

THE ISRAEL ACADEMY OF SCIENCES AND HUMANITIES

PROCEEDINGS • VOLUME II No. 9

*Introductory Remarks to  
a New Edition of the Annals of  
Tiglath-Pileser III*

*by*

*HAYIM TADMOR*

Jerusalem 1967

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Printed at the Central Press, Jerusalem

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS  
TO A NEW EDITION OF THE ANNALS OF  
TIGLATH-PILESER III

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I

ON 9 NOVEMBER 1845, the first day of his excavations at Nimrud, the ancient Calah, Henry Layard came upon the remains of a structure of imposing dimensions at the south-western extremity of the tell. Further digging laid bare the walls of a structure which proved to be an unfinished palace, almost entirely destroyed by fire. The walls of its main halls were covered with stone slabs bearing reliefs of scenes from battle episodes and court ceremonies. Some of the slabs were found lying on the floor next to the walls, either without any order or 'arranged in rows with regularity, and in one or two instances placed one above the other.'<sup>1</sup> Many reliefs were badly damaged: some suffered injury from fire, others were carefully defaced with a chisel. Curiously, most of the complete ones were turned with their face to the wall. In some cases, the edges 'had been cut away, several letters of the inscriptions being destroyed, in order to make the stones fit into the wall'.<sup>2</sup>

From all this, Layard rightly deduced that the reliefs were not originally part of this palace (referred by him as 'the South-West ruin', or 'S.W. Palace') but had been brought to it from elsewhere, and that the builder of the palace — Esarhaddon, as was proved later<sup>3</sup> — had been re-using them for his own, unfinished, edifice.<sup>4</sup>

Another group of similar slabs were uncovered in the 'Central Palace', a nearly completely wrecked structure in the centre of the mound. Here is Layard's own description:

1 A.H. LAYARD, *Nineveh and its Remains* (=NR), London 1849, II, p. 30.

2 NR, I, p. 35.

3 A.H. LAYARD, *Discoveries in the Ruins of Nineveh and Babylon* (=NB), London 1853, p. 621.

4 NR, I, p. 41; II, p. 27.

Walls of unbaked bricks could still be traced; but the slabs, with which they had been panelled, were no longer in their places, being scattered about without order, and lying mostly with their faces on the flooring of baked bricks. Upon them were both sculptures and inscriptions. Slab succeeded to slab; and when I had removed nearly twenty tombs, and cleared away the earth from a space about fifty feet square, the ruins, which had been thus uncovered, presented a very singular appearance. Above one hundred slabs were exposed to view, packed in rows, one against the other, as slabs in a stone-cutter's yard, or as the leaves of a gigantic book. Every slab was sculptured; and as they were placed in a regular series, according to the subjects upon them, it was evident that they had been moved, in the order in which they stood, from their original positions against the walls of sun-dried brick; and had been left as found, preparatory to their removal elsewhere. That they were not thus arranged before being used in the building for which they had been originally sculptured, was evident from the fact, proved beyond a doubt by repeated observation, that the Assyrians carved their slabs after, and not before, they were placed. Subjects were continued on adjoining slabs, figures and chariots divided in the centre. . .

These sculptures resembled, in many respects, some of bas-reliefs found in the south-west palace, in which the sculptured faces of the slabs were turned, it will be remembered, towards the walls of unbaked brick. It appeared, therefore, that the centre building had been destroyed, to supply materials for the construction of the more southern edifice.<sup>5</sup>

Layard concluded, therefore, that all these slabs belonged originally to the 'Central Palace', which, as he described, 'was so utterly destroyed . . . that it is impossible to ascertain its general plan, or even the arrangement of any of its rooms.'<sup>6</sup>

It was only some years afterwards that the reliefs and the inscriptions were identified as belonging to Tiglath-pileser of II Kings xi:29. In 1853, when Pul of II Kings xv:19 was still not identified with Tiglath-pileser,<sup>7</sup> Layard wrote:

5 *NR*, II, pp. 19–20; cf. also G. WATERFIELD, *Layard of Nineveh*, London 1963, p. 123.

6 *NB*, p. 656.

7 The identity of Pul with Tiglath-pileser was established by E. SCHRADER in *Die Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament* (= *KAT* 1), Giessen 1872, pp. 124–128, and elaborated in great detail in his *Keilinschriften und Geschichtsforschung*, Giessen 1878, pp. 422–460.

This Assyrian King must. . . have been either the immediate predecessor of Pul, Pul himself or Tiglath-Pileser. . . The bas-reliefs adorning his palace [i.e. the 'Central Palace'], appear to have been accompanied by a complete series of his annals. Unfortunately only fragments of them remain.<sup>8</sup>

The slabs were of two types: the first consists of three superimposed registers ('friezes' in Layard's terminology), the top and bottom registers bearing reliefs (mainly battle scenes), while the middle one carried several lines of cuneiform inscription. The second type consists of a single unit, with the relief ('gigantic figures of the King and his attendant eunuchs and of the winged priests or divinities'<sup>9</sup>) covering the whole slab; the inscriptions were cut across the slab and over the dress of the figure, 'but were interrupted when a naked limb occurred and resumed beyond it.'<sup>10</sup>

Layard made drawings of the best preserved reliefs, copied the cuneiform inscriptions carefully and kept a detailed record of the excavation. The first campaign at Nimrud (1845–1847) was vividly described in *Nineveh and its Remains*, I–II (London 1849). A selection of drawings of the reliefs—*The Monuments of Nineveh*—appeared the same year, and *Inscriptions in the Cuneiform Character from Assyrian Monuments* (London 1851) followed in two years. This was the first complete publication of texts in cuneiform script to appear in England, and the second in Europe, after Emil Botta's monumental edition of Sargon's inscriptions from Khorsabad.

The work at Nimrud during the second campaign (1849–1851) was somewhat briefly described in *Discoveries in the Ruins of Nineveh and Babylon* (London 1853), which deals mainly with the excavations at Kuyunjik. Only one additional slab of Tiglath-pileser, in remarkably good condition, was uncovered at that time.<sup>11</sup> This was the last relief; Layard's archaeological activities terminated in 1851.

