Esarhaddon’s Succession Oath Documents
Reconsidered in Light of the Tayinat Version

Kazuko Watanabe
Esarhaddon’s Succession Oath Documents Reconsidered in Light of the Tayinat Version

Kazuko WATANABE*

Esarhaddon’s Succession Oath Documents (ESOD) are presently known through: the Nimrud version (more than nine copies) published in 1958, the Aššur version (three fragments) published in 1939-1940 and 2009, and the Tayinat version excavated in Tell Tayinat (ancient Kunalia; Turkey) in 2009 and published in 2012. At least both the Nimrud and the Tayinat version have nearly the same text, except for the lines in §1 concerning the recipients of the Documents. While the Nimrud version is addressed to the small rulers in the district of ‘Media’ with their respective personal names, the Tayinat version was issued to the Assyrian governor of Kunalia along with sixteen other titles without any personal names. There seem to be several templates of the ESOD, which vary according to the different recipients.

The first verb of §30 has turned out to be in the indicative, not in the subjunctive as the present author had expected before (in Watanabe 1987), and an improved translation of the whole section can now be undertaken. In §34, it is proclaimed: “Aššur is your god! Aššurbanipal is your lord!” And from the lines in §35 restored by the Tayinat version, we can understand the demand that the sealed tablet of the ESOD should be honoured (protected) ‘as your (own) god.’

Although we don’t know the exact reason why the Nimrud version was found in Nimrud, the fact that the Tayinat version was excavated in situ, on the podium in the back chamber of the precinct, convinces us that other tablets must have in principle been enshrined all throughout the largest Assyrian domination, which could have served as effective background for Josiah’s reformation and the establishment of monotheism based on the written covenant. Furthermore, the demand of exclusive loyalty to Aššurbanipal in the ESOD has possibly been transferred to the demand of exclusive adoration of Yahweh.

Keywords: Esarhaddon, succession oath, Tayinat, Aššur, Deuteronomy

I. Introduction

At Tell Tayinat, Turkey, a large clay tablet (40 x 28 cm) excavated along with other ten tablets by the Tayinat Archaeological Project of Toronto University in 2009, was identified as a copy of Esarhaddon’s Succession Oath Documents (ESOD) issued by the Assyrian king Esarhaddon in 672 BC (Lauinger 2012; Harrison and Osborne 2012). These documents were known through the Nimrud version excavated at Nimrud (Kalḫu) in 1955 and published by D. J. Wiseman, as the ‘Vassal-Treaties of Esarhaddon’ (Wiseman 1958). We now stand at a new stage of research on the ESOD. This paper attempts to reconsider the ESOD in light of the Tayinat version and to outline several topics for further discussion.

*Professor, Faculty of Human Sciences, Toyo Eiwa University
II. Three Versions of the ESOD

1. The Nimrud Version

The Nimrud version is represented by at least nine copies, as Wiseman had correctly noted. The present author reedited it (together with some unpublished fragments of the Nimrud version and the first piece of the Aššur version) in 1987 as the adê-oath documents that Esarhaddon had given to each person he had summoned and made swear to obey his decree that his two sons would become the next Assyrian and Babylonian kings, respectively. These copies from Nimrud were issued for the rulers of ‘Median.’ The arguments and speculations as to why they were excavated in Nimrud cannot be fully settled at present.

2. The Aššur Version

The second version of the documents was found at Aššur (Qalʾat Sherqat) and is known to us in three fragments; the first one (VAT 11543) was published by Weidner (1939-1940) and later identified as lines 229-236 of the Nimrud version (Wiseman 1958, 4, n.30). The second and the third fragments were recently published by E. Frahm (2009, 135-136; 255; VAT 12374: lines 54-62; VAT 9424: lines 509-516 of the Nimrud version).

3. The Tayinat Version

Scholars appreciated the prompt publication of the Tayinat version by Jacob Lauinger in 2012. In this publication, he pointed out (1) that it had been issued for the governor of Kunalia, which being known, made it possible to definitely identify Tell Tayinat with the ancient city Kunalia (or Kunulua, Kinalia). And (2) that it was excavated in situ at the sacred precinct in the centre of the mound.

These two points verified that the documents had been issued to all persons who took the succession oath and afterwards brought them to their respective homelands; that is to say, a great number of copies of the documents had actually been issued.

Lauinger published the photographs of the obverse and the reverse, a transliteration of the legible lines, along with some commentary of his own and an English translation of nine sections (1, 30 35, 54, 54A, 54B, 67, 96A and 106) that contain some new text. §34 also reveals new, important information, which will be discussed later.

III. Recipients (§1)

Lines 1-5 of the Nimrud version, read in translation:

---

1 “As work proceeded it became obvious that the fragments constituted parts of at least eight further copies of the same solemn undertaking made by his vassals to Esarhaddon” (Wiseman 1958, 2). As the score transliteration of the “heading” shows, there are certainly more than nine copies. Cf. Watanabe 1987, 55.
2 For an overview of various discussions concerning the reason, see Lauinger 2011 and Lauinger 2012.
3 For Sennacherib’s Succession Oath Document (SSOD) for the crown prince Esarhaddon excavated in Aššur (VAT 11449), see Parpola and Watanabe 1988, 18 (No. 3); For the new editions of the document, see Radner 2006a, 376-378 and Frahm 2009, 133-135 and 254 (No.69: an excerpt of a short version of the SSOD). For the fragments (VAT 10472 and VAT 12007) of the long version of the SSOD, see Frahm 2009, 130-133 and 253 (No. 67 and 68).
4 For Kunalia, cf. Radner 2006b, 61 (“Kullani(a), (auch) Kinalua …
5 Lauinger announced that a more complete Tayinat version “would be published in the future along with handmade copies” after further conservation of unknown duration (Lauinger 2012, 90, n.2).
The adê that Esarhaddon, (king of the world,) king of Assyria, 2 son of Sennacherib, also (king of the world,) king of Assyria, 3 with Ramataya, ruler of the city Urakazabanu, 4 (with) his sons, his grandsons and the people of Urakazabanu, 5 all people in his hands, big and small, as many as exist, --- (ll.1-5 in §1, according to the text N27 = N 4327; Watanabe 1987, 145).

The recipients of the Tayinat version are “the governor of Kunalia” and 16 other titles without any specific personal names, nor are they followed by the phrase “his sons and his grandsons,” since ‘governor’ and other titles were not hereditary, as Lauinger noted. Lines 1-19 of the Tayinat version correspond with lines 1-5 of the Nimrud version and read according to Lauinger’s translation:

1. The adê of Esarhaddon, king of Assyria, 2 son of Sennacherib, king of Assyria, 3 with the governor of Kunalia, 4 with the deputy, the majordomo, 5 the scribes, the chariot drivers, the third men, 6 the village managers, the information officers, 7 the prefects, the cohort commanders, 8 the charioteers, the cavalymen, 9 the exempt, the outriders, 10 the specialists, the shield bearers(?), 11 the craftsmen, (and) with [all] the men [of his hands], 12 great and small, as many as there are --- (§1: T i 1-19; Lauinger 2012, 112).

IV. Several Templates of the ESOD for Different Recipients

The text of the Tayinat version is almost the same as that of the Nimrud version except the lines 3-4 (corresponding to the lines 3-11 of the Tayinat version) in §1 cited above. If the template of the Nimrud version was for the small foreign rulers, then the one of the Tayinat version was probably for the Assyrian governors. This assumption allows us to conjecture that there had been several templates of the ESOD with certain parts written differently according to the difference in status of the recipients. The Aššur version could have belonged to a template that is still not known to us.

We may expect that additional fragments or new templates of these documents will be found in excavations or museums in the future.

V. Construction of the ESOD

The construction of the ESOD has been now more clearly illuminated (see Table 1). The Documents consist of nine elements. Each element is represented in one or more blocks of lines and sections (§§). Sometimes even one section (§) contains several elements. Some elements are represented in only one block of lines such as: (1) ‘Caption of the seal(s),’ (6) ‘Relative clause,’ (8) ‘Oath taken in the first person pl.,’ and (9) ‘Colophon’; the other elements are more than one block; (2) ‘Title of the Documents’ and (3) ‘Commands’ are in two, (4) ‘Decrees’ are in five, and (5) ‘Protases (conditional clauses)’ and (7) ‘Apodoses (curses)’ are in many blocks.

