

THE DISPLAY OF ESARHADDON'S SUCCESSION TREATY AT KALĦU AS A MEANS OF INTERNAL POLITICAL CONTROL

CRISTINA BARCINA
cbarcinap@hotmail.com
University of Tartu
Estonia

Summary: The Display of Esarhaddon's Succession Treaty at KalĦu as a Means of Internal Political Control

In 672 B.C. Esarhaddon made the citizens of Assyria swear a loyalty oath to his chosen heir, Ashurbanipal, in the Nabû Temple of KalĦu. This is known through three letters belonging to the royal archives of Nineveh. This oath and its related stipulations were written in unusually big tablets and left on display in the Throne Room of the Temple. However, the identity of those pledging their loyalty to Ashurbanipal in the tablets that preserve the relevant lines (city-lords from the Eastern periphery of the empire) is at odds with the letters' information. The identical oath-tablet recently excavated in a temple at Tell Ta'yinat (South-West Turkey), sworn by the provincial governor and "apparât" of Kullania, forces a reassessment of the reasons behind the display of the tablets seemingly intended for the Eastern chieftains. The religious nature of Esarhaddon's Succession Treaty by reason of the visual, textual and findspot aspects of the tablets, extensively analyzed by previous scholarship, should not obscure the fact that Esarhaddon may have taken advantage of those aspects, and earlier practices concerning the display of vassal-treaties, to hide his fears of treason from his intended target audience: Assyrian officials of high-rank.

Keywords: Esarhaddon – Dynastic Succession – Nabû Temple – display of treaties – Tablet of Destinies

Resumen: La exposición del Tratado de Sucesión de Esarhaddon en KalĦu como un medio de control político interno

En el 672 a.C. Esarhaddon hizo jurar lealtad a los ciudadanos de Asiria hacia su heredero escogido, Ashurbanipal, en el templo de Nabû en KalĦu. Esto se conoce a través de tres cartas pertenecientes al archivo real de Niniveh. Este juramento y sus estipulaciones relativas fueron escritas en tabletas inusualmente grandes y expuestas en la Sala

Article received: December 6th 2016; approved: April 21th 2017.

del Trono del Templo. Sin embargo, la identidad de aquellos que juraron lealtad a Ashurbanipal en las tabletas que preservan las líneas relevantes (señores de las ciudades de la periferia oriental del imperio) no concuerdan con la información de las cartas. Las tablas juramentales recientemente excavadas en el templo de Tell Ta'yinat (sudeste de Turquía), juradas por el gobernador provincial y “*apparat*” de Kullania, fuerza a reevaluar las razones detrás de la exposición de las tabletas aparentemente destinadas a los jefes orientales. La naturaleza religiosa del Tratado Sucesorio de Esarhaddon a causa de los aspectos visuales, textuales y del lugar de hallazgo de las tabletas, analizadas extensamente por anteriores académicos, no debe oscurecer el hecho de que Esarhaddon pudo haberse beneficiado de estos aspectos, y de las prácticas tempranas respecto a la exposición de tratados de vasallaje, para esconder sus miedos a la traición de la audiencia a la que iba destinado el mensaje: oficiales asirios de alto rango.

Palabras clave: Asarhadón – Sucesión dinástica – Templo de Nabû – exhibición de tratados – Tablilla de los Destinos

INTRODUCTION

The discovery in 2009 of a new version of Esarhaddon’s Succession Treaty (EST) in a small temple at Tell Ta’yinat,¹ ancient Kullania, the capital of a province in the Neo-Assyrian empire,² has confirmed that all EST tablets share the same text,³ except for §1 concerning the oath-takers. Whereas the Ta’yinat manuscript was the treaty of Esarhaddon with the governor of Kullania, along with sixteen administrative and military categories,⁴ the identity of those who swore loyalty to Ashurbanipal in Ayyāru (II) 672 B.C. in seven of the tablets found at the Nabû Temple of Nimrud (ancient Kalḫu) are chieftains from diffe-

¹ The first excavations at the site were conducted by the University of Chicago’s Syro-Hittite Expedition between 1935 and 1938. In 1999 the University of Toronto resumed field investigations within the framework of the Tayinat Archaeological Project. Building XVI was unearthed during the 2008 and 2009 seasons (cf. Harrison and Osborne 2012). J. Lauinger from Johns Hopkins University is responsible for the edition and publication of the epigraphic cuneiform material: Lauinger 2011; 2012; 2016.

² KUR Kullania or Kulnia became the designation of Unqi/Pattina upon its integration into the Assyrian empire under Tiglath-pileser III. Cf. Parpola 1970: 213, and 206 for the different spellings of the capital.

³ Except for some linguistic and orthographic variations, errors and omissions; cf. Parpola and Watanabe 1988 (SAA 2): XXIX; Lauinger 2012: 90.

⁴ By contrast, composite SAA 2 6 reads: “with PN, city-ruler of GN, his sons, his grandsons, with all the [*gentilic*] (...)”

rent locations in the Zagros, the eastern periphery of Assyria.⁵ This presented a conundrum already before Ta'yinat, one that past scholarship tried to explain from different perspectives that generally revolved around the idea of the mixed nature of EST as a vassal treaty and an *ad hoc* loyalty oath, and attempting to identify these city-lords with the available information.⁶ More recently, Steymans posited that KalĦu was a convenient location for the Eastern oath-takers, since—given the amount of correspondence proving that the Nabû Temple acted as a center for the reception and redistribution of horses (SAA 13 82–123)⁷—it was probably the place where these vassals were delivering their tribute from the Zagros and the Iranian Plateau.⁸

However, after Ta'yinat, the fact that only in this tablet there is perfect agreement between the location and the people entering the treaty becomes obvious. Thanks to the existence of SAA 10 5, 6, and 7, letters that chief scribe Issar-šumu-ereš addressed to the king discussing suitable dates in Nisannu (I) for scholars, temple personnel and citizens of main Assyrian cities to enter and conclude the treaty ceremonies in KalĦu, we know unequivocally that Esarhaddon spared no effort in making his succession arrangements as “universal,” using Fales' term,⁹ as possible. Yet, these citizens' oaths were not preserved in oath-tablets for display a month later, following an introductory pattern that would have been similar to the Kunalia version.

So why are several petty rulers from several locations in the Zagros, at a time when the empire is already more or less consolidated, used as oath-takers in these tablets conspicuously displayed in a temple of the old Assyrian capital? The information we have concerning these

⁵ SAA 2 6 is the composite version of this text, pieced together out of eight of the Nimrud exemplars, and taking the Assur small fragment known at the time of publication into account. Two additional fragments from Assur have recently been published by Frahm 2009: 135f, drawings in p. 255: VAT 12374 (ll 54–62) and VAT 9424 (ll 509–516). All Assur fragments come from unknown locations.

⁶ See Wiseman 1958: 9ff; Watanabe 1987: 3f; SAA 2: XXXf; Liverani 1995.

⁷ Perhaps to be connected to a possible role of Marduk as a horse trainer; cf. SAA 3 38, ll 14–15 (a cultic explanatory text).

⁸ Steymans 2006: 342ff.

⁹ Fales 2012: 138.

city-lords from inscriptions and letters clearly shows that they were not “typical” vassals, that is, rulers of a newly defeated and subjugated polity.¹⁰ The fact that one of them was the city-lord of Zamua, capital of the province of Zamua (annexed to the empire by Shalmaneser III), instead of the governor¹¹ and magnates of this province is also significant. Moreover, the deities invoked in the standard curse section of EST to represent the second party are at home in diverse Western locations, not Ellipi, Media or Elam.¹² Even considering Aramean penetration in the East since at least the eighth century¹³ (the city-lord of Zamua himself seems to have been an Aramean),¹⁴ the lack of some eastern deities in the Kalḫu manuscripts is noticeable and should not be attributed to oversight. Indeed, the fact that Assyrians were more familiar with Western deities, and with the cultural world of Canaan, Syria and Anatolia, reveals their contempt of Eastern peoples, a contempt that encompassed mountain dwellers in general.

On his work on the Assyrian perception of Zagros ruling elites as inferred from the language used in annalistic inscriptions, Lanfranchi concluded that Assyrians gradually realized the inferiority of the Eastern polities by comparison with the more substantial Western ones:

¹⁰ We learn from Esarhaddon’s inscriptions (RINAP 4 1, iv 32–45; 2 iv 1–20; 3 iv 3’–19’; 4 iii’ 12’–16’; 6 iii’ 25’–32’, 35 3–1) that the alliance forged with the chieftains of Partakka, Partukka, and Urukazabarna had been made at their request to defeat rival city-lords in exchange for horses and lapis lazuli, and the latter is the oath-taker in the most complete Kalḫu manuscript at our disposal. See Radner 2003a: 60 and SAA 16 146 and 147 concerning the lords of Sikris, Kār-Zitali, Ellipi and Nahšimarti (probably Elam). On the connotations of *kitru* “alliance,” see Liverani 1982.

¹¹ See the eponymy of year 712 or SAA 7 172, 1.7 (LÚ.NAM KUR [za]-’mu’-a).

¹² The Ta’yinat manuscript has contributed to their full identification. See Lauinger 2012: 90f, 113; commentaries to vi 44–50: 119.

¹³ Fales 2003: 131–147. See also SAA 4 58, on whether Esarhaddon should send an Aramean scribe to GN or PN. The gentilic Sappardean is partially preserved in line 4. Šaparda was located within the province of Ḫarḫar, cf. Radner 2003a: 50.

¹⁴ Larkutla’s treaty is concluded with his children, his brothers, his clan (lit. his nest), and with the offspring of the house of his ancestor. For a convenient simultaneous reading of all texts, see Watanabe 1987, *Partitur*, p. 56.

*The experience of managing such complexity, accumulated during the process of converting conquered polities into provinces, favoured the recognition of the structural differences between the western and the Zagros polities. (...) Their structure was regarded unsuitable for controlling a major area of influence, because of the primitiveness of their cultural world and of their institutions.*¹⁵

This perception is very likely the main reason why Esarhaddon used Eastern chieftains, even if they had never been enemies of the empire, as suitably representative “vassals” in the succession ceremonies and for the oath-tablets. But the underlying reasoning behind this charade has two implications: 1) the term for treaty used in EST, *adê*,¹⁶ is confirmed as being perceived by Assyrians mainly as a “vassal-treaty,” that is, an expression of submission,¹⁷ and 2) there was or there had been a tradition where the vassal had the obligation to have his oath-tablet displayed, presumably in the temple (or its vicinity) where the ceremony took place. Even though the evidence is scarce, in light of SAA 2 1 and the Sfire steles (discussed below, 2), we suggest that this tradition existed.

The obvious purpose of EST is to guarantee the loyalty of all relevant collectives in the Assyrian empire to Esarhaddon's chosen heir, who was not his eldest son.¹⁸ The existence of another *adê* as a

¹⁵ Lanfranchi 2003: 95. Lanfranchi also notes how the title *bēl āli* increasingly replaced that of *šarru* in inscriptions (loc.cit.). For Radner, the protracted use of the term “city-lord” in Assyrian sources “after the creation of provinces in the Zagros hints towards the existence of a parallel power structure alongside the official Assyrian administration in the east, necessitating to bind them to the Assyrian king with methods that are unnecessary for regular subjects” (2003a: 60).

¹⁶ A West-Semitic term. For the etymology of *adê* (*plurale tantum*), see Tadmor 1987: 455. On Akkadian designations for “treaty” in earlier periods, see Brinkman 1990: 91ff.

¹⁷ *Contra* Parpola and Watanabe 1988 (introduction to SAA 2 unnecessarily complicated); Lauinger 2013 (discussed below).

¹⁸ SAA 10 185, ll 7–12: “you have girded a son of yours with headband 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!” Šamaš-šumu-ukīn is not named “the crown prince designate of Babylon” until §7 of EST.

succession treaty, that of Sennacherib on behalf of Esarhaddon himself in 683 B.C.,¹⁹ is the first indication in our sources of an *adê* used as a means to counter the possible consequences of a succession war.

