

Nel 672 la designazione dei figli come eredi al trono di Assiria (Assurbanipal) e di Babilonia (Shamsh-shumu-ukin) viene ufficializzata e istituzionalizzata con un patto giurato (*adê*) che impegna al rispetto i membri della famiglia reale e della corte, il popolo assiro e i vassalli.



FIGURE 72. Drawing of the Stela of Esarhaddon from Zincirli. Berlin, Vorderasiatisches Museum, VA 2708. Photo: Felix von Luschan, *Ausgrabungen in Sendschirli I: Einleitung und Mitschriften, Mitteilungen aus den orientalischen Sammlungen* 11 (Berlin: W. Spemann, 1893): Abb. 3.

185. The Promotion of Assurbanipal

K 1119 (ABL 595) + K 1915 + 82-5-22,107 CT 53 31

(ABL 870)

- 1 *[a-na LUGAL be-lí-ia]*
- 2 *[AR]AD-ka [^mdIM—MU—PAB]*
- 3 *lu DI-mu a-[na LUGAL E]N-ia*
- 4 *^dAG ^dAMAR.UTU a-na MAN EN-ia*
- 5 *lik-ru-bu ša ina AN-e la e-piš-u-ni*
- 6 *LUGAL be-lí ina kaq-qì-ri e-tap-áš*
- 7 *uk-ta-li-im-a-na-ši DUMU-ka*
- 8 *TÚG.pì-tu-tu tar-ta-kas LUGAL-ú-tú*
- 9 *ša KUR—aš-šur ina pa-ni-šú tu-us-sa-ad-*
 gi-il
- 10 *DUMU.UŠ-ka GAL-ú a-na LUGAL-ú-te*
- 11 *ina KÁ.DINGIR.RA.KI ta-as-sa-kan*
- 12 *1 ina ZAG-ka 2-ú ina šu-me-li-ka*

¹ [To the king, my lord]: your serv[ant
Adad-šumu-ušur]. Good health t[o the king],
my lord! May Nabû and Marduk bless the
king, my lord!

⁵ What has not been done in heaven, the
king, my lord, has done upon earth and shown
us: you have girded a son of yours with head-
band and entrusted to him the kingship of
Assyria; your eldest son you have set to the
kingship in Babylon. You have placed the
first on your right, the second on your left
side!

13 *tu-sa-ze-²i-iz a-ni-nu* [n]i-ta-am-ra
 14 *a-na* LUGAL EN-i-ni ni-ik-[t]ar-ba
 15 *lib-bi-in-ni ib-ta-a*[l-*ta*]
 16 *né-ma-al-šú-nu aš-šur* ^ošá-maš ^oP[A ^oAMAR.
 UTU]
 17 DINGIR.MEŠ ša AN-e KI.TIM a-n[a MAN EN-
 ia]
 18 *lu-kal-li-mu* 10-a-a d[a-ma-qu]
 19 *aš-šur* ^oIM ^ošá-maš a-na MAN [EN-ia]
 20 *a-na* DUMU.MEŠ-šú li-ši-m[u]
 21 TA* AN-e u kaq-qí-ri MU-ka
 22 *aš-šur lu-ke-²i-in ki-i*
 23 *ša a-na* DUMU.MEŠ-ka an-nu-ú^{III}-te
 24 KASKAL.2 SIG₅ ina GÌR.2.MEŠ-šú-nu taš-
 kun-u-ni
 25 *ki-i an-ni-im-ma ša* DUMU.MEŠ-ka
 26 *ma-a²-du-te* KASKAL.2 SIG₅ ina GÌR.2.MEŠ-
 šú-nu
 e.27 *šu-kun*
 28 *a-na ši-il-li*
 29 *ù šu-lu-li*
 r.1 *qar-ri-ib ki-i* ŠE.NUMUN šam-me
 2 KUR.KUR li-bé-e-lu ina UGU KUR—*aš-šur*
 3 *lu DUG.GA-a-ku-nu* KUR—*aš-šur*

13 (When) we saw (this), we blessed the king, our lord, and our hearts were delighted. May Aššur, Šamaš, Na[bû, Marduk], and the great gods of heaven and earth let [the king my lord, see] them (= the princes) prosper! May Aššur, Adad and Šamaš, ten (times) each, determine a go[od fortune] for the king, [my lord], and for his sons! May Aššur make your name endure with heaven and earth!

22 Just as you have prepared a fine career for these sons of yours, prepare likewise a fine career for (the rest) of your numerous sons! Bring them into (your protective) shadow and shelter! May they like grass seed rule over all countries! May you be good to Assyria — may Assyria be good to you!

4 *ina* UGU-hi-ku-nu lu *ta-ba-at*
 5 [ina] ti-ma-li ina šal-ši UD-m[e LÚ.MAH.
 MEŠ]
 6 NIM.KI-a-a ki-i [x x x x x]
 7 *ina pu-ut* KUR—*aš-šur* [x x x ú-ma-a]
 8 *i-ba-áš-ši r*[a-ma-an-šú-nu]
 9 *ú-na-ru-²[u x x x x x x]*

r.5 (Only) yesterday and the day before yesterday, the Elamite [emissaries behaved] like [...] towards Assyria; [but now] they certainly tremble. [...], they have become worried; they have taken [the road back to

10 TA* ŠÀ-šú-nu i-d[u-bu-bu x x x x]
 11 i-ša-ab-tú ma-l[ak⁷ x x x x x x]
 12 ra-ma-an-šú-nu [x x x x x]
 13 DUMU.MEŠ KUR—aš-šur¹e¹-[tam-ru ŠÀ-ba-
 šú-nu]
 14 ip-ta-áš-h[u ma-a LU]GAL EN-¹i¹-[ni]
 15 ina LUGAL.ME[Š]-¹ni DUMU.MEŠ-ka¹ [a-ab-tú
 16 a-na KUR—aš-šur e-pu-uš ú-ma-a
 17 LUGAL be-lí TA* na-pa-ah⁴UTU-ši
 18 a-di ra-ba-a⁴UTU-ši aš-šur it-ta-na-ka
 19 DUMU.MEŠ-ka an-nu-te SIG₅.MEŠ du-gul
 20 ŠÀ-ba-ka lu ha-ad-di da-ba-bu
 21 la [S]IG₅ LUGAL be-lí TA* UGU ŠÀ-bi-šú
 22 [lu-š]e-li ina ŠÀ-bi te-ni-iš

23 [tu-up]-ta-tar-šá-am hu-ud-d[u]
 24 [x x x r]u qur-šu DUMU.MEŠ-k[a]
 25 [x x x x] ¹ni¹ ŠÀ-ba-šú-nu bal-l[i-iš]
 26 [x x x x x DINGIR u] a-me-lu-te
 27 [x x x x x x x x x x x x]
 edge broken away
 1 LÚ*.par-šu-mu ša LUGAL EN-ia a-na-ku a-
 na MAN EN-ia ta[k-ku-la-ku]
 2 Di-mu ša LUGAL EN-ia la-áš-me ŠÀ-bi lib-
 l[a-ša]

their country] and [...d] themselves a
 dist[ance of ...]. (But) the Assyrians s[eeing
 (this to happen)], have let out a sigh of relief
 [and said]: "O ki]ng, our lord, with the kings,
 your sons, do a favour for Assyria!"

16 Now, O king, my lord, the god Aššur has
 given you (the world) from the rising of the
 sun to the setting of the sun. Look upon these
 fine sons of yours and your heart will rejoice.
 The king, my lord, should banish unpleasant
 thoughts from his mind; such thoughts (only)
 make you weak.

23 [(While) you] will grow old, jo[y
 Arrange] the wedding night of your sons,
 make their hearts delighted!

26 [... god and] man [.....].

s.1 I am (but) an old man of the king, my
 lord; I put my trust in the king, my lord. May
 I hear about the health of the king, my lord,
 may my heart be deli[ghted]!

La successione dinastica

I cosiddetti Vassal Treaties of Esarhaddon, sono in realtà un patto giurato alla dinastia. Sono stati rinvenuti a Nimrud (giuramento dei Medi) e, recentemente a Tell Taiynat, nella regione di Antiochia.

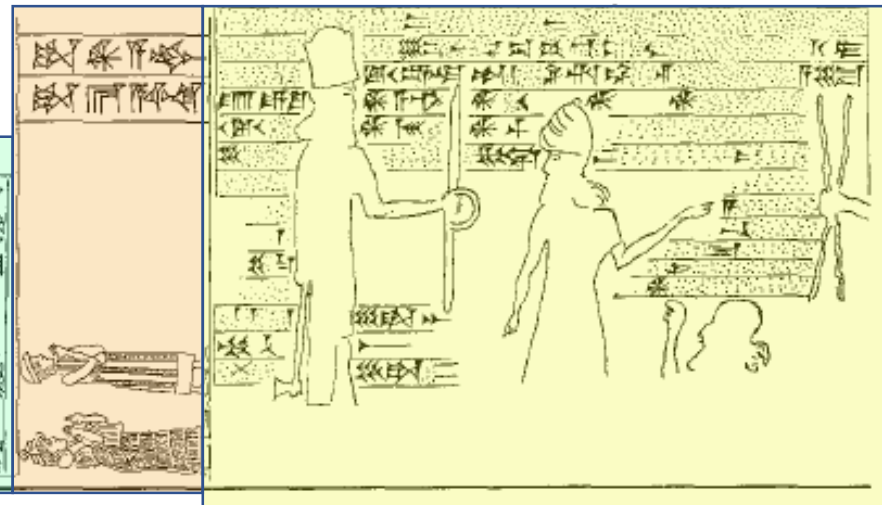
ND 4336 and duplicates

- i NA₄.KIŠIB ^da-šur₄ LUGAL DINGIR.MEŠ
- ii EN KUR.KUR *ša la šu-un-né-e*
- iii NA₄.KIŠIB NUN-*e* GAL-*e* AD DINGIR.MEŠ
- iv *ša la pa-qa-a-ri*

Seal of the god Aššur, king of the gods,
lord of the lands - not to be altered;
seal of
the great ruler, father of the gods - not to be
disputed.



sigillo neo-assiro



sigillo
paleo-
assiro

sigillo medio-assiro

6. Esarhaddon's Succession Treaty

ND 4336 and duplicates

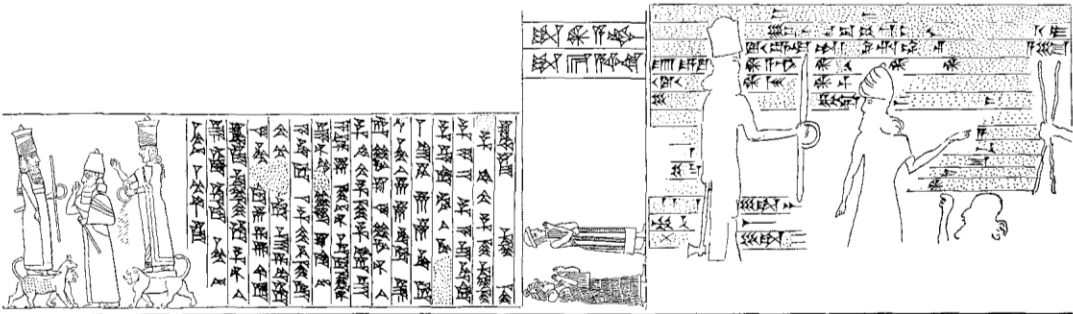
- i

NA₄.KIŠIB ^da-šur₄ LUGAL DINGIR.MEŠ
- ii

EN KUR.KUR ša la šu-un-né-e
- iii

NA₄.KIŠIB NUN-e GAL-e AD DINGIR.MEŠ
- iv

ša la pa-qa-a-ri
- Seal of the god Aššur, king of the gods,
lord of the lands - not to be altered; seal of
the great ruler, father of the gods - not to be
disputed.



- 1

a-de-e ša ^maš-šur—PAB—AŠ (MAN ŠÚ)
MAN KUR—^{aš}-šur. (KI)
- 2

DUMU ^{md}30—PAB.MEŠ—SU (MAN ŠÚ) MAN
KUR—^{aš}-šur-(ma)
- 3

TA* ^mhum-ba-re-eš LÚ.EN—URU URU.na-
ah-ši-mar-ti
- 4

(TA*) DUMU.MEŠ-šú DUMU—DUMU.MEŠ-
šú TA* URU.na-ah-ši-mar-ta-a-a
- 5

LÚ.ERIM.MEŠ ŠU.2-šú gab-bu TUR (u) GAL
ma-la ba-šu-u
- 6

TA* na-pa-ah ^dUTU-ši a-di ra-ba ^dšam-ši
- 7

am—mar ^maš-šur—PAB—AŠ MAN KUR—
aš-šur LUGAL-tu be-lu-tu
- 8

ina UGU-hi-šú-nu up-pa-áš-u-ni
- 9

is-si-ku-nu (TA*) DUMU.MEŠ-ku-nu DUMU—
DUMU.MEŠ-ku-nu
- 10

ša EGIR a-de-e a-na UD-me ša-a-ti ib-ba-
áš-šú-u-ni

§ 1 Preamble

¹ The treaty of Esarhaddon, (king of the world), king of Assyria, son of Sennacherib, (likewise king of the world), king of Assyria, with Humbareš, city-ruler of Nahšimarti (etc.), his sons, his grandsons, with all the Nahšimartians (etc.), the men in his hands young and old, as many as there are from sunrise to sunset, all those over whom Esarhaddon, king of Assyria, exercises kingship and lordship, (with) you, your sons and your grandsons who will be born in days to come after this treaty,

Parte del testo dall'edizione di SAA 2

il testo è stato rinvenuto in centinaia di frammenti che corrispondono a diverse tavolette ciascuna con il giuramento di diversi bel ali dell'area zagrica.