1. Caption of Seal(s) and Three Seal Impressions

The caption (i-iv) explains in Babylonian diction whose seals have been impressed:

1. Seal of the god Aššur, king of the gods, 2 lord of the lands, which is not to be altered; 3 seal of the great ruler, father of the gods, 4 which is not to be disputed (cf. Watanabe 1987, 144-145). 5

According to this heading, all three impressions must have been made with seals of the god

---

1. kunuk aššur šar ilānī 2 bēl mātāti ša lā šunnē 3 kunuk rubē rabē abi ilānī 4 ša lā paqāri.
Aššur. The ESOD show the formula of Neo-Assyrian contracts beginning with explanations of the seals and the following three seal impressions (cf. Watanabe 1985).

2. Title of the Documents

The title ① is placed in two locations. The first elaborate version is divided between §1 (ll. 1-10 (+11-12)) and §2 (ll.13-24) by the frame line for the seal impressions, declares that these documents are adê, and states whom they concern and before which gods they are established. The title of N27 (=N 4327) is constructed of six elements:

1. The adê of Esarhaddon, ….,
2. established with Ramataya, …., his sons, his grandsons,
3. with all the people of Urakazabanu, …,
4. (with) all those over whom Esarhaddon, king of Assyria, exercises kingship and lordship, (with) you, your sons and your grandsons who will be born in days to come after these adê,
5. before the five planets (Jupiter, Venus, Saturn, Mercury, Mars) and the star Sirius,
6. the god Aššur, the Babylonian gods (Anum, Enlil, Ea, Sin, Šamaš, Adad, Marduk, …), and all other gods.

No gods of Media, Judah, or any other small countries are named. They are only referred to collectively as, “all the gods of the lands” (l.23 in §2). Instead of the elements (2) and (3) “Ramataya…,” the Tayinat version has different passages as quoted above.

The second, shorter version of the title ② is placed in the first part of §4 (ll.41-45):

The adê which Esarhaddon, king of Assyria, established with you before the great gods of the heaven and the earth, concerning Aššurbanipal, the great crown prince, son of Esarhaddon, king of Assyria, your lord, who named his (Aššurbanipal’s) name as the crown prince (and) assigned him (to it) (ll.41-45 in §4; Watanabe 1987, 146-147).

3. Commands

The two parts with commands (①§3 and ②§28) also belong to the subject matter of the ESOD, and are composed in the imperative. The first part (§3: 25-40) orders the each person who had been summoned to swear by each god:

25By Aššur, swear each individually! (2pl. Gtn imp.) 26By Anu, Enlil, Ea, ditto (= swear each individually)! 27By Sin, Šamaš, Adad, ….. Marduk, ditto! ….. 28By all the gods of one’s land and one’s district, ditto! (§3: 25-40b; cf. Watanabe 1987, 144-147).

4. Decrees

The decrees as the most important subject matter of the ESOD are mentioned in five parts:

① 46-49 in §4, ② §7: 83-91, ③ §18: 198-211, ④ 381-383 in §33, ⑤ 393-396 in §34. The main verbs of these decrees are in the present.

The decree ① reads:

When (kīma) Esarhaddon, king of Assyria, passes away (ana šīmti ittalak, 3sg. pf. indica.), you shall seat (tušeššabāšu, 2pl. pres. p-suff. indica.) Aššurbanipal, the great crown prince, upon the royal throne, and he shall exercise (uppaš, 3sg. pres. indic.) the kingship and lordship of Assyria over you (ll.46-49 in §4; cf. Watanabe 1987, 146-147).
The decree ③ §18 is placed among the protases, but it does not belong to their group; §18 is composed of verbs in the indicative and the prohibitive.

The decree ⑤ declares: “Aššur (is) your god, Aššurbanipal (is) your lord” (ll.393-396 in §34). The implication of these lines will be discussed later (see VIII. 2. and IX. 6.).

5. Protases in the Case of Oath Breaking: Conditional Clauses

These conditional clauses function as protases and are combined with apodoses in a series of many curses placed in the latter part of the documents. The protases in the series of conditional clauses beginning with ‘if’ (šumma) describe how and in what kinds of cases “you” would transgress the decree.


The protasis ⑦ (the first five lines of §58: 513-517) is combined with a curse (apodosis; the last line of §58: 518) in which Aššur is invoked. This curse is at the beginning of the second part of the curse series (apodoses, see V. 7.).

The nineteen protases in ⑧ - ⑨ , ⑪ - ⑲ , and ㉘ - ㉙ are expressed as “ditto” (KIMIN) (at least in one text) which means the repetition of the forgoing conditional clause of ⑦ for ⑧ - ⑨ and ⑪ - ⑲ , and ㉗ for ㉘ - ㉙. It is clear that the editor of the ESOD compiled the various curses by inserting “ditto.” These sections seem to contain only curses, however, from the preceding “ditto” as an editorial contrivance, it is evident that each block of apodoses is following its block of protases.

The usage of the indicative and subjunctive in conditional clauses will be discussed in detail later (see VI.).

6. Relative Clause Preceded by ša Functioning as Protasis (§35)

The Tayinat version brought one of the most important restorations to §35 (II.397-409), which is exceptional in that it is a relative clause preceded by ša (whoever...) and formulated in Babylonian diction: in the first part, with verbs in the Babylonian subjunctive -u, though in the latter part, however, the Assyrian subjunctive -ni is used. The last verb is second person plural in the Assyrian subjunctive. The latter part of the relative clause reads:

(Whoever among you) should not protect (lā tanāṣṣarāni, 2pl. pres. subj.) this sealed tablet of the great ruler (= Aššur) of the adē of Aššurbanipal, the great crown prince, son of Esarhaddon, king of Assyria, your lord, in which it is written that this document has been sealed by the seal of Aššur, king of the gods, and presented before you, as your (own) god (kī ilīkunu), --- (ll.405-409 in §35; cf. Watanabe 1987, 162-163).

Abbreviations: 3sg. = third person singular; 2pl. = second person plural; 1pl. = first person plural; pres. = present; pf. = perfect; inf. = infinitive; imp = imperative; proh. = prohibitive; vent. = ventive; p-suff. = pronominal suffix; indic. = indicative; subj. = subjunctive.

Vol. XLIX 2014
The phrase “this seal(ed tablet) of the great ruler (= Aššur)” (NA, KIŠIB NUN GAL-e, kunuk rubê rabê) seems to be quoting the caption (iii; see above), however, it means here “sealed tablet”, not the seal itself (cf. Lauinger 2012, 117, apud ‘v 68’). §35 will be reexamined later (see VIII. 3.).

7. Apodoses: Curses

The numerous curses (in 24 parts) are apodoses of the forgoing conditional clauses (protases). The present author divides the curses of ESOD roughly into two groups: the curses of the first group are collected in §§37-49 (ll.414-456: the former half of apodosis ①) and are in the Babylonian style, which was prevalent mainly in Babylonia at that time. In each curse, a god is invoked and asked to cause something to happen corresponding to the function of that god. For example, the sun god Šamaš, the god of light and justice, is asked as follows:

422-423 May Šamaš, the light of heaven and earth, not judge you justly. May he make your eyesight unclear and may you walk about in darkness! (§40: 422-424; cf. Watanabe 1987, 162-163).

At the beginning of the first group of the curses, Aššur (§37) and Mullissu (§38) are invoked and then Anu (§38A), Sin (§39), Šamaš (§40), Ninurta (§41), Venus (§42), Jupiter (§43), Marduk (§44), Zārpanitu (§45), … Cf. the other sequences of gods found in V. 2. (5) (6) and V. 3. above.

The second group of the curses (§§50-56: the latter half of apodosis ①, and §§58-106: apodoses ②-⑳) consists of formulated curses that were more prevalent in Assyria and the countries and districts situated to the west of Assyria: Anatolia, Syria, and other districts. These curses explicitly show the intention to make the ESOD as universal as possible.

They are often expressed with similes and do not invoke specific gods (§§64-106: 530-663). For example: “May all the gods who are called by name in this tablet of the adê spin you around like a spindle-whirl, may they make you like a woman before your enemy” (§91: 616A-617; Watanabe 1987, 172-173).

8. Oath Taken in the First Person Plural, Subj. (§57)

Only one section (§§57: 494-512) is composed in the 1st person, pl., and the words of that section were probably to be recited by the person who took the oath. This part is also constructed by conditional clauses (protasis) and the directly following curses (self-curse; apodosis):
9. Colophon: The Date and the Title (§107)

In the colophon (§107: 664-670) at the end of the tablets, the dates in 672 BC by the Assyrian eponym and the title of the texts are given.

