KĀRUS ON THE FRONTIERS OF THE NEO-ASSYRIAN EMPIRE

Shigeo YAMADA*

The paper discusses the evidence for the harbors, trading posts, and/or administrative centers called kāru in Neo-Assyrian documentary sources, especially those constructed on the frontiers of the Assyrian empire during the ninth to seventh centuries BC.

New Assyrian cities on the frontiers were often given names that stress the glory and strength of Assyrian kings and gods. Kār-X, i.e., “Quay of X” (X = a royal/divine name), is one of the main types. Names of this sort, given to cities of administrative significance, were probably chosen to show that the Assyrians were ready to enhance the local economy.

An exhaustive examination of the evidence relating to cities named Kār-X and those called kāru or bit-kāri on the western frontiers illustrates the advance of Assyrian colonization and trade control, which eventually spread over the entire region of the eastern Mediterranean. The Assyrian kārus on the frontiers served to secure local trading activities according to agreements between the Assyrian king and local rulers and traders, while representing first and foremost the interest of the former party.

The official in charge of the kāru(s), the rab-kāri, appears to have worked as a royal deputy, directly responsible for the revenue of the royal house from two main sources: (1) taxes imposed on merchandise and merchants passing through the trade center(s) under his control, and (2) tribute exacted from countries of vassal status. He thus played a significant role in Assyrian exploitation of economic resources from areas beyond the jurisdiction of the Assyrian provincial government.

Keywords: Neo-Assyrian Empire, kāru, trade, city, East Mediterranean

I. Introduction

Some fifty years ago, J. Lewy assembled a volume of data about the kāru/karru, the word usually translated as “quay, harbor district, trading station, etc.,” from Neo-Assyrian documents, to reinforce his argument about the Old Assyrian

* Associate Professor, University of Tsukuba
trading colony *Karum Kaneš* (Lewy 1956, 39-53). He discussed the nature of Neo-Assyrian *kāru* and the official *rab-kāri*, “the head of the *kāru,*’’ as well as toponyms that include the word *kāru* in their first element, i.e. *Kār-X*. Since then new pieces of evidence have appeared and some of the old materials have been reinterpreted. The purpose of this article is to review the evidence about the harbors, trading posts, and/or administrative centers called *kāru* in Neo-Assyrian documentary sources, especially those constructed on frontiers, together with Assyrian territorial expansion from the ninth century BC onward.

Abundant data about the *kārus* on the frontiers have survived concerning specific regions: Syria and the Mediterranean coast to the west, and the central Zagros to the east. M. Elat (1978; 1991) contributed a series of articles analysing Neo-Assyrian economic policy in Egypt and Phoenicia. K. Radner (2003) and G. Lanfranchi (2003) have investigated the Neo-Assyrian expansion into the central Zagros, discussing the relations between Assyria and the local “city lords” (*bēl ālī*) in the Zagros. These studies dealt with Assyrian centers and outposts in these regions, including those called *kāru*. Following their lead, I will examine the evidence relating to Neo-Assyrian *kārus* more closely and in an exhaustive manner, focussing on the western frontiers of Assyria while paying some attention to other areas, including the Zagros.

II. *Kār-X* Toponyms

As J. Lewy and other scholars noted, a number of Assyrian cities constructed or reconstructed in the newly subjugated and/or annexed territories were given names following the pattern of *Kār-X*, i.e. “Quay of X”.$^2$ Examples include *Kār-Šulmānu-ašārēd* (Shalmaneser) and *Kār-Aššur-ahu-iddina* (Esharhaddon) in Syria and Phoenicia, *Kār-Aššur* on the eastern bank of the Tigris, *Kār-Nergal*, *Kār-Šarru-kin* (Sargon), and *Kār-Sīn-ahhē-eriba* (Sennacherib) in the central Zagros. The construction of these cities is described in detail in royal inscriptions (see below, Table 1 for references). I will open my investigation by examining the *Kār-X* toponyms attested in Neo-Assyrian documents, either on frontiers or in the Assyrian heartland and Babylonia, in order to reach a proper understanding of the nature of the phenomenon.

The name-pattern of *Kār-X* is not unique to the Neo-Assyrian period but is well attested in Sumerian and Akkadian texts of earlier periods too. Sumerian city names that begin with KAR, the equivalent of Akkadian *kāru*, are known from the Pre-Sargonic period onward.$^3$ A small number of Akkadian city names that include *kāru* as their first element appears in the Old Babylonian documents.$^4$ Assyrian and Babylonian texts from the second half of the second
millennium BC refer to a larger number of place names of the Kar-X pattern, most frequently with a divine name as the second element, but also in rare cases with the name of a major city or temple, or that of the king.5

The documents from the Neo-Assyrian period contain over 30 place names of the Kar-X pattern, as given in Table 1.6

Table 1: Cities of Kar-X Name Pattern Attested in Neo-Assyrian Documents, in Alphabetical Order

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>City name (local name)</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Attested period and other details</th>
<th>References</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 Kār-Adad I (Aribaus?)</td>
<td>North Syria; in a district of Hamath</td>
<td>Local district capital, annexed by TP3 in 738</td>
<td>ITP, Ann. 19*:6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Kār-Adad II (Bit-Gabaya or Anzaria)</td>
<td>Zagros; Nārtu</td>
<td>Taken and renamed by Sg in 715</td>
<td>ISK, Annalen: 114; ibid., Prunk: 65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Kār-Adad(?) III</td>
<td>= 1 or 2?</td>
<td>District capital of an unknown place (Asb)</td>
<td>SAA 7, no. 161: r. i 10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 Kār(?)-Adad-nērāri</td>
<td>Lower Habur or mid-Euphrates</td>
<td>Built by Nergal-erēš in the reign of AdN3</td>
<td>RIMA 3, A.0.104.7: 17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 Kār-Apladda</td>
<td>Assyrian heartland?</td>
<td>Mentioned in legal documents from Nineveh (Esrh)</td>
<td>SAA 6, no. 259: 2; ibid., no. 260: 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 Kār-Aṣšur I (Humut)</td>
<td>East bank of the middle Tigris; an Aramaean populated area</td>
<td>The ruin was taken, rebuilt and renamed by TP3 in 745. An administrative center (Sg)</td>
<td>ITP, Ann. 9:3, Summ. 1:7, Summ. 7: 11; Parker 1961, 42 (ND 2664): 1; SAA 7, no. 23: r. 7; SAA 5, no. 250; 4, 10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 Kār-Aṣšur II</td>
<td>= 1?</td>
<td>Mentioned in the fragmentary royal inscriptions (Esrh)</td>
<td>Borger 1956, Smlt (K 2711): 23; Bauer 1935, pl. 41 (K 4487): 3'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 Kār-Aṣšur-ahu-iddina</td>
<td>Phoenicia; near Sidon</td>
<td>New city built by Esrh in 677 Provincial capital (Asb)</td>
<td>Heidel 1956, 12: i 34; Borger 1956, Nin. A: ii 82; ibid., Smlt: 20; SAA 11, no. 84: 4'; ibid., no. 38: 2; Thompson 1940, 105, no. 26 (date)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 Kār-Aṣšur-nāṣir-apli</td>
<td>Mid-Euphrates; Bit-Adini-Laqe border</td>
<td>New city built by Asn2 A major city (AdN3)</td>
<td>RIMA 2, A.0.101.1:iii 50; RIMA 3, A.0.104.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>Place Name (Abbreviation)</td>
<td>Region</td>
<td>Details</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----</td>
<td>--------------------------</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Kār-balāti (TI.LA)</td>
<td>Assyrian heartland?</td>
<td>Town mentioned in a town list (TP3 or Sg) Parker 1961, 38 (ND 2618): 16'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Kār-banapa</td>
<td>Assyrian heartland?</td>
<td>Village mentioned as a place of sheep grazing (TP3 or Sg) Parker 1961, 39 (ND 2638): 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Kār-Bānīti</td>
<td>Nile delta</td>
<td>Occupied and renamed by Esṛḥ in his campaign of 671. Mentioned by Asb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Kār-Bēl-mātāte 1</td>
<td>Babylon; along Tigris; near Babylon and Borsippa</td>
<td>A fortress in the Aramaean-populated region, incorporated by TP3 ITP, Summ. 7: 8; Grayson 1975, 137 (Religious Chronicle): iii 7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Kār-Enlīl</td>
<td>Babylon; near Nippur</td>
<td>Mentioned in a geographical list (Asb) SAA, no. 1: ii 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Kār-Ištar 1</td>
<td>On the border between Assyria and Babylonia; on the bank of Tigris</td>
<td>“Road of Kār-Ištar” is mentioned in a legal document of 669 (Esṛḥ). Also in a royal grant schedule (Asb) SAA 6, no. 119: 6; SAA 12, no. 62: 5; cf. also Grayson 1975, 160: i 25'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Kār-Ištar 2 (Bit-Gabaya or Anzaria)</td>
<td>Zagros; Nārtu</td>
<td>Taken and renamed by Sg in 715 ISK, Annalen: 114; ibid., Prunk: 65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>K[ār]-Kaldāyu</td>
<td>In a land grant schedule (Asb)</td>
<td>SAA, no. 63: obv. 10'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>Kār-Kaššī</td>
<td>Zagros; Media border</td>
<td>City of the rebellious city lord called Kaštaritu (Esṛḥ) SAA 4, no. 41: 2', r. 3; no. 42: 2; no. 45: 5; no. 48: r. 5; no. 51: 7, r. 5; no. 52: r. 3; no. 56: 2, r. 9; no. 57: 3; no. 62: 4, 7, 11, r. 10, 12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Kār-Mullissu</td>
<td>Assyrian heartland; modern Keremlis (Parpola-Porter 2001, 11)</td>
<td>City near Nineveh, mentioned in the building account of Senn and other late Assyrian texts Thompson 1940, 90: 19; Luckenbill 1924, 112: 79; SAA 6, no. 216: 2: ABL 1009: r. 23; SAA 11, no.1: r. i 20; SAA 12, no. 1: 6; SAA 16, no. 66: r. 3'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>Kār-Nabū 1 (Kišešlu)</td>
<td>Zagros; Nārtu</td>
<td>Taken and renamed by Sg in 715 ISK, Annalen: 114; ibid., Prunk: 65</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Place</th>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Details</th>
<th>Sources</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>Kar-Nabû 2</td>
<td>Babylonia; Bit-Yakin, on the shore of the Gulf</td>
<td>Walled fortified city, conquered by Senn in 703-702</td>
<td>Luckenbill 1924, 53: 48; Grayson 1963, 88: 9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>Kar-Nanay</td>
<td>Babylonia; marsh land near the Gulf</td>
<td>Mentioned in a letter from the Sea Land (Ash)</td>
<td>ABL 795: r. 11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>Kar-Nergal 1</td>
<td>Babylonia; near Kutha</td>
<td>Mentioned in letters and a legal text (TP3, Esrh, Ash) It contained a sanctuary of Nergal.</td>
<td>Saggs 2001, 19, ND 2632: 35; ibid., 33, ND 2452: r. 23; SAA 18, no. 183: r. 2; SAA 6, no. 288: obv. 2; Frankena 1954, 6: iv 17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>Kar-Nergal 2 (Kišessu)</td>
<td>Zagros; Mazama</td>
<td>Taken and renamed by Sg in 716; a provincial capital</td>
<td>ISK, Annalen: 95; ibid., Prunk: 60; Fuchs 1998, 25: IlIb 6; SAA 5, no. 207: 6; SAA 11, no. 1: ii 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>Kar-Nûri</td>
<td>Assyria heartland</td>
<td>City, with canals leading to Nineveh (Senn)</td>
<td>Luckenbill 1924, 79: 8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>Kar-Sîn 1</td>
<td>Mid-Euphrates</td>
<td>Built by Nergal-erêš (AdN3)</td>
<td>RIMA 3, A.O.104.7: 15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>Kar-Sîn 2 (Kindau)</td>
<td>Zagros; Nûrtu</td>
<td>Taken and renamed by Sg in 715</td>
<td>ISK, Annalen: 114; ibid., Prunk: 65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>Kar-Sîn-ahhe-eriba (Elenzaš)</td>
<td>Zagros; Ellipy/Bit-Barru</td>
<td>Taken and renamed by Senn in 702; entrusted to the provincial governor of Harhar</td>
<td>Luckenbill 1924, 29: ii 29, 59: 32, 68: 16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>Kar-sipar</td>
<td>Zagros; border with Urartu</td>
<td>Mentioned in letters (Sg)</td>
<td>SAA 5, no. 90: 12; no. 84: 12; no. 166: r. 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>Kar-Šamaš</td>
<td>On Tigris; on the road to Babylon</td>
<td>Mentioned in letters and a legal text (Sg, Senn)</td>
<td>Saggs 2001, 27, ND 2663: 13; SAA 5, no. 242: 10; SAA 1, no. 97: 6 and 8; SAA 6, no. 188: r. 7; SAA 15, no. 50: r. 5’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>Kar-Šamaš-nâšir</td>
<td>Assyrian heartland</td>
<td>City with a canal leading to Nineveh (Senn)</td>
<td>Luckenbill 1924, 79: 8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>Kar-Šarru-kin (Harhar)</td>
<td>Zagros; Media border</td>
<td>Taken and renamed by Sg in 716; a provincial capital</td>
<td>ISK, Annalen: 100, 115; ibid., Prunk: 63, 66; Gadd 1954, 176, E: 7; SAA 15, nos. 54, 84, 90, 94, 100, 101, 103, 106 (passim)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>Assyrian Name</td>
<td>Location/Role</td>
<td>Notes</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>34</td>
<td>Kār-Šulmānu-ašarēd (Til-barsip)</td>
<td>On the great bend of Euphrates</td>
<td>Taken and renamed by Śim3 in 857/6; a provincial capital and the seat of the tartan (Šamši-ili); mentioned in letters and administrative documents (SA5, TP3, Esrh, Asb)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>RIMA 3, A.0.102.2: ii 34, 39, 40, 81; A.0.103.1: ii 9; A.0.104.2010: 19; Saggis 2001, 186, ND 2656: 12; SAA 16, no. 44: 3; SAA 11, no. 1: r. ii 21°; SAA 11, no. 178: 14°</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35</td>
<td>Kār-zēr-iqīša</td>
<td>Elamite border</td>
<td>One of the walled fortified cities destroyed by Senn in his seventh campaign.</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Luckenbill, 1924, 39: 63; Grayson 1963, 90: 26</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36</td>
<td>Kār-Tukulti-Ninurta</td>
<td>Assyrian heartland</td>
<td>Governed by Iru-ittiya (eponym 804) and Adad-bēlū-ka'īn (eponym 748, 738) (AdN3, TP3)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Andrae 1913, nos. 38 and 387; cf. also Frankena 1954, 5-9: i 8, iv 30; SAA 12, no. 68: 16, 24, 25</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The city names assembled here may be subdivided into six categories:

