

# FROM THE UPPER SEA TO THE LOWER SEA

## STUDIES ON THE HISTORY OF ASSYRIA AND BABYLONIA IN HONOUR OF A.K. GRAYSON

*edited by*  
Grant Frame

*with the assistance of*  
Linda S. Wilding



## THE ORDER OF THE WALL SLABS WITH THE ANNALS OF SARGON II IN ROOM V OF THE PALACE AT KHORSABAD\*

Grant Frame

The text of the Khorsabad (ancient Dūr-Šarrukīn) version of the Annals of Sargon II of Assyria was found engraved on stone wall slabs with sculptured reliefs in several rooms of the king's palace (rooms II, V, XIII, XIV, throne room = court VII, and an unidentified room), although most of the preserved material comes from only two of those rooms (rooms II and V). Paul Émile Botta published copies that represent approximately half of the complete text of the Annals from room V in his great work *Monument de Ninive* (vol. 3, pl. 66 and vol. 4, pls. 105–20), and Eugène Flandin's room plan and drawings of the reliefs on the slabs in that room were published in volume 2 of that work (pls. 84–100).<sup>1</sup> The inscriptions were published separately from the accompanying reliefs and only Botta's labels and volume one's table of contents tell from which wall slab a particular cuneiform passage came.

Over eighty years ago F.H. Weissbach noted a problem with the arrangement of the inscription on the wall slabs in room V, indicating that while the order of the lower numbered slabs was fine “die Einordnung der höheren Plattennummern ergeben sich wieder Schwierigkeiten und Unstimmigkeiten.”<sup>2</sup> The text of the Annals of room V has recently been re-edited by Andreas Fuchs, but he concentrated on the text itself and did not mention the problem of the spatial arrangement of the text within the room,<sup>3</sup> nor did John Russell in his recent study

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\* It is a pleasure to present this small study to Kirk Grayson, my first teacher of Akkadian and Mesopotamian history. My thanks must be expressed to Dr. Muayad Said Damerji (then Director General of the Department of Antiquities and Heritage of the Republic of Iraq), Dr. Donny George Youkana (then Acting Director of the Iraq Museum) and Dr. Nawala Al-Mutawalli (Head of the Cuneiform Section, Iraq Museum) for allowing me to examine and photograph the wall reliefs from Khorsabad in the Iraq Museum, in particular IM 60980 and IM 72131. My appreciation must also be expressed to Dr. P. Albenda, Dr. J. Russell and Dr. J. Holladay who kindly made a number of useful suggestions on a draft of this article and to L.M. James for editorial suggestions. All errors, however, are the responsibility of the author. I am currently preparing new editions of the inscriptions of Sargon II for the Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia series and this study was carried out as a result of my work on those inscriptions. I presented a paper on the problems of editing the inscriptions of Sargon II that included a discussion of the problem of order of the wall slabs in room V of the palace at Khorsabad to the Assyriological Seminar at Yale University in 1999.

<sup>1</sup> P.E. Botta, *Monument de Ninive*, 4 vols. (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1849; reprint, Osnabrück: Biblio Verlag, 1972). For a discussion of the reliefs in room V, see J.E. Reade, “Sargon's Campaigns of 720, 716, and 715 B.C.: Evidence from the Sculptures,” *JNES* 35 (1976): 99–102 and “Narrative Composition in Assyrian Sculpture,” *Bagh. Mitt.* 10 (1979): 82; N. Franklin, “The Room V Reliefs at Dur-Sharrukin and Sargon II's Western Campaigns,” *Tel Aviv* 21 (1994): 255–75; and C. Uehlinger, “... und wo sind die Götter von Samarien? Die Wegführung syrisch-palästinischer Kultstatuen auf einem Relief Sargons II. in Ḫorsābād/Dūr-Šarrukīn,” in *Fs Loretz*, 739–76.

<sup>2</sup> F.H. Weissbach, “Zu den Inschriften der Sale im Palaste Sargon's II. von Assyrien,” *ZDMG* 72 (1918): 172–74.

<sup>3</sup> Fuchs, *Khorsabad*. For the sake of convenience, this study will use the line numbering of the Annals employed by Fuchs even though the line arrangement indicated by that numbering is found in no one room, but is rather a composite of the line arrangement found in three different rooms (as noted by Fuchs). It is not clear that we should speak of only one edition of Sargon's Annals. There are numerous textual differences

of the architectural context of Neo-Assyrian palace inscriptions.<sup>4</sup> Most of the wall slabs found at Khorsabad by Botta were left exposed or reburied, and slabs sent by Victor Place to Basra for reshipment to Paris were lost in the Tigris river disaster of 1855.<sup>5</sup> Thus, it has been impossible to confirm Botta's assignment of his text copies to the relevant wall slabs.<sup>6</sup> This study will briefly re-examine the problem with reference to room V in light of new information. Table 1 provides the correspondence between the Annals line numbers used by Fuchs, Botta's text copies, Botta's slab assignments, and our proposed slab assignments for Botta's text copies.<sup>7</sup> This study accepts the order and assignment of the sculptured reliefs on the wall slabs given in *Monument de Ninive*, but not Botta's assignment of text copies to some of those slabs.

