Inscriptions of Tiglath-pileser III: Chronographic-Literary Styles and the King's Portrait

Shigeo YAMADA

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In memory of Hayim Tadmor, master of TP III

The article examines the chronographic styles and literary features of the major inscriptions of Tiglath-pileser III, king of Assyria (745-727 BC), and discusses the characteristics of the king's self-presentation expressed there. First, the article deals with the structure of the king's major inscriptions, while discussing the date and circumstances of their composition. Then, it examines Tiglath-pileser III's self-presentation in those inscriptions, paying attention to the traditions and innovations involved therein. The examination reveals two major points concerning the royal image presented by Tiglath-pileser III's inscriptions, i.e., (1) the revival of the traditional image of the king as the great commander, who unremittingly marches and conquers distant lands, and (2) the innovative image as the absolute imperial builder-administrator, who reorganizes the world on a solid provincial system. The self-presentation was obviously made against the historical background of the king's reign, in which he established the foundation of Assyrian empire following the long period of turmoil and political instability during the reigns of his predecessors.

 Keywords: Assyria, Tiglath-pileser III, annals, chronography, Kalhu

I. Introduction

The reign of Tiglath-pileser III (745-727) has broadly been regarded as the beginning of the real imperial phase of Assyria, and the watershed in the history of the Ancient Near East. After the period more than a half-century, in which Assyria experienced domestic instability and the fragmentation of power in the state organization, Tiglath-pileser III dramatically changed Assyria's fortunes.[1] In the course of his eighteen-year reign, he reshaped the political map of the ancient Near East, conquering and annexing lands in the Syria and Zagros areas far beyond the traditional realm of Assyria. Though the fragmentary state of Tiglath-pileser III's inscriptions has long hindered us from undertaking the holistic analysis of his inscriptions, it has now become duly possible following the appearance of the modern comprehensive editions of the corpus, i.e., Tadmor 1994 and RINAP 1 (= Tadmor and Yamada 2011). In this paper, I will examine the chronographic-literary styles of the major inscriptions of Tiglath-pileser III, while discussing the characteristics of the king's self-portrait and their historical background. Thus, I will add further insights into his inscriptions beyond what was given in the introduction to RINAP 1 (pp. 1-18) and other parts of the volume.

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*Professor, Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, University of Tsukuba

I will begin by describing the basic structures of the king's major inscriptions, discussing the date and circumstances of their composition (Parts II-III). Then, I will review the nature of Tigalth-pileser III's self-presentation in those inscriptions, paying attention to the literary traditions and innovations involved (Part IV).

II. The basic structures and the dates of Tiglath-pileser III's inscriptions
1. Inscriptions of Tiglath-pileser III

The corpus of inscriptions firmly identifiable to Tiglath-pileser III currently comprised 34 to 35 texts.[2] They are found on a variety of objects made of stone, clay, and metal, and shaped in various forms, i.e., slabs, a stele, a statue, a rock relief, tablets, bulls, bricks, duck or lion weights, a bead, etc. Following Tadmor's historiographic criteria of the corpus (Tadmor 1994), the inscriptions of Tiglath-pileser III are divided into three categories: (1) annals, texts whose historical narrative is arranged chronologically (texts 1-38),[3] (2) summary inscriptions, texts whose narrative is arranged in a geographic pattern (texts 39-52), (3) the remainder of miscellaneous texts, including texts that are too-fragmentarily preserved to be of certain classification, as well as other short texts (nos. 53-64).

Table 1: Chronology of Tiglath-pileser III's campaigns and other enterprises[4]

Date	Eponym Chronicle	K(alḫu) A(nnals) and other annalistic texts	Other major sources	Major events
745 Acc. Year (1st *palû*)	In Ayyāru (II), on the thirteenth day, [Tiglath]-pileser ascended the throne. [In T]ašrītu (VII), he marched to the (land) Between the River(s).	KA: texts 4:3–6:7 Text 35 i 36	Bab. Chron. i 1-5	Tiglath-pileser ascends the throne. Campaign into northern and eastern Babylonia; defeat of the Aramean tribes near Dūr-Kurigalzu and east of the Tigris as far as the Uqnû river, and their deportation to the north-eastern provinces.
744: Year 1 (2nd *palû*)	Against the land of Namri.	KA: text 6:7–8:12 Text 35 i 5′–20′		First Median Campaign: Parsua and Bīt-Hamban are annexed; the submission of the Manneans.
743: Year 2 (3rd *palû*)	Urarṭu [was defea]ted in the city of Arpad.	KA: texts 9:2′–16′ Texts 35 i 21′–43′		Sarduri, king of Urarṭu, and his Anatolian allies are defeated.
742: Year 3 (4th *palû*)	Against the city of Arpad.	KA: not preserved		Arpad besieged.
741: Year 4 (5th *palû*)	Against the same city. Within three years it was conquered.	KA: not preserved		Arpad besieged.
740: Year 5 (6th *palû*)	Against the city of Arpad.	KA: not preserved Texts 35 ii 4′		Fall and annexation of Arpad.

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2 In this counting, the total of 34 inscribed slabs bearing a part of the king's annals and originating from his palace constructed in the capital Kalhu (Kalhu Annals) are regarded as representing just four or five texts, which are largely parallel to each other, i.e., Series A, Series B, and Series C (there are two or three copies for Series C). See RINAP 1, 2 with fn. 1, and 4-8. The text number given in the present article, however, follow the numbering of RINAP 1, which count each slab as a single text (unit), following the method presented in Tadmor 1994; thus, it includes total 64 texts or text units (texts 1-64), with texts 1-34 that represent actually only four or five series of nearly duplicate texts of Kalhu Annals.

3 As explained in the previous note, the number of the annals (nos. 1-38) given here is that of the inscribed slabs, which represent actually only four or five series of nearly duplicate texts.

4 Reproduced, with minor modifications, based on the table given in RINAP 1, 12f.

739: Year 6 (7th *palû*)	Against the land of Ulluba. The fortress was seized.	KA: text 10:1′–8′ Text 37:16–46		Campaign to Ullaba.
738: Year 7 (8th *palû*)	The city of Kullani was conquered.	KA: texts 12:1′–15:5 Texts 35 ii 5′–24′ Texts 36:1′–3′		Unqi and Hatarikka annexed; tribute received from all vassal kings of the West, including Rezin of Damascus and Menahem of Samaria.
737: Year 8 (9th *palû*)	Against the Medes.	KA: texts 15:5–17:12 Text 35 ii 5′–24′ Text 36:4′–7′ Text 38:1′–5′		Second Median campaign: campaign deep into Media. Territories around Parsua and Bīt-Hamban are annexed.
736: Year 9 (10th *palû*)	To the foot of Mount Nal.	KA: not preserved Text 36:8′–10′		
735: Year 10 (11th *palû*)	Against Uraṭṛu.	KA: text 18:1–19:7 Text 36:11′–13′	Text 39:23–25 Text40:21′–26′	Campaign into the heart of Uraṭṛu, as far as Turušpa, Sarduri's capital.
734: Year 11 (12th *palû*)	Against Philistia.	KA: not preserved	Text 42:8′–15′ Text48:14′–19′	Campaign to Philistia and the Egyptian border.
733: Year 12 (13th *palû*)	Against Damascus.	KA: Text nos. 20:1′–21:16′/22:13′	2 Kings 16:5–8; Is. 8:1	Siege of Damascus. Campaigns against the Arabs and to Gilead and Galilee.
732: Year 13 (14th *palû*)	Against Damascus.	KA: not preserved	2 Kings 15:29, 16:9	Conquest and annexation of Damascus, Galilee, and Transjordan.
731: Year 14 (15th *palû*)	Against Šapia.	KA: texts 23:1–24:7	Text 47:15–25	Defeat of the Chaldean tribes of central and southern Babylonia; siege of Šapia.
730: Year 15 (16th *palû*)	(The king stayed) in the land (Assyria).	KA: not preserved		
729: Year 16 (17th *palû*)	The king took the hands of the god Bēl.	KA: not preserved	Bab. Chron. i 19–23	Defeat of (Nabû-)Mukīn-zēri, king of Babylon. Tiglath-pileser III ascends the Babylonian throne and participates in the *Akītu*-festival in the month Nisannu (I) (728).
728: Year 17 (18th *palû*)	The king took the hands of the god Bēl. The city/land of Hi... [was conquered].	none		Tiglath-pileser III participates in the *Akītu*-festival in the month Nisannu (I) (727).
727: Year 18 (19th *palû*)	Against the city [of ... Shalman]eser (V) [ascended] the [throne].	none	Bab. Chron. i 24–25	Tiglath-pileser III dies in the month Ṭebētu (X).