4. Kār+ethnos: Kār-Kaldāyu (Chaldeans), Kār-Kaššī (Kassites)
5. Kār+commodity: Kār-sipar (bronze)
6. Others: Kār-balāṭi (TL.LA), Kār-balapa

At least eleven cities of the Neo-Assyrian Kār-X toponyms are definitely located in Mesopotamia proper, either in the Assyrian heartland or in Babylonia (Table 1: 13, 15, 16, 20, 22, 23, 24, 26, 31, 32, 36). Most of these cities have a divine name as their second element (Kār-Bēl-mātāte, Kār-Enlil, Kār-Ištar, Kār-Mullissu, Kār-Nabû, Kār-Nergal, Kār-Nūri, Kār-Šamaš), except for Kār-Šamaš-nāṣir and Kār-Tukulti-Ninurta, which contain personal names. Several of these cities must have existed in earlier periods as quay towns, as six of them (Kār-Bēl-mātāte 1, Kār-Enlil, Kār-Nabû, Kār-Ištar 1, Kār-Šamaš, and Kār-Tukulti-Ninurta) are actually identified with places with identical names attested in
documents from earlier periods.\(^8\)

In any case, Assyrian kings appear to have committed themselves to the intensive building of new Assyrian cities on the frontiers, no less than in the Mesopotamian heartland, in order to consolidate their rule over the new territories. The new Assyrian cities were settled by Assyrians, and were intended to serve either as the Assyrian center in a reorganized province or as an outpost, surrounded by independent local polities.\(^9\) The Assyrians often gave new names of various types to these cities, as shown in the study by B. Pongratz-Leisten (1997); one of the main types is the \(\text{Kär-RN/DN}\) pattern. Another popular pattern is \(\text{Dür-RN/DN}\) “Fortress of RN/DN,” and there is also a variety of predicative names that stress the power and glory of the Assyrian kings and gods, such as Ana-\(\text{Aššur-utēr-āšbat}\) (meaning “I (= the king) retook (the city) for the god \(\text{Aššur}\).”\(^{10}\) Some of the renamed cities, however, continued to be known by their local non-Akkadian names alongside the new names, not only by the local people but also by Assyrians, as seen for example in the cases of Til-barsip/\(\text{Kär-Šulmānu-ašarēd}\) in Syria and Harhar/\(\text{Kär-Šarru-kin}\) in the Zagros.\(^{11}\) The new Assyrian-style names, including those of the \(\text{Kär-RN/GN}\) pattern, can be regarded as ceremonial names formulated for the ideological purpose of asserting the new Assyrian presence. Such ideological factors and multilingualism are characteristic of the cities constructed on the frontiers, which advanced along with Assyrian territorial expansion.

Another aspect of the cities named \(\text{Kär-X}\) and constructed on the frontiers is their outstanding importance in Assyrian administration, as noted by J. Lewy (1956, 39ff.). \(\text{Kär-Šulmānu-ašarēd}\) and \(\text{Kär-\(\text{Aššur-ahu-iddina}\)}\) in Syria and \(\text{Kär-Nergal}\) and \(\text{Kär-Šarru-kin}\) in the Zagros were all provincial capitals, and the others also seem to have maintained considerable importance in the regional administrative organization, as we shall see below. The name \(\text{Kär-RN/DN}\), literally meaning “the quay or trading center of RN/DN” was probably chosen to show that the Assyrians were ready to enhance the local economy by encouraging trade along their new frontiers.\(^{12}\) In contrast, another frequently used name-pattern, \(\text{Dür-RN/DN}\), “the fortress of RN/DN,” implies a fortress from which the Assyrian king sternly controlled his neighbors and subjects.\(^{13}\) The latter type of name was often adopted for border fortresses and towns, as well as for major cities in the Assyrian heartland, such as \(\text{Dür-Šarru-kin}\),\(^{14}\) but was apparently not used for new administrative centers on the frontiers.

I will now turn to a detailed review of the references to \(\text{Kär-X}\)-type city names, as well as references to the term \(\text{kāru}\) in various contexts, in relation to the western frontiers, i.e. the middle Euphrates, lower Habur, inland Syria, and
the Mediterranean coast.

III. Middle Euphrates and Lower Habur

1. Kār-Aššur-nāṣir-apli

According to the annals of Ashurnasirpal II (884-859), he built a new city called Kār-Aššur-nāṣir-apli, “Quay of Ashurnasirpal,” on the middle Euphrates, following his campaign against the land of Laqe (c. 876-868) (RIMA 2, A.0.101.1, iii 49-50). This is the first of the cities named in the Kār-X pattern whose construction is recorded in Neo-Assyrian sources. The city was built on the left bank of the river together with another new city named Nēbarti-Aššur, “the crossing of the god Aššur,” on the other bank. These cities probably lay on the border between Laqe and Bit-Adini. The two cities were likely founded to replace Dummetu and Azmu, the cities of Bit-Adini destroyed by Ashurnasirpal II in the same campaign and located in “the narrow part of the Euphrates (ina hinqi ša Puratte)” (iii 44). This was not far from Jebel Bišri, mentioned in the same context (iii 40), so must have been in the area between Meskene and Deir-ez-Zor. Kār-Aššur-nāṣir-apli and Nēbarti-Aššur were still outside the provincial administration of Assyria, which expanded to include the great bend of the Euphrates (around Til-barsip) only in the reign of Shalmaneser III (859-824; see below). These cities were presumably Assyrian colonies that served as quay towns on the frontier, securing the Euphrates crossing to inland Syria, as their names may suggest.

Kār-Aššur-nāṣir-apli is mentioned later in the inscription on the Saba Stele of Adad-nerari III (811-783), the monument commissioned by his governor Nergal (or Palil)-ereš at the beginning of the eighth century BC (RIMA 3, A.0.104.6). In this inscription Nergal-ereš described himself as the governor of the cities Nemed-Ištar, Apku, Mari, the lands Raşappa, Qatnu, the cities Durkatlimmu, Kār-Aššur-nāṣir-apli, Sirqu, the lands Laqe, Hindanu, the city Anat, the land Suhi, (and) the city (Ana)-Aššur- (utēr)-aṣbat. The area under Nergal-ereš’s control thus definitely extended from the Assyrian heartland via the lower Habur to the middle Euphrates, including Kār-Aššur-nāṣir-apli. The arrangement of the toponyms in Nergal-ereš’s title, though not accurately specifying the location of Kār-Aššur-nāṣir-apli, may confirm its location in the Euphrates valley, in the vicinity of the city of Sirqu (Tell ‘Ašara) and the land of Laqe. The reference to Kār-Aššur-nāṣir-apli together with the major cities on the middle Euphrates implies the significance of this city. It probably became a center of considerable importance before the reign of Adad-nerari III, most likely when the area came under Assyrian administrative rule during the reign of
Shalmaneser III (see below).

