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Shigeo Yamada (ed.)

NEO-ASSYRIAN SOURCES IN CONTEXT  
THEMATIC STUDIES OF TEXTS, HISTORY, AND CULTURE

THE NEO-ASSYRIAN TEXT CORPUS PROJECT

State Archives of Assyria Studies is a series of monographic studies relating to and supplementing the text editions published in the SAA series. Manuscripts are accepted in English, French and German. The responsibility for the contents of the volumes rests entirely with the authors.

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Set in Times

The Assyrian Royal Seal emblem drawn by Dominique Collon from original Seventh Century B.C. impressions (BM 84672 and 84677) in the British Museum

Cover: Sennacherib sitting on his throne at Lachish, BM 124911 (detail)

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# NEO-ASSYRIAN SOURCES IN CONTEXT

*Thematic Studies on Texts, History, and Culture*

*Edited by*

Shigeo Yamada

THE NEO-ASSYRIAN TEXT CORPUS PROJECT

2018



## PREFACE AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

The emergence of the Neo-Assyrian Empire in the eighth-seventh centuries BC is one of the outstanding phenomena in the history of the ancient Near East. The multi-language and multi-cultural state stretching over an extensive area of the ancient Near East has long been recognized and studied as one of the earliest imperial political entities. The philological study of inscriptional sources from the Neo-Assyrian period has rapidly progressed, especially since the 1980s, with a number of large-scale editorial projects that include the State Archives of Assyria Project (Helsinki), the Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia Project (Toronto), the Royal Inscriptions of the Neo-Assyrian Period Project (Pennsylvania), the Assur Project (Berlin) and the *Edition literarischer Keilschrifttexte aus Assur* (Heidelberg). These projects have provided us with the text editions and hand copies of various materials (such as administrative/legal texts, letters, religious/literary texts, and royal and private commemorative inscriptions, etc.), either previously known or newly worked on, with high standards of philological accuracy. Hence, the time has come to undertake a variety of advanced research on the texts of the Neo-Assyrian period from new perspectives using different sorts of sources in combination, alongside the study of specific corpuses and text genres. On this tide, the seminar “Interaction, interplay and combined use of different sources in Neo-Assyrian studies: Monumental texts and archival sources” was held at the University of Tsukuba and the Tsukuba International Congress Center (Tsukuba, Ibaraki, Japan) on December 11–13, 2014, with the program given below. The event was supported by the fund for the Finnish-Japanese joint seminar sponsored by the Academy of Finland and the Japan Society for the Promotion of Science (representatives: Raija Mattila and Shigeo Yamada), as well as by a Japanese research grant (MEXT KAKENHI 24101007). I especially owe gratitude to Raija Mattila, Daisuke Shibata, and the staff of the Research Center for West Asian Civilization at the University of Tsukuba for their kind cooperation in organizing the meeting.

Seminar Program:

**Day 1 (Dec. 11)**

13:30~17:30 Session 1 (Chair: Shigeo Yamada)

Sebastian Fink, “Different Sources – Different Kings? The Picture of the Neo-Assyrian King in Inscriptions, Letters and Literary Texts”

Raija Mattila, “The Military Role of Magnates and Governors: Royal Inscriptions vs Archival and Literary Sources”

Jamie Novotny, “Late Neo-Assyrian Building Histories: Tradition, Ideology, and Historical Reality”

Shuichi Hasegawa, “Use of Archaeological Data for the Investigation of the Itineraries of Assyrian Military Campaigns”

**Day 2** (Dec. 12)

10:00~12:00 Session 2 (Chair: Daisuke Shibata)

Greta Van Buylaere, “Tracing the Neo-Elamite Kingdom of Zamin in Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian Sources”

Shigeo Yamada, “Ulluba and Its Surroundings: Tiglath-pileser III’s Province Making Facing the Urartian Border, Reconsidered from Royal Inscriptions and Letters”

13:30~17:30 Session 3 (Chair: Raija Mattila)

Robert Rollinger, “Yawan in Neo-Assyrian Sources: Monumental and Archival Texts in Dialogue”

Sanae Ito, “Propaganda and Historical Reality in the Nabû-bêl-šumāti Affair in Letters and Royal Inscriptions”

Andreas Fuchs, “How to Implement Safe and Secret Lines of Communication Using Iron Age Technology: Evidence from a Letter to a God and a Letter to a King”

Jamie Novotony and Chikako E. Watanabe, “Unraveling the Mystery of an Unrecorded Event: Identifying the Four Foreigners Paying Homage to Assurbanipal in BM ME 124945-6”

**Day 3** (Dec. 13)

10:00~12:00 Session 4 (Chair: Robert Rollinger)

Grant Frame, “Lost in the Tigris: Trials and Tribulations in Editing Royal Inscriptions of Sargon II of Assyria”

Karen Radner, “The Last Emperor: Aššur-uballiṭ II in Archival and Historiographic Sources”

13:30~17:30 Session 5 (Chair: Chikako Watanabe)

Saana Svärd, “‘Doing Gender’: Women, Family and Ethnicity in the Neo-Assyrian Letters and Royal Inscriptions”

Silvie Zamazalová, “Images of an Omen Fulfilled: *Šumma ālu* in the Inscriptions of Sargon II”

Mikko Luukko, “The Anonymity of Authors and Patients: Some Comparisons between the Neo-Assyrian Correspondence and Mesopotamian Anti-witchcraft Rituals”

Daisuke Shibata, “The Akītu-festival of Ištar at Nineveh: Royal Inscriptions and Emesal-prayers”

The present volume contains 14 articles. The majority of them follow the original papers read in the seminar relatively faithfully, though some have largely been expanded and/or changed in the focus of discussion. Daisuke Shibata and Robert Rollinger preferred to keep their papers out of this volume and may publish their research results elsewhere.

The combined use of different genres of text is an obvious need for many thematic studies, and it has already been attempted for a long time in studies concerning the Neo-Assyrian period and Assyriology in general. Thus, the collection of articles in this volume may mostly not be very special in the methodological sense. It may be of value, however, to classify the articles from the viewpoint of the theme of the above-mentioned seminar to review what sorts of studies were made and what kinds

of approaches and methods were used. In this volume, the articles are presented in the same order as they are given in the following rather arbitrary overview:

(1) One major group comprises a variety of historical studies that naturally require the use of various textual sources related to historical reconstructions of any kind (political, social, administrative, cultural, or geographical), either commemorative or archival, dated or undated, literary texts or practical sober documents, or textual or pictographic. Eight articles may be assigned to this group. **Mattila** highlighted the military role of high officials, magnates, and governors that is concealed and only rarely referred to in royal inscriptions but often referred to in other texts such as private inscriptions, administrative texts, eponym chronicles, letters, oracles, and literary compositions. **Yamada** scrutinized the process of Tiglath-pileser III's province-building along the Urartian border, utilizing the king's inscriptions and Eponym Chronicles as a chronological backbone while reinforcing those data with Assyrian letters and Urartian inscriptions. **Fuchs'** article is a unique piece discussing geo-political issues and Assyrian strategic thinking related to Sargon's campaign against Urartu in 714 BC, with the complementary use of two different sources, i.e., the highly literary composition stylized as a letter to a god commemorating this military enterprise on one hand, and a practical intelligence report written during the ongoing campaign on the other. **Van Buylaere** tackled the problem of Zamin, a town attested in Neo-Elamite sources, and identified it with Samuna of Neo-Assyrian/Neo-Babylonian sources. Thus, bridging between the different linguistic materials, she reconstructed the historical-geographical circumstances under which this town was situated. **Ito** advanced a new study of the affair of Nabû-bêl-šumāti, the rebellious prince of Bit-Yakin punished by Ashurbanipal. To reconstruct the relevant events historically, she analyzed details given in rich epistolary sources in combination with information from royal inscriptions and other texts. The joint study of **Novotny and Watanabe** dealt with the personal and ethnic identity of four foreigners depicted on a wall relief of the North Palace in Nineveh as submitting to Ashurbanipal after the fall of Babylon. The study analyzed the pictographic details with circumstantial evidence from the king's inscriptions. **Svärd** assembled and viewed data about groups of women involved in the temple administration (*šēlūtu*, *kazrutu*, *mašītu*, *qadissu*, *entu*) from various archival texts – contracts, administrative records, decrees, oracles, and letters – to consider the social context in which they were involved. Finally, **Radner's** study concerned the last ruler of Assyria, Aššur-uballit II. She pointed out a remarkable fact that Aššur-uballit was regarded only as a crown prince in Assyrian archival documents even after the death of his father, Sin-šarru-iškun, persuasively explaining this phenomenon by reflecting the lack of the accession ceremony after the fall of the religious capital, Assur. Thus, she displayed the official Assyrian view in contrast with the Babylonian Chronicle, where Aššur-uballit II is referred to as the king of Assyria.

