

Panammuwa and Bar-Rakib: Two Structural Analyses

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Some recent studies have shown that the royal inscriptions of the Levant were highly structured compositions.¹ In this study it will be demonstrated that the Panammuwa and Bar-Rakib inscriptions are also highly structured works. That the two inscriptions are so closely related necessitates joint study.

PANAMMUWA

Introduction

The inscription is written in Samalian Aramaic.² Although J. Friedrich attempted to attribute this inscription and the Hadad inscription to the "Canaanite" branch of Northwest Semitic, there can be no doubt that these belong within the Aramaic dialects.³

Bar-Rakib, the son of Panammuwa II, probably raised this stela early in his reign to memorialize his father since his father died suddenly and unexpectedly in Damascus and had not had a chance to erect his own stela memorializing his reign. Furthermore, Bar-Rakib's interests are also served in that his legitimate right to rule is firmly established by the historical facts concerning his father's career.⁴ Thus a date of 733–727 B.C.E. seems correct (*KAI* II, pp. 223). The form of the Panammuwa inscription is that of the dedication genre although it has been modified and adapted for a human dedication.⁵ The statue was originally intended to be placed in front of the tomb of Panammuwa (line 72 below: *qdm qbr ʾby*) to serve as a memorial (line 73: *wzkr znh hʾ*)

1 For example, M. O'Connor, "The Rhetoric of the Kilamuwa Inscription," *BASOR* 226 (1977), 15–29; P. Auffret, "Essai sur la structure littéraire de la stèle de Mésa," *UF* 12 (1980), 109–24. Note also the structural study of an Old Babylonian inscription: V. Hurowitz, "Literary Structures in Samsuiluna A," *JCS* 36 (1984), 191–205.

2 J. C. Greenfield, "The Dialects of Early Aramaic," *JNES* 37 (1978), 94.

3 J. Friedrich, *Phönizisch-Punische Grammatik*, pp. 152–53. Greenfield has shown that these belong to Aramaic in "Dialect Traits in Early Aramaic," *Leshonenu* 32 (1968), 359–68 [Hebrew].

4 A somewhat similar case is Muršili's recording of the "manly deeds" (*piṣnadar* / *LÜ-natar*) of his father, Suppililiuma (H. G. Güterbock, "The Deeds of Suppiluliuma as Told by His Son, Muršili II," *JCS* 10 (1956), 41ff.).

5 I am using the term "dedication genre" (as also the term "memorial genre") as described by J. M. Miller, "The Moabite Stone as a Memorial Stela," *PEQ* 104 (1974), 9–18. I must disagree with Röllig's

"and this memorial is it").⁶ Elements of the memorial genre are also evident (esp. lines 64ff.). Thus, these two genres have been incorporated in the composition.

*Text and Translation*⁷

Introduction

1. nšb zn šm brkb l²bh
2. lpmw br bršr mlk [y²dy]
3. [] šnt ql[]
4. []by pnmw

1. This statue Bar-Rakib has set up for his father,
2. for Panammuwa, the son of Baršur, king of Ya²diya,
3. [] the year []
4. my father, Panammuwa.

Body

(The Crisis)

5. b[šd]q² bh pltwh² lh y²dy mn šht
6. ²lh hwt bbyt² bwh
7. wqm² lh hd[d]
8. [] mšbh² l []

5. Because of the righteousness⁸ of his father, the gods of Ya²diya delivered him from his destruction.
6. A conspiracy⁹ was in the house of his father;
7. but the god Hadad stood (with him?)
8. [] his throne against []
9. [] šht [] bbyt² bh
10. whrg² bh bršr
11. whrg šb²y² yhy² bh

statement: "Nummer 215 (Panammuwa) repräsentiert wie Nummer 214 (Hadad) die Gattung der Votivinschriften" (*KAI* II, p. 229). Beside the fact that "votive" is inaccurate (no vow is involved), the Hadad inscription is clearly dedicated to the god Hadad and its purpose, form, and contents are different from the Panammuwa inscription which is dedicated to a king (Panammuwa) by his son Bar-Rakib.

6 Perhaps, in some way the statue was connected to a *kispu* ritual. See Greenfield who connects the Hadad inscription with the *kispu* ritual ("Un rite religieux araméen et ses parallèles," *RB* 80 [1973], 46–52). Cf Absalom's actions in 2 Sam. 18:18.

