

The Relationship Between The Assyrian Kings and Their Gods *

Prof.Dr. Ali.Y.Aljuboori, Dean of College of Aarchaeology, University of Mosul

Introduction

The Assyria were group of the Amorite tribes who migrate from west of Mesopotamia (Syria) by the beginning of the second Millennium B.C and they established their city state in Mari, Isin, Larsa, Babylon and Ešnunna in Middle and south of Ancient Iraq. Aššur, however inaugurated in the North part and developed its commercial relationship with Cappadocia even they established their own commercial center there. Normally the Assyrian history divided into Old, Middle and Neo. The later was the most important one in Ancient Near Eastern history, because the Assyrian expands their empire to word Anatolia, Mediterranean region and Egypt as well. Our Historical textual information's come from the Middle and Neo Assyrian periods however royal and private correspondence and everyday life activities ie social, trade, religious literature etc. mainly Neo-Assyrian from the seven century until the fall of Nineveh in 612 B.C.

In this paper: -

Aššur as the National god of Assyria

The Assyrian king as Vice-regent of the God Aššur

The Assyrian king is the Image of the God

Choice of the Assyrian king.

King's respect of Gods.

God 's house (Temples), Festivals and their Statues.

Did the Assyrian impose their religion on other nations.

Religion as Justification of waging war.

Kingship a rose in Mesopotamia under the pressure of circumstances It was a tribal institution and the elders who dealt with current affair, During the early Sumerian city-state En = *bēlu* (*m*) was the governor and the representative of the god of that city. In Early dynasty (3rd Millennium B.C) the ENSI = *iššakku*⁽¹⁾ was the governor, nominated by the god of that city. thereafter, and because of their hostilities LUGAL "BIG / Great man"⁽²⁾ term represent king "*šarru* " was ruling together with the elder "*šebūtu* "⁽³⁾ and the assembly "*puhru*". It seem that the basis of kingship was as described " Primitive Democracy"⁽⁴⁾ since there was an assembly "*puhru*"⁽⁵⁾ in each city consisted all free citizen.

By the beginning of the second century B.C. the city of Ashur emerged as a powerful city- state and its ruler was called "vice- regent" of " Aššur", "*iššakku aššur*", " *i-ri-š[um]ÉNSI d.a-šūr DUMU DINGIR-šuma ÉNSI d.a-šūr*"⁽⁶⁾ His statues show here as the representative of the god Aššur on earth which is fundamentally importance to link the supreme natural powers,the gods and the Assyrian king. When Šamšiadad I (1814-1782 B.C.) conquered other regions he introduced the title (LUGAL= *šarru* = king) for himself instead of "*rubû* =prince ". He called himself " *šār kiššati* = king of the world " and kept the Sumerian titles SANGA = priest, and GAR ^d. Enlil = Governor of the god Enlil: ^d.UTU-ši-^d.IŠKUR LUGAL KIŠ *ša-ki-in d.en-líl pa-li-ih d.da-gan ÉNSI d.a-šūr* " Shamshi-Adad, king of the universe,appointee of the god Enlil, worshipper of the god Dagan, Vice-regent of the god Aššur"⁽⁷⁾. Because the god Enlil appointed kingship on earth⁽⁸⁾ therefore the Assyrian king, In order to legitimate his kingship we find the ideology of Enlil identified with Aššur as the king of gods was full fledged at the least in the time of Šulmānu-ašarīd I (Shalmaneser I,1274-1244 B.C).The Assyrians borrowed, Sumerian gods and religious literature from Babylonia but they incorporated these into their own way of belief and put the God Aššur as the head of their pantheon: [^d.a-]nu ^d.ÉN.LÍL ^d.É.A ^d.be-lit-DINGIR.MEŠ u ^d.[NIN.LÍL [š]a AN.ŠÁR ina UB.ŠU UKKIN NA-ki it-ta 'i-idu EN-us-su."The gods Anu, Enlil,Ea,Belet-ili and M[ull]issu heeded Aššur 's authority in [divine] assembly room"⁽⁹⁾.

Aššur as the National God of Assyria

The god Aššur did not have a family as did the other Sumerian and Babylonian gods. We find that Ninlil wife of Enlil became wife of Aššur and was called "Mullissu"⁽¹⁰⁾. Evidence for the Marduk cult in Assyria appears in the 14th century B.C.⁽¹¹⁾. By the ninth century the god Nabû son of Marduk is clearly one of the principle gods of Assyria and great temples were built in his honor in Assyrian cities⁽¹²⁾. Aššur took attribute of Marduk especially during Sin-ahhē-erība (Sennachrib) (704-681 B.C.) reign. In Marduk Ordeal⁽¹³⁾ the Assyrian attempting to replace Marduk by Aššur in the Babylonian Epic of Creation "Enuma eliš"⁽¹⁴⁾ Marduk was questioned by Aššur who entrusted judgment to him: *a-na-ku ma-a la us-sa-ta-am-mah* [is-si-šu][ina UGU]-hi ^d*aš-šur d[e]-na-ni ina pa-ni-šu ip-ti-qid*. "I am not criminal, I have nothing to do with him i.e Aššur"⁽¹⁵⁾ In this myth which recited in front of the god Bel in the Month of Nisan concerning his imprisonments, Marduk prayed and made supplications to them and plead (his case) before Šamaš "I only did what was good to Aššur, what is (my) crime?"-: *dam-qa-a-te ša* ^d*aš-šur ši-na e-ta-pa-aš ma-a mi-i-nu hi-[ta-a-a]*⁽¹⁶⁾. On the other hand Sin-ahhē – erība declared such change when he made an oracles for the death of his father Šarru-uk'in II (Sargon II 721-705B.C). He collected all haruspices (diviner), the courtiers of his palace and he says: *hi-ṭa-ti* ^mLUGAL.GIN AD-ia ina bi-[ri ab-re-e-ma ^dUTU u ^dIM áš-'a-al] *um-ma a-na UGU šá DINGIR.* ^{meš} *š[á KUR aš-šur.* ^{ki} *ma-a'-diš ú-kab-bi-tu-ma,* "I [investigate] the sin of Šarru-uk'in, my father, by extispicy (inquiring to god divining the future) of Šamaš and Adad as follows: was it because [he teemed] the gods of Assyria to much [placing them] above the gods of Babylon"⁽¹⁷⁾. This may imply that because the Babylonians did not acknowledge Aššur as god and it was taboo for their pantheon and even their personal name⁽¹⁸⁾, he tried to placed the god Aššur above the god Marduk. However, on the other hands Assyrian did respect all previous gods whether Sumerian or Babylonian and built or rebuilt their shrines.⁽¹⁹⁾

The king as Vice- Regent of the God

(ŠANGA Aššur = iššakku Aššur)

Adad - nerāri I (1305-1275 B.C.) used the title SANGA Aššur = *iššakku Aššur* in his inscriptions with variant form SANGA ^dAššur, ÉNSI –Aššur and *iš-ša ak-ki* ^d*Aššur*⁽²⁰⁾. Similarly Šulmanu-šarēd I used SANGA Aššur and wrote it in syllabic form is *iš-šá-ku Aš-šur*⁽²¹⁾. From Aššur –uballiṭ I (1365-1330 B.C.) onward SANGA ^d Aššur is the form which they used, however⁽²²⁾, there are some Assyrian king called themselves SANGA of other gods. Adad-nārāri I call himself "High SANGU of Enlil"⁽²³⁾.

Aššur was the king of gods, he was the official god of the Assyrian nation, he appointed the Assyrian king as his "vice – regent" to rule on his behalf ^d*aš-šur* LUGAL ^d*aš-šur-ma* LUGAL "Aššur is king- indeed Aššur is king!"⁽²⁴⁾, so he ruled, gods, mankind and the universe. The Assyrians defined Aššur as "the only universal god", "the totality of gods". He was the supreme god of Assyria. In Assyrian texts always proceed any other gods mentioned beside him in royal inscriptions, letters, rituals, treaties and any other state documents. e.g "Aššur and the great gods", "Aššur and the gods", Aššur, Ištar and the great gods" etc....

Aššur name is written AN. ŠÁR, attested since the 14th century B.C. Sargonid scribes wrote it in the same way. and they may have tried to similarate it with the Babylonian AN.ŠÁR of *Enuma eliš* "The Babylonian Epic of Creation" who was "The universe of heaven" and his wife KI.ŠÁR "the universe of earth" and other gods were there sons⁽²⁵⁾. However, Aššur did not figure in Babylonian pantheon at all and therefore the Marduk ordeal stated that "It is said in the *Enuma eliš*: "when heaven and earth were not yet created Aššur (AN.ŠÁR) come into being", : *ina ŠÀ e-nu-ma e-liš iq-ṭi-bi ki-i AN-e KI.TIM la ib-ba-*

nu-ni AN.ŠÁR it-[tab-]ši ⁽²⁶⁾ and became "The lord of all lands", " the king over the totality of heaven and earth", " The creator of himself " the father of the other gods " ⁽²⁷⁾.