VI. Usage of the Indicative and Subjunctive in Conditional Clauses

1. Grammar and Translation of Conditional Clauses with Verbs in the Subjunctive

Verbs in the indicative are generally used in conditional clauses led by “if” (šumma). However, the usage of subjunctive in conditional clauses had not yet been elucidated in any Akkadian grammars, which regard the subjunctive as an expression of an oath, and for translation, merely give instructions to omit “if” and to render affirmative and negative verbs conversely. A standard Akkadian grammar explains:

Der Eid ist eine verkürzte Selbstverfluchung für den Fall der Eidesverletzung. Hieraus erklärt sich häufige Verwendung negative Ausdrücke in ihm für positive Aussagen und positive Ausdrücke für negative Aussagen, ebenso wahrscheinlich der ganz überwiegende Gebrauch des Subjunktivs auch in Haupt- und Bedingungssätzen.

This explanation seems to be based on the traditional Hebrew grammar, however, we can find some examples of affirmations, assertoric oaths, uttered in the first person in the Hebrew Bible. For example:

21 If (‘im) I have lifted up my hand against the fatherless, when I saw my help in the gate, then let mine arm fall from my shoulder blade, and mine arm be broken from the bone (lit. ‘reed’) (Job 31:21-22).

Although there was no subjunctive in Hebrew, a clause preceded by ‘if’ should be understood as a conditional clause, grammatically as in Akkadian, regardless of whether or not it is an oath, and whether or not a self-curse follows.

We can find three methods among the extant translations of the ESOD. For example, an Akkadian conditional clause “If you do (subj.) something evil” is translated into English in the ways:

(1) “(You swear that) you will not do anything evil”; omitting “if” and changing the affirmative verb to the negative (Wiseman 1958; Laessøe 1963).

(2) “If you do something evil”; neglecting the difference between subjunctive and indicative verbs (Reiner 1969; Borger 1983).

(3) “If you should do something evil.”

Method (1) may be used in a paraphrase, only when the apodosis (curse) does not follow. In the ESOD, several conditional clauses are directly followed by apodoses. And the construction of the ESOD (see above and Table 1) shows that all conditional clauses (protases), or some groups of conditional clauses are followed by apodoses, or some groups of apodoses. Method (2) ignores the difference of mood and foregoes any grammatical consideration. Method (3) was proposed

---

11 See Gesenius and Kauth 1909, §149 (Schwur- und Beteuerungssätze).
12 21 ‘im-hanîfôṯî ῾al-yāṯôm yādî kî-ʻerʻē vaššaʻar ʻezrāʿi 22 ṭēfî miššiḵmā ṯippôl wʻezroʻi miqqānā ſiššāvēr. The English translation cited is from the “King James Bible”.
13 Parpola and Watanabe 1988 more or less follow this method.
by the present author (Watanabe 1987).

As shown above, only §57 in the ESOD is an utterance of a promissory oath and consists of a conditional clause (protasis) in the first person plural subjunctive, and a directly following self-curse (apodosis). All other conditional clauses in the ESOD are in the second person plural and are in fact, followed by curses as apodoses, mostly placed in the latter part of the documents. These conditional clauses in the second person could not function as oaths; they are threats. And these clauses are indeed combined with many curses against “you.”

2. Babylonian and Assyrian Subjunctive

Verbs in the subjunctive are normally used in relative and other subordinate clauses. This rule is also kept in the ESOD. Although in conditional clauses, verbs are, in principle, used in indicative, most verbs of the conditional clauses in the ESOD are in subjunctive, the second person, plural, but sometimes in indicative. Von Soden had noted:

In Hauptsätzen und Sätzen mit šumma “wenn” wird der Subj. im Eid verwendet (s. dazu §185); wie sich dieser für einen Modus relativus sehr eigenartige Sprachgebrauch erklärt, ist noch unbekannt (von Soden 1995, §83f).

In the ESOD, there is no protasis without apodosis. The grammatical problem of the subjunctive in a conditional clause must be considered separately from the oath formula.

Through the ESOD, we have for the first time numerous attestations of this type of verb in the subjunctive. Its usage should be investigated on the basis of the interpretation of the text as a whole. The text of the ESOD is written mostly in Neo-Assyrian, some parts in (Standard) Babylonian. The differentiation is marked in the present author’s edition, at the top of each line of the transcription through the sign ‘a’ for Assyrian and ‘b’ for Babylonian, or ‘ab’ for the contamination of both languages (Watanabe 1987, 144-175).

For Babylonian verbs, the subjunctive is formed by adding the suffix -u. However, this -u can be concealed by other suffix(es). A Middle or Neo-Assyrian verb take the subjunctive by adding -ni, which is never concealed and always comes after other suffixes (ventive and/or pronominal suffix). This subjunctive ending -ni, however, often causes the preceding suffixes some phonetic changes. 14

3. Simple Hypotheses in the Indicative

In the ESOD, a simple hypothesis is expressed by a verb in the indicative. For Example, the first part of §7 (decrec{2}, see V. 4. and Table 1) reads:

83 If (šumma) Esarhaddon, king of Assyria, while his sons are (still) small, 84-85 passes away (ana šīmti ittalak, 3sg. pf. indic), you will cause Aššurbanipal, the great crown prince, to grasp (tušaṣbatā, 2pl. pres. indic.) the Assyrian throne, 86-89 (and) cause Šamaš-šumu-ukīn, his beloved (?) brother (aḫu talīmu), the crown prince of Babylonia, to sit (tušeššabā, 2pl. pres. indic.) on the Babylonian throne, and make the land of Sumer and Akkad, the land of Karduniaš completely subject (tušadgalā) to him (ll.83-89 in §7; cf. Watanabe 1987, 148-149). 15


15 It is remarkable that Šamaš-šumu-ukīn is only named once here (l.86) apart from in the colophon (l.668), while Aššurbanipal is named 62 times and Esarhaddon 45 times apart from in the colophon (l.666) respectively; cf. Watanabe 1987, 226. For the recent discussion about talīmu, cf. Bartelmus 2007.
4. Hypotheses of Extremely Small Probability in the Subjunctive

The usage of the subjunctive in many conditional clauses in the ESOD, for example: “If you should do (subj.)...,” expresses a hypothesis of extremely low probability, namely something which “you” would not to do from the viewpoint of the speaker. For example, §§5, 11, and 36 in translation:

The beginning of §5 (in protasis ①):
If (šumma) you should not protect (lā tanaṣṣarāni, 2pl. pres. subj.) Aššurbanipal, the great crown prince, whom Esarhaddon, king of Assyria, has presented and ordered for you, and on behalf of whom he has confirmed and concluded this adê with you, ... (ll. 62-65 in §5; cf. Watanabe 1987, 146-147).

§11 (in protasis ②):
123-126 If you should do (teppašāneššūni, 2pl. pres. vent. p-suff. subj.) against Aššurbanipal, the great crown prince, whom (to obey) Esarhaddon, king of Assyria, had ordered you, something unfair and unfavorable, capture him (taṣabbatāšūni, 2pl. pres. p-suff. subj.), or deliver him (taddanāšūni, 2pl. pres. p-suff. subj.) to his enemy, 128 remove him (tunakkarāššini, 2pl. pres. subj.) from the kingship of Assyria, 129 swear ([tatamm]âni, 2pl. pres. subj.) an oath to another king, --- (§11: 123-129; cf. Watanabe 1987, 148-151).

§36 (protasis ⑥):
410-411 If you should remove (tunakkarāni, 2pl. subj.) (the tablet of adê) and hand over (tapaqqidāni) into fire, put (tanaddāni, lit. “give”) into water, 412-413 cover (takattamāni) with dust, break (tabbatāni), or flatten (tasappanāni) (it), --- (§36: 410-413; cf. Watanabe 1987, 162-163).

5. Indicative and Subjunctive in the Same Conditional Clause

In §14, §22 and §26, verbs are used in both the indicative and subjunctive together in the same conditional clause. The indicative in this case (mostly in the 3rd person) expresses a given situation as a simple hypothesis; the subjunctive (mostly in the 2nd person) is used to express hypotheses of extremely small probability that “you” would do or not do (an action) in those situations. The word “if” is not repeated for every conditional clause. This fact also indicates that both cases are regarded grammatically as conditional clauses. §§14, 22, and 26 for example:

§14 (in protasis ②):
162 If an Assyrian, a subordinate of Assyria, 163 a bearded one or a eunuch, a citizen of Assyria, 164 or a citizen of other country, or someone of the living as many as exist, 165-166 confined (ētasrūšu, 3sg. pf. p-suff. indic.) Aššurbanipal, the great crown prince, in a field or a city, executed (ētapšū, 3sg. pf. p-suff. indic.) rebellion and revolt against him, 167-168 (if) you should (then) not stand (lā tazzazzāni, 2pl. pres. subj.) by Aššurbanipal, the great crown prince, not protect him (lā tanaṣṣarāšūni, 2pl. pres. p-suff. subj.), 169-172 not kill (lā tadukkāni, 2pl. pres. subj.) the band which executed revolt against him, from your whole hearts, (and) not rescue (lā tušezzabānenni, 2pl. pres. vent. subj.) Aššurbanipal, the great crown prince, (and) his brothers, the sons of his mother, --- (§14: 162-172; cf. Watanabe 1987, 150-153).