2. Kār-Šulmānu-ašarēd

After the military advance of Ashurnasirpal II, Shalmaneser III extended Assyrian dominion westward beyond the Euphrates with his numerous campaigns. In 857 or 856 BC he conquered Til-barsip (modern Tell Ahmar), the capital of Bit-Adini, located on the eastern bank of the Euphrates, and renamed it Kār-Šulmānu-ašarēd, “Quay of Shalmaneser” (RIMA 3, A.0.102.2, ii 31-35). He annexed other cities of Bit-Adini—Alligu, Nappigi, Rugulitu, Pitru (Ana-Aššur-uter-ašbat), and Mutkinu—on both banks of the Euphrates. As with Til-barsip, he renamed Alligu, Nappigi, and Rugulitu as Lit(a)-Assur (“the might of the god Assur”), Ašbat-lakūnu (“I took [this city]; may I be firm [upon it]”), and Qibit-[... (“the command of [DN]”), respectively, constructed Assyrian royal palaces in them, and settled Assyrians there (ibid. ii 34 and 38). Each of the new Assyrian cities was entitled “my royal city (āl šarrūṭīya).” Til-barsip, now renamed Kār-Šulmānu-ašarēd, seems to have become the seat of the commander-in-chief (turtānu) and the provincial capital.

Kār-Šulmānu-ašarēd survived the turmoil of the great internal revolt which started toward the end of Shalmaneser III’s reign and continued until the fourth year of Šamši-Adad V (824-811), maintaining its position as the Assyrian provincial center on the western frontier and facing independent kingdoms in Syria. It became the capital of Šamši-ilu, the unusually powerful turtānu of Assyria, in the first half of the eighth century BC. Later it must have served as a significant bridgehead for the next stage of Assyrian expansion into Syria in the second half of the eighth century BC, continuing to be the provincial capital.

3. Kār(?)-Adad-nērāri

Assyrian settlement in the middle Euphrates and lower Habur regions at the beginning of the eighth century BC can be traced in the inscription on the Rimah Stele, another monument set up by Nergal-ereš, the above-mentioned governor of Adad-nerari III. The last nine lines of the text, deliberately erased in antiquity but successfully deciphered (ll. 13-21), record the construction of cities and villages by Nergal-ereš. The text records that Nergal-ereš, “the governor of Rašappa, Laqe, Hindanu, Anat, and Suhi,” (re)built nine cities with their surrounding villages in the lower Habur and the middle Euphrates, according to the royal decree. The list of the cities and villages (ll. 15b-20), composed according to the basic pattern: “the city … (with) its x villages (URU … x
(15b) The city of Dūr-Ištar (with) its 12 villages; the city of Kār-Sīn (with) its 10 villages; (16) the city of Dūr-katlimmu (URU.BĀD-duk-l.LIM) (with) its 33 villages; the city of Dūr-Aššur (with) its 20 villages; the city of Dūr-Nergal-ereš (17) (with) its 33 villages; the city of Dūr-Marduk (with) its 40 villages; the city of Kār(-?-Adad-nērāri (URU Kar(?)-m10-ERIN.TĀH) (18) (with) its 126 villages behind Jebel Sinjar (ku-tal KUR Sa-an-ga-ri) and its 28 villages in the land of Azalli(?) (19) the city of Dūr-Adad-nērāri (with) its 15 villages in Laqe; the city of <Dūr/Kār>-Adad (URU dĪŠKUR) (with) its 14 villages in the land of Qatni; (20) total 331 villages (lit. "small(?) towns (URU.MEŠ-ni TUR(?).MEŠ")"), which Nergal-ereš undertook to (re)build by the decree of his lord.

Since the relevant lines are badly damaged, some of the geographical names and numbers remain unclear. Nevertheless, one can find nine city names, six of which are of Dūr-DN/PN type and two of Kār-DN/PN type. Some of these cities, such as Dūr-katlimmu, must have existed in the Middle Assyrian period, but many others were probably new foundations. The names of Dūr-Nergal-ereš, Kār(?)-Adad-nērāri, and Dūr-Adad-nērāri suggest that these cities were named at the time of Adad-nerari III and Nergal-ereš. The names of Dūr/Kār-DN type, such as Dūr-Ištar, Kār-Sīn, Dūr-Aššur, Dūr-Marduk, and <Dūr/Kār>-Adad, seem to have been applied at the same time to a series of new Assyrian cities.

Nergal-ereš, the builder of the settlements, assumed his eponym office in 808 and 775 as the governor of Rašappa (Millard 1994, 34, 39, and 57-58). The province of Rašappa was gradually enlarged over a period of more than 30 years, when Nergal-ereš was its governor, with new districts being added to it. Part of this process is illustrated by a royal grant document (dating from 797) that records the addition of Hindanu to the domain of Nergal-ereš (SAA 12, no. 85 = RIMA 3, A.0.104.9). Eventually his province included the broad steppe area extending to the southern flanks of Mount Sinjar in the north, and around the lower Habur and the middle Euphrates in the west and the south respectively. The Rimah Stele, which lists Hindanu as lying under Nergal-ereš's jurisdiction, must reflect a later stage of this development. With Assyrian colonization along the lower Habur and middle Euphrates, the extensive area was more thoroughly incorporated into the province governed by Nergal-ereš.

The number of surrounding villages belonging to Kār(?)-Adad-nērāri
(126+28) is considerably larger than those of the other nine cities in the list (which have 10-40 each). The large number, almost half of the sum total (331), may imply the importance of this new city as a center in the region. The traces of the first element of the city name are faint and the reading remains uncertain. Though Ṭil- and Dūr- have also been suggested, they must be dismissed, since the pattern Ṭil-RN is otherwise unknown, and the name of Dūr-Adad-nērārī is recorded in the next line. The reading Kār(?)-Adad-nērārī, suggested by Grayson, seems appropriate for the city planned as a new administrative center, to which many villages belonged. Thus it seems that Adad-nerari III ordered the construction of the city, known as the kāru of his own name, following the practice of his predecessors. The location of the city is problematic. If KUR Sa-an-ga-ri is correctly read and identified with Jebel Sinjar, the city is probably to be sought on the road passing to the south of that mountain, close to the point where the Habur can be crossed. If the land of Azalli (reading again uncertain) is connected with Kār-Adad-nērārī, as it seems, this land must be close to the lower Habur and not identical to Azalla/Izalla, the land renowned for its wine and located in the north to north-east of the upper Habur valley. In light of the archeological survey of the Assyrian settlement pattern (Kühne 1995, 79-83), the area of Tell Ta’ban and Tell Ajaj is an attractive candidate for the location of Kār(?)-Adad-nērārī. However, a new area of intensive colonization traced in the steppe around Wadi Ajij cannot be ruled out.

IV. Inland Syria and the Mediterranean Coast
1. Kār-Adad

Tiglath-pileser III (745-727) opened the new phase of Assyrian territorial expansion, conquering kingdoms in Syria and Palestine and reorganizing them into Assyrian provinces. Following the annexation of Arpad in his western campaigns during 742-740, Tiglath-pileser III returned to Syria in 738 to annex the kingdom of Unqi/Pattin, as well as the region of the northern Phoenician coast and inland Syria that belonged to Hamath. Describing this conquest, the Annals refer to “the province of the city of Kār-Adad (NAM URU Ṭat-IM?)” (ITP, Ann. 19*:6), probably a local Hamathite administrative unit and part of the “19 districts (nage) of Hamath” (ITP, Ann. 19*: 9-10) that were annexed to Assyria. H. Tadmor cautiously suggested identifying Kār-Adad, i.e. “Quay of Adad,” with Halab, the well-known center of the weather-god cult (ITP, 61, note on Ann. 19*:6). It is difficult, however, to see Halab as part of the kingdom of Hamath, since Nirabu (modern Nerab), c. 5 km south-east of Halab, is recorded as a city that belonged to the northern state of Bit-A[gusi], i.e. Arpad
(Tell Rifa‘at), in an inscription of Tiglath-pileser III (ITP, Summ. 5: ii 3). Thus, Halab was probably under the control of Arpad, not Hamath, before the Assyrian annexation.37

Another suggestion is to identify Kār-Adad with Aribua, the southernmost city of Pattin, referred to in the Annals of Ashurnasirpal II (RIMA 2, A.0.101.1, iii 81-83) as having been captured in order to set up an Assyrian outpost in which Assyrians were settled.38 Kār-Adad is possibly an Akkadian name for the newly-built Assyrian city. Aribua might have survived as an Assyrian trading colony with the Assyrian name of Kār-Adad until the annexation of its surrounding territory by Tiglath-pileser III. The city has often been sought in the vicinity of Jisr esh-Shughur, though its location is still in dispute.39

2. Kārus on the Mediterranean Coast in the Time of Tiglath-pileser III

The fragmentary lines of Tiglath-pileser III’s annals also enumerate the names of northern Phoenician coastal cities annexed in 738 as follows: “The cities of E[l]iššu ... Usn[u], Siannu, Ma’araba], Kašpuna, which are on the seacoast, together with the towns [...] up to Mt. Saue, which touches the Lebanon, Mt. Ba’ali-šapuna up to Mt. Ammanana” (ITP, Ann. 19*:4b-6).40 Fragmentary passages of two summary inscriptions also refer to a similar group of toponyms: “the cities of Gu[b][la ... Şimirra, Arqa, Zimar[ra, ...] Usnu, [Siannu, Ma’araba, Ri’isi-ṣu[ri]]” (ITP, Summ. 4: 2’-3’);41 “Cities of Gu[b]la ... [Şimirra Arqa [...] Usnu, Siannu[...] Ri’isi-ṣu[ri] [...]” (Summ. 5 II: 16b-19). Following N. Na’aman (2004), if Gubla is Byblos, not Jebleh (Giba’la in the texts from Ugarit) as generally accepted, the majority of the city names appearing in these texts would be arranged roughly from south to north, i.e., Byblos, Ellišu (Late Bronze Ullasa, near Toripoli [Zadok 1996]), Şimirra (Tell Kazel), Arqa (Tell ‘Arqa), Zimarrâ (Zimrin), Usnu, Siannu (Tell Siyânû), Ma’araba, Ri’isi-ṣu [Ras Ibn Hani [Na’amâm 2004]). These cities, except for the independent Byblos, were incorporated into the new province of Şimirra, which extended roughly from the modern Latakia region in the north to the vicinity of modern Tripoli in the south.42

The extent of the annexed territories in Syria up to and including 738 is also summarized in the Stele from Iran (Fragment II, published in 1994), a monument set up by Tiglath-pileser III during his campaign to western Iran in 737. The text contains a list of annexed cities and lands in the west. It starts with inner Syria (ITP, Stele II B: 1’-9’) and continues to the coastal region, providing a significant note about Assyrian kārus (II B: 10’-13’):
Mounts Hasuatti (and) Turinaqadina, the land of Siannu in [its] entirety, (11') the cities of Ellïṣu and Şimirra at the foot of Lebanon (12') the city of Rešî(SAG)-ṣurri, Mount Şapuna, the city of Ahta, (13') bit-kâri on the seashore, which supplies the royal needs (É-ka-ri šá UGU tam-tim É-ṣa-bu-ta-te MAN-tî), the boxwood mountain (šad taskarinni), (14') Tu’ammu as far as Til-karme of Gurgum (15') I annexed to Assyria.