The etymology and original meaning of Aššur not known, Parpola, however try to analyze the sign AŠ which is a form of the writing the name of Aššur and came to the conclusion that it mean " god is on " to prove his theory that the meaning of the Assyrian tree of life was image of the of god. ⁽²⁸⁾ This hypotheses is not correct because the Mesopotamian religion in general and the Assyrian in specific was not a monotheistic it was henotheistic, ie Aššur the main god and the others are merely part of his council "Anu, Enlil, Ea, Belet-ili and M[ull]issu heeded Aššur 's authority in [divine] assembly room" ⁽²⁹⁾. On the other hand there is no single evidence showing that the Assyrian prevent their subject from worshipping other gods, however, we find foreigners employed in the Assyrian court bearing the name of non-Assyrian deities in their name. ⁽³⁰⁾ Also in the Assyrian economics texts in the fine clause of those who may return their sale or purchase " shall place x mina of gold/silver in the lape of DN who dwell in GN" therefore, it was not only the god Aššur who receive it but they shall present it to other Assyrian gods ie. Ninurta, Ištar of Arbail, Ištar of Nineveh, Adad, Nergal. ⁽³¹⁾ Barbara Porter, however did not agree with Parpola and said: " I gradually became convinced that it was not possible on the basis of iconographic evidence" ⁽³²⁾ It is unusual to call the god by his temple or his city of which he was patron in the Mesopotamian religion even in Assyria itself. Again the dwelling of the Assyrian gods who receive the fine in the in the case of return of the sale are give but non of them has his city bearing his name ⁽³³⁾, therefore Aššur as name of a god and city constitutes as special case. ⁽³⁴⁾ On the other hand only 18 Assyrian kings out of 60 kings who bear the name the god Aššur as their deity. It may indicate that the Assyrians tried to distinguish themselves from the Babylonian influence and used Aššur as a name for their national god, their capital, their country and nationalities. Also, most of the Assyrian kings were buried in Ashur, even some of them built their own capital city, ie Kalhu (Nimrud), Nineveh, Dur-šarrukin (Khursabad). This is unique, probably, because in later period Ashur became a sacred city and that is why the Assyrian king granted it especial privileges such as exempt them from taxes and labored services, thereupon the Mayor and the elders of the Inner-city of Ashur wrote to the king as soon as their privilege been threatened. "Your [father your grandfather] (and) [the fathe]r of [your] gran[d father] e[exempted] the city of Ashur (and) you have [established] additional [privileges for us]. Now the men of the house of [governor] have appointed officials over the Inner-city. [They] are exact[ing] corn taxes (and) collecting straw taxes ⁽³⁵⁾. On the other hand they describe themselves as; *ka-šir ki-din-nu-tu aš-šur bīltu* " the one who (re)established the interrupted privileged of Ashur ⁽³⁶⁾, or *aššur u* ^[uru] *har-ra-na ša ul-tu u₄-mi ul-lu-u-ti im-ma-šu-ma ki-din-nu-us-su-un ba-šil-ta u-tir aš-ru-uš* " restored the interrupted privileged status of the cities Ashur and Harranu which had been forgotten for a long time ⁽³⁷⁾. Also Aššur-ban-apli's coronation hymn says:

ina 1 GÍN KUG.UD 30 GUR [ŠE]-am[UN.^{ME}]^{URU} aš-šur liš-šá-a
ina 1 GÍN KUG.UD 3 BÁN Ì GIŠ [.EŠ UN.^M]^{E URU} aš-šur liš-šá-a
ina 1 GÍN KUG.UD 30 MA.NA SÍG[.^{MEŠ} UN].^{ME URU} aš-šur liš-šá-a

"May [the people] of Ashur buy 30 kor of grain for one shekel of silver!. May [the people] of Ashur buy 3 Seah of oil for one shekel of silver !. May [the people] of Ashur buy 30 Mina of wool for one shekel of silver" ⁽³⁸⁾.

Assyrian king is the image of god

(*Šalmu ša DN*)

God created the universe as his mirror of existence and man as his image. Ninth century Assyrian king say: " At that time I made an image of my likeness the glory of Aššur, the great lord, and the power of my mighty "(39). Accordingly the Assyrian's king judgment passes as the image of Šamaš, LUGAL EN KUR.KUR *ša-al-mu šá* ^dUTU " The king of the world is the very image of Šamaš " (40) and his act of mercy as the perfect image of Marduk, the god of Mercy, " You O king of the world are the very image of Marduk "(41) In this respect the Assyrian king is always legitimate so far as he acts in the name and stead of the god Aššur, lord of the universe. Even Šulmanu-ašared I (1273-1244B.C) says: *re-ú ki-nu šá* ^da-nu u ^dBAD MU-*šu a-na da-ra-ti ib-bu-ú ana-ku NUMUN da-ru-ú mu-du DINGIR*.^{meš} " Faithful shepherd whose name the gods Anu and Enlil had called (into being) forever, I internal seed, one who knows the gods "(42). Assyrian scholars address their king saying: "The well known proverb says,,: Man is a shadow of god", [but] is man a shadow of man too?. The king is perfect likeness of the god"(43) or " The father of the king, my lord, was the very image of Bel, and the king, my lord, is like wise the very image of Bel"(44) or "What the king, my lord, said is as perfect as (the word of) the god"(45). Gods love justice and their act against human is justified accordingly. The Assyrian king therefore described as:

- a) Lover of justice and righteousness. Aššur-nāšir-apli, he is the king "who has always acted justly with the support of Aššur and Šamaš " MAN *šá ina GIŠ. tukul-ti* ^daš-šur u ^dšá-maš DINGIR.MEŠ *tik-li-šu me-še-riš* DU-ku-ma (46)
- b) abhor evil, injustice, treacheries.
- c) As benefactor and saviors. Aššur –ban-apli said: "I did what was appropriate for god and man, for the dead and that living: *a-na ili u a-me-lu-tum a-na mututi*-^{meš} u *balṭutu ṭabtu epuš* ^{uš} (47). The Assyrian king is responsible before the gods for the welfare of mankind."Just the king, my lord is truthful to god and man, and the command of the king, my lord, is good to god and man and 'the black headed people'"(48). Shepherd is another is another title used by the Assyrian king. Šulmanu-ašared I claim " the great gods had chosen him to shepherd ship of the people "(49), hence he acts on behalf of the gods for the benefit of the population with no distinction on ethno-religion grounds. "The king, our lord, has done us favors: good deed that not (even) a father (has done) for his son"(50) In fact the Assyrian king is responsible for the gods rather than their people. He wages war without asking their own people or even assemble of certain class of authority. He executes the god commands and ought to report to them of the course of the campaign and its conclusion (51).

The Assyrian king went a step further to declare his relationship with the god Aššur and the goddesses Ištar of Nineveh and Ištar of Arbail. Aššur-aha-idinna state: "I knew no father or mother, I grew up in the lap of goddesses. As a child, the great gods guided me going with me on the right and the left.: *ul i-di AD u um-me ina bur-ki* ^du-DAR.^{meš} *-ia ár-ba-a a-na-ku it-tar-ru-ni-i-ma* DINGIR.^{meš} GAL.^{meš} GIM *la-'e-e im-ni u šu-me-li it-tal-la-ku it-ti-ia* (52). Aššur –ban-apli also says: "Ištar of Arbail as king's nurse", and Ištar of Nineveh as king's wet-nurse" (53). It was a prophetic task to convey to the king divine mothers, midwife, these being a blessing for the legitimating of his kingship." O Mullissu, you who give well being and like to those who seek your abode !, I Aššur–ban-apli, your servant, whom your hands created, whom you exalted lady raised without father and mother, whom you concealed in your life giving bosom protection my life."(54). The gods appear as protectors distinct from human parents when Aššur-ban-apli declares, " When Aššur and Sin since the immemorial called by name kingship and created inside his mother for the shepherd of Assyria "(55). It is worth noting here that there is different between born from

goddess and that of being created by the gods in his mother womb. Entrusting a royal baby to the care of goddesses clearly stated in a passage in the dialogue of Ashurbanipal with Nabû ^{r.6)} *še-eh-ru at-ta* ^mAN.ŠAR₂.DU₃.A *ša u₂-maš-šir-u-ka ina UGU ^dšar-rat-NINA.KI ⁷⁾ la-ku-u at-ta ^mAN.ŠAR₂.DU₃.A *ša aš₂-ba-ka ina bur-ki ^dšar-rat-NINA.KI ⁸⁾ er-bi zi-ze-e-ša₂ ina pa-ka šak-na 2 te-en-ni-iq 2 ta-hal-lap ana pa-ni-ka* " you were small, Ashurbanipal, when I entrusted you to the Queen of Nineveh (=Ištar) ; you were baby, Ashurbanipal, when you were sitting in the lap of the Queen of Nineveh. Her four teats were placed in your mouth; you are sucking two, you are milking two to your face ^{"(55b)}. Another important element of the relationship of Assyrian king and Aššur is clear in his day of coronation in Ashur city when he ought pay homage (ie kneel before the statue of the god Aššur) to the god and receive all the symbol of royalty which were put on seats at the foot of the platform before the god⁽⁵⁶⁾.*

The royal image (*šalmu*) statue of the king some times is preceded by the determinative of the god DINGIR in texts and the personal name^d. *šalam- šarri-iqbi* " meaning "The divine image of the king commands"⁽⁵⁷⁾. There is no evidence of the worship of the Assyrian king or his image.He was effectively the shadow of the god, he may be called "LUGAL dUTU ša UN.MEŠ, The king is the sun of the people"^(57b) and his statue was set up next to the god in temple. Tukulti-apil-Ešarra (Tiglath-pileser III 745-727B.C) state: *ša-lam ilāni ^{meš}-ni [rabūti. ^{meš}] bēli-^{meš} -ia ù ša-lam šarru-ti-ia ša hurāšī epuš ^{us} ina qí-rib ekalli ša ^{URU} ha-az[-zu-tu ulziz]* "Image of the great gods my lords, and golden of my kingship in the palace in Gaza I made " ⁽⁵⁸⁾. Offerings placed on the table before royal image in the temple were probably regarded by uneducated Assyrian person was offering to the image itself in much same way as the image of god He may thought that the king 's image was patricianly divine.The Assyrian king could be described as the priest-king for within the city of Ashur. The portrait of the king in relief as high priest or in a position of prayer before the gods emphasize his role as dutiful servant of the gods and above all the national god Aššur. He was regarded as being very close to the god⁽⁵⁹⁾. In normal circumstances,the king need no justification for what he did. he did not need to justify his campaigns and any military activities (see later).He enjoyed absolute power over the state but he was subject to: a) Religious believe and practice; b) legal precedent,the king had to respect the traditional rights of individuals,such as property ownership and group or institution, such as tax exemption,grants and decrees, privilege of cities; c) He had to respect the mood of the upper class. Apart from these considerations, the Assyrian king was supreme judge, and definitely the commander– in – chief of the army, however, there is evidence that some high officials led the Assyrian army.⁽⁶⁰⁾

