Two Neo-Assyrian Stelae
in the Antakya and Kahramanmaraş Museums

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The two stelae published here are on display at two different museums in the south-east region of Turkey, namely Antakya and Kahramanmaraş. About 1968, when Selahattin Asım was the director of the Antakya Museum, one of the stelae 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 (3 km). The area is a flat open valley covered with trees and orchards. Very shortly after the discovery of the stela Asım was summoned to the Antakya Museum, for allowing me to complete my work there.

The Antakya stela is damaged on the left side, from top to bottom, and on the top and top right corner, so that the heads of the royal figures carved in light relief have been damaged. The damage may be the result of an intentional act of religious provocation. Examination of the two stelae and their inscriptions shows that the Antakya stela has been carefully carved and is the work of an expert, whereas the Pazarcik inscriptions (both obv. and rev.) are of inferior workmanship, insofar as the style of cuneiform script is concerned. The contents of the inscriptions tell us more about the reign of Adad-nērāri III. According to the Antakya stela, a boundary was set up between Zakur of Hamath and Ataršumki and this included an agreement for equal use of the Orontes River. The Pazarcik stela reveals that Adad-nērāri settled a border dispute with Ušpilulume, the Kummuḫean king, and Qalparuda, the Gurgumean king, but it appears that the main alliance is with Ušpilulume since the agreement is presented to him in the form of a stela (Paz. rev. 12-13). However, Adad-nērāri seems to have established his relations with five cities: Hamath, Arpad(da), Nahlasī, Kummuḫ, and Gurgum through Ataršumki and Ušpilulume.

Adad-nērāri also mentions a war against Ataršumki and his eight allies in Paqirahubūna (Paz. obv. 11-13). Extensive booty from the Damascene ruler Hadiyani (Paz. rev. 4-10) was brought back home as a result of a campaign to Damascus by Šamsī-ili. Four linear descendants are referred to respectively: Shalmaneser III (858-824 BC), Šamsī-Adad ν (823-811 BC), Adad-nērāri III (810-783 BC), and Shalmaneser IV (782-773 BC); the tartānu-official Šamsī-ili (Ant. lines 5 and 8; Paz. rev. 4) served under the last two kings.

The word taḫumu is used in these inscriptions both with the meaning 'border, territory' (cf. von Soden, AHW p. 1303) and with the meaning 'boundary such a heavy block, in the form of an inscribed stela, could hardly be moved very far from its original location.

In particular, the na signs on the Pazarcik stela are very different and look like šu, and the a signs are slightly odd. There are horizontal lines between each inscribed line on the Antakya inscription, but not on the Pazarcik inscriptions.

The modern name has been glorified as Kahraman 'hero, brave' because of its heroism in the fight for freedom against the allied troops during the war of independence.

1 Before I obtained official permission to study the Antakya and Kahramanmaraş stelae, David Hawkins had seen them and made a preliminary study, assisted by some remarks from Karlheinz Deller. I thank them both for their valuable suggestions. Even though I have quoted some of their viewpoints, I carefully copied and collated the inscriptions at the two museums myself and take full responsibility for the article.

2 My thanks are due to the General Directorate of Museums and Antiquities for granting me permission to study the stelae; to the Director-General, Mr. Altan Akat, and the Deputy Director, Nümet Berkok, for their permission and generous assistance; and to Veli Yenisegon, the Director of the Maraş museum.

3 The modern name has been glorified as Kahraman 'hero, brave' because of its heroism in the fight for freedom against the allied troops during the war of independence.

4 I would also like to thank Mr. Hadi Bozkurt, the Director of the museum at Kahramanmaraş, who very generously allowed me to complete my work there.

5 This may have been due to the re-use of the monument; the site where the original stela was erected is unknown, but
stone’ in reference to the stelae themselves. The word NA.RU.A = narū is also used in the Antakya stela with the same meaning.

The Antakya Stela

(Env. nr. 11832) Slightly damaged. 127 × 52 × 31 cm. Two sculptured standing human figures. The heads are mostly gone. The inscription runs over the right margin.