Manuscript	H:	Humbareš	of Nahšimarti
	G:	Bur-Dadi	of Karzitali
	T:	Hatarna	of Sikris
	a:	Larkutla	of Mazamua
	A:	Ramataja	of Urakazabanu
	F:	Tunî	of Ellipi
	d:	NN	of Izaja
	I:	(destroyed)	

⁶ Previous editions: D.J. Wiseman, VTE (1958), K. Watanabe, BaM Bh 3 (1987); → E. Reiner, ANET³ (1969), p. 534ff; R. Borger, TUAT 1/2 (1983), p. 160ff.
¹ ^da-šur₄ AFHTa: ^daš-šur G. ⁱⁱⁱ NUN-e AFH: LÚ.NUN[ⁱe I. ¹ —PAB—AŠ AGFHTd: —šEŠ—SUM-na a; MAN ŠÚ AFHTa: caret Gd; KUR—^{aš}-šur. KI Fd: .KI omitted in AGHTa. For the rendering "treaty of" (not: "treaty which") see Introduction. ² MAN ŠÚ AFHa: caret GTd; KUR—^{aš}-šur-ma AF: KUR—^{aš}-šur GHa, KUR—^{aš}-šur. KI Td. ³ Thus H, var. ^mra-ma-ta-a-a EN—URU ^ura-ka-za-ba-nu A, ^mbur—da-di LÚ.EN—URU kar-zi-ta-li G, ^mtu-ni-i EN—URU KUR.el-pa-a-a F, ^mha-tar-na EN—URU URU.sik-ri-si T, ^mla-ar-ku-ut-la LÚ.EN—URU KUR—za-mu-u-a a, [PN] EN—URU URU.i-za-a-a d. ⁴ TA* AGa: caret FHT; DUMU—DUMU.MEŠ- AFGHTd: šEŠ.MEŠ-šú qin-ni-šú NUMUN É—AD-šú a; URU.na-ah-ši-mar-ta-a-a H: URU.^ura-ka¹-za-ba-nu-a-a A, URU.kar-zi-ta-li-a-a G, KUR.el-pa-a-a F, URU.sik-ri-sa-a-a T. ⁵ LÚ.ERIM.MEŠ ŠU.2-šú GFHTad: caret A; TUR u GAL F: TUR GAL AGHTa; ma-la GFH: mal AT; ba-šu-u F: -ú G, ba-šú-u AH, -ú T. ⁶ na-pa-ah GFHTa: na-pah A; ^dUTU-ši AFHTa: ^dšam-ši G; ra-ba FT: ra-bé-e H, e-reb AG; ^dšam-ši GF: ^dUTU-ši ATH. ⁷ LUGAL-tu AGF: -tú T, -u-tu H; be-lu-tu A: EN-tu GF, -tú T, -u-tu H. ⁸ UGU-hi-šú-nu GFHTa: UGU-šú-nu A; up-pa-áš-u-ni GF: up-pa-áš-ú-ni T; up-pa-šú-u-ni H: ^uba-šu-u-ni A. ⁹ TA* T: caret AFGHa. Lines 9f follow line 5 in A. ¹⁰ ša AFGHa: šá T; a-na FHTa: ina AG; ib-ba-áš-šú-u-ni FH: i[b-ba]-šú-u-ni G, ib-ba-šú-u-[ni] T, ib-ba-šú-u-ni A.

da Iscrizione di Esarhaddon:

”Fear of the nimbus of Aššur my lord overcame Uppis, city-ruler of Partakka, Zanasana, city-ruler of Partukka, and Ramateia, city-ruler of Urakazabarna, distant Medes who under my royal forefathers had not crossed the border of Assyria nor trodden her ground, and they brought big stallions and blocks of genuine lapis lazuli to Nineveh, my capital, and kissed my feet. They implored my lordship on account of city-rulers who had attacked them and asked for my help (*kitru*). I sent with them eunuchs of mine, governors of the districts next to their countries; they defeated the people living in those cities and made them bow at their feet. I imposed upon them tax and tribute to my lordship.

”(From) Patušarri, a region on the border of the Salt Desert in the land of the distant Medes, near Mt. Bikni (= Mt. Demavend near Teheran), the lapis-lazuli mountain, the ground of whose land none of my royal ancestors had trodden, I took as spoils of war to Assyria Šidirparna and Eparna, two mighty city-rulers who had not submitted to yoke, along with their people, riding horses, oxen, sheep, camels, and a heavy tribute.” (Borger Esarh. p. 54 iv 32ff.)

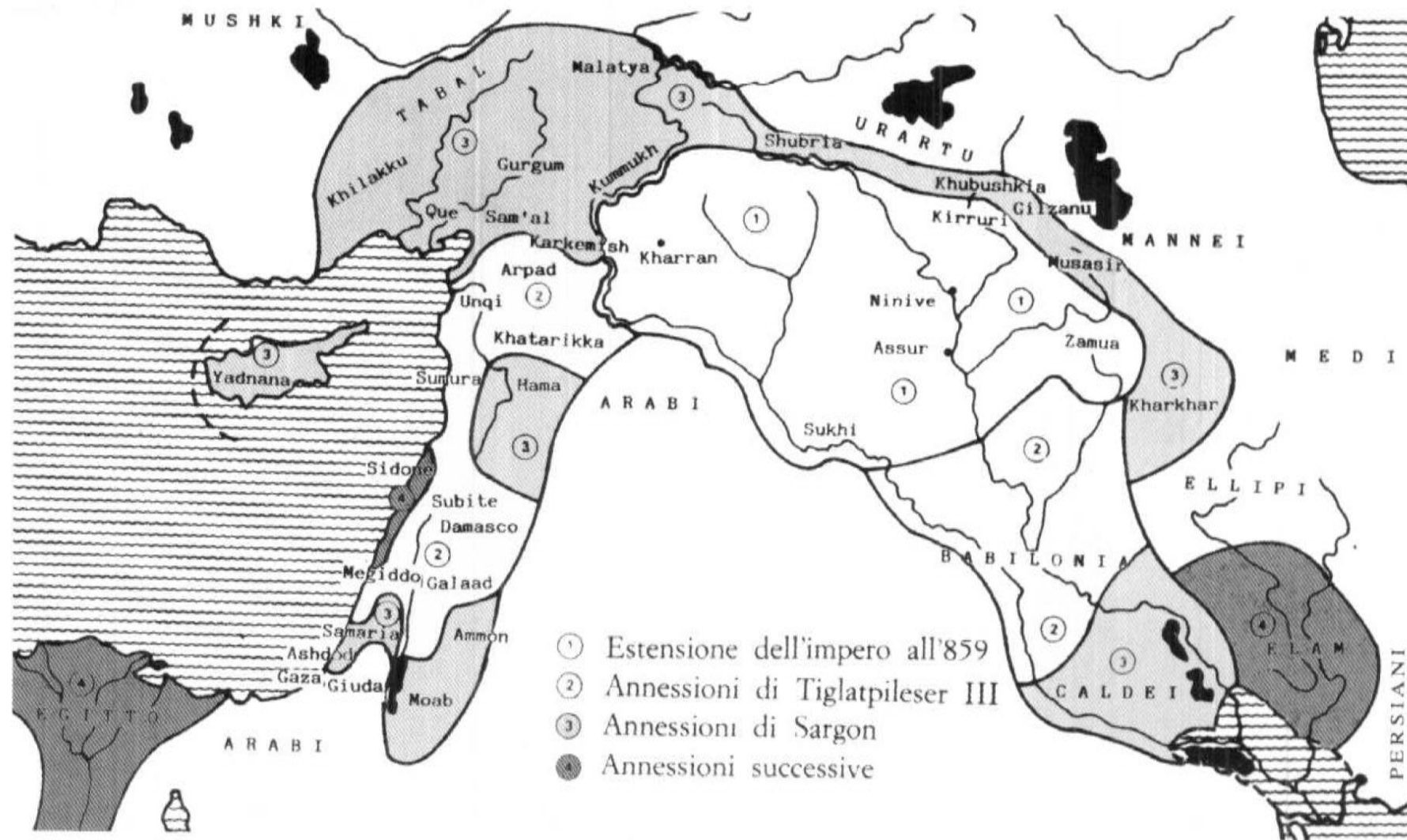
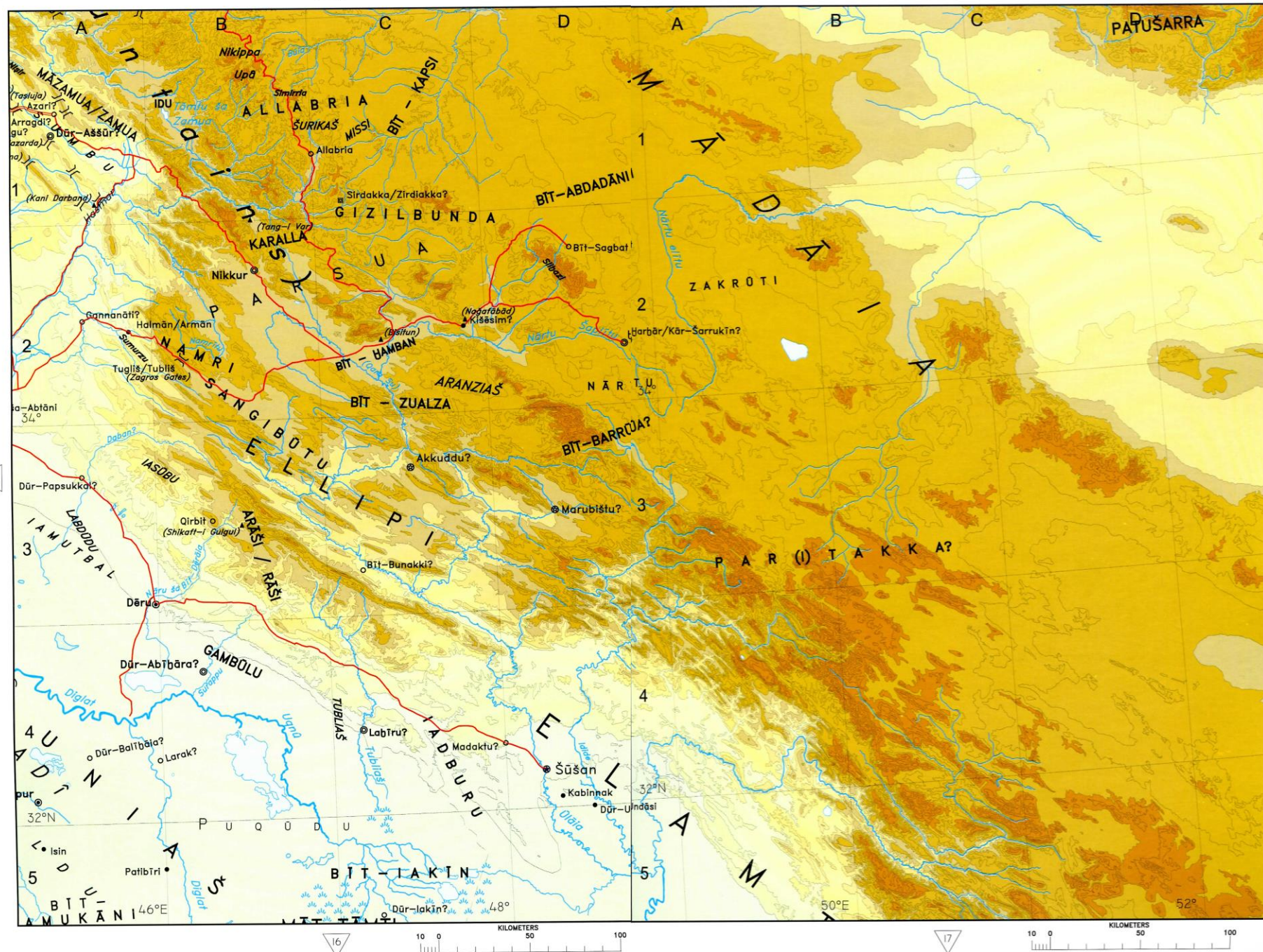


Fig. 26. L'espansione territoriale dell'impero assiro tra IX e VII secolo a.C. (da Liverani 1988).



11 (*ša ina* UGU ^m*aš-šur*—DÙ—A DUMU—MAN
GAL *ša é*—UŠ—*ti* DUMU ^m*aš-šur*—PAB—AŠ
12 MAN KUR—*aš-šur ša ina* UGU—*hi-šú a-de-e*
is-si-ku-nu iš-ku-nu-ni)

13 *ina* IGI MUL.SAG.ME.GAR MUL.*dil-bat*
14 MUL.UDU.IDIM.SAG.UŠ MUL.UDU.IDIM.
GUD.UD
15 MUL.*šal-bat-a-nu* MUL.GAG.SI.SÁ
16 *ina* IGI ^a*aš-šur a-num* ^{EN.L[IL]} ^É.A
17 ^a*ša-maš* ^{IM} ^{AMAR.UTU}
18 ^{PA} ^{PA.TÚG} ^{IB} ^{U.GUR}
19 ^{NIN.LÍL} ^{še-ru-u-a} ^{be-lit}—DINGIR.MEŠ
20 ^a*ša* URU.NINA.KI ^a*ša* URU.*arba-il*
21 DINGIR.MEŠ *a-ši-bu-ti* AN—e KI.TIM
22 DINGIR.MEŠ KUR—*aš-šur* DINGIR.MEŠ
KUR—*šu-me-ri u* [UR]I.[K]I
23 DINGIR.MEŠ KUR.KUR DÙ—*šú-nu ú-dan-*
nin-[u-ni]
24 *iš-ba-tu iš-ku-nu-n[i]*

¹¹ (concerning Assurbanipal, the great
crown prince designate, son of Esarhaddon,
king of Assyria, on behalf of whom he has
concluded this treaty with you,)

§ 2 Divine Witnesses

¹³ (which he) confirmed, made and
concluded in the presence of Jupiter, Venus,
Saturn, Mercury, Mars and Sirius;

¹⁶ in the presence of Aššur, Anu, Ill[il], Ea,
Sin, Šamaš, Adad, Marduk, Nabû, Nusku,
Uraš, Nergal, Mullissu, Šerua, Belet-ili, Ištar
of Nineveh, Ištar of Arbela, the gods dwelling
in heaven and earth, the gods of Assyria, the
gods of Sumer and [Akka]d, all the gods of
the lands.