Choice of the Assyrian king

The Assyrian kings claim that they were chosen by either the god's assembly or by a special god who selected him to become the future king.Šulmanu-ašāredu I(Shalmaneser I) said: *e-nu-ma aš-šur EN a-na pa-la-hi-šu ki-niš ú-ta-ni-ma a-na šu-šur SAG.GE₆.GA.A GIŠ.GIDRU GIŠ.TUKUL ù ši-bir-ra id-di-na a-ga-a ki-na šá be-lu-ti iš-ru-ka.*" when, Aššur, the lord, faithfully chose me to worship him,gave me the scepter, weapon and staff to (rule) properly the people, and granted me the true crown of lordship" ⁽⁶¹⁾ An Assyrian scholar wrote similar statement address his lord as "Aššur,[the king of gods] called the name of[the king], my lord to the kingship of Assyria, and Šamaš and Adad, through their reliable extispicy, confirmed the king,my lord, for the kingship of the world"⁽⁶²⁾. The choice of the Assyrian crown prince had to meet with the approval of Shamash and Adad, which was obtain through inspection of the entrails of sacrificed sheep. This is explicitly stated in royal inscriptions. Ashurbanipal's own description of his nomination says: "My father and begetter noticed the heroic nature which the great gods had provided me with, and thus he, by order of the great gods, loved me most in the assembly of my big brothers. On

behalf of my (future) kingship he turned to the divine king Ashur, the lord of the universe, prayed to the divine lady Mullissu-Šerū'a, the foremost among goddesses and supplicated the cosmic diviners Shamash and Adad, who passé judgement on the (four) regions.. In Ayāru, the month of EA, the lord of the mankind, and the creator of the entire universe, I entered the succession palace, the place of orders and counsels, and by order of Ashur, the father of all gods, Marduk, the lords and king of the gods, he advanced me above all other sons of the king and called my name to the kingship" ^(62a) Bayā an Assyrian scholar assert that Aššur-aha-iddina was chosen by the great gods from his very childhood to be the king of Assyria " When your mother gave birth to you sixty great gods stood with you and protect you, Sin was at your right side, Šamaš at your left side, sixty great gods were standing round you and girded your Loins. I reconciled Aššur with you: when you were small I took you to me, do not fear." ⁽⁶³⁾ This is similar to Aššur-aha-iddina inscription according to which he was "the beloved of the great gods whom Aššur, Šamaš, Bēl, Nabû, Ištar of Nineveh, Ištar of Arbail called to the kingship of Assyria when he still was a child" ⁽⁶⁴⁾. On the other hand, he confirms that he received messages from gods concerning the establishment of his throne until far-off days. This is what the oracle saying *ša UD-me ar-ku-te MU.AN.NA. ^{MEŠ} da-re-te GIŠ.GU-za-ka ina KI.TA AN-e ra-bu-te uk-ti-in UD. ^{MEŠ} ar-ku-u-ti MU. ^{MEŠ} da-ra-a-ti a-da-nak-k[a]*, "For days and ever lasting years I have established your throne under the great heaven (Aššur-aha-iddina) will give you long days and ever lasting years" ⁽⁶⁵⁾. Also someone wrote to the king saying: " the king, my lord, is the chosen of the great gods " ⁽⁶⁶⁾.

The late Assyrian king attempted to smooth the transition of their reign to their successors. The normal procedure was these king inquired from the gods whether they desired one of his sons to succeed him. If they answer favorably the heir apparent installed. The crown- prince was not always the eldest son and the solemn oath of brothers, officials, people of Assyria and alliance was sworn. This selection did not prevent his brothers from contesting the succession during their father life or after his death. Aššur-aha-iddina (Esarhaddon 680--669-- B.C.) claims in his account of his installation as crown-prince: *ša ahhē.meš-ia rabûti. ^{meš} ahu-šú-nu Œe-eh-ru a-na-ku ina qi-bit ^{d.}Aš-šur ^{d.}Sin ^{d.}Šamaš ^{d.}Bēl ^Ù ^{d.}Nabû ^{d.}Ištar šá uru Ni-nu-a ^{d.}Ištar šá ^{URU} arba'-ili abu ba-nu-u-a ina puhur ahhē. ^{meš}-ia rešī. ^{meš}-ia ke-niš ul-li –ma um-ma an-nu-ú ma-a-ru ri-du-ti-ia ^{d.}šamaš u ^{d.}Adad ina bi-ri i-šal-ma an-nu ke-e-nu i-pu-lu-šu-ma um-ma šu-ú te-nu-(u)-ka zi-kir-šú-nu kab-tu it-ta-'i-id-ma nišē. ^{meš} māt aš-šur ^{ki} Œeher rabī ahh.meš –ia zer bīt abi-ia iš-te-niš ú-pa-hir-ma ma-har ^{d.}Aš-šur Sin Šamaš Nabû Marduk ilāni. ^{meš} a-ši-bu-te šamē-^e u erŒetim ^{tim} áš-šú na-šar ri-du-ti-ia zi-kir-šú-nu kab-tu u-šá-az-ki-ir-šu-nu-(u)-ti. " I was younger brother of my eldest brothers (yet) my father (i.e Sin-ahhē-erība), beget me exalted me in the assembly of my brothers. At the command of Aššur, Sin, Šamaš, Bēl, Marduk, Nabû, Ištar of Nineveh and Ištar of Arbail saying: "This is my successor". He questioned Šamaš and Adad through oracles. They replied to him in the affirmative, " It is he who should be your successor". His father called together the people of Assyria, great and small, as well as my brothers born in his paternal house. Before the gods Aššur, Sin, Šamaš, Nabû, Marduk, the gods of Assyria, the gods who inhabit heaven and earth, he made them swear to respect my primacy " ⁽⁶⁷⁾. This may reflect the contest of his elder brothers when their father Sin ahhē-erība chose Aššur-aha – idinna as his successor after the assassination of his elder son and the grown-prince, Aššur-nadin- šumi, by the Elamite ⁽⁶⁸⁾. "Moreover he assembled the people who captured Aššur-nadin-šumi (and) delivered him to Elam. ⁽⁶⁹⁾ probably with the collaboration of the Babylonians as revenge to Sinn-ahhē-erība who destroyed their capital Babylon and deported their National god Marduk. We understand that Arad-Mullissi and his brothers " Forsake, the gods, trust in their own arrogant deed and made evil plan" ⁽⁷⁰⁾ and killed their father ⁽⁷¹⁾. His vessel treaty ⁽⁷²⁾ was an attempt to avoid such incident. He gathered the people of Assyria, subordinate rulers, governors. They sworn by the name of the gods listed in the treaty that*

Aššur-ban-apli will be king of Assyria and his brother Šamaš-šum-uk'in king of Babylonia. Such division of the empire was criticized by the the king exorcist Adad-šumu-ušur who said to Aššur-aha-idinna: *ša ina AN-e la e-piš-u-ni LUGAL be-lí ina kaq-qi-ri e-tap-áš uk-ta-li-im-a-na-ši DUMU-ka TÚG-pi-tu-tu tar-ta-kas LUGAL-ú-tú ša KUR aš-šur ina pa-ni-šú tu-us-sa-ad-gi-il DUMU-UŠ-ka GAL-ú a-na LUGAL-ú-te ina KÁ.DINGIR.RA.KI ta-as-sa-kan 1 ina ZAG-ka 2-ú ina šu-me-li-ka tu-sa-zi-'i-iz a-ni-nu [n]i-ta-am-ra a-na LUGAL EN-i-ni ni-ik-[t]ar-ba lib-bi-in-ni ib-ta-a[l-ṭa]*, "What has not been done in heaven, the king, my lord, has done upon earth and shown us: you have girded a son of yours with 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 "⁽⁷³⁾. The decision to appoint his younger son Aššur-ban-apli as the crown-prince of Assyria and give the politically less weighty crown-prince-ship of Babylon to his elder son Šamaš-šumu-ukin was also something "has not been done in heaven " but what Aššur-aha-iddina has now "done upon earth was also something that "has not been done in heaven but he did it.

Aššur-ban-apli, however, confirmed this vessel treaty of his father saying: "Aššur-aha-idinna,king of Assyria, my father and my begetter, heeded the command of Aššur and Mullisu,the gods in whom he trust who told him that I was to exercise the kingship. On the 12th of Iyār at the noble command of Aššur, and Mullissu, sin, Šamaš, Adad, Bel, Nabû, Ištar of Nineveh, Ištar of Arbail, Ninurta, Nirgal and Nuska, he convened the people of Assyria great and small from coast to coast, made them swear treaty oaths by the gods "*ādi nīš ilāni* " and established a binding agreement to protect my crown ship and future kingship over Assyria"⁽⁷⁴⁾.Thereafter,the crown prince will be sent to the succession palace "*bīt redûti* " for his treaning and education Our most detail information for education in the first millennium relates to the royal family.*a-na-ku^{m.d.} aššur-ban-apli ki-rib-šu a-hu-ziz ni-me-qi^{d.} nabû kul-lat dup-šar-ru-u-ti ša gi-m-r um-ma-ni ma-la ba-šu-ú ih-zu-šu nu a-hi-iṭ al-ma-ad ša-li-e^{GIŠ} qašti ru-kub sīsē^{GIŠ} narkabi ša-bat^{mašak} a-ša-a-te* " I Aššur-ban-apli studied the wisdom of Nabu, explored the entire scribe art, the knowledge of all experts"⁽⁷⁵⁾. Also he states that he received a letter from the god saying: *ša^{d.} AG ù taš-me-[tum iš-ru-ku-uš] i-hu-uz-zu IGI.2 na-mi[r-tu ni-siq ṭup-šar-ru-ti] ša ina LUGAL.^{mes}-ni a-lik mah-ri-ia [mam-ma šip-ru šu-a-tú la i-hu-uz-zu] né-me-qi^{d.} AG ti-kip sa-an-tak-[ki ma-la ba-áš-mu] ina DUB.^{mes} áš-ṭur as-niq ab[-re-e-ma] a-na ta-mar-ti ši-ta-as-ia qí-rib É.GAL-ia ú-kin* " Whom Nabu and Tašmetu [endowed with great wisdom], and who with sharp eye [acquired the gems of literature]. While [none of] the king who preceded me [had learned that craft]. With the wisdom of Nabû, I wrote on tablets [all extant] cuneiform writing, checked, and collated them,[and established them] in my palace for my reference and reading"⁽⁷⁶⁾. In another statement say: I learned shooting with bows, riding horses and chariots and taking the reins and he claim to have read complicated texts of which the Sumerian version is obscure and the Akkadian version is difficult to get clear. He research into cuneiform writing on stone from before the Flood. He took an active part in the government responsibility representing the king in official celebrations, carry out special missions and supervising religious festivals, and officials address letters directly to him (*ana mār šarri bēlia*) He therefore in the best possible position to take over as to the king died⁽⁷⁷⁾ .