All the considerations mentioned above point to a very specific target audience for his succession arrangements: Assyrian royalty and magnates, or anyone who could pose—and support—a threat to the throne.²⁰ This point of view had already been suggested before the Ta'yinat version was unearthed,²¹ but the different religious aspects of EST, which turned this *tuppī adê* “oath-tablet” into a Tablet of Destinies, a divine object embedded in the Enūma Eliš and Anzû bird mythical narratives,²² make it easy to gloss over the political context at the time, and contribute to blur the bigger picture. These religious aspects can be summarized as follows:

- Visual: presence in all tablets of three seal impressions, belonging to three different periods in the history of Assur, and connected by legend and/or iconography to the god Aššur and to the Tablet of Destinies *topos*;
- Textual:

§35 Whoever changes, neglects, violates, or voids the oath of this tablet (and) transgresses against the father, the lord, (and) the adê

¹⁹ SAA 2 3 (VAT 11449). To be added to two other fragments from Assur published by Frahm in 2009 (VAT 10470 and VAT 12007, Nos. 67–68, copies in p. 253). On the date of his designation, see Parpola 1987: 164, and Kwasman and Parpola 1991 (SAA 6): XXXIII f.

²⁰ SAA 4 139 is an oracle query asking whether a number of palace staff and Assyrian residents—starting with the eunuchs and bearded officials, and ending with the foreigners and their entourage—will instigate an uprising and rebellion against Esarhaddon. Note that SAA 4 142 shows some differences in the foreigners listed in the equivalent paragraph, but focuses on a rebellion against Ashurbanipal.

²¹ Porter 1993: 134: “(...) Esarhaddon and his advisers expected opposition to the arrangements for the succession and were attempting to encourage compliance with them by imposing formal oaths on a broad cross-section of people in Assyria, as well as on influential people in Babylonia and other conquered territories.”

²² In these texts, the Tablet of Destinies is conceptualized as the compendium of cosmic regulations established by Enlil, the supreme deity in Babylonia in the 3rd and beginning of the 2nd millennium B.C. It is also *rikis Enlilūti* “the bond of Enlilship,” that is the cosmic bond of heaven and the underworld, so its keeper becomes chief of the destiny-decreeing gods (see George 1986: 138 f; Annus 2002: 148–152).

*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 shall 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.*²³

- Related to their location. Despite the difference in size, which would also affect the function of the different rooms, there is a certain parallelism between the two. The Ta'yinat exemplar was found in the altar-room of a Neo-Assyrian temple, face down (reverse facing up), as if it had toppled after falling *in situ* (see **Fig. 1**).²⁴ The Nimrud tablet fragments were scattered on the floor in the north-west corner of the Throne Room²⁵ of the Nabû Temple, not in the temple's library (NT 12 and 13, see **Fig. 2**).²⁶ An administrative tablet, also found in this room, mentions the *bīt akit* and *bīt akiāte*, that is, shrines dedicated to the celebration of an Akītu-festival.²⁷ The correspondence from the Royal Archives of Nineveh sent by the personnel of this temple refers to the celebration of a *quršū* or sacred marriage ceremony between Nabû and his consort on behalf of the king and his children, or on behalf of the crown prince.²⁸ Finally, engravings on ivory strips and panels that probably adorned the throne and

²³ Thanks to the Ta'yinat version, a better translation of §35 is now possible: Lauinger 2012: 112.

²⁴ Lauinger 2011: 12; 2016: 230. Evidence of an intense conflagration remained on the floors and walls of Building XVI; Harrison and Osborne 2012: 130.

²⁵ The stone "tramlines" visible on the floor of this room, leading to a stepped dais, are features also seen in throne rooms of palaces. Cf. Oates and Oates 2001: 48ff; 116f.

²⁶ Wiseman 1958: 1.

²⁷ Postgate 1974 (ND 4318). Mention of the shrines is also made in SAA 13, 134.

²⁸ See excerpts of these texts in Oates and Oates 2001: 120f.

were found on the surface of the dais, depict some kind of processional ceremony.²⁹

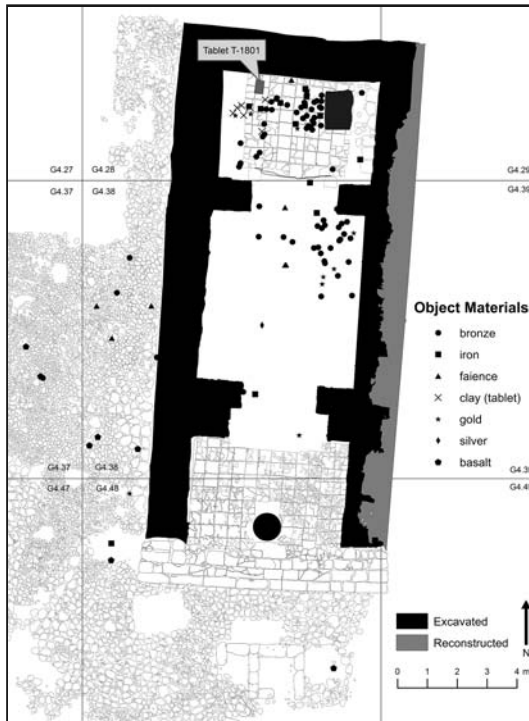


Figure 1. Plan of Building XVI showing artifact distribution (Harrison and Osborne 2012: 138). Courtesy of J. Osborne.

In light of the above, Lauinger proposes to see EST as an object of worship, and perhaps periodical fealty.³⁰ More cautious than Lauinger, Fales proposes instead a religious-institutional impact of EST, due to the reference to “the *adê* of the king” within the phrasing of two formulae in legal documents of 7th century date.³¹ This is the most concrete evidence we have of the long-term repercussions of EST after 672 B.C.

²⁹ Mallowan and Davies 1970; Oates and Oates 2001: 119.

³⁰ Lauinger 2011: 12.

³¹ Fales 2012: 152.

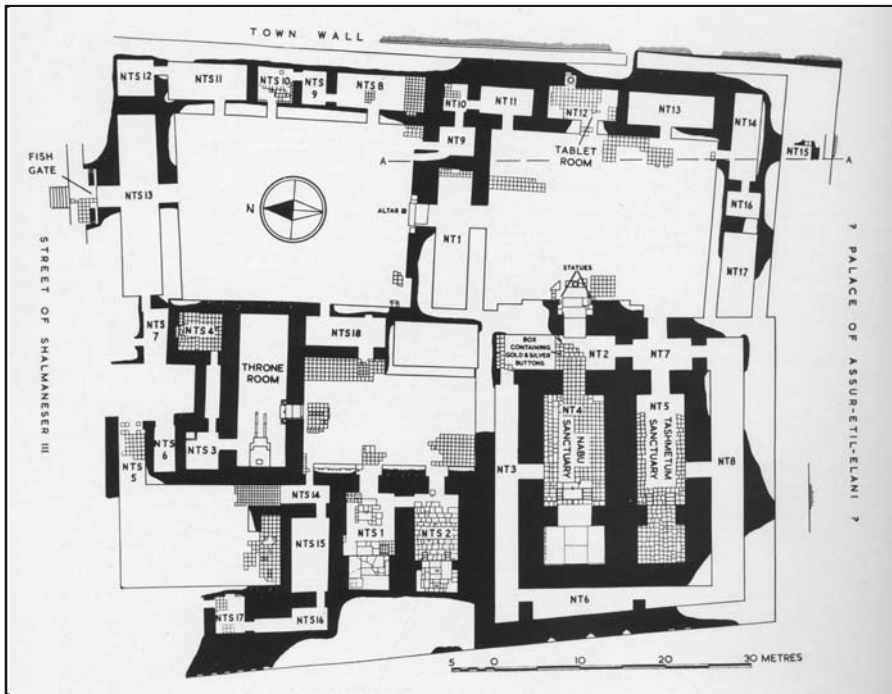


Figure 2. Plan of Nabû Temple at Nimrud (Kalḥu) (Mallowan 1957, Plate II)
Reproduced with permission from Cambridge University Press.

However, one of the formulae is attested three years earlier (see below). Finally, some scholars stress the possible influence of EST on the writing of the Covenant of Yahweh recorded in Deuteronomy 28: 20–44.³²

Lauinger has also proposed to translate the term *adê* in general as “duty, destiny.”³³ The second meaning in particular is influenced by EST. He adduces methodological advantages due to the number of well-preserved exemplars that have allowed us to confirm that both vassal rulers and Assyrian administrators entered the same treaty, which would permit comparisons with other *adê*.³⁴

³² Watanabe 2014. Cf. Steymans 2013.

³³ Lauinger 2013: 99, 114f.

³⁴ *Ibid.*: 108.

This article postulates that EST—the conjunction of ceremony, text, and the display of the oath-tablets—was a unique event, and that Esarhaddon needed for the oath-tablet to serve as a reminder and a warning to those who, by reason of their wealth or military rank, could back the claim of a member of the royal family to the throne.³⁵ Yet Esarhaddon also needed to deliver that warning in a subtle and appropriate manner. EST is to be understood by the following factors:

Political context of the succession arrangements. Esarhaddon came to power after a brief war against his brothers, who had his father murdered and clashed with his forces west of the Tigris.³⁶ This experience shaped many of his political decisions as a ruler, including his succession arrangements. He is well-known for the large number of queries through extispicy that were kept and archived in Nineveh (SAA 4, Chs.1–12). Although the circumstances and powerful individuals involved in a plot to oust the king from power mere months after EST are still largely unknown,³⁷ the Babylonian Chronicles record that on his eleventh regnal year “the king put his numerous officers to the sword.”³⁸

Display of a treaty as a sign of subjugation. SAA 2 1 and the Sfire steles are treaties engraved on stone. The text and political circumstances of these treaties strongly suggest that the inferior or defeated party had to set the stones up in a public location, under the gods’ surveillance.

Assyrian “non-vassal” *adê*: a military connection? Even though there is no evidence of protocolary *adê* sworn by palace personnel upon a king’s accession, there is some evidence pointing to a mandatory loyalty oath given by soldiers to their commanding officer or to the king.

The choice of Kalḫu as the location for the *adê* ceremonies in Assyria: the Nabû temple and Fort Shalmaneser. Apart from its being close to the capital but not the capital, Kalḫu had an old, prestigious temple dedicated to the ideal deity for the succession ceremonies,

³⁵ See Fale’s convenient chart of human categories named in EST as potential threats: 2012: 141. See also Radner 2010a. On the matter of succession and usurpation in Assyria, cf. Mayer 1998.

³⁶ RINAP 4 1, i 63–73. Cf. RINAP 4, 2; Radner 2003b: 167.

³⁷ Nissinen 1998 (SAAS 7), 5.3; Radner 2003b: 174; Frahm 2010.

³⁸ *Chronicles*, No. 1 iv 29; No. 14, l. 27. See also Millard 1994 (SAAS 2): 68, 97.

and also an important arsenal or *ekal mašarti*, extensively renovated by Esarhaddon.

The fashioning of a Tablet of Destinies. Esarhaddon took advantage of a religious concept already used by his father, and developed it.

POLITICAL CONTEXT OF THE SUCCESSION ARRANGEMENTS

Esarhaddon inherited a large empire. Among his challenges upon accession, further expansion was not a big priority, but rather its preservation, maintaining the illusion of expansion (*e.g.* his expeditions to Patušarri, in Media, or the land of Bāzu, probably in north-east Arabia),³⁹ and making sure that there was a steady supply of tribute and booty for the upkeep of his army and his building activities in several cities of Assyria and Babylonia.⁴⁰

Most importantly, he had ascended the throne after his father's murder and his brothers' attempt at usurpation.⁴¹ Since his brothers had eluded capture,⁴² he must have taken measures to control the threat the exiles posed, and in particular, to capture the brother that seems to have attracted more support, Arda-Mullissi.⁴³ There are two letters suggesting that Esarhaddon continued looking for his brother. The first is SAA 18 100, where an account is given of a Babylonian man who had denounced Arda-Mullissi as harboring murderous intentions against his father before two officials, and lost his life because of it. The letter seems to be thus an answer to a formal investigation. SAA 13 111 was written during Esarhaddon's first campaign in Mannea. Apart from advice based on astrological observations, the author informs the king of an interrogation conducted by the chief eunuch to a Babylonian, whose word is supported by Aramean chieftains, in connection, perhaps, to activities of Arda-Mullissi in Mannea.

³⁹ On the location of Patušarri, see Radner 2003a: 59; on the location of Bāzu, see Eph'al 1982: 130ff.