7 For the text see: *KAI* I, #215; *SSI* II, pp. 76–86 and plate IV; and P.-E. Dion, *La Langue de Ya²udi*, 36–43. I have divided the text into sentences, in other words, self-contained units in order to aid the reading. The break-down is for the most part self-evident. However, where there are lengthy appositional phrases, I have, for convenience, made separate lines, but avoided structural observations. If there is an ellipsis of a verb (e.g., lines 23, 24), I have construed separate sentences.

8 Since צדק is contextually connected with the gods of Ya²diya, a moral connotation of the term is demanded; hence, the translation "righteousness."

9 The reading is אלה, not אזה (*KAI* II, p. 39; Dion, *La Lanque de Ya²udi*, 36). The meaning is either "curse" (*DISO*, 14) or "conspiracy" (E. Y. Kutscher, "Aramaic," *Current Trends in Linguistics* 6 [1970], 352).

12. [b^c]l rkb h[]bk ^clm []k
 13. b^cl [] hl[] pnmw (?)
 14. wytrh mt ml³ msgrt
 15. whkbr qyrt hrbt mn qyrt yšbt []
9. [] destruction? [] in the house of his father.
 10. And he killed his father Baršur;
 11. and he killed seventy relatives of his father.
 12. [] lord of] the chariotry [?]
 13. lord [] Panammuwa ()¹⁰
 14. And (with) the rest (of it) he filled the prisons;
 15. and ruined cities were made more numerous than inhabited cities. []
16. tšm[w] ḥrb bbyty
 17. wthrgw hd bny
 18. w²gm hwyt ḥrb b³rq y²dy
 19. whl []¹ pnmw br qrl ²(b ³b) ³by
16. You will set a sword against my house.
 17. And you will kill one of my sons.
 18. So also have I been a sword in the land of Ya²diya.
 19. Then []¹¹ Panammuwa, son of QRL, my great-grandfather.
20. [] ³bd []
 21. š³h wšwrt wḥth wš^crh
 22. wqm prs bšql
 23. wš³rb [] bšql
 24. w²snb mšt bšql
20. [he?] destroyed []
 21. ewe and cow and wheat and barley.
 22. And a peres stood at a shekel;
 23. and Š³TRB [of ?] at a shekel;
 24. and ²SNB [of ?] at a shekel.

(The Restoration)

25. wybl ³by br [] ^cd mlk ³šwr
 26. wmlkh ^cl byt ³bh
 27. whrg ³bn šḥt mn byt ³bh
25. Then my father, son [] brought []¹² to the king of Assyria.

10 Dion may be correct in leaving a blank after חל since the reading is very difficult (*La Lanque de Ya'udi*, 36).

11 Dupont-Sommer suggested restoring שאל חל "Panammuwa asked (vengeance for) those who had been killed" (*Aramaic Handbook*, p. 3). See also Dion *La Lanque de Ya'udi*, 37.

12 Röhlig states that Panammuwa must have brought tribute to Tiglath-Pileser III to gain his help (*KAI* II, p. 226). On this basis, one might suggest restoring בר [ברצר מנדה ?]. For a discussion of such payments, see M. Cogan and H. Tadmor, "Ahaz and Tiglath-Pileser in the Book of Kings: Historiographic Considerations," *Eretz-Israel* 14 (1978), 55ff.

26. And he made him king over the house of his father.

27. And he killed the stone of destruction from the house of his father.

28. mn ʔsr[t] ʔrq yʔdy

29. mn b[]

30. wpšš msgrt

31. whrpy šby yʔdy

28. From the treasures of [] the land of Yaʔdiya;

29. from []

30. And he destroyed the prisons;

31. and he released the captives of Yaʔdiya.

32. wq[m] ʔby whrpy nšy b[]

33. [] bʔ[] byt qtylt wqnwʔl [] b[] byt ʔbh

34. whytʔbh mn qdmth

35. wkbrt ʔth wšʕrh wšʔh wšwrh bywmyh

36. wʔz ʔklt wšt[t] []

37. [] zlt mwkrw

32. So my father arose and released the women in [].

33. [] the house of the women who had died and QNWʔL [] the house of his father.

34. And he made it better than before.

35. And it abounded with wheat and barley and ewe and cow in his days.

36. And then <the land¹³> ate and drank. []

37. [] cheapness of price.