As a faithful king towards his gods he expected rewards from them, so that he could call himself the husbandman of his land.The king expected rewards from the gods for his loyalty to them. Hence Šarru-uk'in in his prayer said: " O Ea,lord of wisdom creator of things to Šarru-uk'in, king of the universe, king of Assyria, viceroy of Babylon,king of Sumer and Akkad,builder of your abode open your fountain, let his springs send forth the water of plenty and abundance, give water in abundance to his fields. Quick understanding and an open mind decree for him, prosper his work let him attain unto his desire " ⁽⁷⁸⁾.

When Aššur-ban-apli took his father's throne he made similar prayer but with more detail about his gods achievements in Assyria:⁽²²⁾ *mim-ma si-mat* E₂.KUR ša₂ KU₃.GI KU₃.UD *e-pu-[uš]*⁽²³⁾ *e-li* LUGAL.MEŠ AD.MEŠ-ia u₂-[rad-di]⁽²⁴⁾ *šat-tuk-ku gin-nu-u* UGU *ša u₄-me ul-lu-u-[ti]*⁽²⁵⁾ *u₂-ša₂-tir-ma aš₂-rat* DINGIR.MEŠ *aš₂-te-[a-a]*⁽²⁶⁾ *at-tal-la-ka al-ka-[ka]-a-ti-šu-[un]*⁽²⁷⁾ ^dIM ŠEG₃.MEŠ-šu₂ *u₂-maš-še-ra*⁽²⁸⁾ ^dE₂-a u₂-[paṭ-ṭi-ra A.K]AL.MEŠ-[šu₂]⁽²⁹⁾ 5 KUŠ₃ ŠE.AM *iš-qu [ina A]B.SIN₂-ni-[šu₂]*⁽³⁰⁾ *e-ri-ik šu-bul-tu* 5/6 KUŠ₂⁽³¹⁾ SI.SA₂ EBUR *na-pa-aš₂* ^dNISABA⁽³²⁾ *ka-aya-na [u₂-šah-na-bu gi-]pa-ru*⁽³³⁾ *šip-pa-a-ti šu-ta-[am-mu-ha in]-bu*⁽³⁴⁾ [MAŠ₂.ANŠE *šu-te-šur ina ta-lit-ti*] *ina* BAL.MEŠ-ia HE₂.NUN *ḫuh-du*⁽³⁵⁾ [*ina* MU.AN.NA.MEŠ-ia *ku-um-mu-ru* HE₂. G]AL₂-lu⁽³⁶⁾ 12 ANŠE ŠE.PAD.MEŠ 2[ANŠE GEŠTIN.MEŠ]⁽³⁷⁾ [12 *qa* I₃.GIŠ.MEŠ 1 GU₂.UN] SIG₂.MEŠ⁽³⁸⁾ *ina nap-har KUR-ia KIL[AM nap-šu i-šam-mu]* "I had made all kinds of gold and silver objects be fitting the temples in greater amounts than any of my royal fathers, and I increased the regular temple offering more than ever; I visited the abodes of the gods and lived according to their ways. Adad released his rain and Ea let loose his floods, the grain grew 5 cubits tall in its furrow and the ear of the barley reached five – sixths of a cubit in length. The grasslands constantly produced thriving crops and an abundance of cereals, the orchards abundance in fruit, and the cattle gave birth easily. In my reign there was prosperity aplenty, in my years there was fullness to overflowing: 12 homers of barley went for 2 homers of wine, 12 liters of oil went for 1 talent of wool there was an excellent rate of exchange in my whole country " ⁽⁷⁹⁾.

Aššur-aha-iddin also prayed for divine help to destroy his enemy " Hear me O Aššur: I heard your cry. I issued forth as fiery glow from the gate of heaven, to hurl down fire and have it devour them... I slaughter your enemies and filled the river with their blood. Let them see (it) and praise me (knowing) that I am Aššur, lord of the gods " ⁽⁸⁰⁾. Assyrian kings asked Ištar lady of war to stand at there side in battle. On the other hand there are letters from Gods to the Assyrian king, for instance letter from the god Aššur to Šamši-Adad V (1814-1782 B.C) responded to his enquiry about the city Der.⁽⁸¹⁾ and Aššur response to Aššur-ban-pi's report on the Šamaš-šumu-ukin war.⁽⁸²⁾

The king, as a human being was bound to err in his behavior from time to time. In principle, any slip in royal conduct whether intentional or unintentional were interpreted as sins against the well being of the gods. The Assyrian king recognized guilt by its consequences when he suffered it. He assumed that he had transgressed a divine decree. He would be confused, although, he declared he do not know the offence against the god, or the transgress against the goddess. The king had to purify his soul and if perpetuated he would surely provoke divine anger and punishment. In these circumstances the king ought to spend some time as repentaning atoning his sin. An interesting letter from Assyrian priest to the king says: LUGAL EN-ni *re-ma-nu šu-ú* 1-en UD-mu *e-še-e ša* LUGAL *ik-ku-šu ú-kar-ru-ni ku-sa-pu la e-kul-u-ni a-di-im-ma-te šá-al-šú* *ina* UD-me *an-ni-i-e* LUGAL NINDA.^{meš} *la ek-kal ki-ma* SAG.DU ITI ^d30 *it-ta-mar ma-a ra-me-ni la ú-šar-ra ma-a* SAG.DU ITI *šu-ú* NINDA.MEŠ *la-a-kul* GEŠTIN.^{meš} *la-as-si ú-ma-a* MUL.SAG.ME.GAR ^d30 *šu-u šá* MU.AN.NA *gab-bi a-na hur* LUGAL NINDA.^{meš} *le-re-eš* TA* ŠÀ-bi-ni *ni-id-du-bu-ub ni-ip-ta-la[h]* *ina* UGU *a-na* LUGAL *ni-is-sap-ra*. " The king, our lord, will pardon us. Is one day not enough for the king to mope and eat nothing?. For how long?. Still this is already the third day (when) the king does not eat nothing, the king is a bigger! (surely) when the beginning of the month, the moon appears he says: I will not fast (any more). It is the beginning of the month, I want bread to eat and wine to drink. Now Jupiter ist he moon. The King can ask for food for even the whole year!. We became worried and were afraid, and that is why we are (now) writing to the king"⁽⁸³⁾. We do not know the reason why the priest advice the king to fast nor do we know his sin which he committed against the well being of his god, but what is explained is that he is atone (penance) for his sin. The king also had to pray and make the appropriate omen. Sometime this is not enough punishment

and the king ought to spend seven days in reed hut likewise those who had dangerous diseased and must be distinct from society." The king, my lord, wrote to me: "Write me what is the ritual (to be performed)", it is said in a relevant *namburba* texts (as follows): " He (the king) sit 7 days in reed hut (and) purification rites are performed upon him: he is treated like a sick person."⁽⁸⁴⁾ They may even prevent the king to have audience with his sons: *ina UGU ša LUGAL be-li iš-pur-an-ni ma-a DUMU LUGAL řa-ba-a ina IGI LUGAL a-na e-ra-a-bi a-dan-niš řa-a-ba UD-mu an-ni-ú DUMU LUGAL ina IGI LUGAL EN-ia le-ru-ba*. "Concerning what the king,my lord, wrote to me: " Is it favourable for the crown-prince to come into the presence of the king ?" It is very favorable the crown-prince may come into the the presence of the king,my lord, this very day"⁽⁸⁵⁾ or they may prevent the crown prince from going out of the palace,: *ina UGU DUMU LUGAL [řa LUGAL be-li] i[ř-p]ur-an-ni [ma-a iq-ři-bu-ni] ma-a UD-1-KÁM K[Á!..NU.E UD.2.KÁM řu-ú i-na řÀ-bi qa-bi*. " Concerning the crown prince (about whom the king), my lord, wrote to me," [I have been told that he should not go out] door on the first day. This is [applies] rather to the second day."⁽⁸⁶⁾ The 7th, 14th, 19th, 21st and 28th of the month were considered as evil days.Also the 17th day "Hence the 16th is among the good days and is good,(whereas)the 17th day is not good"⁽⁸⁷⁾. More over another scholar wrote to the king saying "The favorable days about which the king, my lord spoke are the 10th, the 15th, the 16th, the 18th, the 20th, the 22nd, the 24th, and the 12th, altogether 8 days of the month Iyyar (II) which are good for undertaking an enterprise and revering the gods"⁽⁸⁸⁾ So probably the king in those days is not permitted to do certain things such as eating kind of food, wearing clothes, or ride in his chariot. He may not even make an offering and the lifting up of his hands and prays will then please the gods and goddesses to whom particular days dedicated. "Concerning the injunctions which the king wrote to me, he king should observe the injunction carefully. Thus the king does not eat anything cooked, the king wears the clothes of nurse"⁽⁸⁹⁾.