Table 1 (above) shows the chronological order of Tiglath-pileser III's campaigns reconstructed from the data preserved in the royal inscriptions, Eponym Chronicle (Millard 1994, B-type texts), Babylonian Chronicle,[5] as well as the Hebrew Bible. The contents and provenance of Tiglath-pileser III's inscriptions often offer a clue that helps determine the date of their composition within the reconstructed scheme. Table 2 (below) shows the chronological distribution of the composition dates of Tiglath-pileser III's major texts, as discussed in the following. Most of the surviving lengthy texts were composed to be inscribed in various parts of Tiglath-pileser III's palace structure (so-called Central Palace) constructed in the capital city of Kalhu toward the end of his reign, i.e., Kalhu Annals (texts 1-34) and most of the summary inscriptions (texts 39-45

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5 Grayson 1975, Chronicle 1 = Glassner 2004, Text 16.

and 47-52). However, several earlier texts are also known preserved on monuments incised on a rock cliff, a stone stele and a statue, as well as on clay tablets (texts 35-38 and 46). I will examine the basic structure of those texts in chronological order of their composition.

Table 2: Chronological distribution of the major inscriptions of Tiglath-pileser III

Year of edition	Text
7th *palû* (739)	Mila Mergi Rock Relief (text 37)
9th *palû* (737)	Iran Stele (text 35)
After 9th *palû* (737 or later)	Assur clay tablet (text 38)
After 11th *palû* (735 or later)	Kalhu statue fragment (text 36)
Between 9th-14th *palûs* (737-732)	Summary Inscription on a tablet from Kalhu (text 46)
c. 15th *palû* (731) or after 17th *palû* (729)	Summary Inscription on a slab BM 118936 (text 39)
After 17th *palû* (729)	Kalhu Annals (texts 1-34), Summary Inscriptions (texts 40-45 and 47-52, certainly, texts 40, 41, 47, 51).

2. Mila Mergi Rock Relief (text 37) and Iran Stele (text 35)

Two historical texts composed in the early years of Tiglath-pileser III's reign have survived on monuments set up at the frontiers of Assyrian territory. One is a fifty-four-line text (text 37) carved with an accompanying royal image and divine symbols in a long and top-rounded frame on the rock face at Mila Mergi, located in the mountains northwest of Dohuk in Iraqi Kurdistan. This inscription begins with the invocation of ten gods, the royal name, titles and epithets. Then, it continues with a military account of the seventh *palû*, as indicated by the heading "in my seventh *palû* (*ina* 7 *palêya*)," that corresponds to the sixth regnal year (739). In this year the king and his army reached the land of Ulluba on Urartian border, where this very monument was set up. Strictly speaking, the text is not of the annals category, since it contains the account of only one campaign. However, the account is stylistically similar to that of the annals and so may allow us to regard it as a text with "annalistic accounts of one campaign";[6] hence, it is the earliest annalistic-style account in the corpus of Tiglath-pileser III's inscriptions known so far. As A. K. Grayson noted, the text with an invocatory introduction and accounts of only one campaign is typical of the inscriptions incised with a royal image on prominent rock surfaces as monuments commemorating a single expedition.[7]

The other text written similarly on a monument placed at the frontier is that on a stone stele originating in western Iran (text 35, Iran Stele). Though the exact provenance of the stele remains unknown, it probably comes from Luristan or the region of Kermanshah. This text is inscribed, like that at Mila Mergi, with a royal image and divine symbols in a long and narrow niche with rounded-top. The text begins with the invocation of the gods, followed by the royal name, titles and epithets again similarly to that of Mila Mergi. It then continues with the lengthy account of a number of campaigns, up to and including that undertaken against Media in the ninth *palû*, which

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[6]   The terminology suggested by Grayson 1980, 151.

[7]   Grayson 1980, 151. However, there are some possible variations for the contents of rock inscriptions. For example, note the addition of the summary of king's previous conquests placed between the invocatory introduction and the campaign account in Shalmaneser III's inscriptions at Keng Gorge (RIMA 3, A.0.102.20) and Tigris Tunnel (RIMA 3, A.0.102.21-22, 23-24). The two Tigris Tunnel inscriptions (RIMA 3, A.0.102.23-24) include the accounts of two campaigns, undertaken in the king's ninth and 14th years, respectively.

is the eighth regnal year (737). In the account, the heading by *palû*-dating – "in my x *palû* (*ina* x *palêya*)" – is repetitively used to indicate every year of the campaigns (see below).

The Akkadian term *palû*, used in Mila Mergi Rock Relief and Iran Stele, originates from Sumerian BALA and essentially means "cycle, turn, *turnus.*"[8] It turned to indicate different sorts of time-periods in chronographic texts, royal inscriptions, and administrative documents, such as the full time-period covered by a dynasty or the king's reign, a term of office, an year, etc.[9] The term *palû* was also used to mean a single regnal year in Assyrian royal inscriptions from the end of the 12th century BC onward. The earliest attestation of this use is found in the text on the prisms of Tiglath-pileser I (1115-1076) (RIMA 2, A.0.87.1, vi 44-45); the text includes the expression "from the beginning of my reign until my fifth *palû* (*ištu rēš šarrūtiya adi* 5 *palêya*)" indicating the time period covered by his six campaigns. The systematic repetitive use of the term *palû* in the royal annals, indicating all the years of the reign with running numbers, as "in my first *palû*," "in my second *palû*", and so forth, was first introduced by Shalmaneser III (859-824) in his annals composed in his 16th regnal year (843). After that, this style was consistently used in the later versions of his annals.[10] Then, the texts of similar type, "the *palû* annals" in my terminology, were composed for later kings, Tiglath-pileser III and Sargon II (722-705). The expression "x *palû*" in those annalistic accounts has often been translated as "the x-th regnal year," though close examination reveals that it can occasionally slightly deviate from the real regnal year.[11] As seen above in Table 1, in the inscriptions of Tiglath-pileser III, the *palû* was counted from his accession year (Year 0), so that the number of *palû* is always one higher than that of the regnal year.

The preserved text of Tiglath-pileser III's Iran Stele contains the campaign accounts of the first, second, and third *palû*s, and then the text breaks off in the middle of the account of the third *palû*. After a lacuna of considerable length (more than 40 lines), the text continues with a geographical summary of conquests in the east (ii 1'-3') and west (ii 4'-17'), as well as a short hymn in praise of Tiglath-pileser III (ii 18'-24'). This is followed by the account of the campaign against Media undertaken in the ninth *palû*, in which the stele was erected (ii 25'-44'); then, again after a short lacuna (fewer than ten lines), the historical narrative ends with a list of tribute bearers from the west (iii 1-23) and the east (iii 24-30). Regarding the length of lacuna after the preserved account of the third *palû* (c. forty to fifty lines) as being too short to cover all the missing campaigns, Tadmor considered that the text likely omits some *palû*s between the third *palû* and ninth *palû*.[12] This position was essentially followed by B. Oded (1997) and N. Na'aman (1998) with some modifications.[13] However, if one takes into account the structural merit of the *palû* annals in insisting on the unremitting yearly military expeditions of the king (see below), it should not be excluded that the missing lines actually contained short accounts of all the

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[8] Cf. *PSD*, B, 65-71, sub BALA B.

[9] *AHw*, 817, sub *palû*,; *CAD* P, 70-74, sub *palû* A,

[10] See Yamada 2009, esp. xiii-xiv.