§22 (in protasis ③):
237-240 If Esarhaddon, king of Assyria, (your lord,) while his sons are (still) small, passes away (ana šīmti ittalak, 3sg. pf. indic), (if then) a bearded one or a eunuch kill (iddī’ak, 3sg. pf. indic.) Aššurbanipal, the great crown prince, not protect him (lā tanaṣṣarāššini, 2pl. pres. p-suff. subj.), 169-172 not kill (lā tadukkānī, 2pl. pres. subj.) the band which executed revolt against him, from your whole hearts, (and) not rescue (lā tušezzabānenni, 2pl. pres. vent. subj.) Aššurbanipal, the great crown prince, (and) his brothers, the sons of his mother, --- (§14: 162-172; cf. Watanabe 1987, 150-153).

For forms of suffixes in which ventive and Ass. Subjunctive are combined such as tušezzabānenni cf. von Soden 1995, “Verbalparadigma 8, Das Präteritum des G-Stamms, ass. Subj. des Ventivs”.

17 takattamāni (l.412) is restored by the Tayinat version, cf. Lauinger 2012, 99 (T v 75).
side, become (tatturāni) to his subordinate, \(^{244}\) and you should not oppose (lā tabbalakkatāni), not rebel (lā tanakkirāni), \(^{245-246}\) not cause all countries to rebel (lā tušamkarāni) against him, not cause to raise (lā tašakkanāni) rebellion against him, not capture him (lā taṣabbatāneššūni), 2pl. pres. vent. subj.) not kill him (lā kadukkāšāni, 2pl. pres. p-suff. subj.), not kill them (lā tadukkāšāni, 2pl. pres. p-suff. subj.) and you should not incite a son of Aššurbanipal, the great crown prince, to seize (lā tušasbatāni, 2pl. pres. subj.) the throne of Assyria, --- (§22: 237-248; cf. Watanabe 1987, 154-155).

§26 (in protasis\(^3\)): 306-307 If someone executes (ētapaš, 3sg. pf. indic.) rebellion and revolt against Esarhaddon, king of Assyria, and seats (himself) (ittisib, 3sg. pf. indic.) on the throne of the kingship, if you should (then) be pleased (taḥadduʿāni, 2pl. pres. subj.) with his kingship (and) you should not capture him (lā tušasbatāneššūni, 2pl. pres. vent. subj.), if (summa) you are not able (lā maṣākunu, inf. p-suff.) to capture him and to kill him, (if) you should (then) approve (tamagguṭāni, 2pl. pres. subj.) (of it and) swear to him (tatammaneššūni, 2pl. pres. vent. p-suff. subj.) an oath (tāmītu tamaggurāni) of the subordinate, and not with all your heart (tāmītu tatammâneššūni, tamaggurāni) and to kill him, (if) you should (then) approve (lā maṣākunu), if (lā maṣākunu) kill him (lā tadukkāšanūni, 2pl. pres. vent. p-suff. subj.), his killing (= not kill him), 314 not cause Aššurbanipal, the great crown prince to seize (lā tušasbatāni) the throne of his father, --- (§26: 302-317; cf. Watanabe 1987, 158-159).

6. Seemingly Divergent Usage of the Subjunctive

In some conditional clauses like §§12 and 29, the verbs are also used in the subjunctive rather than in the indicative.

§12 (in protasis\(^2\)): 130-134 If someone should speak to you (iqabbākkanūni, 3sg. pres. vent. p-suff. subj.) against Aššurbanipal, the great crown prince, son of Esarhaddon, king of Assyria your lord, for whom he (Esarhaddon) established this adē with us, of rebellion and revolt to kill him, to destroy him, 135 and you should (then) hear (tasammāni, 2pl. pres. subj.) (it) from the mouth of someone 136 (and) not capture (lā tušasbatānenni, 2pl. pres. vent. subj.) the perpetrators of the revolt, 137-139 (and) not bring (lā tabbalānenni, 2pl. pres. vent. subj.) (them) to Aššurbanipal, the great crown prince, if (summa) you are not able (lā maṣākunu, inf. p-suff.) to capture them and to kill them, (if) you should (then) not capture them (lā tašabbatāšanūni, 2pl. pres. vent. p-suff. subj.), 140-141 not kill them (lā tädubkāšanūni, 2pl. pres. p-suff. subj.), (and) not destroy (lā tušamkarāni) not cause other countries to oppose (tušamkarāni) (him), 315 not plunder (lā maṣākunu) not destroy (lā tušamkarāni) his plunder (= not plunder him), 316 not kill (lā tadukkāni, 2pl. pres. subj.) his killing (= not kill him), 317 not destroy (lā tuḥallaqāni) his name and his offspring from the land, 316-317 not cause Aššurbanipal, the great crown prince to seize (lā tušasbatāni) the throne of his father, --- (§12: 130-146; cf. Watanabe 1987, 150-151). In this case, the hypothesis ‘if someone should speak to you against Aššurbanipal’ is concerned with “you”, and the content is closely related to the hypotheses of extremely low probability, which in conditional clauses, are consistently made in the subjunctive. The case, in which someone tells ‘you’ about a rebellion, implies that the person seduces ‘you’ into joining the rebellion. Otherwise, nobody would tell ‘you’ about a rebellion.

§29 (in protasis\(^4\)): 338 If someone should cause you to plan (ušakpaṭiškanī, 3sg. pres. vent. p-suff. subj.) and say to you (iqabbākkanī, 3sg. pres. vent. p-suff. subj.), 337 (or) someone among his brothers, his uncles, his nephews, his family, 338 offspring of the

---

\(^{18}\) For pronominal suffix -kunu- instead of -kunu-, -šanu- instead of -šunu-, before Ass. subj. see von Soden 1995, §42k. As far as the text of the two fragments (VAT 10472 and VAT 12007) of the long version of ESOD shows, it has a similar content to §12 of the ESOD, see Frahm 2009, 130-132 and 253 (No. 67 and 68).
house of his father, or (someone among) eunuchs, or bearded ones, or citizens of Assyria, or citizens of other country, or all human beings as many as exist, should say to you (iqabbâkkanini): Esarhaddon his brothers, sons of his mother in front of him! Cause to smite (fight?) between them! Alienate his brothers, sons of his mother from his presence! And if you should hear (tasammâmi, 2pl. pres. subj.) (it, and) you should say (taqabbâni) something unfair (= not good) about his brothers in front of him, alienate him (taparrasâšini, 2pl. pres. p-suff. subj.) from his brothers, If you should let off (turammâšini, 2pl. pres. p-suff. subj.) the speaker who spoke this matter to you, (If) you should not come (lā tallakānenni, 2pl. pres. vent. subj.) to Aššurbanipal, the great crown prince, and should not say (lā taqabbâni, 2pl. pres. subj.:) “Your (sg.) father has established (this) oath about <you> with us (and) made us to swear (it),” --- (§29: 336-352; cf. Watanabe 1987, 158-161).

The usage of the subjunctive in these two sections does not diverge from the rule that the hypothesis is expressed in a conditional clause, which should be of extremely small possibility from the viewpoint of the speaker.

It is also significant to note the combined use of the subjunctive forms of the verbs: ‘to hear,’ ‘to conceal,’ ‘not to come,’ and ‘not to say,’ as in §6: “If you should hear (subj.) evil and unfair word (abutu lā de’iqtu/ṭābtu lā banītu/de’iqtu) ……, conceal (subj.) (it and) not come (subj.) to Aššurbanipal …, not say (subj.) to him, ---” (§6: 73-82; cf. Watanabe 1987, 146-149). The same combination is also found in §10. The combination of ‘to hear,’ ‘not to come,’ and ‘not to say’ is in ll.147-152 in §13 (Watanabe 1987, 150-151). Also see the combination of ‘to hear’ and ‘to conceal’ in the oath (cf. 7. following).