(2) Another group comprises comparative or contrastive literary studies of different text genres concerning specific terms, concepts, and ideologies, and it occasionally also deals with the problem of intertextuality. **Fink** analyzed royal portraits as projected in royal inscriptions, letters, and various literary works – historiographical texts, wisdom literature, and folk tales – touching on their different ideological-functional modes of composition. The unique article of **Luukko** concerned the anonymity and related phenomena commonly observed in the corpora of Neo-Assyrian denunciation letters and Mesopotamian anti-

witchcraft rituals. Comparing both corpora, he discussed the common motive of self-protection found behind them and attempted to explain the social norm in which the anonymous denunciation letters were written. **Zamazalová** investigated the image of mountains from the Mesopotamian viewpoint in monumental texts, letters, and literary and scholarly compositions. Thus, she demonstrated the ideologically formulated description of mountains as royal heroic space in royal inscriptions, particularly those of Sargon II, while comparing it with texts of other genres and discussing possible intertextuality between them.

(3) Other articles, though each unique, discuss the philological or historiographical problems of royal inscriptions in some connection with archaeology. **Frame**'s article presented the unusual philological complexity that he encountered in his editing of Sargon II's inscriptions, particularly those inscribed on the stone slabs found at Khorsabad. He described dramatic historical circumstances that later caused complexity, i.e., the loss of excavated original inscriptions and the subsequent remains of incomplete fragmentary and oft-contradicting records. Then, he illustrated his complicated work in reconstructing the lost original. **Hasegawa** discussed the reliability of "itineraries" found in Assyrian royal inscriptions and that of archaeological data for the identification of ancient sites. He gave several caveats for the critical interpretation of both sorts of evidence. **Novotny** critically analyzed the building accounts of the late Neo-Assyrian royal inscriptions by interrelating and comparing those from various periods. Thus, he showed that the "building history" given in the royal inscriptions refer only selectively to the predecessors' building works and often appear misleading or incorrect.

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In various stages of editorial work, I had kind advice and assistance from Raija Mattila, Daisuke Shibata, Jamie Novotny, Chikako Watanabe, Keiko Yamada, and Yasuyuki Mitsuma. I am very grateful to all of them. I would like to thank Simo Parpola for his generous acceptance of this volume in the State Archives of Assyria Studies, as the director of the Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus Project.

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## ABBREVIATIONS AND OBJECT SIGNATURES

### Bibliographical Abbreviations

<i>AAA</i>	<i>Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology</i> (Liverpool)
<i>ABL</i>	R. F. Harper, <i>Assyrian and Babylonian Letters belonging to the Kouyunjik Collection of the British Museum</i> (Chicago 1892–1914)
<i>ActAnt.</i>	<i>Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae</i> (Budapest)
<i>AfO</i>	<i>Archiv für Orientforschung</i> (Berlin etc.)
<i>AJSL</i>	<i>The American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures</i> (Chicago)
<i>AMD</i>	Ancient Magic and Divination (Groningen/Leiden)
<i>AnOr.</i>	Analecta Orientalia (Rome)
<i>AOAT</i>	Alter Orient und Altes Testament (Neukirchen-Vluyn/Münster)
<i>AS</i>	Assyriological Studies (Chicago)
<i>BA</i>	Beiträge zur Assyriologie und semitischen Sprachwissenschaft (Leipzig)
<i>BagM</i>	<i>Baghdader Mitteilungen</i> (Berlin/Mainz)
<i>BBVO</i>	Berliner Beiträge zum Vorderen Orient (Berlin)
<i>CAD</i>	<i>The Assyrian Dictionary of the University of Chicago</i> (Chicago/Glückstadt)
<i>CDOG</i>	Colloquien der Deutsche Orient-Gesellschaft (Saarbrücken/Wiesbaden)
<i>CHANE</i>	Culture and History of the Ancient Near East (Leiden)
<i>CM</i>	Cuneiform Monographs (Groningen/Leiden)
<i>CMAwR 1</i>	T. Abusch and D. Schwemer, <i>Corpus of Mesopotamian Anti-witchcraft Rituals, Volume One</i> , AMD 8/1 (Leiden/Boston 2011)
<i>CMAwR 2</i>	T. Abusch, D. Schwemer, M. Luukko, and G. Van Buylaere, <i>Corpus of Mesopotamian Anti-witchcraft Rituals, Volume Two</i> , AMD 8/2 (Leiden/Boston 2016)
<i>CT</i>	<i>Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum</i> (London 1896ff.)
<i>CT 53</i>	S. Parpola, <i>Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum, Part 53: Neo-Assyrian Letters from the Kouyunjik Collection</i> (London 1979)
<i>CT 54</i>	M. Dietrich, <i>Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum Part 54: Neo-Babylonian Letters from the</i>

- CTN *Kuyunjik Collection* (London 1979)  
 Cuneiform Texts from Nimrud (London)  
 CTN 2 J. N. Postgate, *The Governor's Palace Archive* (London 1973)  
 CTN 3 S. Dalley and J. N. Postgate, *The Tablets from Fort Shalmaneser*  
 (London 1984)  
 CTU M. Salvini, *Corpus dei testi urartei*, I-III (Rome 2008)  
 CUSAS Cornell University Studies in Assyriology and Sumerology  
 (Bethesda, MD)  
*Hchl* F. W. König, *Handbuch der chaldischen Inschriften*, AfO Beiheft  
 8 (Osnabrück 1955)  
*IEJ* *Israel Exploration Journal* (Jerusalem)  
*IrAnt.* *Iranica Antiqua* (Gent/Leuven)  
*Iraq* *Iraq: Journal of the British School of Archaeology in Iraq*  
 (London)  
*Isimu* *Isimu: Revista sobre Oriente Próximo y Egipto en la antigüedad*  
 (Madrid)  
*JA* *Journal Asiatique* (Paris)  
*JAOS* *Journal of the American Oriental Society* (New Haven etc.)  
*JCS* *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* (New Haven etc.)  
*JESHO* *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*  
 (Leiden)  
*JNES* *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* (Chicago)  
*KAR* E. Ebeling, *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur religiösen Inhalts* (Leipzig  
 1919)  
*Kaskal* *Kaskal: rivista di storia, ambiente e culture del vicino oriente*  
*antico* (Padua)  
*LAS* S. Parpola, *Letters from Assyrian Scholars to the Kings*  
*Esarhaddon and Assurbanipal*, AOAT 5/1-2 (Neukirchen-  
 Vluyn 1970–1983)  
 MC Mesopotamian Civilizations (Winona Lake, IN)  
 MDP Mémoires de la Délégation en Perse (Paris)  
 MSL Materialien zum sumerischen Lexikon = Materials for the  
 Sumerian Lexicon (Rome)  
*MVAG* Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft (Berlin/  
 Leipzig)  
*NABU* *Nouvelles Assyriologiques Brèves et Utilitaires* (Rouen/Paris)  
 OLA Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta (Leuven)  
*Or. / Or. NS* Orientalia Nova Series (Rome)  
*Orient* *Orient: Reports of the Society for Near Eastern Studies in Japan*  
 (Tokyo)  
 PIHANS Publications de l'Institut Historique-Archéologique Néerlandais  
 de Stamboul (Leiden)  
*PNA* K. Radner (1998–1999) and H. Baker (2000–2011) (eds.), *The*  
*Prosopography of the Neo-Assyrian Empire*, 1–3 (Helsinki  
 1998–2011)  
*RA* *Revue d'Assyriologie et d'Archéologie Orientale* (Paris)  
 RGTC Répertoire Géographique des Textes Cunéiformes (Tübinger  
 Atlas des Vorderen Orients, Beiheft Reihe B, Wiesbaden)

RIMA	The Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia, Assyrian Periods (Toronto)
RIMA 1	A. K. Grayson, <i>Assyrian Rulers of the Third and Second Millennium BC (to 1115 BC)</i> (Toronto 1987)
RIMA 2	A. K. Grayson, <i>Assyrian Rulers of the Early First Millennium BC: I (1114–859 BC)</i> (Toronto 1991)
RIMA 3	A. K. Grayson, <i>Assyrian Rulers of the Early First Millennium BC: II (858–745 BC)</i> (Toronto 1996)
RIMB 2	G. Frame, <i>Rulers of Babylonia: From the Second Dynasty of Isin to the End of Assyrian Domination (1157–612 BC)</i> , The Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia, Babylonian Periods 2 (Toronto 1995).
RIME 2	D. R. Frayne, <i>Sargonic and Gutian Periods (2334–2113 BC)</i> , The Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia, Early Periods 2 (Toronto 1993)
RINAP	The Royal Inscriptions of the Neo-Assyrian Period (Winona Lake, IN)
RINAP 1	H. Tadmor, and S. Yamada, <i>The Royal Inscriptions of Tiglath-pileser III (744–727 BC) and Shalmaneser V (726–722 BC), Kings of Assyria</i> (Winona Lake, IN 2011)
RINAP 3/1	A. K. Grayson and J. Novotny, <i>The Royal Inscriptions of Sennacherib, King of Assyria (704–681 BC), Part 1</i> (Winona Lake, IN 2012)
RINAP 3/2	A. K., Grayson and J. Novotny, <i>The Royal Inscriptions of Sennacherib, King of Assyria (704–681 BC), Part 2</i> (Winona Lake, IN 2014)
RINAP 4	E. Leichty, <i>The Royal Inscriptions of Esarhaddon, King of Assyria (680–669 BC)</i> (Winona Lake, IN 2011)
RINAP 5/1	J. Novotny and J. Jeffers, <i>The Royal Inscriptions of Ashurbanipal (668–631 BC), Aššur-etel-ilāni (630–627 BC), and Sîn-šarra-iškun (626–612 BC), Kings of Assyria, Part I</i> (Winona Lake, IN 2018)
RIA	<i>Reallexikon der Assyriologie (und Vorderasiatischen Archäologie)</i> (Berlin/Leipzig)
SAA	State Archives of Assyria (Helsinki)
SAA 1	S. Parpola, <i>The Correspondence of Sargon II, Part I: Letters from Assyria and the West</i> (Helsinki 1987)
SAA 2	S. Parpola and K. Watanabe, <i>Neo-Assyrian Treaties and Loyalty Oaths</i> (Helsinki 1988)
SAA 3	A. Livingstone, <i>Court Poetry and Literary Miscellanea</i> (Helsinki 1989)
SAA 4	I. Starr, <i>Queries to the Sun god: Divination and Politics in Sargonid Assyria</i> (Helsinki 1990).
SAA 5	G. B. Lanfranchi and S. Parpola, <i>The Correspondence of Sargon II, Part II: Letters from the Northern and Northeastern Provinces</i> (Helsinki 1990)
SAA 7	F. M. Fales and J. N. Postgate, <i>Imperial Administrative Records, Part I. Palace and Temple Administration</i> (Helsinki 1992)