⁴⁰ On his approach to Babylonian matters in the aftermath of his father's destruction of Babylon, see Porter 1993.

⁴¹ RINAP 4 1, i 1–ii 11.

⁴² RINAP 4 1, i 80–84a.

⁴³ Parpola 1980: 171–182.

The first letter also mentions that Arda-Mullisi had followers swear loyalty to him.⁴⁴ This is important because it underlines Esarhaddon's need to legitimize Sennacherib's Succession Treaty on his behalf, mentioned three times in the introduction to Nineveh A (=RINAP 4 1). This "prologue" is—as Tadmor realized—actually an autobiographical apology of sorts, composed immediately before his succession arrangements, and thus not only serves to justify his own right to rule, but also that of his future heir.⁴⁵ Furthermore, despite the capture of Assyrian escapees after his destruction of Šubria, explicitly said to be in retaliation for the Hurrian king's refusal to have these fugitives extradited (RINAP 4 33, addressed to the god Aššur), there is no mention of his brothers,⁴⁶ nor do the annals written in 673–672 B.C.—Kalḫu A or the Tarbišu inscriptions⁴⁷—mention the Šubrian campaign, concluded at the end of 673.⁴⁸ This means that his brothers had eluded capture, and were still potential threats.

There is an interesting literary work written *ca.* 670 BC that can help illuminate Esarhaddon's perception of EST, or rather the perception he wanted his subjects to have: the collection of oracles by Ištar of Arbela's prophet La-dagil-ili.⁴⁹ Pongratz-Leisten has convincingly shown that this specific collection has two different textualizations: two oracles from the mouth of Aššur "foreseeing" successful events which have already happened—an example of *vaticinio ex eventu*—, and another from the mouth of Ištar. The latter describes Aššur's *adê* with Esarhaddon, with the goddess acting as a mediator before the gods gathered in assembly.⁵⁰ This apparent idealization/ritualization of his

⁴⁴ *Adê ša sihi* "a loyalty-oath of rebellion" (4-r.5). Note that §22 of EST—the attention paid to officers (bearded or eunuchs) in this section—makes it likely that Arda-Mullissi arranged for a number of officers to murder his father. Esarhaddon had the families of those who had participated in the uprising executed (RINAP 4 1 ii 8–11). See also Radner 2010: 272f (concerning the promotion of a gatekeeper).

⁴⁵ Tadmor 1983.

⁴⁶ Cf. Leichty 1991, Na'aman 2006, Radner 2012a: 263.

⁴⁷ RINAP 4 1, 77 and 93.

⁴⁸ *Chronicles*, No. 1, iv 19–21: Ṭebētu (X), booty entering Uruk a month earlier, though; No. 14, 24–25: the 18th of Addaru (XII).

⁴⁹ SAA 9 3.

⁵⁰ Pongratz-Leisten, Self-published: 20ff.

own *adê* confirms Esarhaddon's state of mind. It is clear that the support his brother had rallied to his cause was still a source of irritation and concern.

DISPLAY AS THE EXPRESSION OF SUBJUGATION

Even though the totality of *adê* in our possession is scarce,⁵¹ imperial discourse in annalistic accounts clearly indicates that treaties in Middle and Neo-Assyrian times were meant to be ratified by an oath made by only one of the parties.⁵² There is no evidence that the Assyrian king ever committed himself to protect a party, the vassal, as seems to be the case in the Old Babylonian and Hittite periods.⁵³ The "benevolent" action on the part of the Assyrian king is simply one of non-destruction (*e.g.* Sfire I B, 23b–26a; EST § 25, 287'–295').

Adê are consistently presented as the ultimate sign of defeat and the beginning of actual subjugation,⁵⁴ and even if these texts are biased, hence devoid of or disguising any hint of failure or weakness, their propagandistic nature itself suggests that few treaties where Assyria may have been in a situation of parity or inferiority would have been preserved. Moreover, even though Esarhaddon was not averse to use diplomatic means to approach a potential enemy, as frequently shown in his queries,⁵⁵ he continued to impose *adê* in a context of submission (SAA 2 5), as certainly did Ashurbanipal.⁵⁶ This stands in stark contrast to the diplomatic language and the context in which *adê* are concluded to pro-

⁵¹ Parpola and Watanabe published fourteen texts in SAA 2, though No. 14 is a draft for an inscription.

⁵² Cf. Tadmor 1982: 142.

⁵³ For an Old Babylonian example, see Eidem and Laessøe 2001, No. 1 (SH.809), ll. 18–30. See Lafont's further references and comments in 2001: 287, n. 293. For the Hittite evidence, Altman 2003.

⁵⁴ Tadmor regarded *adê* "treaty" and *urdūtu* "servitude" (manifested as *corvée* and tribute) as two separate "dependencies" (1982: 149–151). Radner, instead, thinks that oath and servitude should be seen as connected, one guarantying the other (2006: 353ff).

⁵⁵ SAA 4 Nos. 12, 20, 24, 30, 56, 57, 58, 74. And he concluded an *adê* with his strongest neighbors, Urartu and Elam. Cf. RINAP 4 33 and SAA 18 7.

⁵⁶ SAA 2 10; Parpola 1987: 185.

mote good tribal relations in the eighth-century letters composing the *šandabakku* archive from Nippur.⁵⁷

Unsurprisingly, Assyro-Babylonian relations since the Middle-Assyrian period are not easy to categorize, since even when Assyria was in a position of superiority (with Tukultī-Ninurta I, for instance), there is always an awareness of the cultural preeminent status of some Babylonian cities, which added to Babylonia's complicated tribal makeup (the ambitions of the Chaldeans in particular), forced Assyrian kings to use more subtle strategies of domination. This is clearly perceived in the correspondence of Tiglath-pileser III (744–727 B.C.) and Sargon II (722–704 B.C.).⁵⁸ Thus, in one instance we see that a treaty draft needed to be approved by both parties.⁵⁹

Luckily, one Assyro-Babylonian treaty has come down to us. Engraved on a small black stone, it is the treaty between Marduk-zākir-šumi I (855–19 B.C.) and Šamšī-Adad V (823–11 BC), found in Nineveh (Rm 2 427=SAA 2 1). It was probably agreed immediately before Šamšī-Adad V's accession, before he gained control of those Assyrian cities that had sided with another contender to the throne with the aid of the Babylonian king. Assyria must have been therefore at this moment the weakest party. There are several reasons to justify this within the text, as Brinkman noted:

- a) *Akkad is mentioned before Assyria in the enumeration of countries (6')*; b) *Marduk-zākir-šumi has the title "king" after his name, while the Assyrian, Šamšī-Adad, has no title in the preserved portion (10', 8')*; c) *the main Babylonian gods, Marduk and Nabû, are the first deities invoked in the curse formulae; and d) most of the rest of the curses are very similar to—and could*

⁵⁷ Cole 1996a: Nos. 6, 7, 20 and 23 mention *adê*. For a summary on the nature of tribal relations as reflected in this archive, see Cole's remarks on 1996b (SAAS 4): 18ff.

⁵⁸ SAA 19 and SAA 15.

⁵⁹ SAA 19 133: Merodach-Baladan and Tiglath-pileser III. Merodach-Baladan and Sargon II may have also concluded a treaty, according to Parpola's interpretation of the so-called "Sin of Sargon" composition (Parpola 1985: 48f.)

*have been taken verbatim from—the epilogue of the Babylonian laws of Hammurabi written some 940 years earlier.*⁶⁰

Extra-textual evidence can also be adduced: it was written in the Neo-Babylonian dialect and inscribed in “a crude early Neo-Babylonian lapidary script.”⁶¹ Weidner suggested that Rm 2 427 was displayed at a palace or temple in Babylon, taken eventually as booty and brought to Nineveh.⁶² However, it is more plausible that this treaty was the Babylonian copy of the treaty, taken by emissaries to Šamšī-Adad’s capital, as already suggested by Noth,⁶³ and that if not left on display in a temple, at least certainly stored and preserved.

But apart from SAA 2 1, there is additional physical evidence indicating that, during Assyrian imperial expansion in the West, *adê* may have occasionally been inscribed on stone and displayed by the defeated party: the Aramaic treaties⁶⁴ inscribed on three steles presumably found at Sfire, a village 22 km south of Aleppo,⁶⁵ concluded between Assyria and the kingdom of Arpad.⁶⁶

At the end of SF I, the following passage introduces a colophon of sorts:

SF I C 1–4 *Thus have we spoken [and thus have we writ]ten.
What I, [Mati]’el, have written (is to serve) as a reminder for
my son [and] my [grand]son who will come a[fter] me.*⁶⁷

⁶⁰ Brinkman 1990: 96f.

⁶¹ Brinkman, *ibid.*: 107.

⁶² Weidner 1932–33: 27.

⁶³ Noth 1961: 143, n.73.

⁶⁴ Called ‘*dy* (ד י)‘.

⁶⁵ Fales 2009–2011: 342–345; Radner 2006–2008: 58.

⁶⁶ Despite the disputed identity of Bar Ga’yah (“Son of Majesty”) of KTK, who is the first named party on SF I and named in the other two inscriptions, most studies on these treaties coincide in connecting KTK with Assyria: Lemaire and Durand 1984: 57f; SAA 2, XXVII; Liverani 2000: 60 and Ikeda 1993: 104–108. The gods cited in SF I on the part of KTK, and the phrasing of clauses and curses, make this connection a certainty. Identifying Bar Ga’yah with the *turtānu* Šamšī-īlu, as argued by Lemaire and Durand (38ff), who are followed by Ikeda, is certainly plausible, given the long life and powerful status of this official (Grayson 1993; Fuchs 2008).

⁶⁷ Fitzmyer 1995: 53. The precedent paragraphs are stipulations written in the second and third person to describe Mati’el’s obligations.

In other words, both sides verbally “agree” to the stipulations detailed previously and both sides keep a record of it, but it is the responsibility of the king of Arpad, that is, the second and inferior party, to have steles inscribed and displayed.

Lemaire and Durand have proposed that the three texts represent three loyalty-oaths, renewed at different moments during at least three kings’ reigns, perhaps upon their accession.⁶⁸ However, there is enough evidence to suggest that the treaties were each imposed after an uprising that involved neighboring polities, as a sign of subjugation and as a warning against future rebellion. Arpad instigated or participated in three insurrection events against Assyrian rule:

- The first would correspond to SF III, the most distinct stele, whose stipulations offer information that can be matched to the reign of Adad-nērārī III (810–783 B.C.), son of Šamši-Adad V, who defeated a coalition of states led by Arpad at Paqarhubūna, recorded in several inscriptions.⁶⁹ Moreover, the Eponym Chronicle for 805 B.C. records a campaign against Arpad, and the locations recorded for the following years suggest protracted military action in the area.⁷⁰ Especially relevant is the mention of “when (the) gods struck [my father’s] house” (SF III 23), since Šamši-Adad V desecrated temples of Dēr and other Babylonian cities.⁷¹ Moreover, a roughly contemporary ruler of Karkamiš relates in a fragmentary inscription that an Assyrian god carried off “Halabean Tarhunzas,” which prompted some retaliatory action on the part of the Storm-God.⁷² This would

⁶⁸ Lemaire and Durand 1984: 57f.

⁶⁹ RIMA 3 A.0.104.4, A.0.104.5 (see also Radner 2012b), A.0.104.7, A.0.104.3. See also Na’aman 2005: 20ff.

⁷⁰ Millard 1994 (SAAS 2): 33f.

⁷¹ RIMA 3 A.0.103.4 = SAA 3 41. From other events described in the text, Grayson considers its dating to be late in his reign; see his introductory remarks to RIMA 3 A.0.103.4. See also SAA 3 43, *Chronicles* No. 21, iv 6–9.