[11] Fuchs 1998, 81-91 (Zur Datierung nach Regierungsjahren (*palû*) in Assyrien); cf. see also Yamada 2000, 66-67 and Yamada 2009, xxiii-xxviii, specifically for the *palû* annals of Shalmaneser III; Tadmor 1958, 22-40 and 77-100 for the annals of Sargon II.

[12] Tadmor 1994, 261 adds: "Assuming that there was indeed a selection (from *palû*s 4-8 [SY]), the most likely campaign for inclusion would have been that against Ulluba (seventh *palû*)."

campaigns from the fourth to eighth *palû*s, without skipping any one of them.[14]

Rock reliefs and stone steles sculpted with a royal image and bearing a royal inscription, like those of Tiglath-pileser III, were often set up in the course of the military campaigns of Assyrian kings, as witnessed archaeologically and documentarily, since the late middle Assyrian period onward; references to such monuments were continually made in the inscriptions of Neo-Assyrian kings, in particular those of Assurnasirpal II (884-859), Shalmaneser III, Tiglath-pileser III and Sargon II (722-705).[15] The monuments were apparently erected in order to commemorate the victorious march of the king and to claim his dominion or influence over the frontiers.[16] Tiglath-pileser III's inscriptions record the setting up of at least ten monuments of this sort, referring to them as "my royal image (*ṣalam šarrūtiya*)" or "monument (*narû*)."[17] The locations of those monuments are as follows: (1) An unknown place east of Tigris on the Babylonian frontier (745),[18] (2) Mt. Ilimer in the land of Ulluba on Urartian border (739),[19] (3-7) Median cities Bit-Ištar and Ṣibar, Mts. Ariarma, Silhazi and Tikrakki (737, no less than five monuments),[20] (8) Turušpa, the capital of Urartu (735),[21] and (9) Gaza[22] and (10) the "Brook of Egypt (*nahal Muṣur*)" on Egyptian border (734).[23] Tiglath-pileser III's relief at Mila Mergi is safely identified with the monument said to have been placed in Ulluba, and the Iran Stele is apparently one of the five monuments erected during the Median campaign of 737, perhaps

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[13] Oded (1997, 107) argued that the stele intentionally omits the fourth, fifth and sixth *palû*s, covering the protracted three-year siege of Arpad, so that the missing text possibly described the campaigns of 7th and 8th *palû*s. Assuming that the annexed territories in the east and west mentioned in ii 1'-17' are those whose conquest was formerly related on the stele, Na'aman (1998, 16f.) postulates that the stele omitted the forth to seventh *palû*; in his opinion, Arpad (Bit-Agusi) mentioned in the list of annexed territory was actually annexed only in 738 BC (eighth *palû*), when Patina and northern Hamath became Assyrian provinces.

[14] Cf. the reservation of Tadmor (1994, 261), stating "and we must therefore infer either that the accounts were even shorter than the shortest preserved text (of the second *palû* [SY]), or that a selection was made. We lean toward the latter solution, though the first must be admitted as a remote possibility."

[15] The data about the monuments set up by all the neo-Assyrian kings, either actually discovered or referred to in their inscriptions, are assembled by Shafer 1998; cf. also Yamada 2000, 273-297 for those up to and including the reign of Shalmaneser III.

[16] Morandi 1988; Liverani 1990, 59-65; Shafer 1998; cf. Yamada 2000, 294f.

[17] Cf. the list of the monuments, with commentary, made by Shafer 1998, 34-37 and 234-251.

[18] RINAP 1, text 6:4 (*ṣalam* [*šarrūtiya*]). Shafer suggested identifying the place, whose name is broken off from the annals, with Dur-Tiglath-pileser mentioned in the summary inscription (text 47:40), while following Rost 1893 (7, n. 1; cf. Tadmor 1994, 44, Ann. 10, note to l. 2). This identification is not entirely certain, however. Furthermore, it remains unclear, given the fragmentary context of the annals, whether the monument was placed in the city, whose construction was described in text 6:1-4, or in a nearby place.

[19] RINAP 1, texts 37:45f. (*narû* with *ṣalam šarrūtiya*), 41:28' (*ṣalam šarrūtiya*), 49:6' (*ṣalam šarrūtiya*).

[20] RINAP 1, texts 17:8f. (*ṣalam šarrūtiya*), 35:ii 28'f. (*narû*), 47: 37f. (*ṣalam šarrūtiya*). In the same year, it is also told that a "pointed iron arrow (*mulmullu parzilli*)" bearing an inscription was also set up at the spring of the city of Bit-Ištar (texts 15:9 and 28:7), though it had probably no royal image. It remains unclear exactly how many monuments are involved in the accounts, which refer to the erection of the monument(s) in the cities of Tikrakki, Bit-Ištar, Ṣibur, Mt. Ariarma, "Land (or Mountain) of Roosters (KUR DAR.LUGAL.MEŠ.MUŠEN)," and Mt. Silhazi ("the fortress of the Babylonians"). "Land (or Mountain) of Roosters" is probably just an appellative of Ariarma (cf. Tadmor 1994, 74 and 301), since it is either attested following Ariarma (Text 17:1, 47:31 and 37, 41:8), or not mentioned at all with the other five place names (Text 35: ii 28'f.).

[21] RINAP 1, texts 39:24, 41:24', 49:3' (*ṣalam šarrūtiya*).

[22] RINAP 1, texts 42:10'f., 48:16'f., 49:r. 13f. (*ṣalam ilāni rabûti bēliya u ṣalam šarrūtiya*). The plain reading of this Akkadian expression suggests that it is dealing with two images, one of the gods and the other of the king, although it may be interpreted to mean only one monument bearing both the images (emblems) of the gods and the king. For this interpretation, see Tadmor 1994, 177 (note to 16'), RINAP 1, 127, note to 16'; cf. Machinist, 2011, 427f., n. 57.

[23] RINAP 1, text 48:18' (*ṣalam šarrūtiya*). The river is generally identified with Wadi al-Arish (see Bagg 2007, 291).

that of Mt. Tikrakki.[24] Though there is no way to know the exact contents of the texts inscribed on those monuments that are still to be discovered, they possibly included the chronological notation(s) of *palû*.

3. Kalhu Statue Fragment (text 36)

A text surviving on a stone statue fragment from Kalhu (text 36) seems to represent a later version of Tiglath-pileser III's annals. The text includes an account of campaigns probably assigned to the king's eighth to eleventh *palû*s, as A. Fuchs has suggested (Fuchs 2003). The account of each campaign is quite brief, no more than four lines, and no *palû* dating is preserved in the surviving text. Since it includes a series of very short accounts of each year up to the point in time later than that covered by Iran stele (text 35), it is plausible that the text originally comprised quite a number of short accounts noted by the *palû*-dating for each year, presumably without skipping any single year. If this assumption be correct, the inclusion of chronologically uninterrupted series of short campaign accounts, each of which was assigned to a single year and opened with the *palû* dating (*ina* x *palêya*), particularly resembles the style of the inscription on Shalmaneser III's Black Obelisk of (RIMA 3, A.0.102.14), which is one of the latest versions of his annals edited in his 33rd regnal year (= 31st *palû*). The incision of the annals on a royal statue is again known for Shalmaneser III (RIMA 3, A.0.102.16), whose statue from Kalhu bears a version of the annals as late as that of Black Obelisk and quite similar to the latter. Thus, one may postulate that Tiglath-pileser III followed this practice and inscribed a later version of his annals with a series of compact yearly accounts in a relatively limited space on the statue.[25] The text on the statue was plausibly composed only towards the end of his reign.