^{11f} These lines in A only. ¹² The referent of *ša* is Assurbanipal, not Esarhaddon (thus BaM Bh 3). ¹³
MUL.SAG.ME.GAR MUL.*dil-bat* GK: ^aSAG.ME.GAR ^a*dil-bat* A, MUL.SAG.ME.GAR ^a*d[il-bat]* frg. ¹⁶ ^a*aš-šur* GK frg: ^a*aš-šur*
A; ^{EN.L[IL]} G: ^{BE} A. ¹⁷ ^a*ša-maš* G: ^{UTU} AKU. ¹⁸ ^{PA} AU: ^{AG} G frg. ¹⁹ ^{be-lit}—DINGIR.MEŠ G: DINGIR.MAH
AU; G: ^{še-ru-u-a} not ^{-ša} (coll. from photo). ²⁰ URU.NINA.KI AG: U frg omit .KI. ²¹ Thus all MSS (G: AN—^e
KI.TIM, coll. from photo); cancel the alleged var. AN ^ú KI.TIM. ²² KUR—*aš-šur* G frg: U omits .[K]I; KUR—*šu-me-ri u*:
KUR.EME.KU A frg. ²³ *ú-dan-nin-[u-ni]* A: *ú-dan-ni-[nu-ni]* frg. ²⁴ *iš-ba-tu iš-ku-nu-n[i]* A: *iš-ši-bat-tu iš-ku-nu-[ni]*
ND 4345A (see coll.; correct BaM Bh 3). The Babylonian subjunctive form *iš-ba-tu* (corresponding to NA *iškunāni*)

25 ^a*aš-šur* AD DINGIR.MEŠ EN KUR.KUR *ti-*
t[am-ma-a]
26 ^a*a-num* ^{EN.LÍL} ^É.A MIN
27 ^a*ša-maš* ^{IM} ^{AMAR.UTU} MIN
28 ^{AG} ^{PA.TÚG} ^{IB} ^{U.GUR} MIN
29 ^{NIN.LÍL} ^{še-ru-u-a} ^{be-lit}—DINGIR.M[ÉŠ]
MIN
30 ^a*ša* URU.NINA.KI ^a*ša* URU.*arba-il*
MIN
31 DINGIR.MEŠ DÙ—*šú-nu ša* URU.*ša*—URU
MIN
32 DINGIR.MEŠ DÙ—*šú-nu ša* URU.NINA.KI
MIN
33 DINGIR.MEŠ DÙ—*šú-nu ša* URU.*kal-ha* MIN
34 DINGIR.MEŠ DÙ—*šú-nu ša* URU.*arba-il* MIN
35 DINGIR.MEŠ DÙ—*šú-nu ša* URU.*kál-zi* MIN
36 DINGIR.MEŠ DÙ—*šú-nu ša* URU.KASKAL
MIN
37 DINGIR.MEŠ KÁ.DINGIR.RA.KI BÁR.SIPÁ.
KI EN.LÍL.KI (DÙ—*šú-nu*) MIN
38 DINGIR.MEŠ KUR—*aš-šur* (DÙ—*šú-nu* MIN)
39 DINGIR.MEŠ KUR—*šu-me-ri u* URI.KI DÙ—
šú-nu MIN
40 DINGIR.MEŠ KUR.KUR DÙ—*šú-nu* MIN
40A DINGIR.MEŠ *ša* AN—e u KI.TIM DÙ—*šú-nu*
MIN
40B [DINGIR].MEŠ KUR—*šu*¹ *na-gi-šu* DÙ—*šú-nu*
MIN

41 *a-de-e ša* ^m*aš-šur*—PAB—AŠ MAN KUR—
aš-šur ina IGI DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ
42 *ša* AN—e u KI.TIM *is-si-ku-nu iš-ku-nu-u-ni*
43 *ina* UGU ^m*aš-šur*—DÙ—A DUMU—MAN
GAL *ša é*—UŠ—*ti*
44 DUMU ^m*aš-šur*—PAB—AŠ MAN KUR—*aš-*
šur EN-ku-nu ša a-na DUMU—MAN—*u-te*
45 *ša é*—UŠ—*ti MU-šú iz-kur-u-ni ip-qí-du-šú-*
u-ni
46 *ki-ma* ^m*aš-šur*—PAB—AŠ MAN KUR—*aš-*
šur a-na šim-ti it-ta-lak
47 ^m*aš-šur*—DÙ—A DUMU—MAN GAL *ša é*—
UŠ—*ti ina* GIŠ.GU.ZA—e
48 LUGAL—*ti tu-še-šab-ba* LUGAL—*u-tú EN-u-*
tú
49 (*ša* KUR—*aš-šur*) *ina* UGU—*hi-ku-nu up-*
pa-áš ina A.ŠA *ina bir-ti* URU
50 *la ta-na-šar-šú-u-ni ina* UGU—*hi-šú la ta-*
ma-qut-a-ni

§ 3 Adjuration

²⁵ Sw[ear ea]ch individually by Aššur,
father of the gods, lord of the lands!
²⁶ Ditto by Anu, Illil and Ea!
²⁷ Ditto by Sin, Šamaš, Adad and Marduk!
²⁸ Ditto by Nabû, Nusku, Uraš and Nergal!
²⁹ Ditto by Mullissu, Šerua and Belet-ili!
³⁰ Ditto by Ištar of Nineveh and Ištar of
Arbela!
³¹ Ditto by all the gods of the Inner City!
³² Ditto by all the gods of Nineveh!
³³ Ditto by all the gods of Calah!
³⁴ Ditto by all the gods of Arbela!
³⁵ Ditto by all the gods of Kilizi!
³⁶ Ditto by all the gods of Harran!
³⁷ Ditto by all the gods of Babylon,
Borsippa and Nippur!
³⁸ Ditto by all the gods of Assyria!
³⁹ Ditto by all the gods of Sumer and
Akkad!
⁴⁰ Ditto by all the gods of the lands; ditto
by all the gods of heaven and earth! Ditto by
all the gods of one's land and one's district!

§ 4 Assurbanipal Designated Heir to Throne

⁴¹ (This is) the treaty which Esarhaddon,
king of Assyria, has concluded with you, in
the presence of the great gods of heaven and
earth, on behalf of Assurbanipal, the great
crown prince designate, son of Esarhaddon,
king of Assyria, your lord, whom he has
named and appointed to the crown-
princeship:

⁴⁶ When Esarhaddon, king of Assyria,
passes away, you will seat Assurbanipal, the
great crown prince designate, upon the royal
throne, and he will exercise the kingship and
lordship of Assyria over you. You shall
protect him in country and in town, fall and

... be explained as a stylistic device meant to reinforce the meaning of the sentence (cf., e.g., NB *la banitu* beside NA

- 51 *la ta-mut-ta-a-ni ina ket-ti šá šà-bi-ku-nu*
 52 *is-si-šú la ta-da-bu-ba-a-ni mil-ku SIG₅*
 53 *šá gam-mur-ti šà-bi-ku-nu la ta-mal-lik-*
a-šú-u-ni
 54 KASKAL SIG₅ ina GÌR.2.(MEŠ)-šú la ta-šá-
kan-a-ni
 55 *šum-ma at-tu-nu tu-nak-kar-a-šu-ni TA**
šá šeš.MEŠ-šú
 56 GAL.MEŠ TUR.MEŠ ina ku-mu-šú ina GIŠ.
 GU.ZA KUR—*aš-šur.KI*
 57 *tu-še-šab-a-ni šum-ma a-bu-tú šá ^maš-šur—*
PAB—AŠ MAN KUR—^maš-šur.KI
 58 *te-na-a-ni tu-šá-an-na-a-ni šum-ma ^maš-*
šur—DÛ—A DUMU—MAN GAL-u
 59 *šá É—UŠ-ti šá ^maš-šur—PAB—AŠ MAN KUR—*
aš-šur.KI EN-ku-nu
 60 *([ú]-kal-lim-ka-nu-ni) ha-an-nu-um-ma*
la ta-da-gal-a-ni
 61 LUGAL-u-tú EN-u-tú šá KUR—*aš-šur ina*
UGU-hi-ku-nu la ú-[pa]-^{aš}-u-ni
-
- 62 *šum-ma at-tu-nu a-na ^maš-šur—DÛ—A*
DUMU—MAN GAL šá É—UŠ-ti
 63 *šá ^maš-šur—PAB—AŠ MAN KUR—^{aš}-šur.KI*
ú-kal-lim-u-ka-nu-ni
 64 *iq-ba-ka-nu-ni a-de-e ina UGU-hi-šú is-si-*
ku-nu
 65 *ú-dan-nin-u-ni iš-ku-nu-ni la ta-na-šar-a-*
ni
 66 *ina šà-bi-šú ta-ha-ṭa-a-ni šU.2-ku-nu a-na*
HUL-tim
 67 *ina šà-bi-šú tu-bal-a-ni ep-šú bar-tu a-bu-*
tú la DÛG.GA-tú
 68 *la SIG₅-tú te-ep-pa-šá-ni-šú-u-ni ina*
LUGAL-ti KUR—^{aš}-šur
 69 *tu-nak-ka-ra-šú-u-ni TA* šà-bi šeš.MEŠ-*
šú GAL.MEŠ TUR.MEŠ
 70 *ina ku-mu-šú GIŠ.GU.ZA KUR—^{aš}-šur tu-*
šá-aš-bat-a-ni
 71 LUGAL [*šá-nu-u*]m-ma EN *šá-nu-um-ma*
ina UGU-hi-ku-nu ta-šá-kan-a-ni
 72 *a-na LUGAL šá-ni-ma DUMU—MAN šá-ni-*
ma ma-mit ta-tam-ma-a-ni
-
- 73 *šum-ma at-tu-nu a-bu-tú la DÛG.GA-tú la*
ba-ni-tú
 74 *la ta-ri-su ša e-peš LUGAL-te šá ina UGU*

die for him. You shall speak with him in the truth of your heart, give him sound advice loyally, and smooth his way in every respect.

⁵⁵ You shall not depose him nor seat (any)one of his brothers, elder or younger, on the throne of Assyria instead of him.

⁵⁷ You shall neither change nor alter the word of Esarhaddon, king of Assyria, but serve this very Assurbanipal, the great crown prince designate, whom Esarhaddon, king of Assyria, your lord, has presented to you, and he shall exercise the kingship and dominion over you.

§ 5 Obligation to Protect Heir

⁶² You shall protect Assurbanipal, the great crown prince designate, whom Esarhaddon, king of Assyria, has presented and ordered for you, and on behalf of whom he has confirmed and concluded (this) treaty with you; you shall not sin against him, nor bring your hand against him with evil intent, nor revolt or do anything to him which is not good and proper;

⁶⁸ you shall not oust him from the kingship of Assyria by helping one of his brothers, elder or younger, to seize the throne of Assyria in his stead, nor set any other king or any other lord over yourselves, nor swear an oath to any other king or any other lord.

§ 6 Obligation to Report Opposition to Succession

⁷³ If you hear any improper, unsuitable or unseemly word concerning the exercise of kingship which is unseemly and evil against

versione del trattato trovata a Tell Taynat

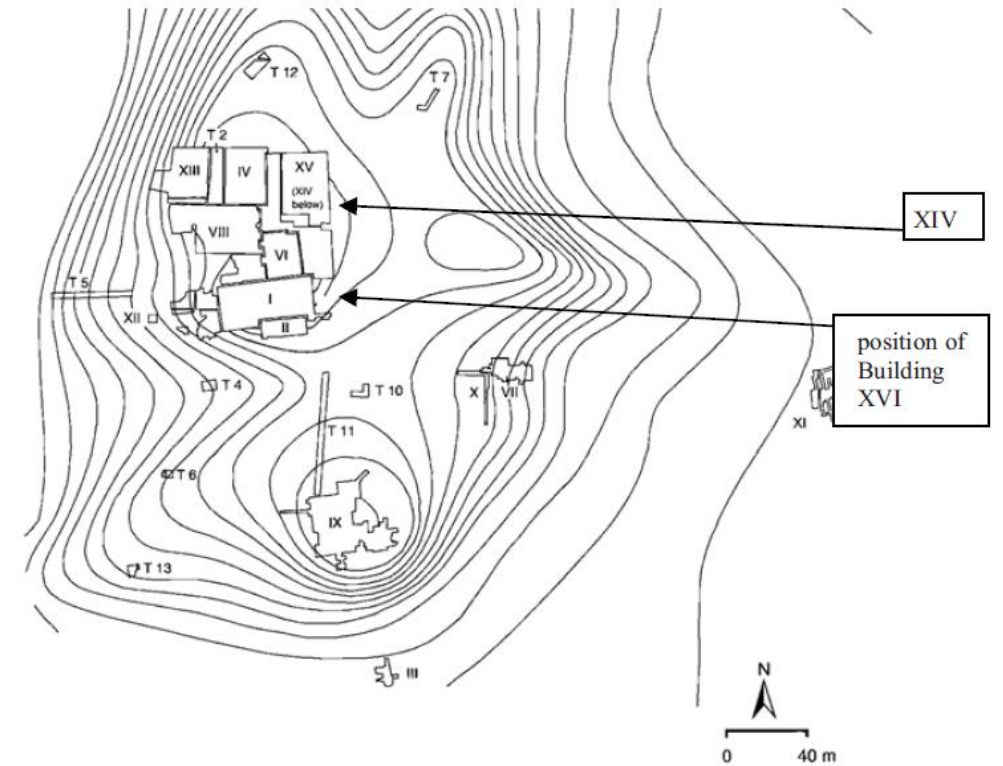
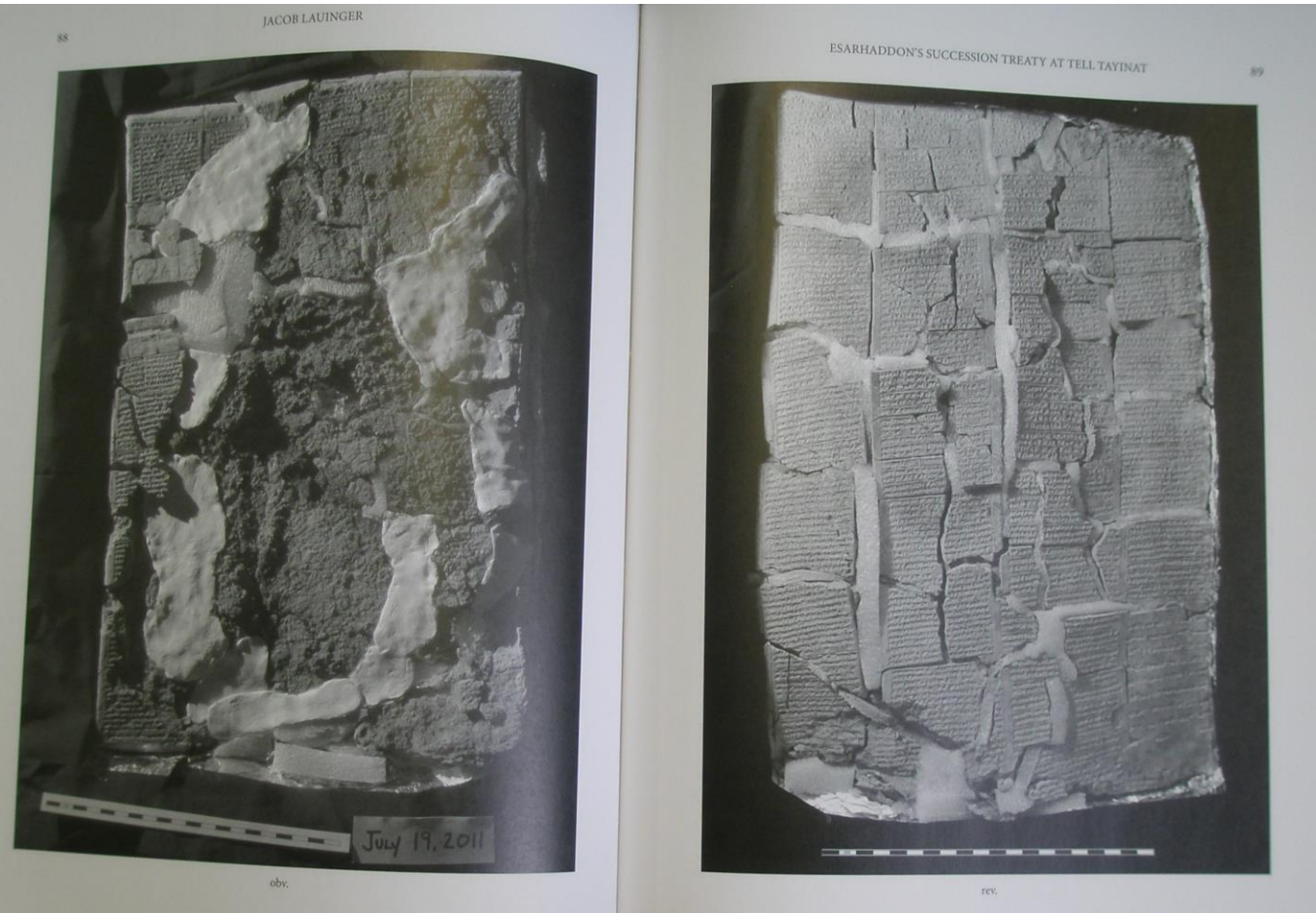


Fig. 1. Plan of Tell Tayinat from Harrison 2007.