It appears that Siannu, Ellïṣu, and Şimirra form a southern group, and the toponyms following, i.e. Rešî-ṣurri (= Ri’isi-ṣurri [see above]), Mt. Şapuna (= Baali-şapuna, modern Jebel Aqra), Ahta, and the “boxwood mountain” are located to the north. R. Zadok (1996, 11-12) located Ahta between Baali-Şapuna and the “boxwood mountain”, which he identified with Mt. Amanus, suggesting that Ahta be identified with modern Al-Mina at the mouth of the Orontes. If so, it must have belonged to the province of Kullanî(a) that was reorganized after the fall of Unqi/Pattin (see above, IV, 1) along the lower Orontes and Afrin valley.

The expressions following the mention of Ahta (l. 13')—“bit-kâri on the seashore, which supplies royal needs (bit-kâri ša muhhi tômtim bit šabûtâte šarrûte)”—deserve special attention. The term bit-kâri, lit. “house of kâru,” can mean a structure placed in the trading district of a city in order to supervise the transshipping of goods and taxation; thus it may be translated as “custom-house” in a number of contexts (see also below). However, one may interpret the bit-kâri in this context as “the place of trade,” bit- being taken as “a place of ….”

Though the term bit-kâri is in the singular, it might refer not only to Ahta but to all the coastal cities enumerated here: Siannu, Ellïṣu, Şimirra, Rešî-ṣurri, and Ahta. Alternatively, the term may indicate the entire northern Phoenician coast, including these cities. In any case, it appears that the bit-kâri ša muhhi tômtim, with the second attribute bit šabûtâte šarrûte, lit. “house/place of the royal needs,” suggests that these coastal cities served as Assyrian trading centers, supplying royal needs with the revenue from trade and taxation on the goods imported by local sea-faring traders, Phoenician, Philistine, or Greek. It should be noted that a similar use of the term bit-kâri for a concentration of trading posts is also known for the central Zagros, an area significant for its horse trade (see below, V).

Further evidence of Assyrian trading posts in Phoenicia is provided by the often-discussed letter ND 2715, sent by Qurdi-Aṣṣur-lamur, an important official on the Phoenician coast, to the king. The letter must have been written after...
the annexation of northern Phoenicia in 738, though it is not entirely clear whether it was sent before or after the Assyrian military action against Tyre which took place in c. 732.49 The writer reports on the situation in the subjugated kingdom of Tyre and its vicinity, including Sidon (within the realm of Tyre) and Kašpuna (now annexed by Assyria): “All the quays are left at his (i.e. the Tyrian king’s) disposal (kärāni gabbu rammūniššu)” (l. 5) and records that Tyrians are entering and leaving the custom-houses (bit-karrāni) and trading there freely (ll. 6-7). Qurdi-Assur-lamur also notes that he is allowing Tyrians to cut timber in Mt. Lebanon, but “imposing a tax (mikṣīšu amakkis)” on the timber that they brought down, placing tax inspectors (mākisāni) over all the trading posts (karrāni) in Lebanon (ll. 8-14). The letter refers specifically to the “custom-houses in the city of Sidon (b[i]t]-karrāni ša ina [URU] Śidūni),” where the Sidonians chased out an Assyrian inspector; he returned to Sidon after Assyrian troops threatened the city (ll. 14-22). The letter shows that custom-houses controlled by Assyrians existed not only in the annexed cities of northern Phoenicia but also in the open area of Mount Lebanon, as well as in Sidon, which, as noted, seems to have belonged to the realm of Tyre at that time.50

Another noteworthy detail revealed in the letter is that Qurdi-Assšur-lamur ordered the local people not to sell the timber of Lebanon to Egyptians and Philistines (ll. 26-27). This embargo was removed later, probably by Sargon II, as we shall see below.

Tiglath-pileser III’s control of ports and trading posts along the Mediterranean coast was extended further southward with his campaigns against Philistia in 734.51 In this campaign, Tiglath-pileser III conquered Gaza and despoiled the royal property and the people. Though Hanunu, king of Gaza, survived on the throne, the Assyrians established their presence in the city, setting up image(s) of the Assyrian gods and of the king in the palace, and establishing an “Assyrian custom-house (bit-kāri ša māt Aššur)”. The relevant passage (ITP, Summ. 9: 16) may read: [...] É-ka-a]-[Fri]-šū a-na É-ka-a-ri ša KUR Aš-šur.KI [am-nu] “[I counted] his custom-house as an Assyrian one”.52

3. The Port of Egypt in the Inscriptions of Sargon II

A reference to another Assyrian kāru on the western frontier was found in the inscriptions of Sargon II. Following his repression of the revolt in the west and the re-establishment of his dominion over the Philistine coast in 720, he is said to have “opened the sealed [trading] post of Egypt ([ka]r-ri KUR Mu-šur kan-gu ap-te-e-ma), mingled Assyrians and Egyptians together, and made them trade ([ú-še-p]i-šá ma-hi-ru)” (Nimrud Prism, iv 46-49).53 The location of the
sealed *kāru* is difficult to specify. It is, however, hard to locate it west of Wadi el-Arish or in the Nile Delta, since Tigrath-pileser III and Sargon maintained control over the desert area to the south of Gaza and around the “Brook of Egypt” (generally identified with Wadi el-Arish),\(^5^4\) and the topography of the northern Sinai makes it unlikely that a port would be located on the coast (Eph‘al 1984, 101-104). It may be located in the area between Rafia and el-Arish, as suggested (Eph‘al 1984, 104). Alternatively, it is possible to locate it on the Philistine coast, since the expression *karri KUR Muṣur* may mean “the trading post for Egypt” instead of that “in Egypt”.\(^5^5\) If this is the case, the term may refer to the major port of Gaza, now reopened to Egyptians. In any case, the opening of this port probably meant the end of the Assyrian embargo against Egypt, mentioned in the letter of Qurdi-Aṣṣur-lamur (see above).

4. **Kār-Aṣṣur-ahu-iddina and the Treaty of Esarhaddon with Baal**

Further data on Assyrian control over the *kārus* along the Mediterranean coast are found in the inscriptions of Esarhaddon. Following his destruction of Sidon in 677, Esarhaddon mobilized the kings of “Hatti” (Syria and Palestine) and built a city by the ruins of Sidon, naming it Kār-Aṣṣur-ahu-iddina, “Quay of Esarhaddon.”\(^5^6\) He settled deportees from the east in towns surrounding the new city and reorganized the entire district as a new Assyrian province, placing a governor there. The province of Kār-Aṣṣur-ahu-iddina continued for some time, as shown by the reference to its governor Bel-Harran-šadu’a as the eponym of 650.\(^5^7\) The names of the annexed cities enumerated in the inscription of Esarhaddon (Borger 1956, Nin A, iii 1-7) show that the annexed territory extended to the north of the still independent kingdom of Byblos, so that the northern border of the new province reached the province of Șimirra (Forrer 1920, 65).

The treaty of Esarhaddon with Baal, king of Tyre, was probably concluded just after the fall of Sidon.\(^5^8\) The preserved portion of the text contains some stipulations which shed significant light on Assyrian control over Tyre and other ports and trading posts along the Mediterranean coast. The individual stipulations are separated from each other by dividing lines. The first reasonably intelligible one (iii 6'-14') deals with the supervision of Tyrian diplomatic attitudes by the Assyrian royal deputy (qēpu). The next one (iii 15'-17') records a law concerning shipwrecked Tyrian ships, according to which Assyria had the right to confiscate the cargo of any Tyrian ship that sank along the Philistine coast or within the territory of Assyria. This unusual legislation, contradicting international maritime conventions,\(^5^9\) must have been a heavy burden on Tyrian
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sea trade. The third stipulation (iii 18'-30') is especially significant for us, since it concerns the rights and duties of Tyrians in the kârûs along the Mediterranean coast. I will focus on this stipulation, whose understanding still remains in dispute even after the publication of several editions and translations. The entire stipulation, with some conjectural restorations, reads:

18. annûte kârâni harrânâte ša "Aššûra-ahu-iddîna šar māt Aššûr anâ "Ba’alu ardišû rî-p-qî-[du-ni]
19. ana ursûkkû ūnu Dû Ś’rî ina nagê kur Pîlište gab[bu]
20. u ina alâni tahûme ša māt Aššûr-ki ša šiddî tǎmtim gab[bu]
21. u ina ursû Gublu kur Labnâ[na] alâni ša ina šaddî gabb[bu]
22. ammar alâni ša "Aššûra-ahu-iddîna šar māt Aššûr "Ba’alu alâni [x x x]
23. kur Şûrrâyâ r ‘pit-tî šâ"m Aššûra-ahu-iddîna šar māt Aššûr[ki] i-din-[āš-šû-nu-ni]
24. ina libbi eleppîšunu u ammar errabûni ina libbi alâni ša m["Aššûr-ahu-iddîna šar māt Aššûr]
25. alânišu kaprånišu kârânišu ša ana našê [mikse kâri (x x)]
26. ammar ahiṭêtešunûni kî ša ina labî[ri x x x x x x x]
27. innagarûni memêni pe-er-k[u ina pânišunu lâ eppaš]
28. ina libbi eleppêšunu lâ ihatti ina libbi K[UR x x x x x URU.MEŠ-šû]
29. ina nagêšu kaprånišu e-rim-tû [x x x x x x x x x]
30. kî ša labiri KUR Šî-du-[na-a-a x x x x x x x x x]

(18) These are the ports and routes that Esarhaddon, king of Assyria, en[trusted] to his servant Baal: (19) To Akko, Dor; in the entire district of Philistia, (20) and in all the cities within Assyrian territory on the seacoast, (21) and in Byblos, Mount Lebanon (and) all the cities in the mountain. (22) All the cities [of Es]arhaddon, king of Assyria, Baal [may access]. (23) Tyrians, in accordance with what Esarhaddon, king of Assyria, has permitted to them, (24) may stay in their ships (in these places). And (as for) all (Tyrians) who enter into the cities of [Esarhaddon, king of Assyria] (25) – his cities, villages, ports – to pay (willingly) [quay tax], (26) or (are in) all (the places) in their outskirts, as [...] (27) have agreed in the past, nobody [do] injustice [to them] (and) (28) nobody will harm their ships. In the la[nd of] … (29) in its districts, in its villages … […] (30) as in the past, the Sido[nians] …

The list of the cities and districts that Esarhaddon “entrusted” to Baal (II.
18-21) includes all the territories that the Assyrians controlled along the Mediterranean coast, directly or indirectly. The phrase “All the cities [of Es]arhaddon, king of Assyria (ammâr alânî ša Aṣšur-ahu-iddina šar māt Aššur)” in the following line (l. 22) was probably added to confirm this. The structure of the list must be examined first. The list appears to be arranged in two parts. The first part covers the area south of Tyre (“Akko, Dor, the district of Philistia”) (l. 19) and the second part concerns the area to the north of Tyre (“all the cities within Assyrian territory on the seacoast, Byblos, Mount Lebanon, the cities in the mountain”) (ll. 20-21). Akko was conquered by Sennacherib in his third campaign (701) and was probably placed under direct Assyrian provincial government.62 Similarly, Dor was probably reorganized as an Assyrian province by Tiglath-pileser III.63 The district of Philistia was repeatedly attacked by the Assyrian army during the reigns of Tiglath-pileser III, Sargon, and Sennacherib.64 Though Sargon reorganized part of the territory of Ashkelon into an Assyrian province,65 the Assyrians generally pursued a lenient policy toward Philistia, allowing the kingdoms of Gaza, Ashdod, Ashkelon, and Ekron to survive as vassals.