38. wbywmy ʔby pnmw šm mt bʕly kpyry wbʕly rkb

39. w[n]h[š]b ʔby pnmw bmsʕt mlky []

40. [] by lw bʕl ksp hʔ

41. wlw bʕl zhb bʔkmth wbšdqh

38. And in the days of my father Panammuwa, he appointed always lords of villages and lords of chariots.

39. And my father Panammuwa was esteemed¹⁴ in the midst of kings [long lacuna]

40. [] my father possessed silver;

41. and he possessed gold—because of his wisdom and because of his loyalty.

(Panammuwa's Vassalship)

42. py ʔhz bknp mrʔh mlk ʔšwr r[b]

43. [] ʔšwr

44. phy wʔhy yʔdy

45. wʔnʔh mrʔh mlk ʔšwr ʕl mlky kbr brš

46. [] bglgl mrʔh tgltpsr mlk ʔšwr mʔnt

47. mn mwqʔ šmš wʕd mʕrb []

48. rbʕt ʔrq

49. wbnt mwqʔ šmš ybl mʕrb

50. wbnt mʕrb ybl mw[ʔʔ š]mš

13 Dion restores גם אבל ושחא יארי (p. 37). Cp. Hadad 9: רבימי גם אבל ושחא יארי.

14 I am following Dupont-Sommer, *Aramaic Handbook*, p. 7 here.

51. w²b[y]
 52. [whwsp l]gblh mr²h tgltpslr mlk ²šwr qyrt mn gbl grgm []
 53. [w²]by pnmw br b[ršr][] šmgr
42. Then he seized onto the skirt (robe) of his lord, the mighty king of Assyria.
 43. [] of Assyria.
 44. Then he lived and Ya²diya lived.
 45. And his lord, the king of Assyria, positioned him over powerful kings as the head.
 46. [He ran] at the wheel of his lord, Tiglath-Pileser, king of Assyria, (in) campaigns
 47. from the east to the west [and from the north to the south, over¹⁵]
 48. the four quarters of the earth.
 49. And the daughters of the east he brought to the west;
 50. and the daughters of the west he brought to the east.
 51. And my father []
 52. And to his territory his lord Tiglath-Pileser, king of Assyria, added cities from the territory of Gurgum.
 53. And my father Panammuwa, son of Baršur [] ŠMGR (?).
54. wqm mt ²by pnmw blgry mr²h tgltpslr mlk ²šwr bmhnt
 55. gm [bkylh tgltpslr mlk²šwr]
 56. wbkyh ²yhh mlkn
 57. wbkyth mhnt mr²h mlk ²šwr klh
 58. wqyh mr²h mlk ²šwr []
 59. [t²kl wtšt]y nbšh
 60. whqm lh mšky b²rḥ
 61. wh²br ²by mn dmšq l²šr
 62. bywmy šr[]
 63. [wbk]yh byth klh
54. And also my father, Panammuwa, died while following¹⁶ his lord Tiglath-Pileser, king of Assyria, in the campaigns.
 55. Even [his lord, Tiglath-Pileser, king of Assyria, wept for him;]¹⁷
 56. And his relative kings wept for him;
 57. and all of the camp of his lord, the king of Assyria, wept for him.
 58. And his lord, the king of Assyria, took []
 59. ["may] his soul [eat and drink."
 60. And he set up for him a memorial in the way.
 61. And he brought my father from Damascus to Assyria.
 62. In my days []
 63. And his whole house wept for him.

Conclusion

64. w²nky brkb br pnm[w]
 65. [bš]dq ²by wbšdqy
 66. hwšbny mr²[y tgltpslr mlk ²šwr ²l mšb] ²by pnmw br bršr

¹⁵ Dupont-Sommer seems correct in suggesting the restoration: [ומן צפון ועד דרום על] (*Aramaic Handbook*, p. 7).

¹⁶ רגל is a metathesis of רגל (Friedrich, *Phönizisch-Punische Grammatik* p. 162; Röllig, *KAI II*, p. 229).

¹⁷ Restoration proposed by Dupont-Sommer, *Aramaic Handbook*, p. 7.

64. And I am Bar-Rakib, son of Panammuwa.

65. Because of the loyalty of my father and because of my loyalty,

66. my lord [Tiglath-Pileser, king of Assyria,] has caused me to reign [on the throne] of my father, Panammuwa, son of Baršur.

67. wšmt nšb zn [l³b]y

68. lpmw br bršr

69. wm[]t b[]

67. And I have set up this statue [to my father],

68. to Panammuwa, son of Baršur.

