

Abhandlung

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A Stele of Sargon II at Tell Tayinat

Abstract: The delivery of a basalt fragment to the Hatay Arkeoloji Müzesi by a farmer who had found it at Tell Tayinat drew our attention to four other basalt fragments inscribed with cuneiform from Tell Tayinat that are currently in the collection of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago.¹ Our study of the five basalt fragments has identified them as pieces of a hitherto unrecognized stele of Sargon II. In this article, we describe the fragments; explain why they derive from a single monumental stele; edit the cuneiform text inscribed on the fragments; discuss reasons for attributing the stele to Sargon II; and, finally, consider why Sargon II may have erected it at Tell Tayinat.

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Introduction

Tell Tayinat, ancient Kullania, is located in the south of the Amuq Valley in what is today the Republic of Turkey's Hatay Province (Fig. 1).²

¹ We are grateful to Heather Snow for sharing unpublished records that she assembled in the course of researching her monograph in preparation on the finds of the University of Chicago's Syrian-Hittite Expedition and to the Shelby White Foundation for funding the future publication of this monograph; to the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada and the University of Toronto for their funding of the Tayinat Archaeological Project; to the Hatay Arkeoloji Müzesi's Director Nilüfer Sezgin and our representative Ömer Çelik for access to the fragment in their collection; to Tayinat Archaeological Project photographer Jennifer Jackson for photographing and creating the PTM file of that fragment; to the Oriental Institute's registrar Helen McDonald for access to the fragments in their collection; to Walter Farber for discussing aspects of the Chicago inscriptions with us; and to Grant Frame for reading a draft of this article. Abbreviations follow RIA, with the following addition: RINAP 1 = H. Tadmor/S. Yamada, *The royal inscriptions of Tiglath-pileser III (744–727 BC) and Shalmaneser V (726–722 BC), Kings of Assyria. The Royal Inscriptions of the Neo-Assyrian Period 1* (Winona Lake 2011). In the normalization of logograms, we have tried to follow the lemmatization of the RINAP project (<http://oracc.museum.upenn.edu/rinap>).

² The ancient name of the site was long thought to be Kunulua/Kullania/Killania (see RGTC 7/1, 147 s.v. Kunulua and RINAP 1, 39 for previous literature), and this identification has now been confirmed by the Tayinat Archaeological Project's discovery of a copy of Esarhaddon's Succession "Treaty" made with the provincial administration of Kullania; see Lauinger (2012).

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Tell Tayinat was the Amuq Valley's major center of occupation during the Iron Age, first as the capital of the independent kingdom of Palistin/Walastin and then as the capital of the province of Unqi after the city's conquest and incorporation into the Neo-Assyrian empire by Tiglath-pileser III in 738 BC.³ Excavation of the site conducted by the University of Chicago's Syrian-Hittite Expedition (1935–1938) uncovered notable architectural finds such as the governor's residence, *bīt ḫilāni* palaces and a temple *in antis* (Haines 1971; see now Harrison 2005; 2012; Osborne 2012). Other significant finds made by the Syrian-Hittite Expedition include, *inter alia*, a number of stone fragments inscribed with Luwian hieroglyphs (CHLI 1/2, 365–378), a double lion column base (Haines 1971, 53f and Plates 80f), and the pottery that formed the basis of the first-millennium phases of the Amuq Valley Sequence (Swift 1958). The University of Toronto's Tayinat Archaeological Project resumed excavations at the site in 2004, highlights of which include uncovering a substantial Early Bronze Age occupation (Welton 2011; Welton/Batiuk/Harrison 2011), a monumental stone sculpture of a lion (Harrison 2012a), a colossal sculpture, inscribed with Luwian hieroglyphs, of Šuppiluliuma II, king of Palistin/Walastin (Harrison/Denel/Batiuk 2013; Weeden 2013, 12), and a second temple *in antis* containing a collection of Neo-Assyrian cuneiform tablets including one inscribed with Esarhaddon's Succession Treaty (Lauinger 2011; Lauinger 2012; Harrison/Osborne 2012).

³ On the kingdom of Palistin/Walastin, see Hawkins (2009) and Harrison (2009). For the inscription of Tiglath-pileser III that records the conquest of the city of Kullania and the creation of the province of Unqi, see RINAP 1, 12: 3'–12'.