As for the area north of Tyre, the first territorial unit—“all the cities within Assyrian territory on the seacoast”—seems to indicate the coastal cities in the new province of Kār-Aṣšur-ahu-iddina and in the provinces of Šimirra and Kullani (Kunalia) established by Tiglath-pileser III in 738 (see above, IV, 1-2), as well as that of Que, which was reorganized by Tiglath-pileser III or Shalmaneser V.66 The next toponym in the list is the vassal city-state of Byblos67 and the Mount Lebanon region, which may have been considered as open territory rather than being under the jurisdiction of specific countries. It seems that the cities and regions under direct Assyrian rule and the indirectly controlled territories were arranged separately in the list (see Table 2).68

Table 2: Structure of the List of ll. 19-21 in the Treaty of Esarhaddon with Baal

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Direction</th>
<th>Cities and districts</th>
<th>Nature of rule</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>South of Tyre</td>
<td>(1) ana un-Akkū un-Dū 'ri</td>
<td>direct</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(2) ina nagê kur Pilište gab[bu]</td>
<td>indirect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North of Tyre</td>
<td>(3) ina alânî tahûme ša māt Aššur ki ša šiddî tāmtim gab[bu]</td>
<td>direct</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(4) ina un-Gublu kur Labnō[na] alânî ša ina šadî gabb[u]</td>
<td>indirect</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The list implies that Esarhaddon allowed Baal to use all the ports and trading posts under Assyrian control. The territories beyond Assyrian control are not specifically mentioned, probably implying that Assyria did not restrict Tyrian seafaring to more distant countries in the Mediterranean. The Assyrians thus permitted Tyrian maritime trade everywhere, as well as Tyre’s timber-cutting business in Mount Lebanon. However, as seen in the letter and royal inscriptions from the time of Tiglath-pileser III (see above, IV, 2), Assyria placed its own custom-houses either (1) in the Assyrian provinces, (2) in open areas such as Mount Lebanon, or (3) in cities belonging to the still independent vassal kingdoms, such as Gaza. This situation must have continued for some time. In this manner, Assyria earned its profit from the custom duties, as well as from tribute from vassals and the confiscation of the cargoes of their wrecked ships (see above). 69

The understanding of ll. 22-30 is in dispute. A key factor is the personal name broken off at the end of l. 24. Some scholars restore the name of Baal. 70 This restoration might go well with the assumption that ll. 22-30 deal with the territory of Baal allotted by Esarhaddon after the fall of Sidon, thus comprising a separate section. 71 However, a higher degree of contextual unity within ll. 19-30 would seem more likely, since it is enclosed by dividing lines. An alternative suggestion for the personal name in l. 24 is that of Esarhaddon. 72 It seems to me that the restoration of the name and title of Esarhaddon would fill the broken space neatly 73 and make better sense. In this reading, ll. 22-30 are the continuation of the preceding lines and deal with the rights and duties of Tyrian ships and traders. Accordingly, the passage probably concerns the Tyrians’ right to trade safely in all the cities and territories under Assyrian control, while fulfilling their duty of toll payment therein. 74

5. More Assyrian kārus in the Documents from the Time of Esarhaddon and Ashurbanipal

Another reference to the Assyrian kāru appears in the letter of Itti-Šamaš-balatu, an Assyrian official stationed in northern Phoenicia (SAA 16, no. 127). He reports to the king about the revolt of Ikkilu (Yakinlu) of Arwad, which probably took place in the closing years of Esarhaddon’s reign, more specifically at the time of his second Egyptian campaign in 671. 75 According to the letter, Ikkilu would not let boats come up to “the port of the king (kāru ša šarri bbēlya),” killing anyone who docked at “the Assyrian port (kāru ša māt Assur),” while providing for anyone who came to him (obv. 13-23). It appears that Ikkilu attempted to break the Assyro-centric trade regulations, excluding the Assyrian
royal port from the regional trading activities around Arwad. Though the location of the Assyrian port is not clearly indicated, it seems quite close to the island of Arwad, perhaps at Şimirra some 20 km to the south (Elayi 1983, 51; Schwemer 2000), or, less likely, on the island of Arwad itself (Elat 1991, 27).

The letter includes an interesting report that many of the entourage of the Assyrian king (māḏūti ina .INAN manzaz pānī ša šarri bēliya) have invested silver in “this house (bīti annī)” and that they are systematically threatening the writer, joining hands with local merchants (r. 7-10). “This house” seems to be the Assyrian royal trading post or bīt-kārī, for which the writer is responsible. The nature of the tension described is obscure and can only be guessed at. The writer must have been responsible for the royal revenue from taxation on the merchandise traded at the kāru, as shown by his words: “I don’t give one shekel (or even) half a shekel to anybody but the king, my lord” (r. 11-13). It may be that the Assyrian officials, who invested privately in the trade operated by Phoenician seafarers, supported the position of the latter, demanding more free trade against the writer.

With Esarhaddon’s campaign against Tyre and Egypt in 671, Assyrian territorial control along the Mediterranean coast reached its zenith. Esarhaddon conquered and annexed the continental territory of Tyre, leaving only the island as the independent territory of the Tyrian king. Thus, all of the east Mediterranean coast north of Philistia was eventually brought under direct Assyrian rule. Though Baal of Tyre and Ikkilu (Yakinlu) of Arwad survived on their thrones, the Assyrians apparently continued to press the local ports to obey the Assyro-centric trade regulations.

In Egypt, Esarhaddon subjugated the cities of the Nile delta, conquering the capital city of Memphis. The Zenzirli Stele (Borger 1956, 99, Mnm. A, r. 47-50) relates that he stationed officials all over Egypt (the Delta), established regular offerings to Assyrian gods, and imposed tribute. One type of officials, the rab-kārānī “quay masters,” must have been directly responsible for the kārus (see below, V) that were now under Assyrian control. Esarhaddon seems to have renamed cities in the Delta. One of his prism fragments lists more than ten city names of typical Assyrian style, as well as those of officials stationed in them (Borger 1956, 114, Frt J, ii 2-11). These city names were apparently given after his Egyptian campaign. They include one Kār-X type name, Kār-Bānite “Quay of the goddess Banitu (Creatress)” (ii 7). Another fragment (K 2711) refers to the offerings from the city of Kār-bēl-mātātē “Quay of the Lord of the Lands,” revealing that it was called Sais in Egypt ([URU] Kar-EN-KUR-KUR [ša Sa-a]-a ina KUR Mu-šur i-nam-bu-u) (Borger 1956, 93-95, Smlt., obv. 25).
This shows that Sais, the major city of the Nile Delta, was also given a new name by Esarhaddon, apparently on the same occasion. Kār-Bānīte and Kār-bēl-mātāte are also mentioned in the accounts of Ashurbanipal’s Egyptian campaign of 667.79

6. Summary

The references discussed above to the cities with names of Kār-X type, as well as mentions of kāru and bit-kāri, illustrate the advance of the western frontiers of Assyrian colonization and trade control. Assyrian domination started in the middle Euphrates and lower Habur, crossed the great bend of the Euphrates to inner Syria and northern Phoenicia, and then eventually spread.

Table 3: Attested References to kāru/bit-kāri under Assyrian Control and the Cities Named as Kār-X on the Western Frontiers (arranged chronologically)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Place name</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Period of reference</th>
<th>Referred to as</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kār-Aššur-nāṣir-apli</td>
<td>Middle Euphrates</td>
<td>Asn2 on</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kār-Šulmānu-ašarēd (Til-barsip)</td>
<td>Middle Euphrates</td>
<td>Slm3 on</td>
<td>al Dannūti; al Šarrūṭiya (provincial capital)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kār-Adad-nērāri</td>
<td>Lower Habur</td>
<td>AdN3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kār-Sīn</td>
<td>Lower Habur</td>
<td>AdN3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kār-Adad (Ariuwa ?)</td>
<td>Lower Orontes</td>
<td>TP3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Siannu</td>
<td>Northern Phoenicia</td>
<td>TP3</td>
<td>bit-kāri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ellīšu</td>
<td>Northern Phoenicia</td>
<td>TP3</td>
<td>bit-kāri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śimīrīra</td>
<td>Northern Phoenicia</td>
<td>TP3</td>
<td>bit-kāri (provincial capital)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reši-ṣurri</td>
<td>Northern Phoenicia</td>
<td>TP3</td>
<td>bit-kāri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ahta</td>
<td>Northern Phoenicia</td>
<td>TP3</td>
<td>bit-kāri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in Lebanon</td>
<td>Southern Phoenicia</td>
<td>TP3</td>
<td>kārānī (pl.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sidon</td>
<td>Southern Phoenicia</td>
<td>TP3</td>
<td>karrānī (pl.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gaza</td>
<td>Philistia</td>
<td>TP3</td>
<td>bit-kāri ša mat Aššur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Port of Egypt” (kāri KUR Muṣur = Gaza?)</td>
<td>Philistia</td>
<td>Sg</td>
<td>Kāru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kār-Aššur-ahu-iddina</td>
<td>Southern Phoenicia</td>
<td>Esrh</td>
<td>(provincial capital)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Akko</td>
<td>Southern Phoenicia</td>
<td>Esrh</td>
<td>Kāru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dor</td>
<td>Israel</td>
<td>Esrh</td>
<td>Kāru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in Philistia</td>
<td>Philistia</td>
<td>Esrh</td>
<td>Kāru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gublu (Byblos)</td>
<td>Phoenicia</td>
<td>Esrh</td>
<td>Kāru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>near/ in Arwad (= Šimīrīra?)</td>
<td>Phoenicia</td>
<td>Esrh</td>
<td>kāru ša šarrī/ kār ša mat Aššur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kār-Bānīti</td>
<td>Nile delta</td>
<td>Esrh</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kār-Bēl-mātāti (Sais)</td>
<td>Nile delta</td>
<td>Esrh</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Assyrian Kārus on Frontiers
over the entire region of the eastern Mediterranean. The construction of Assyrian kārus or the conversion of local kārus into Assyrian trading posts mostly took place within the Assyrian provinces newly organized along the frontiers. In addition, Assyrian trading posts were even occasionally founded within the still independent vassal states, as seen for example in the case of the Assyrian custom-house (bi-t-kāri) established in Gaza (see above, IV, 2). There is no doubt that some important ports remained under the control of vassal kings, such as those of Arwad and Tyre. However, most of the kārus referred to in Neo-Assyrian sources are royal Assyrian institutions, though only rarely are they described as kāru ša šarrī “the royal port” or kāru ša māt Assūr “the port of Assyria” (see above, Table 3).