Some additional reliefs — but without inscriptions — were subsequently uncovered at the Central Palace by Rassam (1853) and by Loftus (1854).<sup>12</sup> The clandestine digging of local 'treasure hunters' that followed brought to light more reliefs; two of them — now in Zürich<sup>13</sup> — bore some lines of text.

So far, twenty-one slabs inscribed with the annals of Tiglath-pileser are known; fourteen exist in collections, mainly in the British Museum; seven

8 *NB*, p. 617.

9 *NR*, II, p. 21.

10 *NR*, II, p. 62.

11 The '*Astartu* (= Ashtaroth) slab', *NB*, p. 618; and below, n. 39.

12 R. D. BARNETT, *A Catalogue of the Nimrud Ivories in the British Museum* (= *NI*), London 1857, pp. 20–23.

13 See below, notes 41 and 56.

others were copied by Layard, but left in the mound. Although Layard was quite aware of the importance of the text, as he was unable to read it he gave full preference to the reliefs. In certain instances, the inscriptions were sawn off to reduce the weight of the fragile slabs and facilitate their transportation to London. But before these inscribed portions of the slabs were discarded, Layard made squeezes of the inscriptions as well as of those inscribed across the badly-damaged colossal reliefs, left or reburied in the mound. The squeezes — ‘paper impressions’ or ‘paper casts’ as they were called at the time — were sent to London where, some fifteen years later, they provided material for the first scholarly study of Tiglath-pileser’s annals by George Smith.

The meteoric rise of this brilliant, self-taught, Assyriologist, who possessed real genius for cuneiform, is well known. His deep interest in the bearing of the Assyrian monuments on the Bible and its chronology led him — when he was employed as a ‘repairer’ by the British Museum — to the inscriptions of Tiglath-pileser. In his own words:

In 1866 seeing the unsatisfactory state of our knowledge of those parts of Assyrian history which bore upon the history of the Bible, I felt anxious to do something towards settling a few of the questions involved. I saw at the time that the key lay in the annals of Tiglath-Pileser . . .<sup>14</sup>

Smith applied to Sir Henry Rawlinson and received his permission to examine Layard’s paper casts at the British Museum. ‘This work,’ he admits, ‘I found one of considerable difficulty, as the casts were most of them very fragmentary and I was quite inexperienced and had little time at my disposal.’<sup>15</sup>

A year afterwards, when Smith resumed his examination of the squeezes, he found some hitherto unknown fragments. It appears that these were the ‘paper impressions’ which Layard made in his second campaign at Nimrud, and which, as Smith wrote, contained ‘notices of Azariah King of Judah, Pekah King of Israel, and Hoshea King of Israel’.<sup>16</sup>

The annals of Tiglath-pileser were one of the focal points of Smith’s interest during the famous excavations of 1873 conducted on behalf of *The*

14 G. SMITH, *Assyrian Discoveries* (=AD), London 1875, p. 7.

15 AD, p. 10.

16 AD, p. 12. These texts were included in the third volume of SIR HENRY RAWLINSON’S *Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia* (= III R), London 1870, copied by Smith. He discussed their chronological implication in the *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde*, 1869, pp. 9–15, 92–93. One ‘fragment’, however (= III R, Pl. 9, No. 2), is not a paper cast of a slab but a clay tablet (K 6205). Smith did not indicate that essential fact either in the introduction to III R or in the copy itself.

*Daily Telegraph*. He opened trenches at Nimrud at several places: at the 'South East Palace' — where he found a fragment of a clay tablet of Tiglath-pileser<sup>17</sup> — and at the north side of the 'South West Palace', with a view to collating the texts published by Layard. He made some copies on the spot and fresh squeezes. No details of his work are known, however; the collections and copies were never published.<sup>18</sup> He was the last to see the original annal-slabs *in situ* and reported that 'many of the inscriptions had been very badly damaged since the time of Mr. Layard's excavations.'<sup>19</sup>

His work came to an end with his untimely death in 1876, which marked in many ways the close of the heroic age of Assyriology.

About a hundred years after Layard had concluded his second campaign at Nimrud, Professor M. E. L. Mallowan, heading an expedition of the British School of Archaeology in Iraq, resumed excavations in the abandoned tell. In 1950, 1955 and 1956, a number of fragmentary inscriptions of Tiglath-pileser on clay tablets were found in the Governor's Palace and in the Nabū Temple, both on the south-eastern part of the mound, and published subsequently by D. J. Wiseman.<sup>20</sup> These were historical documents but not of the annals-type, though ultimately they must come from a similar source.

In 1963, the British expedition stopped its work, announcing that it would not be renewed for the time being. With this, the stage of discovery in Calah seems to have ended.<sup>21</sup> The next stage, that of re-examining all the data, is now called for.

In 1962, a comprehensive edition of Tiglath-pileser's reliefs excavated by Layard was made available to scholars. In this volume, the authors, R. D. Barnett and Margarete Falkner,<sup>22</sup> also published for the first time Layard's additional drawings of slabs now lost. The archaeological and artistic aspects of the reliefs are discussed, and valuable suggestions as to the possible historical setting of the battle scenes are offered. Though

17 *AD*, pp. 74–75. This is the fragment DT 3, a duplicate of the large clay tablet K 3751 found, apparently, by Rassam and published by Norris in 1866 (II R, Pl. 67).

Smith believed that K 3751 also came from the same building and marked on the tablet itself: 'S.E. Palace, Nimroud'; cf. D. J. WISEMAN, *Iraq*, xviii (1956), p. 118.

18 Smith, as it seems, collated the annal-slabs on walls q, r, s, ss, and u (*NR*, I, Plan II). Results of some of these collations could be found in his notebooks for that year. *AD*, p. 75.

20 *Iraq*, xiii (1951), pp. 21–24; Pl. XI; xviii (1956), pp. 117–129; Pls. XXII–XXIII; xxvi (1964), pp. 119–121; Pl. XXVI.