- SAA 8 H. Hunger, *Astrological Reports to Assyrian Kings* (Helsinki 1992)
- SAA10 S. Parpola, *Letters from Assyrian and Babylonian Scholars* (Helsinki 1993)
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- SAA 13 S. W. Cole and P. Machinist, *Letters from Priests to the Kings Esarhaddon and Assurbanipal* (Helsinki 1998)
- SAA 14 R. Mattila, *Legal Transactions of the Royal Court of Nineveh, Part II: Assurbanipal through Sin-šarru-iškun* (Helsinki 2002)
- SAA 15 A. Fuchs and S. Parpola, *The Correspondence of Sargon II, Part III: Letters from Babylonia and the Eastern Provinces* (Helsinki 2001)
- SAA 16 M. Luukko and G. Van Buylaere, *The Political Correspondence of Esarhaddon* (Helsinki 2002)
- SAA 17 M. Dietrich, *The Babylonian Correspondence of Sargon and Sennacherib* (Helsinki 2003)
- SAA 18 F. Reynolds, *The Babylonian Correspondence of Esarhaddon and Letters to Assurbanipal and Sin-šarru-iškun from Northern and Central Babylonia* (Helsinki 2003)
- SAA 19 M. Luukko, *The Correspondence of Tiglath-pileser III and Sargon II from Calah/Nimrud* (Helsinki 2012)
- SAA 20 S. Parpola, *Assyrian Royal Rituals and Cultic Texts* (Helsinki 2017)
- SAA 21 S. Parpola, *The Correspondence of Assurbanipal, Part I: Letters from Assyria, Babylonia and Vassal States* (Helsinki 2018)
- SAAB *State Archives of Assyria. Bulletin* (Padua)
- SAACT State Archives of Assyria. Cuneiform Texts (Helsinki)
- SAAS State Archives of Assyria. Studies (Helsinki)
- SANER Studies in Ancient Near Eastern Records (Boston/Berlin)
- SAOC Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization (Chicago)
- STAT 2 V. Donbaz and S. Parpola, *Neo-Assyrian Legal Texts in Istanbul, Studien zu den Assur-Texten 2* (Saarbrücken 2001)
- STT O. R. Gurny and J. J. Finkelstein, *The Sultantepe Tablets*, vols. I–II (London 1957, 1964)
- TCL Textes cunéiformes. Musées du Louvre (Paris)
- TCL 3 F. Thureau-Dangin, *Une relation de la huitième campagne de Sargon (714 av. J.-C.)* (Paris 1912)
- TCS Texts from Cuneiform Sources (Locast Valley, NY)
- TH J. Friedrich, G. R. Meyer, A. Ungnad and E. F. Weidner, *Die Inschriften vom Tell Halaf. Keilschrifttexte und aramäische Urkunden aus einer assyrischen Provinzhauptstadt. AfO Beiheft 6* (Berlin 1940)
- TIM Texts in the Iraq Museum (Baghdad/Wiesbaden)
- WO *Die Welt des Orients: Wissenschaftliche Beiträge zur Kunde des Morgenlandes* (Wuppertal/Göttingen)
- ZA *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und Vorderasiatische Archäologie* (Berlin etc.)

*ZDMG*                      *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*  
(Mainz/Wiesbaden)

## Object Signatures

A	Aššur collection of Istanbul Arkeoloji Müzeleri
Assur	Siglum of texts excavated in the German excavation at Assur
BM	British Museum, London
HMA	Hearst Museum of Anthropology of the University of California at Berkeley
K	Kuyunjik collection of the British Museum, London
MMA	The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York
N	Nippur collection the University Museum, Philadelphia
ND	Field numbers of tablets excavated in Nimrud
O	Siglum of texts in the Royal Museum of Art and History, Brussels
Rm	H. Rassam collection of the British Museum
SÉ	The convent Saint-Étienne, Jerusalem
VA	Vorderasiatisches Museum, Berlin
VAT	Tablets in the collections of the staatliche Museen, Berlin.
YBC	Babylonian collection of the Yale University Library, New Haven



# Revisiting the Identities of the Four Foreigners Represented on Ashurbanipal Relief BM ME 124945–6: Unravelling the Mystery of an Unrecorded Event

*Jamie Novotny*, Munich  
and  
*Chikako E. Watanabe*, Osaka

## Introduction<sup>1</sup>

This paper focuses on the representations of four foreigners (Fig. 1) who are depicted in a scene in which Ashurbanipal (668–ca. 631 BCE) inspects Assyrian troops and Babylonian plunder after his army captured Babylon. The submission of these foreigners at the time of the fall of Babylon is not recorded in extant inscriptions and, therefore, the identity of these men remains a mystery. The foreigners appear on a wall relief, BM ME 124945–6 (Fig. 2), an alabaster slab that was excavated in the nineteenth century by H. Rassam in Room M (the so-called ‘Throne Room’) of the North Palace at Nineveh; this piece of sculpture is now housed in the British Museum. The date of execution of these carved panels is generally thought to be between 645 and 640 BCE since Ashurbanipal’s construction of that palace is described on clay prisms dated to 645 and 644 (or 643 or 642) BCE and since none of this king’s reliefs show events later than 643 (or 642) BCE.<sup>2</sup> The slabs are divided into an upper and lower register, with a broad wavy band separating them; each side of the band forms the bank of a river. Although only a small portion of the upper register has survived, the lower register is still intact.

The lower register of the slabs shows a scene (henceforward the ‘presentation scene’) in which Ashurbanipal reviews a procession of Assyrian soldiers carrying war spoils taken from Babylon after the city was captured in late 648 BCE. The scene is divided into three rows; a simple horizontal line forms the ground line for each row.<sup>3</sup> The king is represented on the right, occupying the upper and

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<sup>1</sup> This paper is a follow-up to Novotny and Watanabe 2008.

<sup>2</sup> *RIA* 9: 416–418. For the date of the reliefs, see Curtis and Reade 1995, 78–91. Copies of Ashurbanipal Prism F are dated to the eponymy of Nabû-šar-aḥḥēšu, which is now thought to date to 645 BCE, while those of Prism A are dated to the eponymy of Šamaš-da’ inanni, which could date to either 644, 643, or 642 BCE. There is no scholarly consensus on the date of the latter inscription.

<sup>3</sup> These lines normally indicate the recession of space in accordance with the ‘vertical perspective’ which was used by the Assyrians as a principle for rendering depth, in which

middle rows. Ashurbanipal stands in his chariot with a driver and a man holding a parasol; armed soldiers, all of whom face left, guard the royal carriage. A nine-line epigraph is engraved above Ashurbanipal's team of horses.<sup>4</sup> On the other side of the scene, in the upper row, Assyrian soldiers proceed towards the king, exhibiting war spoils (Fig. 3). A eunuch raising his right hand introduces the procession and he is followed by a bearded man. These two men are elaborately dressed, which indicates their high-ranking status. Behind them, there are three soldiers holding an item that once belonged to the recently deceased Šamaš-šumu-ukīn, who had rebelled against Ashurbanipal several years earlier. From right to left, these are the king of Babylon's crown, seal and staff.<sup>5</sup> Following these men are a ceremonial carriage, which is being carried by four men, and a chariot, which is being pulled by two soldiers. These are also spoils from Šamaš-šumu-ukīn's palace. To the very far left, soldiers are driving out prisoners whose hands are lifted and tied together. The scene is set against a background of palm trees, which are a typical plant growing in the natural environment of southern Mesopotamia. The fact that both the presentation of war spoils and the submission of the four foreigners are shown with palm trees implies that both events took place in the south. In fact, the parading of Šamaš-šumu-ukīn's royal property most likely took place outside Babylon itself. The event in which the four foreigners simultaneously pay homage to the Assyrian king is, however, not likely to have taken place anywhere near Babylon, because the Elamite king, shown here as the first foreigner in the line, only took refuge to Nineveh, if his identity as Tammarītu proves to be correct (discussed below in 1.1). The deliberate setting of these scenes against the same background may suggest a common framework and context in which both episodes should be read and understood, rather than recording historical facts in terms of both time and location. We shall come back to this point later in the conclusion.