In Fuchs' edition of the Annals, room II provides the line arrangement for lines 1–234 and 240–76, room XIII for lines 235–39, and room V for lines 277–467. Based upon Botta's text copies, every inscribed wall slab from room V had seventeen lines of cuneiform text.<sup>8</sup> In view of additions, deletions, and variant line arrangement in room V as compared to the text in room II, the seventeen lines of text on any one slab in room V would not normally equate to seventeen lines of Fuchs' master text for the first half of the Annals. For example, although Table 1 might suggest that room V slabs 16 and 18 had eighteen lines (Annals lines 77–94) and eight to ten lines (Annals lines 161–68c) respectively, Botta's copies indicate that each slab had seventeen lines of cuneiform text carved onto it. Thus, four slabs would likely have been required for the missing beginning portion of the inscription (Annals lines 1–76), three slabs for the passage missing between what is found on Botta's slabs 17 and 18 (Annals lines 108–60), and one slab for the passage missing between what is found on Botta's slabs 15 and 13 (Annals lines 207–17).

Botta numbered the wall slabs of room V in a counter-clockwise order (see Fig. 1), although the inscription ran in clockwise order, at least on slabs 13 to 1. Thus, slab 1 preserves the last lines of the Annals and, although the inscription on slab 25 was not copied by Botta, one might expect that it would have had the first lines of the inscription. According to the original plan of the room (Botta, *Ninive* 2, pl. 84), there would have been one unnumbered angle slab in the

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where the versions of the Annals in rooms II and V overlap; these versions will be presented separately in the forthcoming RIM edition.

<sup>4</sup> J.M. Russell, *The Writing on the Wall: Studies in the Architectural Context of Late Assyrian Palace Inscriptions*, Mesopotamian Civilizations 9 (Winona Lake, Indiana: Eisenbrauns, 1999).

<sup>5</sup> A good account of the loss of the reliefs in the Tigris is found in M.T. Larsen, *The Conquest of Assyria: Excavations in an Antique Land, 1840–1860* (London: Routledge, 1996), 344–49.

<sup>6</sup> Squeezes of the inscriptions copied by Botta on most of the slabs in room V are preserved in the Louvre (room V slabs 1–10, 12–13 and 16–17 [according to Botta's slab assignment]; Botta, *Ninive* 3/4, pls. 105–13, 115, and 118–19), but these squeezes do not show any of the relief on the slabs.

<sup>7</sup> In a footnote to an article which came to the author's attention only after the manuscript of this study had been prepared, C. Uehlinger briefly mentions the problem of the order of the inscribed wall slabs and states "Der Irrtum geht wohl auf Botta zurück, der einige Inschriften falschen Platten zugewiesen hat" (see *Fs Loretz*, 747 n. 41); this article will show that his assumption was correct. Uehlinger proposes reassigning the inscribed passages in basically the same manner as suggested here, but assumes that there was only one slab between slabs 19 and 20, where I place slabs 19A and 19B. On the room plan in his article (*ibid.*, 745 fig. 2, taken from Franklin, *Tel Aviv* 21 [1994]: 262), however, he indicates two unnumbered slabs in this position and two more unnumbered slabs in the western corner of the room (the location of my single slab 22A).

<sup>8</sup> This does not mean that one or more of the slabs whose texts were not copied could not have had more or less than 17 lines of text. While most wall slabs in any one room of the palace appear to have had a consistent number of lines, there seem to be exceptions to this general rule. In room IV, the inscribed passages of the Display inscription are sometimes of 8 (slab 7), 10 (e.g., slab 15) or 11 (e.g., slab 8) lines in length and in room VIII, which normally has 10-line passages, slab 8 appears to have 11 lines (the middle section of the text on this slab is copied one line too low in comparison with the sections on either side of it [see also Fuchs, *Khorsabad*, 24]).

Fuchs, <i>Khorsabad</i> Annals line nos.	Botta, <i>Ninive 3/4</i> pl. no. (text copy)	Botta, <i>Ninive 3/4</i> room V slab no.	Proposed room V slab no. (italic if different from Botta)
[1-76]	—	—	[25, 24, 23, and 22A]
77-94?	118 top	16	22
94-107	119	17	21 (reassignment certain)
[108-60]	—	—	[20, 19B, 19A, 19, and 18]
161-68c	120	18	17
168c/d, 170-[88]	116 bottom	14	16
189-206	117	15	15
[207-17]	—	—	[14]
218-40	115 bottom	13	13
240-56	115 top	12	12
256-66	114	11	11
266-80	113	10	10
281-97	66 top	O <sub>1</sub>	O <sub>1</sub>
298-314	66 bottom	O <sub>2</sub>	O <sub>2</sub>
315-31	112	9	9
332-48	111	8	8
349-65	110 (and 116 top)	7	7
[366]-82	109	6	6
383-99	108	5	5
400-16	107	4	4
417-33	106	3	3
434-50	105	2	2
451-67	118 bottom	1	1

Table 1

western corner of the room between slabs 22 and 23, and two unnumbered slabs (one regular slab and one angle slab) in the northern corner of the room between slabs 19 and 20. For this study, these wall slabs have been assigned numbers 22A, 19A and 19B respectively. The plan of room V (Fig. 1) indicates by arrows the order in which the inscription on the wall slabs, as indicated by Fuchs' edition, would have been read if Botta's slab assignments were correct.