The Neo-Assyrian provincial administration at Tayinat (ancient Kunalia)

Timothy Harrison

scavi di Tell Tayinat condotti nell'ambito della University of Chicago's Syrian-Hittite Expedition tra il 1935 e il 1938. Ripresi in anni recenti: The Tayinat Archaeological Project (TAP) reinitiated excavations at Tell Tayinat in 2004, following preliminary survey and mapping seasons in 1999, 2001 and 2002 (see further in Batiuk *et al.* 2005). The TAP investigations expanded to full-scale excavations in 2005, and have continued on an annual basis since.

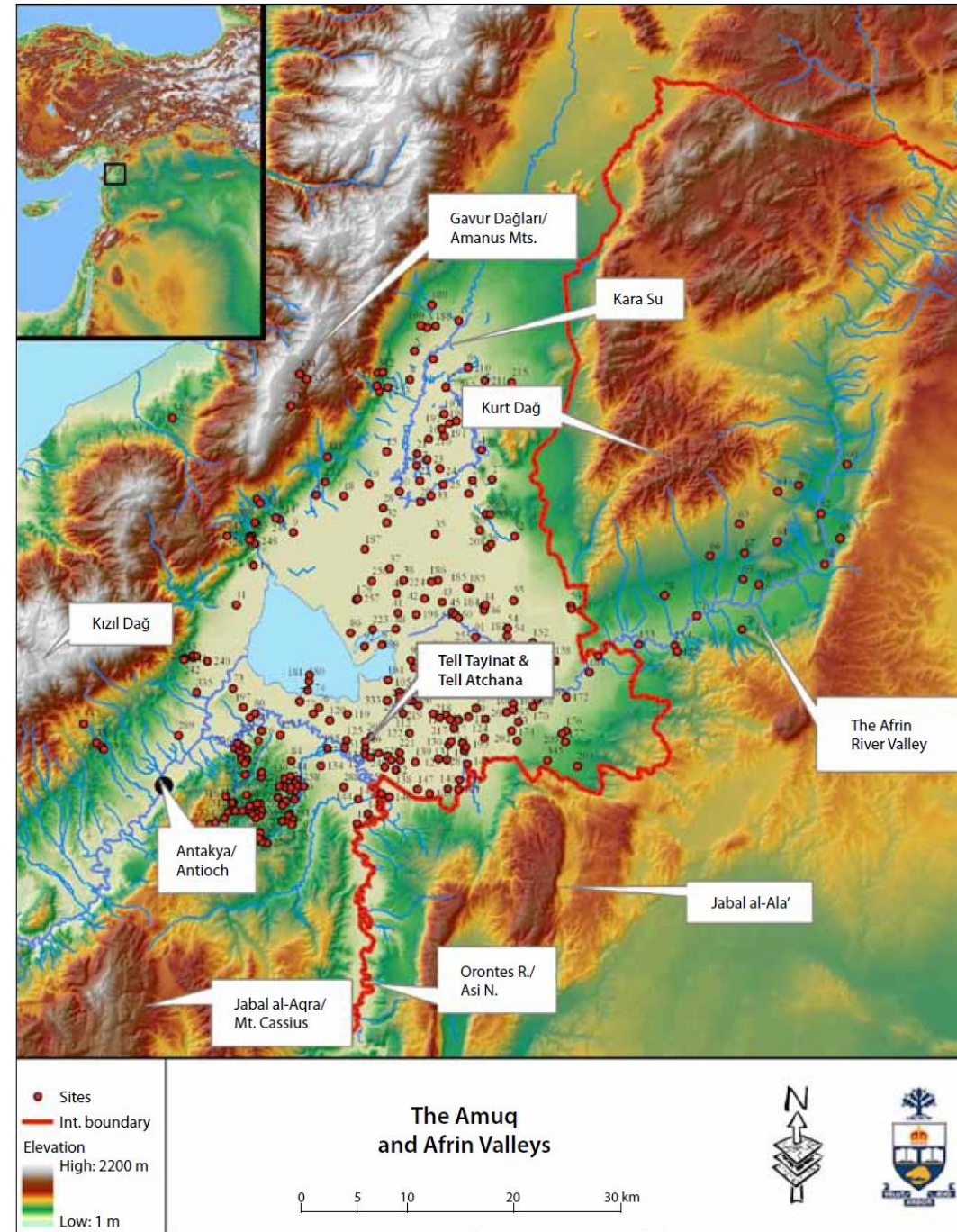
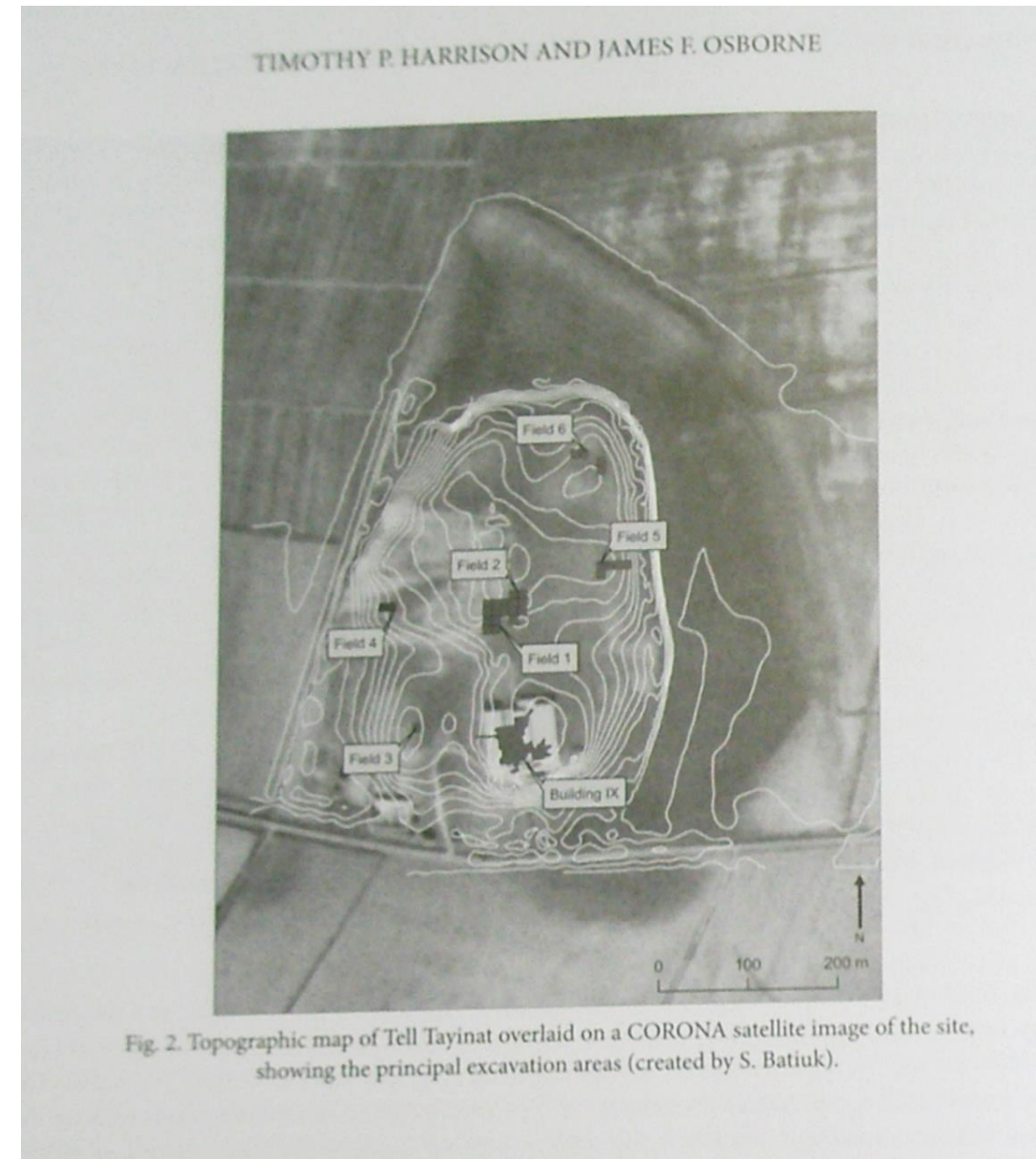


Figure 23.1. Regional map showing the North Orontes Valley and the location of Tell Tayinat (created by S. Batiuk).

The Luwian citadel of Tell Tayinat includes some notable buildings, excavated by the University of Chicago in the 1930s and re-studied or newly discovered by the Toronto expedition in the last decade. Some of these buildings are: Building XIV (dated to 10thearly 9thcent.) and tentatively associated with the dynasty of the Padasatini kingdom, as royal palace; Building I, or the *bit hilani* palace, dated to late 9thcent. or Iron Age IIB; Building II, the so-called *megaron*-style temple, which corresponds to the temple *in antis* “indigenous to West Syria and the Levant”, and Building XVI, probably renovated together with the latter two buildings as part of a sacred precinct which adjoined the royal palace in the late 9th8thcent. These buildings constitute major features of the cultural, religious and ideological horizon preceding the Assyrian intervention, which was distinguished by the use of Neo-Hittite representational models.



When Tiglath-pileser III conquered the region, he renovated Kinalia, the capital of the subdued land of Unqi (*ana eššuti asbat*), transforming the local kingdom into an Assyrian province under the authority of royal eunuchs as governors (*bel pahiti*). As a first measure to stress the change of authority, Tiglath-pileser III records the siting of his own throne “in the centre of Tutammû’s palace” (RINAP 1 12: 8’), presumably one of the rooms of the buildings just mentioned. An element of major interest during the Neo-Assyrian provincial phase is the renovation of the innermost room of Building XVI, with the construction of a podium probably in its final phase of use (8th–7th cent.) when the building contained a cache of Neo-Assyrian tablets and the treaty text, and together with Building I formed a religious complex after the model of the Assyrian double temple.

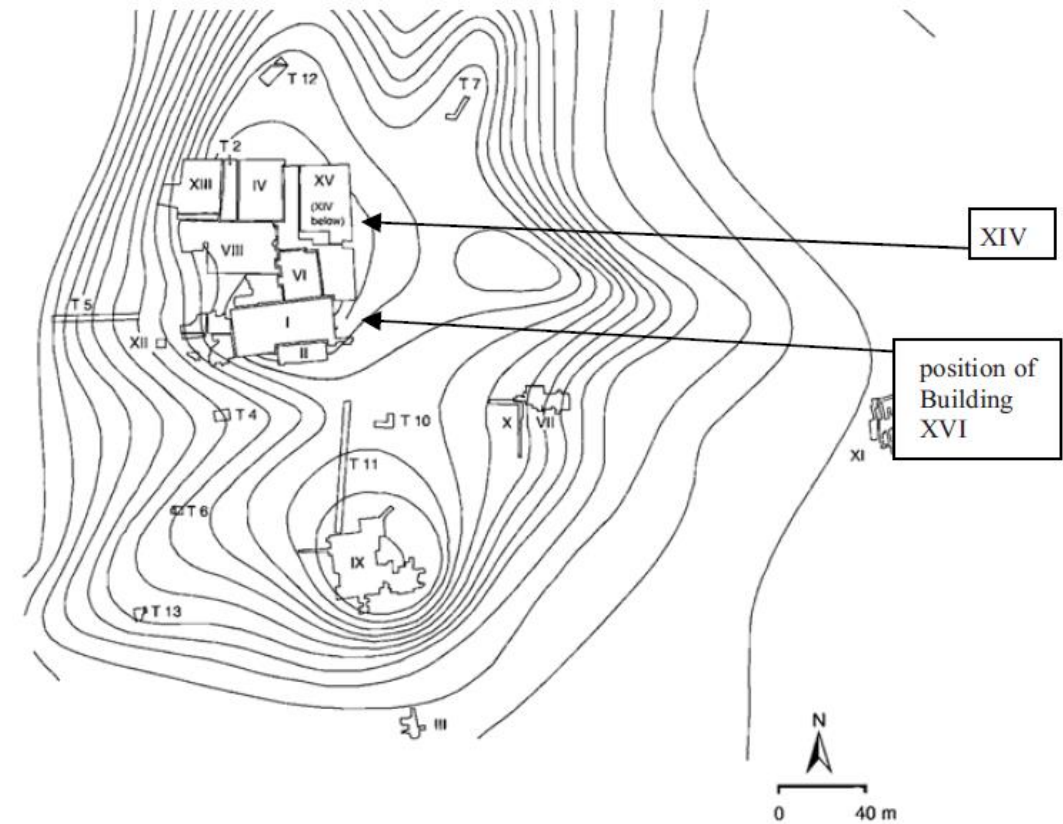


Figure 7.2. Topographic Map of Tell Ta'yinat (AS 126) with Excavated Areas (T 2, 4–7, 10–13) and Building Units (Buildings I–II, IV, VI, IX–X, XIII–XIV; Courtyard VIII; Gateways III, VII, XI–XII; and Platform XV) Indicated. Adapted from Haines 1971: pl. 93

Fig. 1. Plan of Tell Tayinat from Harrison 2007.