## 1. The relief showing four foreigners

### 1.1. *The first foreigner*

The four foreigners in question appear in the middle row of the relief (Figs. 1 and 3). Each man is represented with distinctive clothing and physical features, neither of which is Assyrian nor Babylonian. Novotny and Watanabe (2008) pointed out that this depiction is mysterious because these notable men are not mentioned in the epigraph, nor are there any textual references to four foreigners simultaneously paying homage to the Assyrian king at the time of the fall of Babylon. The first man facing the king wears a long robe with a peculiar bulbous cap; this is the royal

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distant figures are placed higher than nearer ones. Cf. Russell 1987, 523–525; 1991, 193; and 1993, 57–61.

<sup>4</sup> For the epigraph, see Barnett 1976, 47, pl. XXXV, slabs 12–13 (inscription); Novotny and Watanabe 2008, 11; and Novotny and Jeffers 2018, no. 38.

<sup>5</sup> For the identification of these items, see Novotny and Watanabe 2008, 112–117.



headdress worn by Elamite kings (Fig. 4).<sup>6</sup> This man looks up towards Ashurbanipal with both of his hands raised in front of his face. Barnett believed that this man was the Elamite king Ummanaldašu (Ḫumban-Ḫaltaš III) and that the three men behind him were lesser princes.<sup>7</sup> Ummanaldašu seized power when he deposed Indabibi, an event that probably took place sometime in 648 BCE. When Assyrian troops entered Elam in the following year, 647 BCE, Ummanaldašu fled from his capital to the mountains and Ashurbanipal replaced him with Tammarītu, an exiled former Elamite king who had been living in Nineveh since 649 BCE. Shortly after the Assyrians left, Ummanaldašu temporarily regained his position. Reade (1976, 103; 1998, 230), however, regarded the Elamite king depicted on this relief as Tammarītu, rather than as Ummanaldašu, since Tammarītu had supported Babylon before he was deposed in 649 BCE and since the king's posture in the presentation scene appears to be a gesture of supplication to be reinstated as the king of Elam. Reade's proposed identification of the first foreigner as Tammarītu was followed by the present authors (Novotny and Watanabe 2008, 119). It is noteworthy that when that exiled ruler submitted to Ashurbanipal in Nineveh, his family and eighty-five nobles accompanied him.<sup>8</sup> One description of the event reads:

Tammarītu, his brothers, his family, (and) the seed of his father's house, together with eighty-five nobles who march at his side, fled from Indabibi, and (then) crawled naked on their bellies and came to Nineveh. Tammarītu kissed the feet of my royal majesty and swept the ground with his beard. He took hold of the *running board* of my chariot and (then) handed himself over to do obeisance to me and, by the command of (the god) Aššur and the goddess Ištar, he made an appeal to my lordly majesty to decide in his favour (and) to come to his aid. They (the fugitive Elamites) stood before me and were singing the praises of the valour of my mighty gods, who had come to my aid. I, Ashurbanipal, the magnanimous one who abolishes sin, had mercy on Tammarītu and (then) I allowed him, together with the seed of his father's house to stay in my palace. (Prism A iv 23–41a)

His gesture in the scene, by looking up to the Assyrian king with both of his hands raised in front of his face, seems to match well with this episode, specifically the passage stating that Tammarītu appealed to Ashurbanipal and praised the valour of Assyria's gods. If the relief records this particular flight of Tammarītu to Assyria, then the episode should have taken place in 649 BCE, well before the fall of Babylon in late 648 BCE. The representation of him on this relief, therefore, could have been

<sup>6</sup> See the discussion on the elite Elamite garments in Assyrian representations in Álvarez-Mon 2010, 220–221. Cf. Potts 2011.

<sup>7</sup> Barnett 1976, 46–47 and pl. XXXV: relief BM ME 124945–6 is referred to as “The king in his chariot receiving the surrender of Shamash-shum-ukin,” and a separate central scene is captioned as “Detail of central scene showing surrender of Shamash-shum-ukin and Ummanaldas.” Barnett regarded the bearded high official standing behind the eunuch in the upper row as Šamaš-šumu-ukīn and the Elamite king in the middle row as Ummanaldašu. Since there is sufficient textual evidence to confirm that Šamaš-šumu-ukīn died in a raging fire, the figure here cannot be the captured Babylonian king, but rather an Assyrian high official.

<sup>8</sup> For example, Novotny and Jeffers, no. 11 (Prism A) iv 9–41.

based on that event.

## 1.2. *The second and third foreigners*

The three men behind the Elamite king are all portrayed displaying the same posture: they stand upright looking straight ahead with their hands crossed in front of their chests. This is an attitude typically taken by Assyrian courtiers before the king. Unlike the first foreigner, these men are shown barefooted. The second man wears a headband that is knotted behind his head and above a bundle of hair (Fig. 5); its style is similar to those commonly worn by Elamite soldiers.<sup>9</sup> In the relief depicting the battle of Tīl-Tuba, Teumman's son also wears the same headband (Watanabe 2004: 103–114; see Barnett et al. 1998: pls. 291–299). The third man exhibits a short frizzy beard represented by the small square pattern, but the second man's beard is long and pointed with incised vertical lines, which suggests that the hair is more straight than frizzy. He is dressed in a knee-length tunic that has a side fringe that hangs down from the elbow (Fig. 6, right). There is also a vertical, triangular piece of clothing that hangs between his legs (possibly a loincloth). Lastly, his outfit has a diagonal pattern across the chest, which might be part of an overlapping garment.

Reade tentatively noted that his features resembled those of Aramean or Chaldean tribesmen. However, because the third foreigner is wearing a similar garment and because that man is clearly an Arab, as is evident from his hairstyle, Reade (1998, 230–231) suggested that the second and third foreigners should be regarded as a pair and, therefore, considered both men as Arabs. He thought that the taller man was Abī-Yate', son of Te'ri, a Qedarite ruler who submitted to Ashurbanipal during the Šamaš-šumu-ukīn rebellion after previously supporting Babylon, and that the shorter man was Aya-ammu, the brother of Abī-Yate' who was captured in ca. 645 BCE and flayed shortly thereafter in Nineveh.

The third man has long flowing hair that hangs down to his shoulders; he does not wear a headdress (Fig. 6, left). His beard is short and is drawn with a plaid pattern which indicates that the man's hair is dense and frizzy. He is much shorter than the man standing in front of him. The style of his outfit is similar to the second foreigner, but with minor variations. Specifically, there is no diagonal object on his chest, and the triangular cloth hanging between his legs has horizontal stripes. His hairstyle is identical to that of the Arab soldiers represented on reliefs from Room L (Fig. 7).<sup>10</sup> Those Arabs ride on camels and wear short kilts that have a vertical triangular cloth hanging down between the legs. Their hair is long and unbound. Although the soldiers are bare chested in that battle scene, Reade (1998, 230–231) considered that the second and third men in the procession might be Arabs of high status since they would have worn a stately outfit that would have covered the chest on formal occasions. Based on the less elaborate dress and the comparatively

<sup>9</sup> The knotted headband must have been an important ethnic ornament used to identify the Elamites because it is also depicted in the Achaemenid representation of the Elamite delegation on Apadana reliefs at Persepolis (see Walser 1966, pls. 9, 35–37).

<sup>10</sup> For a discussion of the Arabs represented in Assyrian art, see Reade 1998, 221–231.

shorter stature, the third man was regarded as Aya-ammu, the brother of Abī-Yate'.<sup>11</sup>

Going back to the second man, it should be noted that the rendering of his beard (Fig. 5) can only be compared to those of Elamite kings and that his face shows no clearly distinctive Arab features. Although Reade (1998, 223) noted that not all Arab or nomadic groups were dressed and equipped in the same way, we have observed that an outfit of presumably an Arab<sup>12</sup> represented on a wall painting (Fig. 8) discovered in the Assyrian palace at Tīl-Barsip (modern Tell Ahmar) is stylistically similar to those worn by Elamite kings. The painting shows that one Arab stands with his hands raised as he pleads for mercy while he watches an Assyrian soldier kill one of his tribesmen. Both figures have loose flowing hair painted in black and wear headbands that have no visible knots. The left man's garment has a blue and red fringe hanging down from his elbow and, on the other side of his arm, there is a small piece of cloth, which could be the end of that same fringe. Moreover, the front panel of his garment is lined with a wide red fringe that runs diagonally from back to front. The Elamite king's outfit in our relief (Fig. 9), on the other hand, has a fringe that hangs down from the elbow, as well as a lower, second fringe that cuts diagonally towards the front of his garment; it also has a long, ankle-length inner skirt. Unfortunately, the lower part of the Arab's attire in the Tīl-Barsip painting is not preserved and, therefore, many details about it are unknown.