69. And ?

70. w³mr bmšwt

71. w^cl ybl ³mn ys[] mlk

72. [] wybl yw[] ³qdm qbr ³by pnmw []

70. And he said ?

71. ? [] the king

72.[] ? before the tomb of my father, Panammuwa [].

73. wzkr znh h³

74. p³ hdd w³l wrkb³l b^cl byt wšmš wkl ³lhy y³dy [] qdm ³lhy wqdm ³nš

73. And this memorial is it.

74. Thus, may Hadad and El and Rakib-El, the lord of the house, and Shemesh, and all the gods of Ya³diya [] (my house) before gods and before men.

Structure

The inscription has an introduction (1–4), a body (5–63), and a conclusion (64–74). The introduction uses the dedication genre formula, but instead of being dedicated to a god it is dedicated to a human, Panammuwa. Some type of chronological data may have been included in line 3, but unfortunately has been lost.

The body of the inscription deals with the life and achievements of Panammuwa. It has three sections: (A) the crisis (5–24), and (B) the restoration (25–41), and (C) Panammuwa as a vassal (42–63).

Section A deals with the crisis which arose in Sam³al. Lines 5–8 discuss the problem in general terms. There was divine intervention on behalf of Panammuwa by the god Hadad in this problem which the text calls “a curse” or “a conspiracy” (see note 9). A parallel can be seen in the Idrimi inscription where [awat] *masiktu* “a hostile [incident]” occurred in the royal house.¹⁸ Lines 9–24 discuss the problem more specifically, namely, a usurper has seized control. This usurper killed Baršur and seventy of his relatives (9–11). He imprisoned many (14), and destroyed the cities and

¹⁸ See E. L. Greenstein and D. Marcus, “The Akkadian Inscription of Idrimi,” *JANES* 8 (1976), 59–96 (for line 4, see p. 70). Cf. also The Proclamation of Telipinu: I.22 and I.33 (I. Hoffman, *Der Erläss Telipinus*, 14–17).

the country's economy (20–24).¹⁹ The terms in line 21 שורה and שאה have been defined in two ways. שאה has been defined as either “ewe”²⁰ or “corn,”²¹ and שורה has been defined as either “cow”²² or “millet/sorghum.”²³ “Ewe” and “cow” are preferable since this creates two pairs: 1) ewe and cow, and 2) wheat and barley (much preferred as opposed to four items of the same kind). That these are pairs is clear from line 35 where they are inverted. Furthermore—and perhaps more persuasive—the new bilingual inscription from Tell Fakhariya²⁴ gives evidence in favor of this interpretation:

And may he sow a thousand measures,	but get one parisu (פריס) in return;
and may one hundred ewes (סאן) suckle a lamb,	but let it not be sated;
and may one hundred cows (סורין) suckle a calf,	but let it not be sated;
and may one hundred women (נשין) suckle a baby,	but let it not be sated.

סאן and סורין correspond in the Akkadian version to *u₈* and *UDU.AB* (“ewes” and “cows” respectively). This confirms their meanings. Thus, there are three examples of this word pair in Early Aramaic texts:²⁵

Panammuwa 21 (6):
Sefire (I A 23):²⁶
Tell Fakhariya (20):

שורה :: שאה
 שורה :: שאן
 סורין :: סאן

Interestingly, in both the *Sefire* and *Tel Fakhariya* texts, these terms occur in the context of curses. Moreover, Kaufman points out:

the use of *samek* to indicate etymological *ṭ* (interdental) where all Old Aramaic texts use *šin*, is only an orthographic rather than phonological difference . . . The use of etymological *ṭ* (as well as *zayin* and *šade* for the interdentals *ḏ* and *z* respectively) in Old Aramaic is now nearly universally recognized to be a graphic convention alone.²⁷

Consequently, the “spelling of *s^whn* (*s* = *ṭ*) rather than (*š* = *ś*) confirms that this term is cognate to Ugaritic *ṭat*, rather than Hebrew *śeh*.”²⁸

¹⁹ Gibson comments that אכר probably refers to the collapse of the economy during the civil war, alluded to in the next lines (*SSI* II, p. 83).

²⁰ See J. C. Greenfield, *Or.* 29 (1960), 99; Dion, *La Lanque de Ya'udi*, 415, n. 3; Landsberger, *Sam'al*, 63, n. 164.