21 The thirteen seasons of excavation at Nimrud during the years 1949–1963 are now fully described by M. E. L. MALLOWAN, *Nimrud and its Remains*, I–II, London 1966.

22 R. D. BARNETT & M. FALKNER, *The Sculptures of Tiglath-Pileser III (745–727 B.C.)*, from the Central and South-West Palaces at Nimrud (= *STP*), London 1962.

the authors do not deal with the inscriptions, the full publication of the reliefs is, nevertheless, an important step towards a critical study of the historical inscriptions of Tiglath-pileser, since it presents all the known data concerning the discovery of the slabs as well as new and relevant evidence from Layard's unpublished letters and notes. The untimely death of Miss Falkner in 1962 had somewhat delayed further research in the reliefs and annals of Tiglath-pileser.

## II

Scholars who have had recourse to the annals of Tiglath-pileser have invariably encountered the numerous difficulties, raised by the state of the surviving fragments, which Rost's scholarly edition<sup>23</sup> had not resolved. The condition of the annals poses two particular problems not met with in dealing with the inscriptions of the other Assyrian kings:

1. Determining the chronological sequence of the fragmentary slabs, which, in this instance, were not discovered *in situ*. The hardest task is to arrange the fragments in a chronological order that accords with the historical sequence of the events of Tiglath-pileser's reign, known from the Assyrian Eponym Canon, which briefly narrates the military campaigns of the Assyrian kings for each year.<sup>24</sup>

2. The incompleteness of primary sources that should serve as a basis for the reconstruction of the original text. The existing slabs from Layard's excavations, mainly in the British Museum, cover only a third to two-fifths of the annals; for the rest, the only 'primary source' is Layard's copies as lithographed in his *Inscriptions in the Cuneiform Character from Assyrian Monuments* (= Lay.).

We rightly ask why Layard's squeezes in the British Museum were not consulted. Unhappily, the fate of the squeezes is even sadder than the fate of the slabs. George Smith records — that is, about twenty years after the original discovery — that the 'paper casts' were already very fragmentary.<sup>25</sup> At the end of the nineteenth century, when Paul Rost prepared his edition, at least seven out of the twenty-two squeezes of the plates that he edited were missing. What happened to the squeezes after that is not clear. And it is almost certain that they no longer exist. The two large cases of paper casts in the Department of Western Asiatic Antiquities at the British Museum, examined by the present writer in 1964, contain none of the squeezes which Rost had seen.

23 P. ROST, *Die Keilschrifttexte Tiglat-Pileasers III*, I: Einleitung, Transskription und Übersetzung, Wörterverzeichnis mit Kommentar; II: Autographierte Texte (= TP, I-II), Leipzig 1893.

24 A. UNGNAD, apud: *Reallexikon der Assyriologie*, II, Berlin-Leipzig 1938, pp. 430-432.

25 AD, p. 10.

The first attempt to introduce some systematic order into the inscriptions of Tiglath-pileser was made by Eberhard Schrader, first in 1872 in his classic *Die Keilinschriften und das alte Testament*, and subsequently and more intensively, in two lectures delivered to the *Preussische Königliche Akademie der Wissenschaften*, in Berlin, in 1878 and 1879.<sup>26</sup> In these studies, Schrader introduced two new principles of analysis: (a) the distinction between parallel series of the annals; (b) the distinction between annals and documents of a similar type, which he termed *Übersichtsinschriften* or *Prunkinschriften* (= 'Display Inscriptions' in the terminology of later scholars<sup>27</sup>).

The documents of the second type list the king's victories not chronologically — as in the annals — but in a geographical sequence or according to their political importance. Their main significance lies in the fact that, essentially, they are derived from annalistic sources and thus simplify the task of reconstruction of the broken passages in the annals.

But Schrader did not edit the historical inscriptions of Tiglath-pileser. That was done, though in popular fashion, by George Smith. In his *Assyrian Discoveries* (1875), Smith presented the translated text, without indicating the sources used to supply the lacunae. The annals were divided into thirteen 'Fragments', whose lines were separately numbered. The editing was done on the basis of contents, each section, according to Smith, a separate, self-contained unit.

Smith's pioneering work, the product of painstaking study, has one major fault: it is a synthesis of parallel and variant readings with documentation of the source material justifying the adoption of a given reading. He wanted to offer the public a comprehensive historical picture, not a detailed scholarly study. He was fascinated by the bearing of the Assyrian monuments upon the Bible and upon its chronology in particular, and so the annals of Tiglath-pileser became for him an instrument for determining the dates of the last Israelite kings and uncovering the tragic events which led to the fall of the kingdom of Israel. Hence, a documentation of parallel or variant readings was of no value to him unless they contributed to the history of that period or provided additional chronological data. He therefore appended passages from the so-called 'Display Inscriptions' to his 'Fragments' to achieve the desired historical continuity.

Whereas Smith permitted himself this licence with regard to only a few of the thirteen 'Fragments', Paul Rost, Schrader's pupil, took the same

26 'Zur Kritik der Inschriften Tiglath-pileser's II, des Asarhaddon und des Asurbani-pal', *Abhandlungen der Königlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin*, Berlin 1880, pp. 3–31.

