri<sup>1</sup> Aš-šur e-ris-su-nu-ti<sup>x</sup>*
- 37' [. . . ] <sup>r</sup> *ú<sup>1</sup>-šē-rib-ma ik-ru-bu<sup>y</sup>*
- 38' [. . . *m*] *u-ḫad-du-u ka-bat-ti ilu*(DINGIR)-*ti-šú-n*[. . . ]<sup>z</sup>
- 39' [. . . ](-)PA-*ti ina BUR<sup>r</sup>X<sup>1</sup>*[. . . ]
- 40' [. . . ]<sup>r</sup> *X X<sup>1</sup> ú*[. . . ]
- 41' [. . . ]-<sup>r</sup> *X<sup>1</sup>-ma ina GÚ šá* <sup>r</sup> *X<sup>1</sup>*[. . . ]
- 42' [. . . ]-<sup>r</sup> *X<sup>1</sup> bit-re-e* <sup>r</sup> *lu-X<sup>1</sup>*-[. . . ]
- 43' [. . . ](-)ki LUGAL-*šú-nu* <sup>r</sup> *X<sup>1</sup>*[. . . ]
- 44' [. . . ]<sup>r</sup> . . . (traces) [. . . ]  
(rest broken)
- Subscript Cyl. A:  
*ekal*(É.GAL)  
<sup>1</sup>*Šarru*(LUGAL)-*kēnu*(GI.[NA])  
[(. . .)]

<sup>q</sup> Text after A; C: [. . . ]<sup>r</sup> *ma ú<sup>1</sup>*[. . .].<sup>r</sup> Text after A; C: [. . . ]<sup>r</sup> *a<sup>3</sup>-na<sup>1</sup>-ma* [. . .].<sup>s</sup> Text after A; C: [. . . ]<sup>r</sup> *m* *eš ana qé-reb* É.GAL<sup>1</sup>-*ia* [. . .].<sup>t</sup> Text after A; C: [. . . ]<sup>r</sup> *e mut<sup>r</sup>-tap<sup>r</sup>-ri<sup>1</sup>-šú*-[*t*] *e IGI-šú-nu* [. . .].<sup>u</sup> Text after A; C: [. . . ] *i* *na qé-reb* <sup>uru</sup>*Gar-ga-mis am*-[. . .].<sup>v</sup> Composite text; A: [. . . É.G]AL <sup>1</sup>*Pi-si-ri áš-lu-la ina nu-um-mur* [. . . ] <sup>r</sup> *a-qis<sup>3</sup>-su-nu-ti*; C: [. . . ] *i* *na nu-um-mur pa-ni a-qis-su-nu*-[. . .].<sup>w</sup> Composite text; A: [. . . ] <sup>r</sup> *ki<sup>1</sup>-šit-ti* ŠU.II *ra<sup>r</sup>-biš* [. . . ] <sup>r</sup> *za<sup>1</sup>-ni*; C: [. . . ] <sup>r</sup> *šU<sup>1</sup>.II ra-biš uš-zi*-[. . .].<sup>x</sup> Composite text; A: [. . . ]<sup>r</sup> *x<sup>1</sup> na-ki-ru* [. . . ]<sup>r</sup> *nu-ti*; C: [. . . ]<sup>r</sup> *ri<sup>1</sup> Aš-šur e-ris-su-n*[*u-ti*].<sup>y</sup> Composite text; A: [. . . ] <sup>r</sup> *ú<sup>1</sup>-šē-rib*-[. . .]; C: [. . . ]-*ma ik-ru-bu* <sup>r</sup> *X<sup>1</sup>*[. . .].<sup>z</sup> Text after C; A: [. . . ]<sup>r</sup> *X<sup>1</sup>*[. . .].

Hereafter, this new inscription by Sargon is called the Karkemish Cylinder, in order to distinguish it from the so-called Sargon Cylinder from Khorsabad, herein referred to as the Khorsabad Cylinder. Geometrically, such objects are not true cylinders, but rather prisms approximating the form of a cylinder; moreover, they look “barrel”-shaped, their diameter (or rather, the diameter of the virtual cylinders that circumscribe them) being narrower at the bases than in the center. Because of this, various alternative terms have been

used to designate them: “barrel,” “cylinder-prism,” “multi-faceted cylinder,” “prism,” “prismatic cylinder,” “prismoid.” For the sake of simplicity, we will continue calling them “cylinders,” in accordance with the traditional Assyriological term to designate this class of objects.

Cylinders differ from prisms in that their writing runs parallel to the axis of the cylinder in a single column, whereas, with prisms, the writing is perpendicular to the axis, and the inscribed text is arranged

Figure B—*continued*

- 28' [. . .] grapevine(s) and aromatic plants grew high, and the people that live in its interior (lit., “the people of its interior”) constantly receive an invitation to happiness, (so that) their countenances are radiant.
- 29' [. . . In order to . . .] and increase the offspring of the herds of oxen and sheep I opened the meadowland and provided irrigation with fresh water.
- 30' [. . . (such things?)] allowed the people that lives in its interior to lie in safe pastures and their orchards became adorned with fruit, and its irrigated land grew abundantly.
- 31' [. . .] My lords Karhuha (and) Kubaba, who dwell in Karkemish, I invited into my palace.
- 32' [. . .] strong rams of the stable, geese, ducks, and flying birds of the sky I offered before them.
- 33' [. . . The heavy tribute from the lands conquered by my hand—above] and below—with the support of Assur, my lord, I received in Karkemish.
- 34' [. . . The . . . that] I had carried off [from the pala]nce of Pisiri I donated to them (= the gods of Assyria) with a radiant visage.
- 35' [. . . (Assur)] allowed me to stand solemnly in victory and triumph.
- 36' [. . .] I asked them to [. . . bef]ore Assur.
- 37' [. . .] I brought in and they blessed [my] kin[gship].
- 38' [. . .] he who makes their divine majesty rejoice, [. . .]
- 39'–43' (too broken to translate)  
(rest broken)
- Subscript Cyl. A:  
Palace  
of Sargo[n]  
[(. . .)]

on as many columns as are the faces of the prism.<sup>2</sup> Cylinders first appear in Assyria with Sargon II. Our Cyl. A originally had a diameter of ca. 8.5 cm at the base, and twelve faces.<sup>3</sup> This makes it a *unicum* among the Sargon cylinders known so far, which generally have from eight to ten faces.<sup>4</sup> As is the case with other such objects, a central hole with a diameter of ca. 2 cm pierced the cylinder longitudinally from base to base.<sup>5</sup> Since each of the preserved faces contains six lines

<sup>2</sup> See B. Studevent-Hickman, “Prisma,” *RLA* 11, 4, fig. 1a–b; J. Taylor, “Zylinder,” *RLA* 15, 355, § 4.

<sup>3</sup> As regards the other two cylinder fragments from Karkemish, too little of them is preserved to calculate their dimensions and form precisely.

<sup>4</sup> See J. Taylor, “Some Practicalities and Aesthetics of Mesopotamian Foundation Prisms and Cylinders,” in *Keilschriftartefakte: Untersuchungen zur Materialität von Keilschriftdokumenten*, ed. E. Cancik-Kirschbaum and B. Schnitzlein, *BBVO* 25 (Berlin, in press).

<sup>5</sup> Not all cylinders are pierced, however. The function of such perforations is uncertain: they may have had more to do with the manufacturing process of the cylinders themselves than with their installation; see Taylor, “Some Practicalities and Aesthetics.” In this connection, note that Assyrian cylinders were usually placed inside the walls of palaces; see R. S. Ellis, *Foundation Deposits in Ancient Mesopotamia* (New Haven, CT, 1968), 110–11. However, see also V. Place, *Ninive et l'Assyrie*, vol. 1 (Paris, 1867), 111–12, for a possible find of cylinders on display.

of text, we can calculate a total of seventy-two lines, of which only thirty-three are partially preserved. As far as the length of the cylinder (and, consequently, of the lines of the inscription) is concerned, we may compare the Louvre cylinder Nap. III 3156,<sup>6</sup> from Khorsabad, which has an identical diameter at the base (ca. 8.5 cm) and is 20 cm long. We can estimate that Cyl. A was just as long, if not longer.<sup>7</sup> This means that the longest lines of text preserved are only preserved for about two-thirds of their original length, the maximum length of Cyl. A in its present state being 13.2 cm.

Putting together the preserved parts of inscription from the three cylinder fragments, we obtain a text of forty-three lines, none of which is complete. As mentioned, in the best cases we have two-thirds of the

<sup>6</sup> See *Naissance de l'écriture: cunéiformes et hiéroglyphes*, ed. B. André-Leicknam and C. Ziegler (Paris, 1982), 234, no. 180.

<sup>7</sup> In this connection, note that ll. 1'–2' of Karkemish Cyl. appear to be identical to ll. 30–31 of Khorsabad Cyl., which further supports the assumption that the cylinders from Karkemish and those from Khorsabad were of comparable dimensions. Other complete Sargon cylinders from Khorsabad whose measurements are known range from 22 to 23.5 cm in length, with diameters from 11 to 12.5 cm (presumably measured not at the base but in the middle, in the point of the maximum circumference; data courtesy G. Frame).



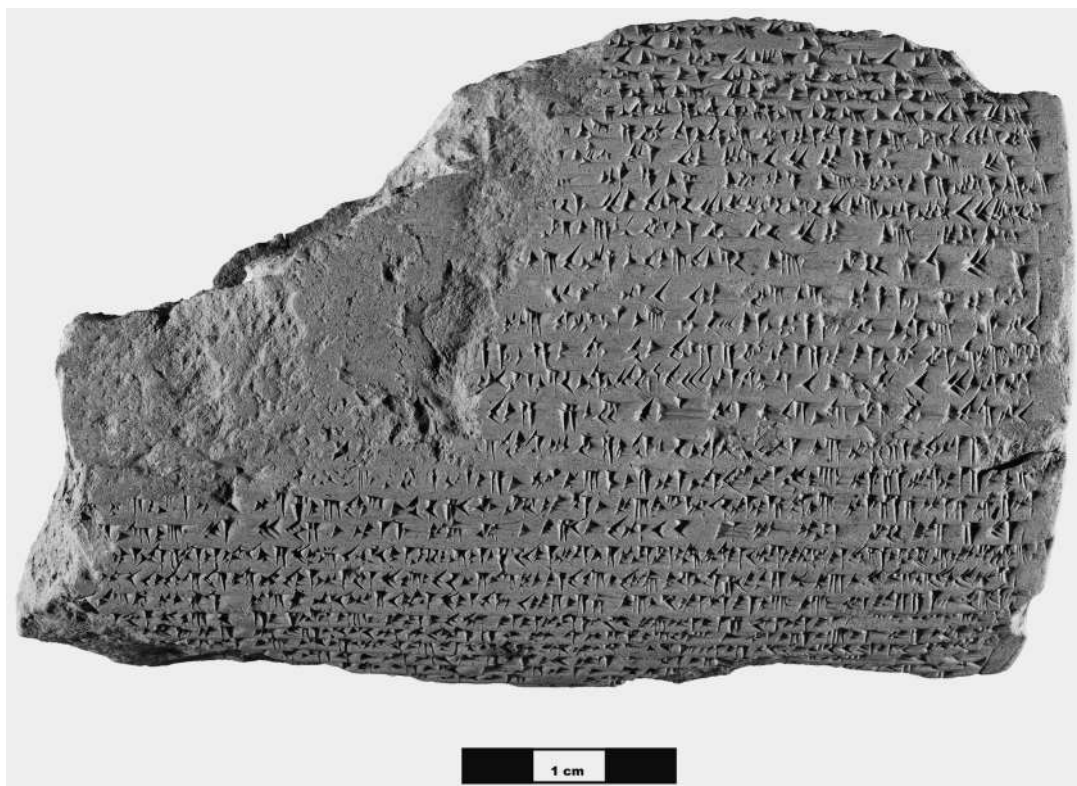


Figure 6—Cyl. A (= KH.15.O.221)—front view.

