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. 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. 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.

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. 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. The statue was originally intended to be placed in front of the tomb of Panammuwa (line 72 below: *qdm qbr `by*) to serve as a memorial (line 73: *wzkr znh h*).

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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” (*pišnadar / LŪ-natar*) of his father, Suppiluliuma (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”). Elements of the memorial genre are also evident (esp. lines 64ff.). Thus, these two genres have been incorporated in the composition.

**Text and Translation**

**Introduction**

1. nṣb zn šm brkrk l’bh
2. lpmw br brsr mlk [y’dy]
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 Yaʿdiya,  
3. [ ] the year [ ]  
4. my father, Panammuwa.

**Body**

(The Crisis)

5. b[ṣdq] 3bh pltwh ʾlh yʿdy mn šḥth
6. ʾlh hwt bbyt ṣbwh
7. ṱqm Ṣh d[d ]
8. [ ] ṱḥb ᵃ[l ]

5. Because of the righteousness ⁸ of his father, the gods of Yaʿdiya delivered him from his destruction.  
6. A conspiracy ⁹ was in the house of his father;  
7. but the god Hadad stood (with him?)  
8. [ ] his throne against [ ]

9. [ ] šḥt [ ] bbyt ṣbh
10. whrg ṣbh brsr
11. whrg ṣḥy ṣḥhy ṣbh

statement: “Nummer 215 (Panammuwa) repräsentiert wie Nummer 214 (Hadad) die Gattung der Votivschriften” (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 arameen et ses parallèles,” RB 80 [1973], 46–52).

Cp 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 Yaʿudi, 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 ṣṣḥ is contextually connected with the gods of Yaʿdiya, a moral connotation of the term is demanded; hence, the translation “righteousness.”

9 The reading is ṣḥḥ, not ṣḥḥ (KAI II, p. 39; Dion, La Langue de Yaʿudi, 36). The meaning is either “curse” (DISO, 14) or “conspiracy” (E. Y. Kutscher, “Aramaic,” Current Trends in Linguistics 6 [1970], 352).
12. [b] rkb h[ ]bk 'lm [ ]k
13. b'h[ ] h[ ] pmnw (?)
14. wytrh mt ml2 msgrt
15. whkbr qyr hrbr mn qyr yšbt [ ]

9. [ destruction? [ ] in the house of his father.
10. And he killed his father Barṣur;
11. and he killed seventy relatives of his father.
12. [ lord of] the chariots [ ]
13. lord [ ] Panammuwa ( )
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] hrb bbyty
17. wthrgw hd bny
18. w'gm hwty hrb b'yq y'dy
19. whl [ ] pmnw br qrl b'yq b'y

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 Ya'diya.
19. Then [ ] Panammuwa, son of QRL, my great-grandfather.

20. [ ] bd [ ]
21. š'h wšwr thwh wš'r
22. wqm prs bsq
23. wšrb [ ] bsq
24. w'snb mšt bsq

20. [ he?] destroyed [ ]
21. ewe and cow and wheat and barley.
22. And a peres stood at a shekel;
23. and ST'RB [of?] at a shekel;
24. and 'SNB [of?] at a shekel.

(The Restoration)

25. wybl b'y br [ ] d mlk šwr
26. wmlkh l byt bh
27. wthrg 'bn šht mn byt bh

25. Then my father, son [ ] brought [ ] to the king of Assyria.

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10 Dion may be correct in leaving a blank after ה in since the reading is very difficult (La Lanque de Ya'udi, 36).
11 Dupont-Sommer suggested restoring ה נ[ש] ד [H]N "Panammuwa asked (vengeance for) those who had been killed" (Aramaic Handbook, p. 3). See also Dion La Lanque de Ya'udi, 37.
12 Rollig 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 [יד] (I'd) [R]. 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 `sr[t ] `rq y`dy
29. mn b[ ]
30. wpš msgrt
31. whrpy $by y`dy
28. From the treasuries of [ ] the land of Ya`diya;
29. from [ ]
30. And he destroyed the prisons;
31. and he released the captives of Ya`diya.
32. wq[m] `by whrpy n$y b[ ]
33. [ ] b[ ] byt qtylt wqnw$1[ ] b[ ] byt `bh
34. whytb mn qdmth
35. wkbrt `th wš`rh wš`h wšwrh bywmyh
36. w`z `klt ws[t][ ]
37. zit mwkrw
38. So my father arose and released the women in [ ].
39. [ ] the house of the women who had died and QNW$L [ ] the house of his father.
30. And he made it better than before.
31. And it abounded with wheat and barley and ewe and cow in his days.
32. And then (the land) ate and drank. [ ]
33. [ ] cheapness of price.
38. wbywmy `by pnmw šm mt b`ly kpyry wb`ly rkb
39. w[n]h[s]b `by pnmw bmş`t mlky [ ]
40. [ ] byw lw b`l ksp h`
41. wlw b`l zhb b`kmth wbďdqh
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 `hz bknıp mr`h mlk `šwr r[b]
43. [ ] `šwr
44. phy w`hy y`dy
45. w hn`h mr`h mlk `šwr `l mlky kbr brš
46. [ ] bglgl mr`h tglplsr mlk `šwr mhnt
47. mn mwq` šmš w`d m`rb [ ]
48. rb`t `rq
49. wbnt mwq` šmš ybl m`rb
50. wbnt m`rb ybl mw[q` š]mš

13 Dion restores אָחֵר (p. 37). Cp. Hadad 9: 7X 0)
14 I am following Dupont-Sommer, Aramaic Handbook, p. 7 here.
51. w'by

52. [whws[p]lgbh mr'lr tgltpslr mlk p'swr qyrt mn gbl grgm [ ]

53. [w']by pn[w]mr br b[rsr] [ ] ñmgr

42. Then he seized onto the skirt (robe) of his lord, the mighty king of Assyria.

43. [ ] of Assyria.