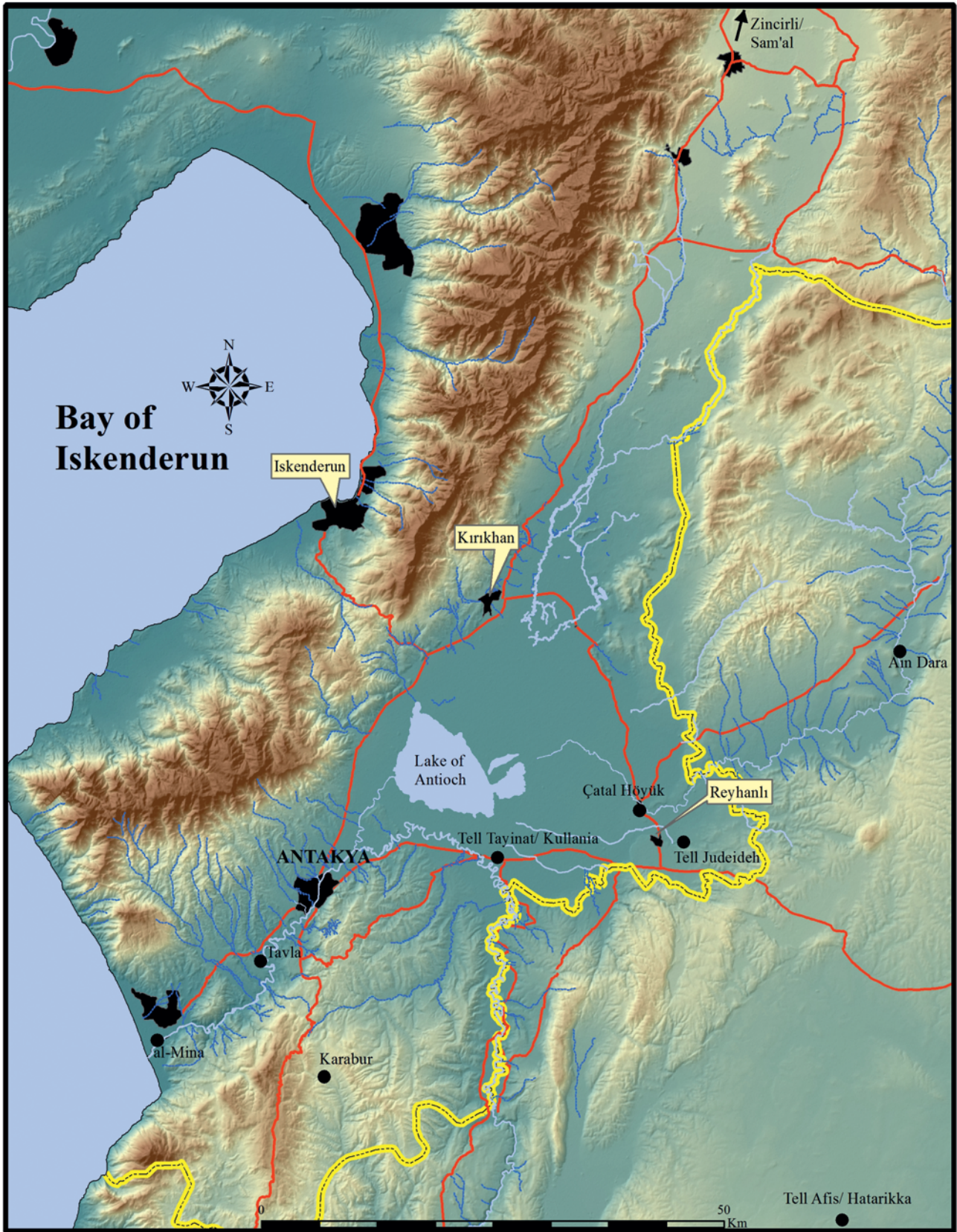


Figure 1: Map of the Amuq Plain showing the location of Tell Tayinat and other principal settlements (courtesy S. Batiuk)



Figure 2: A 27862 showing both faces (courtesy H. Snow)

Amid these architectural, sculptural, and textual riches, it is perhaps understandable that four broken pieces of basalt bearing fragmentary cuneiform inscriptions have received little attention. To our knowledge, the fragments are not mentioned in the architectural report of the Syrian-Hittite expedition (Haines 1971). In his enumeration of the cuneiform material found in the early excavations, Swift (1958, 183) mentions only “stone monuments – four small fragments from Ta ‘yinat” without further discussion. And in a parenthetical aside to his presentation of an inscribed metal roundel from Tell Tayinat, Brinkman (1977, 62) remarks, “[t]here are also a few stone inscriptions in NA script which were found at the same site; these may be NA royal texts, but so little survives of them that a precise determination has yet to be made.” However, though they are quite fragmentary, these broken pieces of basalt are

the remains of an important witness to the Neo-Assyrian imperial presence in the West.

Description

A 27862

At 36.5 (width) × 37.5 (height) × 26.5 (thickness) cm, it is the largest of the inscribed stone fragments discovered by the Syrian-Hittite Expedition. Cuneiform signs are inscribed on two faces that meet at a right angle (Fig. 2).

The better-preserved face (Face A) contains 11 ruled lines of text. It also contains a sculptural element, the tasseled hem of a robe, and the final five lines are written



Figure 3: A 27862 Face A (courtesy H. Snow)



Figure 4: A 27862 Face D (courtesy H. Snow)

beneath the tassel and across the robe (Fig. 3). The more poorly preserved face (Face D) contains six ruled lines with only a few signs at most remaining in each line (Fig. 4).⁴

On both faces, the signs alternate between Assyrian and Babylonian forms. A good example is *KA* in Face A, which is written in Babylonian ductus in line 7 and in Assyrian ductus in line 11.

This fragment has the excavation number T-3516. For this one fragment, we believe that we can suggest a possible find-spot. In the excavation's Object Registration, the fragment's find-spot is described as "V-S, surface/1m". The daily pottery sherd sorting for the day that the area was excavated (August 10, 1938), was described as "V-S-2nd" which is defined as "the second floors associated with the line of stones in south V." These designations suggest the fragment lay in the southern area of Area V somewhere from the surface down to about one meter, perhaps in amongst the debris from the collapsed south wall of the structure. In his description of this context, Haines (1971, 55–57) does not mention an inscribed fragment. However, in the Chicago excavations, a small number of important finds were drawn on the unpublished field plans,

⁴ As is clear from the contents of the inscription (see below), this face is from the stele's left side, and as the text originally progressed from the front of the stele to its right side to its back and finally to its left side, the face is labeled here Face D.

although the finds were not always explicitly identified. This practice allows for a more probable placement of some objects than is published by Haines (1971) on some occasions. A 27862 seems to be one such object. The plan for the southern section of Area V shows an irregular shaped stone, similar in shape and size to A 27862, deposited in amongst the rectilinear debris of the southern wall of Area V (Fig. 5).

A 27863

The fragment measures 22.3 (width) × 24.5 (height) × 10.5 cm (thickness) and has ten ruled lines of cuneiform signs preserved on a single face (Fig. 6). There are no sculptural elements. This fragment is not associated with an excavation number and the excavation notes do not mention a find-spot for it. The lack of information may be because it was found in association with A 27862.⁵

A 60933

The fragment measures 13.35 (width) × 11.55 (height) × 6.45 (thickness) cm, and has only eight cuneiform signs preserved in four ruled lines on its single face (Fig. 7). There are no sculptural elements. This fragment is not associated with an excavation number, but may originally have been assigned the excavation number T-2209.⁶ If so,

⁵ According to Heather Snow (personal communication), this possibility is suggested not just by the sequential museum numbers but also by the Division of Objects documentation, which mentions a "fragment of cuneiform on stone T-3516" in addition to T-3516 itself. As discussed below, the textual evidence makes it very likely that A 27863 was part of the same stele as A 27862.

⁶ As suggested to us by Heather Snow (personal communication). Her rationale is as follows: On the one hand, the Oriental Institute museum number A 27603 registers a stone inscription from Tell Tayinat with the excavation number T-2209 that is either missing or was re-registered with a different museum number. On the other hand, both the excavation notes and Swift (1958, 183) are consistent in identifying four inscribed stone fragments. If A 27603 is missing, we would need to account for a total of five stone inscribed stone fragments. If A 27603 was re-registered, the total number of stone inscribed fragments is consistent with the excavation notes and Swift's account. Therefore, the latter option seems preferable. Which fragment, then, was originally registered as A 27603? The only options would seem to be those that lack excavation numbers, A 27863 and A 60933. As described above, most likely A 27863 lacks an excavation number because it was found in association with A 27862 and so did not receive a separate excavation number. Therefore, it seems probable that A 60933 was originally registered as A 27603 and has the excavation number T-2209.



Figure 5: Possible find-spot of A 27862 = T-3516 (courtesy S. Batiuk).

according to the excavation notes, its find-spot was on the surface of Trench 11, described succinctly in the excavation report as “a long trench 5 m. wide that continued northward from Building IX through squares L 27–23. No significant building remains were found in the excavation” (Haines 1971, 64). The fragment was probably found during the excavation of the first 20 m. of the trench’s length.⁷

A 60934

The fragment measures 8.75 (width) × 11.55 (height) × 5.15 (thickness) cm and preserves only all or parts of six cuneiform signs in three ruled lines on single face (Fig. 8). There are no sculptural elements.