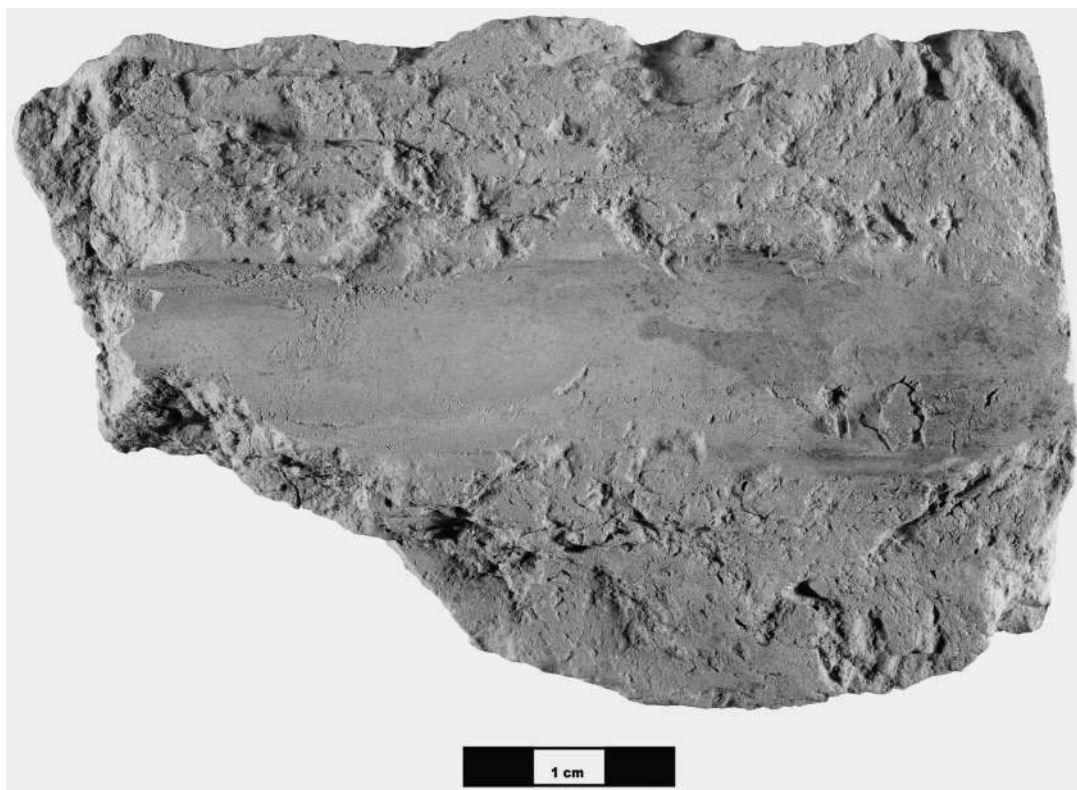


Figure 7—Cyl. A—view of the inside.

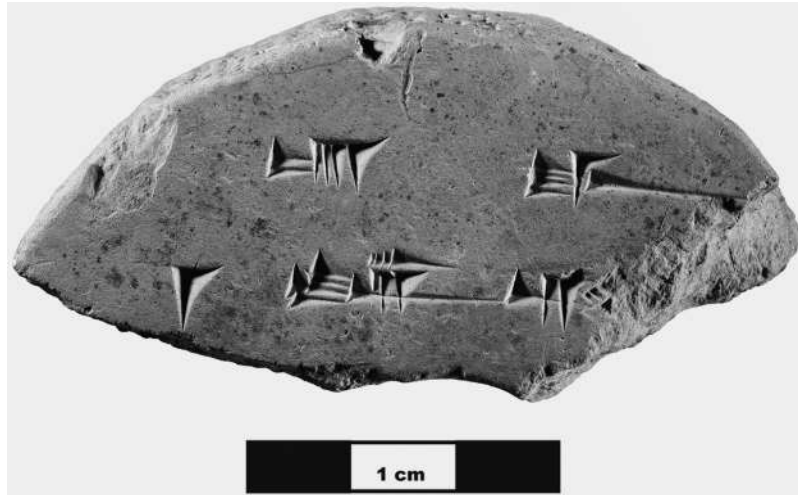


Figure 8—Cyl. A—side view (inscribed base).



Figure 9—Cyl. A—inscription.



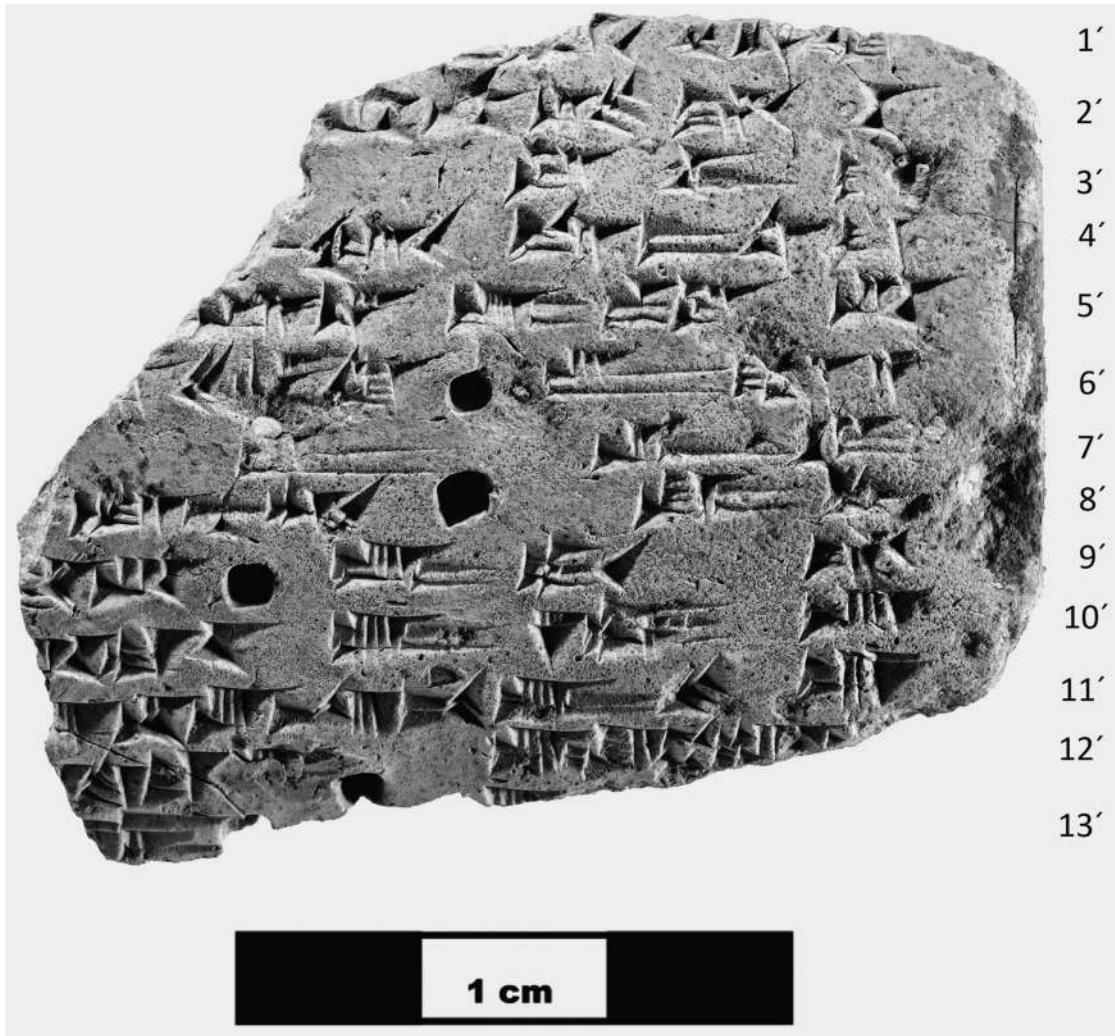


Figure 10—Cyl. B (= KH.15.O.300)—front view.

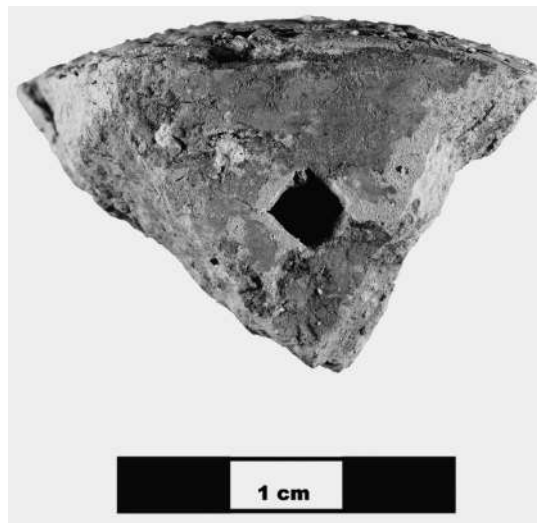


Figure 11—Cyl. B—side view (base).

original lines still preserved, but for most lines even less, sometimes much less. Even so, we can grasp much of the original text, which turns out to be very informative. In fact, unlike other Sargon cylinders which contain relatively standard “summary” inscriptions or annalistic accounts of the events of Sargon’s reign,<sup>8</sup> the Karkemish Cylinder provides us with a completely new inscription,<sup>9</sup> dealing almost exclusively with the newly-conquered city on the Euphrates in a highly-elaborated, literary style.<sup>10</sup>

The following thematic sections can be observed in the progress of the text:

1. Epithets of Sargon referring to his military achievements (1’–4’).
2. *Casus belli*: the betrayal of Pisiri, king of Karkemish (4’).
3. Sargon’s reaction to and punishment of the rebels: Pisiri together with his clan and supporters are deported to Assyria; his palace is plundered and his riches are seized as booty; his soldiers are incorporated into the royal contingent of Sargon (5’–7’).
4. Settlement of Assyrians in Karkemish and reorganization of the city (8’–12’).
5. Deportation of the people of Karkemish to Bit-Purutash, in the region of Tabal, and their replacement with “people who pull the yoke of Assur” (i.e., subjects obedient to Assur) (13’–14’).
6. Tribute(?) from foreign kingdoms (15’).
7. Construction works (16’).
8. Building of a royal palace in Karkemish (17’–19’).

<sup>8</sup> See G. Frame, “A ‘New’ Cylinder Inscription of Sargon II of Assyria from Melid,” in *Of God(s), Kings, Trees, and Scholars: Neo-Assyrian and Related Studies in Honour of Simo Parpola*, ed. M. Luukko, S. Svärd, and R. Mattila, StOr 106 (Helsinki, 2009), 65–82 (esp. 80–82).

<sup>9</sup> This is not an isolated case with Sargon at Karkemish, however: from there also comes a stele—unfortunately very fragmentary—with a non-standard inscription of Sargon that has no phraseological parallels in the other texts of the Sargonid corpus; see G. Marchesi and N. Marchetti, “A Stele of Sargon II from Karkemish” (forthcoming).

<sup>10</sup> As is the case with other royal inscriptions of Sargon; see, in general, J. Renger, “Neuassyrische Königsinschriften als Genre der Keilschriftliteratur: Zum Stil und zur Kompositionstechnik der Inschriften Sargons II. von Assyrien,” in *Keilschriftliche Literaturen* (= XXXII RAI), ed. K. Hecker and W. Sommerfeld, BBVO 6 (Berlin, 1986), 109–28. The Khorsabad Cylinder is characterized, among other things, by a number of hapax legomena and rare words or phrases, which are duly noted in the commentary to the text.

9. Retrospect: Sargon(?) had blocked the sources of water supply for Karkemish, so that Pisiri might no longer irrigate its arable land (20’).
10. Consequence: aridity and desertification (21’).
11. Reactivation of the water supply and the irrigation system (22’–24’).
12. Agricultural works, growth of grain, and abundant crops (25’–26’).
13. Planting of trees imported from abroad and creation of a “botanical garden”(?) (27’–28’).
14. Development of cattle breeding and husbandry (29’).
15. Abundance and general well-being for the citizens of Karkemish (30’).
16. Inauguration ceremony of Sargon’s palace in Karkemish: the king welcomes the principal deities of Karkemish, Karhuha and Kubaba, into his new abode and makes sacrifices to them. He then receives the tribute of the vassal rulers and provincial governors (31’–33’).
17. Offerings to the great deities of Assyria from the booty of Karkemish (34’).
18. Sargon’s reward(?); laudatory epithets (35’–38’).

The episode of the deportation of the Karkemishites to Bit-Purutash provides a *terminus post quem* for dating this inscription, as the conquest and repopulation of Bit-Purutash is known to have occurred in 713 BC,<sup>11</sup> i.e., four years after the annexation of Karkemish. However, the Karkemish Cylinder is probably even later: in fact, the narrative of the war with Karkemish (*casus belli* and Sargon’s reaction) is narrated in a very similar manner in the Khorsabad Annals,<sup>12</sup> which date to 707 BC, while the narration of the same event in the 711 version of the Annals deviates significantly.<sup>13</sup> This suggests that the Karkemish Cylinder was composed later than 711 BC.