⁷² CHLI 1.1 KARKAMISH A24a2+3 (§6–7); Commentary, pp. 133–139; historical context on p. 78.

explain perhaps the obligation to extradite fugitives who sought the protection of the Storm-God in Aleppo (SF III 4b–7a).⁷³

- Roughly fifty years later, thus at the very beginning of Aššur-nērārī V's reign, the Eponym Chronicle records another campaign against Arpad (754 B.C.).⁷⁴ Aššur-dān III (772–755 BC) had finished his last regnal year with a campaign against Ḥamath, Arpad's southern neighbor, with unknown results given the complete lack of royal inscriptions. Both SF I and SF II name Mati-ēl as the king of Arpad, and mention the unidentified land of Bīt-Ašalli (ŠLL) in connection with Bīt-Guš (Bīt-Agūsi/Arpad).⁷⁵ The second insurrection would thus correspond to both SF I and II.⁷⁶

There are several reasons to argue for an identification of Bīt-Ašalli with the kingdom of Ḥamath and Lu'ash, which cannot be commented here, since they go beyond the scope of this paper.⁷⁷ Suffice to say that Hamath may have been at least partially under the control of Damascus, Arpad's main ally.⁷⁸

As is reflected in the passage below, Arpad had an obligation to leave the treaty on display in the temple where the oath was sworn and to have the treaty publically known:⁷⁹

SF I B, 5–11 *The treaty of the gods of KTK with the treaty of the g[ods of Arpad]. This is the treaty of gods, which gods have con-*

⁷³ Greenfield 1991. That the city belonged to Arpad in the 9th century is highly plausible considering the inscription of the last Luwian king of Ḥamath, Uratami, where mention is made of Halabeans inhabiting the river-land of Ḥurpata (Arpad). Cf. CHLI 1.2 (HAMA 1), 411ff.

⁷⁴ SAAS 2: 42.

⁷⁵ I B 3', II B 10'.

⁷⁶ Despite the fragmentary state of Stele II (cf. Lemaire and Durand 1984: 141), it is perfectly possible to see its preserved content as an extension of SF I.

⁷⁷ See Kahn 2007: 81f; Na'aman 2005: 22.

⁷⁸ See Amadasi Guzzo 2014: 54–57 for the inscription by king Hazael, found on the basalt stratum of Temple A1 at Tell Afis.

⁷⁹ Some Hittite treaties stipulations also point to a display in temples: the treaty between Shattiwaza of Mittani and Suppiluliuma I of Ḥatti states that a duplicate of the treaty-tablet is to be placed before the Sungoddess of Arinna, in Ḥatti; another before the Storm-god, Lord of the *kurinnu* (a divine symbol) of Kaḥat, in Mitanni. The treaty is to be read repeatedly before the king of Mittani and before the Hurrians: Beckman 1999, 6A §13, 6B §8. Both versions were written in Hittite and Akkadian. See also 18C §28.

cluded. Blessed forever be the reign of [Bar-Ga'yah], a great king, and from this happy treaty [] and heaven. [And all the gods] shall guard [this] treaty. Let not one of the words of thi[s] inscription be silent, [but let them be heard from] {several locations follow}.⁸⁰

Furthermore:

SF II C 1–11 [and whoever will] give orders to efface [th]ese inscriptions from the bethels⁸¹ where they are [wr]itten, and [will] say, 'I shall destroy the inscript[ions] and with impunity shall I destroy KTK and its king, 'should that (man) be frightened from effacing the inscript[ion]s from the bethels and say to someone who does not understand, 'I will pay you a salary'⁸² and (then) order (him), 'Efface these inscriptions from the bethels,' may [he] and his son die in oppressive torment.⁸³

- The third came after the threat of an alliance with Urartu, and it corresponds with the Akkadian treaty SAA 2 2 (ca. 750 BC) between Aššur-nērārī V and Mati-īlu, which understandably belongs to the Nineveh archives. Given that this treaty mentions the lands of Ḫatti and Urartu (iii 5', 8'), it is to be assigned to the last problematic years of Aššur-nērārī V's reign (754–745 B.C.), which are recorded by the Eponym Chronicle as “in the land” (in Assyria). It is probable that, a few years after the conclusion of the previous treaty, Arpad started getting restless again and cautiously started to cast for a powerful enough ally.⁸⁴

⁸⁰ Fitzmyer 1995: 47, 49.

⁸¹ Lemaire and Durand prefer to translate “temples” (removal from temples) since they see an influence of Akkadian formulae on Aramaic inscriptions at this time (1984: 142).

⁸² I follow Lemaire and Durand's translation here: *ibid.*: 128.

⁸³ Fitzmyer 1995: 125.

⁸⁴ See also Kaufman 2007 for allusions to Mati-ēl's sacrifice to Hadad-mlk to counteract the oath that he would have recently sworn (SAA 2 2), recorded on the Phoenician Incirli stela, a boundary stone (I.12).

Meanwhile, Urarṭu was getting stronger.⁸⁵ When news of this reached Assur, Mati-īlu was forced to swear yet another oath specifically committing to never join forces with Urarṭu (and peripheral states like Sam'al and Que) against Assyria. The fact that no more Aramaic steles have been recovered and what we have is a standard clay tablet in Akkadian in its stead may not be a coincidence. Seeing that the monumental steles inscribed in the recalcitrant vassal's language had obviously not had the desired effect for long, the oath ceremony took place in Assur. This would explain the high number of Assyro-Babylonian deities witnessing the treaty, while the presence of the main Canaanite, Phoenician and Anatolian deities on Arpad's side implies wariness of a belligerent Syro-Anatolian coalition.

In the context of the progressive conquest of Western territories starting with Aššurnāṣirpal II and culminating with a high number of states subsumed into the empire, or under the empire's watchful eye, we can observe other kinds of subjugation through display:

- The complete invasion of the defeated subject's cultic space:

(As for) Hanūnu of the city Gaza, he became frightened by/who fled before my powerful weapons and escaped to Egypt. I conquered the city Gaza, his royal city, carried off (...) talents of gold, 800 talents of silver, people, together with their possessions, his wife, his sons, his daughters, (...), his property, (and) his gods. I fashioned (a statue/monumental stele bearing) image(s) of the great gods, my lords, and my royal image out of gold, erected (it) in the palace of the city Gaza, (and) I reckoned (it) among the gods of their land; I established their sattukku offerings.⁸⁶

⁸⁵ See Sarduri II's inscription A 9–1 Ro (right side, 8'–10') in Salvini, CTU/1, 414f. See also CTU/1 A 9–3 IV. For a reconstruction of the chronology of these events, cf. Kahn 2007: 83.

⁸⁶ RINAP 1 42, 8'–12'; 48, 14'–17'; 49, 13–15.

- The simultaneous erection of Aššur’s divine emblem and a royal image in front of it in “less civilized” territories, as does Sargon in the newly established Kār-Šarrukīn in Ḫarḫar (Media), and Sennacherib in a city of Ḫilakku (Cilicia).⁸⁷
- Between the humiliation of the first and the explicit warning of the second lies the third, exemplified by Sam’al, a kingdom to the north of Arpad, whose king Tiglath-pileser III allowed to rule “autonomously.”⁸⁸ Five of Bar-Rakkab’s monumental inscriptions openly acknowledge his subservience to the Assyrian monarch, and one of these explicitly states it was both Bar-Rakkab’s personal god and the Assyrian king who have granted him kingship.⁸⁹ Especially significant is the image of Bar-Rakkab sitting on his throne while a scribe approaches him, with the emblem of Sîn of Ḫarran between them: this deity was a guarantor of the legal order, and a frequent witness in treaties.⁹⁰

ASSYRIAN “NON-VASSAL” *ADÊ*: A MILITARY CONNECTION?

As has been noted in the introduction, Lauinger proposes for all *adê* to be generally translated as “duty, destiny.” The definition as “duty” comes from the work by Durand on the Old Babylonian requirement for certain specialized personnel or officials to abide by a set of rules or instructions—a protocol—whose commitment to fulfill was logically engaged by means of oath.⁹¹ Durand suggested to link these protocols to the term *isiktum* (verb *esēk/hum* “to assign”), which in turn he compared

⁸⁷ Holloway 2002: 158f; see also Radner 2003a: 50ff.

⁸⁸ See also Lanfranchi 2009’s comments on the Luwian-Phoenician Çineköy inscription engraved on a sculpture of Tarhunzas, which shows some stylistic Assyrian traits. In the inscription, the king of Hiyawa/Que acknowledges the Assyrian king and the whole Assyrian “house” as a father and mother.

⁸⁹ KAI 216, 4–7.

⁹⁰ Engraved on one of the orthostats decorating the “Northern Hall” at Zincirli (Sam’al). Cf. Niehr 2014: 172. The two tassels hanging from the moon crescent, the characteristic iconography for this god, have been interpreted as a representation of the two parties who conclude a contract: Staubli 2003: 65.

⁹¹ Durand 1991: 13–71. See, for instance, the “Protocol of the Diviners,” 14f. For the considerable Hittite evidence on protocols/instructions, see Millard 2013.

to *adûm*, “corvée,” positing thus a non-West-Semitic origin for the term *adê*.⁹² However, there is no evidence in Neo-Assyrian texts that loyalty-oaths were ever a common procedure when certain personnel staff or provincial governors were appointed, nor is there any to sustain that oaths were systematically sworn upon a king’s accession, perhaps after a coronation ritual. Even the Old Babylonian evidence gathered by Durand is insufficient to state that certain oath protocols were commonplace and not *ad hoc* procedures, unless they concern lord-vassal relations in the tribal framework illuminated by the Mari archives.⁹³

But there is, instead, some evidence pointing to *adê* being regularly sworn in military contexts in Neo-Assyrian times:

- One example comes from Tiglath-pileser III’s correspondence, reporting archers had been arrested at Qadeš after they broke the *adê* sworn to an official of unknown rank at Damascus.⁹⁴ Though the letter is in a fragmentary condition, it seems the archers were locals who had been forcefully conscripted and part of the Assyrian army after swearing their allegiance.
- Another is SAA 10 113, r. 12-r.e. 16, during Esarhaddon’s reign: “In the same way Mardiya, the president of the court of the house of the chief eunuch, has left his lord and entered under Nergal-ašarēd; he is bringing ‘third men’ and cohort commanders before Nergal-ašarēd and they are taking an oath of loyalty.”
- Also SAA 18 162, from Ashurbanipal’s reign, where the writer justifies his having missed “the *adê* of Babylon” because of his

⁹² “*Adûm* est traduit en paléo-babylonien comme ‘Corvée’, ce qui n’est que l’apparence extérieure d’un travail dû normalement au Palais par certains groupes sociaux. L’évolution naturelle de cet ‘*adûm*’ ‘travail obligatoire’ a pu l’entraîner à remplacer *isiktum*.” Durand 1991: 70, n. 167.

⁹³ See also Lafont 2001: 287, n. 293.

⁹⁴ SAA 19 44: Rev. 2’–4’: 𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢𐎽𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢𐎽 ER[IM-MEŠ x x] / a-𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢𐎽-e-šú-nu TA* [x x x] / URU.*di-maš*-𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢𐎽 *iḫ*-[𐎠𐎢𐎽-𐎠𐎢𐎽-ú]. Luukko offers “the king of” at the end of line 3, but this makes no sense. The letter should be dated after 734 B.C., the defeat of Tyre. The title should be some kind of official or provincial governor, like Bēl-dūrī, the governor of Damascus during the reign of Sargon II (cf. PNA I/II: 292).

military duties, but informs that he has “joined the *adê* of the king” in Nippur and Uruk before the images of the king’s gods.⁹⁵

- It is also noteworthy that the tax exemptions granted to two cohort commanders by Aššur-etēl-ilāni, son of Ashurbanipal, include a historical preamble of sorts mentioning the violation of an *adê* sworn to the eunuch instated by the king in the area (SAA 12 35, 36).
- Finally, an interesting passage coming from one of Šamšī-Adad V’s inscriptions may be connected to the reasons behind the Sargonids’ use of dynastic *adê*:

A.0.103.1, I 39–43a *When Aššur-da”in-apla, at the time of Shalmaneser (III), his father, acted treacherously by inciting insurrection, uprising, and criminal acts, caused the land to rebel and prepared for battle; (at that time) the people of Assyria, above and below, he won over to his side, and made them take binding oaths.*

From the passage above it is clear that—even if Šamšī-Adad V considered himself the legitimate heir—Aššur-da”in-apla gathered support in his bid to the throne by making key people swear loyalty to him. Among these people, most important were those who “prepared for battle” on his behalf.⁹⁶ It is symptomatic that every time there is an attempted coup in Neo-Assyrian sources, an oath is sworn to the leader of the insurgents. However, we can see that Šamšī-Adad does not disqualify de nature of the oath (*tamītu*). Esarhaddon, by contrast, called the *adê* sworn to Arda-Mullissi “the treaty/ pact of rebellion.” The dynastic *adê* in our possession, starting with SAA 2 3 (Sennacherib naming Esarhaddon his successor), should be therefore seen as a somewhat logical development—building upon a military tradition already in place—to prevent dissent or at least disqualify any attempt at power.