4. Kalhu Annals (texts 1-34)

The latest and longest version of Tiglath-pileser III's annals, i.e., Kalhu Annals, was composed to be inscribed on the sculptured stone slabs paneled on the walls of a number of rooms in the royal palace in his capital city of Kalhu. The floor of the palace structure was decorated by pavement slabs on which summary inscriptions were inscribed. About a half-century later, the palace was dismantled by Esarhaddon, who plundered the stone slabs of Tiglath-pileser III's palace to decorate his own new palace constructed in the south-west corner of the city mound. Layard, in his 19th century exploratory excavations, found the slabs of Tiglath-pileser III in two different locations, some in the south-west corner of the citadel mound and others in its center. The latter

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[24] The text of Iran Stele mentions all the four other place names, Bit-Ištar, Ṣibar, Mt. Ariarma and Mt. Silhazi, as the location of the monument placed in the ninth *palû* campaign and only later refers to the setting up of the stele itself, without mentioning its location. This may imply that the place where the very stele was set up was Tikrakki, only the place not referred to by name, since the site where the stele was actually standing was considered obvious and so unnecessary to be mentioned. In this connection, the restoration [KUR.Tikrakka] that K. Radner (2003, 48) suggested on Iran Stele is untenable, since the lacuna on ii 28' (⌜*ina*⌝ […] ⌜URU⌝.É-ᵈINANNA) is too small to restore such a place name (see the photo and copy of Tadmor 1994, pls. XXXVI-XXXVII). Since even no sign seems to be broken between ⌜*ina*⌝ and ⌜URU⌝, we should now eliminate […] between ⌜*ina*⌝ and ⌜URU⌝ in RINAP 1 (p. 86, text 35: ii 28') and Tadmor 1994 (p. 104, Stele II B:28'), which apparently misled Radner to restore the city name of Tikrakka.

[25] Another fragment of a clay object, the middle part of a tablet, prism, or an object of other type from Assur (text 38, VAT 12938), bears fragmentary six lines, which likely contains a narration of the ninth *palû*, as suggested by E. Frahm and A. Fuchs (Frahm 2009, 70f. and 218, text no. 30), and possibly represents an annalistic text, though the type of text cannot be determined with certainty.

location was believed by Layard to be the original location of Tiglath-pileser's palace. Since then, it was generally called "Central Palace," and Tadmor and I also followed this traditional terminology. However, the name is perhaps misleading, since the palace seems to have occupied quite a large space, which certainly reached the western and/or the south-western edge of the mound facing the course of the Tigris, as suggested by the building account (text 47: r. 19') and archaeological evidence.[26]

Most of those texts, annals and summary inscriptions, do not survive today; many were destroyed or lost in antiquity or by the early exploratory excavations. Nevertheless, previous studies have plausibly shown that Tiglath-pileser III had incised essentially identical texts of the latest version of his annals repeatedly in a number of rooms in his palace.[27] In one room, the texts were inscribed with seven lines on a middle register placed between the reliefs sculpted on the top and bottom registers (Series A); in another room it is written with 12 lines similarly in the middle register between the top and bottom sculpted spaces (Series B); and in a number of other rooms, the text of 20 to 30 lines are inscribed over sculpted colossal figures of the king, his attendants and the winged genies (Series C_{1-3}). Series A and B probably exactly duplicated each other, and versions of Series C also basically parallel them. Although there are some minor variants between different versions of Series C, it is methodologically justifiable to reconstruct a hypothetical running account from all the series in order to grasp the contents of Kalhu Annals as its entirety, as done in Tadmor 1994 and followed by RINAP 1 (see Table 3 below).

Table 3: Reconstruction of Kalhu Annals (reproduced based on RINAP 1, pp. 7f.)

Series and Units			*Palû* / Contents	Date
Series A	Series B	Series C		
(*Lacuna*)			(prologue)	
Text no. 1 (A, 1)			prologue	
Text no. 2 (A, 2)			prologue	
(*Lacuna*)			(prologue)	
Text no. 3 (A, 3)			prologue	
Text no. 4 (A, 4)			1	745
(*Lacuna*)			(1)	(745)
	Text no. 5 (B, 1)		1	745
	Text no. 6 (B, 2)		1–2	745–744
	Text no. 7 (B, 3)		2	744
	Text no. 8 (B, 4)		2	744
	(*Lacuna*)		(2)	(744)
		Text no. 9 (C, 1)	2–3	744–743
		(*Lacuna*)	(4–6)	(742–740)
		Text no. 10 (C, 2)	7	739
		Text no. 11 (C, 3)	8	738
		Text no. 12 (C, 4)	8	738
		(*Lacuna*)	(8)	(738)
		Text no. 13 (C, 5) Text no. 30 (C, 6) Text no. 31 (C, 7)	8	738

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[26] See further, Postgate and Reade 1976-1980, 314f.
[27] See RINAP 1, 4-7 for the research history.

Text no. 26 (A, 5) Text no. 27 (A, 6)	**Text no. 14 (B, 5)**	Text no. 32 (C, 8)	8	738
Text no. 27 Text no. 28 (A, 7) Text no. 29 (A, 7x)	**Text no. 15 (B, 6)**	Text no. 32 (C, 8)	8–9	738–737
	Text no. 16 (B, 7)		9	737
	Text no. 17 (B, 8)		9	737
	(*Lacuna*)		10	736
Text no. 18 (A, 8)			11	735
Text no. 19 (A, 9)			11	735
(*Lacuna*)			(12)	(734)
		Text no. 20 (C, 9)	13	733
		Text no. 21 (C, 10) **Text no. 22 (C, 11)**	13 13	733 733
		(*Lacuna*)	(14)	(732)
Text no. 23 (A, 10)			15	731
Text no. 24 (A, 11)			15	731
(*Lacuna*)			(16–17)	(731–730)
		Text no. 25 (C, 12)	(building account)	
		(*Lacuna*)		

* Text no. 33 (C, x) and text no.34 (C, y) are not assignable to specific years, since their contents remain unknown.

Though only barely one third of the original text is made available, the general structure of Kalhu Annals is clear. The text begins with a prologue that must have opened with the proprietary formula: "Palace of Tiglath-pileser (*ekal Tukultī-apil-Ešarra*)," though it is now missing, and then continues with the royal titles and epithets, part of which has survived. This is followed by the main part with the chronologically organized account of annual campaigns, and the text ends with the building account of the palace.

One may assume that the annals were composed simultaneously with the summary inscriptions inscribed within one and the same palatial structure (see below). Some of those summary inscriptions contain a clear notation that the text covers the period from the beginning of the reign up to the king's 17th *palû* (see below). Therefore, the annals also presumably covered the same period of the king's reign, even though the latest accounts for the 16th and 17th *palû*s, are now entirely lost.

5. Summary Inscriptions (texts 39-52)

There are fourteen summary inscriptions known so far; these summarize the king's military achievements in a set geographical pattern and are written on stone slabs (texts 39-45) or clay tablets (texts 46-52). Only a single piece of the original slabs is available (texts 39) and all the others that were left in the field are known from hand copies. The inscriptions on slabs, originating in Kalhu, were probably composed to be inscribed either on two or three consecutive pavement slabs or sculpted slabs that lined the walls of a room or rooms in the palace.[28] The texts on clay tablets should be regarded as either drafts or archival copies of the text inscribed on similar slabs, or the copies made to be the foundation deposits. Though there is no complete running text of any version of the summary inscriptions, it is still possible to grasp their common

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[28] See RINAP 1, 9 and 94f. for further observations.

structure and stylistic features, when all of the fragmentary texts are set in a single lattice of comparison (see below, Table 4).

Like the annals, the texts of the summary inscriptions begin with the proprietary remark: "the palace of Tiglath-pileser (*ekal Tukultī-apil-Ešarra*)," being followed by his titles and epithets. Then, however, they report the king's military expeditions not in chronological but geographical order. The geographically organized account opened with the aforementioned chronological notation: "from the beginning of my reign until my 17th *palû* (*ultu rēš šarrūtiya adi* 17 *palêya*)."