The last section of the Annals was inscribed in a continuous clockwise direction, from slab 13 to slab 1, with a brief detour into doorway O.<sup>9</sup> If an individual tried to read the first part of the inscription (slabs 25-14) in the order given by Botta, however, he would not have been able to move in one continuous direction around the room, but rather would have had to move backwards or skip ahead one or more slabs on several occasions. In contrast, in room II, which had the best preserved version of the Annals, the inscription ran in a consistent clockwise manner (with a detour into doorway H), as did the remaining inscriptions on the wall slabs of the

<sup>9</sup> In some publications the slabs in doorway O, slabs O<sub>1</sub> and O<sub>2</sub> according to Botta and Flandin, are referred to as C<sub>1</sub> and C<sub>2</sub>. This began with Winckler, who used C<sub>1</sub> and C<sub>2</sub> to stand for Côte 1 and Côte 2 of doorway O (Winckler, *Sar.* pls. 15-16 nos. 32-33). See Lie, *Sargon*, 48 and n. \*, and 50-51 and n. \*; and note that Fuchs also uses C<sub>1</sub> and C<sub>2</sub> on *Khorsabad*, 82 although noting on p. 18 that these should really be O<sub>1</sub> and O<sub>2</sub>.

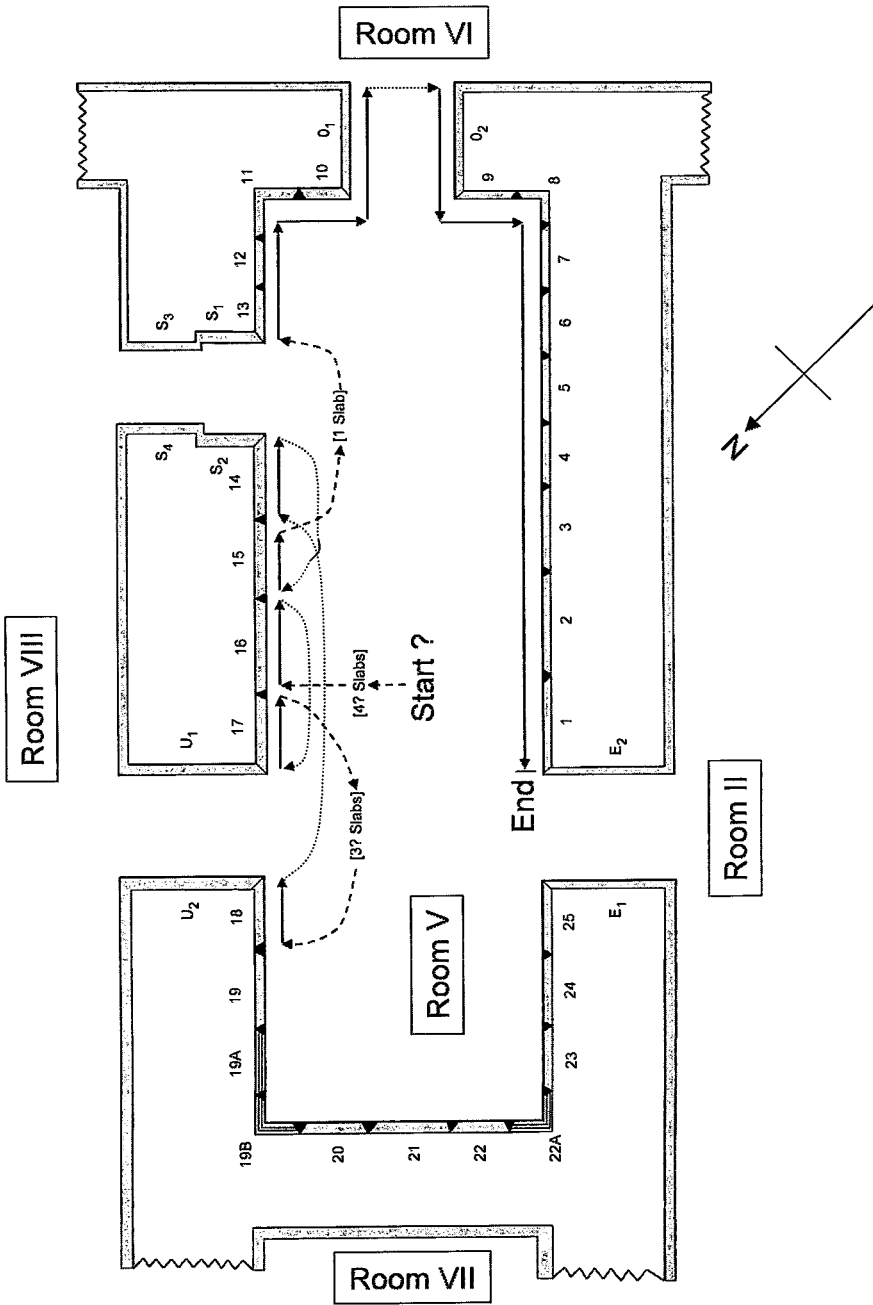


Fig. 1 Order for reading the wall slabs with the Annals of Sargon II in Room V of the palace at Khorsabad according to Botta, *Ninive*. (Plan by A. Graham)