7. The Subjunctive in the Oath

For the usage of the subjunctive, it seems important, at this point, to examine the words of the “oath” placed in §57 (oath in the first person):

494-507 May these gods watch over (or: behold)! If we (anēnu) should make (neppašini, 1pl. pres. subj.) rebellion (sīḫu) (and) revolt (bārtu) against Esarhaddon, king of Assyria, against Aššurbanipal, the great crown prince, against his brothers, sons of the mother of Aššurbanipal the great crown prince, the other sons of Esarhaddon king of Assyria, --- (If) we should orientate (nišakkanī, 1pl. pres. subj.) our mouths (talk, or: speech, word) to his enemy, --- If we should hear (nišammī, 1pl. pres., subj.) and conceal (nupazzarīni) inciters (mušamḫīṣūtu), instigators (mušadbibūtu), and whispering of evil, not fair, not virtuous word (amāt lemutti lā ṭābtu lā banītu), talk of lies (and) of untruths against Aššurbanipal the great crown prince, and his brothers sons of the mother of Aššurbanipal the great crown prince, (the other very sons of Esarhaddon king of Assyria, our lord), --- (If we should) not tell (lā niqabbūn) Aššurbanipal the great crown prince, --- (If), as far as we, our sons, (and) our grandsons live, Aššurbanipal the great crown prince should not be our king, not be our lord, --- If we should seat another king (or) another prince over us, our sons (or) our grandsons, (then) may the gods, as many as named, hold us, our seed and our seed’s seed accountable (lubaʾʾū) (§57: 494-512; Watanabe 1987, 166-167).

In this section of oath, the main points of the ESOD are summarized. We can read that Esarhaddon’s largest cause of apprehension was that any plan about rebellion should be concealed. Such a plan must be reported as soon as someone should have heard of it. It is easy to understand that “hear and conceal” are directly combined and both verbs are in the subjunctive.

19 Cf. passages in a letter from Nabû-ušallim probably to Esarhaddon: "Aufgrund dessen, was ich sehe, höre und meinem Herrn, dem König, sage, um dessenwillen hassen mich viele Leute und reden davon, mich umbringen zu wollen. ...." (Sasi und der Stadtvorsteher aber sagen:) „Wir, wir handeln, wenn wir wollen, ganz nach unseren Belieben." Du (aber), warum bist du einer, der alles sieht, hört und (weiter)sagt? “ Frahm 2010, 92-95, ll.5-8 and 15-16. Cf. also Luukko and Van Buitenaere 2002 (SAA 16), no.21, 11-12; r. 7-8; etc.
VII. §30: Indicatives and Subjunctives in a Conditional Clause

§30 (II.353-359; in protasis) is now restored by the Tayinat version, and the mood of the verb in line 353 of the conditional clause has proved to be indicative (taḍaggalā), not subjunctive (taḍaggalā[ni]), as the present author had expected before. §30 is constructed of simple hypotheses and hypotheses of extremely small probability as the forgoing §14, §22, and §26.

(1) Score Transliteration of §30\textsuperscript{20}

\textbf{§30}

\begin{tabular}{ll}
353 & \begin{tabular}{l}
\textit{šu}m-\textit{m[a]} \textit{šá Ė UŠ-te} \\
\textit{šu}m-\textit{ma ta-\textit{d[a]} } [ \textit{GA}L\textit{šá Ė U[Š]} ] \\
\textit{t}\textit{a-da-ga-la} \textit{[n]}a \textit{UŠ-ti} \\
\textit{šu}m-\textit{ma ta-da-ga-la} \textit{a-na} \textit{aš-šur-DU-A DUMU MAN GAL-u šá Ė UŠ-te} \\
\end{tabular} \\
\hline
354 & \begin{tabular}{l}
\textit{š}EŠ.MEŠ-\textit{š[u]} \textit{š][u]-u[š] \\
\textit{k}an-\textit{šu-x[ ]} \\
\textit{ka[n]-šu'-uš} \\
\textit{šEŠ.MEŠ-šū la pal-ḫu-uš la kan-šu-uš} \\
\end{tabular} \\
\hline
355 & \begin{tabular}{l}
\textit{mə}-\textit{š}ar-\textit{l[u]} \textit{t[ ]u-n[u]} \\
\textit{a}t-tu-\textit{nu} \\
\textit{mə}-\textit{šar'}-[ ] \\
\textit{EN.NUN-šū la i-na-šu-ru at-tu}'nu} \\
\end{tabular} \\
\hline
356 & \begin{tabular}{l}
\textit{k}i-[ ]-rî'-[- ] \\
\textit{la ta-g[a] } \\
\textit{r}a-	extit{ma-[n]}i-	extit{ku-nu} \textit{t[a] tu'-ga-ri-a-ša-nu-u-[n]} \\
\textit{ki ra-ma-ni-ku-nu sa-a-li la ta-ga-ra-šū-nu-ni} \\
\end{tabular} \\
\hline
357 & \begin{tabular}{l}
pu'-[\textit{luh}'] \textit{b}[i-šū-[nu]} \\
\textit{in}a \textit{ŠÀ-šū-nu} \\
\textit{in}a \textit{ŠÀ-bi-šū-nu} \\
\textit{in}a \textit{ŠÀ-bi-šū-nu} \\
\textit{pu-luh-tù NÌG.BA.MEŠ-te } \textit{in}a \textit{ŠÀ-rî'-šū-nu} \\
\end{tabular} \\
\hline
\end{tabular}

\textsuperscript{20} ‘N27’ = N 4327; ‘N35+’ = N 4335+, and so on. ‘T v’ = Tayinat version, col. v.
Esarhaddon’s Succession Oath Documents Reconsidered in Light of the Tayinat Version

358

N27  
\[\text{[\textit{a}] } \text{Š[Å]} \]

N35+  
[ ] ma-a A[D]

N45C  
\[\text{la tu-še-} \]

ma-a AD-ku-nu ina ŠÅ-bi a-de-e

NX15+  
\[\text{la tu-še-x[} \]

ina ŠÅ a-de-e

T v 14-15a  
\[\text{la tu-še-rab-a-ni ma-a AD-} \]

\[\text{ku-nu} \] ina ŠÅ-bi a-de-e

359

N35+  
\[\text{i-s[a]} \]

N45C  
[ ] is-sa-kan ú-ta[m-ma-na(-a)-ši]

NX15+  
\[\text{is-sa-t[ar]} \]

T v 15b  
\[\text{is-sa-tar is-sa-kan ú-[f]am-ma-na-a-ši}\]

(2) A New Translation of §30

If you see (\textit{tadaggalā}, 2pl. pres. indic.), (and if) his brothers do not protect (\textit{ināṣṣurū}, 3pl. pres. indic.) Aššurbanipal, the great crown prince, reverently and submissively, (if) you should (then) not fight (\textit{lā tagarri<ā>šunūni/ lā tagarriāšanūni/ lā tagarrāšunūni}, 2pl. pres. p-suff. subj.) against them, as (if it were) for yourself, \textsuperscript{357-359} (and you should not cause fear to enter (\textit{lā tušerrabāni}, 2pl. pres. subj.) into their hearts (through) saying: ‘Your (pl.) father has written (it) in the \textit{adê} documents and established (the \textit{adê}) and he has made us to swear (it)’, --- (§30: 353-359)\textsuperscript{21}.

VIII. Esarhaddon’s Religious Reformation

1. Sennacherib and Esarhaddon

It is known to us that Sennacherib, father of Esarhaddon, endeavoured to raise the position of Aššur to the top of the pantheon, a higher position than that of Marduk, the Babylonian supreme god at that time. Along with this religious reformation, Sennacherib had dedicated to Aššur the Neo-Assyrian seal, which was later used for the sealing of the ESOD, to Aššur as the ‘Seal of Destinies,’ so that Aššur should seal the ‘Tablet of Destinies’. The Babylonian creation myth Enuma eliš (Tablet IV 122) tells that Marduk won the ‘Tablet of Destinies’ from Qingu and sealed it with his seal. We know also that Sennacherib had issued SSOD (see n. 3) for the crown prince Esarhaddon. The text VAT 11449 seems to be an excerpt from SSOD. However, Sennacherib could have used the seal of Aššur for the sealing of the original documents, to which the two fragments (VAT 10470 and 12007) probably belong (Frahm 2009, 130-133 and 253, no. 67-68).

Although it is not yet possible to discuss the difference between the SSOD and ESOD, the ESOD was certainly based on the SSOD, judging from the similar content and diction of the

\textsuperscript{21} Lauinger’s translation of §30 is based on that of Parpola’s (Parpola and Watanabe 1988, 43): “You will not look at Assurbanipal, the great crown prince designate, or his brothers without reverence or submission. If someone does not protect him, you will fight them as if fighting for yourselves. You will bring frightful terror into their hearts saying: ‘your (pl.) father wrote (this) in the \textit{adê}, he established it, and he has made us swear (it)’” (Lauinger 2012, 112). This is only one conditional (\textit{šumma-})clause, which Lauinger translated in his edition. He seems to adopt method (1) of translating a conditional clause (see VI. 1.). However, the first verb of §30 ‘look at’ is in the indicative both in T v 9 and T v 16 (of the dittography of § 30), see Lauinger 2012, 96.
fragments of the SSOD. Considering that Esarhaddon changed his father’s hostile Babylonian policy to one of conciliation, the ESOD was undoubtedly part of the main framework of Esarhaddon’s Babylonian policy; however, nothing concrete was mentioned in the ESOD.