Table 4: Schematic chart of episodes contained in Summary Inscriptions of Tiglath-pileser III[29]

		Stone slabs (text nos. 39–45)							Clay tablets (text nos. 46–52)						
		39	40	41	42	43	44	45	46	47	48	49	50	51	52
	Name and titles	x	x	( )	—	—	?	( )	x	x	( )	( )	( )	x	x
SOUTH	Arameans in Bab.	x	x	( )	—	—	?	x	x	x	( )	( )	( )	x	x
	Chaldea	x	x	x	—	—	?	( )	—	x	( )	( )	( )	x	( )
	Babylonia	x	x	x	—	—	?	( )	—	x	( )	( )	( )	x	( )
EAST	Namri	—	—	—	—	—	?	( )	—	x	( )	( )	( )	x	( )
	Bīt-Hamban, Parsua	x	x	x	—	—	?	( )	x	x	( )	( )	( )	x	( )
	Ellipi				—	—	?	?	—	x	?	?	?	?	?
	Media	x	( )	x	—	—	?	( )	x	x	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
NORTH	Urarṭu	x	( )	x	—	—	?	( )	x	x	( )	x	( )	( )	( )
	Ulluba, Haphu	x	( )	x	—	—	?	( )	x	x	( )	x	( )	( )	( )
	Mount Nal	x	( )	x	—	—	?	( )	—	( )	x	x	( )	( )	( )
	Enzi	—	—	—	( )	—	?	—	—	( )	( )	x	( )	( )	( )
WEST	Bīt-Agusi (Arpad)	—	—	—	( )	—	?	—	x	( )	( )	x	( )	( )	( )
	Unqi	—	—	—	( )	—	?	—	x	( )	( )	x	x	( )	( )
	Hatarikka, Ṣimirra, Arqâ	—	—	—	x	—	?	—	x	( )	( )	x	x	( )	( )
	Damascus	—	—	—	x	—	?	—	—	( )	( )	x	x	( )	( )
	Tyre (Hiram)	—	—	—	x	—	?	—	—	( )	x	x	( )	( )	( )
	Israel	—	—	—	x	—	x	—	—	( )	x	x	x	( )	( )
	Ashkelon	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	—	( )	—	x	( )	( )	( )
	Gaza	—	—	—	x	—	?	—	—	( )	x	x	( )	( )	( )
	The Arabs	—	—	—	x	—	x	—	x	x	x	( )	( )	( )	( )
	Tabal	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	—	x	?	x	( )	( )	( )
	Tyre (Metenna)	—	—	—	—	—	?		—	x	?	x	( )	( )	( )
	Building account	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	—	x	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
	Epilogue	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	—

x: episode exists ( ): probably broken off — : non-existent ?: existence uncertain
Note: Text no. 43 belongs to a separate category of text.

As seen in Table 4 (above), the geographically organized accounts follow the counterclockwise order beginning from the south and continuing to the east, the north, and finally the west, with Assyrian homeland as the axis.[30] The text ends with the building account, like the annals do. On the ground of the aforementioned chronological notation, as clearly preserved in three inscriptions (text 40:3, 47:5 and 51:5), one can assume that most of the summary inscriptions

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[29] Reproduced with minor modifications based on RINAP 1, p. 10.
[30] This geographical order roughly coincides with the chronological order of the first campaign mounted in each of those directions, i.e., Babylonia in the south (745), the Zagros in the east (744), Urartu in the north (743), north Syria in the northwest (742). As I have already discussed (RINAP 1, 9), this may possibly imply that the king's military targets were predetermined in this fixed geographical pattern.

were written just after the 17th *palû*, toward the end of Tiglath-pileser III's reign.[31]

III. The variations of the annalistic inscriptions, and the circumstances and purposes of their composition

In spite of the fragmentary state of the texts, the comparison between the different annalistic texts, Mila Mergi, Iran Stele, Statue Fragment and Kalhu Annals, is still possible in those few parts that deal with the same event (see below, Table 5, bold type). One can indeed find the notable similarity between the texts of Mila Mergi and Iran Stele in the invocation of the god, as well as part of royal titles and epithets. Apart from this, however, the accounts from the different texts, dealing with one and the same year (the first, second, seventh, eighth, ninth, and eleventh *palû*s), reveal no close textual contact with each other on the phraseological level; there was no simple updating of the preceding texts by directly borrowing them. This suggests that the scribes of those texts composed their texts quite independently under various circumstances and in different *modus operandi*.

Table 5: Preserved episodes in the annalistic texts and their mutual contacts

	Mila Mergi (text 37) ed. in the 7th *palû* (739)	Iran Stele (text 35) ed. in the 9th *palû* (737)	Kalhu St. Fr. (text 36) ed. after the 11th *palû* (735)	Kalhu Ann. (texts 1-33) ed. in the 17th *palû*
Invocation of the god(s)	**ll. 1-11**	**i 1-20**	(broken?)	(none)
RN, titles and epithets	**ll. 12-15**	**i 21-35**	(broken)	**no.1:1-no.3:7**
palû 1 (Acc.)		**i 36-i 4'**	(broken)	**nos. 4:1-no. 6:7**
palû 2 (Year 1)		**i 5'-20'**	(broken)	**no.6:7-no.9:1'**
palû 3		**i 21'-43'**	(broken)	**no.9:2'-16'**
palû 4		(broken?)	(broken)	(broken)
palû 5		(broken?)	(broken)	(broken)
palû 6		(broken?)	(broken)	(broken)
palû 7	**ll. 16-46a**	(broken?)	(broken)	**no. 10**
palû 8		(broken?)	**ll. 1'-3'**	**no. 11:1-no. 15:5**
		ii 1'-17' Geo. summary of the conquests		
		ii 18-24: The king's self definition		

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[31] An exception is text 46, which does not refer to Damascus in the description of events in the west, and therefore likely antedates the Syrian campaigns undertaken in the 12th-14th *palû*s (734-732). This is the earliest summary inscription of Tiglath-pileser III known so far. This inscription, which has survived on a clay tablet, apparently does not belong to the family of the summary inscriptions composed at the close of Tiglath-pileser III's reign.

Another possible exception is text 39 inscribed on a pavement slab and bearing the first part of a longer text. Being similar to the accounts of the texts 40, 47 and 51 composed after the 17th *palû*, the text 39 must also belong to the group of texts composed toward the end of the king's reign. It includes, however, a problematic incomplete chronographic formula, i.e., "from the beginning of my reign (*ultu rēš šarrūtiya*)" without any expected ending point, such as "until my 17th *palû* (adi 17 *palêya*)," as given in texts 40, 47 and 51; this is evidently due to a scribal error (see Tadmor 1994, 269-278, Supplementary Study E). Furthermore, the text does not include the title "the king of Babylon (*šar māt Bābili*)," as well as any reference to the king's offering at Babylon, deviating from texts 40, 47 and 51. If this is not an editorial omission, text 39 should have been written slightly prior to Tiglath-pileser's 17th *palû* (729), the year in which Tiglath-pileser III ascended the throne of Babylon, perhaps either in 731, the year of the campaign against Šapiya of Bit-Amukanni, or in 730, the year when the king stayed in Assyria (Tadmor 1994, 270).

palû 9		**ii 25'-44'**	**ll. 4'-7'**	**no. 15:5-no. 17:12**
		iii 1-30 Tribute bearers in the west and east (until *palû* 9).		
palû 10			ll. 8'-10'	(broken)
palû 11			**ll. 11'-13'**	**no. 18:1-no. 19:7**
palû 12			(here after frag. and broken)	(broken)
palû 13				no. 20:1'-no. 21:16'
palû 14				(broken)
palû 15				no. 23:1-no. 24:7
palû 16				(broken)
palû 17				(broken)
Setting up stele; curses /blessing	ll. 46b-54 (*palû* 7)	iii 1'-10' (*palû* 9)		
Building Acc.				no. 25:1'-4'

The text of Mila Mergi (text 37) was earliest, being composed just after the campaign against Ulluba (739), apparently in order to commemorate the success of this single campaign on the frontier. The text of Iran Stele also commemorates the success of the on-going Median campaign (737), but the unique composition was apparently made with a more grandiose purpose. As Tadmor has argued (1997, 329f.), a large part of the text had presumably been prepared ahead of time, since it includes the account of previous campaigns, as well as the geographical summary of conquered lands on all the fronts up to that time. It appears that the text was prepared being aimed at perpetuating the king's entire military accomplishment on all the fronts from his accession (745) up to the time of composition (737).