Although a historical analysis and evaluation of the text of the Karkemish Cylinder is beyond the scope of this work, the great emphasis that Sargon seems to place on Karkemish deserves some comments. The detailed description of what he did and accomplished in Karkemish recalls the very similar account of the construction of his new capital, Dur-Sharrukenu, in

<sup>11</sup> See below, commentary to line 13’.

<sup>12</sup> See below, Appendix A, sub 4 and 5.

<sup>13</sup> See below, Appendix A, sub 3.

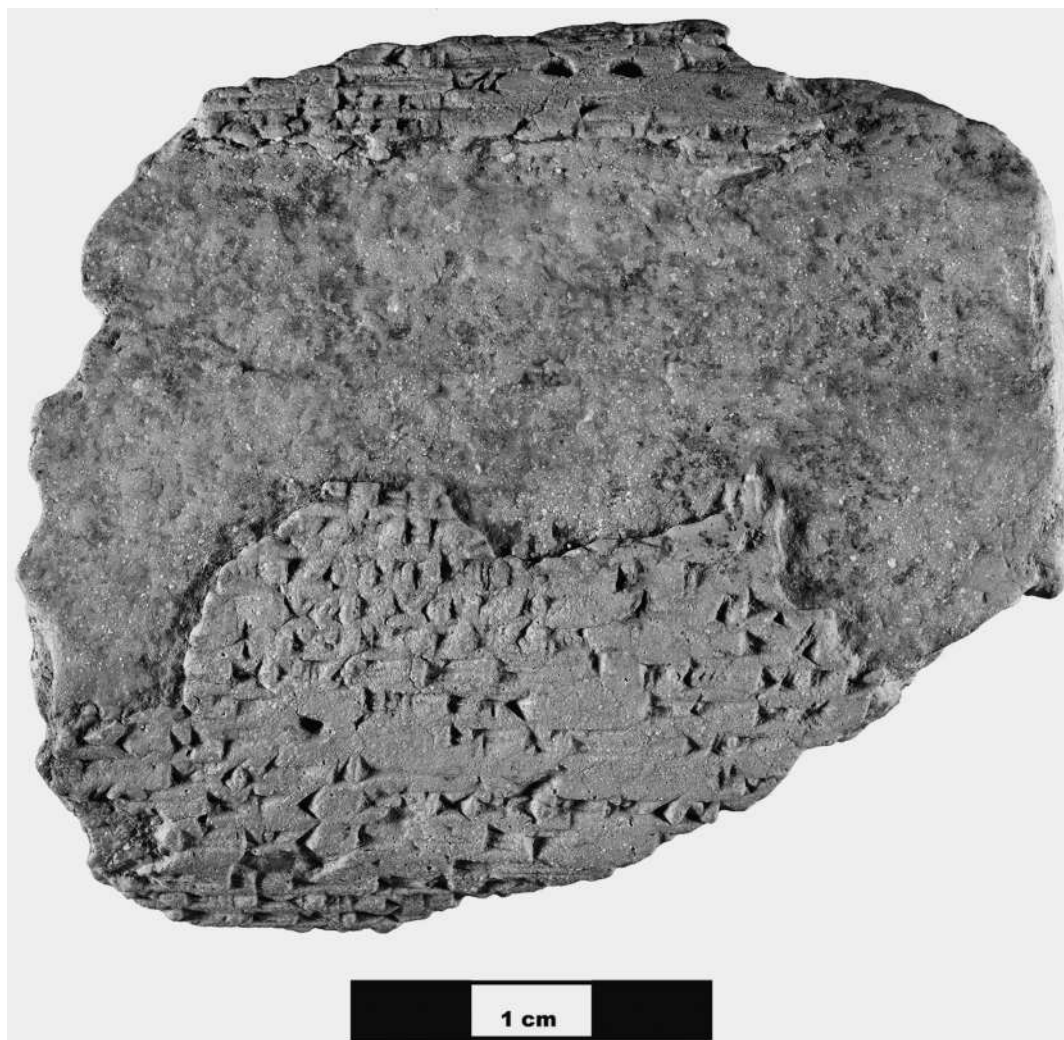


Figure 12—Cyl. C (= KH.15.O.355)—front view.

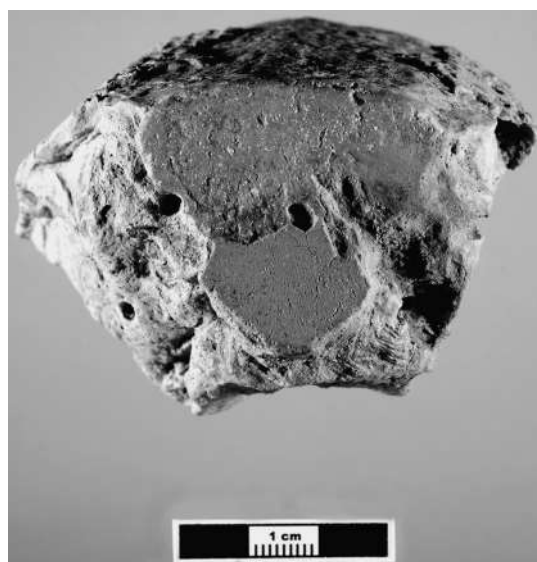


Figure 13—Cyl. C—side view (base).





Figure 14—Cyl. C—face a'-b' (= Karkemish Cyl. 14'-20').

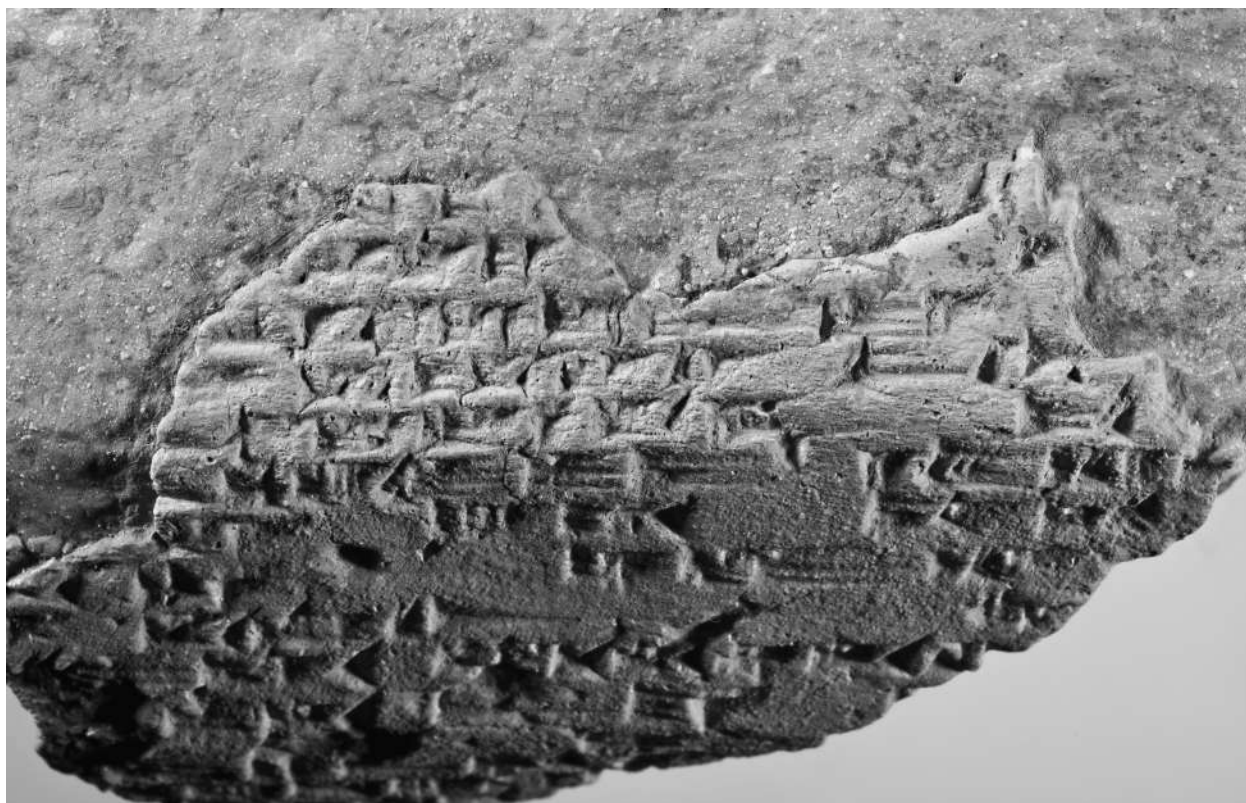


Figure 15—Cyl. C—face d' (= Karkemish Cyl. 29'-33').



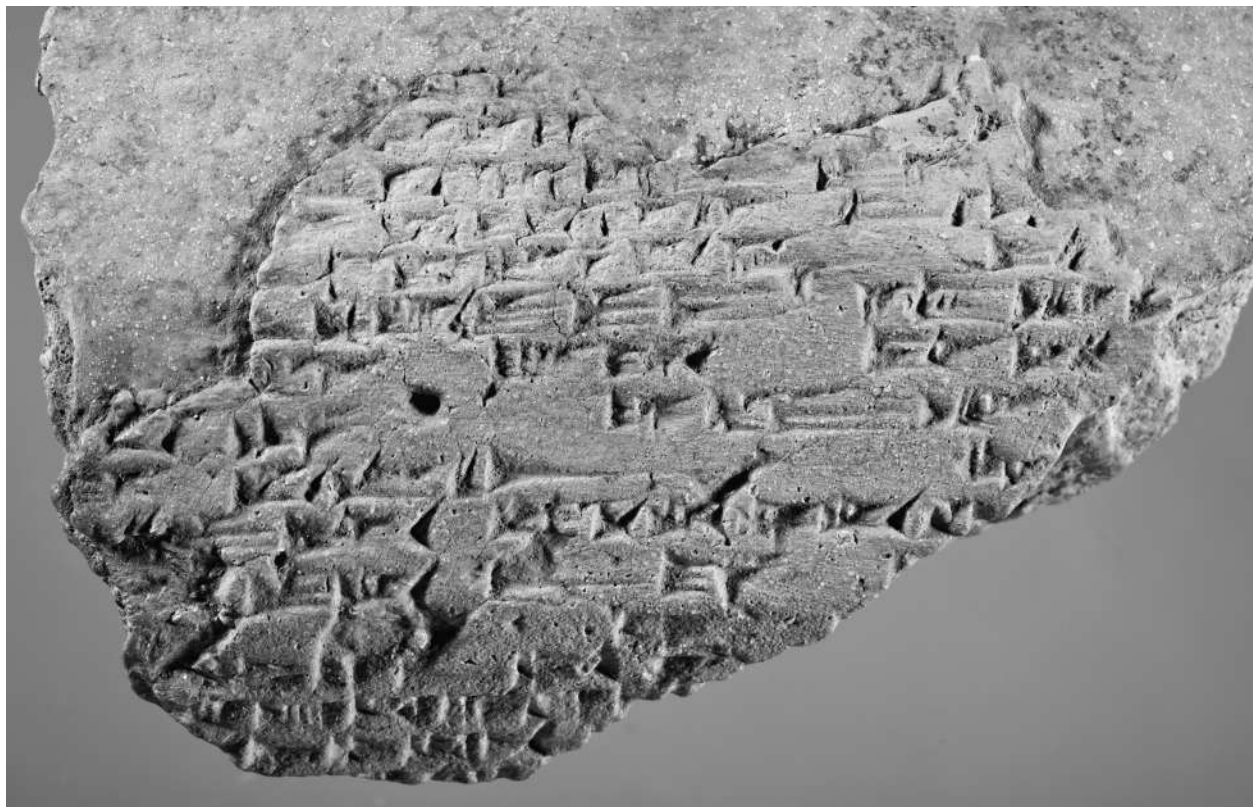


Figure 16—Cyl. C—face e' (= Karkemish Cyl. 34'-39').



Figure 17—Cyl. C—face f' (= Karkemish Cyl. 40'-44').