2. “Aššur (is) Your God! Aššurbanipal (is) Your Lord!” (§34)

In the last part of §34 (decree 5), we find the decree concerning Aššur and Aššurbanipal. The reading “his sons” (DUMU.MEŠ-šú) in l.396 was restored by the Tayinat version. These passages will be discussed later again (see IX. 6.).

(1) Score transliteration of ll.393-396 in §34

393

N27 [ s]a-a-ti aš-šur DINGIR- [ ]
N36 a-na EGIR u₄-me a-na u₄-me ša-a-ti aš-šur DINGIR-ku-nu
N37 a-na EGIR u₄-me a-na --- ša-a-ti [ š]ur DINGIR-ku-nu
T v 58 a-na EGIR u₄-me a-na u₄-me ša-a-ti aš-šur DINGIR-ku-nu

394

N27 [ ] EN-ku-nu
N36 m aš-šur-DÛ-A DUMU MAN GAL šá Ń É UŠ₄-ti EN-ku-nu
N37 m aš-šur-DÛ-A DUMU MAN GA[L š]a É UŠ-ti [ -k]u-nu
T v 59 m aš-šur-DÛ-A DUMU MAN GAL šá É UŠ-te E[N]-ku-nu

395

N27 [ ] .MEŠ-šú lip-lu-ḫu
N36 DUMU.MEŠ-šú lip-lu-ḫu
N37 DUMU.MEŠ-šú lip-lu-ḫu
T v 60a DUMU.MEŠ-šú lip-lu-ḫu

396

N36 a-[ ME]Š-šú lip-lu-ḫu
N37 a-ʾna DUMU.MEŠ-šú lip-lu-ḫu
T v 60b a-ʾna DUMU.MEŠ-šú lip-lu-ḫu

(2) Translation of ll.393-396 in §34

393Henceforth and in the future (ana urki ūmē ana (ūmē) šātī), Aššur (is) your god (aššur ilkunu), Aššurbanipal, the great crown prince, (is) your lord (bēlkunu). May your sons and your grandsons fear his (= Aššurbanipal’s) sons.” (ll.393-396 in §34). 22

3. “To Protect (Honour) the Sealed Tablet as Your God” (§35)

§35 (relative clause 1; see above V. 7.) directly following §34, could now be restored by the
Tayinat version. This section is exceptional in that it is a relative clause formulated in Babylonian diction preceded by ša (whoever...) and serves as the protasis of the curses followed (apodoses). In the former part of the clause, the verbs are of Babylonian subjunctive -u; in the latter part, however, Assyrian subjunctive -ni. In addition, the last verb shows the second person plural, and the Assyrian subjunctive:

(1) Score transliteration of §35

§35

397  šá ma-miṣ ṭup-pi an-ni-x[ ]

398  i-ḫa-ṭu-u i-pa-sa-su x[ ]

399  [e-te]-qu”-ma i-par-ra-šu ma-miṣ-su-un

400  [ ] MAN DINGIR.MEŠ u DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ EN.MEŠ-iā

401  ṭup-pi aš-šur MAN "DINGIR’.MEŠ u DINGIR.’MEŠ GAL.MEŠ EN.”-MEŠ]-iā

402  lu ša-lam ”aš-šur-DÛ-A MAN KUR aš-šur

403  lu ša-lam Š[EŠ.MEŠ]-šú

404  lu ša-lam ŠES.MEŠ]-šú DUMU.AMA’ MEŠ-sú ša ’ina UGU]-[i-šu] ú-na-kar-u-ni
Part II: Studies in Prophecy, Lamentations and Oaths

405
N27 NA₄.KIŞIB NU[N²-e]
T v 68b-69a NA₄.KIŞIB <NUN-e> GAL-e an-ni-e šā a-de-e šā "aš-šur-DÙ-A DUMU MAN GAL

406
N27 šā É U[Ș]
T v 69b-70a šā É UŠ-te DUMU "aš-šur-PAP-AŠ MAN KUR aš-šur EN-ku-nu

407
N27 ina ŠÀ-bi šā-t[ir⁷⁷-u-ni] aš]-šur MAN DINGIR.MEŠ-ni
N29 [ in]a NA₄.KIŞIB šā ḍaš-šur MAN DINGIR.MEŠ-ni
T v 70b-71a ina ŠÀ šā-ṭir-u-ni ina NA₄.KIŞIB šā aš-šur LUGAL DINGIR.MEŠ

408
N27 ka-nik₇-u-ni ina [ ]-kin-u-ni
N29 [ in]a IGI-ku-nu šā-kin-u-ni
T v 71b-72a ka-nik-u-ni ina IGI-ku-nu šā-kin-u-ni

409
N27 ki-i 'DINGIR¹-ku-n[u la t]a-na-šar-a-ni
N29 k[i] la ta-na-šar-a-[ni]
T v 72b ki DINGIR-ku-nu la ta-na-"șar"-a-ni

(2) Translation of §35

Whoever (ša) changes (ennû, 3sg. pres. Bab. subj.), neglects (eggû, Bab. subj.), breaks (iḫaṭṭû, Bab. subj.) or cancels (ipassasu, Bab. subj.) the oath of this tablet (mamît ṭuppi annî), or moves away (ettequ, Bab. subj.), contravenes (iparraṣu, Bab. subj.) against the father, the lord, (and) the adê of the great gods, or removes (unakkarûma, Bab. subj. -ma) their entire oath, this tablet of adê, the tablet of Aššur, king of the gods, and of the great gods, my lords, or removes (unakkarûni, 3sg. pres. Ass. subj.) the relief (or statue) of Esarhaddon, king of Assyria, (or) the relief of Aššurbanipal, the great crown prince, or the relief of his brothers, of the sons of his mother(!), which are on the opposite side of him (ina muḫḫišu, l.404), or (whoever among) you do not protect (lā tanaṣṣarāni; 2pl. pres. Ass. subj.) this seal(ed tablet) of the great ruler (= Aššur) in which the adê of Aššurbanipal, the great crown prince, son of Esarhaddon, king of Assyria, your lord, is written (Ass. subj.), which is sealed (Ass. subj.) by the seal of Aššur, king of the gods, (and) placed (Ass. subj.) in front of you, as (kī) your god-- - (§35: 397-409)³³.

³³ Lauinger in translating §35, followed the translation of Parpola and Watanabe1988, 44-45: “Whoever changes, violates, or voids the oath of this tablet (and) transgresses against the father, the lord (and) the adê of the great gods(?) (and) breaks their entire oath, or whoever discards this adê-tablet, a tablet of Aššur, king of the gods, and the great gods, my lords, or whoever removes the statue of Esarhaddon, king of Assyria, the statue of Aššurbanipal, the great crown prince designate, or the statue(s) of this brothers (and) his sons which are over him --- you will guard like your god this sealed tablet of the great ruler on which is written the adê of Aššurbanipal, the great crown prince designate, the son of Esarhaddon, king of Assyria, your lord, which is sealed with the seal of Aššur, king of the gods, and which is set up before you” (Lauinger 2012, 112).
(3) Commentary to §35

397-399: The proper Babylonian subj. forms of the verbs are innû, iggû, and itti.ugi (in l. 399) = GU.

402-404: The word șalmu here assumingly doesn’t mean “statue” but rather “relief.” Some images (figures) of Esarhaddon and his sons seem to have been set it the place where the oath ceremony was performed, possibly in the form of reliefs cut on stone steles or plaques. It is difficult to understand ina muḫḫišu in l. 404; Lauinger translates “the statue(s) of this brothers (and) his sons which are over him” (Lauinger 2012, 112). The case of the famous large stone stele of Esarhaddon excavated at Sam‘al (Zincirli, Turkey) could be comparable; a large figure of Esarhaddon is carved on the frontispiece, a figure of Aššurbanipal on the right side, and a figure of Šamaš-šumu-ukîn on the left side (see Fig. 1, Fig. 2, and Fig. 3).²⁴ Probably, another similar stone stele, showing a figure of Aššrubanipal on one side and a figure(s) of his brother(s) on the opposite side (ina muḫḫišu), is referred in §35.


405: Some confusion with a conditional clause occurred here; the verb in the second person, plural, since the Ass. subj. (lā tanaṣṣarāni) is used. The next §36 (see VI. 4.) with similar content begins, however, with “if you” and is formulated as a conditional clause.