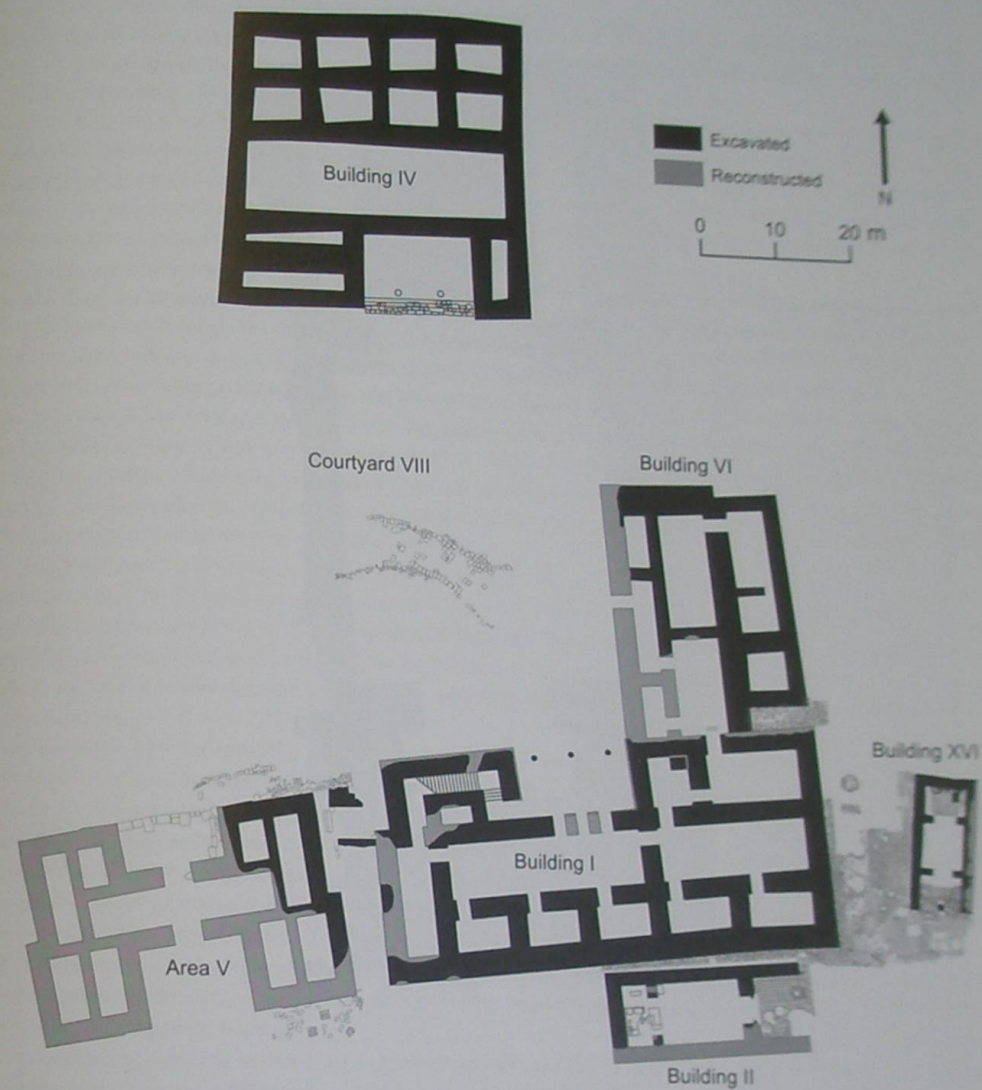


Fig. 3. Plan of Second Building period complex in the West Central Area (created by J. Osborne).

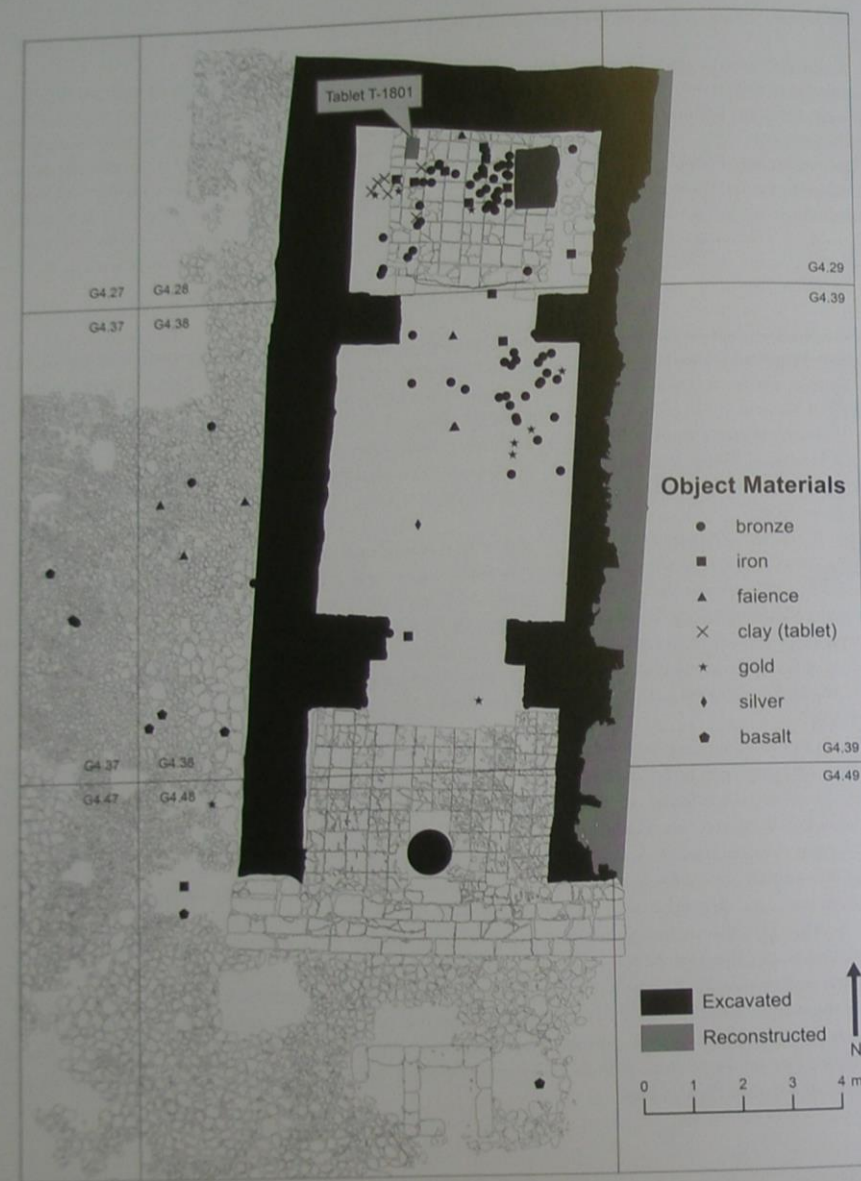


Fig. 6. Plan showing the artifact distribution in Building XVI (created by J. Osborne).

During the Neo-Assyrian period a new complex was constructed in another area, Building IX, which was recognized by the excavators as a typical example of an Assyrian-style structure; according to Harrison 2005 it may be identified as the governor's palace and dated to Tiglath-pileser III or slightly later: it “represents a physical manifestation of the bureaucratic order imposed by Tiglath-pileser as part of the imperial administration he installed to maintain control over his expanding empire.” It occupied an elevated position dominating other buildings and the approach through Gateway VII, which was decorated with reliefs of Assyrian assault troops.

It may be hypothesized that while the Assyrians consistently transformed the urban centre through the erection of symbols and Assyrian-style buildings and decorations, they did not completely obliterate the face of the pre-existing citadel and that a mixture of elements still characterized various structures, although the ceremonial and power core was moved to new or greatly transformed buildings.



Fig. 3. Assyrian sculpted orthostat, now in the Antakya Museum – author's photo.

The Tell Tayinat text was found in a temple (Building XVI), which the excavators consider to be part of a larger religious complex, remodeled in the late eighth/early seventh century, as part of a programme to transform the town into the administrative capital of an Assyrian imperial province, after Tiglathpileser III's conquest. This king records in his annals the capture of Kinalia, royal city of Tutammû, king of the Syro-Hittite kingdom of Unqi, and the deportation of its citizens, followed by the installation of deportees from Amlatu and Der, and the imposition of Assyrian provincial administrators.

The *adê* text exhibits the same protocol as that stipulated with Median and Zagros chieftains found in Nimrud, in a room annexed to the Ezida temple. The T text comes from a local seat of the provincial administration, whereas the ND text comes from the Assyrian heartland—probably from a/the major centre of the military organization. Further evidence of the practice of the *adê* within the Assyrian core territory is constituted by a fragment from Assur (VAT 11534) which duplicates lines 229-236 of the composite ND text (lines according to SAA 2 edition). Letters referring to the *adê* add information about the persons involved, the oath-taking ceremony and the reception of the treaty's content.

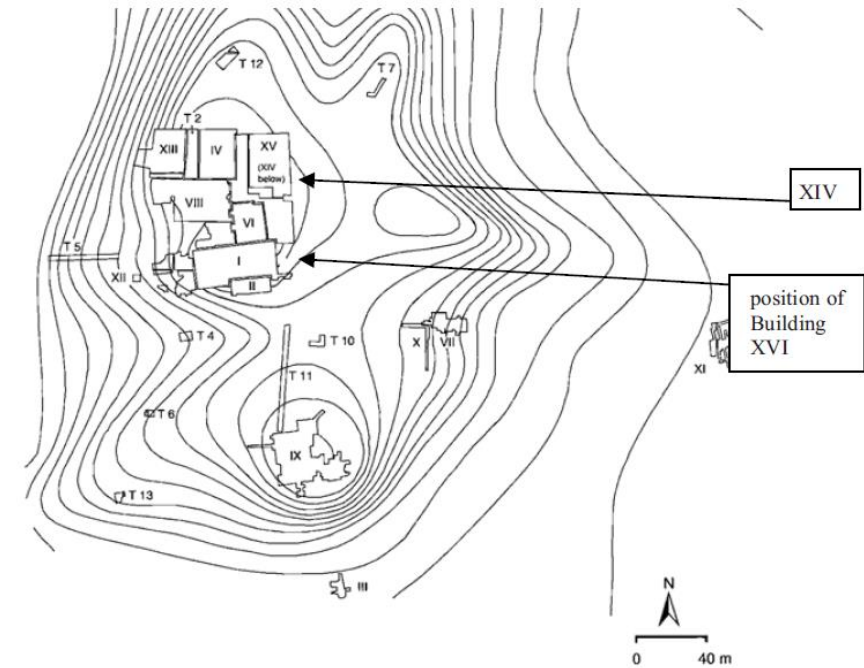


Figure 7.2. Topographic Map of Tell Ta'yinat (AS 126) with Excavated Areas (T 2, 4–7, 10–13) and Building Units (Buildings I–II, IV, VI, IX–X, XIII–XIV; Courtyard VIII; Gateways III, VII, XI–XII; and Platform XV) Indicated. Adapted from Haines 1971: pl. 93

Fig. 1. Plan of Tell Tayinat from Harrison 2007.

In the ND texts the *adê* is undersigned by various *bel ali* of Median, Zagros and Ellipi polities, mentioned by name. The authority of the *bel ali* on their own land appears to have been independent of the Assyrian establishment; they autonomously controlled a local enclave with its own institutions. These chiefs appear in some cases to relate with Assyrian officials who, as the governors of bordering provinces, may have the status of *rabûte* and directly represent royal authority. The most important relation with the Assyrian establishment is the delivery of military contingents that are presumably the same mentioned in the oracular queries. The *bel ali* are responsible for taking the oath as head and representatives of people, who swear as well [*nišē qatišu gabbu eher (u) rabi mala bašû issu napah Šamši adi ereb Šamši (...) markunu mar markunu ša urki adê ana mâti ibbaššuni*, “(and with) the people in his hands, of lower and higher status as many as they are, from east to west (... and with) your children and grandchildren who will be born in the future after this treaty”, ND 5-0] and of coordinating the military activity of their subordinates according to the Assyrian orders.

The administrative picture described by the T text is totally different: it includes various categories of officials but no proper names, in a much more bureaucratic style.

Translation

§ 1

"The *adê* of Esarhaddon, king of Assyria, son of Sennacherib, king of Assyria, with the governor of Kunalia, with the deputy, the majordomo, the scribes, the chariot drivers, the third men, the village managers, the information officers, the prefects, the cohort commanders, the charioteers, the cavalrymen, the exempt, the outriders, the specialists, the shi[eld bearers (?)], the craftsmen, (and) with [all] the men [of his hands], great and small, as many as there are—[wi]th them and with the men who are born after the *adê* in the [f]uture, from the east [...] to the west, all those over whom Esarhaddon, king of Assyria, exercises kingship and lordship, concerning Assurbanipal, the great crown prince designate, the son of Esarhaddon, king of Assyria, on whose behalf he established the *adê* with you."

§ 30

"You will not look at Assurbanipal, the great crown prince designate, or his brothers without reverence or submission. If someone does not protect him, you will fight them as if fighting for yourselves. You will bring frightful terror into their hearts, saying: 'Your (pl.) father wrote (this) in the *adê*, he established it, and he has made us swear (it).'"

§ 35

"Whoever changes, neglects, violates, or voids the oath of this tablet (and) transgresses against the father, the lord, (and) the *adê* of the great gods(?) (and) breaks their entire oath, or whoever discards this *adê*-tablet, a tablet of Aššur, king of the gods, and the great gods, my lords, or whoever removes the statue of Esarhaddon, king of Assyria, the statue of Assurbanipal, the great crown prince designate, or the statue(s) of his brothers (and) his sons which are over him—you will guard like your god this sealed tablet of the great ruler on which is written the *adê* of Assurbanipal, the great crown prince designate, the son of Esarhaddon, king of Assyria, your lord, which is sealed with the seal of Aššur, king of the gods, and which is set up before you."

from Lauinger, JCS
64, 2012

By comparing the various sections of the preserved *adê* we may obtain a list of the individuals or categories which may menace the crown prince and the dynastic succession and are therefore targeted by clauses of the treaty. They are classified from various points of view, such as status, function, profession, physical proximity, and according to general designations (such as “old or young/great or small”) to avoid missing anyone. Comprehensively, the categories mentioned are: members of the royal family (§6, § 10, § 20, § 27, § 29), members of the crown prince’s father’s line (§6, § 10, § 20,23 § 27,24 § 29), magnates and governors (§6, § 27), bearded and eunuchs (§6, § 27, § 29), any human being (§6, § 10, § 20, § 29), enemies (§ 10), allies (§ 10), family members of those who swear (§ 10), prophets, ecstasies, inquirers of oracles (§ 10), closer palace groups, remote palace groups (§ 20), old and young, rich and poor (*mar banê, mar muškenuti*) (§ 20), bearded, eunuchs, servants, bought slaves (§ 20), citizens of Assyria or foreigners (§ 20, § 27, § 29). It is evident that the list of the possible traitors and rebels coincides with everyone, organized according to their status and the degree of danger they represent.