This fragment has the excavation number T-2464, and was found on the surface of Courtyard VIII according to the excavations. Haines (1971, 40f.) makes no mention of it but does record that a basalt drum and fragments of a basalt throne inscribed with Luwian hieroglyphs were found in this location, remarking that they “can only be regarded as general finds belonging somewhere within the time range of the structures of the west central area” (Haines 1971, 41). The published plan of Courtyard VIII in Haines (1971, Pl. 99) reveals a complex palimpsest, with numerous patchings, reconstructions, and additions, suggesting that Courtyard VIII was in use for most of the Iron II–III period. T-2464 was recorded as coming from the area originally designated as XVIII-C, Surface -1. The exact placement of this “excavation area” is difficult to ascertain, but it appears to represent a large swath of the courtyard south of Building IV, starting originally in Square G 18, then expanded northwards to include G 17 and eastward to include part of Area XXIII. The reference to “Surface-1” reveals that the fragment was found in the fill between the surface of the mound and Floor 1 – i.e., the paved surface of Courtyard VIII, which represents a depth of perhaps close to two meters. As a result, the context preserves everything from Assyrian inscription fragments to Roman coins and offers no reliable stratigraphy.



Figure 6: A 27863 (courtesy H. Snow)



Figure 7: A 60933 (courtesy H. Snow)



Figure 8: A 60934 (courtesy H. Snow)

⁷ T11 is only 5 m. wide but extends for approximately 86 m. from the north end of Building IX. Although 112 artifacts were uncovered in this trench, unfortunately no plans were made nor photographs taken as none of these artifacts was considered significant enough to warrant the documentation. Nonetheless, based on the field note descriptions, we can place the fragment within the northernmost 20 m. of the trench with some confidence because we know the start date of the trench, the find-date of the piece, and that the trench extended southward towards Building IX.

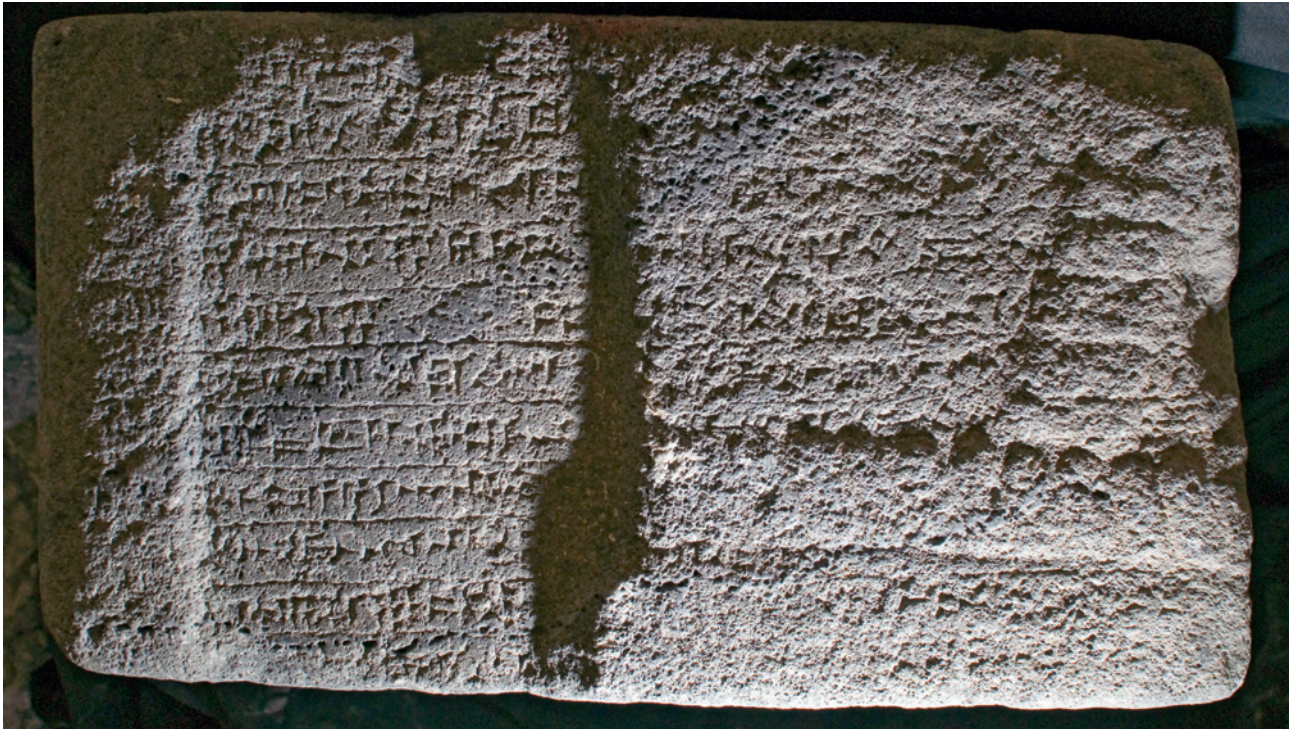


Figure 9: The Taşar Stone (courtesy J. Jackson)

The Taşar Stone

In addition to the four basalt fragments excavated by the Syrian-Hittite Expedition, a fifth inscribed basalt fragment was brought to the Hatay Arkeoloji Müzesi in 2009 by the owner of the local farmstead located on the southwest corner of the tell, who had reportedly found it on the surface of the mound and had used it as a paving stone. The fragment's name derives from the owner of the farmstead. It has not yet been assigned an inventory number by the Hatay Arkeoloji Müzesi and does not receive a Tayinat excavation number because it was not excavated by the Tayinat Archaeological Project. The fragment measures 41 (width) × 21.5 (height) cm and preserves 11 ruled lines of cuneiform on one face. Unfortunately, the inscription is so worn as to be illegible even if individual signs can be discerned here and there (e.g., EN [line 4], ^{uru}aš-šur [line 7] and perhaps SIG₅ [line 9]). In addition to the cuneiform inscription, the fragment contains a sculptural element, a man's robed waist with the details of a hem and a belt (Fig. 9).

Five Fragments of One Monumental Stele

Although they were found in scattered in different areas of the tell, at least three of the fragments (A 27862, A 27863, and A 60933) can be securely said to derive from a single monument on textual grounds (see below). A 27862 establishes that this monument was a stele, as it describes itself as such (^{na4}NA.RÚ.[A] = *narû*, “stele”) in Face D line 4' (see below).

Furthermore, one can establish the original placement of A 27862 and another fragment, the Taşar Stone, in the original stele from the fragments' shape and sculptural elements. By overlaying the line drawings of other contemporary stele with photographs of the fragments with these distinguishing features, one can ascertain their general placement and create a context for the fragments within the stele. A 27862 preserves the remains of curvy designs suggestive of the type of hem depicted on an official's tasseled robes in Neo-Assyrian art. The same design is preserved on the Taşar Stone together with sculptural elements that suggest a rope sash, the curve of an individual's waist, and the raised border similar to other stele.