27 E.g., A.T. OLMSTEAD, *Western Asia in the Days of Sargon of Assyria*, New York 1908, p. 6; idem, *Assyrian Historiography*, Columbia (Missouri) 1916, p. 3.

liberty throughout his scholarly edition of Tiglath-pileser's inscriptions,<sup>28</sup> and still earlier in his Berlin dissertation, *De Inscriptiōne Tiglat-Pileser III Regis Assyriae Quae Vocatur Annalium* (Leipzig 1892). Rost's work may be considered as a continuation of the methodology employed six years earlier by Hugo Winckler, in his edition of the annals of Sargon II, inscribed on slabs decorating the walls of his palace at Khorsabad.<sup>29</sup>

Indeed, Winckler's influence on Rost was considerable even as regards the typographical lay-out of the text. As in Winckler's edition, the lines of Rost's text of the annals are numbered consecutively, which creates a misleading impression of continuity and completeness. Every lacuna that could be fully restored by reasonable conjecture had been restored, but usually without indication of what the restoration is based on. Moreover, it is difficult not to be unfavourably impressed by the large number of errors and misprints, by the discrepancies between the cuneiform text and the transliteration, and by other similar faults that occur to a great extent in Winckler's edition of Sargon's annals.<sup>30</sup>

Some years ago, I attempted to determine the correct order of a number of fragments of Tiglath-pileser's annals, mainly those concerning the Syrian campaigns of 740–738.<sup>31</sup> When, in 1964, I had the privilege of working on Assyrian inscriptions in the British Museum, Dr. R.D. Barnett, Keeper of the Department of Western Asiatic Antiquities, put at my disposal two volumes of manuscripts containing the facsimiles of the inscriptions published by Layard in 1851; these manuscripts formed part of the documents presented to the British Museum after Layard's death in 1894. Again thanks to Dr. Barnett, I was able to examine the notebooks of George Smith and also some of Sir Henry Rawlinson's notebooks preserved in the Manuscript Department of the Museum, none of which has so far been utilized in the study of Assyrian historical documents.

Most of the first of Layard's two manuscripts (hereinafter: MS A) was written in pencil, the copies of the cuneiform characters being made in a firm, elegant hand. Whenever there was any doubt about the reading of certain signs, Layard indicated the doubtful sign with hatching. Each text carries a reference to where it was found, and a short description of the

28 See above, n. 23.

29 *De Inscriptiōne Sargonis Regis Assyriae Quae Vocatur Annalium*, Berlin 1886; idem, *Die Keilschrifttexte Sargons*, I–II, Leipzig 1889.

30 Winckler's edition was corrected by F.H. WEISSBACH, 'Zu den Inschriften der Säle im Palaste Sargon's II von Assyrien', *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, LXXII (1918), pp. 161–185; and by A.G. Lie who published a new careful edition of the annals, based in the main on a recension of a consecutive text of a single hall: *The Inscriptions of Sargon II King of Assyria*, I: The Annals, Paris 1929.

31 'Azriyau of Yaudi', *Scripta Hierosolymitana*, VIII, 1961 (= *Studies in the Bible*, ed. C. Rabin), pp. 252–258.

relief, somewhat longer than in the published volume. The second manuscript (hereinafter: MS B) is very different. It is written in ink on larger pages and was obviously made in a great hurry. There is no longer any hatching; instead, the partially legible signs are simply indicated by question marks. There is no doubt that MS B was also written by Layard's own hand, though in several places corrections were entered by another — presumably that of Edwin Norris, the Secretary of the Royal Asiatic Society, who, together with Samuel Birch, prepared Layard's manuscripts for the press. According to Sir Wallis Budge, Norris helped Birch in restoring passages 'where the "squeeze" was torn or defective, and in correcting Layard's pencil copies.'<sup>32</sup> MS B was the one given to the printer; and, since it is absolutely identical with the printed volume of Layard's *Inscriptions*, it has no value for the critical study of the original text.

A comparison of the copies in MS A with the extant slabs in the British Museum reveals that, with few exceptions, Layard's work was extraordinarily accurate. This must have been due, in no small measure, to the fact that he could not read what he was copying, since the Assyrian cuneiform was not deciphered until years later. In terms of strict palaeographic fidelity, his copies are actually superior to those made by the nineteenth century Assyriologist: he copied the cuneiform signs exactly as he found them, that is, in the forms peculiar to the lapidary script of Tiglath-pileser's time, and not into the standardized characters used by subsequent generations of scholars.

Hence Sir Wallis Budge's assertion, that 'Layard never professed to have knowledge of even the simplest forms of cuneiform characters, and only set down in his notebooks what he thought he saw',<sup>33</sup> should today be regarded as praise rather than as the disparagement originally intended.

Layard's copies have a further merit. In some cases, when the text runs across the relief, he gives in MS A a rough sketch of the figures, or rather of the remains of them. These sketches are of great assistance in the reconstruction of the order of the slabs.

MS A places the study of the annals of Tiglath-pileser on a new basis: it provides a trustworthy and accurately copied text, which, save in a few cases, as the majority of the slabs are lost, must be considered the best source available. Therefore, in the preparation of the new edition of the annals of Tiglath-pileser the present writer took MS A as the basis of the text whenever the original source did not survive. Layard's copies are of greater

32 See E. A. WALLIS BUDGE, *The Rise and Progress of Assyriology*, London 1925, pp. 90-91. Budge was apparently mistaken, as only MS B — written throughout in ink — bears the corrections. MS A (= 'the pencil copies') shows no sign of having undergone editorial procedure.

33 *Ibid.*, p. 90.

value for establishing an *editio princeps* of the annals than those of Rost, which superseded the lithographed texts of 1851. Indeed, a comparison of Rost's hand-copies with Layard's MS A shows that they diverge considerably in many cases (see, e.g., Figs. 1 and 2 on p. 20). It might be argued, of course, that these differences stem, in fact, from Rost's own collation of the original slabs with the squeezes at the British Museum, as stated in the *Vorrede* to his book (dated 15 October 1892). Yet, it is not easy to ascertain to what extent Rost's work in London, in the autumn of 1892, contributed to his final edition of the annals, which appeared some months later. There are very few variations between it and the transliterated text as published in the dissertation which he submitted on 4 July 1892, that is, before the collation was undertaken. Even, however, in those sections of the annals of which Rost states that he had no squeezes (e.g. Lay. 66 = *TP*, Pl. XXIII, or Lay. 71 + 72a = *TP*, Pl. XIX), Rost's version diverges somewhat from that in Layard's publication; apparently all the changes were made on the basis of a combination of deduction and conjecture. Sometimes it seems that Rost treated the lithographed cuneiform of Layard's volume like a biblical text, which, at that time, was especially subject to arbitrary textual emendations.