The Assyrian kārus on the frontiers served to secure local trading activities according to agreements between the Assyrian king and local rulers and traders, while representing first and foremost the interest of the former party, as best illustrated by the treaty between Esarhaddon and Baal. The Neo-Assyrian kārus certainly granted special privileges of taxation and trade regulations to the Assyrian king and his merchants, thus giving them a healthy profit from the local trade economy, whose geographical extent was vast, lying beyond the control of the Assyrian provincial administration.

V. Rab-kāri and the Administration of kārus

The official in charge of kāru(s) must have been the rab-kāri, lit. “quay master,” attested in documents from the Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian periods. As already noted (IV, 5), the Zenzirli Stele of Esarhaddon (Mnm. A) includes a reference to the plural form GAL-KAR.MEŠ, probably to be normalized rab-kārāni, in a list of the officials stationed in the conquered lands of Egypt (šarrāni, pāhāti, šaknūti, rab-kārāni, qēpāni, šāpirē). Another text of the same king (Borger 1956, 87, AsBbE: 14) gives a similar reference, following a general statement about the conquest and subjugation of distant lands, including Sidon, Arza, Bāṣ, Tilmun, Šubria, Tyre, Egypt, Ethiopia, Cyprus, Ionia, and Tarsus: “I established šarrāni, pāhāti, šaknūti, and rab-kārāni upon their lands, imposed the yoke of [Aššur] my lord, fixed regular offerings for Aššur and the great gods my lords for ever, and imposed upon them the tax and tribute of my lordship without interruption.”

J. Lewy suggested that in the Neo-Assyrian period the rab-kāri was a high official, more or less equal in standing to the provincial governors, whose function was to collect taxes for the king of Assyria. The assumption of the eponym office by Labasi, rab-kāri, in 657 may indeed imply the importance of
the rab-kāri in the Late Assyrian period. However, the administrative rank and role of the rab-kāri, as well as the office's distribution in the Assyrian empire, are still to be determined.

One may reasonably assume that one of the major roles of the rab-kāri was to collect and account for the taxes imposed on the merchandise passing through the kāru. However, in the above-mentioned letter ND 2715 (see IV, 2), the officials dispatched by Qurdi-Aššur-lamur in order to collect the tax (miksu) imposed upon timber at the trading posts (kārāni, bīt-kārāni) in Lebanon and Sidon are referred to as mākisānī (pl. of mākisu). What was the relationship between the tax collector mākisu and the rab-kāri?

Previous studies have suggested that in the Neo-Assyrian period the word miksu was a general term for taxes, including those on corn and straw (specifically called nusāhu and šibšu) as well as those exacted from merchants for their use of public facilities, such as quays, bridges, and city gates. The latter type of taxes, which are referred to as miksi kāri nēbiri abulli “taxes on the quay, crossing, city gate” in documents of royal grants and tax exemptions, concern those exacted in the kāru and its vicinity. The term mākisu “tax collector,” etymologically related to miksu, was probably applied to the collector of taxes of all kinds.

There is quite a limited number of references to the term mākisu from the Neo-Assyrian period. One important example is the mention of mākisānī (pl.) in letter ND 2715. Another piece of evidence is a reference to Dilil-Ištar, mākisu of the province of Que (ša NAM Qu-e), in an administrative document (SAA 7, no. 118, r. ii 20-21). The latter reference may imply that the mākisu worked under the authority of the provincial governor (Postgate 1974a, 134). The Middle Assyrian colophon of an inscription of Tiglath-pileser I includes the eponym date of Ninuayu, rab-mākisī (GAL ʾma-kiši.MEŠ) “chief of tax-collectors” (RIMA 2, A.0.87.3: 50f.). In the light of these references, mākisu appears to be the term for a tax-collector of comparatively low status, who probably worked with many others of the same kind, organized under a chief (rab-mākisi), either inside a kāru or elsewhere. Thus it seems that the mākisu could have served either the provincial governor or the rab-kāri.

In contrast to the mākisu, the term rab-kāri “quay master” suggests that this official was responsible for the entire management of a kāru or kārus. There are several pieces of evidence which shed some light on the administrative rank of the rab-kāri. The cube-shaped lot (pūru) of Yahalu, the great chamberlain (masennu rabū) of Shalmaneser III, shows that he was the governor of many localities, including the city Kipšuna, the lands Qume[n]i, Mehrani, Uqi, and the
Cedar Mountain, and also bore the title of rab-kāri. This may imply that he was responsible for the kāru(s) in his own masennu province, which extended along the lesser Habur, with Kipšuna (modern Qefše) as its capital. 90

Other references to the rab-kāri support the theory that this official's responsibility was not limited to a single trading post but extended over a district. ND 2701, a letter from Nergal-[…] an official in the central Zagros, to the king, Tiglath-pileser III or Sargon II (Saggs 2001, 141), reads: “it is well with all the fortress towns of the rab-kāri (URU.HAL.ŠU. MEŠ gab-bu ša LŪ.GAL-ka-ri)” (ll. 4-6). Thus the rab-kāri was in control of several fortresses that must have been scattered over a district, perhaps surrounding his kāru(s). The reference to the rab-kāri ša Māt-tātim in a letter sent from Uruk, probably to Ashurbanipal (ABL 1106, r. 20), may point in the same direction, suggesting that he may have been responsible for the whole of the “Sea Land (Māt-tātim),” rather than being one of several officials of the same status in that land.

There is some evidence suggesting that the rab-kāri’s role was not restricted to tax collection and trade regulation at the kāru. An administrative document from the North-West Palace of Kalhu (ND 2754) records the receipt of cattle and sheep that were exacted as the tribute (maddattu) of several localities, the names of which are broken off (Parker 1961, 48 and pl. XXV). The text enumerates the numbers of animals with the town names of their origin, concluding: “the total 233 cattle […], the tribute of the land of […], this is the total (brought by) Ša[…] rab-kāri(?) […] (PAB 233 GU₄. NĪTA. MEŠ […] maddatu ša KUR x […] PAB an-ni-u ša mŠa-[…] LŪ.GAL-ka-ri x-[…])” (r. 3'-5'). If rab-kāri is indeed attested here, 91 since the term maddattu normally means the tribute of vassals, 92 he appears to have been responsible for the exacting of tribute from lands outside the Assyrian provincial administration. 93 Another letter from the time of Sargon II (SAA 5, no. 295, r. 17ff.) refers to the transportation of the musku trees delivered by a rab-kāri. This also suggests that the rab-kāri was responsible for the delivery of foreign products to the center of Assyria.

When tribute was not paid voluntarily by countries of vassal status, the rab-kāri seems to have taken responsibility for the military operation undertaken in order to exact the tribute. A fragmentary query to Šamaš (SAA 4, no. 94) deals with the question whether Esarhaddon should or should not send his rab-kāri with the army against an enemy, though the purpose of the campaign remains unclear from the preserved portion. Other queries (SAA 4, nos. 66 and 71) deal with a possible military operation that is to be led by the governors
(LÚ.NAM.MEŠ) and magnates (LÚ.GAL.MEŠ), who are in a *bit-kāri* (see below), in order to collect horses as tribute from Media. Perhaps a *rab-kāri* regularly stayed in the *bit-kāri* and often took part in tribute-exacting expeditions of this sort,94 thus being counted among the magnates mentioned here. The term *bit-kāri* is attested in connection with the border with Media in a number of the queries to Šamaš (SAA 4, nos. 65, 66, 68, 70, 71), as well as in a letter from the time of Sargon (SAA 15, no. 60: r. 9). The *bit-kāri* as attested in these documents appears to be an appellative for a group of cities in the province of Harhar (Kār-Šarrukēn) that were conquered by Sargon and renamed in the Kār-X pattern as Kār-Šarrukēn, Kār-Nabū, Kār-Sīn, Kār-Adad, and Kār-Ištar (ISK, Annalen: 100, 114-115; Prunk: 63-66).95 As stated above, this is comparable to the fact that the cities in northern Phoenician coast annexed by Tiglath-pileser III are called *bit-kāri* in his inscription (St. II B: 10'-13') (see above, IV, 2). It is not coincidental that the term *bit-kāri* was applied to these areas in Phoenicia and the Zagros where the *kārus* played a central role in making a profit from the local economy, based mainly on trade.96

To sum up, the *rab-kāri* does not seem to have been a lower official placed directly under the influence of a provincial governor, but rather an independent royal deputy, directly responsible for the revenue of the royal house from the two main sources: (1) taxes imposed on merchandise and merchants passing through the trade center(s) under his control, and (2) tribute exacted from countries of vassal status located outside the Assyrian provincial system. The *rab-kāri*’s role seems to have been especially significant in connection with the exploitation of economic resources from the areas beyond the control of the Assyrian provincial government. Perhaps the *rab-kāris* were stationed mainly on the frontiers of the Assyrian empire, areas open to foreign products and traders.

As in the case of Yahalu, who simultaneously bore the titles of *masennu rabū* and *rab-kāri* (see above), some provincial governors may have taken on the role of *rab-kāri*. Otherwise, the *rab-kāri* occasionally co-operated closely with a provincial governor. For example, Nabu-belu-ka’in, apparently the governor of Kār-Šarrukēn in the time of Sargon, played a central role in the horse trade in the Zagros, while receiving tribute from the vassals of Ellipi and Zakruttu, as shown by his letters (SAA 15, nos. 83 and 84). One may speculate that he also served as *rab-kāri*. Similarly, the afore-mentioned Qurdi-Āššur-lamur, apparently in charge of the trading centers in northern Phoenicia, may have been the provincial governor of Shimirra as well as *rab-kāri*.