²¹ Röllig, *KAI* II, p. 266; Gibson, *SSI* II, p. 83 (from Akk. *še'um*).

²² Landsberger, *Sam'al*, 63, n. 161; Greenfield, *Leshonenu* 32 (1968), 363, n. 21. *Sefire* i A 23.

²³ Röllig, *KAI* II, p. 226; Gibson, *SSI* II, p. 83.

²⁴ A. Abou-Assaf, P. Bordreuil, and A. Millard, *La Statue de Tell Fekherye et son inscription bilingue assyro-araméenne* (Paris; 1982): lines 19–21.

²⁵ D. Pardee discusses *s^whn* at length (*JNES* 43 [1984], 256). He lists Ugaritic and Aramaic words (Ugaritic: *ṭat* / *ṭut*; *Sefire*: *ś^wn*; *Fakhariya*: *s^whn*; Imperial Aramaic: *ṭ^w*) as terms for “ewe.” Greenfield states: “to my knowledge שורה, when occurring together with שאה, is interpreted “cow” (*Leshonenu* 32 [1968], 363, n. 21).

²⁶ *KAI* I, p. 41.

²⁷ S. A. Kaufman, “Reflections on the Assyrian-Aramaic Bilingual from Tell Fakhariyeh,” *Maarav* 3/2 (1982), 146.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 169. See also S. Segert, “Vowel Letters in Early Aramaic,” *JNES* 37 (1978), 112; and *Altäramäische Grammatik*, 91 and 93.

Kaufman has also correctly observed that פֶּרֶס (22) is to be connected with the "grain measure ^{gi}PA: *pa-ri-si* found in Hittite, Alalah Akkadian, and Ugaritic alphabetic and cuneiform texts, which, as the Ugaritic spelling with *s* indicates, is of foreign, probably Hurrian, origin."²⁹

The inclusion of detailed economic data in the royal inscriptions of Mesopotamia as propaganda is well attested.³⁰ Another inscription from Sam'al also exhibits the use of economic data for propaganda purposes: Kilamuwa (lines 8, 11, and 12). In both Sam'alian texts, the economic reversal enhances the monarch's image and is linked to the action of the Assyrian king.

In section B of the body (25–41) the crisis is resolved. Two individuals are responsible for its resolution: the king of Assyria (25–31) and Panammuwa (32–41). In this section, there is reversal of the work of the usurper by these two individuals.

Panammuwa gains help from the king of Assyria, Tiglath-Pileser III, probably by means of a tribute payment (see note 12). As a result of this, the Assyrian monarch makes Panammuwa "king" and kills the usurper (27, which is the reversal of lines 9–11). He also destroys the prisons and releases the captives (30–31, the reversal of line 14).

Panammuwa himself also takes part in the latter action releasing the women (32). He also restores economic prosperity to the land (34–37, the reversal of lines 20:24). Finally, Panammuwa gains equal status with other kings because of his wisdom and loyalty (38–41). The following chart helps put the structure of the reversals in perspective:

<i>Usurper</i>	<i>King of Assyria and Panammuwa</i>
A) destruction of royal house (9–11) ::	A') destruction of usurper (27)
B) imprisonment of the people (14) ::	B') release of captives (30–32)
C) economic depression (15, 20–24) ::	C') economic prosperity (34–37)

In section C, Panammuwa's life as a vassal king of Tiglath-Pileser III is described (42–63). The section can be divided into Panammuwa's achievements (42–53) and his death (54–63). His achievements were the direct result of his special relationship with the king of Assyria (42).³¹ Because of this relationship, Sam'al prospered (44), Panammuwa became Tiglath-Pileser's chief vassal (45–48), he was able to conduct settlement policies (49–50), and he received territory from Gurgum (52). Panammuwa

29 S. A. Kaufman, *The Akkadian Influences on Aramaic*, 80.

30 See A. K. Grayson, *ARI* I, p. 20, n. 64. He lists inscriptions of Sin-Kashid, Sin-iddinam, Sin-iqisham, Shamshi-Adad I, Ashurbanipal, and Nabonidus. Cf. also Solomon in 1 Kgs. 10, esp. v. 27.