We first overlaid a photograph of the Zincirli stele with photographs of the two fragments, since Esarhaddon's Succession Treaty, a copy of which was found at Tayinat, as mentioned above, specifies that images (*šalmū*) of Esar-

haddon, Assurbanipal, and his brothers were erected together with the deposition of that cuneiform tablet (SAA 2, 6: 402–404, see now JCS 64, 98 v 65–67; Watanabe 2014, 161) and Esarhaddon's Zincirli stele has images of Esarhaddon, Assurbanipal, and his brother Šamaš-šumu-ukin on it. The result confirmed that the form and sculptural elements of the fragments belonged to an image of a king carved in sunken relief on a stele. It also provided a context for the inscription preserved on the fragments, which, in turn, enabled the identification of Sargon II as its author (on which, see below). Fig. 10 shows a composite reconstruction of the Tayinat stele derived from Sargon's Cyprus stele (Maspero [n.d.], 396) and Esarhaddon's Zincirli stele (RINAP 4, 183, fig. 5) that is overlaid with photographs of the two fragments.

Comparing the measurements of the Tayinat fragments to Sargon II's Cyprus stele reveals some interesting similarities and differences in the dimensions of the sculptural elements (measurements for the Cyprus stele derive from a plaster cast of the stele that was obtained by the Royal Ontario Museum and later donated to the Dept. of Near and Middle Eastern Civilizations at the University of Toronto): the stelae have the same width for the border (6 cm), the belt worn by the figure (varying in width between 4 and 5 cm), and the size of the cuneiform text (2 cm). The distance between the border and the body of the king, however, differs with 3.5 cm less space on the Cyprus stele than on the Taşar Stone (11 cm and 14.5 cm, respectively). A similar difference in excess space occurs with A 27862 where the Cyprus stele has 4 cm of space between the border of the stele and the edge of the fabric, while A 27862 preserves 13.5 cm of space. These measurements suggest to us that while the general proportions of the sculptural elements on the two stelae were remarkably similar, the Tayinat stele was at a minimum 7 cm wider than the Cyprus Stele. This observation coupled with the fact that the Taşar Stone preserves inscriptional material in the space between the border of the stele and the body of the king while this space is free of text on Cyprus stele could be taken to signify that the inscription on the Tayinat stele was originally longer than that on the Cyprus stele.

In sum, it seems secure that all of the inscribed basalt fragments were originally part of one monumental stele.

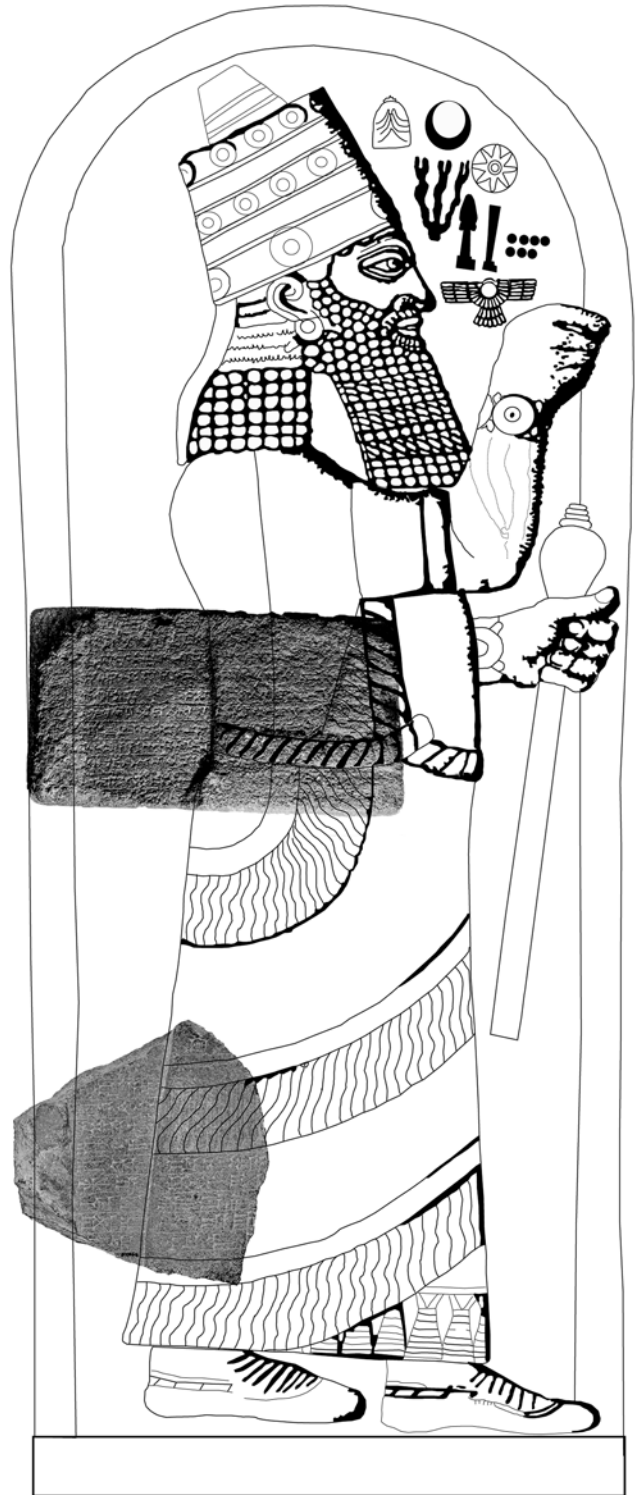


Figure 10: Reconstruction of the Tayinat Stele Overlaid with A 27862 and the Taşar Stone (courtesy S. Batiuk)

Editions

A 27862 (Fig. 4)

Face A

(lacuna)

- 1' [...] 1B [...] DN^{s?}
 2' [a-li-kut [...] ^diš-tar?
 3' [x]x-ka-a-at [...] DN
 4' sa-ḥi-ru [...] sebeti(^d7.BI)
 5' a-li-kut [ma-ḥar ilāni(DINGIR.MEŠ) ša a-šar šá-áš-mi]
 6' i-di [šarri(LUGAL) mi-gi-ri-šu-nu i-za-zu-ma]
 7' i-šak-ka-nu le-[tu ilānu(DINGIR.MEŠ) rabûtu(GAL.MEŠ) mut-tab-bi-lu-ut]
 8' šamê(AN-e) eršeti(KI-ti) ša [ti-bi-šu-nu tu-qu-un-tú ù šá-áš-mu]
 9' na-šu-ú e-ni [na-bu-ú šu-um šarri(LUGAL)]
 10' ša i-na e-pe[š pi(KA)-šú-nu el-li māta(KUR) eli(UGU) māti(KUR)]
 11' i-šak-ka-nu [...]]
 (lacuna)

“[... DN], the ones who go [...; Ištar²], the one who [... DN], the one who encircles [...; the Seven], the ones who go [before the gods, who stand] at the side [of the king, their favorite, on the battlefield and] establish vict[ory; the great gods, the ones who direct] heaven and earth, who[se onrush is conflict and battle], who lift (their) eyes (and) [call the name of the king], who establish [land over land] by their [pure] utte[rance ...]”