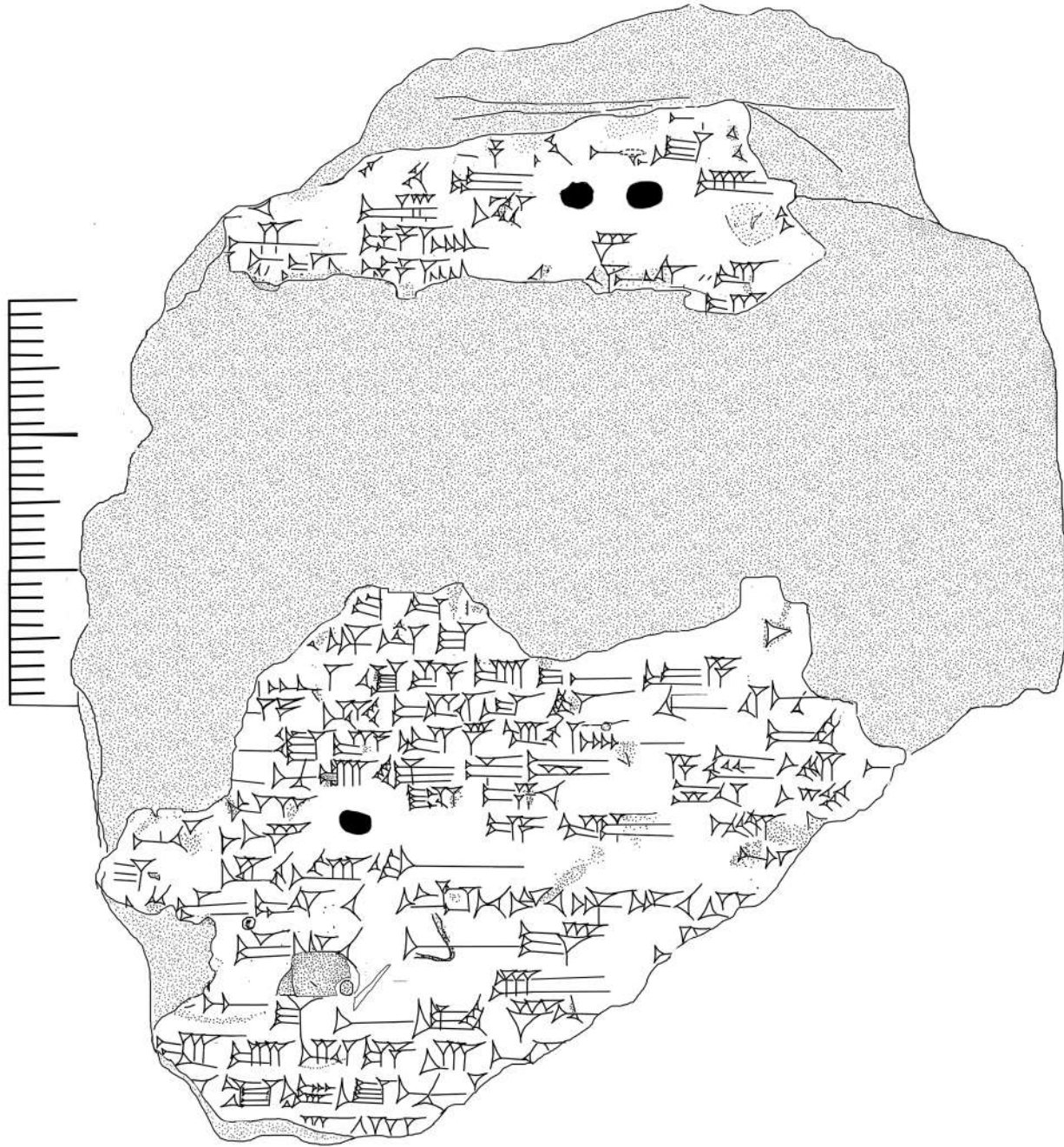


Figure 18—Cylinder C—handcopy (courtesy Mark Weeden).

the Khorsabad Cylinder.<sup>14</sup> In Karkemish, Sargon built not just a dwelling for his provincial governor, but a true royal palace where he stayed for a time and received tribute.<sup>15</sup> In this connection, note the refer-

<sup>14</sup> See A. Fuchs, *Die Inschriften Sargons II. aus Khorsabad* (Göttingen, 1994), 29–44 and 289–96.

<sup>15</sup> See below, Karkemish Cyl. 31'–33'. Sargon's palace at Karkemish is also known from a number of inscribed bricks, all of them

bearing the same inscription: “Palace of Sargon, king of the world, king of Assyria.” See 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), 119, no. 171; and Ö. Tunca, “Un fragment de brique inscrite néo-assyrienne provenant de Tell Amarna (Syrie),” *Bagh. Mitt.* 37 (2006): 179–84. Five additional exemplars were found by the Turco-Italian Archaeological Expedition

ence to the planting of what appears to be a botanical garden,<sup>16</sup> an essential component of any Assyrian royal palace.<sup>17</sup> Finally, the inauguration ceremony of his palace at Karkemish recalls well the inauguration ceremonies of Sargon's palaces in the great Assyrian capitals of Kalhu and Dur-Sharrukenu.<sup>18</sup>

All this is quite telling of the great importance that Sargon attributed to Karkemish, putting the city on the Euphrates in a very special position. Apparently, it was Sargon's intention that Karkemish would become more than a mere provincial capital, i.e., simply the seat of an Assyrian governor. Rather, because of its glorious past and strategic position, Karkemish was fully entitled to become a sort of western capital of the Assyrian Empire: a perfect place in which to display the grandeur of Assyria, and from which to control the western and north-western territories of the Empire.<sup>19</sup> The unthinkable, ominous death of Sargon on the battlefield in Tabal probably prevented this project from being accomplished, and negatively marked the destiny of Karkemish itself, which no longer attracted the interest of the Assyrian kings who followed after him.<sup>20</sup>

### Remarks on the Transliteration and Transcription (Fig. A)

The graphic symbol || (double vertical bar) is used in transliteration as a dividing mark to separate discrete portions of text—either phrases or clauses—which correspond to the text segmentation in the translation, so as to help the non-specialist reader to catch the correspondences between the Akkadian text and its translation into English. As such, || has no correspondence in the original cuneiform text.

The grapheme A.A at the end of some toponyms and *nisbe* adjectives is interpreted as standing for /āyV/, with V being /u/, /i/, or /ī/ depending on

at Karkemish in the seasons 2014 and 2016: KH.14.O.256, KH.14.O.636, KH.14.O.845, KH.14.O.974, and KH.16.O.215 (see N. Marchetti, “Karkemish. New Discoveries in the Last Hittite Capital,” *Current World Archaeology* 70 [2015]: 24).

<sup>16</sup> Karkemish Cyl. 27'–28'.

<sup>17</sup> See M. Liverani, *Assyria: The Imperial Mission*, MC 21 (Wiconona Lake, IN, 2017), 67–70.

<sup>18</sup> See below, commentary to ll. 31'–32' and to l. 33'.

<sup>19</sup> Note the building of another palace of Sargon at the north-eastern frontier of the Empire, erected by Nashir-Bel (“Liphur-Bel”), governor of Amedi/Bit-Zamani; see SAA 5, 15 rev. 8–12.

<sup>20</sup> In point of fact, none of Sargon's successors mention Karkemish in their inscriptions at all.

grammatical case and number;<sup>21</sup> so, for instance, in lines 1'–2', I interpret <sup>kur</sup>*Ma-da-A.A* as *Madāyī*, genitive plural (because of the accompanying plural adjective *lā kansūti*), but <sup>kur</sup>*Ma-an-na-A.A* as *Mannāyī*, genitive singular (because of the singular adjective *saphi*).

As far as the use of the sign KUR with geographical names is concerned, it is not always easy to establish with certainty whether it is a determinative or a logogram. As a rule, I have considered KUR to be a determinative in all instances in which it occurs with the name of a country or region; so, for instance, in line 15', I transliterate <sup>kur</sup>*Mu-uš-ri*, “Egypt,” but *māt*(KUR) *Šur-ri*, “land of Tyre”—Tyre being a city-name. In addition, KUR is probably used as a determinative in the writings of ethnica such as <sup>kur</sup>*Man/Ma(-an)-na-A.A* = *Mannāyī*, “the Manneans.”<sup>22</sup>

In transcriptions, the case endings of the genitive and of the plural are normalized as /i/ and /ī/, respectively, regardless of their being written with -(C)i or -(C)e signs. Although it is possible (if not probable) that these two endings were pronounced as [e] and [ē] in Assyria,<sup>23</sup> no systematic study of the distribution and percentage of -(C)i vs. -(C)e spellings has been carried out so far.

Here I also depart from the standard manner of transliterating and transcribing compound noun phrases in that I hyphenate their components. Finally, the term *nišī*, “people(s),” in the *status constructus* is transcribed not *nišī* but *niš*.<sup>24</sup>

### Commentary

1'–2': This section seems to reproduce verbatim ll. 30–31 of the Khorsabad Cylinder (Fuchs, *Die Inschriften Sargons*, 36 and 291). The notoriously difficult term *mā'u*,<sup>25</sup> in line 1', is probably related to Ge'ez *mw*,

<sup>21</sup> Cf. W. R. Mayer, “Besonderheiten in der Verwendung des Graphems A.A im Akkadischen,” *Orientalia* 72 (2003): 293–306, esp. 294.

<sup>22</sup> Cf. *mu-ta-qi-in* <sup>kur</sup>*Man-na-A.A dal-bu-ū-te*, “orderer of the chaotic Manneans,” in the Juniper Palace Inscr. 9 (H. Winckler, *Die Keilschrifttexte Sargons nach den Papierabklatschen und Originalen neu herausgegeben*, vol. II: *Texte, autographiert von Dr. Ludwig Abel* [Leipzig, 1889], pl. 48). Note that “orderer of the chaotic land of the Manneans” should be \**mutaqqin māt Mannāyī daliḫti*.

<sup>23</sup> Cf. J. Hämeen-Anttila, *A Sketch of Neo-Assyrian Grammar*, SAAS 13 (Helsinki, 2000), 27.

<sup>24</sup> See K. Deller, W. R. Mayer, and W. Sommerfeld, “Akkadische Lexikographie: CAD N,” *Orientalia* 56 (1987): 209. Cf. W. R. Mayer, “Nachlese II: zu Wolfram von Soden, Grundriß der akkadischen Grammatik,” *Orientalia* 84 (2015): 191.

<sup>25</sup> Cf. M.-J. Seux, *Épithètes royales akkadiennes et sumériennes* (Paris, 1967), 162 with n. 40; *AHW*. 637a; *CAD M*/1 435b (s.v. *mā'u* s.). The dictionaries tentatively render *mā'u* as “prince” or “ruler,” but do not provide any convincing argument supporting such translations.

*moʿa*, “to conquer, vanquish, overcome,” and the like; see W. Leslau, *Comparative Dictionary of Geʿez (Classical Ethiopic)* (Wiesbaden, 1991), 374b.<sup>26</sup> Note that the very same word is also attested much earlier at Ebla, as an element of the personal names Parsamāʿu (*Bar-za-ma-ù*), “The Decision of the Victorious One,” and Pū-māʿu (*Bù-ma-ù*), “The Word of the Victorious One” (references in A. Archi et al., “The Prosopography of Ebla – B,” downloadable at [www.sagas.unifi.it/vp-337-archive.html](http://www.sagas.unifi.it/vp-337-archive.html)).<sup>27</sup>

3'–4': Restored after line 13 of the Great “Summary” Inscr. of Khorsabad (Fuchs, *Die Inschriften Sargons*, 193 and 343). Cf. Khorsabad Cyl. 8 (ibid., 32 and 289) and Juniper Palace Inscr. 4 (Winckler, *Die Keilschrifttexte Sargons*, II, pl. 48; D. D. Luckenbill, *Ancient Records of Assyria and Babylonia*, vol. II: *Historical Records of Assyria from Sargon to the End* [Chicago, 1927], 72).