4.1 The provincial administrative structure in the Treaty

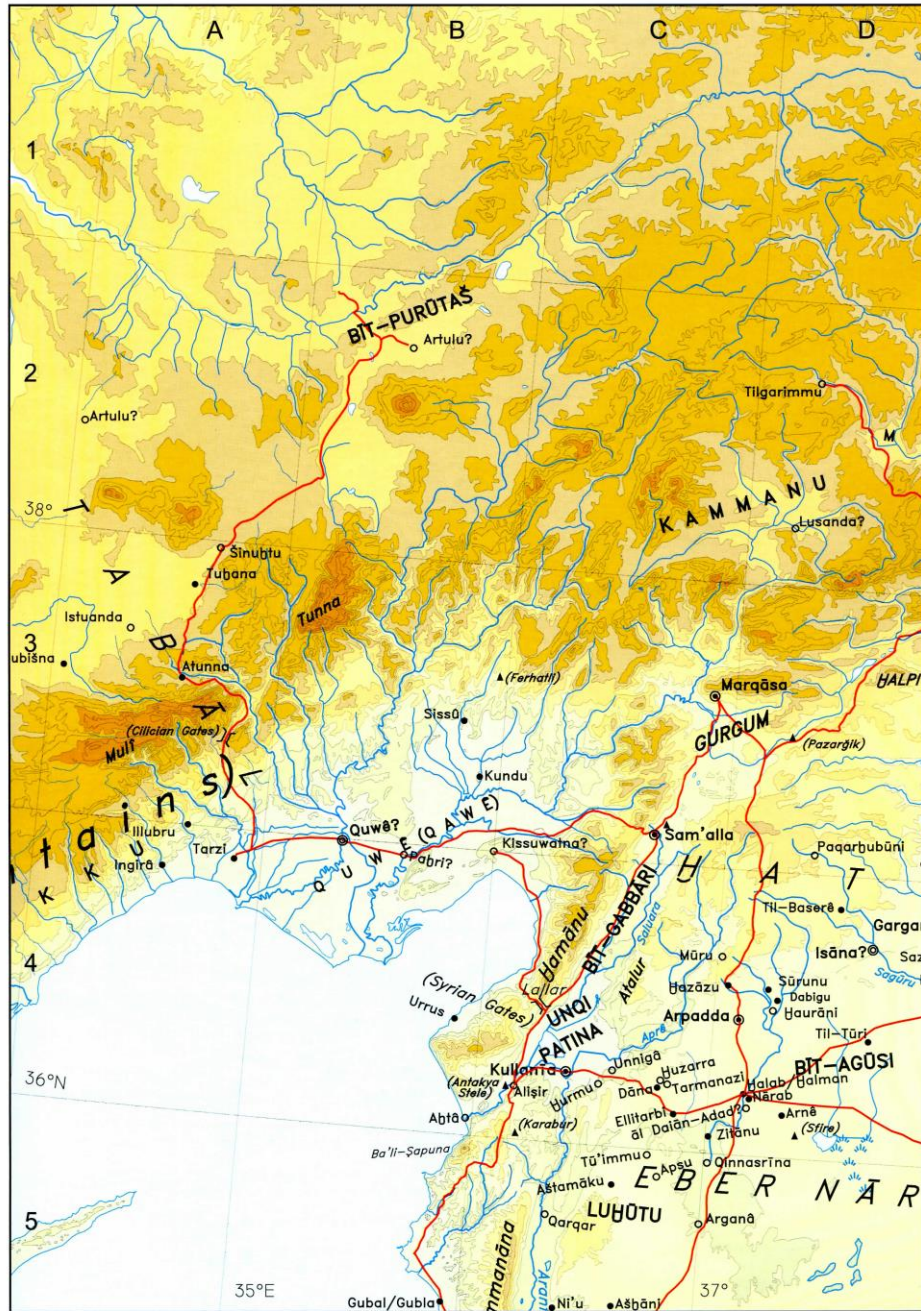
a) provincial governing staff	EN.NAM = <i>bēl pāhiti</i> , province governor
	2-e = <i>šaniu</i> , vice-governor
	GAL.É = <i>rab bīti</i> , majordomo, a high military official ²⁸
b) administrative personnel	A.BA.MEŠ = <i>tupšarrū</i> , scribes
c) military and administrative officials	DIB.BA.MEŠ = <i>mukīl appāti</i> , chariot drivers
	3 U ₅ . MEŠ = <i>tašlīšū</i> , third men ²⁹
	GAL.URU. MEŠ = <i>rab alāni</i> = village managers ³⁰
	<i>mutir tēmē</i> = information officers
	GAR.MEŠ = <i>šaknū</i> , prefects
	GAL <i>kišir</i> .MEŠ = <i>rab kišri</i> cohort commanders
d) military personnel with various ranks, craftsmen	EN.GIGIR.MEŠ <i>bēl narkabti/mugirri</i> = chariot owners ³¹
	<i>bēl pēthalli</i> = horse owners
	<i>zakkû</i> = a type of professional troops ³²
	<i>kallāpu</i> = unarmored cavalry/light armored infantry? ³³
	<i>ummānu</i> = specialists ³⁴
	<i>arītī</i> = shield bearers (?) ³⁵
	<i>kitkittû</i> = craftsmen/quartermaster/ palace personnel (?) ³⁶

It is necessary first of all to evaluate the process of substitution of the ruling class and management of the territory, by means of *deportation from and to the area, and reorganization of the settlement geography and demography*. In addition to the royal inscriptions narrative, the beheading of the rulership of the Unqi reign is also attested by SAA 19 55, a short letter probably referring to king Tutammû as a prisoner, together with his officials (*rešišu*). As for the rest of the inhabitants, the sources are less explicit, but an inscription (RINAP 1 12) records the distribution of people with their possessions among the Assyrian soldiers, presumably as booty.

On the basis of the annalistic account, the western area of the coast and Unqi appear to have been the target of a comprehensive restructuring of administrative districts and can be identified as the destination of various groups of deportees, generally not too numerous, who were moved from their homes in the Aramean area of Babylonia and the east, distributed among the newly organized districts and towns, and transformed into Assyrians. They appear to have been scattered throughout the territory, presumably to compensate the loss of manpower due to deportations from the area and/or on the basis of the territorial sustenance capacity. In the land of Unqi 600 prisoners from Amlatu of the Damunu tribe and 5400 from Bit-Deraya were distributed in at least 7 cities, Kunalia included. According to the royal records these forced settlements followed the conquest of cities, which can be only partially identified in the preserved lists. It remains difficult to understand in what measure the previous boundaries, a network of fortresses and royal towns, as well as the ethnic and social texture of this densely settled area, were altered to become part of a new system.

da iscrizioni reali:

RINAP 1 35: ii 5'– 9'	RINAP 1 43: ii 8–15	RINAP 1 14: 3b–5a (26: 1–3) ⁴⁹
<i>conquered towns</i>	<i>conquered towns</i>	<i>distribution of captives</i>
<i>Pattinu's toponyms are recorded in a comprehensive view: "The land of Bīt Agusi in [its entirety], the land Pattinu in its entirety, from the city [... to] the city Nanpigi, which is on the bank of the Euph[rates...] Qarnê, Hadatete, Da[...], Qinasrins, which is in the steppe, [as far as] Damascus and Hamat",⁵⁰</i>	The cities <i>Ta</i> ...[...], Hurmu, Anlama[...], Urrus, <i>Ur</i> ...[...], Kulmadara , Ha[tatirra], Unniga, [...], Ardâ, Mudru[...], Muruya, Tiris[...], Lapsitania, ci[ties of the land of Unqi]	[I settled] 600 captives of the city Amlatu of Damunu, 5400 captives of the city (Bīt)-Dērāya [in Kunalia ...] Huzarra, <i>Ta'e</i> , Tarmanazi, Kulmadara Hatatirra , <i>Irgillu</i> , [cities of the land of Unqi]



Particularly interesting are SAA 19 6 and 47. In the first letter the king entrusts Aššur-remanni, most probably the governor of Kullania, and his scribe, with the responsibility of settling and nourishing captives and keeping them healthy, and of managing the supplies for military contingents. The second letter concerns a dispute of the sender, Sulaya, with an official, Šamaš-nasir, who is presumably the deputy governor of Kullania. The deputy's claim to the possession of three towns (Taku, Lulubani and Mila) is reported; he intends to settle there his own people, whose origin and status are however not specified and might have the status of dependents or of deportees assigned to him. The context of the letter suggests that the towns/villages might be located in an area bordering the province of Arpad, in an environment not particularly apt for cultivation. Although Sulaya's identity and jurisdiction remain unknown, he appears to have been involved in the task of meeting the standard of agricultural productivity planned by the king.

The *adê* not only oblige contractors to protect the king's house and heir, but identify the institutions responsible for this protection; they identify who bears authority and the officials with whom the central administration deals. The pledging of the *adê* to the king appears to have also been perceived as the acknowledgment of the status of a town or community that, on the basis of its own loyalty, was granted the possibility of addressing the king to ask for help and justice, since this was the king's duty as guarantor of the political and social order. Those who swore formed the local institutions or established roles and categories of the state administration. Either in a territory of more recent and problematic Assyrianization (or of easier control through its own institutions) which maintained its own administrative structures, or in a well established provincial region with a regular administrative hierarchy, the local officialdom was acknowledged and invested with the duty and responsibility of protecting the crown. On the other hand, the *adê* was sworn to by those at all levels of the hierarchy alike, and for everyone loyalty to and veneration of the king's image, word and will was the all-encompassing law. Both in hierarchically structured administrative organizations and within possibly highly unbalanced societies, all the members are equal in their duty of loyalty.

The juridical instrument of the *adê* gave to everybody the authority to denounce dangers menacing the royal dynasty. All the people who swore to the *adê* had a common duty, which identified them as members of the Assyrian imperial organization. And this consciousness was made manifest through the public ceremony of the oath. Although the empire was a composite entity with differentiated institutional and administrative sectors, loyalty towards the dynasty encompassed or—in cases of more marked transformation—utterly substituted other forms of dependency and appurtenance. While the stipulation of the *adê* was dictated by the circumstances of royal succession, did this instrument not perhaps acquire a more general role in spreading veneration for the emperor and forming the mental attitude of the “subjects of the empire”?

Nineveh remained the primary royal city during Esarhaddon's reign. Although some reliefs might date to this period, Nineveh's Southwest Palace seems mostly devoid of traces from his reign.⁴ Nonetheless, the palace probably remained the primary palace of the empire. This is supported by the state archives, the bulk of which were found inside the Southwest Palace and show the king being informed on the activities in other palaces such as Nineveh's Military Palace (§6.3). The Military Palace, even though only fragmentarily known, contains some architectural features datable to Esarhaddon's reign. In the final years of his reign construction started on a new palace in Kalḫu, which is now known as the Southwest Palace (§7.2). Kalḫu's Military Palace was being reconstructed and extended during the same period (§7.4). Whether these palaces were aimed at re-establishing Kalḫu as the primary royal city is doubtful due to the relatively modest scale of the new palaces in Kalḫu (Pl. 3). It more probably represents an attempt to provide Kalḫu with the palaces befitting its status as important royal city. Even if it was the intent, the move away from Nineveh never materialized. His son and successor Ashurbanipal never finished Kalḫu's Southwest Palace and continued using Nineveh as his main residence.

Palazzo di Kalhu

Esarhaddon inizia la costruzione
verso la fine del suo regno.

Riutilizzo di materiali del palazzo
di Tiglat-pileser III. Scavato solo
parzialmente