Notes:

In general, cf. lines 18–28 of the Cyprus stele’s face, on the basis of which the restorations in lines 5’–11’ derive (see VS 1, 71 for a copy of the Cyprus stele and Malbran-Labat 2004 for a recent edition). Line breaks do not follow the Cyprus stele, especially with regard to the divine names that typically begin lines on that stele (though the name of Marduk needs to be restored in the middle of line 11).

1’: The restoration of plural DN^s at the end of this line seems to be required by the plural form of *ālikūt* at the beginning of the following line.

2’: The epithet *ālikūt* is not preserved in the Cyprus stele. A feminine DN is required at the end of the line by feminine epithet [x]x-ka-a-at at the beginning of the following line.

Face B

(Not preserved)

Face C

(Not preserved)

3’: An epithet similar to [x]x-ka-a-at is not preserved in the Cyprus stele. A new DN (masculine) is required at the end of the line because of the masculine form of *sāḥiru* at the beginning of the following line. If this restoration is correct, the sequence of deities is somewhat different than in the Cyprus stele, where Ištar directly precedes the Sebeti.

4’: The epithet *sāḥiru* is not preserved in the Cyprus stele.

5’: The Cyprus stele has the singular form *āliku* in place of *ālikūt*.

7’: The Cyprus stele has the logographic writing NÍG.È for *lētu*.

Face D (Fig. 5)

(lacuna)

- 1' [mu-nak-kir²] ep-še-t[e-ia damqāti(SIG₅)²]
 2' [mu-pa-šit¹] ši-ṭir [šumi(MU)-ia]
 3' [ilāni(DINGIR.MEŠ)] rabūti(GAL.<MEŠ>) ma-[la]
 4' [x x x²] ina narī(na⁴NA.RÚ.A)
 5' [an-né-e šum(MU)-šú-nu] na-b[u-u]
 6' [li-ru-ru-šu-ma] šum(MU)-š[u zēr(NUMUN)-šu]
 (lacuna)

“[May the] great [gods], as ma[ny x x x²] as are cal[led by their name] in [this] stel[e, curse the one who overturns my good²] works [(or) who erases my] inscribed [name, and hi]s name (and) [his seed ...].”

Notes:

In general, see lines 63–68 of the Cyprus stele’s left side, on the basis of which some of the restorations above derive. Cf. also lines iii 14’f. of the Acharneh stele: 14’ [mu]-nak-k[ir ...] 15’ [mu-pa]-šit¹ ṣiṭ-ṭ[ir šumi(MU)-ia ...].

1’: The plural noun *epšēte* seems to replace the noun *narū* found in the parallel line of the Cyprus stele. The relevant noun is not preserved in the Acharneh stele fragment. The restoration of SIG₅ at the end of the line is suggested by the spacing of the line. Cf. the similar pairing of *epšētu damqātu* and *šitir šumiya* in an inscription of Nabonidus: *e-ep-še-tu-ú-a dam-qa-a-ta ši-ṭir šu-mi-ia*, VAB 4, 258 ii 22, cited CAD E s.v. *epištu* 4a–4’, see now NabKyr. 2.9 ii 22.

3’: The plural marker MEŠ has been omitted after GAL.

4’: The restoration of the line’s beginning is problematic. The spacing of the line is such that it seems nec-

essary to restore something before *ina*. Yet the parallel clause found in the Cyprus stele is [ilānu(DINGIR.MEŠ) rab]ūtu(GAL.MEŠ) ma-la ina narī(na⁴NA.RÚ.A) [an-né-e š]um(MU)-šú-nu na-bu-u, “The great gods, as many as are called by their name in this stele” (left side 65 f.), with no signs between the conjunction *mala* and the preposition *ina*. The well-attested nature of this clause makes it difficult to imagine what might have preceded *ina narī*.

6’: The Cyprus stele invokes not only “the great gods” found also here (l. 3’) but also *ilānu*(DINGIR.MEŠ) [a-šibu]-ut qé-reb tam-ti rapašti(DAGAL-ti), “the gods who dwell in the vast sea” (left side 66 f.). As Radner (2010, 442) notes, the inclusion of these gods surely derives from the place where the Cyprus stele was set up, across the sea on the island of Cyprus, and the omission of these same gods from the Tayinat stele is to be expected.

A 27863 (Fig. 6)

- 1' [...] ṣ' [...] [... gi-mir māti(KUR)-šu rapašti(DAGAL-ti)]
 2' [ina uruq]ar-qa-ri ṣ' ṣ' [paḥ-ḥi-ir-ma ...]
 3' [it]-ti-ia uruq[r-pad-da uruši-mir-ra]
 4' [uru]di-maš-qa uru[s]a-me-ri-i-n[a uš-bal-kit-ma]
 5' [... ina qé-r]eb māti(KUR) a-ma-te bit(É) x[x ...]
 6' [... ina ... x]x ṣ' aš-šur šar(MAN) ilān[i(DINGIR.MEŠ) ...]
 7' [...] ṣ' te¹ [s]a²-kap² m^di[a-ú-bi-i'-di² ...]
 8' [... ú]-ma-'e-er-ma [...]
 9' [...] ṣ' a-duk¹-m[a ...]
 10' [... x]x [...]

“He [gathered all of his vast land at Q]arqar, [he incited] A[rpad, Šimirra, Damascus, (and) S]amaria [to rebel ag]ainst me, [and ... i]n the land of Ḥamath, the House of [PN ... by the ...] of Aššur, king of the gods [... ...] (and) *the overthrow of Y[au-bi'di ...]*. I sent [...], and I killed [...], and [...].”

Notes:

In general, the text parallels the Khorsabad Annals (Fuchs 1994, Ann. 23–25), although the Annals are not preserved after the equivalent of l. 3' of this text. The recently published slab AoF 40, 46 also provides a parallel, but unfortunately both that text and the one edited here are fragmentary.

2': For the restoration, see Fuchs (1994) Ann. 24, where the object of *puḥḥuru* is restored as [ummānāt mātišu] *rapašti*(DAGAL-ti), “[the troops of his] widespread [land],” cf. AoF 40, 46: 9. In the Aššur Charter, the same verb is used but its objects are the cities of Arpad and Samaria (Iraq 37, 14: 20). These cities and others appear in the following clause in the Khorsabad Annals, see the note to the following lines.