4'–5': Restored after Khorsabad Annals 72–73 (see below, Appendix A, sub 4) and after the variant version of the Annals from Room XIV, slab I:14 (ibid., sub 5). See also Nimrud “Summary” Inscr. v 50–52 (C. J. Gadd, “Inscribed Prisms of Sargon II from Nimrud,” *Iraq* 16 [1954]: 183 and pl. XLVIII): *a-na* <sup>1</sup>*Mi-ta-a šar*(LUGAL) <sup>KUR</sup>*Mus-ki ze-ra-a-ti māt*(KUR) *Aš-šur*<sup>KI</sup> *il-tap-pa-ru il-qu-ù še-tu-tu*, “They (= Tarhunazi, king of Melid, and Tarhulara, king of Marqas) repeatedly wrote (words of) hostility toward Assyria to Mita, king of Musku; they showed contempt.” The passage in line 4' should refer to the dangerous relations of Pisiri, king of Karkemish and Assyrian vassal, with king Mita of Musku, an enemy of Assyria.<sup>28</sup> In line 5', instead of *kamússunu ušēšāšunūtīma*, a restoration *birītu parzilli addišunūtīma* (“I threw them into iron fetters”) is also possible, though less likely (cf. below, Appendix A, sub 3, line 10'; and sub 5, I:15). For the translation

<sup>26</sup> This idea is not new: see already W. Leslau, “Vocabulary Common to Akkadian and South-East Semitic (Ethiopic and South-Arabic),” *JAOS* 64 (1944): 56, s.v. *mʿ*. Note that, morphologically, Akkadian *māʿu* appears to be an adjective from a C<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub> root (cf. von Soden *GAG* § 104 j).

<sup>27</sup> Also note the related feminine PN Māʿūtu (*Ma-ù-du*), “Victory” (ARET 3, 3 rev. 2; MEE 2, 12 iii 5'; cf. P. Fronzaroli, “La formation des noms personnels féminins à Ebla,” in *La femme dans le Proche-Orient antique* [= XXXIII RAI], ed. J.-M. Durand [Paris, 1987], 67).

<sup>28</sup> Elsewhere, Pisiri is attributed the epithet *dābib šalīpti*, “he who speaks of treachery, conspirator” (see below, Appendix B, sub b and d; cf. Appendix A, sub 3, ll. 5'–6' [11th Year Annals]). For Pisiri (\*Piyaššili), the last king of Karkemish, see J. D. Hawkins, “Pisiri(s),” *RLA* 10, 578–79; and *PNA* 997, s.v. Pisiri(s) (by A. Fuchs).

of *qinnu* as “clan,” rather than “family,” cf. Nimrud “Summary” Inscr. iv 15–17 (see below, Appendix A, sub 7).

6'–7': Restored after Khorsabad Annals 74–75 (see below, Appendix A, sub 4).<sup>29</sup> Cf. Nimrud “Summary” Inscr. iv 21–24 (ibid., sub 7).<sup>30</sup> A more detailed list of the booty of Karkemish is found in the variant version of the Annals in Room XIV of Sargon's Palace at Khorsabad (ibid., sub 5). See also Juniper Palace Inscr. 21–22 (ibid., sub 2).

8': Partially restored after Khorsabad Annals 76 (see below, Appendix A, sub 4). Cf. RINAP 4, 199, no. 104 v 25–28 (Esarhaddon): *a-na a-ša-bi āli*(URU) *e-peš bīti*(É) *za-qa-ap šip-pa-a-ti he-re-e pat-ta-a-ti ú-šar-ḫi-is-su-nu-ti libbu*(ŠAG<sub>4</sub>-bu), “I encouraged them to (re)settle the city, build house(s), plant orchards, (and) dig canals.”

9': Cf. *dūr*(BĀD)-*šú eš*[-*šis*] (in a broken context, but in a passage dealing with the newly-conquered city of Harhar) in 11th Year Annals iii.b 34 (A. Fuchs, *Die Annalen des Jahres 711 v. Chr.*, SAAS 8 [Helsinki, 1998], 27 and 56), while *eli*(UGU) *šá mah-ri ú-zaq-ger* recalls the similar sentence *dūr*(BĀD)-*šú-nu eli*(UGU) *šá pa-na ú-zaq-qi-ru-ma* (“They raised their wall higher than before”) in Khorsabad Annals 269–70 (Fuchs, *Die Inschriften Sargons*, 139). In the Karkemish Cylinder, the two verbs *ušabni* and *uzaqqer* almost certainly refer to the city walls of Karkemish. In this connection, it should be noted that the Outer Wall and the Quay Wall of Karkemish were probably built at the time of the Assyrian domination,<sup>31</sup> while pre-existing fortification structures, such as the River Wall and the wall to the north stretching on both sides of the Mill Tower, may well have been made taller by the Assyrians.

10': In the break we should probably restore something like *niš Gargamis*, “the people of Karkemish” (cf. below, Appendix A, sub 1, line 21); *māri āli šātunu*, “those citizens” (cf. ibid., sub 3, line 12'); or *niš āšibūt Gargamis*, “the inhabitants of Karkemish”

<sup>29</sup> Earlier versions of Sargon's account of the booty from Karkemish are phrased differently and do not contain these passages (see below, Appendix A, sub 1 and 3).

<sup>30</sup> Note the variant “500” (instead of “200”) as regards the number of the riding horses in this source.

<sup>31</sup> Although the area of the Outer Town was already occupied in Neo-Hittite times (as the 2017 excavations in area F East have proven; N. Marchetti, pers. comm.), its fortification system probably dates to the Iron III phase (as suggested by the results of the excavations in areas F West and E; see now F. Zaina, “Some Preliminary Remarks on the Neo-Assyrian City Wall in the Outer Town at Karkemish,” in *Pearls of the Past: Studies in Honour of Frances Pinnock*, ed. M. D'Andrea et al., Marru 8 [Münster, 2019], 919–37).





Figure 19—Cyl. A—beginning of line 11'.

(ibid., sub 7, col. iv 18). Be that as it may, the text apparently alludes to a forced relocation of the inhabitants of Karkemish to the Outer Town. The Citadel and the Inner Town were presumably reserved for the newly-settled Assyrians (cf. M. Novák, “Elites behind Walls: Citadels and the Segregation of Elites in Anatolia, the Levant and Mesopotamia,” in *Anatolian Metal VIII: Eliten—Handwerk—Prestigegüter*, ed. Ü. Yalçın [Bochum, 2018], 255–68). No other example of this kind of displacement of people from one area of a city to another is known, however.

11': See Fig. 19. The only term ending in *unnabu* that is listed in the dictionaries—*qunnabu*, “hemp”—does not make sense here. The context requires a word denoting a group of soldiers. I here assume the existence of a noun *\*sunnābu* meaning “contingent,” or the like, etymologically related to the verb *sanābu*, “to tie,” just as *kisru*, “contingent of soldiers, troop,” is from the same root as the verb *kašāru*, “to tie.” Needless to say, this interpretation is very tentative.

12': See Fig. 20. Cf. *mé-eb-rat* (not *mé-eb-ret*) in line 19'. One wonders whether *mé-eb-ret* here represents not the preposition *mehra/et* but rather *mehrētu*, the plural of *mehru*, “weir, barrage.” If so, then “the ‘weirs of the Euphrates’ (*mehrēt Puratti*) could be water-control facilities regulating the water flow from the river to the main canals branching off from it, and this textual passage may be related to the content of lines 20'ff. below. On the other hand, the term *mehru*, “weir,” is not otherwise attested in Neo-Assyrian sources; cf. A. M. Bagg, *Assyrische Wasserbauten: Landwirtschaftliche Wasserbauten im Kernland Assyriens zwischen der 2. Hälfte des 2. und der 1. Hälfte des 1. Jahrtausends v. Chr.*, Baghdader Forschungen 24 (Mainz, 2000).

13': Cf. *a-šar ru-uq-te* in TCL 3, 65 (Letter to Assur). Despite the unusual spelling <sup>kur</sup>*Kam-a-ni*, there can be little doubt that the land of Kammanu, usually spelled <sup>kur</sup>*Kam-ma-nu/ni*,<sup>32</sup> is meant here. The

<sup>32</sup> See A. M. Bagg, *Die Orts- und Gewässernamen der neuassyrischen Zeit, Teil I: Die Levante*, RGTC 7/1 (Wiesbaden, 2007), 132.



Figure 20—Cyl. A—beginning of line 12'.

“distant place on the border of Kammanu” is almost certainly some place in the state of Bit-Purutash (or Bit-Puritish), in the Tabal region,<sup>33</sup> which was conquered and turned into an Assyrian province by Sargon in 713 BC.<sup>34</sup> In this connection, cf. Khorsabad Annals 203 (Fuchs, *Die Inschriften Sargons*, 125): . . . *ger-bu-uš-šú niš(UG.MEŠ) mātātū(KUR.KUR) ki-šit-ti<sup>d</sup> Aš-šur be-ī[í-ia ú-s]e-šib*, “Therein (= in Bit-Purutash) [I set]tled peoples from the lands conquered by Assur, [my] lord.”<sup>35</sup>

14': Cf. 11th Year Annals v.b-d 61 (Fuchs, *Annalen*, 39 and 67). Those “who pull the yoke of Assur” were not only the vassal rulers subjected to tribute (J. N. Postgate, “The Land of Assur and the Yoke of Assur,” *World Archaeology* 23 [1992]: 252–55), but also the entire population of Assyria, including the subjugated peoples of the newly established provinces; see below, Appendix A, sub 1, 4, and 5; and RINAP 1, 27–28, no. 5:11–12 (Tiglath-Pileser III). See also Liverani, *Assyria*, 180. The passage ll. 13'–14' of Karkemish Cyl. seems to indicate that Karkemishites were deported to Bit-Purutash, presumably in 713 BC (see comment to l. 13', above), and that they were replaced by peoples

<sup>33</sup> Cf. M. Wäfler, “Zu Status und Lage von Tabāl,” *Orientalia* 52 (1983): 181–93 (see esp. map between pp. 188 and 189); J. D. Hawkins, *Corpus of Hieroglyphic Luwian Inscriptions*, vol. I: *Inscriptions of the Iron Age, Part 1* (Berlin, 2000), 425 with n. 4; and Fuchs, *Die Inschriften Sargons*, 390, map.

<sup>34</sup> See A. Fuchs, “Sargon II,” *RLA* 12, 57; S. C. Melville, “Kings of Tabal: Politics, Competition, and Conflict in a Contested Periphery,” in *Rebellions and Peripheries in the Mesopotamian World*, ed. S. Richardson, AOS 91 (Winona Lake, IN, 2010), 96–97, and *The Campaigns of Sargon II, King of Assyria, 721–705 B.C.* (Norman, OK, 2016), 143–45.

<sup>35</sup> Incidentally, the Karkemish Cylinder provides the sole textual corroboration for the claim, by Sargon, to have settled foreign deportees in Tabal (cf. Melville, “Kings of Tabal,” 97). Tabalian deportees, possibly from Bit-Purutash, are known from a letter to Sargon to have been transferred to Nikkur, the capital of the far-flung province of Parsua; see SAA 15, 54.

from other provinces of the Neo-Assyrian Empire. In this connection, it is worth noting that the only Neo-Assyrian legal text from Karkemish hitherto published (BM 116230, edited by J. N. Postgate, *Taxation and Conscriptio in the Assyrian Empire*, *Studia Pohl: Series Maior* 3 [Rome, 1974], 360–62) lists a number of Karkemishite villagers,<sup>36</sup> and all of them bear Aramaic or West Semitic names.<sup>37</sup>

15': A restoration [<sup>kur</sup>A]-*re-me* is also possible; cf. Borowski Stele B 17, where <sup>kur</sup>A-*re-me* is used as a collective designation for the Aramaic states of Syria; see J. D. Hawkins, "The New Sargon Stele from Hama," in *From the Upper Sea to the Lower Sea: Studies in the History of Assyria and Babylonia in Honour of A. K. Grayson*, ed. G. Frame, PIHANS 101 (Leiden, 2004), 160–61. However, these were already turned into Assyrian provinces at the time of the composition of this inscription; as *Are-me* occurs together with a series of independent kingdoms here, it is more likely a reference to the independent Aramean tribes dwelling in Babylonia or along the border with Elam (cf. Fuchs, *Die Inschriften Sargons*, 422–23, s.v. Aramu). The passage in question presumably mentions peoples and countries that were sending tribute to Sargon as a sign of submission; cf., Khorsabad Annals 123–25 (Fuchs, *ibid.*, 110 and 320).

16': Cf. <sup>na</sup>4*pi-lu-ú dan-nu . . . áš-pu-uk-ma*, "I piled up solid limestone (slabs)," in RINAP 1, 123, no. 47 rev. 21' (Tiglath-pileser III). The passage in question may refer to the building of the Quay Wall of the Outer Town at Karkemish, which is made of huge limestone slabs (see C. L. Woolley, *Carchemish. Report on the Excavations at Jerablus on Behalf of the British Museum, Part II: The Town Defences* [London, 1921], pl. 5a).