31 The idiom "to grasp the hem (of a garment)" has been identified in Akkadian (*sisikta(m) šabātu(m)*), Old Aramaic (אָחוּז בִּכְנִי), Hebrew (הִחֲזִיק בִּכְנִי: 1 Sam. 15:27), and Ugaritic (*ʿhd bs'n*). It is derived from a gesture in which a suppliant beseeches, or indicates his submission to, his superior by grasping the hem of the superior's garment. Used alone, the locution serves to denote "supplication, importuning, submission to a superior." It establishes a closer relationship between suppliant and superior, especially between vassal and suzerain. See R. A. Brauner, "'To Grasp the Hem' and 1 Samuel 15:27," *JANES* 6 (1974), 36–38; E. L. Greenstein, "'To Grasp the Hem' in Ugaritic Literature," *VT* 32 (1982), 217–18. He cites *CTA* 6 2:9–11 and 30–31 as examples. See in particular the extensive use of the metaphor in the treaty of Abban and Iarimlim: D. J. Wiseman, "Abban and Alalah," *JCS* 12 (1958), 124–29. Lines 47–49 of the treaty read: *qa-ra-an šubāt šarrim ša-ni-im iša-ab-ba-tu* "If he lets go the horn (hem?) of Abban's garment and seizes the horn (hem?) of another king's garment."

met his death while following Tiglath-Pileser in a campaign against Damascus (54, 61). If the restoration of line 55 is correct, then there is a descent or *catabasis* of rank of subject in 55–63:³² “the king” wept (55), “vassal-kings” wept (56), “the whole camp” wept (57) and concluded in 63 with “his whole house” wept. The king of Assyria even set up a memorial to Panammuwa on the way from Damascus (60–61).

The conclusion of the inscription includes a memorial to Bar-Rakib, a final dedication to Panammuwa and a benediction. Lines 64–66 describe Bar-Rakib’s accession to the throne using the memorial genre formula “I am Bar-Rakib, son of Panammuwa.” Because of his loyalty and his father’s loyalty, Tiglath-Pileser insured Bar-Rakib’s accession (discussed more fully by Bar-Rakib in his inscription below). Lines 67–68 repeat the dedication of the statue to Panammuwa using the same formula as in lines 1 and 2. Thus there is a type of chiasmic inclusio for the entire inscription:

- A לאבה לפנמו בר ברצר (1–2)
 B בצדק אבה . . . אלה יאדי (5)
 B' מראי תגלתפלסר . . . בצדק אבי ובצדקי (65–66)
 A' נצב זן לאבי לפנסו בר ברצר (67–68).

The interplay between *אלה יאדי* in 5 and *מראי תגלתפלסר* in 66 hints at the political shift which took place in the reign of Panammuwa. Furthermore, the play on the word *šdq* (5 “righteousness”, 65 “loyalty”) also seems to hint this shift.

Although lines 69–72 are very difficult, the phrase “before the tomb of my father Panammuwa” is clear and indicates the location of the statue and its probable function (note 6). The benediction (74) appears to follow the usual formula of blessing in which the ranking deities are named and others added to invoke good upon the king’s house.

Conclusion

Panammuwa is a unique inscription among the royal inscriptions of the Levant in that its genre (dedication) has been adapted to a special usage and the historical narrative is related in the third person, not in the usual first person. The introduction uses the dedication genre formula, but is modified for a human, rather than divine, dedication. The body of the inscription is composed of three sections with the second being a resolution of the crisis set forth in the first. The three-fold work of the usurper in section one is correspondingly reversed in section two. Sections one and two, in turn, combine to describe the events prior to the monarch’s assumption of power, while section three narrates the events of Panammuwa’s life as a vassal king of Tiglath-Pileser III. This third section also divides into two parts: Panammuwa’s achievements and his death (which includes a *catabasis* of rank). The conclusion contains the memorial genre formula, restatement of dedication (functioning as a type of inclusio), and the usual formula of blessing of the dedication genre. All this leads one to the conclusion that the Panammuwa inscription is a sophisticated composition.

32 For the use of the term *catabasis* by Greek rhetoricians, see Liddell and Scott, *A Greek-English Lexicon*, 351.

BAR-RAKIB³³*Introduction*

Composed not long after the Panammuwa inscription (i.e., 733–727 B.C.E.),³⁴ the Bar-Rakib inscription was written in an Old Aramaic dialect which has been identified as “Mesopotamian Aramaic.”³⁵ Its form is that of the memorial genre, although the absence of a curse is “rather surprising.”³⁶

*Text and Translation**Introduction*

1. ʔnh br[r]kb
2. br pnmw mlk šmʔl
3. ʿbd tgltplysr mrʔ rbʿy ʔrqʔ
1. I am Bar-Rakib,
2. son of Panammuwa, king of Samʔal,
3. the servant of Tiglath-Pileser, lord of the four quarters of the earth.