3'–4': The prepositional phrase [it]tiya implies that the clause's verb (no longer preserved) is *ušbalkit*, as in the Khorsabad Annals, the Great Display Inscription, and, probably, the newly published slab (AoF 40, 46: 10). Unlike in those texts, however, the prepositional phrase appears before and not after the objects of the verb (the four cities incited to rebel).

5': The phrase *ina qereb Ḥamat* is preserved in the text of two of Sargon's other stelae, the Cyprus Stele and the Beirut Stele, e.g., 6 *līm*(LIM) 3 *mē*(ME) ^{lu}*aš-šur-a-a bēl*(EN) [*ḥi-iṭ-ṭi*] *ina qe-reb mā-ti*(KUR) *ḥa-am-ma-ti ú-šē-šib-ma*, “I [sett]ed 6,300 Assyrians, [crimin]als, in the land of Ḥamath,” (Cyprus Stele right side 61f., cf. Beirut Stele Side B ll. 5–8). However, the sign following the GN in the Tayinat stele cannot be *ú-*. Moreover, the context of the prepositional phrase in the Tayinat stele is different than the context found in the Cyprus and Beirut stelae. In those stelae, the prepositional phrase appears *after* the conquest of Qarqar and the defeat of Yau-bi'di and is used to specify where, as an act of mercy, Sargon II resettled Assyrians who had recently fought his usurpation of the throne. In the Tayinat stele, the prepositional phrase appears *before* the conquest of Qarqar, see the note to the following line. A closer parallel to the Tayinat stele may be found in the newly published slab, where before the conquest of Qarqar, we read: [m]ārī([DU]MU.MEŠ) *māt*(KUR) *aš-šur*^{ki} *ša i-na qe-reb* [...] *ba-šu-ú ki-i ištēn*(DIŠ-en) *id-duk-ma*, “He (Yau-bi'di) killed the citizens of Assyria who were present in [...] altogether” (AoF 40 46: 14–15; translation following Frahm 2013, 46). If so, then one can restore [*Hamath*] at the beginning of l. 15 in AoF 40, 46.

To our knowledge, the spelling of Ḥamath as *a-ma-te* in the Tayinat stele is not attested elsewhere. The noun *bītu* that follows the toponym does not appear in the other descriptions of this rebellion. We suggest that Ḥamath is described here as the House of an eponymous ancestor;

cf. Arpad/Bīt-Agusi. For Ḥamath as the House of ŠLL, see Khan (2007, 81f. with n. 90), citing previous literature; cf. Bagg (2011, 103), where Ḥamath is not associated with the House of a PN.

6': Cf. the Aššur Charter in which Sargon prays to Aššur and the god receives his prayer following the rebellion of Ḥamath and the other cities but preceding the Assyrian conquest of the city (Iraq 37, 14: 23f.). Interestingly, in the newly published slab, Sargon addresses a prayer to Sin in a similar moment in that text (AoF 40, 46: 16; cf. Frahm 2013, 49 note to ll. 16–19).

7': The readings of the second and third preserved signs are tentative. The second sign could possibly be read as [I]R despite the form of IR in the following line because the Assyrian and Babylonian sign forms vary in the inscription, as mentioned above.

In support of the reading [s]a-kap offered here, however, is the fact that the infinitive *sakāpu* also appears in the construct state in the newly published inscribed slab (AoF 40, 46: 18). Although the following genitive is not preserved in that inscription, the context (Sargon II's prayer to the god for victory) is the same.

8': The verb *uma''erma* is not preserved in the other narratives of Yau-bi'di's rebellion, but the context may be Sargon's sending an official and army to put down the rebellion. While Sargon claims to have destroyed Ḥamath himself in the Cyprus, Beirut, and Najafehabad stelae (i.e., with verbs in the 1st person singular), he attributes the destruction to his soldiers in the Acharneh stele (i.e., with verbs in the 3rd person plural):

9' [... *dī*(?)-*tal*(?)-*l*]-*i-iš iq-mu-ú-m*[a] 10' [x x (x) *ina mā-ti*(KUR)] *a-ma-at-te iš-ku-nu-m*[a(?)] 11' [...] x *šā-a-šú ga-du kim-ti-šú* 12' [*a-na qe-re*]b *ālī*(URU)-*ia aš-šur*^{ki} *'ub-lu¹-[ni]*, “They burned [...], (turning them) [into ash] es; they established [devastation in the land] of Ḥamath a[nd ...]. They brought that (individual), together with [his] family, [into] my city Assur” (side B = col. ii; restorations and translation following Frame 2006, 52).

For the use of *uma''erma* in a similar context in the Khorsabad annals, see Fuchs (1994) Ann. 403f.: ^{lu}[š]u-*ut-rēš*[ī](SAG.M[EŠ x x x *it-ti*] *um*-[ma]-*na-te-šú-nu rap-šā-a-ti it-ti ki-šir šarrūti*(LUGAL-ti)-*ia ú-ma-'e-ra še-ru-uš-šú*, “I sent my eunuchs [x x x with] their vast armies (and) my royal contingent against him.”

9': For a possible context for *adūkma*, cf. the aftermath of Yau-bi'di's rebellion as narrated in the Great Display Inscription at Khorsabad, where Sargon states, *ina qe-reb ālāni*(URU.MEŠ) *šú-nu-ti bēl*(EN) *ḥi-iṭ-ṭi a-duk-ma su-lum-mu-u ú-šā-áš-kin*, “I killed the traitors in those cities and brought about peace” (Fuchs 1994, Prunk 35).

A 60933 (Fig. 7)

- 1' [x] 'x' [...]
 2' *ina qé-re*[b *māt*(KUR) *ḥa-mat-ti ú-še-šib-šú-nu-ti biltu*(GÚ.UN) *ma-da-tu*]
 3' *za-bal* [*ku-du-ri a-lak ḥarrāni*(KASKAL) *ki-i ša šarrāni*(MAN.MEŠ) *abbē*(AD.MEŠ)-*ia*]
 4' *a-na* [^m*ir-ḥu-li-na māt*(KUR) *a-ma-ta-a-a e-mid-du*]

“I settled them in [the land of Ḥamath. Taxes, tribute], corvée [labor, (and) military service just as the kings, my ancestors, imposed] on [Irhulina, the Ḥamathite].”

Notes:

In general, the text parallels lines 8–11 of side B of the Beirut stele, although with slightly longer lines and, consequently, different line breaks. In terms of the narrative of Ḥamath’s rebellion, the text picks up shortly after A 27863, describing Sargon’s resettlement of 6,300 Assyrians at the city and the subsequent imposition of taxes, tribute, and

service upon them. (The toponym Ḥamath and the gentilic Ḥamathite have been restored following the orthography found in the parallel for this text, the Beirut stele, though in another fragment of the Tayinat stele, Ḥamath is written differently as *a-ma-te* [A 27863 l. 5’; see the note to line above].)