The examination of George Smith's notebooks brought to light another aspect of the whole problem which is important for establishing the text of the annals. As we have said, Smith published in 1870 six additional 'Fragments' of Tiglath-pileser's inscriptions which he had found in the British Museum.<sup>34</sup> It is now apparent that the longest and most important of these 'Fragments' — III R 9, 3, the one containing the end of the Azriyau episode — is, in fact, an eclectic text, pieced together from several partly parallel documents. We have so far been able to discern eight such component texts, three of them, it appears, based on the unpublished squeezes of Layard. Here again, desiring to give a complete and comprehensive text as possible, Smith presents a reconstructed text without indicating his sources. Hence the paradoxical situation that Layard's copies, each printed on a separate plate that gives its provenience (numbering of wall and slab sequence), are of greater value than Smith's profound and remarkably perceptive work of synthesis.

The second major problem was to identify all the possible parallel recensions of the annals. Our working method was to compare the known parallel recensions (as was done by Schrader), and to employ artistic and typological criteria whereby the different series of slabs could be distinguished. Using this methodology, we could make out six parallel recensions. Each contained a complete text of the annals and each originally

<sup>34</sup> See above, n. 16.



The upper and lower registers of a slab from Series A, cut in two by the 'excavators'. The inscription is a part of the introduction to the annals.

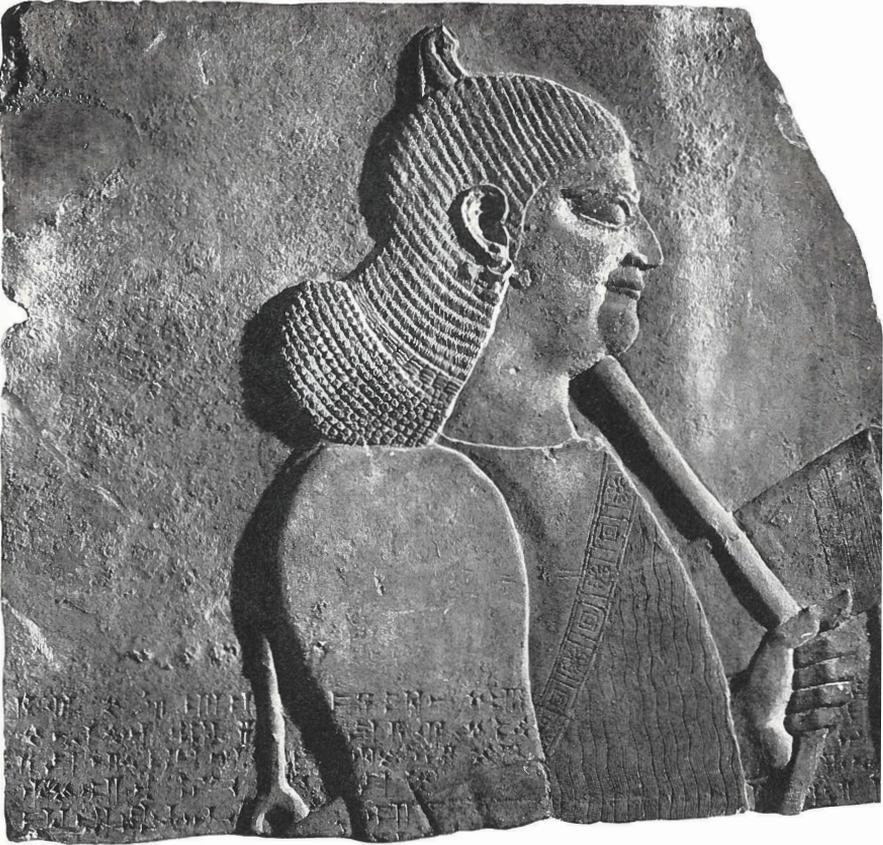
(R. D. BARNETT & M. FALKNER, *The Sculptures of Tiglath-Pileser III*, London 1962, Pls. LXXII-LXXIII. Courtesy of the Archaeological Institute, University of Zürich.)

PLATE II



Slab from Series B (Lay. 51).

(BARNETT & FALKNER, Pl. LXXXIX. Courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.)



Inscribed slab from Series D (ROST, *TP*, *Annals*, ll. 126–128), depicting a courtier (BARNETT & FALKNER, *Pl. XCVII*. Courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum)



Slab from Series A (Rost, *TP*, *Annals*, II, 177-190). In the upper register: exiles from the captured city of Astartu; in the lower register: part of the representation of the king in his chariot under a canopy.  
(BARNETT & FALKNER, *Pl. LXIX*. Courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.)

adorned the walls of one of the halls of Tiglath-pileser's palace (= the 'Central Palace'<sup>35</sup>). It appears that the annals were engraved in at least six identical copies, as were the annals of Sargon II in his great palace at Khorsabad. Sargon, then, followed closely the practice of inscribing annals on reliefs which — as far as we know — was introduced by Tiglath-pileser. With respect to Ashurnasirpal's palace in Calah, we find only a single, stereotyped text on all the reliefs (= a 'Display Inscription'), designated by Layard as the 'Standard Inscription', which is repeated in each hall. The annals were inscribed on the king's statue or on huge, unsculptured slabs laid on the palace floor.

As I have noted, the reliefs fall into two categories, corresponding to the two distinct methods in which the scribes arranged the annals on the slabs. Texts of the first category are inscribed in the space between the upper and the lower registers of the reliefs, in columns of seven lines each (= Series A, in our classification), or in columns of twelve lines each (= Series B). In the second category (= Series C, D, and E), the texts are written upon the reliefs, the number of lines across each 'column' varying between 16 and 20 or more.<sup>36</sup> We can establish the probable original sequence in which the slabs appeared on the walls of each hall in the still undiscovered palace of Tiglath-pileser.<sup>37</sup> In the course of our reconstruction, it became apparent that palaeographic criteria could also be applied.<sup>38</sup> A careful examination of MS A, as well as of the reliefs in the British Museum, disclosed the existence of several hands: in Series A, four can be discerned; in Series B, there are two, other than those which engraved Series A. A study of the order of the reliefs, the size of the gaps and the sequence of the text suggests that Series A originates from four walls of one hall, and Series B from two walls of another. It seems, then, that the work in each hall was executed by four scribes, each responsible for the text of a single wall. This would explain certain palaeographic differences in our reconstructed Series A–B.