other palace rooms.<sup>10</sup> It is difficult to understand how the inscription could have been placed upon the wall slabs of room V in such a chaotic order while the sequence of reliefs upon them appears correct.<sup>11</sup> It is generally assumed that the wall slabs were carved in situ,<sup>12</sup> with both reliefs and inscriptions laid out at the same time. While the inscription was probably cut by illiterate stonecutters, scribes would probably have drawn the signs lightly upon the stone slabs as a guide. If this is correct, it is inconceivable that a scribe would have arranged the inscription out of sequence and also unlikely that the position of several heavy slabs had been changed after the inscription had been arranged but before the reliefs had been dealt with. That the signs would have been drawn upon and/or carved into the slabs off-site, with the slabs then placed out-of-order on-site and the reliefs then carved in their correct sequence is also improbable as a scribe would surely have been employed to ensure the correct placement of the slabs.<sup>13</sup> The most probable scenario is that the inscription on the exposed, visible faces of the wall slabs in the room was originally presented in the correct order for the viewer and reader.

Although most of the wall slabs from the relevant section of room V have either been lost or reburied at Khorsabad, one slab preserving part of its inscription can be found in the Iraq Museum, allowing us to check Botta's slab assignment of his text copies in at least one place.<sup>14</sup> Wall slab IM 60980 is shown on photographs published in various guide books of the Iraq Museum (e.g., Basmachi, *Treasures*, 254 fig. 133, left side of photo) and in Pauline Albenda's study of the reliefs in the palace at Khorsabad (Albenda, *Palace of Sargon*, fig. 89), and the relief on it clearly matches the one Flandin indicates as being on slab 21 of room V (see Botta, *Ninive* 2, pl. 95 and Albenda, *Palace of Sargon*, pl. 100). Botta does not claim to have copied the inscription on this slab, although the drawings by Flandin indicate that slab 21 — as well as slabs 22–25 for which Botta also does not claim to provide text copies — was inscribed. While it is not possible to read the inscription on IM 60980 on the photo published in the guide books and only a small portion of it is legible on the much better photo published by Albenda, I was permitted to examine this slab in the Iraq Museum in 1998. The inscription on it is the one Botta assigns to slab 17 of room V and thus it is certain that Botta made at least one mistake in attributing his text copies. (New photographs of IM 60980 and its inscription are presented here as Figs. 2 and 3, and Fig. 4 reproduces Flandin's drawing of what was on slab 21 [Botta, *Ninive* 2, pl. 95].)

The inscription on IM 60980 corresponds to lines 94–107 of the Annals. (Fig. 5 reproduces the copy by Botta for this section [Botta, *Ninive* 4, pl. 119], and Figs. 6–8 are photographs of the

<sup>10</sup> The matter is actually somewhat more complex for room XIV. The SW end of that room had the Display Inscription from room XIV and the room's version of the Annals went from the NE wall (slab 2, lines 73b–85a) across to the SW wall (slab 10, lines 85b–99).

<sup>11</sup> It must be noted that relief drawings are available for only some of the wall slabs from the relevant section of the room (slabs 14–25), but those show no particular problems of sequence.

<sup>12</sup> For example, J. Reade, *Assyrian Sculpture* (London: British Museum Publications, 1983), 17.

<sup>13</sup> As noted by B. André-Salvini, the inscriptions on the backs of some of the wall slabs in the Louvre from façade L of the palace are upside down in relation to the inscriptions and reliefs on the fronts of those slabs (AO 19881, AO19883 and AO 19884). These poorly-written texts may have been carved off-site and the reliefs and inscriptions on the fronts of the slabs carved only after the slabs had been put in their intended positions in the palace. The individuals erecting the slabs may not have been bothered that some slabs had been positioned upside-down in relation to the inscriptions on the backs since once the slabs were in place against the palace walls, no one would have been able to see those inscriptions. See B. André-Salvini, "Remarques sur les inscriptions des reliefs du palais de Khorsabad," in Caubet, *Khorsabad*, 22–24.

<sup>14</sup> Sections of the relief slabs are also found in the British Museum (BM 118835; part of the bottom of slab 11) and possibly in the Museo delle Antichità Egizie, Turin (10412); see Albenda, *Palace of Sargon*, 170 and 183.



Fig. 2 IM 60980

squeeze made by him.)<sup>15</sup> The new proposed location of this inscription, slab 21, is where we would have expected it to be if we assumed (1) that there were no major additions or deletions to the “standard” version of the Annals (as it appears in Room II) before this section of text in room V; (2) that the inscription in the room had actually run in continuous clockwise manner beginning with slab 25; and (3) that all the inscribed slabs in the room had 17 lines. One would expect five, or possibly six, inscribed slabs to the left of our slab to reach the beginning of the

<sup>15</sup> Photographs of the squeeze were made by C. Larrieu and are published with the permission of the Département des Antiquités Orientales of the Musée du Louvre. It is worth noting that the squeezes preserved in the Louvre frequently indicate traces of signs that are not found on Botta’s copies. Regrettably, where Botta’s copies indicate unexpected and/or malformed signs, the squeezes generally suggest that the signs were damaged on the original. Thus, it is rarely possible to use the squeezes to prove conclusively that Botta’s copies are erroneous at these points.