⁹⁵ Cf. Cole 1996b: 77, incl. n. 55.

⁹⁶ For a convincing reconstruction of this succession war, see Fuchs 2008: 66ff.

Esarhaddon's decision to have a loyalty-oath sworn to him upon his accession (SAA 2 4) may be attributed to the existence of a protocol of which we know nothing about, but it seems far more likely that it came as a reinforcement of SAA 2 3. Similarly, it is difficult not to associate SAA 2 8, arranged by the queen mother upon Esarhaddon's death, with the events that had led to the execution of magnates in 670 B.C.⁹⁷ One of the participants in the 671–670 conspiracy had, according to his accuser, been the recipient of *adê* and *tamîtu*, sworn by 120 soldiers of Assur.⁹⁸

THE CHOICE OF KALĦU AS THE LOCATION FOR THE *ADÊ* CEREMONIES IN ASSYRIA: THE NABÛ TEMPLE AND FORT SHALMANESER

The location of the *adê* ceremonies is important to understand the context of the display of the Succession tablets in KalĦu, since both the archaeological and textual evidence suggest that Esarhaddon may have “reinforced” the impact of these ceremonies by inserting them among other rituals celebrated during the first two months of the Assyrian calendar. A detailed account of how he may have achieved a smooth concatenation of a big investiture ceremony,⁹⁹ after the *tākultu* at Assur had taken its course,¹⁰⁰ followed by the *quršû* or sacred marriage of Nabû and his consort at KalĦu and by the *adê* performances themselves is, however, beyond the scope of this article.

Esarhaddon's choice of a temple dedicated to Nabû comes as no surprise. Nabû was the son of Marduk, a scribal deity and the keeper of the Tablet of Destinies. Its increasing importance in Assyria in this

⁹⁷ The fact that Šamaš-šumu-ukīn, the rest of Ashurbanipal's brothers, and any royal family member are the first individuals named as the oath-takers does not mean that the real target are those named afterwards: powerful people who could support their claim.

⁹⁸ Frahm 2010: 92ff. See also Radner 2016: 52f (though SAA 16 243 preserves no personal names, so it is impossible to know if it concerned Sasī).

⁹⁹ Pongratz-Leisten 1994: 96ff.

¹⁰⁰ See Pongratz-Leisten 2015: 10.3.2. The Šabatu-Addaru-Nisannu sequence described by Pongratz-Leisten in *ibid.*, 10.4, was probably not concluded by the New Year festival at Assur until the following year, 671, or more likely, with Ashurbanipal already in power. See Barcina, forthcoming.

period is well-attested.¹⁰¹ But as concerns the choice of the Kalḫu temple, instead of this deity's one at Assur, Nineveh or Dūr Šarrukīn, the underlying reasoning—even if possible, given the dearth of evidence—should not be made on cultic grounds.¹⁰² The presence of the elite of the Assyrian army, that is, the cavalry and chariotry at Fort Shalmaneser, the *ēkal māšarti* (arsenal, military headquarters) of Kalḫu, should be considered the most relevant reason for Esarhaddon to have his succession ceremonies celebrated in this city, considering his target audience.¹⁰³ Moreover, Esarhaddon had residential chambers at the fort built¹⁰⁴ and his stay in Kalḫu, probably after this event, is well-attested in the correspondence.¹⁰⁵

The Ta'yinat discovery implies that Esarhaddon arranged for small *adê* ceremonies to take place in all provinces of the empire. It is almost certain, however, that the EST ceremonies were not performed in Babylonia. Although this is of course conjectural, the situation of appeasement, resettlement, and reconstruction taking place at several key Babylonian cities and their temples, along with the opacity surrounding the return of some god statues,¹⁰⁶ though not those of Marduk and his consort,¹⁰⁷ makes it very unlikely that Esarhaddon would have dared have the *adê* ceremony performed, much less the oath-tablet displayed, in Babylon, Borsippa, or elsewhere.

¹⁰¹ Pomponio 1998–2001: 19f.; Cole 1996b: 52–94.

¹⁰² See Schmidt 2012: 91–100.

¹⁰³ See Dezsö 2012, Vol. 2: 37f, 76–78 for Kalḫu as a centre of royal musters, and the administration of the cavalry and chariotry of the Assyrian heartland. See further Dezsö, *ibid.*: 159: “The officers of the crown-prince, however, were members of units of real military value. (...) This importance of the military units of the crown-prince can be followed throughout the 7th century up to the fall of the empire”. See also Ambos 2009: 1–3 and Radner 2003b: 173f, esp. n. 66 on the role of highest-ranking eunuchs as sources of dynastic instability.

¹⁰⁴ See Kalḫu A (RINAP 4 77, ll. 40–62), all exemplars dated to 672 B.C.

¹⁰⁵ SAA 13 56–69; SAA 4 119, 122, 183; SAA 10 152.

¹⁰⁶ AsBbA (RINAP 4 48), to be dated after the successful Egyptian campaign of 671 B.C. Cf. Porter 1993: 60f; 121ff.

¹⁰⁷ Porter 1993: 143–148. The Esarhaddon Chronicle concludes its record on his reign as follows: “For eight years (during the reign of) Sennacherib, for twelve years (during the reign of) Esarhaddon—twenty years (altogether)—the god Bēl stayed [in B]altil (Assur) and the *Akītu* festival did not take place. The god Nabū did not come from Borsippa for the procession of the god Bēl;” *Chronicles*, no. 14, 31'–33'.

Nevertheless, SAA 2 14, a draft for a treaty inscription addressed to Babylonian deities and mentioning Marduk's helping Esarhaddon establish world dominion after "the *adê*" was imposed in all the lands (ll 7–10), may have finally been inscribed on a stele and set up at one of these temples, representing a compromise of sorts until the renovations were finished.

THE FASHIONING OF A TABLET OF DESTINIES

Esarhaddon needed for the physical expression of this Treaty to become sacred itself, not just the *adê* by virtue of the oath, but the tablet itself by virtue of the *adê*.

This was achieved in three ways:

- a) The three sealings of Aššur
- b) Monumental size and display in the *sancta sanctorum*
- c) Made to be fully read

a) *The Three Sealings of Aššur.*

A lot has already been contributed to the subject of these three sealings of the god Aššur representing three periods since they were first published in Wiseman's *editio princeps* of the EST: the Old Assyrian, with the legend "of the god Aššur, of the *bīt alim*,"¹⁰⁸ the Middle-Assyrian, legend illegible, probably depicting Tukultī-Ninurta between two deities, one of them Aššur;¹⁰⁹ and Sennacherib's, depicting the king between Aššur and Mullisu, whose legend opens with a definition: "the Seal of Destinies (by which) the god Aššur (...)." ¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁸ See George (1986) for his analysis of the Tablet of Destinies *topos* in the mythical narratives and the name and presence of the *bīt alim* in cultic texts, which—together with its proximity to the Nabû Temple in Assur—, make him argue for state document and treaty sealing practices at Nabû temples, in agreement with the main attributes of the god.

¹⁰⁹ For the problems with this seal's iconography and fragmentary legend, see Fales' comments with previous literature: 2012: 138, n. 39. Watanabe (2014: 162) has recently proposed a worship of the Tablet of Destinies going back to Tukultī-Ninurta I by interpreting the tablet engraved on a Nusku pedestal of this king as such, but compare Franke 2011.

¹¹⁰ See RINAP 3/2 212.

Esarhaddon must have wanted the legitimacy provided by the Tablet of Destinies concept, so well exploited by his father as part of the arrangements for the *Akītu* festival dedicated to Aššur (see sealing legend on draft document donating staff to the temple: SAA 12 86), to be transferred to his own Succession Treaty. Moreover, since Sennacherib's Succession Treaty encompasses the witnessing deities as the gods of the *bīt akit*, that way he was emphasizing his father's own succession on his behalf.¹¹¹

The important fact is that the three sealings need to be understood as one,¹¹² their temporal continuum contributing to the sense of atemporality that pervades the mythical narrations that inspire them, but in case someone was missing the significance of these three sealing impressions combined, Esarhaddon presents them with a two-line heading, divided into four columns: "Seal of the god Aššur, king of the gods, lord of all the lands, not to be altered. Seal of the great ruler, father of all the gods, not to be contested."¹¹³

b) Monumental Size and Display in the Sancta Sanctorum.

The different versions of EST are, on average, 28 cm high x 42 cm long, which makes this treaty-tablet clearly stand-out.¹¹⁴ For practical reasons, inscribing EST on stone was unfeasible, but the sheer size of the clay tablets may have reminded their intended audience of past vassal treaties, sharing with them not only the "attention-grabbing" aspect, but also the sense of "atemporality," further supported by provisions reminding future generations to respect EST, too.

¹¹¹ Fales 2012: 138.

¹¹² Watanabe realized that it was not only the Old Assyrian seal that should be seen as Aššur's seal, as Wiseman originally thought, but the three of them (1985: 388).

¹¹³ SAA 2 6, i-iv.

¹¹⁴ See Diagram 1 on SAA 2: XLIV.

c) *Made to be Fully Read.*

All the EST tablets need to be rotated along their vertical axis to continue reading from the obverse to the reverse, as if turning a page in a book.¹¹⁵ This is a peculiarity born out of practicality, given their size, but also a sign that they were meant to be gazed upon, if not fully read. Both display contexts, at Ta'yinat and KalĦu, theoretically allow for a relatively wide audience having access to the tablets.

The Ezida rose on an elevation at the south of the citadel, measured approximately 85 x 80 m and had a complex layout, in accordance with what might be expected considering its lifespan and status.¹¹⁶ Even if straight access to the Throne Room from the northern courtyard was not possible (see **Fig. 2**), the *quršu*-ceremonies included a banquet that was attended by the “inspector” of the temple, among others (SAA 13 70, 78).

Building XVI measured 21 x 9 m and had a very simple layout, consisting of a porch, a central room and the *inner sanctum*. The deity or deities worshipped at the temple are still unknown. The function of the two buildings composing the “sacred precinct,” Building II and XVI, or rather, their interrelation, is hard to determine.¹¹⁷ But the rest of the epigraphic material found at the *inner sanctum* of Building XVI, namely several hemerologies (calendars of auspicious months for a given activity), a lexical list and a docket, “distributed across the western part of the elevated podium, facing the altar-like installation positioned on the podium’s eastern side”¹¹⁸ (see **Fig. 1**) is a clear sign, in our opinion, that this room had more than a cultic function, and may have been used for the storage of tablets that were used for teaching or administrative purposes. Lauinger believes that the menologies, belonging to the *iqqur ĩpuš* series, or at least the best-preserved two featuring a projection or handle, one on top, one lateral,¹¹⁹ were meant to be dis-

¹¹⁵ Wiseman 1958: 14; n. 140. Watanabe 1987: 265.

¹¹⁶ Mallowan 1957: 5ff; Oates and Oates 2001: 111–123.

¹¹⁷ Harrison and Osborne 2012; Harrison 2012.

¹¹⁸ Harrison and Osborne 2012: 137.

¹¹⁹ T1701+1923 has a handle on top; T1927 has a projection on its left side; see Lauinger 2016: 232, figs. 1–2, 3–4 on pp. 233f. Both projections have piercings.

played and were therefore not kept in the temple for safekeeping or reference.¹²⁰

The tablet with a projection on top gives it a characteristic amulet-shape, connecting it with similar tablets of heterogeneous content found elsewhere, including a Middle-Assyrian juridical text.¹²¹ The particulars of the development of amulet-shaped tablets or inscriptions for non-apotropaic purposes are still the subject of on-going research,¹²² but the tablet with a handle on its left side, one of the few unearthed so far,¹²³ indicates that it had a function beyond a cultic or votive purpose.¹²⁴ Although Lauinger rightly notes that the tablet, due to its weight, ought to have been suspended after rotating it 90 degrees, preventing its reading while on display, there is no reason why it could not have been regularly grabbed and manipulated.¹²⁵ In SAA 10 6, Issaršumu-ereš cites convenient days for the entering and conclusion of the *adê* ceremonies after consulting hemerologies, which he calls “*biḫlāni*,” “portables” (11’). In a Late Assyrian catalogue of scholarly texts, a commentary is made equating this term to *iqqur īpuš*.¹²⁶

Significantly, EST differs from these tablets in two substantial points:

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*: 230.