35 Actually, only some annal-slabs were unearthed at the 'Central Palace': Nos. 15 and 16; 17, 25 and 26 (= *STP*, pp. 14–17), and possibly Nos. 46 and 47 (see below, Pl. I and n. 56). All the rest were found at the South-Western Palace.

36 This latter practice was not followed by the scribes of Sargon. All his annals (see n. 30) are inscribed between the registers of the reliefs, in columns of different length: 12 lines (Hall x), 13 (Hall vii), 15 (Hall xiii), and 17 (Hall v).

37 The exact location of Tiglath-pileser's palace is still disputed. See *NI*, pp. 11–12; *STP*, p. 6; MALLOWAN, *op. cit.* (above, n. 21), I, p. 81, n. 9 and p. 109, n. 6.

38 A. SCHOTT, in: *Vorarbeiten zur Geschichte der Keilschriftliteratur*, I, Stuttgart 1936 (= *Bonner Orientalistische Studien*, xiii), pp. 42–45, attempted to use palaeography as sole criterion to establish parallel recensions of Tiglath-pileser's annals. For a variety of reasons, however, his classification is unacceptable.

A detailed description of the series follows:

*Series A*

Of this, Layard discovered seven columns (with seven lines to a column) extending over six slabs. Three of the slabs constitute a single sequence of texts and reliefs in a section of one of the walls. From another wall of the same hall, according to our reconstruction, two slabs remain, one depicting in the upper register the captured city of Ashtaroth,<sup>39</sup> the other — after a considerable gap — the capture of Gezer.<sup>40</sup> To this series undoubtedly belong the two slabs bearing the king's titles which found their way to the Archaeological Institute of the University of Zürich and — after the appearance of Rost's edition — were published by Boissier<sup>41</sup> but have not yet been studied. We shall return to them at the close of this paper.

*Series B*

The five remaining slabs comprise eight columns of twelve lines each. They are larger than those of Series A (each is about 2.50 m wide); there, too, it is possible to distinguish slabs from two walls, both in terms of the continuity of the reliefs and by palaeographic criteria. Two slabs are intact from the wall on which the series seems to have started;<sup>42</sup> they record the events of the first and second *palû* (= regnal year) of the king (745–744). A gap follows which, at a rough reckoning, appears to have held approximately eight slabs and was obviously the text of an entire wall about 20 m long. By contrast, the series of reliefs assigned to the third wall is fairly complete: it comprises two large slabs joined together and records the events of the years 738–737.<sup>43</sup> To these should be added a fragmentary slab concerning the war in Media, published by Layard (Lay. 19b) but hardly used by Rost in his reconstruction.<sup>44</sup>

*Series C<sub>1</sub>–C<sub>2</sub>*

These two series, inscribed across colossal reliefs, are known to us only through Layard's copies. Here, MS A is of special importance as it contains rough sketches of figures interspersed in the text. We have tentatively grouped those slabs into two — partly parallel — series (see chart on p. 19). Despite the methodological difficulties, however, it is not altogether

39 BM 118908: *STP*, Relief 36 (Pl. LXIX), and p. 30.

40 Wall a, No. 5a; *STP*, p. 24.

41 A. BOISSIER, *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, xviii (1896), pp. 158–160.

42 *STP*, Reliefs 34, 35 (Pls. LXXXIX, LXXXVIII).

43 *STP*, Reliefs 31, 33 (Pls. LXXXV, LXXXI).

44 *STP*, p. 24; Relief 28 (Pl. LXV).

impossible that they do, in fact, form one series. The number of lines vary: in the reliefs of Series C<sub>1</sub>, there are 16–20 lines; the reliefs of Series C<sub>2</sub> may contain more than twenty. The height of each slab was apparently 2.80 m or slightly more.

To assess the dimensions of the halls in which these series appeared is not a facile matter, as Layard did not set down the width of the slabs.

Series C<sub>1</sub> constitutes the remnants of slabs from two or three walls. The text of the 1st and the 2nd *palû* (i.e., 745–744) is missing, but a sixteen-line slab (Lay. 71a + 71b + 72a), which seemingly records the events of the 3rd *palû*, has survived. The 4th and 5th *palû* are missing and the text is resumed with the events of the 6th and 7th *palû*, inscribed on some fragmentary slabs (Lay. 45b<sub>2</sub>; III R 9, 1; Lay. 45b<sub>1</sub>), which were slightly misplaced in Layard's MS B and in the printed volume. The rest of the text has not survived, except for a fragment of the 12th *palû* (Lay. 29b), part of the campaign against Israel in 733.

In Series C<sub>2</sub>, we have assigned the twenty-line slab (Lay. 65), telling of the events of the year 738, to one wall, and the composite slab (Lay. 72b + 73a), telling of the events of 733, to another.

#### *Series D*

Of this series only two adjoining fragments are extant — parts of a colossal slab depicting the king with the royal chamberlain standing behind him (BM 118899, 118900).<sup>45</sup> The text belongs to the annals from the year 738. Though discovered by Layard, the fragments were first published by C. J. Gadd in 1936.<sup>46</sup> George Smith knew of their existence, as is evident from his copies of them.<sup>47</sup>

#### *Series E*

Only one slab, Lay. 66, which gives the account of the campaigns against the Arabs and ends with the deposition of Peqah and the enthronement of Hosea (732), can be assigned to the series. Though the sequence of events on the slab may not be entirely chronological, there is no definite proof that it should be classed with the 'Display Inscriptions', which, so far as our evidence goes, were not engraved upon slabs, bearing reliefs. We have, therefore, albeit with certain reservations, included it in the annal category.