A 60934 (Fig. 8)

- 1' [...] 'x' [...]
 2' [...] ^{uru}[GN ...]
 3' [... GN]^{ki} *māt*(KUR) [GN ...]
 4' (blank)

Notes:

The small size of the fragment precludes finding a precise parallel for this text in the other inscriptions of Sargon II. The most obvious feature of the text is the fact that each of the three extant signs is a determinative or logogram for a toponym: KI, KUR, and URU. Seemingly, the larger context for the fragment is a sequence of toponyms, but there are simply too many such sequences in analogous material for a suggested parallel to be anything other than speculative.

Discussion

Although the name of the king who commissioned the stele and narrates its text is not preserved, he can be identified as Sargon II with confidence. The strongest support from this identification comes from A 27863, in which the toponyms Qarqar, Samaria, and Ḥamath appear almost fully preserved in lines 2’, 4’, and 5’. This particular configuration of toponyms maps on to a historical event that occurred in 720 BC, Sargon II’s second regnal year, when the Assyrian king defeated a coalition of rebellious Syrian kingdoms at Qarqar. The coalition was led by Yau-bi’di, the king of Ḥamath, and included Samaria, together with Arpad, Šimirra, and Damascus (both the toponym Arpad and the personal name Yau-bi’di fit the visible traces following the URU determinative in line 3’ and the *Personenkeil* in line 7’).

The attribution of the stele to Sargon II gains additional support from two of the other fragments. A 27862 preserves text from the beginning and end of the inscription, and this text finds strong parallels in another of Sargon II’s stelae, the Cyprus stele, as is detailed in the notes to that fragment above. And although only seven signs are preserved in A 6093, these signs parallel precisely a passage in the Beirut stele that describes the aftermath of Ḥamath’s conquest, when, as an act of mercy, Sargon II resettled Assyrians who had opposed his usurpation in Ḥamath.

What was the overall structure and content of the Tayinat stele when it was complete? Following the discussion of Frame (2006, 53–54), the overall structure of the other extant Sargon II’s stelae can be summarized as follows:

1. invocation of various deities
2. royal names, titles, and epithets

3. historical report listing major accomplishments of the Sargon II's reign and culminating in the event commemorated by the stela
4. creation of the stela
5. curse

From the editions above, it is clear that the Tayinat stele preserves three of these five structural elements (no statement is made here concerning A 60934 due to its poor state of preservation):

1. invocation of various deities = A 27862 Face A
3. historical report = A 27863 and A 60933
5. curse = A 27862 Face D

The two elements that are missing are the royal names, titles, and epithets and the creation of the stele.

The historical report is too poorly preserved to know whether the narration of Ḥamath's defeat at Qarqar in 720 BC was mentioned as one of Sargon II's previous accomplishments or whether it was the major accomplishment reported on the stele. There seem to be three possibilities to us:

1. The report of Ḥamath's destruction appeared as one of Sargon II's accomplishments prior to the main event described in the text (cf. the Cyprus and Najafehabad stela), and that main event was his conquest of Kullania;
2. The report of Ḥamath's destruction appeared as one of Sargon II's accomplishments prior to the main event described in the text, and that main event was something other than the conquest of Kullania.
3. The report of Ḥamath's destruction is the main historical event described in the text (cf. the Acharneh and Beirut stela).

By way of conclusion, we look at these possibilities in order.

1. This possibility seems the least likely to us. While assuming that Sargon II destroyed Kullania has the virtue of accounting for the stele's presence there, we are reluctant to make this assumption because Sargon II's annals and other inscriptions do not mention any victory over Kullania. Indeed, with one solitary exception known to us, mentioned below, Sargon II's inscriptions do not mention the city of Kullania or the province of Unqi at all. To our eyes, this absence is meaningful and is not simply due to the vagaries of preservation or excavation because Sargon II's military activities are well documented and the subjugation of a rebellious province would have been an event significant enough in the Assyrian worldview to merit inclusion in that documentation. Additionally,

at present, no evidence of destruction has been identified in the archaeological record at Tayinat that can be dated to Sargon's reign.

2. We do not know of a historical event other than the conquest of Ḥamath that might have provoked the erection of the stele at Kullania and yet not have received mention in the inscriptions. However, the possibility cannot be excluded. For instance, Kullania's connection to the important port of al-Mina could conceivably have prompted the erection of a stele commemorating the submission of one or more polities still farther to the west.
3. The most likely possibility seems to us to be that the report of Ḥamath's destruction is the main historical event described in the text. We have three reasons for preferring this possibility:
 - a. The text of the Acharneh stele states that at least four stela commemorating the victory over Ḥamath were set up outside of Ḥamath proper, one at Hatarikka, one at KUR'a, and two more at toponyms that are no longer preserved, in addition to a stele at Ḥamath itself.⁸ One of these toponyms is presumably the ancient name of the site at which the Tell Acharneh stele was erected.⁹ The other missing toponym may have been Kullania.¹⁰

⁸ ⁱⁱⁱ ⁴ *mim-mu-ú* [*ina*(?) *māt*(KUR)(?) *ḥa*(?)-*am*(?)-*ma*(?)-*te*(?)] ⁱⁱⁱ ⁵ [*e-tep*]-*pu-šú* *áš-tu-ra* *š[e-ru-uš-šú-(un)]* ⁱⁱⁱ ⁶ [*1-en i*] *na māt*(KUR) *ḥa-am-ma-te 1-en ina* [...] ⁱⁱⁱ ⁷ [*1-en*] ⁱ *l-na* ^{tu} *ḥa-ta-r[i-ka* (...) ⁱⁱⁱ ⁸ [*1-en i*] *na* ^{uu} *KUR'-a 1-en ina* [...], "Everything [that I had] done [in the land of Ḥamath], I inscribed u[pon it/them. One] in the land of Ḥamath, one in [GN, one] in the city of Ḥatar[i]kka (...), [one] in the city of KUR'a, one in [...]" (following the restorations and translation of Frame 2006, 52). Hawkins (2004, 162f.) has suggested that the Beirut stele, which lacks an archaeological provenience, may be the stele originally erected at Ḥamath in part because "[t]he detailed historical report of the conquest of Ḥamath by Sargon in 720 BC which forms the main preserved part of the text is very suggestive in itself. Further the appearance of the stele in the hands of the antiquities dealer Fouad Alouf of Beirut at the same time as he was in possession of the upper part of the Hieroglyphic Luwian stele SHEIZAR must also be significant. (Sheizar is a castle controlling the crossing of the river Orontes by the Hama-Qal'at el Mudiq road)" (Hawkins 2004, 162).