17': The feminine pronoun suffix suggests that the foundations in question are those of a palace (Akkadian *ekallu*, which is feminine in Neo-Assyrian texts).

18': Cf. Khorsabad Cyl. 64 (Fuchs, *Die Inschriften Sargons*, 42 and 294); Silver Tablet 23–24 (*ibid.*, 49 and 298); etc. Note the Babylonianism *mé-eh-rat* (see *AHW*. 640b) vs. *mé-eh-ret* in line 12', above

<sup>36</sup> The text in question probably dates to the beginning of the reign of Sennacherib; see *PNA* 977, s.v. Pāda (by C. Ambos). Two additional Neo-Assyrian legal texts that have been found in the 2017 season of excavations at Karkemish are now being prepared for publication.

<sup>37</sup> See *PNA* s.v. Abdāia (5), Iddin-ilu (2) (read Idnī-il; cf. R. Zadok, *On West Semites in Babylonia during the Chaldean and Achaemenian Periods: An Onomastic Study* [Jerusalem, 1977], 220 and 376), Illil-ma'ādī, Illil-naqamī, Našuh-īatē, Našuh-il, Našuh-šamē, Raḫimi-Dādi (1), Sē<sup>2</sup>-parasi, and Sē<sup>2</sup>-sagab.

(see comment ad loc.). What was exactly a *bīt-hilāni* (É-*hi-la(-a)-ni*) or *bīt-hilanni* (É-*hi-la-an-ni*)—both variants are attested in Sargon texts—remains controversial; see, most recently, M. Novák, "Hilani und Lustgarten: Ein 'Palast des Hethiter-Landes' und ein 'Garten nach der Abbild des Amanus,'" in *Die Entstehung des späthethitischen Kulturraumes*, ed. M. Novák, F. Prayon, and A.-M. Wittke, AOAT 323 (Münster, 2004), 335–55; J. Reade, "Real and Imagined 'Hittite Palaces' at Khorsabad and Elsewhere," *Iraq* 70 (2008): 13–40; and D. Kertai, "Embellishing the Interior Spaces of Assyria's Royal Palaces: The *Bēt Hīlāni* Reconsidered," *Iraq* 79 (2017): 85–104.

19': Cf. Bull Inscr. 65–66 (Fuchs, *Die Inschriften Sargons*, 69 and 305); Khorsabad Great "Summary" Inscr. 161 (*ibid.*, 238 and 353); etc. The act of fixing the doors usually marks the completion of the building (in this case, Sargon's palace at Karkemish).

20': The term *hibību* (new) is the Assyrian form of Babylonian *habību* (suggestion courtesy W. R. Mayer; cf. von Soden *GAG* § 55j, sub 13). For the use of the term *nāru*—properly "river, (big) canal"—in the sense of "current," cf. SAA 5, 200:10. Alternatively, a translation "main canal" is preferable to "river" in this context. As far as the final part of this line is concerned, the prohibitive 3<sup>rd</sup> person verbal form *lā imak-kir* (here with the value of the vetitive mood; cf. von Soden *GAG* § 81h) suggests that here we have a direct speech. The assumption that Sargon is the one who speaks is not completely certain, however; as an alternative, one may think of some deity (Assur? Adad?) who curses Pisiri because of his behavior. Moreover, what precedes ("the water of the irrigation ditches [and] the murmur of the current") may also be part of the direct speech. The interpretation here proposed assumes that Sargon blocked the sources of water supply and the irrigation system of Karkemish as he did with the Urartian king Rusa in his Eighth Campaign (TCL 3, 221–22; cf. B. R. Foster, *Before the Muses: An Anthology of Akkadian Literature* [Bethesda, MD, 3<sup>rd</sup> 2005], 803).

21': Cf. Nimrud "Summary" Inscr. vii 66 (Gadd, "Inscribed Prisms," 192 and pl. L): *ugārū* (A.GAR.MEŠ)-*šū-un hab-šu-ti e-mu-u ki-šub-bi-iš*, "Their luxuriant meadows had become wasteland."

22': Restored partly after TCL 3, 68 (Letter to Assur), and partly after Khorsabad Cyl. 34 (Fuchs, *Die Inschriften Sargons*, 37 and 292; see also *ibid.*, 66, Bull Inscr. 37–39). For the well-known motif "From aridity . . . to fertility" in Assyrian royal inscriptions and elsewhere, see C. Zaccagnini, "An Urartean Royal



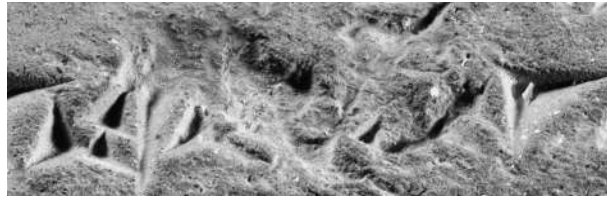


Figure 21—Cylinder A—middle of line 23'.



Figure 22—Cylinder A—end of line 30'.

Inscription in the Report of Sargon's Eight Campaign," in *Assyrian Royal Inscriptions: New Horizons in Literary, Ideological, and Historical Analysis*, ed. F. M. Fales, *Oriens Antiqui Collectio* 17 (Roma, 1981), 259–95.

23': Note the hapax legomena *gitpušū*, a Gt form of *gapāšū*, and *nadi'ūti* (see Fig. 21), an archaizing form of *nadūti* (pl. of *nadū*). For the end of the line, cf. *ú-šah-bi-ba mé*<sup>(A.MEŠ)</sup> *nu-ub-šē*<sup>1</sup>, in RINAP 1, 27, no. 5:5 (Tiglath-pileser III); and *ú-šah-bi-ba mé*<sup>(A.MEŠ)</sup> *nubšī*<sup>(HÉ.NUN)</sup>, in R. Campbell Thompson, "A Selection of the Cuneiform Historical Texts from Nineveh (1927–32)," *Iraq* 7 (1940): 107 and fig. 19, no. 34 col. A 16 (Assurbanipal).

24': For *naḥaršušū*, see W. R. Mayer, "Zum akkadischen Wörterbuch: M–S," *Orientalia* 86 (2017): 13 (also quoting this passage, with a slightly different translation). For the construction of the infinitive of purpose without the preposition *ana*, see J. Aro, *Die akkadischen Infinitivkonstruktionen*, StOr. 26 (Helsinki, 1961), 69–73.

26': For the word for "barley, grain" being *eyu* (*m*) (OB/MB) and *ú* (and not *\*šē'u*) in Akkadian, see, most recently, A. Cavigneaux, "Perseverare . . .," *N.A.B.U.* 2010 no. 94. Cf. M. Weeden, "The Akkadian Words for 'Grain' and the God Ḫaya," *WO* 39 (2009): 77–85.

27': Cf. *gi-mir inib*<sup>(GURUN)</sup> *ad-na-a-te* in RINAP 3/1, 144, no. 17 viii 20 (Sennacherib).

28': Cf. Mayer, "Zum akkadischen Wörterbuch: M–S," 32, s.v. *qerūm*. Note the expression *ba'ulāt*

*libbīšu* (also in line 30' below), which is attested for the first time.

30': See Fig. 22.

31'–32': Cf. Juniper Palace Inscr. 19–20 (Winckler, *Die Keilschrifttexte Sargons*, II, pl. 48): <sup>d</sup>*Nergal*(URĪ.GAL) <sup>d</sup>*Adad*(IŠKUR) *ù ilāni*(DINGIR.MEŠ) *a-ši-bu-ut*<sup>uru</sup> *Kal-ḫa a-na libbī*(ŠAG<sub>4</sub>-bi) *aq-ri-ma gummābī*(GUD.MAḪ-ḫi) *rabūti*(GAL.MEŠ) *šu'ū*(UDU.NÍTA.MEŠ) *ma-ru-ti kurkī*(KUR.GI.MUŠEN.MEŠ) *paspasī*(UZ.TUR.MUŠEN.MEŠ) *iššūrī*(MUŠEN.MEŠ) *šamē*(AN-e) *mut-tap-riš-ú-te ma-ḫar-šu-un aq-qi*, "Nergal, Adad, and the gods that dwell in Kalhu I invited therein, and large prize bulls, fattened rams, geese, ducks, and flying birds of the sky I offered before them." See also Khorsabad Annals 440–45 (Fuchs, *Die Inschriften Sargons*, 184–85 and 340–41). For additional examples of gods being invited by Assyrian kings to their palaces for offerings, see CAD Q 242a. Such visits by the deities were part of the inauguration ceremonies of Assyrian royal palaces; see, most recently, V. A. Hurowitz, "The Inauguration of Palaces and Temples in the Assyrian Royal Inscriptions," *Orient* 49 (2014): 90–100. The deities of Karkemish, Karhuha and Kubaba, also occur together (but in reverse order) in two Assyrian treaties; see SAA 2, 2 vi 23 (Assur-nirari V) and J. Lauinger, "Esarhaddon's Succession Treaty at Tell Tayinat: Text and Commentary," *JCS* 64 (2012): 102 (vi 50) and 119 (ad loc.). They probably formed a divine couple, though they are never explicitly said to be the husband or the wife of the other (cf. D. J. Hawkins, "Kubaba. A. Philologisch," in *RIA* 7, 257–61).

33': Cf. Khorsabad Annals 446–51 (Fuchs, *Die Inschriften Sargons*, 185–86 and 341). The presentation of the tribute to the king by the vassal rulers and provincial governors of Assyria was part of the inauguration ceremony for the new palace; see Hurowitz, “Inauguration of Palaces and Temples,” 97–98.

34': This passage probably refers to the offering, by Sargon, of part of the booty of Karkemish to the great gods of Assyria. Cf. Najafehabad Stele ii 22 (see below, Appendix A, sub 1).

Subscript: For the problem of Sargon's name, see E. Frahm, “Observations on the Name and Age of Sargon II and Some Patterns of Assyrian Royal Onomastics,” *N.A.B.U.* 2005 no. 44; Fuchs, “Sargon II,” 51–53, and in *PNA* 1239. Syllabic spellings point to two distinct forms of the name—*Šarru-ukīn* and *Šarru-kēnu* (and not *\*Šarru-kēn*)—or, rather, to two distinct names. It is quite possible (and assumed here) that the former was Sargon's original name and the latter a sort of throne-name, which Sargon adopted when he became king, in imitation of Sargon of Akkad. Accordingly, <sup>1</sup>LUGAL-GI.NA is interpreted and transcribed as *Šarru-kēnu*.

### Appendix A: References to Karkemish in Sargon's inscriptions

1) Najafehabad Stele (L. D. Levine, *Two Neo-Assyrian Stelae from Iran* [Toronto, 1972], 25–50, figs. 3–12, and pls. VII–XI). Date: 716 BC.<sup>38</sup>

col. ii

20. *ina* 5 *palē*(BALA)-*ia* <sup>uru</sup>*Kar-ga-[mis]* *ša kišād*(GÚ) <sup>id</sup>*Pu-rat-ti ak-šu-ud*<sup>1</sup> *Pi-si-i-ri šárru-šú a-di*<sup>1</sup> *Šimtar-ru-ú* [. . .-šú]
21. *it-ti makkūr*(NÍG.GUR<sub>11</sub>) *ekallī*(É.GAL)-*šú aššat*(DAM)-[*su mārišu kim*]-*ti-šú áš-lu-lam-ma*

<sup>38</sup> The dates of this and the other inscriptions of Sargon that are quoted here are based on the events referred to in the text of each single inscription. These dates should thus be considered *termini post quem*. It is reasonable to assume, however, that the inscriptions in question were composed in the same year in which the last recorded episode occurs, or soon after. For the periods covered by the various inscriptions, see in general Fuchs, *Die Inschriften Sargons*, 386–87 and “Sargon II,” 52. Note the following correspondences between my and Fuchs' designations of Sargon inscriptions: 11th Year Annals = “Annalen 711”; 11th Year “Summary” Inscr. = “Prunkinschrift 711”; Khorsabad “Summary” Inscr. = “Prunkinschrift XIV” Hōrs.; Khorsabad Great “Summary” Inscr. = “Große Prunkinschrift” Hōrs.; Nimrud “Summary” Inscr. = “Große Prunkinschrift” 706.