The Kalhu statue fragment (text 36), which bears a later version of the annals, was probably placed in the temple of Ninurta in Kalhu, as its provenance (Room 1 of Ninurta Temple [Hulin 1966, 84f.]) suggests. As discussed above, the text was composed certainly later than 733, apparently in quite a late period of the king's reign, conceived as a compact report of the entire royal military activities up to the time of composition. It appears that the report was intended to be submitted to Ninurta, the warrior god, the king's personal patron deity, as well as the city god of the capital Kalhu.[32] Finally, the Kalhu Annals were composed towards the end of the king's reign, when he had completed many campaigns against all the directions, annexed vast territories and finally enthroned himself at Babylon in the 17th *palû* (729). It is not hard to imagine that the aged king planned to exhibit in the practically unlimited space in his new abode the latest, longest and decisively full version of his res gestae in combination with summary inscriptions.[33]

IV. The self-presentation of Tiglath-pileser III in his inscriptions and its historical circumstances

1. Royal titles:

It is now the place to examine the characteristics of Tiglath-pileser III's self-presentation given in his inscriptions, focusing on three points of literary and stylistic features, i.e., (1) the royal titles,

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[32] Note that the name Tiglath-pileser (*Tukultī-apil-Ešarra*) means "My trust is the heir of Ešarra (Ninurta)." For the importance of Ninurta in Assyrian royal ideology, see Annus 1998, 39-47 and 94-108; cf. Maul 1999, 210-212.

[33] For the age of Tiglath-pileser III, see the discussion in RINAP 1, 147; cf. Tadmor 1994, 212 (Misc. III, 1).

(2) the *palû*-dating system, and (3) the image of absolute empire builder-administrator set forth in the campaign accounts.

Tables 6 and 7 (below) show the standard royal titles assumed by Assyrian kings from Shalmaneser III to Tiglath-pileser III. Limiting our scope to the traditional secular titles (given in bold type), remarkable are the essentially Babylonian title "the king of Sumer and Akkad (*šar māt Šumeri* (*u*) *Akkadî*)" and the grandiose territorial title "the king of the four quarters (*šar kibrāt arba'i/erbetti*)" attested in the major inscriptions of Tiglath-pileser III. Both titles must have been utilized in the Kalhu Annals too, although they are broken away. Being different from the other standard titles, such as "great king (*šarru rabû*)", "strong king (*šarru dannu*)" and "the king of the world (*šar kiššati*)," the titles "the king of Sumer and Akkad " and "the king of the four quarters" were held only by a limited number of Assyrian kings before Tiglath-pileser III. The former was assumed only by Tukulti-Ninurta I and Šamši-Adad V (824-811), who attacked Babylon and temporarily extended Assyrian influence over Babylonia. The latter title "the king of four quarters" was assumed by Tukulti-Ninurta I, Tiglath-pileser I (1115-1076), Adad-nerari II (912-891), Ashurnasirpal II and Shalmaneser III, all of whom undertook numerous military campaigns to all the directions.[34] It is especially notable that during the some 80 years after the reign of Shalmaneser III, no Assyrian king allowed himself to hold the title "the king of the four quarters." This is certainly not accidental but reflects the actual decline of the king's military activity during that period, as I will examine below.

Table 6: Standard royal titles of Assyrian kings preceding Tiglath-pileser III[35]

Shalmaneser III (859-824) RIMA 3, A.0.102.1, 2, etc.	Šamši-Adad V (824-811) A.0.103.1, 9	Adad-nerari III (811-783) A.0104.1,2,6,7,8, 9, etc.	Shalmaneser IV (783-773) A.0.105.1	Aššur-dān III (773-755) A.0.106.1
šar kiššat nišē *rubû* *iššiak Aššur* **šarru dannu** **šar māt Aššur** <u>**šar kibrāt erbetti**</u>	**šarru dannu** **šar kiššati** (*lā mahrê*) **šar māt Aššur** **šar māt Šumeri Akkadî**	**šarru rabû** **šarru dannu** **šar kiššati** **šar māt Aššur** (*šar lā šanān*)	**šarru dannu** **šar māt Aššur**	*šakin Enlil* *iššiak Aššur*

Table 7: Titles in the inscriptions of Tiglath-pileser III

Mila Mergi text 37	Iran Stele text 35	Summary Inscriptions texts 39, 40, 46, 47, 51, 52	Bricks and short inscriptions texts 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64
<u>***šar kibrāt erbetti***</u> *šakin Enlil* *rubû* *iššiak Aššur* *nišīt ēnē* [...] …	*šakin Enlil* *rubû* *iššiak Aššur* (epithets) ... **[šar kiš]šati** **šar māt Aššur** **šar māt Šumeri [u Akkadî]** <u>**[šar kib]rāt erbetti**</u>	**šarru rabû** **šarru dannu** **šar kiššati** **šar māt Aššur** (**šar Bābili**) **šar māt Šumeri (u) Akkadî** <u>**šar kibrāt erbetti**</u> *amru nīš Enlil*	(***šarru rabû***) (***šarru dannu***) (***šar kiššati***) ***šar māt Aššur***

As the Eponym Chronicles (Millard 1994) imply, the internal strife, during which the reign of Shalmaneser III (859-824) ended, began in 826 and lasted seven years, and his successor Šamši-Adad V (824-811) could not undertake any long-distance campaign until his fifth regnal

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[34] For the holders of those titles, see Seux 1967, 302f. and 305-308; cf. Cifola 1995.
[35] For evidence, see B. Cifola's study of Assyrian royal titles and epithets (Cifola 1995, esp. 111-136).

year (819). Furthermore, with the combined understanding of the Eponym Chronicle and Šamši-Adad V's annals (RIMA 3, A.0.103.1-2) (Reade 1978), one can observe that Šamši-Adad V's campaigns were mostly limited to relatively defensive operations until his eighth year (816), being directed to the neighboring borders of Nairi along the Tigris and Tille on the eastern edge of the Habur triangle, with the exception of one campaign against Mannai deep in the Zagros (819); then his expeditions turned to focus on the military targets in Babylonia in later years (815-811). The next kings, Adad-nerari III (811-783) and Shalmaneser IV (783-773), are credited in the Eponym Chronicle with yearly military campaigns; they reached the Zagros countries, Syria and Urartu. However, the powerful local governors, who began their ascendency, apparently spoiled the royal prerogative in the military enterprises. Some of them exhibited in their inscriptions their own exercise of power in military and building enterprises as well as their hold of vast territory.[36]

Outstanding in this respect is Nergal/Palil-ereš, who served the governor of Raṣappa for no less than 29 years, from 803 to 775,[37] during the reigns of Šamši-Adad V and Adad-nerari III; he practically ruled a large part of Jazirah extending from Wadi Tartar to the Habur and along the Middle Euphrates in the time of Adad-nerari III.[38] Another far more powerful official appearing soon afterwards was Šamši-ilu. He exercised extraordinary power perhaps more than equal to the king, holding the position of *turtānu* for more than 45 years (at least from c. 796 to 752); his office started during the reign of Adad-nerari III, through the entire reigns of Shalmaneser IV (783-773) and Aššur-dan III (773-755), and most probably continued until the end of Aššur-nerari V's reign (755-745).[39] In the reigns of Aššur-dan III and Aššur-nerari V, Assyria entered a period of serious turmoil, being involved in frequent internal revolts. As the Eponym Chronicle witnesses, five years of the reign of Aššur-dan III were the years of revolt (763-759). Furthermore, Aššur-dan III and his successor Aššur-nerari V were inactive in another eight years (768, 764, 757, 756, 753-750), staying "in the land (*ina māti*)." Thus, it appears that Assyria was brought low by critical instability preceding the great revolt that occurred at the capital Kalhu in 746, in which Tiglath-pileser III apparently grasped the power to ascend the Assyrian throne.

To return to the royal titles, Tiglath-pileser III assumed the title "the king of the four quarters" already in the inscription on the rock face of Mila Mergi in the seventh *palû* (739). It appears that Tiglath-pileser III revived this prestigious title, proclaiming that he had completed accounting the four quarters of the world, with the campaigns to all the directions, i.e., to Babylonia in the south (745), Namri/Zagros in the east (744), Urartu in the north (743) and Syria in the west (742-740).[40] It is duly possible that he planned his systematic military expeditions in order to complete the cyclical pattern from the beginning of his reign, being motivated by the

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[36] For the political involvement of Assyrian magnates in this period (c. 830-745), see the elaborate study of Fuchs 2008.