A fragmentary list of provinces, SAA 11, no. 2 (=ADD 919), may give a hint about the seats of the *rab-kāri* in the Zagros and Syria. In the first column
the list records the partly-preserved names of eastern provincial capitals: [URU.Ê-ha-ajm-ban [URU.ḥajr-har [x x]x-a [URU.ki-še?]−tsi (i 2-5), followed by [x x x] KAR (i 6). In the next column, the text refers to the cities of Samaria, Damascus, Dor, Megiddo, Manṣuata, and Ṣimira in order (ii 1-6), and then reads [x] x GAL-KAR (ii 7). One may restore both lines i 6 and ii 7 similarly as [URU LÚ.GAL]-KAR/[URU LÚ].GAL-KAR “the city (of the seat) of the chief of trade” or the like, and regard these lines as explaining the preceding city names of Kišessu and Ṣimira as the seat of rab-ḳārī. Alternatively, the same appellatives may refer to all the cities preceding them. In any case, given the evidence now available, it is hard to clarify the distribution of the rab-ḳāris and their administrative roles in the Neo-Assyrian Empire.98

Notes
1 This study was supported by a Grant-in-Aid for Scientific Research from the Ministry of Education, Science, Sports, and Culture (Japan); the research subject is “Study of the Dominion and Territory of the Assyrian Empire.”
3 RGTC 1, 83 (Kar-kiš/ug Kar-siga); RGTC 2, 92-93 (Kar-zida).
6 Geographical names spelled as ka-ra/i/υ-[…] and those always preceded by the ethnic determinative LŪ (e.g. Karma'u) are excluded from Table 1. Excluded also are toponyms which may originally be non-Akkadian, though they were spelled with the sign KAR, interpretable as the logogram for the Akkadian kārū. Many of them are place names in the Zagros (Karalla, Karkarihundir, Karsibutu, Karzibra, Karzinu, Karzitali), except for Kardunišaš (Kassite name of Babylon) and Karme (location unknown). For references to these toponyms, see Parpola 1970, 199-202. For the linguistic affiliation of the Zagros place names, Kassite, Iranian, or unaffiliated, see Zadok 2002, 144-145 (index) and the sections cited there. Kār-Šēši (URU KAR-SAG in ABL 761:6) listed in Parpola 1970, 198 is now to be read Kār-Nergal (URU KAR-MAŠ-MAŠ), as collated in the new edition of SAA 5 (no. 207). It is thus Kār-Nergal 2 in our Table 1.
7 [Kār]-Tukulti-apil-El[šarra] in SAA 11, no. 105, l. 6 is probably to be restored as [Dūr]-Tukulti-apil-El[šarra], as suggested by Pongratz-Leisten 1997, 333, n. 55.
8 Kār-bēl-māṭite 1 (RGTC 5 [MA/MB], 153; cf. also RGTC 8, 195); Kār-Enlil (RGTC 5, 155); Kār-Nabū 2 (RGTC 3 [OB], 133 [Kar-Nabium]; cf. Röllig 1976-1980a; but see Nashef [RGTC 5, 158, contra Röllig] for a different interpretation of the MB sources); Kār-Istar 1 (RGTC 5, 155-156 [Kār-Istar 1]); Kār-Šamaš (RGTC 3, 134 [Kar-Šamaš 1 on Tigris]); cf. Röllig 1976-1980b, 453; RGTC 5, 134); Kār-Tukulti-Ninurta (founded by Tukulti-Ninurta I; RGTC 5, 160f).
9 A detailed description of the construction of the new city is found, for example, in the building accounts of Kār-Aššur, Kār-Aššur-ahu-iddina, Kār-Nergal, Kār-Sarru-kin, and Kār-Šulmānu-ašarēd (for references, see Table 1, nos. 6, 8, 25, 33, and 34). The records include the
renaming of the city, the construction of a royal palace, the settling of deportees, the introduction of Assyrian cult and royal images, the placement of Assyrian governor, and/or the imposition of tax and tribute.

10 This is the Assyrian name of Pitru, which was on the western side of the Euphrates and was reconquered in 856 by Shalmaneser III after its loss to Aramaeans in the period of Aššur-rabi I (RIMA 3, A.0.102.2 [Kurkh], ii 36-38). Cf. Pongratz-Leisten 1997, 332.

11 For the reference, see Parpola 1970, 151 (Harhar), 355 (Til-barsip).

12 So Lanfranchi (2003, 113), concerning Assyrian centers built in the central Zagros.


14 Dūr-Sīn-ahhē-eriba, whose governor assumed the eponym office in the post-canonical period (SAA 14, 10), may also have been a district capital (cf. Forrer 1920, 120). It was probably located in the Assyrian heartland, since it is referred to with Kakzi and Kār-Mullissu in ABL 1009, r. 23-24.

15 For the historical geography of the campaign, see Liverani 1992a, 69-72, 94-95.

16 Liverani 1992a, 70 with the bibliography cited in n. 321.

17 For the identification of Kār-Aššur-nāṣir-apli with Halebiya, see Liverani 1992a, 71 with bibliography. Cf. also his interpretation of the toponym arrangement (Liverani 1992b, 38-39).

18 For the detailed analysis of Shalmaneser III’s western campaigns, see Yamada 2000.

19 For the analysis of the conquest of Til-barsip, see Yamada 1998 and Yamada 2000, esp. 123-129.

20 See my discussion in Yamada 2000, 128-129. As to the seat of the commander in chief, see also Postgate 1995, 6; Mattila 2000, 114-115 with bibliography cited there.

21 The revolt is recorded in the eponym chronicle (Millard 1994, 30-31, and 57) and the annals of Šamši-Adad V (RIMA 3, A.103.1, i 39-53).

22 Kār-Sulmanu-ašārēd is referred to as one of the cities marking the border of the Assyrian state in the annals of Šamši-Adad V (RIMA 3, A.0.103.1, ii 9).

23 He calls Kār-Sulmanu-ašārēd “my lordly city (al bēlūtiya)” in his inscription from Tell Ahmar (RIMA 3, A.0.104.2010, ll. 19f.). For Šamši-itu, see Grayson 1993, 19-52.

24 Kār-Sulmanu-ašārēd is referred to in a list of Assyrian provincial capitals, probably from the time of Ashurbanipal (SAA 1, no. 1 [ADD 919+], r. ii 21’).

25 Page 1968, 139-153 with pls. 38-41; Grayson, RIMA 3, A.0.104.7.

26 The reading largely follows RIMA 3, except for some specifically noted points.


28 For Dūr-katlimmu in the Middle Assyrian period, see for example Kühne 2000, 271-279.

29 For the extension and political organization of the realm of Nergal-ēres or the province of Rašappa, see Liverani 1992b, 35-40; Morandi-Bonacossi 1996, esp. 21-27. Cf. also Kühne 1995, esp. 79-83, for the Assyrian settlement pattern in the middle Euphrates and the lower Habur and its historical implications.

30 Page 1968, 142 and Weippert 1992, 62, respectively.

31 Grayson 1972, 219b; RIMA 3, A.0.104.7 (p. 211).

32 The identification with Jebel Sinjar was suggested by Grayson (RIMA 3, p. 211, footnote). Jebel Sinjar is otherwise spelled KUR Si-in-ga-(a)-ra. For the reference, see Parpola 1970, 310.

33 For the location of our Azalli, see Morandi-Bonacossi 1996, 25, n. 33. She suggested the lower Habur region or the neighboring steppe of the Wadi Ajj as possibilities.

34 For Izalla, see Postgate 1976-1980.

35 Millard 1994, 44. Cf. ITP, St. II B:4’.

36 Millard 1994, 44 (“Kullani = Kinalua, capital of Pattin conquered”); ITP, Ann. 19*:1-20, 13*:1-12, 14*:1-5 (duplicate Anns. 22, 26, 27); Cf. ITP, St. II B:5’-24’.

37 Halab may be originally included in the list of the cities annexed from the realm of Bit-Agusi (Summ. 5, i 25-ii 7), fragments of which have survived. Cf. Hawkins 1972-1975, 53.

38 Elliger 1947, 98; Na’amān 1978, 231.

82 ORIENT
For the identification with Jisr esh-Shugur or its vicinity, see Liverani 1992a, 76-77; Yamada 2000, 73; Cifola 1997/8, 156; Dion 2000. N. Na’aman recently suggested a more northern location (Na’aman 2002). M. C. Astour identifies Kār-Adad with modern Kefr-Hadad, c. 32 km south of Halab (Astour 1963, 229).


Kašpuna is mentioned later in the following line. For the odd context of the reference to Kašpuna here (with the North Syrian list of toponyms), see Tadmor 1994, 138, note on l. 5.

For the formation of the province of Śimirra, see Oded 1974, 42-45; Kessler 1975/6, 59-61. Oded (op. cit.) considers that Kašpuna (just north of Byblos) was added only later in 734, during the next military operation against southern Phoenicia, contrary to the evidence of the Annals. For the location of the cities, see recent studies by Zadok (1996) and Na’aman (2004) with the bibliographies cited there.

For the identification, see Astour 1975, 319-324.

Cf. CAD, K, 238. See Schramm 1999, 171 for this specific context.

Cf. CAD, B, 292f. (bitu 5. place, plot, area, region); AHW, 133a (bitu(m) 5. Grundstück, d. jB (Ass.) selten für aššur); also Tadmor’s “emporium” for bit-šāri (ITP, 105, Steile II B:13’).

This is not unusual grammatically. The expression formed in a construct chain may be in the singular, when it stands in apposition to the preceding plural noun (GAG §134c).

In the light of the examined passage of Steile II B:10'-13’, one might read the fragmentary line of Summ. 4:4’, with Tadmor (ITP, 138, note): [...] URU.MEŠ [bit ka]-ri following the above-cited list of cities, “Gub[la ... Śi]mirra, Arqa, Zimar[ra ...] Usnu, [Siannu, Ma’araba, R][i-ši-su][ri]” (ll. 2'-3’).

The original publication is Saggs 1955, 127-130 and pl. XXX. It has been re-edited as Saggs 2001, 155-158 and pl. 31. For the administrative position of Qurdi-Āššur-lamur, see below, V.

Assyrian aggression against Tyre is attested in ITP, Summ. 9, r. 5-8. For the date of this event, see ITP, 279-282 (Supplementary Study G). Saggs suggests 738-734 (before the Assyrian military action against Tyre) for the date of the letter (Saggs 1955, 150). Later dates are supported by Oded (1974, 48) and Katzenstein (1973, 232f.).

For the position of Tyre as the ruler of the southern Phoenician coast, see Katzenstein 1973, 193-216.

Details of the campaign are known from three inscriptions: ITP, Summ. 4: 8'-15'; Summ. 8: 14'-19'; Summ. 9: r. 13-16. See also the score composed of these texts in ITP, 222-225. The event can be dated according to the eponym chronicle (Millard 1994, 44 and 59).