Upon closer examination of the tunics of the second and third foreigners in the Babylon presentation scene, it is worth noting that both have a similar fringe hanging down from the elbow, with its shorter end draped on the other side of the arm (Figs. 6 and 8). The frontal piece of the garment is cut diagonally in the same manner as that of the Elamite king. The only difference is that the garments of the second and third men do not have an inner skirt that hides their loincloths; note that loincloths are not normally visible in representations of Elamites. Structurally speaking both outfits are similar and thus the style of clothing worn by these two men has several features in common with the garb worn by the Elamite king.

Another important aspect is the depiction of their beards. Both Tammarītu and the second man have long beards with vertically-incised patterns (Figs. 4 and 5). Assyrian artists paid close attention to the way they rendered the beards of different ethnic groups. Beards must have been regarded, therefore, as an important physical feature for men, as it is nowadays among some Muslims. The only other depictions of beards similar to that of the second man that we could find in Assyrian reliefs are that of other Elamite kings. First, Ummanaldašu is depicted twice in a fragmentary relief<sup>13</sup> in which his beard is shown with vertically-incised patterning (Fig. 10).

<sup>11</sup> The size of the figure indicates the status of the person; generally speaking, principal figures tend to be drawn slightly bigger than lesser ones in Assyrian reliefs.

<sup>12</sup> Two men represented in the Tīl-Barsip painting are depicted with loose flowing hair and beards with their skins painted red or brown, which seems to suggest an outdoor lifestyle. Thureau-Dangin and Dunand (1936, 50–51, 55–57, 65) regarded these men as “Syrian nomads”, and Wäfler (1975, 153) saw them as “Arabs.” Reade (1998, 223) pointed out that the identification of these figures as nomads depends merely on the flowing hair and the skin colour; their dress is similar to that worn by people living in many parts of the Levant.

<sup>13</sup> BM ME 124793: the scene shows the Elamite king Ummanaldašu being captured in the mountains of Luristan, a difficult-to-reach place where he had taken refuge; an Assyrian soldier is shown firmly seizing the hand of the Elamite king, who looks back with his other

Second, the two Elamite kings who are represented in another relief<sup>14</sup> have beards that are similar to Ummanaldašu's (Fig. 11); in fact, that deposed ruler may well be represented on that slab fragment. Because this particular depiction of beards is not common, this style of facial hair must have been only used in the representations of reliefs executed to portray members of the Elamite royal family in the North Palace; common Elamites are never shown with this type of beard. It is noteworthy that the depiction of the Neo-Elamite king Atta-hamiti-Inšušinak<sup>15</sup> on a stele excavated at the Susa Acropolis<sup>16</sup> also shows a long beard which consists of long straight locks of hair and two rows of delicate locks extending from the sideburns to the moustache (Fig. 12).<sup>17</sup> The style of these long locks, which are decorated with straight vertical patterning, presents a close similarity to that of Ummanaldašu's. Álvarez-Mon (2010, 216) noted several distinctive features about this Elamite monarch, his beard, the absence of hair over the tip of the chin, his prominent nose, and his thin lips. The date of the Atta-hamiti-Inšušinak stele is still hotly debated,<sup>18</sup> with suggestions ranging from ca. 645 to 520 BCE.

In sum, the second man is represented with two distinctive Elamite features: 'a knotted headband' and 'the beard with a vertically-incised pattern.' Stylistically, his outfit has Elamite and Arabian elements. Although the hanging loincloth is not typical for an Elamite, his facial features and distinct beard suggest that he could be a member of the Elamite royal family. It is possible to assume that even an Assyrian artist became confused at this point whether he should depict a loincloth with Elamite attire, since the main part of their clothes were stylistically similar to that of the high-status Arabs. If this proves true, then the second foreigner could be an important member of Tammarītu's extended family; it is clear from textual sources that his relatives, described in Prism A as "the seed of his father's house,"<sup>19</sup>

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hand raised in the air. To the right of this scene, Ummanaldašu is shown a second time, here being loaded onto a chariot; both of his hands are held tightly together by a soldier, while a second Assyrian soldier pushes the Elamite king from behind. Cf. Reade 1976, 104–105.

<sup>14</sup> BM ME 124794: the preserved scene shows two Elamite kings being humiliated in the Assyrian court where they were forced to act as servants of the Assyrian king. The left king holds a vase of wine while being poked and jeered at by Assyrian eunuchs, and the right king is shown holding fly-whisk. The relief probably originally depicted three former Elamite kings: Tammarītu, Pa'e, and Ummanaldašu. A closer examination of the damaged epigraph confirms the identity of one of the kings as Ummanaldašu; after collation, the relevant section of line 2 of the epigraph should be read as [... <sup>m</sup>um-man-al-da]š' LU[GAL].MEŠ šá KUR.ELAM.MA.KI "[... *Ummanalda*]šu (Ḫumban-ḫaltaš III), ki[ng]s of the land Elam." Because the captured Ummanaldašu is often mentioned together with Tammarītu and Pa'e, those two deposed Elamite rulers were probably also mentioned in this epigraph.

<sup>15</sup> Atta-hamiti-Inšušinak is mentioned in the inscription as the son of Hutran-tepti, the king of Anšan and Susa.

<sup>16</sup> Six fragments of the stele were found during the excavations at Susa, which were directed by J. de Morgan. The damaged stele is now housed in the Louvre Museum. Cf. Orthmann 1985, Abb. 296b.

<sup>17</sup> The authors are most grateful to Dr Álvarez-Mon for providing information on Atta-hamiti-Inšušinak and the permission of reproducing the image in this article.

<sup>18</sup> For details, see Álvarez-Mon 2009, 28 note 32; idem 2010, 217–218.

<sup>19</sup> Novotny and Jeffers, no. 11 (Prism A) iv 40. Most of Ashurbanipal's inscriptions state that eighty-five Elamite nobles, as well as Tammarītu's family, fled to the Assyrian king after Indabibi seized the throne. One exemplar of Prism B (A 7928+) records that number as eighty-

had been living in Nineveh under Ashurbanipal's protection since 649 BCE.

### 1.3. *The fourth foreigner*

The surface of the upper part of the fourth foreigner is damaged and this greatly hinders us from properly assessing his representation. Nevertheless, some details can be made out. This man has a short beard that is depicted with a plaid pattern (Fig. 13). He appears to wear a shallow cap with a band around it. His hair is bundled and is well above his shoulders. He wears a long robe that ends with a wide, undecorated horizontal fringe. Two broad bands hang down on the side. One band is noticeably narrower and shorter than the other; the thinner one of the two is draped from his shoulder. As noted by Reade (1998, 231), the identity of this figure is the most puzzling of the four because there is no comparable pictorial evidence in extant Assyrian reliefs. Based on a description in Prism A, Reade tentatively proposed that the fourth foreigner represented either the Nabatean king Natnu or one of his emissaries. Since there is no costume similar to that worn by this man known from any other depictions in and outside Assyria,<sup>20</sup> we shall examine this issue from textual sources below.

## 2. Proposed identification of the four foreigners: Evidence from textual sources

The four foreigners are not mentioned in the epigraph, nor are there any textual references to four foreigners simultaneously paying homage to the Assyrian king at the time Babylon fell in 648 BCE. As stated earlier, the first man is clearly Elamite and he should probably be identified as Tammarītu.<sup>21</sup> That Elamite king's

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six and two inscriptions written on a clay tablet (K 1609+ and K 2825) state that that number was eighty-eight. Some of the people who fled with Tammarītu are named in K 1609+ and K 2825 and the relevant passage of those texts reads: "[As for] *that* Tammarītu, the king of the land Elam, along with Ummanaldašu (Ḫumban-ḫaltaš) (and) Para-[...], *his brothers*], Ummanaldašu (Ḫumban-ḫaltaš), son of Teumman — the king of the land Elam — Ummanamni, son of Ummanpi' — son of Urtaku, [the king of the land Elam] — Ummanamni, grandson of Ummanaldašu (Ḫumban-ḫaltaš II) — the k[ing of the land Elam] — together with seventeen (members of) his family, (and) the seed of his father's house, and eighty-eight nobles of [the land Elam who march at his side]." At least two of Tammarītu's brothers (Ummanaldašu and Para-...) are mentioned and one of them may be shown with the deposed Elamite king in the presentation scene at Babylon. The relationship between Ummanaldašu and Tammarītu is known from K 4457+ obv. 13': "[Umman]aldašu ([Ḫumban]-ḫaltaš), brother of Tam[marītu], king of the land [Elam]"; see Borger 1996, 314.

<sup>20</sup> We would like to express our special gratitude to Dr Shahrokh Razmjou, who provided us with information on ethnic representations in the Achaemenid art, in particular, those from Persepolis.