[37] He took the eponym office being entitled "the governor of Raṣappa" twice in 803 and 775 (Millard 1994, 34, 39 and 57f.).

[38] For evidence and discussion, see Fuchs 2008, 75-78 with the bibliography cited there.

[39] Šamši-ilu is mentioned in Antakiya Stele (RIMA 3, A.0.104.1) as *turtānu* under the reign of Adad-nerari III (c. 800 [date suggested by Grayson 1993, 27]). Then, he took the eponym office three times in 780, 770 and 752 under the reigns of Shalmaneser IV, Aššur-dan III and Aššur-nerari V, according to the Eponym Chronicle. For the career of Šamši-ilu, see further Fuchs 2008, 78-90.

[40] Cf. the case of Sennacherib, who assumed the title *šar kibrāt erbetti* upon completing the cyclic pattern of the campaigns to the four directions by the foray to Mt. Nipur, as discussed by M. Liverani (1981, 234).

privileged title.[41]

The Iran Stele, composed two years later, includes a line of titles: [*šar kiš*]*šati, šar māt Aššur*, *šar Šumeri* [*u Akkadî*], [*šar kib*]*rāt erbetti* (text 35:26-27), and the summary inscriptions, redacted eight years later, have a longer set of traditional titles with the addition of *šarru rabû* and *šarru dannu*, i.e., "great king, strong king, king of the world, king of the land of Assur, (king of Babylon,) king of Sumer and Akkad, king of the four quarter (*šarru rabû, šarru dannu, šar kiššati, šar māt Aššur,* (*šar Bābili*), *šar Šumeri* (*u*) *Akkadî, šar kibrāt erbetti*)." The Kalhu Annals, composed simultaneously with the summary inscriptions, most probably had the same full set of titles, though it is again broken away. Notably, this set of traditional titles turned then to become standard in the royal inscriptions of the Sargonid kings.

2. The chronographic formula with the term *palû*

Another remarkable feature relating to Tiglath-pileser III's self-presentation is the adoption of the *palû*-dating system (see above). This system seems to have consistently been used in all of his annalistic texts, as well as in his summary inscriptions, though it is not always preserved in the extant parts of the texts. The *palû*-dating is attested first in the text of Mila Mergi (text 37:16), in the seventh *palû* (739) and continued in use until the end of the reign.

As already stated, the style of the *palû* annals was introduced in Assyrian royal inscriptions first in the latter half of the ninth century BC during the reign of Shalmaneser III, the king who conducted campaigns in almost every year of his reign and rapidly extended Assyrian sphere of influence. With the chronological headings of consecutively numbered *palû*, "in my x *palû* (*ina x palêya*)," the king's annals effectively emphasized his constant and unremitting military activities, as I have discussed elsewhere (Yamada 2009).

After Shalmeneser III, however, no Assyrian king was able to undertake so numerous military expeditions. For the kings, who were not able to record military activity for every year of their reign, the chronologically rigid format of the *palû* dating was understandably inconvenient. Thus, it appears, together with the giving up the title "the king of the four quarters," the *palû*-style was also abandoned during the reigns of the subsequent kings, though the shortage of available inscriptions does not allow us to prove this perfectly. Šamši-Adad V and Adad-nerari III in particular, apparently avoiding the *palû*-system, searched for alternative methods of chronographic reference. As a result, they either used the term *girru*, meaning "campaign," in the phrase "in my x-th campaign (*ina x girreya*)," without pointing to a specific year,[42] or the Babylonian regnal year dating, "in the x-th (regnal) year (*ina* MU x KÁM)"[43]; otherwise, they refrained from giving any chronological reference at the head of campaign accounts.[44] Thus, the royal scribes managed to cover up the king's military inactivity.

The revival of the *palû*-dating system and the title "the king of the four quarters" in the

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[41] It cannot entirely be excluded, however, that Tiglath-pileser III bore the title in unknown earlier inscriptions, if he imitated his great predecessor Shalmaneser III, who assumed the title "the king of the four quarters" only after the two campaigns against Urartian border and the Mediterranean (RIMA 3, A.0.102.1 and A.0.102.3) without having completed the cyclic pattern.

[42] Šamši-Adad V: A.0.103.1, i 53, ii 16, 34 and iii 70; A.0.103.2, iii 17' and iv11'.

[43] Adad-nerari III A.0.104.6, 11 Saba'a Stele (*ina* MU 5.KÁM).

[44] So in A.0.104.7 (Rimah Stele), as well as A.0.104.8 (Broken Slab from Kalhu).

annalistic texts of Tiglath-pileser III may be regarded as a set attempt to present the king as the great commander and ruler, who restlessly marched against distant lands in all the directions to extend his rule over vast territories. This self-presentation of Tiglath-pileser III was further cemented by other literary devises. Outstanding examples are the lists of the lands conquered and those of the rulers subjugated to pay tax and tribute. Such lists are included often in the major later inscriptions, i.e., the Kalhu Annals and the summary inscriptions. This literary practice obviously follows to some extent his predecessors' inscriptions. However, the earlier text of the Iran Stele noticeably contains, in its unique structure (see above), two very extensive and comprehensive lists in innovative style, i.e., the list of the cities and lands in the western and eastern frontiers annexed to the land of Assur (ii 1'-15'), and that of the tribute bearers from distant lands (iii 1-30). Other textual features aimed at bringing forth a similar royal image are found in the royal epithets,[45] as well as in a hymnal passage given in the text of the Iran Stele (ii 15'-24'). The latter asserts eloquently on the royal image as the great conqueror and ruler as follows:

"I increased the territory of Assyria by taking hold of (foreign) lands (and) added countless people to its population. I constantly shepherd them in safe pastures. I, Tiglath-pileser (III), king of Assyria, who personally conquered all of the lands from east to west, appointed governors (*šaknūti*) in places where the chariots of the kings, my ancestors, never crossed over. I marched about from the Great Sea of the Rising Sun to the cities Rēši-ṣūri (and) Byblos on the shore of the Great Sea of the Setting Sun, and (thus) I exercised authority over the (four) quarters (of the world)."

3. Image of absolute empire builder-administrator
The campaign narratives of Tiglath-pileser III's major inscriptions deal with various subjects, such as itineraries, battles, conquests, plundering, the receipt and imposition of tribute and tax, the restoration of conquered towns, the construction of Assyrian bases often renaming the conquered towns with Assyrian ceremonial names,[46] the reorganization of conquered lands into Assyrian provinces, the deportation and resettling of captives, the setting up of Assyrian royal monuments, etc. Most of these subjects, as well as the literary styles in which they are narrated, are found in the inscriptions of Tiglath-pileser III's predecessors in either the narratives or the royal epithets, and conceptually are not entirely new. However, a few things may be regarded as innovative.

Generally speaking, the heroic royal image and military accomplishment were the major

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[45] Most remarkable are: *ša ultu tâmtim elītim ša šulum šamši adi tâmtim šaplītim ša nipih šamši* […] "who […] from the Upper Sea of the Settig Sun to the Lower Sea of the Rising Sun" (Mila Mergi, text 37:15) in 738; *murappiš mişir māt Aššur, māhir bilti u igisê ša kalîšina adnāti* "the one who enlarges the boundary of Assyria, the one who receives the tribute and gifts of the entire world" (Iran Stele, text 35: i 29-30) in 736; *šarrum ša ultu şīt šamši adi ereb šamši nagab zamānišu zaqīqiš imnûma ibēl kiššūtu* "the king who from the rising sun to the setting sun considered all of his enemies as (mere) ghosts and took control of (their) power" (an earlier version of summary inscription, text 39:2-3) in 731; *šarrum ša ina zikir Aššur Šamaš u Marduk ilāni rabûti* [*itanallakūma ultu*] *marrati ša Bīt-Yakini adi Bikni ša nipih šamši u tâmtim ša šulmi šamši adi Muşuri* [*ultu*] *išid šamê adi elât šamê mātāte ipêlma ēpušu šarrūssin* "the king who [marched about] at the command of the gods Aššur, Šamaš, and Marduk, the great gods, [and] exercised authority over lands fr[om the Bi]tter Sea of Bit-Yakin, as far as Mount Bikni in the east, up to the Sea of the Setting Sun, as far as Egypt, [from] the horizon to the zenith, and exercised kingship over them" (the later summary inscriptions, text 47: 3-4, and its parallel in text 51: 3-4 and text 52: 3-4) in 729.