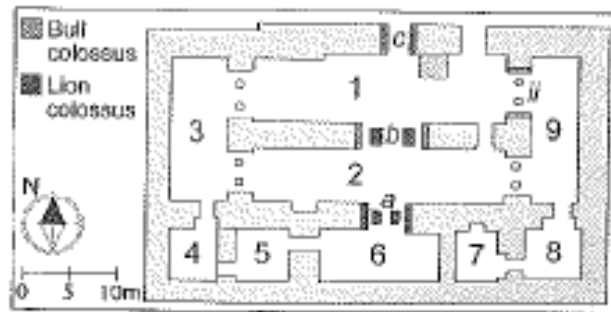
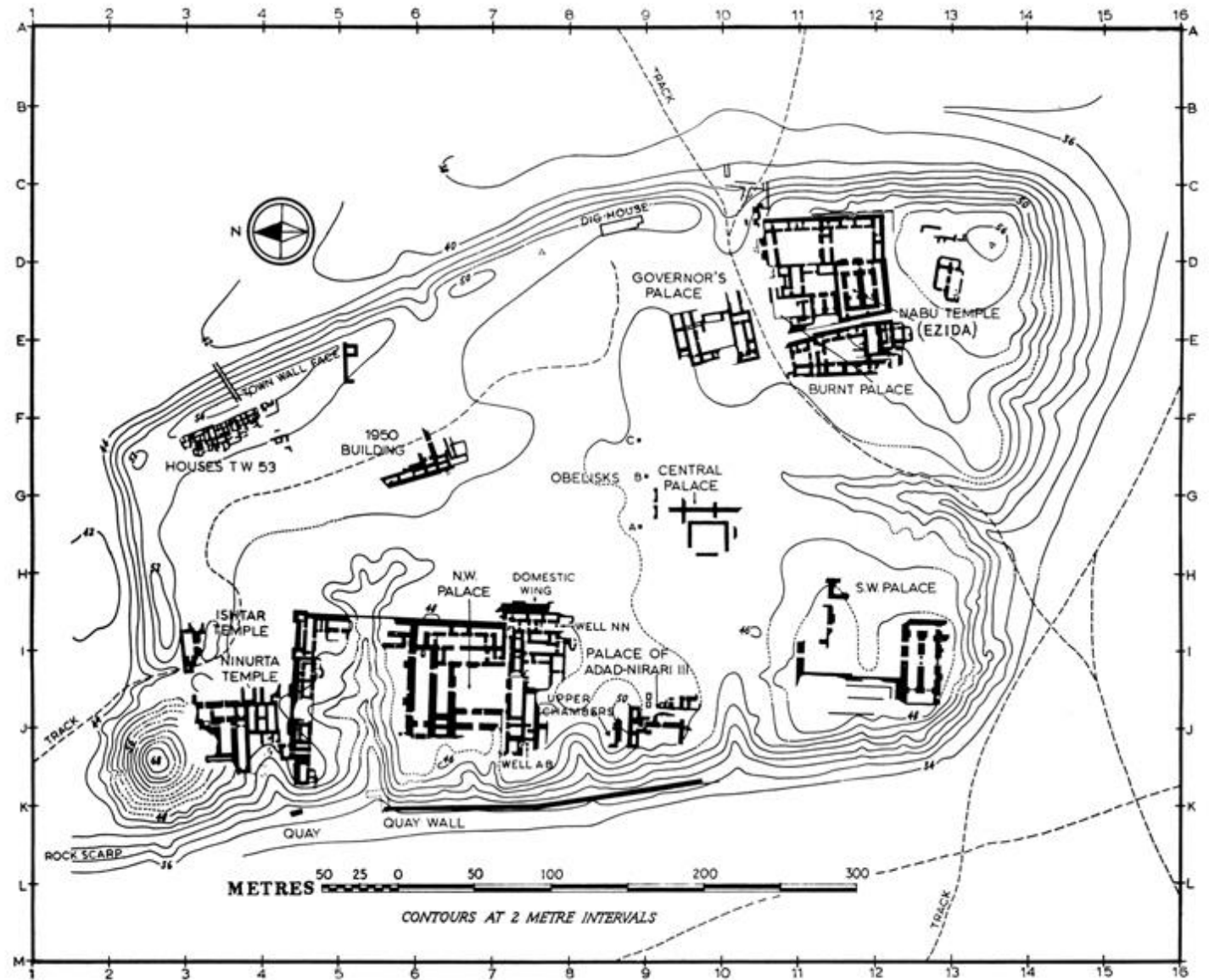
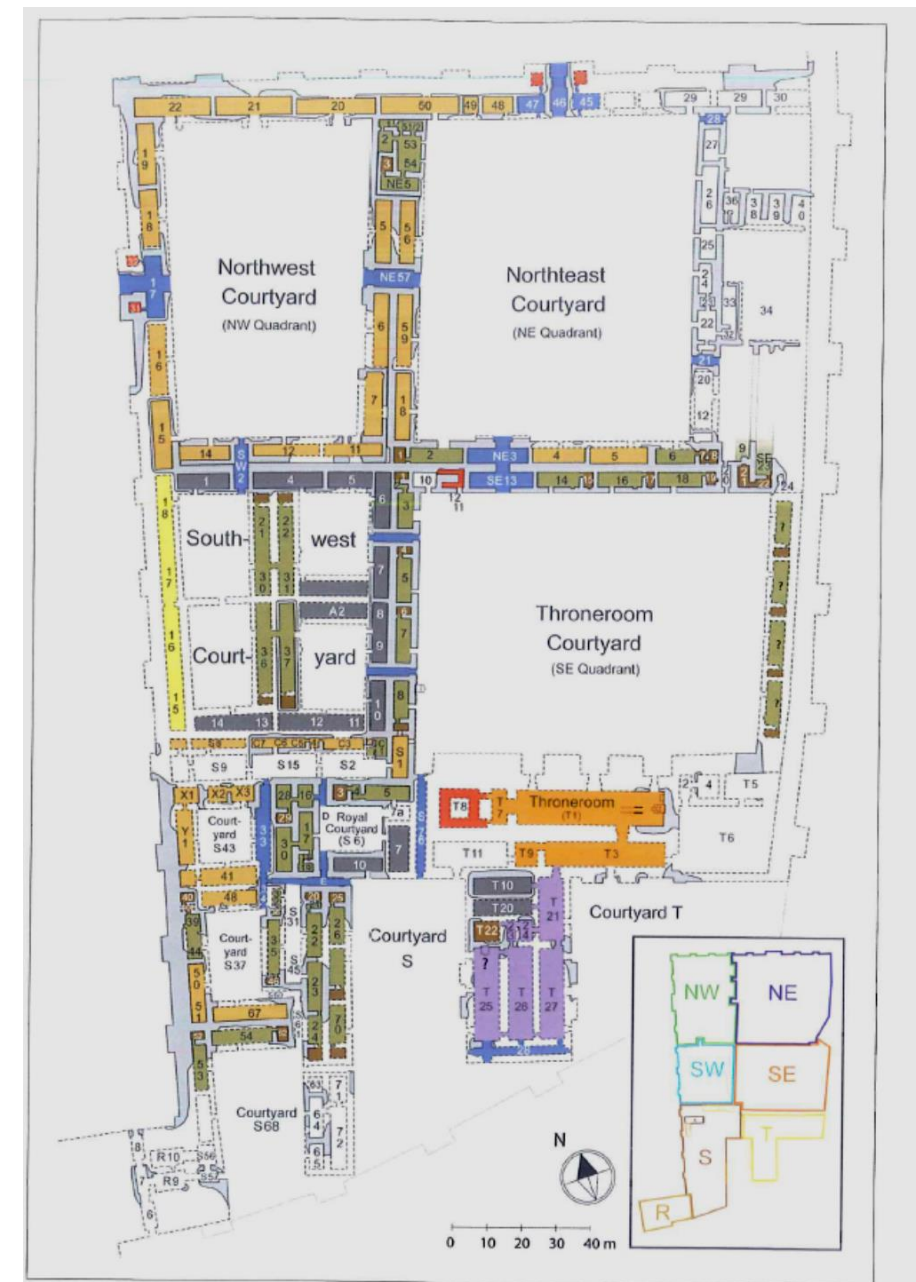


FIG. 7.2 Southern Suite



A Kalhu Esarhaddon rinnovò il palazzo dell'arsenale ma l'identificazione dei lavori da lui compiuti non è facile.

Essi vengono comunque descritti nelle iscrizioni del sovrano. I lavori più consistenti sembrano essere stati quelli sulla porta R. Un corridoio discendente portava dall'area S alla porta ed era probabilmente decorato con scene di caccia. Nell'area T sono stati rinvenuti anche alcuni mattoni smaltati in cui erano rappresentate scene della campagna in Egitto e che danno testimonianza dei lavori di Esarhaddon nel palazzo.



9 Military Palace (Kalhu): floorplan, end of the Shalmaneser III's reign

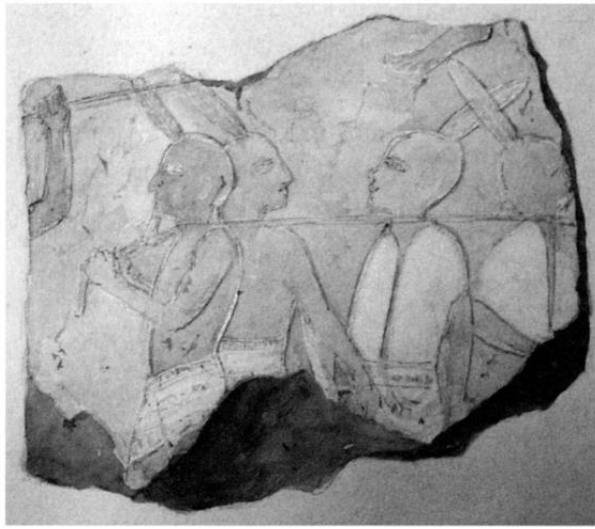


Fig. 2a. Egyptian prisoners (Layard 1853: Pl. 54: 7).
 Fig. 2b. Egyptian soldier (Layard 1853: Pl. 54: 8).

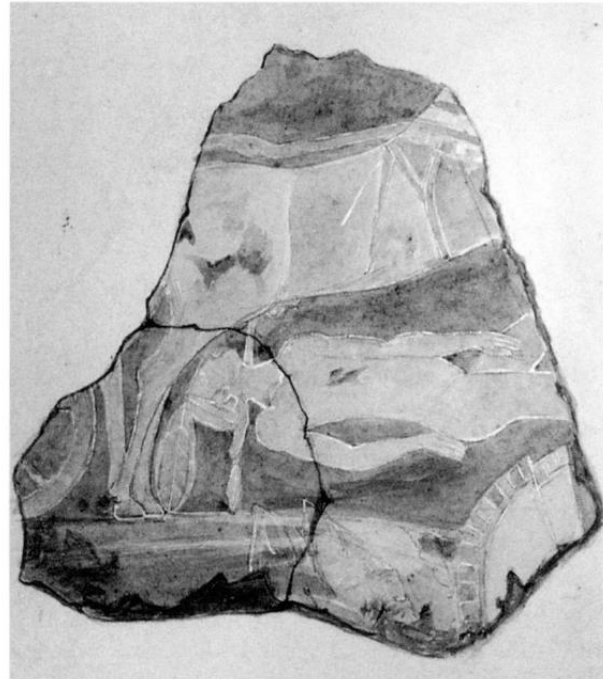
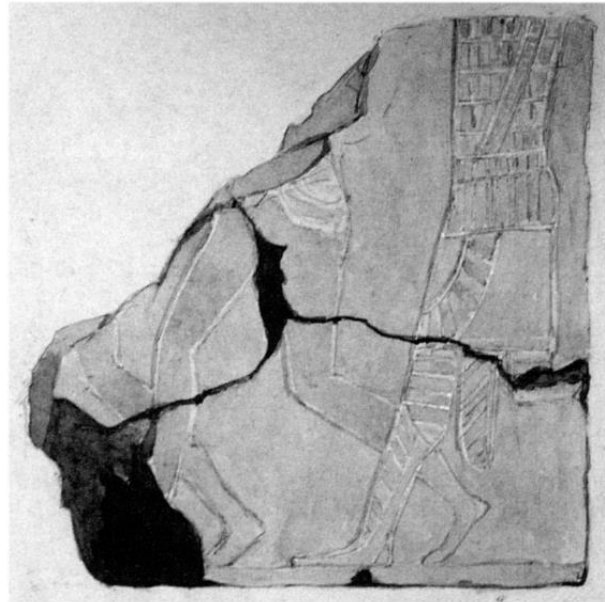


Fig. 2c. Egyptian prisoner and Assyrian soldier (Layard 1853: Pl. 54: 9).
 Fig. 3a. An Assyrian chariot driving over an Egyptian soldier (Layard 1853: Pl. 53: 3).

da Nadali, Iraq 68

<http://oracc.museum.upenn.edu/rinap/rinap4/corpus>

text 077

"At that time, by means of the prisoners from the lands that I had conquered with the help of the god Aššur, my lord, the arsenal, which was in Kalḫu, that Shalmaneser (III), king of Assyria, son of Ashurnasirpal (II), a ruler who came before me, had built, had no terrace and its site had become too small.

As for me, Esarhaddon, king of Assyria, pious prince, to whom the prince, the god Ninšiku (Ea), gave (wisdom) equal to that of the sage Adapa, that terrace was on my mind and I (text: "he") thought about it. I incorporated unused land as an addition (and) raised the terrace with massive stone blocks from the mountains. (50) I raised its walls by 120 brick courses, built palatial halls for my royal residence upon it, (and) built (and) completed (it) from its foundations to its parapets. I roofed them with magnificent cedar beams, grown on Mount Amanus, (and) installed doors of cypress, whose fragrance is sweet, in their gates. I filled (it) with splendor (making it) an object of wonder for all of the people.

I made foundation inscriptions, had the might of the god Aššur, my lord, (and) the deeds that I had done written on them, and placed (these inscriptions) in them (the foundations)."



Fig. 3b. A dead enemy floating in the water among fishes; muzzle of a horse in the foreground (Layard 1853: Pl. 53: 1).

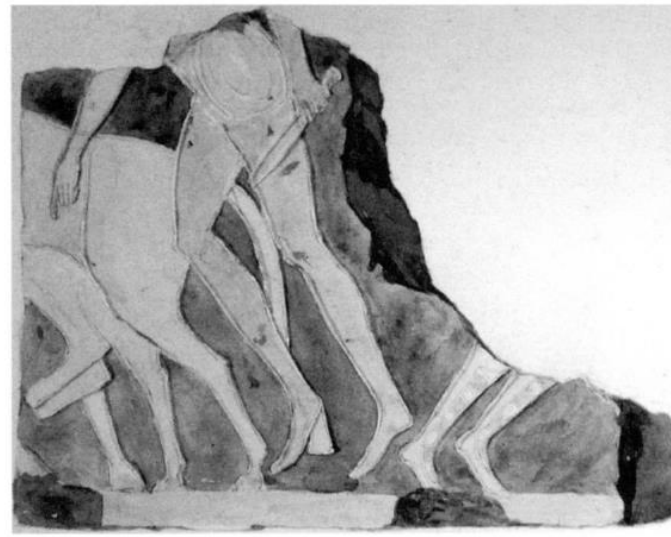


Fig. 3c. An enemy soldier (left) and an Assyrian soldier (right) (Layard 1853: Pl. 54: 12).

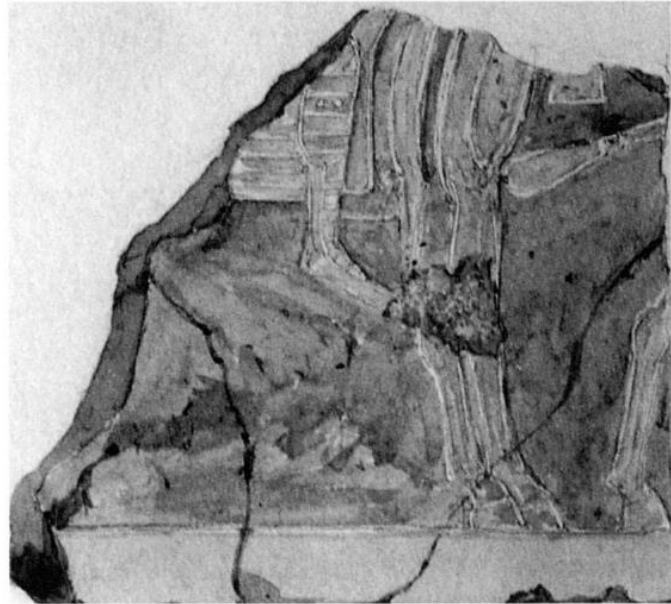


Fig. 4a. Assyrian cavalry horses facing right (Layard 1853: Pl. 54: 13).