*a-na ālī*(URU)-*ia Aš-šur*<sup>ki</sup> *ub-la niš*(ÜG.MEŠ) <sup>uru</sup>*Kar-[ga-mis]*

22. [*nīr*] *māt*(KUR) *Aš-šur*<sup>ki</sup> *e-mid-su-nu-<ti>* *hurāšu*(<sup>1</sup>KUG<sup>1</sup>.SIG<sub>17</sub>) *kaspu*(KUG.BABBAR) *ša* <sup>uru</sup>*Kar*<sup>1</sup>-*ga-mis <ša>* *qātū*(ŠU-*ti*) *ik-šu-du a-na Aššūr*(AN.ŠÁR)<sup>39</sup> <sup>d</sup>*Nergal*(U.GUR) *ù*<sup>d</sup>[*Adad* . . .]

(20) In my fifth regnal year, I conquered Karke[mish,] which is on the bank of the Euphrates. Pisiri, its king, together with Shimtarru, [*his* . . .,<sup>40</sup>] (21) with the possessions of his palace, [his] wife, [his sons,] (and) his [fam]ily, I took as booty and brought (them) to my city, Assur. As for the people of Kar[kemish], (22) I imposed [the yoke] of Assyria on them.<sup>41</sup> The gold and silver of Karkemish <that> my hand had conquered, I [presented] to Assur, Nergal, and [Adad.]

2) Juniper Palace Inscr. (Winckler, *Die Keilschrifttexte Sargons*, II, pl. 48). Date: 716 BC.

21. *i-na ūmī*(UD-*mī*)-*šū-ma i-na bīt*(É)-*na-kam-te šu-a-ti* 11 *bilat*(GUN) 30 *manā*(MA.NA) *hurāšu*(KUG.SIG<sub>17</sub>) 2 *lim* 1 *me bilat*(GUN) 24 *manā*(MA.NA) *kaspu*(KUG.BABBAR) *ina rabūti*(GAL-*ti*)
22. *ki-šit-ti* <sup>1</sup>*Pi-si-ri šar*(LUGAL) <sup>uru</sup>*Gar-ga-mis ša* <sup>kur</sup>*Ĥat-ti*<sup>ki</sup> *ša ki-šad*<sup>id</sup> *Pu-rat-ti ša qa-ti ik-šu-du ina libbi*(ŠAG<sub>4</sub>-*bī*) *ú-še-rib*

(21) At that time, I brought there, into that treasure house, 11 talents (and) 30 minas of gold (and) 2100 talents (and) 24 minas of silver, out of the great (22) booty (from the palace) of Pisiri, king of (the city of) Karkemish of (the land of) Hatti, which is on the bank of the Euphrates, that my hand had conquered.

3) 11th Year Annals, tablet fragment A 16947 (Fuchs, *Annalen*, 22–23, 53–54, and pl. 1).<sup>42</sup> Date: 711 BC.

- x. [*ina* 4 *palēya Pisiri*]  
(x+x. [. . .])  
1'. <sup>1</sup>x x x<sup>1</sup>[. . .]  
2'. *a-mat lemuttī*(ĤU[L-*ti*) . . .]

<sup>39</sup> Cf. S. Parpola, “A Letter of Šamaš-šumu-ukīn to Esarhad-don,” *Iraq* 34 (1972): 29–30, n. 40.

<sup>40</sup> Some high-ranking official of Karkemish, possibly Pisiri's prime minister or general. Cf. *PNA* 1256, s.v. “Šemtarru” (by M. Groß).

<sup>41</sup> The expression “the yoke of Assyria” in the place of “the yoke of (the god) Assur” is unusual, but note <sup>ges</sup>ŠUDUN *Aš-šur*<sup>ki</sup> in RINAP 4, 16, no. 1 ii 67 var.

<sup>42</sup> See also H. Tadmor, “The Campaigns of Sargon II of Assur: A Chronological-Historical Study,” *JCS* 12 (1958): 22–23 and 100.

- 3'. *ú-šá-ás̄*[. . .]  
 4'. *ia-a-ti* <sup>r</sup>x<sup>1</sup>[. . .]  
 5'. *da-ba-ab* [*sarrāti*]  
 6'. *at-me-e te-qé-e-ti* [*idbubma*]  
 7'. *ú-šá-aš-ri-iḫ* [*kabattī*]  
 8'. *šá-a-šū ga-du* [*qinnišū*]  
 9'. *aššat*(DAM<sup>1</sup>)-*su mārī*(DUMU.MEŠ)-*šú*  
*mārātī*(D[UMU.MUNUS.MEŠ]-*šú*)  
 10'. *bi-ri-tu parzillī*(AN.BAR) *ad-di-šū*-[*nu-ti-ma*]  
 11'. *a-na qé-reb māt*(KUR) *Aš-šur*<sup>ki</sup> *ub-la-ás̄*-[*šunūti*]  
 12'. *eli*(UGU) *mārī*(DUMU.MEŠ) *āli*(URU) *šá-tu-nu*  
<sup>lú</sup>*šū-ut-rēšī*(SA[G]-*ia*)  
 13'. *a-na* <sup>lú</sup>*pāḫatu*(NAM)-*ú-ti áš-ku*[*n*]  
 14'. *a-na mi-šir māt*(KUR) *Aš-šur*<sup>ki</sup> [*uterra*]

[In my fourth regnal year,<sup>43</sup> Pisiri, (. . .)] (1') . . . [. . .] (2') ev[il] words [. . .] (3') . . . [. . .] (4') me [. . .] (5'–6') [He (= Pisiri) spoke] speeches [of falsehood] (and) specious<sup>44</sup> words, (7') *making* [*my liver*] *boil* (*with rage*). (8') Him together with [his clan,] (9') his wife, his sons, (and) [his] d[ughters]—(10') I threw th[em] into iron fetters [and] (11') brought [them] here into Assyria. (12'–13') I install[ed] a eunu[ch of mine] into the office of provincial governor over those citizens. (14') [I turned it (= Karkemish)] into Assyria.

4) Khorsabad Annals, Room II (A. G. Lie, *The Inscriptions of Sargon II King of Assyria* [Paris, 1929], 2–70; Fuchs, *Die Inschriften Sargons*, 86–177 and 313–37). Date: 707 BC.

72. *i-na* 5 *palé*(BALA)-*ia* <sup>1</sup>*Pi-si-i-ri* <sup>uru</sup>*Gar-ga-mis*-A.A *i-na a-de-e ilāni*(DINGIR.MEŠ) *rabūti*(GAL.MEŠ) *iḫ-ṭi-i-ma a-na* <sup>1</sup>*Mi-ta-a šar*([LU]GAL) <sup>kur</sup>*Mu-us-ki*  
 73. *ze-ra-a-ti māt*(KUR) *Aš-šur*<sup>ki</sup> *iš-tap-par a-na* <sup>d</sup>*Aš-šur be-lí-ia q[a]-a-ti áš-šī*-[*m*] *a šá-a-šū ga-a-du q[i]n-ni-šú ka-m[u-su]-nu ú-še-ša-šū-nu-ti-ma*

<sup>43</sup> Sargon's regnal years (*palú*) are counted in a different manner in this version of his Annals (year 1 and the short accession year are conflated and counted as a single year), and so the recorded events appear to be backdated by one year with respect to the later Annals from Khorsabad and other inscriptions by Sargon such as the Najafehabad Stele (see above, sub 1). On this problem, see Fuchs, *Annalen*, 81–96.

<sup>44</sup> For *tēqītu* and its meanings, see W. R. Mayer, "Akkadische Lexikographie: CAD T and Ṭ," *Orientalia* 78 (2009): 433; id., "Zum akkadischen Wörterbuch: Š–Z," *Orientalia* 86 (2017): 234–35.

74. *ḫurāšu*(KUG.SIG<sub>17</sub>) *kaspu*(KUG.BABBAR) *it-ti bušé*(NÍG.ŠU) *ekallī*(É.GAL)-*šú* <sup>uru</sup>*Gar-ga-mis*-A.A *bēl*(EN)-*iḫ-it-ṭi ša it-ti-šū it-ti makkūrī*(NÍG.GUR<sub>11</sub>)-*šū-nu áš-lu-lam i-na qé-reb māt*(KUR) *Aš-šur*<sup>ki</sup>  
 75. *ú-ra-a* 50 <sup>gcs</sup>*narkabtu*(GIGIR) 2 *me* <sup>ansc</sup>*pēt-ḫal-lu*<sub>4</sub> 3 *lim* <sup>lú</sup>*zu-uk-šēpā*(GIRI.II) *i-na libbī*(ŠAG<sub>4</sub>-*bi*)-*šū-nu ak-šur-ma i-na* [*muhḫi*] *ki-šir-šar-ru-ti-ia ú-rad-di*  
 76. *niš*(ÜG.MEŠ) *māt*(KUR) *Aš-šur*<sup>ki</sup> *i-na qé-reb* <sup>uru</sup>*Gar-ga-mis* <sup>r</sup>ú<sup>1</sup>-*še-šib-ma ni-ir* <sup>d</sup>*Aš-šur bēlī*(EN)-*ia e-mid-su-nu-ti*

(72a) In my fifth regnal year, Pisiri, the Karkemishite, sinned against the loyalty oath (sworn) by the great gods and (73a) repeatedly wrote (words of) hostilities toward Assyria (72b) to Mita (= Midas), [k]ing of Musku (= Phrygia). (73b) I raised my hand (in prayer) to Assur, my lord, [and] then him (= Pisiri) together with (the members of) his clan—I brought them out as prisoners, and (74a) gold, silver, along with the goods of his palace, and the guilty Karkemishites who stood by him, along with their possessions, I took as booty. (75a) I brought (them) (74b) to Assyria. (75b) 50 chariots, 200 riding horses (and) 3000 foot soldiers from among them I gathered and added t[o] my royal contingent. (76) People of Assyria I settled in Karkemish and I imposed the yoke of Assur, my lord, upon them.

5) Khorsabad Annals, Room XIV (Winckler, *Die Keilschrifttexte Sargons*, II, nos. 58–60; Fuchs, *Die Inschriften Sargons*, 91–104 and 315–18). Date: 707 BC.

slab I (Winckler's text no. 58)

- 13 (= F72<sup>45</sup>). [*i*]-*na* 5 *palé*(BALA)-*ia* <sup>1</sup>*Pi-si-i-ri* <sup>uru</sup>*Gar-ga-mis*-A.A *i-na a-de-e ilāni*(DINGIR.MEŠ) *rabūti*(GAL.MEŠ) *iḫ-ṭi-ma*  
 14 (= F72/72a). [*a*]-*na* <sup>1</sup>*Mi-ta-a šar*(LUGAL) <sup>kur</sup>*Mu-us-ki ze-ra-a-te māt*(KUR) *Aš-šur*<sup>ki</sup> *iš-pur-ma il-qa-a še-ṭu-tu*  
 15 (= F72b). [*š*]*a-a-šū ga-du qin-ni-šū bi-ri-tú parzillī*(AN.BAR) *ad-di-šū-nu-ti ap-te-e-ma ekallu*(É.GAL) *bīt*(É)-*ni*-[*š*]*ir-ti-šú* [11] *bilat*(GUN) *ḫurāšu*(KUG.SIG<sub>17</sub>) *sak-ru*

<sup>45</sup> Line numbering in Fuchs' conflated edition of the Khorsabad Annals.

slab II (Winckler's text no. 59)

- 1 (= F72c/74). [2 *līm* 1] *me bilat*(GU[N]) *kaspu*  
x *bilat*(G)UN) *erī*(URUDU) *ar-ḫi*  
*annaku*(AN.NA) *parzillu*(AN.<BAR>)  
*mašak*(KUŠ) *pīri*(AM.SI) *šinni*(ZÚ)  
*pīri*(AM.S[1]) . . . *ú-nu-ut*  
*tāḫāzi*(MÈ) *ù* <sup>lú.uru</sup>[*Gar*]-*ga-mis*-  
[A].A' *bēl*(EN)-[*ḫi-it*]-*ti*
- 2 (= F74/75) [*ša*] *it-ti*-[*šu/šú*] *itti makkūrīšunu*  
*ás*]-*lu-l*[*a*] *m-ma a-na qé-reb*  
*māt*(KUR) *Aš-šur*<sup>ki</sup> *ú-r*[*a*]-*a* 40[+10  
*narkabtu* 2 *mē pethallu* 3 *līm*]<sup>lú.zu-</sup>  
*uk*-[*šēpī*(GIRI).<sup>r II</sup>] *ina libbī*(ŠAG<sub>4</sub>-  
*bi*)-*šú*-*nu ak*-[*šur-ma*] *eli*(UGU)  
[*ki*]-*šir-šarru*(LUGAL)-*ti-ia*
- 3 (= F75/76) *ú*-[*rad-di*] <sup>lú</sup>[*Aš-šur*]<sup>ki</sup> *i-na qé-reb*  
<sup>uru</sup>*Gar-ga-mis* *ú*-[*še-šib-ma*] *ni*-[*ir*  
*Aššur bēlī*-*i*] *a e-mid-su-nu-ti*

(I:13) [I]n my fifth regnal year, Pisiri, the Karkemishite, sinned against the loyalty oath (sworn) by the great gods (I:14) and wrote (words of) hostilities toward Assyria [t]o Mita (= Midas), king of Musku (= Phrygia), showing contempt. (I:15) [H]im (= Pisiri) together with (the members of) his clan—I threw them into iron fetters. I opened the palace, his treasury, and [11] talents of refined gold, (II:1) [21]00 talen[ts of silver, x ta]lents of *arḫu*-copper, tin, iron, elephant hide(s), ivory[y, . . .] battle gear, and the gu[il]ty [Kar]kemishites (II:2a) [who] stood by [him,] along with [their possessions, I t]ook as booty and brought (them) to Assyria. 40[+10] chariots, 200 riding horses (and) 3000 foot] soldiers from among them I gath[ered and] (II:3a) a[dded] (II:2b) to my royal [cont]ingent. (II:3b) [Assyrians] I s[ettled] in Karkemish [and] I imposed the yo[ke of Assur, m]y [lord,] upon them.