[46] For comprehensive research of the phenomenon of town renaming by the Assyrians, see Pongratz-Leisten 1995; cf. specifically for the renaming, using the *Kār*-X pattern, Yamada 2005.

points of assertion in the inscriptions of previous Neo-Assyrian rulers. However, as B. Cifola has pointed out, the inscriptions of Tiglath-pileser III pay further attention to administrative matters (Cifola 1995, 138). For example, a passage from the Kalhu Annals (text 5: 5-11) reads:

"I exercised authority over [… from] the cities Dūr-(Kuri)galzu, Sippar of the god Šamaš, […, the (tribes) Na]sikku, Naqru, (and) Tanê, the city Kala'in, the Šumandar canal, [the city Pa]ṣitu of the (tribe) Adi]lê, the land Būdu, the city Pahhaz, the land Qin-Nippur, (and) the cities [of Kar]duniaš (Babylonia) as far as the Uqnû River, [which are on the shore of the Lo]wer [Sea] ... I anne[xed] (those areas) to Assyria (and) placed a eunuch of mine as [provincial governor over them]. From their sheep levy, [which] I take [annually], I apportion[ed] 240 sheep as a gift to (the god) Aššur, my lord. [From] those [Ara]means whom I deported, [I *distribut*]ed (and) settled [… thousand to the province of] the *turtānu*, 10,000 (to) the province of the chief cupbearer, [… thousand (to) the province of the land] Barha(l)zi, (and) 5,000 (to) the province of the land Mazamua. I united them, [considered them] as inhabitants of [Assyria, (and) imposed] the yoke of (the god) Aššur, my lord, [upon them] as Assyrians."

As seen here, the king's inscriptions, especially the later ones of the Kalhu Annals and the summary inscriptions, exhibit long lists of lands and cities that were incorporated anew under the direct Assyrian administrative rule. They often describe the reorganization of conquered territories into Assyrian provinces, while referring to the deportation of local residents and the resettling of deportees, the nomination of the king's eunuchs as provincial governors, and the imposition of provincial duty in labor and tax upon the people of the annexed lands. In such a description, which is formulated with considerable fixed phraseology,[47] the personal names of the provincial governors are never given. Silence concerning the personal details of governors and officials is also normally kept for their military activities. The military success of "warriors (*qurrādīya*)" and "the eunuch provincial governors (*šūt-rēšiya šakin māt* X)" is usually anonymously mentioned (e.g. Kalhu Annals, text 13:14-20), even though Aššur-da'inanni (governor of Mazamua[48]) is exceptionally referred to in some of the summary inscriptions (texts 41:13', 47:42) as the king's eunuch dispatched to Media to carry off booty.

To sum up, the inscriptions deal not only with the battle field but also the imperial administrative organization, while ascribing the prerogative in the military and administrative enterprises ideologically solely to the king. In the city of Hadattu (Arstan Tash), a distance from the Assyrian homeland, however, the governor Ninurta-ilaya still allowed himself to refer to his own name, alongside of the name of Tiglath-pileser III, in the inscription on a pair of basalt bulls set up in the gateway of the city (text 53); he apparently conducted the actual construction work.[49] Nevertheless, the major inscriptions from Kalhu, whose composition Tiglath-pileser III presumably supervised closely, express evidently the pride of the empire builder in establishing his own control of military-administrative matters in the vast territories, which was realized after

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[47] The standard set of phraseology to describe the annexation of new territories into new or already existent provinces is composed of the following phrases in various combinations: … *ana eššūti aṣbat* "I reorganized"; … *ana miṣir māt Aššur uterra* "I annexed … to Assyria"; *nišē mātāti kišitti qātēya ina libbi ušēšib* "I settled the people of (foreign) lands conquered by me therein"; *itti nišē māt Aššur amnûšunūti* (*ilku tupšikku kî ša Aššurî emidsunūti*) "I considered them (deportees) as inhabitants of Assyria (and I imposed upon them corvée labor like that of the Assyrians)"; *šūt-rēšiya bēl-pīhate elīšunu aškun* "I placed eunuch(s) of mine as provincial governor(s)"; … *ina muhhi pīhat x uraddi* "I added them (towns) to the province(s) of x"; … *ina qātāte šūt-rēšiya šakin māt x amnû* "I entrusted it (newly annexed land) to my eunuch the governor of x".

[48] Millard 1994 (Eponym Chronicle), 45 and 59 (733); cf. Radner 2006-2008 (Provinz), 51-52, and Luukko 2012, XVII (data from letters).

the decades of internal strife and the fragmentation of power that preceded his own.

V. Conclusion

In the above discussion, I have made two major points concerning Tiglath-pileser III's self-presentation as expressed in his inscriptions, i.e., (1) the revived traditional image of the king, previously set forth by Shalmaneser III, as the great commander and victor, who unremittingly marches against distant lands to conquer and rule vast territories; (2) the innovative image of the absolute imperial builder and administrator, who reorganizes the world in a solid provincial system, at the same time keeping all the power into his own hands.

The former image of great commander and victor was particularly brought forth by the privileged territorial title "king of the four quarters" and the use of the *palû* dating. The earlier annalistic account inscribed on the rock face of Mila Mergi in the seventh *palû* (738) already had these traits, implying that Tiglath-pileser III had the grandiose plan of aggressive yearly campaigns already from the beginning of his reign. The image of the great commander and victor was further intensified in the text of the Iran Stele composed in the ninth *palû* (736), with the consecutive use of the *palû* for each of yearly accounts, as well as with the royal-hymnal passage and the extensive lists of annexed lands and tribute bearers. The latest texts composed in the 17th *palû* (729), i.e., the Kalhu Annals and the series of summary inscriptions, introduced further the innovative image of the king as the absolute empire builder-administrator, who establishes the solid provincial organization over vast territories. In addition, the standard sequence of royal titles, i.e., *šarru rabû, šarru dannu, šar kiššati, šar māt Aššur,* (*šar Bābili, šar Šumeri u Akkadî,*) *šar kibrāt erbetti* was established in those inscriptions. All of those major traits of the later inscriptions of Tiglath-pileser III were accepted later as the norms in the annals of Sargon II, who continued Tiglath-pileser III's empire building, and were inscribed on the prisms from Assur and Nineveh (Fuchs 1998), as well as on the slabs with which the walls of his new palace at Dur-Šarrukin were decorated (Fuchs 1994, 82-187).

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Abbreviations follow R. D. Biggs et al. (eds.), 2010: *The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago*, Vol. 20: U and W, Chicago, vii-xxix.

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[49] It remains unproved whether Ninurta-ilaya was identical with the namesake governor of Naṣibina who assumed the eponym in 736, or whether he was someone else; the Hadattu area is considerably distant from Naṣibina (Tadmor 1994, p. 206, note to l. 18; cf. RINAP 1, p. 139). In any case, he was probably the governor of Til-barsip (Kar-Shalmaneser) when the bulls were set up, and his realm included the nearby city of Hadattu (cf. Röllig 2009, 269, n. 20; Luukko 2012, XVII). It is possible that Ninurta-ilaya first held the position of the governor of Naṣibina in 736, and then he promoted himself to be the *turtānu* taking the governorship of Til-barsip, as well as his office of eponym for the second time in 722 following the king's eponymate in 723; the norm to nominate the *turtānu* for the eponym directly after the king's eponymate was supposedly kept until the rise of Sargon II (cf. Millard 1994, 9-11).

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