No sins were punished without warning divine pleasure or displeasure. The king's is known either by dream, oracles and vision. If such divine signals were duly paid attention to and correctly interpreted. The ruler who had sinned could identify his mistake and avoid punishment by washing away his sins and appeasing the god and changing his way. The king himself was not able to interpret these divine signs, these were taken by the court scholars: *ina UGU ú-il-ti řa AN.MI ^d30 řa LUGAL be-lí iš-pur-an-ni ina IGI AD-řú řa LUGAL EN-ia ú-il-a-ti řa LÚ.A.BA UD.AN-^dEN-lil gab-bu i-mah-hu-ru ú-ře-er-ru-bu ur-ke-e-et ina GIŠ ÍD LÚ.ERÍN.MEŠ řa AD-řú řa LUGAL EN-ia ú-da-áš-řú-un-ni ina UGU qir-si ina IGI LUGAL i-sa-as-si ú-ma-a řa ina IGI LUGAL EN-ia ma-hi-ir-a-ni [le]-pu-u-řu*." Concerning the report of the Lunar-eclipse about which the king, my lord, wrote to me. They used to receive and introduce all astrological reports into the presence of the king's father, my lord. Afterwards a man whom the father of the king, my lord, knew used to read them to the king in a *qirsu* on the river bank. Nowadays it should be done as it (best) suit the king, my lord."⁽⁹⁰⁾ In the neo-Assyrian period the two common types of divination were astrology and extispicy(divining the future). A massive literature developed explaining the multitude of signs which might appear. The mechanics of prognostication can best be illustrated by extispicy, for which there are relevant records from the reign of Ařřur-aha-idinna and Ařřur-ban-apli ⁽⁹¹⁾.

When the king wish to undertake a major enterprise such as royal campaign his scribe and diviner would out line the detail of the proposal in a request to an oracles ⁽⁹²⁾ When Ařřur-aha-iddina decided to rebuilt Babylon he said: "In the *mākaltu* bowl of haruspices oracles of encouragement were set for me concerning the rebuilding of Babylon and the restoration of Esagil had a liver omen written out"⁽⁹³⁾His military achievements and success ought to be reported to god. řarru-uk'in letter to Ařřur with the account of his eight campaign is the best example⁽⁹⁴⁾. An interesting example of extispicy as when Sin-

ahhē-erība inquiry about his father death," I went and collected the haruspice, the courtiers of my palace, guarding the mystery of god and king. I split them [into several groups so that they could not approach or speak to one another]. I [investigated] the sins of Šarru-uk'in, my father, by extispicy [inquiring] of Šamaš and Adad."⁽⁹⁵⁾ Request was then presented to the god of extispicy Šamaš and Adad and accompanied by the appropriate ritual. One or more lambs were sacrificially slaughtered. These features were multitudinous but carried out upon the liver and lungs of which the Assyrian had intimate knowledge. Records of entire examinations and results were sent back to the king as an oracles response. A letter to the king says: "Concerning the bile which the king, my lord, wrote that he had vomited.... He vomited a [lump], (with) bile [settling] downward. This sort of it does not portend good. (However), having purged upward and downward, he has (now) been sweating for two days and is well the king. my lord, can be glad"⁽⁹⁶⁾.

Astrological observation centers were stationed throughout Assyria and Babylonia and keep watching heaven every night carefully, writing down what they saw. For example, AN.MI *iš-ša-kin-ma ina URU PALA-e la in-na-mir* AN.MI.BI *i-te-ti-iq* URU BALA URU *ša* LUGAL *ina ŠÀ-bi áš-bu en-na* IM.DIRI.MEŠ *ka-la-a-ma ki-i* AN.MI *iš-ku-nu u la iš-ku-nu ul ni-di* EN LUGAL.MEŠ *a-na BAL.TIL.KI* URU *ka-la-ma a-na* TIN.TIR.KI *a-na* EN.LÍL.KI *a-na* UNUG.KI *ù BÁR.SIPA.KI liš-pur min-de-e-ma ina ŠÀ-bi* URU.ME *an-nu-ti i-ta-mar-ú ka-a-a-ma-ni-ti* LUGAL *liš-me*. "An eclipse occurs but is not seen in the capital ...now there are cloud everywhere we do not know whether eclipse took place or not. Let the lord of kings write to Ashur and all the cities, to Babylon, to Nippur, to Uruk and Borsippa, may be they observed in those cities. The king should constantly be attentive."⁽⁹⁷⁾ Astrological procedures were quite different from those of extispicy. The astrological signs could only observed as they happened to occur and interpreted accordingly. Over the centuries the diviners developed such expertise that they had plotted the path of many heavenly bodies with minute accuracy and could predict various phenomena including the possibility of lunar eclipse: [] *ša* LUGAL b[e li] *iš-pur-an-[ni] mu-šu an-n[i-ú] ina* EN.NUN UD.ZA[L.LA] *ma-šar-tu-šú (e-nu-un ú-za-al-la)* AN.MI EN.NUN UD.ZAL.LA *i-ša-kan*. "[Concerning the watch for the lunar eclipse] about which the king,[my lo]rd, wrote to me, its watch will be (kept) tonight, in the morning watch. The eclipse will occur during the morning watch."⁽⁹⁸⁾ or: *ina* UGU *ša* LUGAL *iš-pur-an-ni ma-a me-me-ni i-ba-áš-ši ina AN-e ta-ta-ma-ra a-na-ku* IGI.2-ia *ša-ak-na mu-uk man-nu me-me-ni la a-mur a-na* LUGAL *la áš-pur la iš-qu-ma la a-mur*. " Concerning what the king, my lord, wrote to me: "You must certainly have observed something in the sky?" I keep a close eye on it (but) I must say I have seen nobody and nothing (therefore) I have not written to the king, nothing has risen I have seen nothing "⁽⁹⁹⁾

The king worried about his fate when an heavenly phenomena appeared. Then he would ask the priest to investigate and found out who did it and why. He may reply saying: "The king sho[uld not be afraid of this eclipse !*ina* UGU AN.MI *an-ni-e* LUGAL *l[u l]a i-pal-láh"⁽¹⁰⁰⁾, but in other circumstances when "In the eclipse [of the Moon] Jupiter stood there: well being for the king, a famous important person will die in his stead "⁽¹⁰¹⁾. The chief priest would have to look for a substitute king. It was an arraignment in which briefly, the ruling king temporarily abdicated his throne for a surrogating who ruled for 100 days, *u-ma-a an-nu-rig [1]-me* UD-*me un-tal-li* LU[GAL-us-su *ga-am-rat*], "[Now then] he has completed 100 days as [his] ki [ngship is finished]⁽¹⁰²⁾, but in fact it is the king who will decide whether he should "go to his fate" early or complete his 100 days and be put to death: *ina* UGU UD.15.KÁM [*ša be-lí-ni*] *iq-bu-u-ni [ma-a* LUGAL] *pu-u-hi a-na šim-ti [lil-l]i-ki ma-a ana-ku* UD.16.KÁM[*ki-i*] *ša* IGI-*tim-ma*. " Concerning the 15th day (about which our lord) said: " Let the substitute [kin]g [g]o to his fate and let me perform my ritual on the 16th day as before"⁽¹⁰³⁾. There are 30 such cases from the crops of Aššur-ban-apli library*

which has been analyzed by S. Parpola ⁽¹⁰⁴⁾. Usually the substitute king was created when an evil omen, specifically an eclipse portended the death of the king. "If an eclipse (of the moon) take place and the planet Jupiter is present in the eclipse, the king, save a noble dignitary, will die in his stead: *ina AN.MI MUL.SAG.ME.GAR GUB.iz ana LUGAL DI-mu ki-ma LU[GAL] DUGUD SIG-am BA.ÚŠ*⁽¹⁰⁵⁾, and " if an eclipse moon/sun takes placethe king is safe, but the country will be attacked by an enemy, a famous king will die etc..."⁽¹⁰⁶⁾. Accordingly the need for a substitute king arose the king would be notified by the chief exorcist or by high ranking scholars. The chief exorcist will pick up a suitable substitute person: *LUGAL pu-u-hi ša UD.14.KÁM ina UR[U NIN]A ú-ši-b[u-u-ni] ù UD.15.KÁM ina É.GAL š[a LUGA]L be-e-du-u-ni AN.MI ina UGU-hi-šú iš-kun-u-ni MI ša UD.20.KÁM ina DI-mu a-na URU ak-kad e-ta-rab it-tu-ši-ib*. "The substitute king, who on the 14th sat on the throne in [Ninev]eh and spent the night of the 15th in the palace o[f the kin]g, and on account of whom the eclipse took place, entered the city of Akkad safely on the night of 20th and sat upon the throne"⁽¹⁰⁷⁾. S. Parpola has cited 4 prisoners of war, 15 prisoners, 16 criminal condemned to death, 10 political enemy of the king, 1 gardener. When the king was dethroned he was no more addressed as "king" but as "farmer" or simply "my lord"⁽¹⁰⁸⁾.