44. Then he lived and Ya'diya 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 [ ] ŠMG (?).

54. wqm mt lby pn[w]blgr y mr'lr tgltpslr mlk p'swr bmlnt

55. gm [bk[y] tgltpslr mlk p'swr]

56. wbkyh y'h mlkn

57. wbkyth mhnt mr'lh mlk p'swr khl

58. w'lq mlk y mlk p'swr [ ]

59. [lkl wstlj] nblh

60. wq[m l] mlk byl'h

61. wbr lby mn dmsq l'sr

62. bywmy s[r [ ]

63. [wbkly] byth khl

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. w'ngky brkb br pn[w]

65. [bs]qd l by wb'dqy

66. hw'sbn mlr y tgltpslr mlk p'swr l'msb [ ] by pn[w]mr br brsr


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

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 Barṣur.

67. wšmt nṣb zn [l'by]
68. 1pnmw br bršr
69. wm[ ] l b[ ]

67. And I have set up this statue [to my father],
68. to Panammuwa, son of Barṣur.
69. And ?

70. w²mr bmšwt
71. w'[ ] ybl ṣmn yṣ[ ] mlk
72. [ ] wybl yw[l ]²qdm qbr 'by pnwm[ ]

70. And he said ?
71. ? [ ] the king
72. [ ] ? before the tomb of my father, Panammuwa [ ].

73. wzk r zn h²
74. p² hdd w²l wrkb² l b¹l byt wšmš wkl ṣlhy y²dy [ ] qdm ṣlhy wqdm ṣnš

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
Ya'diya [ ] (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 Sam' al. 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 Barṣur and
seventy of his relatives (9–11). He imprisoned many (14), and destroyed the cities and

Telipinus, 14–17).
the country’s economy (20–24).19 The terms in line 21 have been defined in two ways. נורג has been defined as either “ewe” or “corn,” and ורור has been defined as either “cow” or “millet/sorghum.”20 “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 Fakhariya21 gives evidence in favor of this interpretation:

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

נורג and ורור correspond in the Akkadian version to ס and אד (“ewes” and “cows” respectively). This confirms their meanings. Thus, there are three examples of this word pair in Early Aramaic texts:22

- Panammuwa 21 (6):
  - א砂浆 : תורור
- Sefire (A 23):23
  - א砂浆 : תורור
- Tell Fakhariya (20):
  - א砂浆 : סדר

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

the use of samek to indicate etymological ℱ (interdental) where all Old Aramaic texts use sin, is only an orthographic rather than phonological difference . . . The use of etymological ℱ (as well as zayin and sade for the interdentals g and z respectively) in Old Aramaic is now nearly universally recognized to be a graphic convention alone.24

Consequently, the “spelling of s’wn ($ = ℱ$) rather than ($ = s$) confirms that this term is cognate to Ugaritic tat, rather than Hebrew šeh.”25

19 Gibson comments that נרג probably refers to the collapse of the economy during the civil war, alluded to in the next lines (SS/II, p. 83).
20 See J. C. Greenfield, Or., La Lanque de Ya’udi, 415, n. 3; Landsberger, Sam’al, 63, n. 164.
21 Röllig, KAI II, p. 266; Gibson, SS/II, p. 83 (from Akk. se’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, SS/II, p. 83.
25 D. Pardee discusses s’wn at length (JNES 43 [1984], 256). He lists Ugaritic and Aramaic words (Ugaritic: tat / tat; Sefire: s’n; Fakhariya: s’wn; Imperial Aramaic: r?/) as terms for “ewe.” Greenfield states: “to my knowledge נרג, when occurring together with נרג, is interpreted “cow” (Leshonenu 32 [1968], 363, n. 21).
26 KAI I, p. 41.
28 Ibid., 169. See also S. Segert, “Vowel Letters in Early Aramaic,” JNES 37 (1978), 112; and Altäramaische Grammatik, 91 and 93.
Kaufman has also correctly observed that 𐎙𐎕 (22) is to be connected with the "grain measure 𐎙𐎖: 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." 