Fig. 3 IM 60980 (photograph by A. Harrak)

inscription (i.e., room for 93 lines of the master text). As indicated on the plan, there were five slabs between slab 21 and doorway E (slabs 22, 22A, 23, 24, and 25). Since the version of the Annals in this room ended just before doorway E, on slab 1, one would expect the inscription to begin on the other side of the door, on slab 25. Flandin's drawings indicate that slabs 21, 22, 23, 24, and 25 were inscribed, but as he does not provide a sketch of slab 22A, the corner slab between slabs 22 and 23, we have no way of knowing if it too was inscribed. Nor does Flandin provide a sketch of the corner slab at the NW end of the room (slab 19B), but his drawings show that the corner slabs at the other end of the room, slabs 8 and 11, were inscribed and Botta has provided text copies for those two slabs. Thus, it is not unreasonable to assume that slabs 22A and 19B had also been inscribed.<sup>16</sup>

Botta's attribution of the inscription on slab 21 to slab 17 suggests that there might be other errors in the slab assignments of his text copies. Therefore we might expect:

- A) Botta's text copy for slab 14 to be on slab 16 since its inscription immediately precedes that on slab 15;
- B) Botta's text copy for slab 16 to be on slab 22 since its inscription immediately precedes that on slab 21 (see above); and
- C) Botta's text copy for slab 18 to be on slab 17 since its inscription should be separated from slab 15 by only one slab (see no. A for the intervening slab).

This also assumes that Flandin's sketch drawing (Botta, *Ninive* 2, pl. 85) is correct in indicating only carved reliefs and no inscriptions on the facing slabs in doorways E, S, and U. Thus,

<sup>16</sup> Presumably those slabs for which Flandin did not provide a drawing were either already missing or severely damaged at the time of discovery.



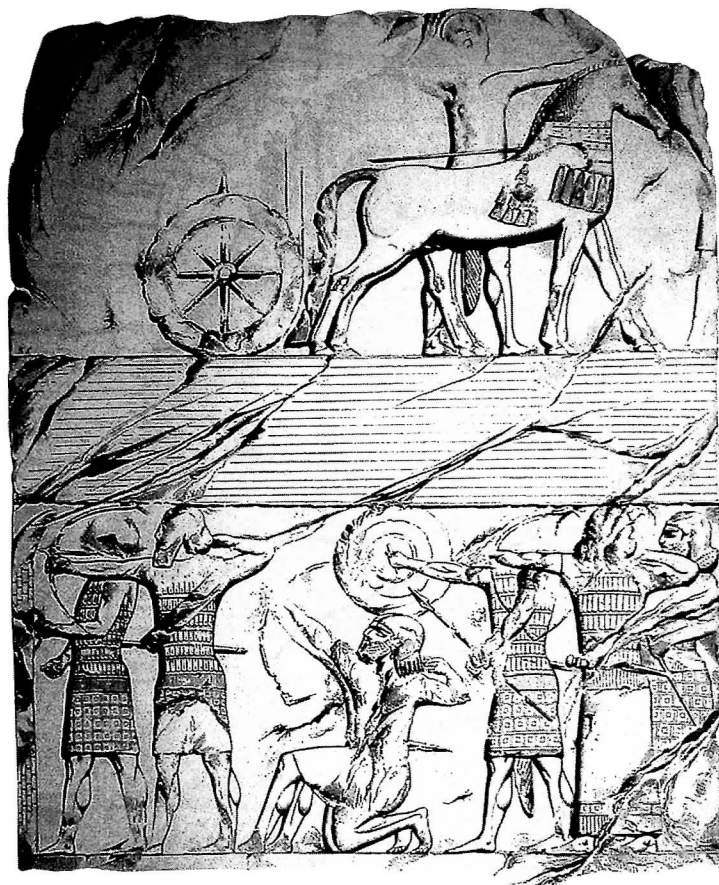


Fig. 4 Botta, *Ninive* 2, pl. 95 (drawing by Flandin), "Salle V 21"

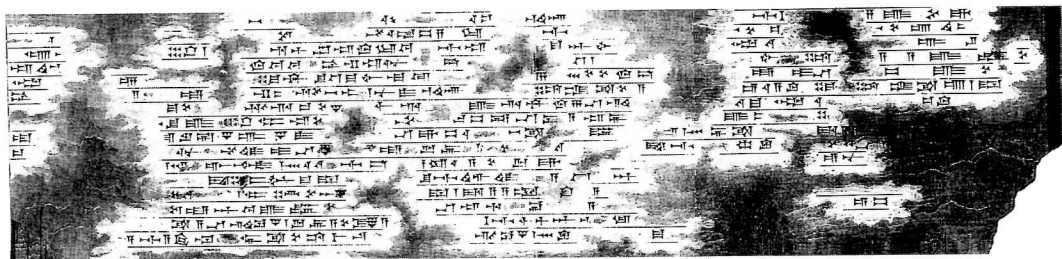


Fig. 5 Botta, *Ninive* 4, pl. 119, "Salle V 17"



Fig. 6 Squeeze in Louvre, left end (Copyright Musée du Louvre / C. Larrieu)