<sup>21</sup> For details on this Elamite king, see Waters 2011, sub Tammarītu no. 2; and *RIA* 13, 432–433 sub Tammaritu.



participation in the Šamaš-šumu-ukīn rebellion is well documented. Although he aided Babylon, he took refuge at Nineveh after Indabibi deposed him; Ashurbanipal claims to have had compassion on him. That exiled ruler remained in Assyria for the rest of the Šamaš-šumu-ukīn rebellion. Although texts never record that Tammarītu was at Babylon with Ashurbanipal, his depiction in the presentation scene currently under discussion can be explained by the facts that he (1) once aided the king of Babylon and (2) was loyal to Ashurbanipal at the time of Babylon's fall.<sup>22</sup> The latter can be confirmed by the manner in which the Elamite is represented on the relief and by Ashurbanipal later reinstalling Tammarītu as king of Elam. Although there were other Elamite kings on the throne during the 652–648 BCE period,<sup>23</sup> Tammarītu is the only viable candidate for the Elamite shown on this presentation scene. Therefore, the identification of Tammarītu as the first of the four foreigners may provide the key to unlocking the identities of the other three foreigners in this scene, assuming that our hypothesis proves correct.

Reade (1998, 230–231) has suggested that the second, third, and fourth foreigners are from the west; this is debatable in the case of the second man (see above). Annalistic texts regularly state that Arabs – along with Elamites, Chaldeans, and Arameans – provided aid to Babylon.<sup>24</sup> Numerous inscriptions record some of the interactions between the Assyrians and various Arab groups. The principal sources are: Prisms B (649 BCE), D (648 BCE), C (647 BCE), Kh (646 BCE), G (646 BCE), and A (644, 643, or 642 BCE); epigraph tablets Rm 2,120 and K 3096 (ca. 646 BCE); the Letter to Aššur (ca. 645 BCE); K 3087 (ca. 645–644 BCE); MMA 86.11.413 (+) HMA 9-1773 (+) HMA 9-1774 (+) VA 4332 (ca. 642–640 BCE); and the Inscription from the Ištar Temple (ca. 638 BCE).<sup>25</sup> The Arabs named in those texts are: Iauta', Abī-Yate', Aya-ammu, Ammi-ladīn, Kamās-ḫaltâ, Natnu, Adiya, Uaite', and Nuḫūru.<sup>26</sup>

Without hesitation, we can dismiss Iauta', Adiya, Kamās-ḫaltâ, Ammi-ladīn, and Nuḫūru as candidates. Because the foreigners represented on the relief are all men, queen Adiya can be ruled out. The Moabite king Kamās-ḫaltâ was loyal to Assyria and he personally aided Ashurbanipal by capturing Ammi-ladīn, a king of

<sup>22</sup> For the textual evidence, see Waters 2011, sub Tammarītu no. 2.

<sup>23</sup> Notably Indabibi (ca. 649–648 BCE) and Ummanaldašu III (648–645 or 644 BCE). The latter, contrary to Barnett (1976, 46–47), is unlikely since that Elamite king was not taken into custody until 645 or 644 BCE; moreover, he is not linked to the events in Babylon between 652 and 648 BCE. As for the former, although he aided Ashurbanipal's brother, he was killed in Elam by the latter when he seized power. For details on Elam's participation during the Šamaš-šumu-ukīn revolt, see Frame 1992, 182–186.

<sup>24</sup> For a detailed study of the events of 652–648 BCE, see Frame 1992, 131–190, especially 135 and 167–182 (for the involvement of the Arabs, Arameans, and Chaldeans).

<sup>25</sup> Borger 1996, 69–70, K 3087 (and duplicates), 77–82 (Letter to Aššur), i 1–v 4; and 317–318, nos. 79–82; and Novotny and Jeffers 2018, no. 3 (Prism B) vii 77–viii 55, no. 4 (Prism D) vii 80–viii 57, no. 6 (Prism C) x 1'–18'', no. 7 (Prism Kh) ix 64''–x 52'', no. 8 (Prism G) ix 38'–28'', no. 11 (Prism A) vii 82–x 5, no. 22 (MMA 86.11.413+) i' 1'–17'', and no. 23 (Inscription from the Ištar Temple) lines 111b–113, 118–121a, and 124b–131a. New editions of most of these texts are also available online at <http://oracc.museum.upenn.edu/rinap/rinap5/pager>. For studies of Ashurbanipal's wars against the Arabs, see in particular Weippert 1973–1974; Eph'al 1982; and Gerardi 1996.

<sup>26</sup> Respectively Baker 2000; Brinkman 1998a; Brinkman 1998b; Villard 1998; Berlejung 2000; Tenney 2001; [Adiya omitted in the *PNA*]; Baker 2011; and Baker 2001.

Qedar who was causing disruptions in the west. Kamās-ḥaltâ is never regarded as an enemy and, therefore, it is very unlikely that he is depicted on the relief. The Qedarite rulers Iauta' and Ammi-ladīn should also be ruled out since their crimes were not supporting Babylon, but rather the plundering of pro-Assyrian territories. Moreover, they were both removed from power several years before the fall of Babylon, probably before the outbreak of the rebellion in 652. Iauta' remained a fugitive until 645 and, therefore, was not present in Babylon in 648. Lastly, Nuḥūru can be ruled out since he became ruler of the Nabateans in place of his father several years after the Šamaš-šumu-ukīn rebellion, in 644 BCE at the earliest.

The Qedarite leader Abī-Yate' is probably shown on BM ME 124945–6. According to Prism A,<sup>27</sup> he and his brother Aya-ammu aided Šamaš-šumu-ukīn by leading troops to Babylon. Ashurbanipal, as recorded in that same text, forgave Abī-Yate' and allowed him to remain in power. At the time Babylon fell, Abī-Yate' was in Ashurbanipal's good graces, although his past affiliation with Šamaš-šumu-ukīn was not entirely forgotten, as recorded in Prism A and probably on this relief. If Abī-Yate' was a known collaborator of the king of Babylon, why was that not made public until long after the failed revolt? Why was it not recorded shortly after the fall of Babylon? Apparently, Ashurbanipal had good reasons for not adding this information to Prisms B, D, C, Kh, and G.<sup>28</sup> In the texts composed during the rebellion, the Assyrian king did not intend to allude to unfinished business. As anyone familiar with Assyrian royal inscriptions knows, ancient rulers seldom refer to military events that were unsuccessful or were in progress. Thus, any statement about Qedarite aid to Šamaš-šumu-ukīn would have been ideologically problematic, that is, the Assyrian king would have indirectly referred to a matter that was still very much at hand. Moreover, if Prism A is to be believed, Ashurbanipal may have forgiven Abī-Yate' by the time that Prism B was composed. Since Abī-Yate' was now back in league with Assyria, there was no need to openly admit to supporting a once disloyal individual and, therefore, his past crimes were overlooked. Thus, the passage concerning him in Prisms B and D – as well as the post-war editions, Prisms C, Kh, and G – probably took into account the fact that Ashurbanipal regarded that Qedarite ruler as loyal, or at least passably so. The absence of negative information in the wartime and post-war texts probably indicates that Abī-Yate' was in Ashurbanipal's good graces. As long as he sided with Assyria, presumably by paying his share of tribute, there was no reason to record his past crimes. However, as soon as that good relationship had deteriorated, which happened in 646 or early 645 BCE, Ashurbanipal no longer needed to conceal the fact that Abī-Yate' had aided Babylon.<sup>29</sup> This shift probably happened because Ashurbanipal had no intention of forgiving him or reinstalling him as ruler since he was now an enemy of Assyria. In early 645 BCE, Abī-Yate' and his brother were captured, carried off to Nineveh, and punished for plundering cities and towns held by loyal Assyrian vassals. Now that Abī-Yate' was a captive foe, Ashurbanipal's scribes openly recorded all of his previous crimes. Had he not regularly carried out raids in neighbouring pro-Assyrian areas, his involvement at Babylon may have gone

<sup>27</sup> Novotny and Jeffers 2018, no. 11 (Prism A) viii 30–47.

<sup>28</sup> Cf. Novotny and Jeffers 2018, no. 3 (Prism B) viii 25b–31 and no. 7 (Prism Kh) x 3'–12'.

<sup>29</sup> This Arab's sins against Assyria are recorded in the Letter to Aššur, Prism A, and MMA 86.11.413+.

unrecorded in annalistic texts. Now, as for our relief, this Qedarite ruler is probably depicted in it, as the historical situation fits very well. First, Abī-Yate’ is known to have aided Šamaš-šumu-ukīn and, second, despite his assistance at Babylon, Abī-Yate’ appears to have been in Ashurbanipal’s good graces when Babylon fell.

Reade (1998, 230–231) has suggested that Aya-ammu, the brother of Abī-Yate’, is also represented in this relief. This identification is based solely on the fact that Prism A records Aya-ammu assisting his brother at Babylon.<sup>30</sup> However, because none of the foreigners look remotely similar, that identification seems unlikely as we would expect that Aya-ammu would look nearly identical to his brother Abī-Yate’. Moreover, textual sources regarding him suggest that he acted only in concert with his more important brother, and never on his own. Therefore, it is unlikely that Aya-ammu is depicted in the scene.