The inclusion of detailed economic data in the royal inscriptions of Mesopotamia as propaganda is well attested. 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:

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

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). 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 1, 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 (תִּשְׁחִית הַמֶּחֶר), Hebrew (תִּשְׁחִית חַכִּם), Ugaritic (ḥd bshn). 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 I Samuel 15:27," JANES 6 (1974), 36–38; E. L. Greenstein, "'To Grasp the Hem' in Ugaritic Literature," V'T 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 sušš šarrim ša-ni-im isa-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 chiastic inclusio for the entire inscription:

A | נָעַב זָאֶה לֶפֶנְמוּ בֵּרְוָר (1–2)  
B | בֵּרְוָר עֶבֶד אֱוָה (5)  
B' | בֵּרְוָר אֵאֵר בְּדַעְרָי (65–66)  
A' | נָעַב זָאֶה לֶפֶנְמוּ בֵּרְוָר (67–68).

The interplay between מְּרָאִי תְּנַתְּלָלֶסֶר in 5 and מְּרָאִי תְּנַתְּלָלֶסֶר in 66 hints at the political shift which took place in the reign of Panammuwa. Furthermore, the play on the word sdq (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.
Introduction

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

Text and Translation

**Introduction**

1. ²nh b[r]kb
2. br pnmw mlk šm²⁻l
3. ²bd tgltplysr mr² yrbd ²rq²

1. I am Bar-Rakib,
2. son of Panammuwa, king of Sam²al,
3. the servant of Tiglath-Pileser, lord of the four quarters of the earth.

**Body**

(The Accession)

4. bsdq ²by wbṣdqy
5. hwṣbny mr² y rkb² l wrm² y tgltplysr ²l krs² ²by

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. wbyt ²by ²ml mn kl
7. wrst bglgl mr² y mlk ²šwr
8. bms² mlkn rbrbn b²ly ksp wb²ly zhb

6. And the house of my father profited, 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. w²hzt byt ²by
10.whytbth mn byt hd mlkn rbrbn
11. whtn²bw ²hy mlky² lkl ml ṭbt byty

33 There are three inscriptions of Bar-Rakib usually designated: I, II, and III (see KAI 1, #216, 217, and 218). I am concerned only with #216.

34 KAI 11, p. 234.
35 Greenfield, JANES 37 (1978), 95.
37 There are two possible meanings for the verb ²y: 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” (SSJ 11, 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 desirous\(^9\) for all that is the good of my house.

(The Construction of the Palace)

12. why th lyšh p'bhy mlk y sm\(\tilde{m}\)
13. h\(^\ast\) byt klmw lhm
14. ph\(^\ast\) byt \$tw\(^\ast\) lhm
15. wh\(^\ast\) byt kys\(^\ast\)

12. But there was not a good house\(^9\) for my fathers, the kings of Sam\(\text{\'al}\).
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. w\(\tilde{n}\)h bnyt byt\(^\ast\) 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 “Sam\(\text{\'al}\)” (not Ya\(\text{\'diya}\)) 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 “Ya\(\text{\'diya}\)” (GetInt),\(^40\) and not kings of “Sam\(\text{\'al}\),” which is the name that the Assyrians called the country.\(^41\) The use ofGetInt 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 (\textit{KAI II}, #217, lines 1-2). In fact, a comparison of inscriptions I and II indicates that the Sam\(\text{\'al}\)ian 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).

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38 The verb רבר has been understood as: 1) a Hittanafal from בָא in the influence of Akkadian (Röllig, \textit{KAI}, p. 233ff.; Moscati, \textit{Comparative Grammar of the Semitic Languages}, 129); 2) a Hitnafal of רָב (DISO, 2); and 3) a Etpa'al of a mediae-Aleph verb לא (Cross and Freedman, \textit{Early Hebrew Orthography}, 30). Number 1 is not possible according to Kaufman who states: “This is hardly to be considered a ‘tan form unter östsemit. Einfluss gebildet!‘ (\textit{KAI II}, p. 233). I agree with Cross and Freedman and with Poebel that it is a reflexive of a by-form נ' of a root which occurs in two other well-known by-forms, ‘bh and y'bh” (\textit{The Akkadian Influences on Aramaic}, 153). The same criticism applies to number 2. Degen concludes after a discussion of the different possibilities that רבר is to be understood as an Etpa'al of רב, and should be translated “sie haben begehrt” (\textit{Altaramäische Grammatik}, 67). Thus, number 3 is the best understanding of רבר. See also Z. Ben-Hayyim, “Comments on the Inscriptions of Šîrem,” \textit{Lešonênu} 35 (1971), 250.
39 Probably a sandhi-writing, so Degen (43) and \textit{KAI} (II, p. 234).
40 Cp. Kilamuwa 2; Hadad 2; Panammuwa 2.
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 (ビル) : B (バリ) : B (バリ) : A (ビル) 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) (~N1) (6) : (B) (~N1) (6) : (C) (~N1) (8) : (A') (~N1) (9) : (B') (~N1) (10) : (C') (~N1) (11). Also (~N1) in line 6 and (~N1) 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 (~N1) in lines 6–11 is a figure for "dynasty." But in lines 12–16 (~N1) 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" and the repetition in the section of (~N1) (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

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 (~N1) and in 6 and 11 (~N1). The play on the word (~N1) (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 Sam'alian 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 Ya'diya communi-

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42 Degen, Altaramäische Grammatik, 118.
43 Cf. the same word play in the Davidic narrative: הַבּ "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 works 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.