6) Khorsabad “Summary” Inscr. (Fuchs, *Die Inschriften Sargons*, 75–81 and 307–12: Die “Kleine Prunkinschrift” des Saales XIV). Date: 707 BC.

9. . . . *a-na-ar mal-ki* <sup>kur</sup>[*A-ma*]-*at-te*<sup>46</sup> <sup>uru</sup>[*Gar*]-  
*ga-mis* <sup>uru</sup>*Kúm-mu-ḫi* <sup>1</sup>*Gu-un-zi-na-nu* <sup>kur</sup>*Kam-*  
*ma-nu-u-a iš-tu qé-reb* <sup>uru</sup>*Me-lid*-[*di*]

10. *āl*(URU)-*šarru*(LUGAL)-*ti*-[*šu/šú*] *as-su*[*ḫ-ma eli*  
*gimir*] *mātātī*(KUR.MEŠ) *ša*-[*ti-na*] *ás-tak-ka-na*  
<sup>lú</sup>*šá-ak-nu-ti* . . .

(9a) I smote the rulers of [Ham]ath, [Kar]kemish, (and) Kummuh; (10a) I uproo[ted] (9b) Gunzinaanu, the Kammanean, from Meli[d] (= Malatya), (10b) [his] royal city, [and] I have installed governors [over all] th[ose] lands.

7) Nimrud “Summary” Inscr. (Gadd, “Inscribed Prisms,” 173–98 and pls. XLIV–L). Date: 706 BC.

col. iv

13. [<sup>1</sup>*Pi-si*]-*i-ri* <sup>uru</sup>*Kar-ga-mis*-A.A  
14. [*ina*] <sup>r</sup>*a-de-e ilāni*(DINGIR.MEŠ) *rabūtī*(GAL.MEŠ)  
*ih-ti-ma*  
15. [*šásu g*] *a-du aššatū*(DAM)-*šú mārī*(DUMU.MEŠ)-*šú*  
*mārātū*(DUMU.MUNUS.MEŠ)-*šú*  
16. [*ni-šú-t*] *i zēr*(NUMUN) *bīt*(É) *abī*(AD)-*šú*  
17. [*ana māt*(KUR)] *Aš-šur*<sup>ki</sup> *ú-ra-a-šú*  
18. [*eli nišā*(ÜG).MEŠ] *a-ši-bu-ut* <sup>uru</sup>*Kar-ga-mis*  
19. [<sup>lú</sup>*šu-ut*]-*rēšī*(SAG)-*ia a-na* <sup>lú</sup>*pāḫatu*(NAM)-*ti*  
*ás-kun-ma*  
20. [*it-t*] *i niš*(ÜG.MEŠ) *māt*(KUR) *Aš-šur*<sup>ki</sup>  
*am-nu-šú-nu-ti*  
21. [. . . *narkabtu*(GIGI)R] 5 *me* <sup>ansc</sup>*pét-ḫal-lu*<sub>4</sub>  
22. [. . .] <sup>lú.zu-</sup>*uk-še-e-pi*  
23. [*ina libbī*(ŠA)G<sub>4</sub>-*bi*]-*šú-nu ak-šur-ma*  
24. [*eli k*] *i-šir-šarru*(LUGAL)-*ti-ia ú-rad-di*

(13–14) [Pis]iri, the Karkemishite, sinned [against] the loyalty oath (sworn) by the great gods and then (15–17) I brought [him t]ogether with his wife, his sons, his daughters, his [relative]s, (and) the offspring of his father's house [to As]syria. (18–20) I installed a [eun]uch of mine into the office of provincial governor [over the inha]bitants of Karkemish and I counted them [together w]ith the people of Assyria. (21–24) [x chariot]s, 500 riding horses (and) [x] foot soldiers [from am]ong them I gathered and added [to] my royal [c]ontingent.

8) Tang-i Var Inscr. (G. Frame, “The Inscription of Sargon II at Tang-I Var,” *Orientalia* 68 [1999]: 31–57 and pls. I–XVIII). Date: 706 BC.

18. *a-na-ar mal-<sup>r</sup>ki* <sup>kur<sup>r</sup></sup>*A-ma-at-ti* <sup>uru</sup>*Gar-ga-*  
*mis* <sup>uru</sup>*Kúm-mu*]-<sup>r</sup>*ḫi*<sup>1</sup> <sup>kur</sup>*Kam-ma-nu eli*(UGU)  
*mātātī*(KUR.MEŠ)-*šú-nu*<sup>r</sup> . . .<sup>r</sup>

<sup>46</sup> Cf. Tang-i Var Inscr. 18 (see below, sub 8).



I smote the rulers of Hamath, Karke[mish, Kumm]h, and Kammanu. I . . . ed . . . over their lands.

### Appendix B: References to Karkemish in Sargon's epithets

- a) *ša*<sup>1</sup> *Pi-si-ri šar*(LUGAL) <sup>kur</sup> *Ḫat-ti qāt*(ŠU)-*su ik-šu-du-ma eli*(UGU) <sup>uru</sup> *Gar-ga-mis āli*(URU)-*šú iš-ku-nu rēdú*(LÚ.ÚS)-*šú*

He whose hand vanquished Pisiri, king of Hatti, and who installed an administrator of his over Karkemish, his (= Pisiri's) city.

Juniper Palace Inscr. 10 (Winckler, *Die Keilschrifttexte Sargons*, II, pl. 48). Date: 716 BC.

- b) *na-a-bi-i*<sup>2</sup> <sup>uru</sup> *Gar-ga-mis* <sup>kur</sup> *Ḫa-at-te-e lem-ni ša*<sup>1</sup> *Pi-i-is-si-ri / Pi(-i)-si-i-ri da-gil pa-ni-šú-nu da-bi-ib ša-lip-te ik-šu-du rabītu*(GAL-tu<sub>4</sub>) *qa-a-su*

The plunderer of Karkemish, of the evil (land of) Hatti; he whose great hand vanquished Pisiri, their (= the Karkemishites') *vassal ruler*,<sup>47</sup> the conspirator.

Khorsabad Cyl. 26 (Fuchs, *Die Inschriften Sargons*, 35). Date: 713 BC.<sup>48</sup>

- c) *na-bi-i*<sup>2</sup> <sup>kur</sup> *A-ma-at-ti ù* <sup>uru</sup> *Ga-al-ga-meš šá*<sup>1,d</sup> *Ia-ú-bi-i*<sup>2</sup> *di ù*<sup>1</sup> *Pi-si-i-ri da-gil pa-ni-šú-nu ik-šu-du rabītu*<sup>1</sup>(GAL-ti) *qāssu*(ŠU-su)

<sup>47</sup> *dāgil pani* means "subject" or the like (see *AHW*, 149b and *CADD* 24a), but a translation "their subject" does not make sense here. Nor is an emendation of the text as *da-gil pa-ni-šú{-nu}*, "his' subject" (cf. Fuchs, *Die Inschriften Sargons*, 291, n. 48), warranted: in fact, all the sources for this passage and other texts (see below, sub c), too, have the 3<sup>rd</sup> person plural possessive suffix. Moreover, parallel passages in other inscriptions present terms for "king" or "ruler" in the place of *dāgil pani*; see, e.g., Juniper Palace Inscr. 8 (Winckler, *Die Keilschrifttexte Sargons*, II, pl. 48): . . . *ma-lik-šú-nu ik-šu-du qātī*(ŠU.II)-*šú*. Since "their" in the passage under discussion can only refer to the Karkemishites, and since Pisiri was king vis-à-vis Karkemish, *dāgil pani* here must mean something like "vassal ruler" or "client king" (that is, a ruler who is not independent but subordinate to the authority of another mightier king). The expression "their vassal ruler" then lays emphasis on the fact that the Karkemishites did not have a true sovereign, but rather a petty king who was subject and tributary to Assyria.

<sup>48</sup> According to Hawkins ("New Sargon Stele": 154 and 159), this epithet also occurs in Borowski Stele A 25–26.

The plunderer of (the land of) Hamath and (the city of) Karkemish; he whose great hand vanquished Yau-bi'di and Pisiri, their *vassal rulers*.<sup>49</sup>

11th Year "Summary" Inscr. 17'–18'.<sup>50</sup> Date: 711 BC.

- d) *šá-lil ma-li-ki* <sup>uru</sup> *Gar-ga-mis* <sup>kur</sup> *A-ma-at-ti* <sup>kur</sup> *Kúm-mu-ḫi* <sup>uru</sup> *As-du-du* <sup>lú</sup> *Ḫa-at-te-e lem-nu-ti la a-dir zik-ri ilāni*(DINGIR.MEŠ) *da-bi-bu ša-lip-ti ša eli*(UGU) *gi-mir mātātī*(KUR.MEŠ)-*šú-nu* <sup>lú</sup> *šú-ut-rēšī*(SAG.MEŠ)-*šú a-na* <sup>lú</sup> *pāḫatu*(NAM)-*ú-ti iš-tak-ka-nu-ma it-ti niš*(ÜG.MEŠ) *māt*(KUR) *Aš-šur*<sup>ki</sup> *im-nu-šú-nu-ti*

The deporter of the rulers of Karkemish, Hamath, Kummuh, (and) Ashdod—wicked Hittites who do not respect the oath (sworn) by the gods, conspirators. He who has installed his eunuchs as provincial governors over all their lands and counted them (= the people of those lands) together with the people of Assyria.

Bull Inscr. 17–21 (Fuchs, *Die Inschriften Sargons*, 63). Date: 707 BC.

- e) *mu-rib mal-ki* <sup>kur</sup> *A-ma-at-ti* <sup>uru</sup> *Gar-ga-mis* <sup>kur</sup> *Kúm-mu-ḫi na-pi-i*<sup>2</sup> <sup>kur</sup> *Kam-ma-ni ša*<sup>1</sup> *Gun-zin-na-nu ul-tu qé-reb* <sup>uru</sup> *Me-lid-di āl*(URU)-*šarru*(LUGAL)-*ti-šú is-su-ḫu-ma eli*(UGU) *gi-mir mātātī*(KUR.MEŠ)-*šú-nu iš-tak-ka-nu*<sup>lú</sup> *šá-ak-nu-ti*

He who made the rulers of Hamath, Karkemish, (and) Kummuh tremble; the plunderer of Kammanu, who uprooted Gunzianu from Melid (= Malatya), his royal city, and who has installed governors over all their lands.

Pavement Inscr. 4, 22–26 (Fuchs, *Die Inschriften Sargons*, 261). Date: 707 BC.

<sup>49</sup> See note 47 above.

<sup>50</sup> Line numbering according to the forthcoming edition by Grant Frame in RINAP 2. See, provisionally, Gadd, "Inscribed Prisms," 199 and pl. LI, ND. 3411:21–22; K. Abraham and J. Klein, "A New Sargon II Cylinder Fragment from an Unknown Provenance," *ZA* 97 (2007): 255, ll. 5'–6'; A. R. George et al., *Cuneiform Royal Inscriptions and Related Texts in the Schøyen Collection*, Cornell University Studies in Assyriology and Sumerology 17 (Bethesda, 2011), no. 72:9'–10'.

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