According to most inscriptions, the Nabatean ruler Natnu was on good terms with Assyria.<sup>31</sup> Those texts record that he sent an envoy to Ashurbanipal to pledge his allegiance after Iauta’, a son of Ḥazā-il who was on the run from Assyria, had attempted to seek refuge with him. Although Prism A states that Natnu formed an alliance with Abī-Yate’ and gave him troops,<sup>32</sup> Ashurbanipal still presented him as a loyal vassal. However, sometime between 644 and 639 BCE, Natnu fell out of favour, was captured, and taken to Nineveh.<sup>33</sup> Unlike for Abī-Yate’, extant inscriptions do not record Natnu’s onetime support of Šamaš-šumu-ukīn. Of course, this is not to say that this information about him did not appear in texts written after he was captured.<sup>34</sup> If Ashurbanipal’s inscriptions do not record this treachery, how do we know that this Nabatean ruler may have aided Babylon? The answer is a letter from Nabû-šumu-lēšir, an Assyrian official. He wrote to the king stating that Šamaš-šumu-ukīn gave Natnu a gift of 105 Assyrian prisoners from Cutha, which the king of Babylon had taken in late 651 BCE.<sup>35</sup> Given the silence of official texts on this matter, one can tentatively surmise that Natnu’s relationship to Assyria may have been similar to that of Abī-Yate’, assuming he accepted that bribe.<sup>36</sup> Specifically: (1) he was in contact with Šamaš-šumu-ukīn during the early days of the rebellion; (2) he severed ties with Babylon and remained loyal to Ashurbanipal for the rest of the rebellion; and (3) he was removed from power many years later because he had conducted or knowingly aided in raids in pro-Assyrian territory. Thus, annalistic texts overlooked Natnu’s dealings with Šamaš-šumu-ukīn since Ashurbanipal regarded him as an ally. If this proves true, then it is plausible that Natnu, as already suggested by Reade, could be one of the foreigners in question. Although he was

<sup>30</sup> Novotny and Jeffers 2018, no. 11 (Prism A) viii 30–34.

<sup>31</sup> For example, Novotny and Jeffers 2018, no. 3 (Prism B) viii 43–55 and no. 7 (Prism Kh) x 39’–52’; see also Novotny and Jeffers 2018, no. 11 (Prism A) viii 52–64.

<sup>32</sup> Novotny and Jeffers, no. 11 (Prism A) viii 64–72.

<sup>33</sup> Novotny and Jeffers 2018, no. 23 (IIT) lines 124b–128.

<sup>34</sup> The passage concerning Natnu in the Inscription from the Istar Temple (Novotny and Jeffers 2018, no. 23 [IIT] lines 124b–128) is badly damaged. It is not impossible that that inscription alluded to this ruler’s support of Babylon, again assuming, of course, that he provided aid to the king of Babylon.

<sup>35</sup> Reynolds 2003, 120, no. 147 (83-1-18,74).

<sup>36</sup> Cf. the comments of Frame 1992, 135: “Although there is evidence of contact between the Babylonian king and Natnu, king of the Nabateans, during the revolt, there is no evidence that Natnu or his tribesmen provided Šamaš-šumu-ukīn with aid.”



loyal in 648 BCE, the Assyrian king had not forgotten that Natnu was in contact with Šamaš-šumu-ukīn at a time when he should not have been. This relief may be a reminder of that onetime betrayal.

The Qedarite leader Uaite', son of Birdada, first appears in the Letter to Aššur in connection with a large-scale expedition led against him and Abī-Yate' in 645 BCE.<sup>37</sup> His introduction into the inscriptions confused Ashurbanipal's scribes; they had problems differentiating him from the similarly named Iauta', a long-deposed Qedarite ruler.<sup>38</sup> Texts attributed some of the crimes of Uaite' to the fugitive, still-at-large son of Ḫazā-il. It was only once both Uaite' and Iauta' were in custody that the scribes could begin correcting some of the misinformation. From what we can glean from available sources: (1) Uaite' was a contemporary of Abī-Yate'; (2) he provided troops to Abī-Yate' and his brother Aya-ammu in their failed expedition to Babylon; and (3) he remained in power until 645 BCE, when he was captured, taken to Nineveh, and harshly punished. The relationship of Uaite' with Assyria between 652 and 645 BCE may have been similar to the relationships of Abī-Yate' and Natnu with Assyria. Since he may have been in Ashurbanipal's good books in 648 BCE, and because he had been a onetime supporter of Šamaš-šumu-ukīn, it is not impossible that Uaite' is one of the foreigners depicted in Babylon presentation scene.

Of the Arab rulers named in Ashurbanipal's inscriptions, Abī-Yate', Natnu, and Uaite' seem to be the most likely candidates to be depicted on this relief. Although we are confident that Abī-Yate' is represented for his major role played in the incident, we are less certain about the other two. If the fourth foreigner is a Nabatean, then Natnu, or perhaps even one of his messengers, may be shown. As for Uaite', he would be depicted only if both the second and third men are Arabs. However, a careful examination of the representation of the man behind the Elamite king suggests that the second foreigner is probably an Elamite, and not an Arab. Therefore, it is unlikely that Uaite' is depicted in this scene since he played much less of a role in the Babylon rebellion than Abī-Yate'.

### 3. People and places mentioned in epigraphs

Given the wealth of written and pictorial evidence for the reign of Ashurbanipal at our disposal, only a few certain identifications of people and places can be made in the sculpted wall slabs of Assyrian palaces. These include, for example, the Elamite king Teumman and his son, Tamarītu, in the Tīl-Tuba relief (Fig. 14).<sup>39</sup> Although annalistic texts and summary inscriptions name many important opponents, it is certain that those inscriptions did not record the name of every person who was defeated and every place that was captured. Therefore, many epigraphs accompanying reliefs play an important role in reconstructing Assyrian

<sup>37</sup> See Baker 2011, no. 2.

<sup>38</sup> For details about the confusion, see in particular Gerardi 1996.

<sup>39</sup> BM ME 124801a–c: see Barnett et al. 1998: plates 286–299.

history, since they provide information intentionally omitted in longer descriptions of military expeditions.<sup>40</sup> This is well attested throughout the Neo-Assyrian period. The best-known example is the depiction of Sennacherib's siege of Lachish (Fig. 15). This relief, which adorned the walls of Room XXXVI of the Southwest Palace at Nineveh, shows many details of the hard-fought siege of a well-fortified Judean city (not mentioned elsewhere in Sennacherib's annals) and its aftermath, in particular, the parade of plunder and prisoners before the Assyrian king.<sup>41</sup>

With regard to epigraphs of Ashurbanipal, the names of no less than twenty-five people and places that do not appear in his annals and summary inscriptions are known from these short texts.<sup>42</sup> Four are preserved on reliefs, while at least another twenty-one appear in epigraphs that are written on clay tablets. For example, epigraphs identify several important Elamites – Simburu, a herald, Umbakidini, another herald, Itunî, a eunuch of Teumman, and Urtaku, an in-law of Teumman (Fig. 16) – as well as a certain Nabû-šallimšunu, a *mukīl appāti*-official, and several sons of Ea-zēru-iqīša, a leader of the Bīt-Amukkāni.<sup>43</sup> Since pictorial representations and their epigraphs often provide us with information not included in other textual sources, it is not impossible that one or more of the foreigners represented on relief BM ME 124945–6 is not mentioned in Ashurbanipal's annals. That is, one or several of these men might be a hitherto unknown person. Moreover, not all of the foreigners included in this group were necessarily rulers; they could represent a messenger or a high-ranking dignitary or military official. For example, an important member of Tammarītu's extended family, Natnu's messenger, or an Aramean or Chaldean chieftain, since those groups actively participated in the fight against Assyria.

#### 4. Conclusions

After carefully examining the relief from both the pictorial and textual points of view, our conclusion thus far is to identify the first and second foreigners respectively as the Elamite king Tammarītu and an important member of his family, one of the many people who fled Elam with him in 649 BCE; potential candidates are Tammarītu's brothers Ummanaldašu or Para-... (name not fully preserved), both of whom are mentioned by name in two badly damaged inscriptions written on clay tablets.<sup>44</sup> The third foreigner is likely the Arab leader Abī-Yate'. The fourth

<sup>40</sup> For details about wall reliefs and epigraphs (with bibliographical references), see Russell 1999.

<sup>41</sup> BM ME 124911. For an edition (with references to some scholarly literature), see Grayson and Novotny 2014, 110–111, no. 66.

<sup>42</sup> For Ashurbanipal's epigraphs, see in particular Gerardi 1988; Borger 1996, 297–319; Novotny and Jeffers 2018, nos. 24–28; and Russell 1999, 157–181.

<sup>43</sup> Borger 1996, 299, nos. 2–3; 302, no. 16; and 312, nos. 62–63.