¹²¹ Panayotov and Llop-Raduà 2013. See also Panayotov 2013. Panayotov remarks that the *terminus technicus* IM.ŠU.GUB.BA=imšugubbū(ŠU-^u)=*qa-tum šā ṭup-pi* (*apud* Landsberger 1959: 113, 118’; 102, 444’) refers most probably to this kind of tablet, or else, to the handle itself: 2013: n. 19.

¹²² See, most recently, Heeßel 2014. On the *Stelenreihen* from Assur, see Andrae 1913; Millard 1994: 11f; Heeßel 2014: 72.

¹²³ Lauinger 2011: 7, 11; Heeßel 2014: 67, n.66; 68.

¹²⁴ Heeßel compares the Ta’yinat menologies with the scribal student tablets found at the *Nabû ša ḫarê* temple in Babylon, which were indeed dedicated to Nabû (2014: 71 *apud* Cavigneaux 1981: 1999), but the content of the first conforms to the *iqqur īpuš* series tradition (tabular format), with no added colophon or dedication.

¹²⁵ Lauinger also adduces that in one instance in T1701+ “the length of the protasis far exceeds the amount of space in the column allotted to it so that the protasis extends into the columns allotted to the months” (2016: 232, 239). However, the lack of “neatness” does not make them any less legible, and would actually suggest that they may have been written by a novice scribe. See also Jiménez and Panayotov’s remarks on BMR 4/24 in: <http://ccp.yale.edu/P297024>, published by Livingstone 2013.

¹²⁶ K14607+, l.7: diš *iq-qur* dù-uš ; *bi-bil-a-ni*; Koch 2015: 7, *apud* Lambert 1976.

- there is no projection or handle, and
- the reverse can be read by rotating the tablet on its vertical axis

T1801—whose piercing was at first thought to go all the way through its horizontal axis some centimeters below the top—is described now as having “two circular indentations on either side, most likely made by pegs that helped hold it in a frame.”¹²⁷ Also of interest is the observation that: “a varied pattern of oxidization on the tablet’s reverse may reflect where this frame covered the tablet.”¹²⁸ We should therefore visualize the tablet resting on its lower edge on a table.¹²⁹

SOME OBSERVATIONS ON THE LEGAL FORMULAE REFERRING TO “THE *ADĒ* OF THE KING”

It is precisely in Esarhaddon’s time—when it could be argued that the empire was more or less at its pinnacle—that the visual practices connected to domination coalesce with “internal traditions” related to the setting up of statues or steles in temples, resulting into a sophisticated use of the royal image in both religious¹³⁰ and legal contexts¹³¹ in a variety of locations. In the case of the oath-tablet, too, we may see at this time an interesting evolution. As Fales notes, two formulae based on the *adē ša šarri* “the loyalty oath of the king” are increasingly attested in 7th century legal documents, invoked to guarantee the transac-

¹²⁷ Lauinger 2016: 230.

¹²⁸ *Loc.cit.* Lauinger had stated: “Because the reverse faced up when the tablet toppled over in the fire that destroyed the temple, it was completely baked” (2012: 90). Perhaps the metal encasing also helped keep the reverse more or less intact.

¹²⁹ As already proposed by Watanabe 1988: 265.

¹³⁰ See SAA 10 13; SAA 10 358; SAA 13 140; SAA 13 134, 18’–20’: “Moreover, the king’s father set up golden bottles of ...-liter capacity (with) royal images on them. They would fill with wine the one in front of Bēl and the one in front of Nabû.” On the connected, yet distinct tradition, of the worship of the deified image of the king, see Cole and Machinist 1998 (SAA 13): XIV.

¹³¹ Cf. SAA 6, ch. 20 “Mannu-ki-Arbail, Cohort Commander (680–673 B.C.),” no. 219, last line: IGI 4NU-LU[G]AL’; Ungnad 1940, nos. 108, 21’ and 112, 5’ (post-canonical); and ND 2080, a loan record from KalĦu in Parker 1954, Plate V, translation in p.33 (date unclear but probably post-canonical: cf. Fales 1988 (SAAB 2): 113, 115ff, esp. 117).

tion.¹³² This tradition may have replaced the use of a deity's standard in oath ceremonies while on campaign.¹³³ The formulae imply the physical presence of the tablet itself at the location where the legal transaction took place, perhaps an abridged version.¹³⁴

Fales considers EST to be the first example of an institutional emblem "endowed with the autonomous power of meting out justice and guaranteeing the correctness of legal proceedings."¹³⁵ Given the phrasing of EST §35 (see Introduction), it seems a logical assumption. However, the first attestation of the first formula (*adê ša šarri ina qātē-šu luba* "i'ū "the *adê* of the king will hold him responsible/call him to account")¹³⁶ is dated to 675 BC, three years before EST. It is a contract coming from the Assur Egyptians' archives, where a certain Auwa, son of Tapnahti, takes the daughter of the horse-keeper of Ištar of Arbela in marriage.¹³⁷ Assur is also the findspot of SAA 2 4, called by Parpola Esarhaddon's Accession Treaty. Since the use of the formula at this stage seems exceptional, we can only assume that foreign Auwa decided to use Esarhaddon's Accession Treaty in addition to the divine clauses to ensure fair and equal treatment in the transaction.

Nevertheless, the presence of the king's and princes' statues as witnesses to the proper observance of the *adê* at the moment of its oath (and in future), along with the explicit command to regard the treaty as a deity, indicates that EST may be indeed the trailblazing example of a supra-legal document, endowed with what Fales calls a "theophorous substance."¹³⁸

A further remark may be made concerning the relative success of dynastic *adê*, and, in particular, the reason why SAA 2 8 is the last

¹³² Fales 2012: 152.

¹³³ Pongraz-Leisten 1992.

¹³⁴ See Frahm's classification of Sennacherib's Succession Treaty versions into *Lang-* and *Kurzfassung oder Auszug*: 2009: 130–133. Note that SAA 2 12 was found at the house of a family of exorcists in Assur.

¹³⁵ Fales 2012: 153.

¹³⁶ Documents with "May DN_x (and) the *adê* of the king be his prosecutors" belong to the later Neo-Babylonian period, cf. Watanabe 1987: 23.

¹³⁷ Donbaz and Parpola 2001 (StAT 2), No. 164.

¹³⁸ Op.cit.: 153.

known exemplar. Ashurbanipal's rule encompassed both the peak and the collapse of the empire to the extent that, upon his death, it was already on the brink of extinction. Both the success and the disintegration after the Pyrrhic victory claimed with the fall of Babylon in 648 could explain the lack of a succession will: there was no need during the first phase, and it may have been regarded as pointless during the second (considering his brother's betrayal). Ashurbanipal's grants and exemptions to certain officials (SAA 12 25–34), a policy followed by his successor, may be interpreted as the alternative option: material compensation and leverage.

CONCLUSION

This paper has discussed how Esarhaddon used an *adê*, an agreement concluded by an oath—comprising both a ceremony and a *tuppî adê* “oath-tablet”—to suit his own political needs concerning dynastic stability, and to assuage his fears of a coup backed by powerful military officials. Although he respected the basic expectations of his audience concerning *adê*, which from the Assyrians' point of view—even with and after Esarhaddon—were an expression of subjugation or obedience to a commanding officer, by using suitable “vassal”-like subjects as the parties entering the oath in KalĦu, he took advantage of Sennacherib's theological manipulations regarding specifically the Tablet of Destinies to turn the physical expression of his succession will into a sacred object. Instead of an object of worship, this dynastic *adê* seems to have become a sort of template for a supra-legal document, invoked in contracts thereafter to guarantee one of the parties' compliance with the terms of the transaction.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I want to thank Barbara Nevling Porter and Strahil Panayotov for their views and suggestions.

ABBREVIATIONS

Chronicles: Assyrian and Babylonian Chronicles
 CHLI: Corpus of Hieroglyphic Luwian Inscriptions
 CTU: Corpus dei Testi Urartei
 EST: Esarhaddon's Succession Treaty
 KAI: Kanaanäische und aramäische Inschriften
 OIP: Oriental Institute Publications
 PNA: The Prosopography of the Neo-Assyrian Empire
 RIMA: The Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia. Assyrian Periods
 RINAP: The Royal Inscriptions of the Neo-Assyrian Period
 SAA: State Archives of Assyria
 SAAB: State Archives of Assyria Bulletin
 SAAS: State Archives of Assyria Studies

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- ALTMAN, A. 2003. "Who Took an Oath on a Vassal Treaty – Only the Vassal King or Also the Suzerain? The Hittite Evidence." In: *Zeitschrift für Altorientalische und Biblische Rechtsgeschichte* 19, pp. 178–184.
- AMADASI GUZZO, M.G. 2014. "Tell Afis in the Iron Age: The Aramaic Inscriptions." In: *Near Eastern Archaeology* 77/1, pp. 54–57.
- AMBOS, C. 2009. "Eunuchen als Thronprätendenten und Herrscher im alten Orient." In: M. LUUKKO, S. SVAARD, R. MATTILA and S. PARPOLA (eds.), *Of God(s), Trees, Kings, and Scholars: Neo-Assyrian and Related Studies in Honour of Simo Parpola*. Helsinki: Finnish Oriental Society, University of Helsinki, pp. 1–8.
- ANNUS, A. 2002. *The God Ninurta in the Mythology and Royal Ideology of Ancient Mesopotamia*. SAAS 14. Helsinki, Helsinki University Press.
- BARCINA, C. Forthcoming. "The *Akītu* as the Lynchpin of the Assyro-Babylonian Cultic Harmonization Conceived by the Sargonids."
- BECKMAN, G.M. and H.A. HOFFNER. 1999. *Hittite Diplomatic Texts*. 2nd Edition. Atlanta, Scholars Press.
- BORGER, R. 1996. *Beiträge zum Inschriftenwerk Assurbanipals. Die Prismenklassen A, B, C = K, D, E, F, G, H, J und T sowie andere Inschriften*. Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz.
- BRINKMAN, J.A. 1990. "Political Covenants, Treaties, and Loyalty Oaths in Babylonia and between Assyria and Babylonia." In: L. CANFORA, M. LIVERANI and C. ZACCAGNINI (eds.), *I trattati nel mondo antico. Forma ideologia funzione*. Roma, "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, pp. 81–105.

- COLE, S.W. 1996a. *Nippur IV: The early Neo-Babylonian Governor's Archive from Nippur*. Oriental Institute Publications 114. Chicago, The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago.
- COLE, S.W. 1996b. *Nippur in Late Assyrian Times c. 755–612 BC*. State Archives of Assyria Studies 4. Helsinki, Helsinki University Press.
- COLE, S.W. and P. MACHINIST. 1998. *Letters from Priests to the Kings Esarhaddon and Assurbanipal*. State Archives of Assyria 13. Helsinki, Helsinki University Press.
- DEZSÖ, T. 2012. *The Assyrian Army. The Structure of the Neo-Assyrian Army. Vol. 1 Infantry. Vol. 2 Cavalry and Chariotry*. Budapest, Eötvös University Press.
- DONBAZ, V. and S. PARPOLA. 2001. *Neo-Assyrian Legal Texts in Istanbul*. Studien zu den Assur Texten (StAT), Band 2. Berlin, Deutsche Orient-Gesellschaft Berlin; Helsinki, Helsinki University Press.
- DONNER, H. and W. ROLLIG. 1971. *Kanaanäische und aramäische Inschriften. Band I: Texte*. Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz.
- DURAND, J.-M. 1991. "Précurseurs syriens aux Protocoles néo-assyriens." In: P. GARELLI, D. CHARPIN and F. JOANNÈS (eds.), *Marchands, diplomates et empereurs: études sur la civilisation mésopotamienne offertes à Paul Garelli*. Paris, Éditions Recherches sur les Civilisations, pp. 13–71.
- EIDEM, J. and K. LAESSOE. 2001. *The Shemshara Archives. Vol. 1: The Letters*. Copenhagen, Munksgaard.
- EPH'AL, I. 1982. *The Ancient Arabs: Nomads on the Borders of the Fertile Crescent 9th–5th Centuries B.C.* Jerusalem, The Magnes Press, The Hebrew University; Leiden, Brill.
- FALES, F. M. 1988. "Neo-Assyrian Prosopography of the Neo-Assyrian Empire 2: The Many Faces of Nabû-Šarru-Ušur." In: *State Archives of Assyria Bulletin* 2, pp. 104–121.
- FALES, F.M. 2003. "Evidence for West-East Contacts in the 8th Century BC: the Bukan Stele." In: G.B. LANFRANCHI, M. ROAF and R. ROLLINGER (eds.), *Continuity of Empire (?): Assyria, Media, Persia*. Padova, Sargon, pp. 131–148.
- FALES, F.M. 2009–2011. "Sefire." In: *Reallexikon der Assyriologie* 12, pp. 342–344.
- FALES, F.M. 2012. "After Ta'yinat: The New Status of Esarhaddon's Adê for Assyrian Political History." In: *Revue d'assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale* 106, pp. 133–158.
- FALES, F.M. and J.N. POSTGATE. 1992. *Imperial Administrative Records. Part I: Palace and Temple Administration*. State Archives of Assyria 7. Helsinki, Helsinki University Press.