TRANSLITERATION

1) mdISKUR-ERIN.TAH MAN GAL MAN KAL MAN ŠŪ MAN KUR TAŠ ¹
2) A mšam-ši-10 MAN dan-ну MAN ŠŪ MAN KUR aš «aš»-šur
3) A mšul-ma-ну MAŠ MAN kib-rat ⁴
4) (tä)-łu-mu ša ina bir-ti mza-ku-ri KUR ha-ma-ta-a-a
5) [u ina] bir-ti mša-taš-šum-ki A mšad-ra-mu mš10-
   ERIN.TAH MAN KUR AŠ mšam-ši-DINGIR LÜ tar-ta-nu
6) [šš-klu]-nu-ni URU na-ḫa-la-si a-di A.ŠA._MEŠ-ši
   GIŠ.KIRIš. MEŠ-ši
7) [u dži]-ma-šu gab-be ša mša-tar-šum-ki šu-tu
   īd ar-am-tu ina bi-ri-ši-ru
8) [u-šam]-šu-lu-MA i-żu-żu mi-šir NAM A
   mš10-ERIN.TAH MAN KUR AŠ mšam-ši-DINGIR LÜ ¹
9) [tar]-ta-nu ú-za-ki-ū-MA a-na mša-tar-šum-ki A
   mšad-ra-mu a-na DUMU,MEŠ-ši
10) [DUMU.DUMU,MEŠ-ši EGIS.MEŠ ki ru-mu-ti i-ri-mu
    URU-ŠU ta-ḫu-ma-ta-ši
11) [x x] a-na mi-šir KUR-šiš u-ḫi-KIN MU aš-šūr dšiskur u
    dš-še-raš aš-šu-ši
12) [ŠIN.L1L] aš-šur-tu MU dš30 ašši uru.KASKAL-ni
    DINGIR.MEŠ.GAL,MEŠ
13) [šš] KUR aš-šur man-mu EGIR-ū ša pi NA.RU.A
    ši-ā-tu
14) [uš]-šam-sə-ku-MA mi-šir an-na-a TA qa-at
    mša-tar-šum-ki
15) [DUMU,MEŠ-ši u DUMU.DUMU,MEŠ-ši ina
    dan-na-ni e-KI-mu
16) [(x)] Tu(?) šu-[mu ša-taš-ri i-pa-ši-ša MU ša-nam-ma
    i-ša-tar
17) (aš-šur) dšiskur u dš-še-raš ašši uru.KASKAL
    DINGIR.MEŠ.GAL,MEŠ ši KUR AŠ
18) [šš] ina NA.RU.A an-ne-ê MU-ši-nu zak-ru
19) [(k)-ri-šiš-šu ul i-ša-mu-ū

TRANSLATION

1) Adad-nērārī, great king, strong king, king of the universe, king of Assyria,
2) son of Šamši-Adad, strong king, king of the universe, king of Assyria,
3) son of Shalmaneser, king of the four quarters.
4-5) The boundary which Adad-nērārī, king of Assyria, (and) Šamši-šul Amar-nu, the commander in chief, established between Zakur of the land of Hamath and Ataršumki, son of Adramu:
6-8) the town of Nahhali with all its fields, gardens, [and] settlements is (the property) of Ataršumki. They divided the Orontes River between them. This is the border.
9-11) Adad-nērārī, king of Assyria, (and) Šamši-šul Amar-nu, the commander in chief, have given it free and clear to Ataršumki, son of Adramu, to his sons, and his subsequent grandsons. His city and its territories [...] to the border of his land he made firm.
12-13) By the name of Asšur, Adad, and Ber, the Assyrian Ililik, the Assyrian [Mullissu], and the name of Sin dwelling in Harran, the great gods [of] Assyria:
14-16) whoever afterwards speaks ill of the terms of this stela, and takes by force this frontier from the possession of Ataršumki, his sons, and his grandsons; and destroys the written name (and) writes another name:
17-19) may [Asšur], Adad, and Ber, Sin dwelling in Harran, the great gods of Assyria whose names are recorded on this stela, not listen to his prayers.

REMARKS

2) Aš-Sur has one extra horizontal; the scribe probably first intended to write Aš (as in line 1) but repeated Aš-Sur, ignoring the first Aš, to fill the remaining space.
7) [u dži]-ma-ši-šu: the reading was proposed by Deller. For dimtu referring to fortified villas see, in addition to the dictionaries, Al-Khaled, Assur 1 (1977) pp. 81-122.
8) [uš-šam]-ši-lu-ma i-żu-żu: cf. višamšilumma izušu, Grayson, Chronicles p. 160 i 22'.
8) NAM a is a problem. Deller tentatively proposed NAM = ana (an attested value of NAM), giving ana = annā. Or should one regard this as an erroneous metathesis for a-nam : annā?
11) dšad Aš-Sur-ū: cf. ²EN.L1L dšš-ašru-u, Ebeling, LKA no. 33 obv. 5 (reference from Deller).
Figure 2: The Pazarcik Stela
The Pazarck Stela

Inscribed on both obverse and reverse. 140 x 44 x 16.5 cm. No significant damage has occurred.