The danger looming before the king, by portents who as eclipses, was the fate decreed by the gods to the ruling king personally as a punishment for his conduct as king. So, the substitute king would take upon the sins sent to the king to accept responsibility for the kings sins to be atoned only by death and every things is evil the substitute was suppose to take with him to the Netherlands." The substitute king of the land of Akkad took the signs on himself ⁽¹⁰⁹⁾. Both the substitute and his queen were put to death. A letter to the king refers to the burial of the substitute king, he was buried with royal honor: ^m [SIG₅-i] *DUMU LÚ.ŠÀ.TAM ša A.GA.[DÈ.KI] ša KUR.aš-šur.KI KÁ.DINGIR.KI [ù] KUR.KUR ka-li-ši-na ib-i[l-u-ni šu-u] u MÍ.É.GAL-šu MÍ š[a UD.x.KÁM a-na] di-na-a-ni ša MAN EN-ia [u a-na ba-laṭ Z]I.MEŠ ša ^{m.d}GIŠ.NU₁₁.MU.GI.[NA im-tu]-tu a-na pi-di-šú-nu a-na šim-ti it-ta-lak É.KI.MAH ne-ta-pa-aš šu-u MÍ.É.GAL-šú *dam-mu-qu ka-an-nu-u tak-li-ta-šú-nu kal-lu-mat qa-ab-ru ba-ki-i-u*. "[Damqi], the son of the prelate of Akkad who had ru[led] Assyria, Babylon(ia) [and] all the countries [di]ed with his queen on the night of the xth day as a substitute for the king, my lord, [and for the sake of the li]fe of Šamaš-šumu-uki[n]. He went to his fate for their redemption. We prepared the burial chamber. He and his queen were decorated, treated, displayed, buried and wailed over"⁽¹¹⁰⁾. Afterward many magical rites were performed and the exorcist had a lot to do after the death of the substitute's death, including the king's purification.*

Temples

The most important example about the relationship between Assyrian king and their gods was his present personally either when they build new temple or reconstruct others. There is a massive literature about building activities within Assyria and other places such as Babylon, Uruk etc⁽¹¹¹⁾... The Assyrian king may claim that he saw vision from a certain god to build or rebuild his temple: *ina u₄-mi-šu-ma e-ber-ti URU-ia ^dAš-šur ^dBAD EN ma-ha-za e-ri-šá-ni-ma e-peš*. " AT that time the god Aššur-Enlil, my lord, requested of me a cult centre on the bank opposite my city "⁽¹¹²⁾ He would ask the priest for the preparation of oracles and omens for such action. Usually they had a libation after cleaning the site. We have evidence of the participation of the Assyrian king in temple's building. They left their inscriptions on a small bronze or clay tablet. Statues of the king carrying baskets on their heads are a symbol of their participation. These figures were deposited in the foundations of the temple. ⁽¹¹³⁾ In early periods they used to leave inscription mentioning king's name and his activities," we shall write the name of the king, my lord, on the foundation stone which we laid in the foundation of the city wall of Tarbišu. Let the king,

my lord, write me what we should write (on it) and we shall write accordingly"⁽¹¹⁴⁾but in later Assyrian period they changed the shape into prism.

Safeguarding of the god's statue another duties were performed by the Assyrian king. A letter to the king records the renewal construction of a statue by the "mouth washing" (MIS *pī*). I renewed the statue in the house of Bahhatāya and performed the mouth washing ceremony (KA.LUH.Û.DA)⁽¹¹⁵⁾. Aššur-ban-apli claimed that he returned the statue of the god NANA from Susa. He asked Hamban-haltaš the Elimate king to return her statue but he refused to return her to Babylonia. During his 2nd campaign against Elam he say that he returned the goddess NANA to her city Uruk after a self imposed exile of 1635 years, ^d.Nana-a ša 1635 šanāti ^{meš} tu-ša-bu-šu tal-li-ku tu-ši-bu qi-rib ^{KUR}.Elamti ^{KI} ---- ^{m.d.} Aššur-ban-apli ul-tu qi-rib ^{KUR} Elamti ^{KI} lim-mi-ti u-še-ša-an-ni-ma "Nanaya who 1635 years (go) became angry, went away and settled down in Elam... Aššur-ban-apli will take me away from the evil Elam "⁽¹¹⁶⁾. Aššur temple received regular offering and sacrifices in all kind and from all Assyrian provinces ⁽¹¹⁷⁾. Priests, however wrote directly to the king complaining about those provincial governors who did not send their regular offering ⁽¹¹⁸⁾. Despite the secrecy of the temple and the Assyrian king's attention toward them we do have reports written to the king explaining malicious acts and robbery. Aššur-rešua, priest of Ninurta write to Aššur-ban-apli about thefts of gold from the temple ⁽¹¹⁹⁾. Another report about thefts of golden Statue of Erra⁽¹²⁰⁾.

Some of the Assyrian kings invited gods to important events such as building a new town or temple. Šarru-uk'in write about his newly founded residence at Dur-Šarru-uk'in (Khursabad). After I had completed the construction of the city and my palace, *ilāni rabūti ašibūti aššur ina qerbišina iqrima niqē ellūti mharsun iqqi* " I invited the great gods who dwell in Assyria into their midst I held their dedication feast"⁽¹²¹⁾. His grandson, Aššur-aha-idinna, also invited the gods to his palace ⁽¹²²⁾. The visit of the gods to the king residence and the king to temple objectivity the bonds which existed between them.

Akitu (the new year festival) on April the first usually took place in the Esagila temple of Marduk in Babylon. Some of the Assyrian king wrote down their annual visit and gave the purpose of their coming and participation in this ceremony. Šarru-uk'in says: "Into Babylon, the city of lord of gods, joyfully I entered, in gladness, of heart and with radiant countenance I grasped the hands of the great lord Marduk, and made pilgrimage to the House of the New Year Feast"⁽¹²³⁾ When the Assyrian king could not come to Babylon, the New Year Festival was celebrated in Ashur and the god Aššur replaced the god Marduk. " The king did not come to Babylon Nabû did not come to Babylon, Marduk did not go forth, the *Akitu* festival did not took place, sacrifices were (only) made in Esagil and Ezida (temples)⁽¹²⁴⁾

The Assyrians did not attempt to impose upon conquered people the worship of Aššur or another Assyrian deity They did, however carry divine statue and emblems of conquered people but these were regarded as hostages similar to the young nobles taken to exile and were returned when Assyria was assured that the people would remain loyal to him for example Sin-ahhē-erība and Bēl-ibni of the Sea land⁽¹²⁵⁾ and Aššur-ban-apli and the Elamite princes⁽¹²⁶⁾. Aššur-aha-idinna returned to the Arab Shiekh Hazael the statue of his gods captured by his father. He says: " DN's I repaired the injured and inscribed the might of Aššur, my lord, and the characters of my name upon them and gave them back to him"⁽¹²⁷⁾.

The Assyrian *adû* specify no religion obligation even the term *adē* ^{d.} *aššur u ilāni rabūti* " the *adû* of Aššur and the great gods ". This may indicate that the divine sanction had been invoked to back the *adû* obligation. The stamp of seal impression of the god Aššur and the great gods on vessel treaty " Seal of Aššur, king of gods, lord of lands, was not be altered. Seal of the great ruler, father of gods was not to be disputed"⁽¹²⁸⁾. Any transgress against the *adû*-oath was considered an evil act to the gods and ought to be punished by waging war against him (see later). The Assyrian regards the acceptance by their subjects of

the term *adû* –as oath tantamount to submission to Aššur " The totality of gods" was imposed on vassal ruler in the –succession treaty of Aššur-aha-idinna, "In the future and for ever Aššur shall be your god and Aššur-ban-apli shall be your king"⁽¹²⁹⁾. Aššur-aha-idinna describe the plea of the king of Shupria:" Spare my life so that I may proclaim the praise of Aššur and glorify your valor. He who is neglectful towards Aššur, king of the gods, does not obey the order of Aššur-aha-idinna,king of the universe"⁽¹³⁰⁾. Vassals were monitored by an Assyrian official *qēpu* who was stationed in the subject state. This official had a garrison of cavalry at his immediate disposal. He reported on the daily activities of himself and his host to the provincial governor in charge of his region, but in more urgent matter he wrote directly to the king or the crown prince. For example the treaty of Aššur-aha-iddinna and Ba'al of Tyre ⁽¹³¹⁾,also those *qēpu* who stationed in Egypt during Aššur-aha-idinna and his son Aššur-ban-apli ⁽¹³²⁾.Assyrians distinguished between territories annexed as province directly under her provincial governor, the cult of Aššur, the great gods, seemingly required as their residents were counted as Assyrian citizen " *ana nišē māṭ aššur amnušunūti* ", "I count them with the people of Assyria". On the other hand vassal land under native ruler were free of any cultic obligation towards his master⁽¹³³⁾. In return for their loyalty the Assyrian promised to protect vassal state from foreign aggression ⁽¹³⁴⁾.

All the Assyrian campaigns were justified for either political, military or religious reasons. As far as the last one is concerned the Assyrian king claimed that the campaign was motivated by the "command of god " " *ina qibīt DN* " which appear for the first time in Šamši-adad I⁽¹³⁵⁾ and was prepared through oracles. The god had legitimate authority to declare war. The gods were directly involved in the relation of the state, whose fate they also determined, war and peace are at the direction of gods especially Ištar goddess of war. Tukulti-āpil-Ešarra, however claim " the god Aššur, the lord, commanded me to conquer the land of Musri "⁽¹³⁶⁾.The Assyrian king who is th ŠANGA Aššur was to carry out the divine decree and order. He was called to launch war against the enemy.Tukulti-Ninurta I says: The proud and unsubmitive enemies "who are hostile to Aššur "*za-e-ru-ut d. aš-šur* ⁽¹³⁷⁾ ". The Assyrian king who acts by the will and command of gods *i-na qi-bit DINGIR.GAL*.^{meš} *EN-ia a-na GN al-lik* against his enemy who" trusts in his own strength "and acts contrary to the divine will", "because Urzana (the Urartian) did not respect the command of Aššur "⁽¹³⁸⁾. The command of gods associated with divine promise of help and protection in the battle "go do not delay we will go by your side. We shall slay your foe "⁽¹³⁹⁾ or *i-na tu-kúl-ti* ^{[d.]iš₈-tár NN-šú e[₇-li-iš? kúl-l]a-at na-ki-ri-šú i-na-ru-ma " ⁽¹⁴⁰⁾,With the support of the goddess, his, mistress, brought about the defeat of his foes, in battle" Another reason was when the vassalage broke the oath of the treaty. From the Assyrian point of view the gods are the patron of a treaty between two states. Gods serve as witnesses on political treaty and had religious implication. Aššur-aha-idina in his vessel treaty says: " If you rebel or revolt against Aššur-aha-idinna may all the gods mentioned (here) call us and our offspring and our descendants to account"⁽¹⁴¹⁾. He may also refer to the courses of the *adû* when he punished some one who broke the oath "The gods inflicted upon them as many courses as are written in their loyalty oath"⁽¹⁴²⁾. In treaties between Assyria and other state they swear not to violate the Assyrian border⁽¹⁴³⁾. By transgressing the Assyrian border, the enemy violated the Assyria right to possess the land that gods allotted to the Assyrian people. The transgressor sinned against the god who are the guardians of the borders and became enemy of Assyrian gods.⁽¹⁴⁴⁾ Gods were asked to bring evil upon the party who broke the oath and violate the treaty and gods commanded him to wage war against those who transgress.Šarru-ukin II fought against" Ursa the Urartian who did not respect the oath sworn by the great gods,who broke the treaty of Šamaš "⁽¹⁴⁵⁾. The king of Shupria confessed that he had committed a grievous sin and that the oath by the gods which I have broken has caught up with me⁽¹⁴⁶⁾. Also Aššur-}

ban-apli states that, *ma-mit* ^{d.} *aš-šur šar ilāni* ^{meš} *ik-šú-us-su-nu-ti-ma ša ih-ṭu-u ina a-de-e ilāni* ^{meš} *rabūti.* ^{meš} "Curses of the god Aššur king of gods attacked who will sin against the great gods"⁽¹⁴⁷⁾.