- FITZMYER, J.A. 1995. *The Aramaic Inscriptions of Sefire*. Rev. ed. Roma, Editrice Pontificio Istituto Biblico.
- FRAHM, E. 2009. *Historische und historisch-literarische Texte*. Ausgrabungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft in Assur. Keilschrifttexte aus Assur literarischen Inhalts Band 3. Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz.
- FRAHM, E. 2010. "Hochverrat in Assur." In: S.M. MAUL and N. P. HEESSEL (eds.), *Assur-Forschungen: Arbeiten aus der Forschungsstelle „Edition literarischer Keilschrifttexte aus Assur“ der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften*. Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz, pp. 89–137.
- FRANKE, S. 2011. "Persönliche Frömmigkeit im Alten Orient am Beispiel des Kultsockels des Tukulti-Ninurta von Assyrien." In: W. FRIESE, A. GREVE, K. KLEIBL, K. LAHN and I. NIELSEN (eds.), *Hephaistos. Kritische Zeitschrift zu Theorie und Praxis der Archäologie und angrenzender Gebiete. Themenband: Persönliche Frömmigkeit. Funktion und Bedeutung individueller Gotteskontakte im interdisziplinären Dialog*. Akten der Tagung am Archäologischen Institut der Universität Hamburg (25.–27. November 2010). Hamburg, Publikation des Archäologischen Instituts der Universität Hamburg, pp. 85–98.
- FUCHS, A. 2008. "Der Turtān Šamši-ilu und die große Zeit der assyrischen Großen (830–746)." In: *Der Welt des Orients* 38, pp. 61–145.
- FUCHS, A. and S. PARPOLA. 2001. *Letters from Babylonia and the Eastern Provinces (Sargon II, Part 3)*. State Archives of Assyria 15. Helsinki, Helsinki University Press.
- GEORGE, A. R. 1986. "Sennacherib and the Tablet of Destinies." In: *Iraq* 48, pp. 133–146.
- GRAYSON, A.K. 1975. *Assyrian and Babylonian Chronicles*. Locust Valley, J.J. Augustin Publisher.
- GRAYSON, A.K. 1993. "Assyrian Officials and Power in the Ninth and Eighth Centuries." *State Archives of Assyria Bulletin* 7, pp. 19–52.
- GRAYSON, A.K. 2002. *Assyrian Rulers of the Early First Millennium BC II (858–745 BC)*. The Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia. Assyrian Periods 3. Toronto; Buffalo; London, University of Toronto Press.
- GRAYSON, A.K. and J. NOVOTNY. 2012. *The Royal Inscriptions of Sennacherib, King of Assyria (704–681 BC)*. The Royal Inscriptions of the Neo-Assyrian Period 3/1. Winona Lake, Eisenbrauns.
- GRAYSON, A.K. and J. NOVOTNY. 2014. *The Royal Inscriptions of Sennacherib, King of Assyria (704–681 BC)*. The Royal Inscriptions of the Neo-Assyrian Period 3/2. Winona Lake, Eisenbrauns.

- GREENFIELD, J.C. 1991. "Asylum at Aleppo: A Note on Sefire III, 4–7." In: M. COGAN, I. EPH'AL and H. TADMOR (eds.), *AH, Assyria...: Studies in Assyrian History and ANE Historiography Presented to Hayim Tadmor*. Jerusalem, Magnes Press, Hebrew University, pp. 272–278.
- HARRISON, T.P. 2012. "West Syrian *megaron* or Neo-Assyrian *Langraum*? The Shifting Form and Function of the *Tell Ta'yīnāt* (*Kunulua*) Temples." In: J. KAMLAH (ed.), *Temple Building and Temple Cult. Architecture and Cultic Paraphernalia of Temples in the Levant (2.–1. Mill. B.C.E.)*. Proceedings of a Conference on the Occasion of the 50th Anniversary of the Institute of Biblical Archaeology at the Univ. of Tübingen (28–30 May 2010). Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz, pp. 3–22.
- HARRISON, T.P. and J.F. OSBORNE. 2012. "Building XVI and the Neo-Assyrian Sacred Precinct at Tell Tayinat." In: *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* 64, pp. 125–143.
- HAWKINS, J.D. 2000. *Corpus of Hieroglyphic Luwian Inscriptions. Vol. 1: Inscriptions of the Iron Age*. Berlin; NY, de Gruyter.
- HEESSEL, N.P. 2014. "Amulette und 'Amulettform': Zum Zusammenhang von Form, Funktion und Text von Amuletten im Alten Mesopotamien." In: J.F. QUACK and D. Chr. LUFT (eds.), *Erscheinungsformen und Handhabungen heiliger Schriften. Materielle Textkulturen (MTK)*, Vol. 5. Berlin/München/Boston, De Gruyter, pp. 53–77.
- HOLLOWAY, S.W. 2002. *Aššur is King, Aššur is King!: Religion in the Exercise of Power in the Neo-Assyrian Empire*. Leiden, Brill.
- IKEDA, I. 1993. "Once again KTK in the Sefire Inscriptions." In: *Eretz Israel* 24 (Fs. Malamet), pp. 104–108.
- KAHN, D. 2007. "The Kingdom of Arpad (Bīt-Agūsi) and 'All Aram'." In: *Ancient Near Eastern Studies* 44, pp. 66–89.
- KATAJA, L. and R.M. WHITING. 1995. *Grants, Decrees and Gifts of the Neo-Assyrian Period*. State Archives of Assyria 12. Helsinki, Helsinki University Press.
- KAUFMAN, S.A. 2007. "The Phoenician Inscription of the Incirli Trilingual: A Tentative Reconstruction and Translation." In: *Maarav* 14/2, pp. 7–26.
- KOCH, U.S. 2015. "Review of Alasdair Livingstone, *Hemerologies of Assyrian and Babylonian Scholars*." Cornell University Studies in Assyriology and Sumerology. Bethesda, CDL Press 2013, posted on the Cuneiform Library at Cornell University website on 01/11/2015: <http://cuneiform.library.cornell.edu/sites/default/files/Review_of_Alasdair_Livingstone_Hemerologies_CUSAS_25.pdf>
- KWASMAN, T. and S. PARPOLA. 1991. *Legal Transactions of the Royal Court of Nineveh. Part 1: Tiglath-Pileser III through Esarhaddon*. State Archives of Assyria 6. Helsinki, Helsinki University Press.
- Antiguo Oriente, volumen 14, 2016, pp. 11–52*

- LAFONT, B. 2001. "Relations internationales, alliances et diplomatie au temps des royaumes amorrites." In: J.-M. DURAND and D. CHARPIN (eds.), *Mari, Ébla et les Hourrites, dix ans de travaux* (Amurru 2). Paris, Éditions Recherches sur les Civilisations, pp. 213–328.
- LANDSBERGER, B. 1959. *The Series HAR-ra = ħubullu Tablets VIII-XII*. Materialien zum sumerischen Lexikon (MSL), Vol. 7. Roma, Pontificium Institutum Biblicum.
- LANFRANCHI, G.B. 2003. "The Assyrian Expansion in the Zagros and the Local Ruling elites." In: *Continuity of Empire (?): Assyria, Media, Persia*. Padova, Sargon, pp. 79–118.
- LANFRANCHI, G.B. 2009. "A Happy Son of the King of Assyria: Warikas and the Çineköy Bilingual (Cilicia)." In: M. LUUKKO, S. SVAARD, R. MATTILA and S. PARPOLA (eds.), *Of God(s), Trees, Kings, and Scholars: Neo-Assyrian and Related Studies in Honour of Simo Parpola*. Helsinki, Finnish Oriental Society, University of Helsinki, pp. 127–150.
- LAUNGER, J. 2011. "Some Preliminary Thoughts on the Tablet collection in Building XVI from Tell Tayinat." In: *Journal of the Canadian Society for Mesopotamian Studies* 6, pp. 5–14.
- LAUNGER, J. 2012. "Esarhaddon's Succession Treaty at Tell Tayinat: Text and Commentary." In: *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* 64, pp. 87–123.
- LAUNGER, J. 2013. "The Neo-Assyrian *adê*: Treaty, Oath or Something Else?." In: *Zeitschrift für Altorientalische und Biblische Rechtsgeschichte* 19, pp. 99–115.
- LAUNGER, J. 2016. "Iqur Īpuš at Tell Tayinat." In: *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* 68, pp. 229–248.
- LEICHTY, E. 1991. "Esarhaddon's Letter to the Gods." In: M. COGAN, I. EPH'AL and H. TADMOR (eds.), *AH, Assyria...: Studies in Assyrian History and ANE Historiography Presented to Hayim Tadmor*. Jerusalem, Magnes Press, Hebrew University, pp. 52–57.
- LEICHTY, E. 2011. *The Royal Inscriptions of Esarhaddon, king of Assyria (680–669 BC)*. The Royal Inscriptions of the Neo-Assyrian Period 4. Winona Lake, Eisenbrauns.
- LEMAIRE, A. and J.-M. DURAND. 1984. *Les inscriptions araméennes de Sfiré et l'Assyrie de Shamshi-ilu*. Genève; Paris, DROZ.
- LIVERANI, M. 1982. "Kitru, Katāru." In: *Mesopotamia* 17, pp. 43–66.
- LIVERANI, M. 1995. "The Medes at Esarhaddon's Court." In: *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* 47, pp. 57–62.
- LIVERANI, M. 2000. "Once again on *MLK KTK* in the Sefire Stelas." In: *Notes Assyriologiques Brefs et Utilitaires* (NABU) 2000/53.