<sup>44</sup> Other possible candidates are (1) Ummanaldašu (Ḫumban-ḫaltaš), a son of the former and then-deceased Elamite king Teumman; (2) Ummanamni, a son of Ummanpi', a son of Urtaku (the Elamite king who preceded Teumman); and (3) Ummanamni, a grandson of

foreigner could be a Nabatean, either Natnu or his messenger. Note that there is no comparative visual evidence in Assyrian and Persian art that we can use to positively identify the fourth man as a Nabatean. The selection of these candidates is based on a hypothesis that the submission of these four foreigners would have been viewed by the Assyrians in the context of the Šamaš-šumu-ukīn rebellion. A visual manipulation of the event(s) is achieved by an innovative installation of the narrative framework in which the representations of four foreigners is incorporated within the scheme of event that took place immediately after the fall of Babylon in 648 BCE. The framework is also reinforced by the depiction of palm trees as a common background in order to create the intended narrative context. Thus, the artist(s) of this relief successfully integrated the exhibition of loyalty of these four foreigners at the time of the fall of Babylon into the parade of war spoils carried away from Šamaš-šumu-ukīn's palace, thereby strengthening the image's pro-Assyrian message.

The interplay between royal ideology and historical reality in Assyrian texts and art makes it a real challenge for the modern scholar to reconstruct some historical events, especially when they are known only from pictorial evidence. Because royal scribes and artists cherry-picked what information they included in descriptions and pictorial representations of military and hunting expeditions in order to present their royal patron in the best possible light, we are not always in a position to reach firm conclusions. This is especially the case when texts and art amalgamate events, confuse people and places, or overlook the crimes of foreign rulers. This seems to have been the case with Ashurbanipal's dealings with the Arabs; this is especially true of Abī-Yate', who is presented quite differently in different versions of the annals, and of Uaite' and Iauta', two Qedarite rulers whom Assyrian scribes had difficulties differentiating between. Since we cannot entirely rely on the information presented in Ashurbanipal's annals, especially given the fact that those texts intentionally exclude more information than they include, we are unable to match up textual descriptions of many events that are represented on elaborately carved wall reliefs. Therefore, not every mystery, including the one discussed in this paper, can be successfully unravelled.

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Ummanaldašu (Ḫumban-ḫaltaš II) (a ruler of Elam who came before Urataku). See n. 19 for further information.



Fig. 1. Relief showing four foreigners paying homage to Ashurbanipal. BM ME 124946 middle row, from Nineveh, North Palace, Room M. The British Museum. Photograph taken by C. E. Watanabe.



Fig. 2. Relief showing the presentation scene of Ashurbanipal. BM ME 124945–6 from Nineveh, North Palace, Room M, 127×195.6 cm and 213.4×147.3 cm. The British Museum. Photograph taken by C. E. Watanabe.





Fig. 3. Ashurbanipal reviewing war spoils from his chariot. The upper and middle rows of BM ME 124946. Photograph taken by C. E. Watanabe.



Fig. 4. The first foreigner (the Elamite king, Tammarītu). The middle row of BM ME 124946. Photograph taken by C. E. Watanabe.



Fig. 5. The second foreigner. The middle row of BM ME 124946. Photograph taken by C. E. Watanabe.



Fig. 6. The second and third foreigners. The middle row of BM ME 124946. Photograph taken by C. E. Watanabe.





Fig. 7. The third foreigner (left) and the Arabs represented on reliefs from Room L, from Nineveh, North Palace, Room L. The British Museum. Photograph taken by C. E. Watanabe.



Fig. 8. The Arab represented on a wall painting discovered in the Assyrian palace at Til-Barsip. After Parrot 1961: fig. 116.



Fig. 9. The Elamite king (Tammarītu) standing in front of Ashurbanipal. The middle row of BM ME 124946. Photograph taken by C. E. Watanabe.



Fig. 10. The Elamite king (Ummanaldašu) with a long beard with vertically incised patterns. BM ME 124793, from Nineveh, North Palace, Room M or S<sup>1</sup>. The British Museum. Photograph taken by C. E. Watanabe.



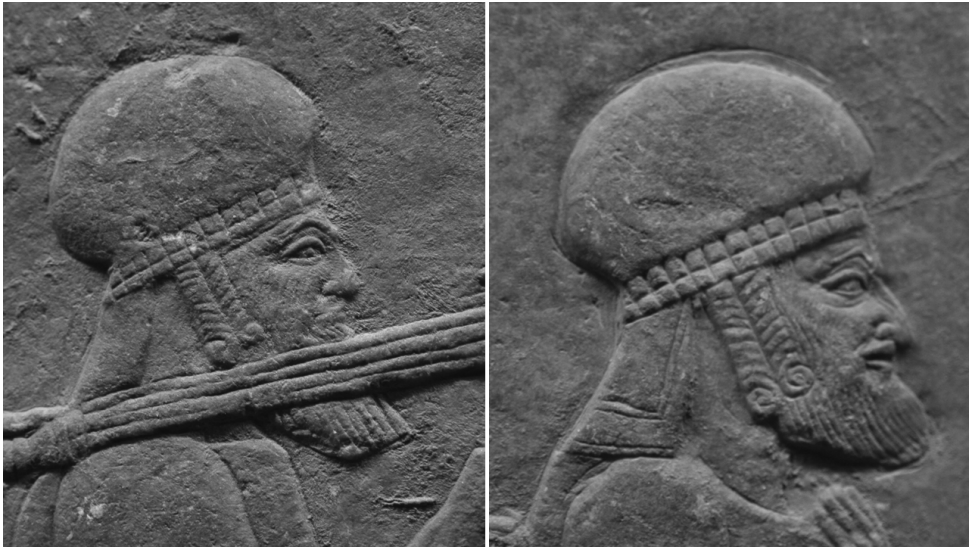


Fig. 11. Two Elamite kings with the long beards with vertically incised patterns. BM ME 124794, from Nineveh, North Palace, Room S<sup>1</sup>. The British Museum. Photograph taken by C. E. Watanabe.



Fig. 12. A stele of the Neo-Elamite king Atta-hamiti-Inšušinak from Susa, ca. 645–520 BCE. Photograph: reproduced courtesy of Dr Javier Álvarez-Mon.



Fig. 13. The fourth foreigner. The middle row of BM ME 124946. Photograph taken by C. E. Watanabe.



Fig. 14. The flight of the Elamite king, Teumman, and his son Tammarītu, from Room XXXIII, Southwest Palace, Nineveh, about 660–650 BCE. BM ME 124801c. The British Museum. Photograph taken by C. E. Watanabe.



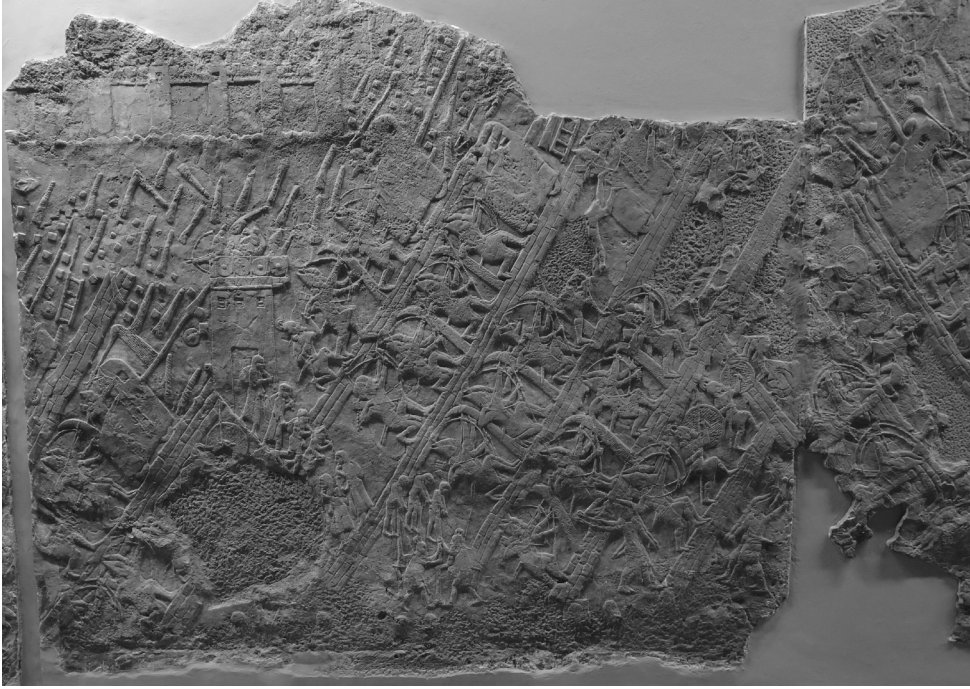


Fig. 15. The siege of Lachish, from Room XXXVI, Southwest Palace, Nineveh, ca. 700–695 BCE. BM ME 124906. The British Museum. Photograph taken by C. E. Watanabe.



Fig. 16. Urtaku, an in-law of Teumman, calling an Assyrian soldier to decapitate him, from Room XXXIII, Southwest Palace, Nineveh, ca. 660–650 BCE. BM ME 124801b. The British Museum. Photograph taken by C. E. Watanabe.

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