In conclusion the Assyrian kings and their religion were very unique. Aššur their National god was not known in early Mesopotamian pantheon. the meaning of the name of Aššur is obscured and applied also to their capital, country, nationality and form part of their personal name even, however, out of 60 Assyrian kings only 18 have the name of Aššur as part of their names. The Assyrian kings used their religion to justified their right to kingship and to rule their own people and foreign nations as well. They considered themselves as the representative of their gods on earth. their Judgments should right and just. Some of them had to fast or imposed self imprisonment in order to purify their soul and to save their country and their subjects from any sin they may have committed. High priests were influential within the Assyrian royal family and the could prevent the kings son from visit their father even the crown prince. They who chose the substitute king since these priests interpret heavenly phenomena which is a sign of the god's warning. Waging war, punishment of rebels, violating the *adû*-oath and enemy wee also justified as command of the god or because the Assyrian king is the vice-regent (ŠANGA) Aššur was ordained to carry out the divine decree and order.

Notes

*I would like to thanks:

Governor James Albert Neo and Anna Gray Neo Fellowship in the Religious Traditions of the Middle East who sponsored my Fellowship. In Particular, to Mrs Linda Neo Lain. Thanks to the British Museum Trustees

Abbreviations: fellow Chicago Assyrian Dictionary

1- See CAD I. p. 262 ff.

2- See CAD Š p. 76 ff.

3- See CAD Š p.. 390 ff.; see. J.V. Kinnier- Wilson, The Nimrud Wine Lists (London, 1972) p. 8

4- J.Jacobson, "the primitive Democracy in ancient Mesopotamia), JNES 11(1943) 159-172.

5- See CAD P. p.485 ff. Kinnier- Wilson op.cit.p. 32f.

6- RIMA I, p. 22:1-6

7- RIMA I p.60: 1-5

8- J.V. Kinnier Wilson, The Legend of Etana (Wiltshire, 1985)p. 85:25

9- SAA.III p. Hymn No. 1: 6-7, See also SAA.1 p.17

10- See Ninlil RLA p.452-461, A.k. Grayson, "Assyrian civilization " CAH III.2 p. 195.

11- Marduk RLA p.360-374; B. Poter.B, "The Anxiety of Multiplicity Consent of Divinity As One god and Many in Ancient Assyria ", in B.Porter (ed), One God or Many?(New York 2000) 211-272

12- Nabu temple in Aššur, Šulmanu-ašared I (1273-1244B.C), Aššur-našir-apli, (883-859 B.C), Adad-nerari III, (810-783 B.C), Sin-šar-iškun, (622-612 B.C). In Kalhu, Aššur-našir apli, (883-859 B.C), Šulmanu-ašared III (858-824 B.C.), Adad-nerari III, (810-783 B.C), Aššur-ban-apli, (668-627 B.C) M.E.L. Mallowan, Nimrud and Its Remains (London, 1966; D.J. Wiseman and J.A. Black, Literary Texts From the Temple of Nabû (London, 1996). In Neneveh, Adad-nerari III, (810-783 B.C), Šarru-ukin II (721-705 B.C), Aššur-ban-apli. In Dūr-šarru-ukin, Šarru-ukin II (721-705 B.C), Aššur-ban-apli. See also Rander. K, note 19 below

13- SAA.III.No.34,35.

14- A.Heidel, The Babylonian Genesis (Chicago, 1950), see also SAA.III. No.34:17-18

15- SAA.III. No.34:17-18

16- SAA.III No.34: 36

17- SAA.X p. No.33:15

18- H Ranke, Early Babylonian Personal Names (Philadelphia, 1905)

19- K. Radner, Die Macht des Namens Altorientalische Strategien zur Selbsterhaltung, (Wiesbaden, 2005) p.210ff.

20- RIMA I.p.132:19

21- RIMA I P.182:1, P.189:1, P.190:1, P.192: 1, M. Seux "Remarques sur le royal Assyrien *iššakku aššur* " RA.59 (1965)101-109.

22- Van Driel, The Cult of Aššur (Assen 1969) p. 173ff.

- 23- RIMA I. P.132:18,
24- SAA.III,no.11:15
25-A.Heidel, *The Babylonian Genesis* (Chicago, 1950) p.18: 12; cf. SAA.III, No.34:54; 35:44-45; SAA.III.p.7
26- SAA.III No 34: 54 ; 35:44-45 cf. No 35
27- SAA III P.7; cf.SAA.X no. 16:r.4; 10-13
28- S.Parpola "The Assyrian Tree of Life: Tracing the Origins of Jewish Monotheism and Greek Philosophy", *JNES*. 52(1993) P167ff., S. Parpola, "Monotheism in Ancient Assyria" in B.Poeter (ed) *One God or Many?*(New York 2000) 187.;
- 29- See Note 9 above.
30- SAA. VII Nos. 1,5,24 ; SAA.XI No.124.
31- J.N.Postgate,*The Governor's Palace Archive* (London,1973) No.9:11-12 ; 15:27; 17:19-22 ; 19; 15-16 ; 20:17-18 ; 23:19-20 ; 24:16-17 ; 35; 18-19 ; S.Dally and J.N. Postgate, *Tablets From Fort Shalmaneser* (London,1984) Nos.35:22-23 ; 48:24-25 ; 50:18-19 ; 51:16-17 ; 57:20-22 ; 65:r.2 ; A.Y. Ahmad, "The Archive of aššur-mātu-taqqin found in the New Rown of Aššur ", *Al-Rāfidān XVII* (1996) No.10:23-25,A.Y.Ahmad and J.N.Postgate, *Archive from the Domestic Wing of the North-West Palace at Kalhu/Nimrud* (London 2007) No. 23:12-15 ; 24:17-[18]; 27:11-13 ; 28:27-30 ; 29:17-18 ; 30:19-20 ; 33:22-23 ; 34:22-24 ; 35; 27-28 ; 36:r.6'-7' ; 39:13-14 ; 40:17-18 ; 42:20-25; 44:20-21 ; 48:5'-6' ; 49; 13'-17'
32- B.N. Porter,*Tree,King and Politics: Studies in Assyrian Iconography*(Gottingen 2003)P.15
33- See Note 29 above.
34- W.G.Lambert" the God Aššur",*Iraq*45(1983)pp.82-86.
35- SAA. 96:8-18
36- D.G.lyon,*Keischrifttexte Sargon's*,pl.I: 5; cf R.Borger *Esarh.*81:41 and 26 *Ep.*48b:34,:33
37- Winckler,*die Keilshrefttexte Sargons*(Leipzig 1889)pl. 40,V:1o; see, p.80:4-5; cf. R.Borger *Esarh.*,p.37:33
38- SAA.III,11:9-11
39- J. Read "Ideology and Propaganda in Assyrian Arts" in M.T. Larson (ed) *Power and Propaganda* (Copenhagen 1979)p. 340
40- SAA X No.196:r.4-5.,S.Parpola, *JNES*.52 P.168, Note 33. Cf. Afo, 18, 50y 10.
41- SAA VIII No.333:r.2 (RM2.170,S. Parpola, loc.cit,*JNES* 52,P. 168,Note 33.Cf.SAA VIII. 46:r.11.
42- RIMA. I, P.185-186:107-109 ; cf. p.233:2-4
43- SAA. X No. 207: r. 9-13
44- SAA X No.228:18-19,H.W.Saggs, *the Might That Was Assyria*(London1984) p.148, *LAS.* 125:18ff.,S.Parpola,loc.cit, *JNES* 52 P.168,Note 33.
45- SAA X,No.191:r.6-7. Cf. No 46:r.12,S.Parpola, *ibid*,*JNES* 52 P.168, note 33.
46- RIMA III P. 195: 22.
47- R. Streck,Abp P. 250:3.
48- SAA.XVI,No. 126:10-16
49- SAA.XVII,No.16:3-5; cf. 102:5-6
50- RIMA. I,p.183:22-24; cf "The god Aššur elevated me to become the shepherd of the land and people" D.D. Luckenbill, *he Annals of Sennachrib* (Chicago,1924) P.117:5.(OIP)
51- Thureau-Dangin, *Une Rlation de la Hatieme Campagne de Sargon* (Paris 19 73); R. Borger, *Esarh.* P.10
52- SAA III No.3:13.cf.SAA.III 13:6-8; OECT P.72:14ff. "the lady of Nineveh [Mullissu],the mother who gave birth to me ",SAA III No.3:r.14.
53- SAA.III No.7:r.6.
54- SAA III No. 13:r.6-8.
55- R.Strek Abp. P.2, ii:1-5,cf. p. 252 ii:5-7.
55b- ABRT 16
56- SAA.III,13:19-21; see also, H. Frankfort, *kingship and gods*(Chicago 1948) P313-333
57- Talgvest,*Assyrian Personl Names* (Hildesheim,1966)p. 205a; see Frankena,*Tukulti de Sacrale Muultiya in bet Assyrische Ritual*(Lieden 1954) P. 112.
57b- *LAS.* 117: r.8 ; see also ABL 633= K11448: r.33.Cf. *LAS.* 321: r.7.
58- H. Tadmor,*The Inscriptions of Tiglath-pileser III king of Assyria* (Jerusalem 1994) P.224 §. 3.
59- 148; *The might That as Assyria* (London,1984) P. 148, J.Read, *Ideology* (*Power& Popaganda* P.332. A.K. Grayson,"*Assyrian Civilization*", *CAH* III 2 P.195.
60- R.Mattila,*The King's Magnates* (Helsinki, 2000) pp149-157(SAAs.N0.)