Body

(The Accession)

4. bšdq ʔby wbšdqy
5. hwšbny mrʔy rkbʔl wmrʔy tgltplysr ʿl krsʔ ʔby
4. On account of the loyalty of my father and on account of my loyalty,
5. my lord, Rakib-El, and my lord, Tiglath-Pileser, caused me to reign upon the throne of my father.

(The Ascension of the Dynasty)

6. wbyʔ ʔby ʿml mn kl
7. wršt bggl mrʔy mlk ʔšwr
8. bmšʿt mlkn rbrbn bʿly ksp wbʿly zhb
6. And the house of my father profited,³⁷ more than all others.
7. And I ran at the wheel of my lord, the king of Assyria,
8. in the midst of powerful kings, lords of silver and lords of gold.
9. wʔhzt byʔ ʔby
10. whyʔbth mn byʔ hd mlkn rbrbn
11. whtnʔbw ʔhy mlkyʔ lkl mh ʔbt byty

33 There are three inscriptions of Bar-Rakib usually designated: I, II, and III (see *KAI I*, ##216, 217, and 218). I am concerned only with #216.

34 *KAI II*, p. 234.

35 Greenfield, *JNES* 37 (1978), 95.

36 J. M. Miller, *PEQ* 108 (1974), 10, n. 6.

37 There are two possible meanings for the verb עמל : 1) “to labor, toil, *faire des efforts*” (*DISO*, p. 217); and 2) “to profit” (H. L. Ginsberg, *Studies in Koheleth*, 3, n. 2a). Gibson states: “Barrakkab is perhaps simply claiming that his family was the most zealous in the suzerain’s service, but there may be a nuance of profit or gain, as is sometimes carried by the base in Hebrew. Cf. Ps. 105:44; Isa 53:11; Eccl. 2:10; 4:4; 5:17” (*SSI II*, p. 91).

9. And I took control of the house of my father.
10. And I made it better than the house of any powerful king.
11. And my brother kings were desirous³⁸ for all that is the good of my house.

(The Construction of the Palace)

12. wby t̄b lyšh l̄ḇhy mlky šm³l
13. h³ byt klmw lhm
14. ph³ byt štw³ lhm
15. wh³ byt kyš³
12. But there was not a good house³⁹ for my fathers, the kings of Sam³al.
13. They had the house of Kilamuwa;
14. and it was a winter house for them;
15. and it was a summer house (too).
16. w³nh bnyt byt³ znh
16. But I built this house!

Structure

The inscription has an introduction (1–3) and a body (4–16). The introduction follows the form of the memorial genre. It is unusual because Bar-Rakib calls himself king of “Sam³al” (not Ya³diya) and because of the epithet “servant of Tiglath-Pileser, lord of the four quarters of the earth.” The kings of this small nation usually called themselves kings of “Ya³diya” (יָאֲדִי),⁴⁰ and not kings of “Sam³al,” which is the name that the Assyrians called the country.⁴¹ The use of יָאֲדִי may be seen as part of the growing Assyrian influence in this area of North Syria. This is also true of the epithet, which Bar-Rakib repeats in his second inscription (*KAI* II, #217, lines 1–2). In fact, a comparison of inscriptions I and II indicates that the Sam³alian monarch was very concerned that it was known that he and his household were loyal to their Assyrian overlord.

The body of the inscription divides into three sections: (A) the accession of Bar-Rakib (4–5), (B) the rise of the dynasty (6–11), and (C) the construction of an adequate palace (12–16).