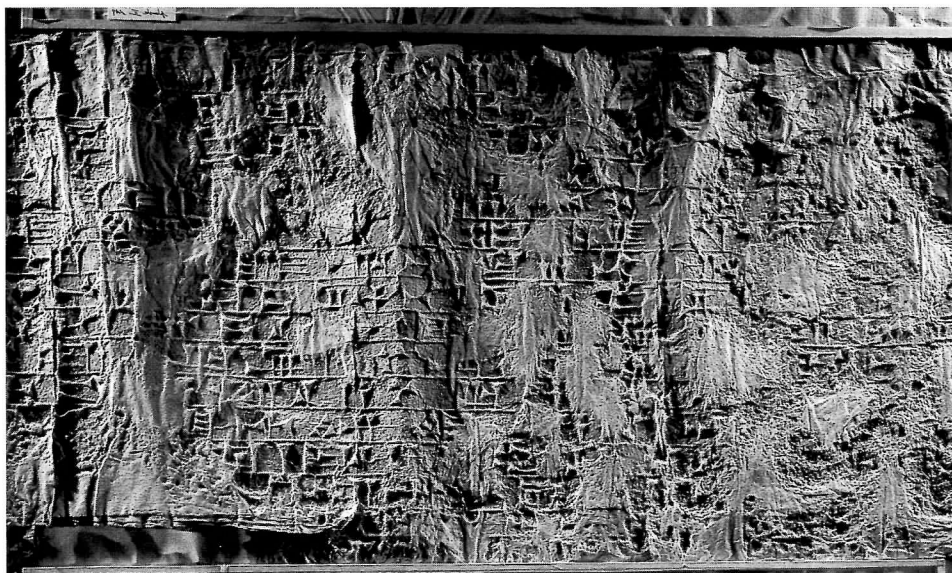


Fig. 7 Squeeze in Louvre, middle (Copyright Musée du Louvre / C. Larrieu)



Fig. 8 Squeeze in Louvre, right end (Copyright Musée du Louvre / C. Larrieu)

although the version of the Annals in room V did make use of the facing slabs in doorway O, it did not do so for any other doorway. It should be noted that our suggested reassignment of Botta's copies do present one problem, addressed below, with regard to the amount of space between slabs 21 and 17.

Is there any reason to assume one or more of these three additional reassignments should be made, beside the basic fact that it would allow the inscription to be read in the correct order? Although there is no hard evidence to support these reassignments, there may be indications that the text copies Botta assigned to slabs 14 and 18 were not on those slabs (nos. A and C above).

Botta did not provide a copy of lines 207–18 of the inscription for this room and we would expect them to have been on slab 14, to which Botta attributes a text copy for lines 170–85. As noted by Weissbach,<sup>17</sup> Flandin's sketch of the wall slabs in room V (Botta, *Ninive* 2, pl. 85) indicates that only the relief on the bottom of slab 14 was found and nothing of the inscribed section on the middle of the slab. It would thus seem logical that the missing lines 207–18 were on slab 14, as expected, and that Botta's text copy of lines 170–85 must come from another slab, a slab which Flandin's drawings indicate had a preserved inscription. Flandin's sketch drawings, however, cannot be taken as completely reliable. For example, his sketch drawing of room II (Botta, *Ninive* 1, pl. 52) indicates that the section of slab 8 which would have had the inscription was not preserved, yet Botta published a copy of the inscription on that slab (Botta, *Ninive* 4, pl. 73) and the lines copied by Botta would be expected to be on that slab. The same can basically be said about slab 7 in room V. It is possible that Flandin's sketches did not make use of sections of inscription that had broken off from slabs and fallen on the ground. However, if the inscription stated by Botta to be on slab 14 actually was there, where were the missing lines 207–18? On a

<sup>17</sup> Weissbach, *ZDMG* 72 (1918): 173.

slab in the NW end of the room? If so, this would cause even more hunting and backtracking for anyone attempting to read the room's inscription in its sequential order.

If the missing lines 207–18 were on slab 14, then the text Botta assigns to slab 14 may simply have been on the other side of slab 15, i.e., on slab 16 whose inscription we have speculated may have been on slab 22 (see no. B above). After copying slabs 1–13, perhaps Botta lost his place for some reason and then copied and numbered the inscriptions on slabs 16 and 15 in clockwise rather than counterclockwise order.<sup>18</sup> Or, in assigning the location of the inscription on slab 16 to slab 14, Botta may have forgotten that the inscription on slab 14 had not been preserved, and then got confused as to whether the inscription he copied on slab 16 was to the right or the left of that slab, possibly forgetting that the slabs in the room were numbered counter-clockwise rather than clockwise.<sup>19</sup> The same may have happened with regard to slabs 17 (moved to slab 21) and 16 (reassigned to slab 22) (no. B above).

Flandin's sketch drawing (Botta, *Ninive* 2, pl. 85) shows that most of the left half of the inscribed area of slab 18 was not preserved, while Botta's text copy (Botta, *Ninive* 4, pl. 120) indicates both sides of the inscription assigned by him to that slab as having the same (partially damaged) state of preservation. As noted above, Flandin's sketch drawings cannot be considered totally reliable, nevertheless, they do provide some support for a proposed move of the damaged inscription assigned by Botta to slab 18 to another slab, possibly to slab 17 which was fully preserved according to Flandin's sketch. It may be that Botta simply assigned the inscription to the wrong side of doorway U.