TRANSLITERATION

Obverse:

1) ta-hu-mu ša m10-ERIN.TÄH MAN KUR aš-šur
2) A mŠam-ši-10 MAN KUR aš-šur
3) ʃa-am-mu-ra-mat MUNUS.É.GAL
4) ša mŠam-ši-10 MAN KUR aš-šur
5) AMA m10-ERIN.TÄH MAN KAL MAN KUR aš-šur
6) kal-laṭ ʃudu-nu-maš
7) MAN kib-(rat) 4-ti ina us-me muş-pi-lu-me
8) MAN URU ku-mu-ḫa-a-a a-na m10-ERIN.TÄH MAN KUR aš-šur
9) ʃa-am-mu-ra-mat MUNUS.É.GAL
10) iš pu-ra-ti u-šē-bi-ru-u-ni
11) a-tar-šu-mi k A mad-ra-a-me URU án-pa-da-a-a
12) a-di 8 MAN.ŠEŠNI ña kī-šu ina URU
13) si-di-ta-šu-nu ña-kib- (rat) 4-ti ina URU
14) id bi-ma [n]u MUNUS.É.GAL
15) id bi-ma [n]u MUNUS.É.GAL
16) a-din man-ku-ma-a-a ina URU
17) a-din man-ku-ma-a-a ina URU
18) a-din man-ku-ma-a-a ina URU
19) a-din man-ku-ma-a-a ina URU
20) a-din man-ku-ma-a-a ina URU
21) a-din man-ku-ma-a-a ina URU
22) a-din man-ku-ma-a-a ina URU
23) ik-kiš aš-šur DINGIR-IA d30 ašiš URU.KASKAL

Reverse:

1) mšu-la-ma-MAŠ MAN KAL MAN KUR aš-šur
2) A m10-ERIN.TÄH MAN KAL MAN ŠU MAN KUR aš-šur
3) A mŠam-ši-10 MAN kib-(rat) 4-ti
4) mŠam-ši-DINGIR LÚ tar-ta-nu
5) kī-i a-na KUR.ŠEŠ-ŠU i-lik-ú-ni
6) mana-tu ša mha-di-a-ni KUR.ŠEŠ-ŠU-a-a
7) KU. BABBAR KU. URU-MAŠ KU.ŠEŠ-ŠU-a-a
8) ku iš-ma-a-a-a a-na pa-qi-ra-bu-bu-na
9) ku iš-ma-a-a-a a-na pa-qi-ra-bu-bu-na
10) ku iš-ma-a-a-a a-na pa-qi-ra-bu-bu-na
11) ku iš-ma-a-a-a a-na pa-qi-ra-bu-bu-na
12) ku iš-ma-a-a-a a-na pa-qi-ra-bu-bu-na
13) ku iš-ma-a-a-a a-na pa-qi-ra-bu-bu-na
14) ku iš-ma-a-a-a a-na pa-qi-ra-bu-bu-na
15) ku iš-ma-a-a-a a-na pa-qi-ra-bu-bu-na
16) ku iš-ma-a-a-a a-na pa-qi-ra-bu-bu-na
17) ku iš-ma-a-a-a a-na pa-qi-ra-bu-bu-na
18) ku iš-ma-a-a-a a-na pa-qi-ra-bu-bu-na
19) ku iš-ma-a-a-a a-na pa-qi-ra-bu-bu-na
20) ku iš-ma-a-a-a a-na pa-qi-ra-bu-bu-na
21) ku iš-ma-a-a-a a-na pa-qi-ra-bu-bu-na
22) ku iš-ma-a-a-a a-na pa-qi-ra-bu-bu-na
23) ku iš-ma-a-a-a a-na pa-qi-ra-bu-bu-na

TRANSLATION

Obverse:

1) Boundary stone of Adad-nērārī, king of Assyria,
2) son of Šamšī-Adad, king of Assyria,
3) (and of) Sammu-rāmat, the palace-woman
4) of Šamšī-Adad, king of Assyria,
5) mother of Adad-nērārī, strong king, king of Assyria,
6) daughter-in-law of Shalmaneser,
7) king of the four quarters. When Uššilulume, king of the people of Kummūḫ, caused Adad-nērārī, king of Assyria, (and) Sammu-rāmat, the palace-woman, to cross the Euphrates;
8-10) I fought a pitched battle with them — with Ataršumki, son of Adramu, of the city of Arpad(da), together with eight kings who were with him at the city Paqirahubuna. I took away from them their camp. To save their lives they dispersed.
16-18) In this (same) year this boundary stone was set up between Uššilulume, king of the people of Kummūḫ, and Qalparuda, son of Palalam, king of the people of Gurgum.
19-20) Whoever (dares) to take (it) away from the hand of Uššilulume, his sons, his grandsons:
21-22) may Assur, Marduk, Adad, Sin, and Šamas not stand (for him) at his lawsuit;