38 The verb התנאב has been understood as: 1) a *Hittanafal* from יָאֲב under the influence of Akkadian (Röllig, *KAI*, p. 233ff.; Moscati, *Comparative Grammar of the Semitic Languages*, 129); 2) a *Hittanafal* of אָבִי (*DISO*, 2); and 3) a *Etpa'al* of (a *mediae-Alef* verb) נָאֲב (Cross and Freedman, *Early Hebrew Orthography*, 30). Number 1 is not possible according to Kaufman who states: “This is hardly to be considered a ‘tan form under östsemit. Einfluss gebildet’ (*KAI* II, p. 233). I agree with Cross and Freedman and with Poebel that it is a reflexive of a by-form *n³b of a root which occurs in two other well-known by-forms, ³bh and y³b” (*The Akkadian Influences on Aramaic*, 153). The same criticism applies to number 2. Degen concludes after a discussion of the different possibilities that התנאב is to be understood as an *Etpa'al* of נָאֲב, and should be translated “sie haben begehrt” (*Altaramäische Grammatik*, 67). Thus, number 3 is the best understanding of התנאב. See also Z. Ben-Hayyim, “Comments on the Inscriptions of Sfire,” *Leshonenu* 35 (1971), 250.

39 Probably a sandhi-writing, so Degen (43) and *KAI* (II, p. 234).

40 Cp. Kilamuwa 2; Hadad 2; Panammuwa 2.

41 See the brilliant article of H. Tadmor on this subject: “Azriyau of Yaudi,” in *Scripta Hierosolymitana* 8 (1961), 232–71.

In section (A) Bar-Rakib declares that it was on account of his loyalty and that of his father that Tiglath-Pileser III and the god, Rakib-El, caused him to reign on the throne of his father. The pattern A (אבי) : B (מראי) :: B (מראי) : A (אבי) heightens the declaration. The inclusion of the deity in his accession makes this declaration different from that in Panammuwa (64–66).

Section (B) describes the rise of the dynasty. It contains an ABC :: A'B'C' repetition pattern: (A) בית אבי (6) : (B) מן (6) : (C) מלכן רברכן (8) :: (A') בית אבי (9) : (B') מן (10) : (C') מלכן רברכן (11). Also בית אבי in line 6 and בילי in line 11 form a type of inclusio for the section. Lines 6–8 are, in a sense, repeated and expanded in lines 9–11. Bar-Rakib claims that his father's house (dynasty) labored/profited more than all others so that he had a special status among the vassal kings of the Assyrian monarch. He took control of his father's dynasty and made it so much better than the dynasties of his peers that they became desirous "for all that is the good of my house" (11). The language should be understood as hyperbolic functioning as propaganda.

The final section (C) deals with the construction of an adequate palace (12–16). The term בית in lines 6–11 is a figure for "dynasty." But in lines 12–16 בית means "palace." The play on words heightens the contrast and makes the account move rapidly to a climax in 16. The use of the "Nominalsätze"⁴² and the repetition in the section of להם (N) הא בית (13–15) strengthens the building up to the verb בנה in 16. Also, the use of the ellipsis of להם in 15 helps speed the matter to climax in 16. Thus, Bar-Rakib declares that he had a very wealthy and powerful dynasty (בית); but there was no adequate palace (בית) for his dynasty, only the palace (בית) of Kilamuwa which served as a winter and summer palace. But Bar-Rakib has corrected this situation and has "built" this palace (בית).⁴³ Finally, the use of אנה in 16 forms a type of inclusio with line 1 to frame the entire inscription.

Conclusion

Bar-Rakib, like Panammuwa, is a very well-constructed composition. It exhibits patterning throughout the text. Section (A) contains an A:B :: B:A pattern; section (B) contains an A:B:C :: A':B':C' pattern; and section (C) has a repetitive pattern. Inclusio is observed in 1 and 16 (אנה) and in 6 and 11 (בית). The play on the word בית (sections (B) and (C)) and the use of the repetitive pattern in (C) (moving to a climax in the final sentence) heighten the contrast between Bar-Rakib and previous kings, and thus strengthen his argument for legitimacy.

CONCLUSION

It has been shown that the Panammuwa and Bar-Rakib inscriptions are highly structured compositions. In both inscriptions the Sam³alian ruler was very concerned that it was known that he and his household were loyal to their Assyrian overlord, Tiglath-Pileser. By the use of highly structured works, the king of Ya³diya communi-

⁴² Degen, *Altaramäische Grammatik*, 118.

⁴³ Cf. the same word play in the Davidic narrative: בית "temple," "palace," and "dynasty" (2 Sam. 7).

cated his propagandistic message, and argued for his legitimacy. Thus, structure was used to enhance the presentation and its effects, i.e., to “memorialize” the monarch. This employment of structure produced aesthetic works⁴⁴ which made the accounts more pleasing to their readers and helped guarantee their reception.

44 The aesthetic structuring of accounts in ancient Near Eastern and biblical history writing has not been fully explored or appreciated.