In publishing his copies, Botta provided a text for each of slabs 1 through 18. When he was preparing the labels for the published copies in Paris, could he have forgotten that he had copied two from the NW end of the room and that he had not had an inscription to copy for slab 14? Knowing that he had copied texts continuously from slabs 1 to slab 13, he may have assumed that his remaining copies from that room came from the immediately following (actually preceding) slabs (slabs 14–18), as indeed some probably did.

A problem, mentioned above, does arise as a result of our tentative rearrangement of Botta's text copies. The missing 54 lines of Annals text between slab 21 (Botta's slab 17), IM 60980, which ends with line 107, and slab 17 (Botta's slab 18), which begins with line 161, must be assigned to the five intervening slabs, namely slabs 20, 19B, 19A, 19, and 18, but one would expect to need only three or possibly four slabs for this amount of text. Flandin's sketch drawing shows that slabs 20 and 18 had inscriptions on them and might indicate that slab 19 had one as well. Most of slab 19 is missing on Flandin's drawing, but a tiny part of the lower right hand corner of the inscribed area is illustrated. Nothing is known about slabs 19A and 19B. It is possible that one or both of them was uninscribed, but since every other slab in the room (including the corner slabs 8 and 11 at the opposite end of the room) seems to have borne an inscription, this would be unexpected. If all five available slabs were inscribed, it may be that room V had a much longer version of this part of the Annals than was found in room II. This section of the Annals deals with the events of Sargon's 7th and 8th *palûs*, in particular campaigns to such places as Urartu, Andia, Bît-Ĥamban, and Que in 715 and his famous "eighth campaign" against Urartu and Muṣaṣir in 714. It is possible that the version of Sargon's Annals in room V had a longer account for one or both of these *palûs* than was found in room II, but this remains pure speculation. It is also possible that the plan of room V

<sup>18</sup> J. Russell has suggested to me that Botta may have been running out of time while preparing his text copies for this room. Being in a rush, he may have made mistakes in the order he copied and numbered the inscriptions in the room. A lack of time would also explain why he did not make copies of the inscriptions on slabs 23–25.

<sup>19</sup> The wall slabs in most rooms of the palace were numbered by Botta in a clockwise manner. Other rooms of the palace with wall slabs numbered in a counter-clockwise manner are rooms I, III and IX; cf. room IV.

published by Botta and Flandin did not represent the room exactly and the actual amount of wall space on the northeast wall before entrance U may have been less than indicated, removing the need to assume the existence of slab 19A.

This study has attempted to make logical order of the arrangement of the text of the Annals as found in room V and has been based on one clear error in Botta's slab assignment (slab 17 instead of slab 21) and two cases where there may be reason to suspect he made an error (the assignment of text copies to slabs 14 and 18). It has been assumed that Flandin's assignment of reliefs to particular wall slabs was correct and that any error lies with Botta's slab assignment of his text copies. As an artist Flandin would surely have taken some care with regard to the order of the relief narrative. Botta could not read the cuneiform he had copied and so could not rely on the sense of the inscriptions to put them back in order if their original slab number was forgotten, lost, or misrecorded. His confusion over the assignment of wall slab numbers is not restricted to this one room. Room X slab 6 and part of slab 7 are AO 19887 in the Louvre<sup>20</sup> and an examination of photos of the inscription on the back of slab 6 indicates that the inscription copied by Botta and published by him as coming from the back of room X slab 8 (Botta, *Ninive* 4, pl. 170) is actually found on the back of slab 6.<sup>21</sup> However, Flandin was not infallible in his assigning slab numbers to his drawings; for example, in room X, the reliefs found on slabs 2–7 were assigned by him to slabs 3, 4, 7, 2, 5, and 6 respectively on his original drawings, although these were corrected in the published volume.<sup>22</sup>

Much of this re-examination of the problem of the order of the inscription in room V of Sargon's palace at Khorsabad has been speculation. The inscription of the Annals in that room may not have read in a continuous clockwise manner around the room and may not have begun, as well as ended, at door E. Some sections of the Annals may have been inscribed out of sequence in this room and we may be wrong to assume that all the problems with regard to the arrangement of the inscription within the room are the result of errors on the part of Botta. Nevertheless, intuitively it is much easier to account for the jumbled sequence apparent in the first half of the inscription in Room V as the result of mislabeling or mixing up paper sheets of text copies, rather than as the result of the text being placed on the stone slabs in the wrong order or a shifting of some of these heavy stone slabs to different positions within the room after they had been assigned their texts but before their reliefs had been carved. Our knowledge that the text copies published by Botta in *Monument de Ninive* were done independently of the relief copies and by a different individual and the presence of at least one certain misattribution of a text copy support this assumption.

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<sup>20</sup> See Albenda, *Palace of Sargon*, 162.

<sup>21</sup> My work on the materials dealing with the inscriptions on the backs of reliefs in the Louvre was kindly facilitated by Mme. André-Salvini, to whom I express my appreciation.

<sup>22</sup> See Albenda, *Palace of Sargon*, 124–25 and pls. 27–30, and Botta, *Ninive* 1/2, pls. 128–29, following the assignment for pl. 128 given in the Table of Contents iii (room X, 6) rather than that given on the plate itself (room V, 25).