- 61- RIMA I P.183:22-26, Cf. the words of Šulmanu-ašared III: "When Aššur, the great lord, chose me in his steadfast heart " RIMA III p.8:11-12
- 62- SAA. X,No. 226:5-8
- 62a- Streck, Ash. P254,I, 29ff. cf. R.Borger, Esarh., p.40: 8 ff.
- 63- SAA IX,1.4,ii:20-33
- 64- R.Borger Esarh. (§ 27): 39-40,4-7
- 65- SAA.IX 1,6,iii:19'-22'
- 66- SAA.X, 207:18-19; LAS 145,S.Parpola,loc.cit, JNES 52 P.168,note 33.
- 67- R.Borger Esarh.p.40,Eposid,2,A,18 II:8-22
- 68- D.D.Luckenbill,op.cit. p. 159:41-42, For his son appointment See p.35:72-73; p.76-77: 11-12 ; p. 71:37
- 69- SAA.XVI, 21:3'-4'
- 70- R.Borger,Esarh. (§ 2) 41:24-25
- 71- SAA.XVIII,100,see S.Parpola " The Murderer of Sennachrib" in B. Alster,(ed.) Death in Mesopotamia, Mesopotamia 8(Copenhagen) pp171-182.
- 72- D.J.Wiseman," The Vassal-Treaties of Esarhaddon",IrkXX(1958) PP.1-99 ; S. Parpola and K.Watanabe,Neo Assyrian Treaties and Loyalty Oath (Helsinki,1988) (SAA.II)
- 73- SAA.X,185:5-13
- 74- Strck Abp p. 2-4:8ff.
- 75- Streck Abp. p.4:31-34
- 76- SAA.III p. 115,No.47: r.5'-10'
- 77- SAA.I,Nos.,29-40
- 78- H.Winckler, op.cit. pl.49,B
- 79- Piepkorn, AS, 5, p.28 Cf. R.Streck Abp. p. 6:45f.; SAA. X, 226.
- 80- SAA.IX 3:3,ii:13-25
- 81- SAA.III, No. 41, cf. SAA X p. 232ff.
- 82- SAA.III, No.44, see also SAA.X p.234ff
- 83- SAA.X No.43: 7, r.11
- 84- SAA X, No. 277: 6-15
- 85- SAA.X No 73:7-15.see also Nos.48; 49; 52; 53; 54; 74.
- 86- SAA.X No 52:6-9
- 87- SAA.X No.221:r.10-12 cf. No, 61
- 88- SAA.X, 379: 5'-9' +r. 1-4
- 89- SAA.X275:14-15+r.1-5
- 90- SAA.X No.76:7-14,r.1-10
- 91- I.Starr,Queries to the sun God (Helsinki,1990) (SAAs IV); see also U..S. Koch,Secret of Extispicy (Munster,2005)
- 92- A.Livingstone,Court Poetry and Literary Miscellanea (Helsinki,1989)(SAA.III)
- 93- R.Borger.Esarh. § 11A,19:12-16
- 94- Thureau Dangin,Une Relation de la Hutieme Campagne de Sargon(Paris,1973) (TCL.3)
- 95- See note 17 above
- 96- SAA.X 217:8-15+r.1-10; see also U..S. Koch, Secret of Extispicy (Munster,2005)
- 97- SAA.X No.114:3-11,see also Nos. 93- see also Nos. 22; 26; 45; 46; 55; 57; 71; 75; 76 ; 76; 78; 89; 90; 94; 100; 104; 128; 131; 132; 133; 134; 135; 137; 147; 148; 149; 157; 158; 159; 168; 170; 216; 219; 220; 224; 232; 313; 347; 351; 352; 356; 358; 363; 371; 372; 377; SAA.VIII, Nos. 4; 13; 42; 46; 47; 55; 67; 87; 94; 98; 100; 103; 104; 179; 207; 208; 230; 250; 251; 253; 279 ; 280; 294; 300; 305; 308; 311; 313; 316; 320; 321; 328; 336; 344; 346; 382; 484; 385; 388; 399; 409; 417; 433; 447; 467; 469; 487; 502; 535
- 98- SAA. X No.78:1'-6'; see also Nos.26; 45; 46; 50; 63; 71; 116; 118; 119; 122; 123; 124; 25; 126; 128; 132; 137; 138; 141; 142; 145; 146; 147; 159; 168; 170; 266; 347; 358; 363; 385. SAA.VIII.Nos,4; 79; 101; 102; 103; 126; 127; 128; 129; 130; 131; 132; 134; 135; 136; 137; 138; 139; 207; 208; 225; 228; 250; 296; 300; 305; 307; 308; 316; 322; 335; 336; 351; 382; 386; 447; 467; 487; 513; 535
- 99- AA.X 45:6-14
- 100-SAA X,57: 4-6
- 101- SAA.VIII,316:r.3-4
- 102- SAA.X 350:2'-3'
- 103- SAA.X 221,cf. No.350 ; see also Nos. 2; 3; 4; 12; 89; 90; 219; 220; ; 314; 350; 351

- 104- LAS II pp.22-32
- 105- SAA.X No.90:r.10'-11' ; cf.SAA VIII,4:9-10
- 106- See SAA.VIII 300:16-17; 316:r.3-5; 336:11-12; 535:5-6; also the glossary (Moon)
- 107- SAA.X 351: 5-10 ; cf.219:7-11; 220:7-14+r.1-6
- 108- SAA. 1; 2; 26; 120; 128; 173; 209; 210; 211; 212; 216; 221'294; 304; 313; 325; 381
- 109- SAA X,No,2:13-14 ; cf.12:r.1-4 ; 350: 22-24+r.1-2
- 110-SAA.X 352:5-15; cf. No.3: 2
- 111- see note 19 above
- 112 - RIMA I p. 270:39-40
- 113- see picture of Šamaš-šum-ukin SAA.IV, Fig.48 and Aššur-ban-apli SAA.II, Fig.19
- 114- SAA.XVI,143:6-11
- 115- C. Walker and M. Dick, the Introduction of the cult Image in Ancient Mesopotamia (Helsinki,2001)
- 116- Streck p.58:107 ff.; 174-176: r.6-8 cf. R. Borger 1996,p.126, M. Cogan Imperialism and Religious, Assyria, Judah, Israel in the Eight and seven Century B.C.(Israel,1974) p.13-15
- 117- SAA.XIII Nos. 17,18,21,22,23,25, 26, 56,57, 77,130,131,166
- 118- SAA.XIII Nos. 8,9,10,11; SAA.I Nos.129, 132, 134. ; see SAA.X No 96
- 119- SAA.XIII No.25,26, 128, 138,
- 120- SAA,XIII No. 157
- 121- A.G. Lie, Inscriptions of Sargon II King of Assyria (Paris,1929) p.78:7-8; cf. Wincker op.cit. pl.39:125; pl.38:35; pl. 36:167; pl.25.No.53:58 ; Lyon,op.cit. 18:99
- 122- DN*s ilānime māṭ aš-šur.*^{K1} *ka-li-šu-nu ina qer-bi-šá aq-re-ma* R.Borger Esarh. p.63:44; cf.p.69 \$ 30:6; 115:18
- 123- A. G.lie, Op. cit. p.56:374-375, J.Winckler, op. cit p.138,col.ii:1-5; cf.SAA.XVII,No.17, 23; SAA.XVIII,158
- 124- A.k. Grayson Assyrian Babylonian Chronicles (1975) Ch.7,ii:1-24
- 125- D.D. Luckenbill, The Annals of Sennachreb (Chicago,1924) p.54:54 ; 57:13
- 126- R.streck, Abp, p.36,IV:39-41,cf.p212:2022+r. 1
- 127- R. Borger Esarh. p.53: Nin.A-IV,9-15
- 128- S.Parpola and K. Watanabe, Neo-Assyrian Treaties and Loyalty Oath(Helsinki,1988) No. 6: i-iv (SAA.II)
- 129- SAA.II No.6:393-394; cf. SAA.II No. 2 Aššur-nirari V treaty with Mati'-ilu king of Arvad
- 130- R. Borger § 68,1,7:21; cf.p.130:23
- 131- SAA.II No.2: qepu ----Esrh Ba'el ogf Tyr ; cf. R. Borger Esarh. p.108,r.iii:3f
- 132- R. Borger, Esarh p.99:r.47; cf. R. Streck, Abp, 6,i:58,cf,7,i:75
- 133- SAA.II Nos. 2; 5; 6;
- 134- A. G.Lie Op. Cit p.12,ii:79-83
- 135- RIMA I p. 64:2-3 cf p.66:5-6
- 136- H. Tadmor Tp. III p.195:3-4
- 137- RIMA I p. 247:3
- 138- TCL3,346
- 139- R. Borger Esarh. p.34: 60-62
- 140- RIMA.II p. 206:4
- 141- SAA.II No.6,ii:494
- 142- streck p. 76:60
- 143- A.R.Millard "Fragment of historical Texts From Nineveh: Ashurbanipal" Iraq 30 (1968) p.109: 22-25, A.K. Grayson, op.cit p.158 Streck Abp. p. 68:451
- 144- Streck p.212:15-20
- 145- Sg II Afo14,p. 46:12-13 cf.TCL 3:148
- 146- R. Borger Esarh p.103:23
- 147- Streck Abp. p. 12:132; 126:46