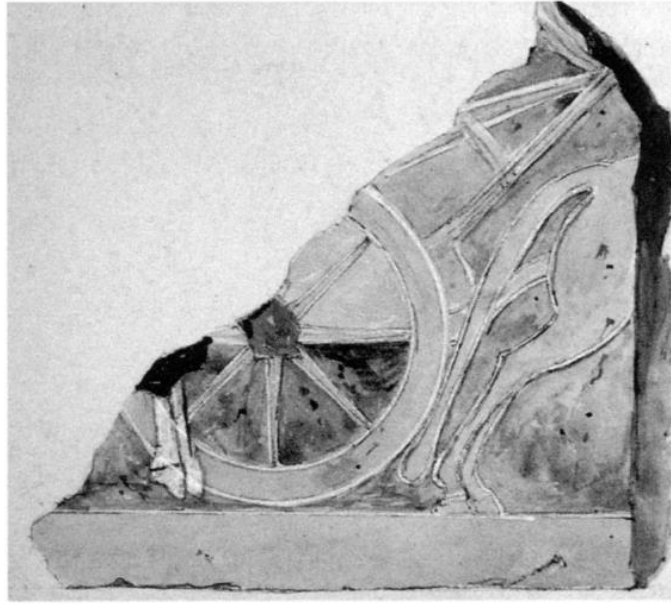


Fig. 4c. Assyrian chariot (king's chariot?) (Layard 1853: Pl. 54: 14).

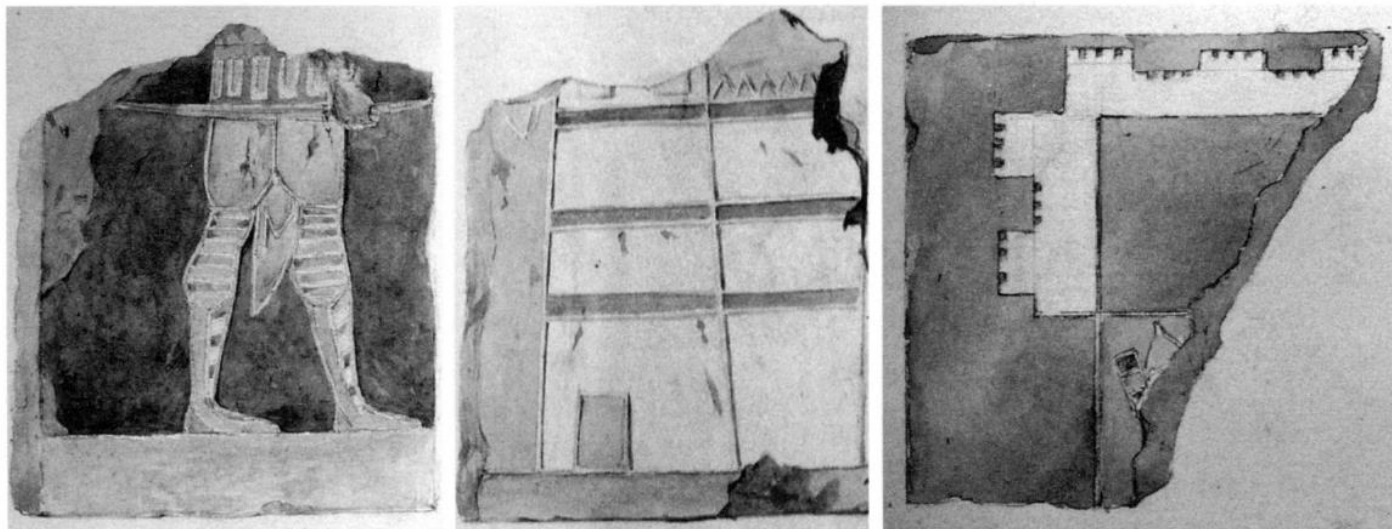


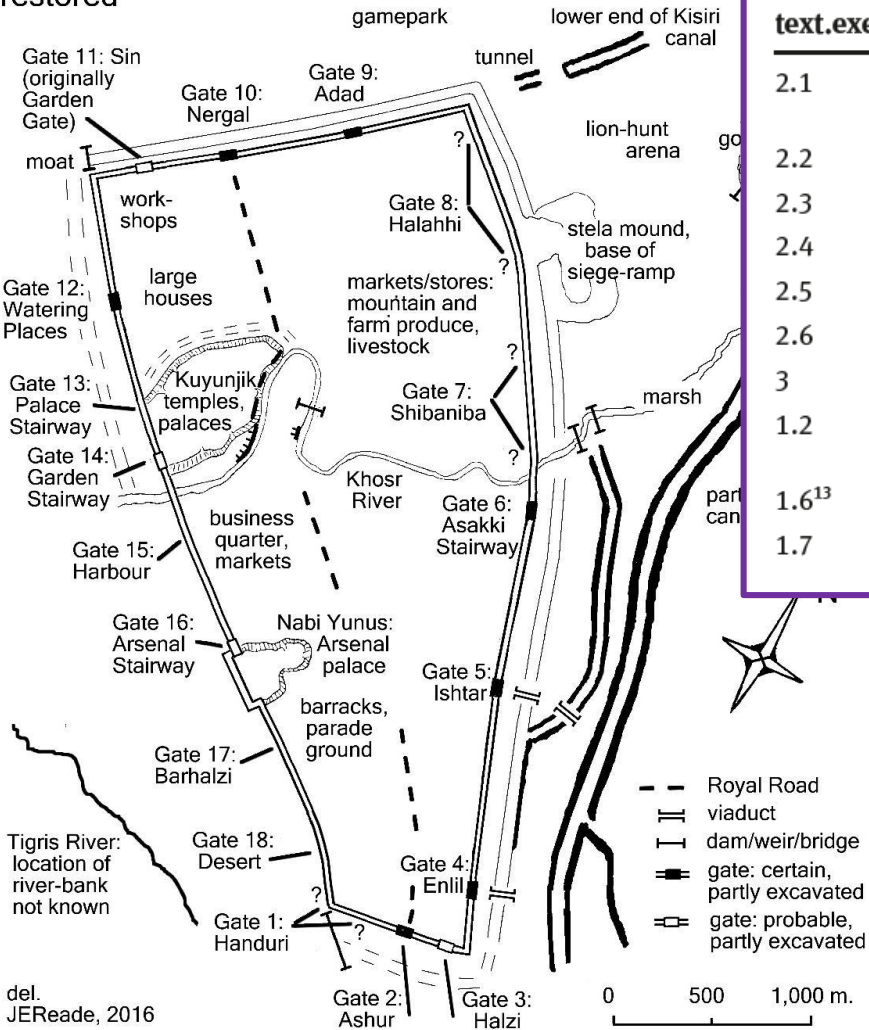
Fig. 4b. Assyrian soldier facing right (Layard 1853: Pl. 53: 4).

Fig. 5a. Walls of an Egyptian city (Layard 1853: Pl. 53: 5).

Fig. 5b. Assyrian camp (Layard 1853: Pl. 53: 2).

The use of colour reflects the typical Assyrian palette: blue, white, green and yellow (Reade 1979a: 18; Nunn 1988: 18–25, 158; Russell 1999: 97).²⁵ The background is mostly blue (Reade 1979a: 19; 1987: 32; Tomabechi 1983: 127; 1986: 49),²⁶ although some fragments have a green background. All enemies have a yellow skin, while the scales of the armour and the boots of Assyrian soldiers, as well as the equipment of the horses,²⁷ are coloured in blue, yellow and white, giving us an idea of the colours that were used on the reliefs (Reade 1979a: 17, 19; Tomabechi 1986: 44–5). The architectural features, both the Egyptian city and the Assyrian camp (Fig. 5a–b), are depicted in white, with yellow used for the crenellations on Fig. 5a. The yellow background of the fragment depicting the dead enemy in the water (Fig. 3b) is probably a special way of representing the transparency of water and therefore of distinguishing it from the green or blue background of the land scenes.

NINEVEH, 612 BC
restored



Tab. 3: Texts commemorating the rebuilding of the Armory

text.exemplar	provenance	date	Apology
2.1	Nineveh, Nebi Yunus, in the arsenal mud brick terrace	22 Ayyāru (II), Banbâ (676)	
2.2	Nineveh, Nebi Yunus(?)	18 Abu (V) []	
2.3	Nineveh(?)		
2.4	Nineveh(?)		
2.5	Nineveh		
2.6	Nineveh		
3	Nineveh	18 Abu (V) []	
1.2	Nineveh	month Pīt-bābi in the Elamite calendar, probably Du'ūzu (IV), Atar-ili (673)	X
1.6 ¹³	Nineveh Area SH	month Pīt-bābi, probably Du'ūzu (IV), Atar-ili (673)	X
1.7		Bēlet-ilī (Elam. calender, Abu = V), year []	[]

text.exemplar	provenance	date	Apology
1.1	Nineveh Area SH	Addaru (XII), Atar-ili (673)	X
1.26	Nineveh Area SH	Addaru, Atar-ili (673)	X
1.9	Nineveh Area SH		X
1.29	Nineveh IT. N.	Nisannu (I), Nabû-bēlī-uşur (672)	[]
1.8	Nineveh		[]
1.12	Nineveh		[]
1.13	Nineveh		[]
1.14	Nineveh		[]
1.15	Nineveh		[]
1.17	Nineveh		X
1.27	Nineveh		
1.28	Nineveh		?
1.11	Assur hE91		[]
1.32	Assur city area South		X
1.33	Assur city area		[]
1.3	Susa		X
1.4	Susa		X
SM 410	Suleimanija ¹⁴		

<http://oracc.museum.upenn.edu/rinap/rinap4/corpus>

Text 001, col. V-VI (prisma)

"At that time, the armory of Nineveh which the kings who came before (me), my ancestors, had built to maintain the camp (and) to keep thoroughbreds, mules, chariots, military equipment, implements of war, and the plunder of enemies, everything (v 45) that the god Aššur, king of the gods, gave me as my royal share — that place had become too small for me to have horses show their mettle (and) to train with chariots. I made the people of the lands plundered by my bow take up hoe (and) basket, and they made bricks. I razed that small palace in its entirety, took a large area from the fields for an addition, and added (it) to it (the palace). I laid its foundations with limestone, strong stone from the mountains, and raised the terrace. I summoned the kings of Ḫatti and Across the River (Syria-Palestine): (v 55) Ba'al, king of Tyre, Manasseh, king of Judah, Qa'uš-gabri, king of Edom, Mušurī, king of Moab, Šil-Bēl, king of Gaza, Mitinti, king of Ashkelon, Ikausu, king of Ekron, Milki-ašapa, king of Byblos, (v 60) Mattan-Ba'al, king of Arvad, Abī-Ba'al, king of Samsimurruna, Būdi-il, king of Bīt-Ammon, Aḫī-Milki, king of Ashdod — twelve kings from the shore of the sea; Ekištūra, king of Idalion, Pilagurâ, king of Kitrusi, (v 65) Kīsu, king of Salamis, Itūandar, king of Paphos, Erēsu, king of Soloi, Damāsu, king of Curium, Admēsu, king of Tamassos, Damysos, king of Qarti-ḫadasti, (v 70) Unasagusu, king of Lidir, Bušusu, king of Nuria — ten kings of Iadnana (Cyprus) in the midst of the sea; in total, twenty-two kings of Ḫatti (Syria-Palestine), the seacoast, and the midst of the sea.

I sent orders to all of them for large beams, tall columns, (and) very long planks (v 75) of cedar (and) cypress, grown on Mount Sirāra and Mount Lebanon, which from early days grew thick and tall, (and) they had bull colossi (made of) *pendû*-stone, *lamassu*-statues, zebus, paving stones, slabs of marble, *pendû*-stone, breccia, colored marble, brownish limestone, (and) *girimḥilibû*-stone, (everything that was) needed for my palace, dragged with much trouble (and) effort from the midst of the mountains, the place of their origin, to Nineveh, my capital city.

In a favorable month, on a propitious day, I built great palatial halls upon that terrace for my lordly residence. (vi 5) I built a royal house ninety-five large cubits long (and) thirty-one large cubits wide, something none of the kings, my ancestors, had done. I had its lower courses surrounded with limestone paving stones and I roofed it with magnificent cedar beams.

I had a room of white alabaster and palatial halls of ivory, ebony, boxwood, *musukkannu*-wood, cedar, (and) cypress skillfully built for my royal residence and my lordly leisure. I roofed it with magnificent cedar beams. I fastened bands of silver and copper on doors of cypress, whose fragrance is sweet, and installed (them) in their gates. (vi 15) I had placed to the right and left of their gate(s) bull colossi (and) zebus (made) of *pendû*-stone (and) whose appearance repels evil, large stone bull colossi, lions that are facing one another, (and) zebus that are facing one another, (and) twin *lamassu*-statues, that I cast in shining copper, and bull colossi (made) of white limestone.

I placed crossbeams on large copper columns (and) tall cedar columns, (thus forming) a cornice in their gates. I had the frieze(s) (and) coping(s) of the whole of that palace made of black and blue (glazed bricks) and I put (them) around (it) like a wreath. I surrounded all of the gates with an arch and a *vault* like a rainbow. I embedded nails of silver, gold, and shining copper in them. Through the craft of the sculptor, I depicted on it (the frieze of the palace) the might of the god Aššur, my lord, (and) the deeds that I had accomplished in enemy lands.

I planted alongside it (the palace) a botanical garden, a replica of Mount Amanus, with all kinds of aromatic plants and fruit trees. I greatly enlarged its courtyard and made its approach much wider. I led a canal into it (the park) as a watering place for horses and I made (it) murmur (with running water) like an irrigation ditch.

After I built (and) completed that palace from its foundations to its parapets (and) filled (it) with splendor, its mortar was mixed with fine beer, its *kalakku*-clay was mixed with wine. The bearers of the spade, the hoe, (and) the basket, the workers who carry baskets of brick(s), passed their time in joyous song, in rejoicing, with pleasure, (and) with radiant mien. I finished its work with rejoicing, jubilation, (and) melodious songs, and I named it Ešgalšiddudua, 'The palace that administers everything.'

É.GAL *pa-qi-da-at ka-la-mu az-ku-ra ni-bit-sa*

I invited the gods Aššur, Bēl, Nabû, Ištar of Nineveh, (and) Ištar of Arbela, (vi 45) the gods of Assyria, all of them, into it. I made sumptuous pure offerings before them and presented (them) with my gifts. Those gods, in their steadfast hearts, blessed my kingship. I seated all of the officials and people of my country in it (vi 50) at festive tables, ceremonial meals, and banquets, and I made their mood jubilant. I watered their insides with wine and *kurunnu*-wine. I had (my servants) drench their (the guests') heads with fine oil (and) perfumed oil.

By the command of the god Aššur, the king of the gods, and the gods of Assyria, all of them, (vi 55) let me dwell in it forever in good health, happiness, bright spirit(s), (and) with the satisfaction of growing old, and let me be sated with its splendor. At new year, in the first month, yearly, without ceasing, let me inspect in it all of the thoroughbreds, mules, camels, military equipment, implements of war, (and) (vi 60) all of the captured enemy soldiers. Let the good *šēdu* (and) the good *lamassu*, who guard my royal path (and) who make me happy, last forever and ever in that palace. May they never leave it."