## Appendix: A 'New' Inscription of Sargon II

Numerous stone wall slabs from Khorsabad<sup>23</sup> have an inscription on their backs, an inscription that is generally less carefully inscribed than those found on their fronts. An edition of that inscription is found in Fuchs, *Khorsabad*, 54–59 and 300–302 no. 1.3 and a study of the text and how it was written is presented by André-Salvini in Caubet, *Khorsabad*, 15–45. The back of one slab, however, has a different inscription. The slab in question, IM 72131, has a winged genie (facing left) on its obverse and comes from gate A of the inner city.<sup>24</sup> For information on the slab, including photographs of the front, see Albenda, *Palace of Sargon*, 180; Basmachi, *Treasures*, 263 fig. 141; and G. Loud and C.B. Altman, *Khorsabad. Part II: The Citadel and the Town*, OIP 40 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1938), 53–54 and pls. 9–10. The inscription provides no information not already known from other texts of the king and basically duplicates inscriptions found on the thresholds of several doorways in the palace (see Fuchs, *Khorsabad* nos. 2.5.1:1–23, 2.5.2:1–18, and 2.5.3:1–23). The inscription is edited from a photograph (Fig. 9) and a quick examination of the original.

- 1) É.GAL ᵐLUGAL-GI.NA LUGAL GAL-ú LUGAL *dan-nu*
- 2) LUGAL *kiš-ša-ti* LUGAL KUR *aš-šur*.KI GÌR.NÍTA KÁ.DINGIR.RA.KI
- 3) LUGAL KUR.EME.GI, ù *ak-ka-de-e* LUGAL *kib-rat* 4-i
- 4) *mi-gir* DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ LUGAL *ša i-na tu-kul-ti*
- 5) ᵈ*a-šur* ᵈAG ᵈAMAR.UTU *iš-tu* KUR *ia-ad-na-na*
- 6) *ša* MURUB<sub>4</sub> *tam-tim šá-lam* ᵈUTU-ši *a-di* KUR *mu-šu-ri*
- 7) ù KUR *mu-us-ki* KUR.MAR.TU.KI DAGAL-tu<sub>4</sub> KUR *ḫa-at-ti*
- 8) *a-na si-ḫir-ti-ša nap-ḫar* KUR *gu-ti-um*.KI KUR *ma-da-a-a*
- 9) *ru-qu-ú-ti ša pa-aṭ* KUR *bi-ik-ni* KUR *el-li-pi*
- 10) KUR *ra-a-ši ša pa-aṭ* KUR.ELAM.MA.KI *na-gab LÚ a-re-me*
- 11) *a-ši-ib a-aḫ* ÍD.IDIGNA ÍD *su-rap-pi*
- 12) ÍD *uq-né-e a-di* URU *dun-ni-ᵈšá-maš*
- 13) URU *bu-bé-e* URU.DU<sub>6</sub>-ᵈḫum-ba *ša mi-šir*
- 14) KUR.ELAM.MA.KI KUR ᵈ*kar*<sup>1</sup>.ᵈ*du*-ᵈ*ni*<sup>1</sup>-ᵈ*aš* e-liš ᵈ*ú*<sup>1</sup> *šap-liš*
- 15) *gi-mir* KUR *kal-di ma-la ba-šu-ú* KUR.É-ᵐ*ia-ki-ni*
- 16) *ša GÚ* ÍD *mar*-ᵈ*ra*<sup>1</sup>-ᵈ*ti a-di pa-aṭ* NÌ.TUK.KI
- 17) *mit-ḫa-riš i-bí-lu-ma* LÚ *šu-ut* SAG.MEŠ-šú
- 18) LÚ.EN.NAM.MEŠ UGU-šú-nu *iš-tak*-ᵈ*ka*<sup>1</sup>-ᵈ*nu-ú-ma*
- 19) *ni-ir be-lu-ti-šú e-mi-su-nu-ti*

Palace of Sargon, great king, mighty king, king of the world, king of Assyria, viceroy of Babylon, king of the land of Sumer and Akkad, king of the four quarters (of the world), favourite of the great gods; the king who with the support of (5) the gods Aššur, Nabû, (and) Marduk, ruled everything from the land of Iadnana, which is (situated) in the middle of the Western Sea, as far as the land of Egypt and the land of Musku, the wide land of Amurru, the land of Ḫatti in its entirety, all of the and of

<sup>23</sup> Most of the slabs come from the palace, but one copy of the inscription is found on the back of a slab depicting a winged genie found in city gate 3 (AO 19863) and another is on the back of a winged bull from gate A of the inner city (IM 72129).

<sup>24</sup> The museum number follows Albenda, *Palace of Sargon*, 180; there is some confusion over the exact number of the piece with this inscription, with IM 72129 being another possibility. It was not possible to examine the back of the matching slab (IM 72130) from the other side of the gateway in order to determine if it had an inscription on its back and whether or not it matched this one.



Fig. 9 IM 72131

Gutium, the land of the distant Medes by Mount Bikni, the lands of Ellipi (and) (10) Rāši on the border of the land of Elam, all the Arameans who live beside the Tigris, Surappu, (and) Uqnū rivers, as far as the cities of Dunni-Šamaš, Bubê, (and) Tīl-Ḫumba(n) on the border of the land of Elam, the land of Karduniaš from end to end, (15) all the land of Chaldea, as much as there is (of it), (and) the land of Bīt-Iakīn, which is (situated) on the shore of the sea, as far as the border of Dilmun; he set eunuchs of his as governors over them and imposed his royal yoke upon them.