⁹ That site might not be Tell Acharneh itself but another site in the area. Although the excavations at Tell Acharneh did not reveal a definitive Assyrian presence at the site (Radner 2006–2008, 58), 8th century material was identified which could be suggestive of Assyrian occupation (Fortin/Cooper/Boileau in press, 8–13). Alternatively, the stele may have been erected at Tell Acharneh due to the site's strategic importance in the Orontes Valley where the river turns north and the marshy terrain of the Ġab begins (Cooper/Fortin 2004, 21; cf. Dion 2006, 45).

¹⁰ In which case, the cities at which the stela were erected could have been listed in progression from south to north following the

- b. The only attestation of Kullania or Unqi in an inscription of Sargon II known to us occurs in the Beirut stele, another stele commemorating the victory over Ḥamath.¹¹
- c. Yet another Neo-Assyrian monument, the Antakya stele (also known as the Tavla Stele), bears witness to Ḥamath's influence in the territory of Kullania. The stele records the settlement of a border dispute between Zakkur, king of Ḥamath, and Ataršumki, king of Arpad, by the Assyrian king Adad-narari III and his field marshal Šamšīlu (Donbaz 1990; see now RIMA 3, A0.104.2). One of the remarkable features of the stele is its find-spot. It was found near the town of Tavla on the Orontes River about halfway between Antakya and the coast, i.e., within the expected territory of the kingdom of Kullania (see Fig. 1).¹²

flow of the Orontes river: Ḥamath; [Acharneh]; Ḥatarikka; KUR'a; [Kullania].

11 The attestation occurs in a broken passage on Side B that should come from near the end of the inscription: ¹³ *rubū(NUN) arkū (EGIR)-ū ep-šet aššur(AN.ŠAR)* ¹⁴ *dam-qa-a-ti lit-ta-'i-id-ma* ¹⁵ *aḫ-raftaš pul-ḫat-su* ¹⁶ *li-šal-mi-da ar-ku-ti* ¹⁷ *nišī(UN.MEŠ) māt(KUR) ḫat-ti ū māt(KUR) a-ri-me* ¹⁸ *a-ši-bu-tu māt(KUR) bit(É) ma-gu-si* ¹⁹ *ū māt(KUR) un-qi a-na paṭ gim-ri-[ša]* ²⁰ [...], “May a future prince pay careful attention to Aššur's good deeds, and may he teach the fear of him (Aššur) to future generations for ever after. The people of the land of Ḥatti and the land of Aram, the inhabitants of the land of Bit-Agusi and the land of Unqi to [its] totality [...]” (following the restorations and transliteration of Hawkins 2004, 160). The use of the toponyms Bit-Agusi and Unqi is perhaps noteworthy as both toponyms were historical by the reign of Sargon II, since their referents “had technically ceased to exist in 740 and 738 BC, annexed by Tiglath-pileser III to become the Assyrian provinces of Arpad and Kullani, by which names they were thereafter known” (Hawkins 2004, 161f.; see also Bagg 2011, 28 on this passage).

12 Donbaz (1990, 5) reports that the stele “was found by a peasant digging a new well near the Orontes, at an approximate depth of six metres, to the left of the road about half-way between Antakya and Samandağ.” Hatay Arkeoloji Müzesi records report it coming from the town of Tavla, a small village, approximately at the same geographical position reported by Donbaz. Commentators have grappled with the unexpected find-spot of the Antakya stele in various ways. Weippert (1992, 58f. with n. 97) considers that the find-spot of the stele “kann m. E. nur bedeuten, daß zur Zeit der Errichtung der Stele der Staat Patina nicht (mehr) bestand, und daß unter assyrischer Arbitrage sein Territorium unter den Staaten Ḥamath und Arpad aufgeteilt wurde. ... Dazu würde passen, daß Patina/Unqi nach seiner Erwähnung bei Zakkur bis zum Auftreten Tiglathpilesers III. in Nordsyrien in den historischen Quellen nicht vorkommt”; cf. Wazana (1996, 62); Lipiński (2000, 285), for whom the find-spot of the stele implies that the kingdom of Kullania “was thus reduced at that time

Frame (2006, 49) has suggested that the cities at which Sargon II erected stelae represent important centers in the kingdom of Ḥamath. While the (reading and) location of KUR'a is unknown, both Tell Acharneh and Ḥatarikka are located in the Orontes Valley to the northwest and north of Ḥamath, respectively.¹³ If Kullania formed, even briefly,¹⁴ part of the kingdom of Ḥamath at the time of its largest extent over eight decades earlier, Sargon II may have decided to erect one of the stelae commemorating the destruction of Ḥamath there to serve as a reminder at the outer limits of this once powerful and recently resurgent Syrian kingdom.¹⁵ However, this possibility must remain only a suggestion on the basis of current evidence, and it is also possible that the stele was erected in response to some other unknown historical event.

to a small pocket around its capital;” and most recently Galil (2014, 98f. with 101, Map 3). Contrarily, Hawkins (1995, 96) suggests that the stele traveled at some point up the north-flowing Orontes from an original location to the south; cf. Bagg (2011, 210 n. 99). Recently, Osborne (2013, 779) notes that the find-spot “is only problematic if one assumes a Syro-Anatolian understanding of territoriality in which borders were discretely marked in space and were understood by inhabitants to demarcate territories of evenly distributed control by political authorities,” going on to ask, “what if the stretch of the Orontes River in the valley between Antakya and the coast was simply not under the authority of Patina?” In 2013, Hatay Arkeoloji Müzesi archaeologists verified the identification of a large (approximately 200 × 80 m.) tell in Tavla, adjacent to the Orontes River, that produced limited numbers of Iron Age sherds in the ceramic collections and may provide a possible locus for the erection of the stele.

13 Tell Acharneh is 35 km to the northwest of Ḥamath; see Frame (2006, 49). Ḥatarikka has been identified with Tell Afis, 80 km to the north of Ḥamath; see, e.g., RGTC 7/1 s.v. Ḥatarikka, citing previous literature. But cf. Radner (2006–08, 58), where the identification is rejected. If KUR'a is to be identified with the broken toponym ^{uu}kur-x mentioned in an inscription of Tiglath-pileser III (RINAP 1, 13: 4), then it too formed part of the kingdom of Ḥamath. For comparison, Tell Tayinat is 130 km northwest of Ḥamath.

14 The king of Unqi is among the confederation of north Syrian kings who later joined Bar-Hadad of Damascus's siege of Zakkur at Ḥatarikka, according to Zakkur's own Aramaic inscription; see Lipiński (2000, 254). Did this siege occur before or after the border dispute resolved in the Antakya stele? In this regard, contrast Weippert's (1992, 58–59) date for the Antakya stele with that of Lipiński (2000, 284).

15 As Frahm (2013, 51 n. 13) remarks, Sargon was aware of Ḥamath's history, as he “makes explicit mention of Irḫuleni (= Urḫilina), the Ḥamathite ruler who had fought against Shalmaneser III in 853” in both the Beirut stele and now also the Tayinat stele; see A 60933 above.

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