- LIVINGSTONE, A. 1989. *Court Poetry and Literary Miscellanea*. State Archives of Assyria 3. Helsinki, Helsinki University Press.
- LIVINGSTONE, A. 2013. *Hemerologies of Assyrian and Babylonian Scholars*. Cornell University Studies in Assyriology and Sumerology (CUSAS), Vol. 25. Bethesda, CDL Press.
- LUUKKO, M. 2012. *The Correspondence of Tiglath-Pileser III and Sargon II from Calah/Nimrud*. State Archives of Assyria 19. Helsinki, Helsinki University Press.
- LUUKKO, M. and G. VAN BUYLAERE. 2002. *The Political Correspondence of Esarhaddon*. State Archives of Assyria 16. Helsinki, Helsinki University Press.
- MALLOWAN, M. 1957. "The Excavations at Nimrud (KalĦu), 1956." In: *Iraq 19/1*, pp. 1–25.
- MALLOWAN, M. and L.G. DAVIES 1970. *Ivories from Nimrud (1949–1963) Fascicule II: Ivories in Assyrian Style*. London, The British School of Archaeology in Iraq.
- MAYER, W. 1998. "Der Weg auf den Thron Assurs: Sukzession und Usurpation im assyrischen Königshaus." In: M. DIETRICH and I. KOTTSIEPER (eds.), "*Und Mose schrieb dieses Lied auf*": Studien zum Alten Testament und zum Alten Orient. Festschrift für Oswald Loretz. Alter Orient und Altes Testament 250. Münster, Ugarit Verlag, pp. 535–555.
- MILLARD, A. 1994. *The Eponyms of the Assyrian Empire 910–612 BC*. State Archives of Assyria Studies 2. Helsinki, Helsinki University Press.
- MILLARD, J.L. 2013. *Royal Hittite Instructions and Related Administrative Texts*. Atlanta, Scholars Press for the Society of Biblical Literature.
- NA'AMAN, N. 2005. "Forced Participation in Alliances in the Course of the Assyrian Campaigns to the West." In: *Ancient Israel and its neighbors: interaction and counteraction*. Collected Essays, Vol. 1. Winona Lake, Eisenbrauns, pp. 16–39.
- NA'AMAN, N. 2006. "Sennacherib's Sons Flight to Urartu." In: *Notes Assyriologiques Brefs et Utilitaires (NABU) 2006/5*, pp. 4–5.
- NIEHR, H. 2014. *The Aramaeans in Ancient Syria*. Leiden, Brill.
- NISSINEN, M. 1998. *References to Prophecy in Neo-Assyrian Sources*. State Archives of Assyria Studies 7. Helsinki, The Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus Project.
- OATES, J. and D. OATES. 2001. *Nimrud: an Assyrian imperial city revealed*. London, British School of Archaeology in Iraq.
- PANAYOTOV, S.V. 2013. "A Ritual for a Flourishing Bordello." In: *Bibliotheca Orientalis* 70, pp. 285–309.
- PANAYOTOV, S.V. and J. LLOP-RADUÀ. 2013. "A Middle-Assyrian Juridical Text on a Tablet with Handle." In: *Oriental Archive* 81, pp. 223–233.

- PARKER, B. 1954. "The Nimrud Tablets, 1952: Business Documents." In: *Iraq* 16/1, pp. 29–58.
- PARPOLA, S. 1980. "The Murderer of Sennacherib." In: B. ALSTER (ed.), *Death in Mesopotamia. Proceedings of RAI 26*. Copenhagen, Akademisk Forlag, pp. 171–82.
- PARPOLA, S. 1983. *Letters from Assyrian Scholars to the Kings Esarhaddon and Assurbanipal*. Part II. Kevelaer, Butzon & Bercker; Neukirchen-Vluyn, Neukirchener Verlag.
- PARPOLA, S. 1987. *Letters from Assyria and the West* (Sargon II, Part I). State Archives of Assyria 1. Helsinki, Helsinki University Press.
- PARPOLA, S. 1987. "Neo-Assyrian Treaties from the Royal Archives of Nineveh." In: *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* 39/2, pp. 161–189.
- PARPOLA, S. 1989. "The Sin of Sargon and Sennacherib's Last Will. Part IV." In: H. TADMOR, B. LANDSBERGER and S. PARPOLA, *State Archives of Assyria Bulletin* 3, pp. 45–49.
- PARPOLA, S. 1993. *Letters from Assyrian and Babylonian Scholars*. State Archives of Assyria 10. Helsinki, Helsinki University Press.
- PARPOLA S. 1997. *Assyrian Prophecies*. State Archives of Assyria 9. Helsinki, Helsinki University Press.
- PARPOLA, S. and K. KOSKENNIEMI. 1970. *Neo-Assyrian Toponyms*. Kevelaer, Butzon & Bercker; Neukirchen-Vluyn, Neukirchener Verlag des Erziehungsvereins.
- PARPOLA, S. and K. WATANABE. 1988. *Neo-Assyrian Treaties and Loyalty Oaths*. State Archives of Assyria 2. Helsinki, Helsinki University Press.
- POMPONIO, F. 1998–2001. "Nabû. A. Philologisch." In: *Reallexikon der Assyriologie* 9. Berlin, New York, De Gruyter, pp. 17–24.
- PONGRATZ-LEISTEN, B. 1992. "Mesopotamische Standarten in literarischen Zeugnissen." In: *Baghdader Mitteilungen* 23, pp. 291–356.
- PONGRATZ-LEISTEN, B. 1994. *Ina šulmi ūrub: die kulttopographische und ideologische Programmatik der akītu-Prozession in Babylonien und Assyrien im 1. Jahrtausend v. Chr.* Mainz am Rhein, Von Zabern.
- PONGRATZ-LEISTEN, B. 1997. "The Interplay of Military Strategy and Cultic Practice in Assyrian Politics." In: S. PARPOLA and R.M. WHITING (eds.), *Assyria 1995*. Helsinki, The Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus Project, pp. 242–52.
- PONGRATZ-LEISTEN, B. 2015. *Religion and Ideology in Assyria*. Boston, De Gruyter.
- PONGRATZ-LEISTEN, B. "The Writing of the God' and the Textualization of Neo-Assyrian Prophecy." Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton, self-published. In:

- <https://www.academia.edu/369483/_The_Writing_of_the_God_and_the_Textualization_of_Neo-Assyrian_Prophesy>
- PORTER, B.N. 1993. *Images, Power, Politics. Figurative Aspects of Esarhaddon's Babylonian Policy*. Philadelphia, American Oriental Society.
- POSTGATE, J.N. 1974. "The *bit akiti* in Assyrian Nabû Temples." In: *Sumer* 30, pp. 51–74.
- RADNER, K. 2003a. "An Assyrian view on the Medes." In: G.B. LANFRANCHI, M. ROAF and R. ROLLINGER (eds.), *Continuity of Empire (?): Assyria, Media, Persia*. Padova, Sargon, pp. 37–64.
- RADNER, K. 2003b. "The Trials of Esarhaddon: The Conspiracy of 670." In: *Revista sobre Oriente próximo y Egipto en la Antigüedad (ISIMU)* 6, pp. 165–184.
- RADNER, K. 2006. "Assyrische *tuppi adé* als Vorbild für Deuteronomium 28, 20-44?." In: M. WITTE and J.F. DIEHL (eds.), *Die deuteronomistischen Geschichtswerke: redaktions- und religionsgeschichtliche Perspektiven zur Deuteronomismuskonzeption in Tora und Vorderen Propheten*. Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft, Band 365. Berlin, New York, De Gruyter, pp. 351–378.
- RADNER, K. 2006–8. "Provinz. C. Assyrien." In: *Reallexikon der Assyriologie* 11, pp. 42–68.
- RADNER, K. 2010a. "Assyrian and Non-Assyrian Kingship in the First Millennium B.C." In: G.B. LANFRANCHI and R. ROLLINGER (eds.), *Concepts of Kingship in Antiquity*. Proceedings of the European Science Foundation Exploratory Workshop Held in Padova, Nov. 28th–Dec. 1st, 2007, pp. 25–34. Padova, S.A.R.G.O.N.
- RADNER, K. 2010b. "Gate Keepers and Lock Masters." In: H.D. BAKER, and E. ROBSON (eds.), *Your Praise is Sweet: a Memorial Volume for Jeremy Black*. London, British Institute for the Study of Iraq, pp. 269–280.
- RADNER, K. 2012a. "Between a Rock and a Hard Place: Muṣaṣir, Kumme, Ukku and Šubria – the Buffer States between Assyria and Urartu." In: *Acta Iranica* 51, pp. 243–264.
- RADNER, K. 2012b. "The Stele of Adad-nērārī III and Nergal-ēreš from Dūr Katlimmu (Tell Šaiḥ-Ḥamad)." In: *Archiv für Orientforschung* 39, pp. 265–277.
- RADNER, K. 2016. "Revolts in the Assyrian Empire: Succession Wars, Rebellions against a False King and Independence Movements." In: J.J. COLLINS and J.G. MANNING (eds.), *Revolt and Resistance in the Ancient Classical World and the Near East. In the Crucible of Empire*. Leiden/Boston, Brill, pp. 41–54.
- REYNOLDS, F. 2003. *The Babylonian Correspondence of Esarhaddon and Letters to Ashurbanipal and Sin-šarru-iškun from northern and central Babylonia*. State

Archives of Assyria 18. Helsinki, Helsinki University Press.

SALVINI, M. 2008. *Corpus dei testi urartei; Volume I: Le iscrizioni su pietra e roccia. I testi*. N. PARMEGIANI (elaborazione informatica), R. DAN (ed.). Documenta Asiana VIII. Roma, CNR Istituto di Studi sulle Civiltà dell'Egeo e del Vicino Oriente.

SCHMITT, A.W. 2012. *Die Jüngerer Ischtar-Tempel und der Nabû-Tempel in Assur: Architektur, Stratigraphie und Funde*. Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz.

STAUBLI, T. 2003. "Sin von Harran und seine Verbreitung im Westen." In: *Werbung für die Götter. Heilsbringer aus 4000 Jahren*. Freiburg, Universitätsverlag, pp. 65–89.

STARR, I. and J. ARO. 1990. *Queries to the Sun God: Divination and Politics in Sargonid Assyria*. State Archives of Assyria 4. Helsinki, Helsinki University Press.

STEYMANS, H.U. 2006. "Die literarische und historische Bedeutung der Thronfolgevereidigung Asarhaddons." In: M. WITTE and J.F. DIEHL (eds.), *Die deuteronomistischen Geschichtswerke: redaktions- und religionsgeschichtliche Perspektiven zur Deuteronomismus-Diskussion in Tora und Vorderen Propheten*. Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft, Band 365. Berlin, New York, De Gruyter, pp. 331–349.

STEYMANS, H.U. 2013. "Deuteronomy 28 and Tell Tayinat." In: *Verbum et Ecclesia* 34/2, pp. 1–13.

TADMOR, H. 1982. "Treaty and Oath in Ancient Near East." In: G.M. TUCKER and D. KNIGHT (eds.), *Humanizing America's Iconic Book. Society of Biblical literature centennial addresses 1980*. Chico, Scholars Press, pp. 127–152.

TADMOR, H. 1983. "Autobiographical Apology in the Royal Assyrian Literature." In: H. TADMOR and M. WEINFELD (eds.), *History, Historiography and Interpretation: Studies in Biblical and Cuneiform Literatures*. Jerusalem, Magnes Press, Hebrew University, pp. 36–57.

TADMOR, H. 1987. "The Aramaization of Assyria: Aspects of Western Impact." In: H. NISSEN and J. RENGER (eds.), *Mesopotamien und seine Nachbarn: Politische und kulturelle Wechselbeziehungen im alten Vorderasien vom 4. Bis 1. Jahrtausend v. Chr.* Berlin, Reimer, pp. 449–470.

UNGNAD, A. 1940. "Spätassyrische und neubabylonische Privaturkunden vom Tell Halaf." In: J. FRIEDRIECH, G.R. MEYER, A. UNGNAD and E.F. WEIDNER, *Die Inschriften vom Tell Halaf. Keilschrifttexte und aramäische Urkunden aus einer assyrischen Provinzhauptstadt*. Archiv für Orientforschung Beiheft 6. Berlin, Im Selbstverlage des Herausgebers, pp. 47–68.

WATANABE, K. 1985. "Die Siegelung der 'Vasallenverträge Asarhaddons' durch den

- Gott Aššur.” In: *Baghdader Mitteilungen* 16, pp. 377–392.
- WATANABE, K. 1987. *Die ade-Vereidigung anlässlich der Thronfolgeregelung Asarhaddons*. Baghdader Mitteilungen Beiheft 3. Berlin, Gebr. Mann Verlag.
- WATANABE, K. 2014. “Esarhaddon’s Succession Oath Documents Reconsidered in Light of the Tayinat Version.” In: *Orient* 49, pp. 145–70.
- WEIDNER, E.F. 1932–33. “Der Staatsvertrag Aššurniràris VI. von Assyrien mit Mati’ilu von Bît-Agusi.” In: *Archiv für Orientforschung* 8, pp. 2–34.
- WEISSERT, E. 1997. “Royal Hunt and Royal Triumph in a Prism Fragment of Ashurbanipal (82–5–22).” In: S. PARPOLA and R.M. WHITING (eds.), *Assyria 1995*. Helsinki, The Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus Project, pp. 339–358.
- WISEMAN, R. 1958. “The Vassal Treaties of Esarhaddon.” In: *Iraq* 20/1, pp. i–ii, 1–99.