Reverse:

1) Shalmaneser, strong king, king of Assyria,
2) son of Adad-nērārī, strong king, king of the universe, king of Assyria,
3) son of Šamšī-Adad, king of the four quarters:
4-5) when Šamšī-ili, the commander in chief, marched to Damascus,
6-10) the tribute of Hadiyani, the man of Damascus — silver, gold, copper, his royal bed, his royal couch, his daughter with her extensive dowry, the property of his palace without number — I received from him.
11-13) On my return (from Damascus) I gave this boundary stone to Uššilulume, king of the people of Kummūḫ.
13-15) Whoever (dares) to take (it) away from the hand of Uššilulume, his sons, his grandsons: may Aššur, Marduk, Adad, Sin, and Šamaš not stand (for him) at his lawsuit;
17) may they not listen to his prayers;  
18) and may they quickly smash his country like a brick.  
19) May he no longer give advice to the king.  
20) Abomination of Aššur, my god, (and) Sin, who dwells in Harran.

REMARKS

The stela omits -rat in kibrāti (obv. 7; rev. 3). It is interesting that this happens in both the obv. and rev.

Obv. 8) Deller thinks that a-na is nota accusativi here (an Aramaism, based on the use of the Aramaic preposition l to mark the accusative).

Obv. 14) e-kim(*)-šú-nu-ti: the kim sign lacks the initial Winkelhaken.

Obv. 17) The last sign has the anomalous form shown in the copy.

Rev. 5) illikāni: the subject seems to be Šamši-illus. If it were plural, the king and Šamši-illus, one would expect nillikāni ‘we marched’. Use of the first person in rev. 10-20 can refer only to the king, not to the tartānu (especially ikkiš aššur ilūa).

Rev. 18) ur-ru-uḫ: presumably for urruḫiš. It is either a mistake or a dialectical form.

In conclusion, all three inscriptions are of great significance because of the military allusions to Assyrian hegemony over its neighbouring countries. Treaties played an important and prominent role in late Assyrian imperial expansion. Forming alliances of ‘friendship and peace’ with other states was one part of Assyrian policy. Imposing oaths of loyalty on defeated nations was of great practical benefit to Assyria, and it can be taken for granted that copies of all important treaty documents were either carefully preserved in the royal archives or written on materials which were specially selected for long life, and if possible, for eternity.

Hawkins and Postgate have shown that many kings of Tabal and the surrounding region in Anatolia paid tribute to Assyria. Even though most of the treaties are recorded on clay objects, boundary stones are also known to have been inscribed in settling border conflicts. In this context, the purpose of the present stelae seems to be to resolve border conflicts between small native Anatolian administrative centers. Alliances between kings are mentioned in both the Antakya and Pazarcik stelae. The fact that on the obverse of the Pazarcik stela Sammurāmat, mother of Adad-nērāri, is mentioned is noteworthy. The defeat of Ataršumki, king of Arpadda, and his allies was a benefit to two parties, namely Ušpilulume, the Kummuhēan ruler, and Qalparuda, the Gurgumean ruler. A border line was established between them and it was confirmed by the erection of the stela. On the reverse of the Pazarcik stela Shalmaneser iv, son of Adad-nērāri iii, appears and once again reference is made to the grant of a boundary stone to Ušpilulume. The former agreement with Gurgum was probably spoiled and Shalmaneser resettled it once more.

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8 See Parpola and Watanabe, SAA 2.
Figure 3: Antakya Stela
Figure 4: Antakya Stela
Figure 5: Antakya Stela
Figure 6: Antakya Stela
Figure 7: Pazarcik Stela, Obverse
Figure 8: Pazarcik Stela, Obverse, Upper Portion
Figure 9: Pazarcık Stela, Reverse
Figure 10: Pazarcık Stela, Reverse
Figure 11: Pazarcik Stela, Reverse, Upper Portion
Figure 12: Pazarcik Stela, Reverse, Lower Portion
Figure 13: Pazarcik Stela, Reverse, Edge
Figure 14: Pazarcık Stela, Reverse, Edge
Figure 15: Pazarcik Stela, Reverse, Edge