408: nik₂ = NAG (KA x A); nik = NIG (MĪ + UR).

IX. Legal, Religious, and Political Innovations and Their Aftermath

Esarhaddon carried out his religious reformation by means of ESOD. These were clay documents that could be mass-produced; they were original sealed documents, and widely disseminated through the people who brought them to their own homelands. These documents had legal, political and religious functions. In each function, we can find some innovations.

1. Mass-produced Sealed ‘Tablets of Destinies’

The clay tablets of ESOD certainly were much more successful as political propaganda than the Assyrian royal stone steles could have been, since stone was too precious for mass-production. Stone steles were much larger and impressive, but they could not be sealed.

From the legal and religious viewpoint, they were, so to speak, mass-produced original ‘tablets of destinies.’ Every copy was sealed with the three seals (Old Assyrian, Middle Assyrian and Neo-Assyrian seals) of Aššur. From the seal inscription, we at least know that the Neo-Assyrian seal of Aššur is the ‘seal of destinies’ (see Fig. 4), which was dedicated by Sennacherib to the supreme god Aššur, so that Aššur could seal the ‘tablet of destinies’ (cf. Watanabe 1985, 380-381). A. R. George argued that the Old Assyrian seal (see Fig. 5) could also be regarded as the ‘seal of destinies’ of Aššur, and that the adē tablets were elevated by the act of sealing to the status of “tablets of destinies” (cf. George 1986, 141).

According to some Mesopotamian myths (for example Anzu, Enuma Eliš), there had been only one ‘Tablet of Destinies’, which belonged to the supreme god. Since the complete text of

²⁴ Cf. Magen 1986, Tafel 23, 7 and Tafel 19, 5. The style of the figures of the brothers is different from that of the front side; these were probably added by an artist at Sam‘al. Cf. Staatliche Museen zu Berlin 1992, 182.
SSOD is not known to us, it is not possible to discuss the difference between the SSOD and ESOD.

George (1986) published a sort of ‘draft’ of the ‘Tablet of Destinies’ composed by Sennacherib’s office, which included the passage declaring that ‘Tablet of Destinies’ belongs to Aššur alone:

[O Aššur, father (?) of heaven, king of the gods, determiner of destinies, you alone (ēdiš) hold in your hands the Tablet of Destinies of the gods (George 1986, 134, 15-16).

It could be an innovation of Esarhaddon’s that he circulated numerous ‘tablets of destinies’ throughout his empire. It is, however, also important to remark that the name of the document was not the ‘tablet of destinies’, but adê. Esarhaddon broke out of the framework of Mesopotamian myth with a new conception of a document that was legal, political, religious, and also divine at the same time. The Aramaic loanword adê had been accepted in Assyria, as far as we know, at the time of Aššur-nērārī V (754-745 BC; cf. Watanabe 1987, 9). At the same time, ESOD enlarged the concept of adê, applying it also to the ‘Tablets of Destinies.’

2. Worship of ‘Tablets of Destinies’

The worshipping figure carved on the seals can be associated with the worshipping figures, standing and kneeling, of Tukultī-Ninurta I (1243-1207 BC) of the reliefs carved on the stone pedestal (or ‘cult platform’) excavated in Aššur (see Fig. 6). The inscription on it is a kind of a prayer and explains that Tukultī-Ninurta I dedicated the pedestal to Nusku:

Cult platform of the god Nusku, chief vizier (SUKKAL.MAḪ) of Ekur, bearer of the just sceptre, courtier (muzzizu) of the gods Aššur and Enlil, who daily repeats the prayers of Tukultī-Ninurta I, the king, his beloved, in the presence of the gods Aššur and Enlil and a destiny of power [for him] within Ekur […] may he [pronounce … the god Aššur, [my] lord, […] forever. (Lacuna) (Grayson 1987, 279-280).

The object of his worship is a tablet placed on the pedestal, which has the same shape as the excavated pedestal itself. A tablet is generally meant to symbolize the divine scribe Nabû. However, the present author rather supposes that Tukultī-Ninurta I is worshiping the ‘Tablet of Destinies’ of Aššur itself. Tukultī-Ninurta I was already known as one of the Assyrian kings who had identified Aššur with Enlil, who was charged with determining the destinies. If this assumption is correct, the worship of the ‘Tablet of Destinies’ by the king, at least, had a long history in Assyria.

Although the seal inscription of the Middle Assyrian seal impressed on the ESOD (see Fig. 7) is nearly illegible, it is possible that this seal is also the ‘Seal of Destinies’ dedicated by Tukultī-Ninurta I to Aššur. The figures on the impression are, from left to right, Aššur, an intermediary god, a kneeling worshipper (probably Tukultī-Ninurta I), and Adad. The intermediary god who is standing between Aššur and the worshipper is now assumed to be Nusku.

Presumably, Esarhaddon, knowing the tradition of worshipping the ‘Tablet of Destinies,’ demanded the protection of the sealed tablet of the ESOD “as your god.” It could be one of his theological globalizations of the ‘Tablet of Destinies’ and of the Assyrian local god Aššur for the people outside of the Mesopotamian tradition.
3. The Enshrinement of the Tablets of ESOD

The clay tablets of the ESOD are quite unique in that they are the largest ones and are read in the same direction on the reverse as the obverse; they are meant to stand like a stone stele and to be read while going around them. It is extremely significant that the Tayinat version was excavated in situ, on the podium in the back chamber of the precinct. According to Lauinger, a hole is drilled into the tablet, through which the tablet seems to have been fixed (see Lauinger 2011, 11).

In the text, Esarhaddon proclaimed that Aššur would be the god of the people who were under Assyrian domination (§34, see VIII. 2.). Not only the Assyrian governors, but also other foreign rulers would be able to enshrine these sealed tablets in their own holy places.

Through this religious reformation, an originally local god, the deification of the place called Aššur, rose unequivocally to the position of a global deity. However, it is probable that Esarhaddon didn’t demand worship of Aššur alone, but of Aššur “as one of your god(s).” In any case, it seems to have functioned, in practice, as a demand that people could interpret however they liked.

4. ‘Religion Based on Covenant’

It is my supposition that this last phase of the Assyrian religion brought about by Esarhaddon a short time later, became the background for Josiah’s reformation in which, the written legal document (a core part of Deuteronomy) played a central role.

It is noteworthy that George E. Mendenhall raised awareness concerning the relation between the biblical covenants and the ancient legal documents, especially Hittite “vassal treaties,” based on the theory of V. Korošec (1931). According to Mendenhall:

When the statement is made that religion is based on covenant, it implies that a form of action, which originated in legal custom has been transferred to the field of religion (Mendenhall 1954, 50).

Mendenhall, however, argued that the original form of “the covenant of Moses” (Exodus 19-24) and “the covenant of Joshua” (Joshua 24) were based on the formula of the Hittite “vassal treaties” and they could even be dated to the time when the Hittite “treaty form was still living” (Mendenhall 1954, 67). One year after this argument by Mendenhall, the Nimrud Version of ESOD was excavated in Nimrud. And Wiseman postulated that the form of treaties had already been ‘standardised’ by the Hittite Empire and it “remained basically unchanged through Neo-Assyrian times” (Wiseman 1958, 28).

Apart from the historicity of Moses,25 oaths were in principle made before (or by) gods, divine symbols, or name(s) of god(s), and only rarely, of a king. The conception of religion based on covenant and the sacralization or adoration of the legal document in which the covenant was inscribed, were probably much more influenced by the adê documents, which Esarhaddon introduced to his empire, than the Hittite ‘treaties.’ However, the Hittite ‘treaties’ now require

---

25 Mendenhall also argued that the role of Moses was different from that of the Hittite king; “Contrary to the usual procedure, the Israelites did not bind themselves by oath to obey Moses as their leader. Instead, following the form of suzerainty treaties, they were bound to obey certain stipulations imposed by Yahweh Himself. Moses’ role in the whole proceeding is described merely as that of messenger — he is himself not a party to the covenant” (Mendenhall 1954, 63).
new, comprehensive study. A text named ‘covenant’ or ‘treaty’ could have religious aspects along with legal and political ones.

Every adê document is written according to its purpose, and its formula varies according to each situation (cf. Parpola and Watanabe 1988, 8-77). The ESOD were composed for all people under Assyrian domination, but they were more concerned with internal affairs. Esarhaddon should have worried the most about Aššurbanipal’s brothers and the people around them, and then the Assyrian officials, the Babylonians, and other foreigners. The ESOD were not treaties, and it was unnecessary, impertinent, and even impossible to attach a ‘historical prologue’ to them.