We wish to note two other types of slabs discovered by Layard: one being a sculptured slab without text,<sup>48</sup> the other a plain slab bearing a long

45 *STP*, p. 17, Reliefs 25 and 26 (Pls. XCVII and XCVIII).

46 C. J. GADD, *Stones of Assyria*, London 1936, pp. 154–155.

47 Smith's notebook, No. 16 (Add. MS 30401), p. 13.

48 E.g., *STP*, Pl. CV.

inscription. There is only one extant slab (BM 118936), of exceptionally large dimensions (3.3 × 2.4 m), belonging to this category. The text here is not of the annal-type, but belongs to the class of the so-called 'Display Inscriptions'.<sup>49</sup> In 1854, W. K. Loftus discovered two slabs of a similar type on the site of Layard's excavations, of which copies were made on the spot by W. Boucher, but whose existence had been unknown hitherto.<sup>50</sup> We assume that special halls were decorated with similar slabs of the 'Display Inscriptions' category, as in the case of the annals. A like arrangement was adapted in Sargon's palace at Khorsabad. The text which Smith published in III R 10, 2, and which is usually called 'A fragmentary Annals Text' (*Kleine Inschriften*, I, in Rost's edition), is also to be assigned to the same category, as it does not follow any chronological order. This document, which comprises 38 lines, offers a detailed description of Tiglath-pileser's wars in Syria: the conquest of the Phoenician coastal towns, the capture of Gaza, the conquest of Israel, and the campaigns against the Arabs.<sup>51</sup>

The remains of the annals, in their six parallel recensions and correct chronological order, are presented in the chart on p. 19. The fragmentary nature of the material is self-apparent; the lacunae are twice as large as the extant text. The largest gaps extend over several *palûs* — 4th and 5th *palû* (= 742–741): the siege of Arpad and the conquest of North Syria; 10th *palû* (= 736): the campaign to Nairi; 12th *palû* (= 734): the campaign to Philistia. And there are numerous smaller gaps in the account of a given year. Failure on the part of scholars to indicate the lacunae led occasionally to erroneous readings and forced syntax (since as much as a whole column may sometimes be missing between the beginning and the end of a section) and often to distorted historical pictures.

It is beyond the scope of this paper to discuss the implications resulting from the suggested arrangement of the annals. Two points will, however, be made. The first concerns Lay. 29b, a seven-line inscription from a

49 Cf. D. J. WISEMAN, *Iraq*, XVIII (1956), p. 118; E.R. THIELE, *The Mysterious Numbers of the Hebrew Kings* (revised edition), Grand Rapids 1965, p. 104.

50 These are the two slabs of Tiglath-pileser mentioned in the Report of the Assyrian Excavation Fund of 4 December 1854, published as an appendix to GADD (*op. cit.*, above, n. 46), p. 9. George Smith translated one of them in *AD*, p. 271 (*TP*, II, Pls. XXX–XXXI).

51 It is possible that it was originally inscribed on two large slabs of the type mentioned above. Smith's edition does not give a true indication of its character, for in his notebooks we found all the stages that preceded the published texts, which he pieced together from five or more different paper squeezes. A clay tablet with a duplicate of this text (ND 4301 + 4305 + 5422) was discovered in the recent excavations at Nimrud and published by D. J. WISEMAN, *Iraq*, XVIII (1956), pp. 118 ff.; XXVI (1964), pp. 120–121.

relief depicting the capture of the city *Gazru* (i.e., Gezer) — the last annal-slab preserved. It relates that, during the war against the Chaldaeans and the Aramaeans, the priests (*ērib bīti*) of the temple cities of Babylon, Borsippa and Cutha presented Tiglath-pileser with the ‘remnants’ (*rihāti*) of Bel, Nabu and Nergal, that is, the left-overs of a sacramental meal offered to the gods, thus recognizing his claim to rule over Babylon.<sup>52</sup> Until now this relief has been placed at the head of the annals (lines 1–7 in Rost’s numbering),<sup>53</sup> creating the impression that Tiglath-pileser established his rule over Babylon’s sacred cities at the very beginning of his reign (745). This frequently caused the historian to wonder what made the Assyrian king abandon Babylon that very year and return fourteen years later. The suggestion to assign the slab to the end of Series A, thus transferring the whole section to the year 731,<sup>54</sup> eliminates this difficulty. It also solves a further problem: the capture of Gezer, depicted on the upper register of the relief,<sup>55</sup> instead of figuring at the head of the account of Tiglath-pileser’s first campaign, now appears in its appropriate place, i.e., among the Syrian and Palestinian wars. According to this arrangement, the fall of Gezer would follow the fall of Ashtaroth, which is assigned to the third wall of the same hall.

The second point is the occurrence of a new title of Tiglath-pileser in the reconstructed sections of the prologue to the annals. That section occurs on two slabs now in Zürich,<sup>56</sup> which have not yet been treated: the first carries three lines of text below the relief; the second, three lines above it. From the photographs it seems that the two reliefs originally formed a single slab with a seven-line inscription. This was cut in such a way that only one line was left, though its traces may still be seen on both halves.

52 On *rihāti* see now A. L. OPPENHEIM, *Ancient Mesopotamia*, Chicago 1964, p. 189.

The other Assyrian kings mentioned as having received the *rihāti* of the chief Babylonian gods prior to their conquest of Babylon are Adad-nirari III (D. D. LUCKENBILL, *The Ancient Records of Assyria and Babylonia* [= *AR*], I, Chicago 1927, § 741) and Sargon II (*ibid.*, II, § 70). The ceremony implied an actual invitation extended to the Assyrian emperor to ascend the throne of Babylon. Tiglath-pileser and Sargon accepted that invitation, which was in line with their pronounced pro-Babylonian attitudes. Adad-nirari apparently declined. In all three cases, the Assyrian king appears to have acted as a ‘saviour’ of Babylon from the oppression of the Chaldaean princes.