Gadd 1954, 179 and pl. XLVI. The restoration [ka]-ri KUR Mu-šur kan-gu “the sealed [harbor] of Egypt” was proposed by Tadmor (1958, 34); cf. Eph’al 1984, 101, n. 339. R. Borger suggested an alternative reading, [ki-sur]-re “border” for [ka]-ri (TUAT I/4, 382). However, A. Fucks read the parallel passage in the Annals, l. 17, [ka]-ri māt(kur) Mu-šur] (ISK, 88). This seems to confirm the attestation of kāru in this context.

For Assyrian activities in the area, see ITP, 168, Summ. 7: r. 6’ (Tiglath-pileser III); Fuchs 1998, I, Ass. 4-11 (Sargon II). For Assyrian control of the desert south of Philistia with the assistance of the Arabs, see Eph’al 1984, 93-111; Elat 1998, 47-49.

The ambiguity of the expression is noted by Fuchs (ISK, 314, n. 227).

Borger 1956, Nin. A, ii 65-80; Cf. also Grayson 1975, 83, Chronicle 1, iv 3; ibid., 126, Chronicle 14, l. 12.

Millard 1994, 54 (no title). Bel-Harran-šadu’a is mentioned as the governor of Kār-Āššur-

58 The date is supported by Weidner (1932/3, 33), Parpola (in Parpola-Watanabe 1988, XXIX) and Na’aman (1994, 5). An alternative date is after the suppression of the revolt of Tyre in 671 BC, which is supported by Hirschberg (1932, 69-72), Katzenstein (1973, 267-278) and Pettinato (1975, 159-160).

59 For the analysis of this stipulation, see Elat 1991, 27-29.


62 Alt 1953, 377-378; Na’aman 1994, 6. Alt suggested that Akko was annexed to the province of Megiddo; Na’aman believes that it became the seat of an Assyrian governor, separated from the province of Megiddo.

63 For the analysis of this stipulation, see Elat 1991, 27.

64 For a convenient sketch of the history of Philistia during this period, see Tadmor 1966.


66 Forrer 1920, 60-61. Dor (Du’ri) is included in the city list (SAA 11, 6, no. 2 =ADD 919, ii 3), which Forrer regards as the list of cities under direct Assyrian rule.

67 The date is supported by Weidner (1932/3, 33), Parpola (in Parpola-Watanabe 1988, XXIX) and Na’aman (1994, 5). An alternative date is after the suppression of the revolt of Tyre in 671 BC, which is supported by Hirschberg (1932, 69-72), Katzenstein (1973, 267-278) and Pettinato (1975, 159-160).

68 For the analysis of this stipulation, see Elat 1991, 27-29.


72 Alt 1953, 377-378; Na’aman 1994, 6. Alt suggested that Akko was annexed to the province of Megiddo; Na’aman believes that it became the seat of an Assyrian governor, separated from the province of Megiddo.

73 For the analysis of this stipulation, see Elat 1991, 27.

74 For a convenient sketch of the history of Philistia during this period, see Tadmor 1966.


76 For the conquest of Tyre, see Borger 1956, 86 (AsBb E), 109-110 (Frt. A), 111-112 (Frt. F). For the conquest of Egypt (Nile delta), see Borger 1956, 98-99 (Mnm. A) and 101 (Mnm. C). A detailed analysis of Esarhaddon's second Egyptian campaign (671) was made by A. Spalinger (1994).

77 Later both of them paid tribute to Ashurbanipal (Streck 1916, 139-140, Cylinder C, 1 24, 32 = Borger 1996, 18, C II 38 and 46).

78 Cf. Spalinger 1974, 303-307 for the interpretation of this source.

79 Kär-Bāniti is mentioned in Borger 1996, 20, A I 77, B I 70, C II 70. Kār-bēl-māṭātē appears in Streck 1916, 162 and 164 (Large Egyptian Tablet), obv. 52 and 61; cf. also Borger 1996, 185; the text clearly identifies Kār-bēl-māṭātē with Sais.

80 For references, see CAD, K, 239a; AHw 451b. References to the rab-kārī are found in administrative documents from the Middle Assyrian period: (1) Donbaz 1976, 30-31, and pl. 14, A. 2613, l. 4 (LU.GAL-ka-a-ri); cf. Jacob 2003, 175. (2) Freydank 1976, no. 68, VAT 9405, l. 8 (GAL kar-ra-te ...); cf. Lewy 1956, 41 and Ebeling 1933, 50.

81 The reading rab-kārānī here is based on the analogy with bit-kārānī (pl. of bit-kārit) for
which a phonetic spelling "E³-kar-ra-ni.MEŠ is attested in Sagg's 2001, 156, ND 2715, obv. 15. Cf. also LÜ.GAL.MEŠ "ka-ra-a-nu (YOS 3 156:9), as quoted in CAD, K, 239b.

Lewy 1956, 39-51, esp. 42.

Millard 1994, 53 and 62. His title is preserved in the date of an astronomical report (SAA 8, no. 8, s. 1); and fragmentarily in two royal grant documents (SAA 12, no. 25, r. 39 and ibid., no. 26, r. 36).


SAA 12, no. 25, r. 3; no. 26, r. 3; no. 32, r. 1; no. 35, r. 23; no. 36, r. 29; no. 39, r. 7; no. 40, r. 3. Cf. also Esarhaddon's inscription commemorating the rebuilding of the Aššur temple, which refers to the exemption from taxes on corn and straw (nusāhe šibšē), as well as those on quays and crossing of the land (mikšē kāri nēbīri ša mātiya) (Borger 1956, 3, Ass. A, iii 8-11).

Cf. CAD, M/1, 130; Postgate 1974a, 131-133. For the makisu in the Middle Assyrian period, see Jakob 2003, 172; he commented on two Middle Assyrian documents (KAJ 301 and TR [Tell er-Rimah] 3019), which deal with the taxes on textiles and lead.

Cf. a similar etymological consideration by Jakob 2003, 175, n. 33.

Stephens 1937, pls. 27 and 45, no. 73 (YBC 7058, copy); Millard 1994, frontispiece (photo) and p. 8 (edition), with bibliography.

For the province of masenna, see Mattila 2000, 18-19.

Cf. above, Table 1, nos. 2, 17, 21, and 28. Later, Sennacherib took the city of Elenazaš, renamed it Kâr-Sin-ahhe-eriba, and added it to the province of Harhar (Luckenbill 1924, 29:ii 29, 59:32, 63:16 [Table 1, no. 29]). For discussions about the meaning of the bit-kârî in the Zagros, see Fuchs in SAA 15, XXVI; Radner 2003, 51; Lanfranchi 2003, 83, n. 18; cf. SAA 13, 202, Index (Bit-kâri “Trading Colony,” Assyrian province in Media); Parpola 1983, 313f., note on No. 304:9. The reading LÜ.MAH.MEŠ KUR1.É-[ka]-ar-ra-a-a! “the emissary of Bit-[k]ari” of SAA 10, no. 87: 8-9 is uncertain.

For the relations between Assyria and the local lords of the Zagros, see Radner 2003 and Lanfranchi 2003; cf. also Fuchs in Fuchs-Parpola 2001, XXVIII-XXIX.

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SAA 11 restores i 6 as the city of “[Bit]-kâri.”

The following documents referring to bit-kâri and/or rab-kâri have not been discussed in the main body of this study: (1) SAA 13, no. 102, one of the letters of Nabû-šumu-iddina, the priest of the Nabu temple responsible for horse imports. This letter mentions “[the ... horses] from the magnates of bit-kâri [(ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ] ša LÜ.GAL.MEŠ ša E-ka-a-r[i]] (r. 1-2) and “those (horses or magnates?) of Ebir-nārî (ša KUR.e-bir-ID)” (r. 6). It is unclear here whether the bit-kâri in r. 2 refers to the place described thus in the Zagros, or more generally signifies the trade centers within the empire. (2) An account of sheep, SAA 11, no. 80 (= ADD 952+), obv. 5. It refers to “the total 50 (sheep) of the rab-kâri (PA'B 50 [LÜ.GAL-KAR]), with the sheep delivered from provinces (Arpad, Damascus, Isana, etc.) and the temple of Aššur. The identity of this rab-kâri remains obscure. CAD, K (239a) interprets the pertinent line differently as a notation for the preceding lines, stating “the list of the officials in charge of custom stations in 50 cities.” This implies that there were 50 positions of rab-kâri in the empire, but this reading seems unlikely in view of the format of the entire document. (3) A list of officials staying for a certain event, SAA 7, no. 9 = ADD 860, r. 128, refers to Šulmu-beli, “the deputy of the rab-kâri of the queen mother (LÜ.2-ù LÜ.GAL.KAR ša AMA-MAN). (4) The alleged reference to the rab-kâri of the king (LÜ.GAL-KAR-MAN)” mentioned in a row of toponyms and a personal name (following Rašappa, Barhalzī, Diquqina, Dayyan-Adad, Isana, Tille, Kullania, and
Arpadda) in the letter K 122 (ABL 43), obv. 18 (Lewy 1956, 42) should be dismissed. It is probably to be read *rab-karmān* "chief of granary(?)" as interpreted in newer editions and dictionaries (Parpola 1983, 318, no. 309: 18; CAD, K, 200b, sub. *karammu*; AHw, 449b, sub. *karmu(m)* II).

**ABBREVIATIONS**

ISK = Fuchs 1994  
ITP = Tadmor 1994  
RGTC = Répertoire Géographique des Textes Cunéiformes (Beihsteift zum Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients. Reihe B, Nr. 7); see Edzard-Farber-Sollberger 1977 (RGTC 1); Edzard-Farber 1974 (RGTC 2); Groneberg 1980 (RGTC 3); Nashef 1982 (RGTC 5); Zadok 1985 (RGTC 8);  
RIMA = Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia, Assyrian Periods; see Grayson 1991 (RIMA 2); Grayson 1996 (RIMA 3)  
SAA = State Archives of Assyria: see Parpola 1987 (SAA 1); Parpola-Watanabe 1988 (SAA 2); Starr 1990 (SAA 4); Lanfranchi-Parpola 1990 (SAA 5); Kwasman-Parpola 1991 (SAA 6); Fales-Postgate 1992 (SAA 7); Hunger 1992 (SAA 8); Parpola 1993 (SAA 10); Fales-Postgate 1995 (SAA 11); Kataja-Whiting 1995 (SAA 12); Cole-Machinist 1998 (SAA 13); Mattila 2002 (SAA 14); Fuchs-Parpola 2001 (SAA 15); Luukko-Van Buylaere 2002 (SAA 16); Reynolds 2003 (SAA 18)  
[Other abbreviations used in this article generally follow E. Reiner et al. (eds.), The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago (= CAD), 14: R, Chicago, 1999, ix-xxvii]

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