5. Monotheistic Tendency of Aššur and Exclusive Loyalty to Aššurbanipal

Aššur, the originally deified place, was a unique deity, as W. G. Lambert had argued (Lambert 1983). And the worship of Aššur maintained a sort of monotheistic tendency throughout his long-term historical development, at least in the official religion of Assyria. At its final stage, the tendency seems to have been strengthened by Esarhaddon’s promulgation of the ESOD.

The ESOD name many gods and never insist on the exclusive adoration of Aššur. However, the ESOD proclaim that Aššur should be the god of all subjects of Assryia and repeatedly demand exclusive loyalty to Aššurbanipal. B. Lang seems to have correctly pointed out that the demand of the exclusive adoration of Yahweh in the biblical texts is in accord with the demand of the exclusive loyalty to Aššurbanipal in the ESOD.

It can be assumed that the powerful religious legacy of the ESOD influenced the establishment of the monotheistic religion based on the written covenant. Of course, Josiah’s reformation was based on an ingenious tradition, and it continued developing beyond the Exile. It is, however, undeniable, that Esarhaddon prepared an effective global standard for a religion-based covenant as a background.

Esarhaddon had surely learned that loyalty could not be guaranteed by arms. He stressed wholeheartedly loyalty, which recalls us the passage in Deuteronomy 6:4-5: “Hear, O Israel: Your God Yahweh is one; 5 Love Yahweh your God with all your heart and with all your soul and with all your strength.”

6. Purposes of the ESOD

The central matter of the ESOD, named as adê, is the ‘succession oath.’ However, they are not normal ‘oath documents.’ If a man imposes upon someone to take an oath, theoretically, the person who takes the oath should seal his oath document, and the man who made the imposition, should keep the document. If it concerns matters like tribute or loyalty, the situation is still the same. The ESOD were in fact sealed by the supreme god like the ‘Tablets of Destinies.’ They

---

26 Cf. for example the recent study of Altman 2010; Christiansen 2012.
27 “Among the biblical stipulations are several that are either akin to or clearly patterned on passages in Assyrian treaties. The requirement for the exclusive worship of Yahweh corresponds to the exclusive loyalty demanded of the vassal” (Lang 2002, 39). And Lang references §§17 and 25 in the ESOD (Lang 2002, 219, n.53), but §§5, 8, 11, 19, and 20 should also be referenced.
were not held by the supreme god alone, but were handed to each person who took the oath, and was ordered to protect them as something divine. The deterrent effect against oath breaking would have generated from the awe-inspiring power of the document itself. The triple sealing by Aššur, representing all divine witnesses, served to insure that the numerous written curses would be realized in the case of oath breaking. As the old Akkadian word māmītu(m) means both “oath” and “curse”, so is the case of the word adê.

The ESOD were sealed, original, and deified legal documents, that functioned as mass-produced media of visual political propaganda for every one under the largest Assyrian empire. The decree “Aššur is your god, Aššurbanipal is your lord” (in §34) was also promulgated to the all people. Moreover, the next words of this decree prescribe that the Aššurbanipal’s sons should follow his throne (see VIII. 2; see also ESOD §22 (see VI. 5.) and §23).

The main purpose of the ESOD was evidently to avoid any conflicts the disaffected brothers of Aššurbanipal might cause, and especially, to contain ‘the brother’ Šamaš-šumu-ukīn and the Babylonians under him, and to place Babylonia in the position of puppet-state under Assyria. And this point was only alluded to, with Šamaš-šumu-ukīn’s name mentioned only twice (see VI. 3. and n.15), as if he and the Babylonians were out of the range of the ESOD. However, Esarhaddon’s intention is inferable from the elaborate collection of Babylonian traditional curses and the Babylonian diction in parts of the ESOD that were mainly composed in Neo-Assyrian language.

References


Eidem, J. 2011: The Royal Archives from Tell Leilan: Old Babylonian Letters and Treaties from the Lower Town Palace East, Leiden.


Part II: Studies in Prophecy, Lamentations and Oaths

Laessöe, J. 1963: People of Ancient Assyria (Trans. from the Danish by F. L. Browne).
Lauinger, J. 2012: “Esarhaddon’s Succession Treaty at Tell Tayinat: Text and Commentary,” JCS 64, 87-123.
Weidner, E. F. 1939-1940: “Assurbânîpal in Assur,” AJO 13, 204-218, Tl. XIV.
Table 1. Construction of ESOD

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Blocks of lines and §§</th>
<th>Caption of seals</th>
<th>Elements (1)</th>
<th>(2)</th>
<th>(3)</th>
<th>(4)</th>
<th>(5)</th>
<th>(6)</th>
<th>(7)</th>
<th>(8)</th>
<th>(9)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Caption</td>
<td>i-iv</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>§§1-2</td>
<td>1-24</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>§3</td>
<td>25-40</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>§4</td>
<td>41-45</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>§4</td>
<td>46-49</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>§§4-6</td>
<td>49A-82</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>§7</td>
<td>83-91</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>§§8-17</td>
<td>92-197</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>§18</td>
<td>198-211</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>§§19-27</td>
<td>212-327</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>§28</td>
<td>328-335</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>§§29-33</td>
<td>336-381</td>
<td>(4)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>§33</td>
<td>381-384</td>
<td>(4)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>§34</td>
<td>385-392</td>
<td>(5)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>§34</td>
<td>393-396</td>
<td>(5)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>§35</td>
<td>397-409</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>§36</td>
<td>410-413</td>
<td>(6)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>§§37-56</td>
<td>414-493</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>§57</td>
<td>494-512</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>§58</td>
<td>513-517</td>
<td>(7)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>§§58-62</td>
<td>518-525</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>§§63-68</td>
<td>526-546</td>
<td>(8)* (7)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>§§69-70</td>
<td>547-554</td>
<td>(9)* (7)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>§71</td>
<td>555A-555B</td>
<td>(10)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>§71</td>
<td>555-559</td>
<td>(5)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>§72</td>
<td>560-562</td>
<td>(11)* (7)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>§73</td>
<td>563-566</td>
<td>(12)* (7)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>§74</td>
<td>567</td>
<td>(13)* (7)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>§§75-76</td>
<td>568-572</td>
<td>(14)* (7)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>§77</td>
<td>573-575</td>
<td>(15)* (7)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>§78</td>
<td>576-578</td>
<td>(16)* (7)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>§79</td>
<td>579-581</td>
<td>(17)* (7)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>§80</td>
<td>582-584</td>
<td>(18)* (7)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>§81</td>
<td>585-587</td>
<td>(19)* (7)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>§82</td>
<td>588-590</td>
<td>(20)* (7)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>§83</td>
<td>591-593</td>
<td>(21)* (7)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>§84</td>
<td>594-598</td>
<td>(22)* (7)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>§85</td>
<td>599-600</td>
<td>(23)* (7)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>§§86-87</td>
<td>601-605</td>
<td>(24)* (7)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>§§88-89</td>
<td>606-611</td>
<td>(25)* (7)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>§90</td>
<td>612A-612B</td>
<td>(26)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>§§90-95</td>
<td>612-631</td>
<td>(21)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>§96</td>
<td>632-634</td>
<td>(27)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>§§96-96A</td>
<td>635-636c</td>
<td>(22)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>§§97-100</td>
<td>637-648</td>
<td>(28)* (27)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>§§101-106</td>
<td>649-663</td>
<td>(29)* (27)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>§107</td>
<td>664-670</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Only once : (1) , (6) , (8) , (9) .

* 'v' = directly followed by apodosis.
* = 'ditto' (at least in one text) referring the repetition of the conditional clause given in ( ) as number.
Fig. 1: Frontispiece of Esarhaddon’s stele from Sam‘al. Height 318 cm. Staatliche Museen zu Berlin 1992, 180, no.116.

Fig. 2: Relief of Aššurbanipal on right side of Esarhaddon’s stele. Staatliche Museen zu Berlin 1992, 182, no.118.

Fig. 3: Ichnography of the Esarhaddon’s stele. Parpola and Watanabe 1988, 20. Originally: Börker, Klähn 1982, no. 219.
Esarhaddon’s Succession Oath Documents Reconsidered in Light of the Tayinat Version

Fig. 4: Reconstructed impression of a Neo-Assyrian seal. Height 55mm. Wiseman 1958, 16.

Fig. 5: Reconstructed impression of an Old Assyrian seal. Height 34 mm. Wiseman 1958, 18.
Fig. 6: The stone pedestal dedicated to Nusku by Tukulti-Ninurta I from Aššur. Height 60 cm. Staatliche Museen zu Berlin 1992, 160-161, no.103.

Fig. 7: Reconstructed impression of a Middle Assyrian seal. Height 70 mm. Wiseman 1958, 21.