53 *TP*, I, p. 2; *AR*, I, § 762, except for the last line (‘I richly adorned them’, etc.), which belongs to the account of the first *palū* (§ 763).

54 The Eponym Chronicle records for that year a campaign against the Šapia, the capital of Bit-Amukani. See J. A. BRINKMAN, in: *Studies Presented to A. Leo Oppenheim*, Chicago 1964, p. 11, n. 28.

55 J. B. PRITCHARD, *The Ancient Near East in Pictures*, Princeton 1954, p. 293, No. 369.

56 *STP*, Reliefs 46, 47 (Pls. LXXII, LXXIII).

The reconstructed single text (see Plate I) recites some of Tiglath-pileser's titles which are: 'noble scion of Baltil, beloved of the god [...], creation of the goddess Ninmenna...' To demonstrate his royal lineage, Tiglath-pileser here traces his descent to the noble families of Baltil (or Balatil), the ancient quarter of the city of Ashur.<sup>57</sup> Sargon II, another usurper, likewise traced his descent to the 'seed' of Baltil<sup>58</sup> — a practice imitated and enlarged upon by his grandson.<sup>59</sup> Interestingly enough, Tiglath-pileser's claim is supported by evidence from another source: the Babylonian King List A, which refers to Tiglath-pileser (*Pūlu*) and his son Shalmaneser V (*Uluai*) as the 'dynasty' (*palū*) of BAL.TIL.<sup>60</sup>

Nothing has survived from the epilogue of the annals. Undoubtedly it included a description of the palace, similar to that of K 3751,<sup>61</sup> composed in the seventeenth year of Tiglath-pileser's reign (728). The annals were compiled and engraved at about the same time the palace itself was built, that is, towards the very end of his reign. Yet the life-span of the palace was short. It was most probably occupied by Shalmaneser V who, to judge from the complete absence of any remains of his five-year reign, undertook no constructions of his own. We do not know in which of the Nimrud palaces Sargon resided before moving his court to Khorsabad, i.e., two years before his death. It is not likely that he lived in the palace of the dynasty which he overthrew. From 707 Calah ceased to be the main city and Sennacherib rebuilt Nineveh as his capital shortly after his accession in 705. Two of the deserted palaces of Calah — the magnificent north-western palace of Ashurnasirpal and the palace of Tiglath-pileser — were subsequently sacrificed to Esarhaddon's own architectural ambition. Around 670,<sup>62</sup> he razed Tiglath-pileser's palace, obliterated the

57 J. LEWY, *Hebrew Union College Annual*, XIX (1946), n. 305; A. GOETZE, *Journal of Cuneiform Studies*, XIX (1965), p. 134, n. 108; and most recently HILDEGARD LEWY, in: *Cambridge Ancient History*, I (revised edition), 1966, Fasc. 53, pp. 5–6.

58 *zēr Baltil*: F. THUREAU-DANGIN, *Une Relation de la huitième campagne de Sargon*, Paris 1912, p. 20, l. 113.

59 *kisitti šāti ša durugšu Baltil*: R. BORGER, *Die Inschriften Asarhaddons*, Graz 1956, p. 81, l. 41; cf. *The Assyrian Dictionary*, Chicago, Vol. D, p. 191b; Vol. Š, p. 118b; W. VON SODEN, *Akkadisches Handwörterbuch*, I, 178<sup>a</sup>.

60 *Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum*, XXXVI, Pl. 25, Col. IV, l. 9. The same king-list denounces Sennacherib, the destroyer of Babylon, by naming him and his son — alone of all the Assyrian kings — 'the barbaric dynasty': *palū ḥabigal*, which is an abbreviation of *ḥabigalbatū*, i.e., coming from Ḥanigalbat, the land of the Hurrians. In the Neo-Babylonian period it interchanged with Subartu, the usual archaized name for Assyria carrying a derogatory connotation.

61 *AR*, I, § 804.

62 Esarhaddon's building projects in Calah had already begun in 676, when the arsenal (*bīt mašartī*) was restored; see A.R. MILLARD, *Iraq*, XXIII (1961), pp. 176–178.

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inscriptions and re-used the reliefs.<sup>63</sup> It was his death in 669 that saved what was still left of Tiglath-pileser's annals from total destruction. Layard could only harvest the gleanings.

Enlarged version of paper read in Hebrew 19 January 1965

63 This is the first attested case of stone reliefs of an Assyrian emperor being usurped by one of his successors.

A further example of this practice is furnished by some bas-reliefs of Sennacherib defaced and recarved by Ashurbanipal or by one of his immediate successors; see now: J. E. READE, *Iraq*, XXIX (1967), pp. 42–45.

*Hayim Tadmor*

*The Division of the Annals into Series*

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<i>PSBA</i> , XVIII (1896), p. 159	= BOISSIER (above, n. 41), Nos. 2+3			
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Lay. 69a <sub>2</sub> +68b	=	" 155-161	"	VI-VII
III R 10, 1a	=	" 177-183	"	VIIIa
III R 10, 1b	=	" 184-190	"	VIIIb
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Lay. 45b	=	" 82-89	"	XIII
III R 9, 1	=	" 90-101	"	XIV
Lay. 45b	=	" 74-81	"	XIII
Lay. 29b	=	" 229-240	"	XVIIIb

*Series C<sub>2</sub>*

Lay. 65	= ROST, <i>TP</i> , Annals, ll.	123-141	"	XIX
Lay. 72b-73a	=	" 191-210	"	XXII
Lay. 72b-73a	=	" 229-237	"	XVIIIa

*Series D*

BARNETT & FALKNER, <i>STP</i> , Pls. XCVII+XCVIII	= ROST, <i>TP</i> , Annals, ll.	126-128 (above, n. 46)		
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Lay. 66	= ROST, <i>TP</i> , Annals, ll.	211-228	Pl.	XXIII
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VIII palû	■	■		■	■		738
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XIII palû			■	■			733
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The existing annal fragments and the extent of the lacunae.



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