



WHO WAS KING? WHO WAS NOT KING?

edited by
Petr Charvát – Petra Maříková Vlčková

Prague
2010

Who Was King? Who Was Not King?

The Rulers and the Ruled in the Ancient Near East

Petr Charvát – Petra Maříková Vlčková (eds.)

Institute of Archaeology of the Academy
of Sciences of the Czech Republic, Prague, v.v.i.

Prague 2010

Reviewed by Jean-Louis Huot and Jean-Jacques Glassner

The publication of this volume was financed from the funds of the Grant Agency of the Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic at Prague, grant project No. IAA8000 20804 "Who was king? Who was not king? The rulers and the ruled in the ancient Near East"

© Institute of Archaeology of the Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic, Prague, v.v.i., 2010

Photography: personal archives of the authors and participating institutions
(Fig. 9.2: Israel Antiquities Authority), 2010

Illustrations: authors and participating institutions, 2010

Type-setting layout: AGAMA® poly-grafický atelier, s.r.o., Na Výši 424/4, Praha 5

ISBN 978-80-87365-37-3

Content / Inhalt / Table de matières

Who Was King? Who Was Not King? <i>(Petr Charvát – Petra Maříková Vlčková – Lukáš Pecha)</i>	VII
List of Abbreviations / Abkürzungsverzeichnis / Abréviations utilisées	IX
List of Tables and Figures / Tabellen- und Abbildungenverzeichnis / Liste des tableaux et figures	XV

Chapter 1

**“The Poor Are the Silent Ones in the Country”. On the Loss of Legitimacy;
Challenging Power in Early Mesopotamia** *(Gebhard J. Selz)* 1

Modern historians of ancient Mesopotamia are chiefly concerned with the deeds of the kings and mainly use sources which reflect conditions at the apex of Mesopotamian society. This paper attempts to investigate possible traces of discontent and opposition as well as the criteria involving the loss of the legitimacy of power in Early Mesopotamia. We will deal with two major types of sources: the early curse formulas in “royal” inscriptions, and the school-based tradition of Sumerian proverbs. Especially the latter allow for a more socially-balanced understanding of history.

Chapter 2

The Earliest History of the Kingdom of Kiš *(Petr Charvát)* 16

A black-stone bas-relief from Kiš, dating probably to the Uruk IV–III period, shows a scene interpreted, with recourse to an earlier image documented on one of the sealings from Susa B (= Susa Acropole 27–23) as depicting a symbolic transfer of political power. The possibility of a legitimization of the earliest kingdom of Kish from a source other than the Uruk-age Uruk polity is considered, and the possible consequences of such an act are weighed against the testimony of written sources of the ED I–III period.

Chapter 3

**Représentation et légitimation du pouvoir royal aux époques
néo-sumérienne et amorrite** *(Bertrand Lafont)* 23

Dans la haute histoire du Proche-Orient ancien, l'image qu'offre l'institution royale est complexe et variée. Le titre même de LUGAL, « roi », est susceptible d'avoir été interprété de diverses façons. Cet article vise à montrer que, entre les deux périodes d'Ur néo-sumérienne et de Mari amorrite (fin du III^e millénaire – début du II^e millénaire avant notre ère), le fil de certaines traditions touchant à l'institution royale et à la conception qu'on en avait ne fut jamais complètement interrompu, malgré la différence des contextes géographique et socio-historique. Plusieurs exemples sont pris dans les documentations de l'époque d'Ur III et de celle du temps des rois amorrites de Mari : persistance de l'héritage culturel sumérien, sacralisation de la personne du roi, élection divine du souverain, attributs royaux, rôle symbolique des équidés.

Chapter 4

History and Ideology in the Old Babylonian Year Names (*Lukáš Pecha*) 38

The year names of Old Babylonian kings represent a very useful source of information not only on the contemporary royal ideology, but also on some historical events that were mentioned in those texts. In this contribution, the year names issued by the kings of Isin, Larsa and Babylon are compared. There are marked distinctions among the year names of the three dynasties with regard to the nature of events mentioned in them. In the year names of Isin dynasty, there are virtually no allusions to wars, whereas both the dynasties of Larsa and Babylon relatively frequently mention military successes. The year names of Babylon, unlike those of Isin and Larsa, contain no mentions of appointment of cultic personnel by the king. Further, in the year names of the Larsa dynasty, legal activity of the kings is completely omitted, while in the year names of Isin and Babylon such deeds occasionally figure. Besides, an interesting development can be observed during the reign of the 1st Dynasty of Babylon. In the late Old Babylonian period, the number of dedications of votive objects constantly rises whereas large building projects and military events are mentioned less frequently. This can perhaps be understood as a reflection of the gradual decline of the Old Babylonian state.

Chapter 5

König Ḫammurapi und die Babylonier: Wem übertrug der Kodex Ḫammurapi die Rechtspflege? (*Walther Sallaberger*) 46

Ḫammurapi von Babylon schuf seine Gesetze für die Menschen seines Landes, vertreten durch ihre Götter, anlässlich der Neuordnung des Reichs. Es stellt sich die Frage, wie das im Kodex Ḫammurapi festgelegte Recht weiterhin gepflegt und erhalten werden sollte. Der Epilog scheint diese Aufgabe dem Nachfolger zuzuweisen, doch lassen sich in den rechtlichen Regelungen selbst drei zentrale Prinzipien erkennen: 1.) das Schriftlichkeitsprinzip bei Rechtsgeschäften, 2.) die Verpflichtung des Einzelnen zur gesellschaftlichen Verantwortung und 3.) die Fürsorgepflicht der städtischen Institutionen gegenüber dem Individuum. Das Rechtswesen erfordert und fördert also eine autarke Ordnung in der Zivilgesellschaft, im Prinzip zunächst unabhängig vom jeweiligen Königtum. Dem Palast werden dabei juristische Grenzen seines Handelns gezogen, so dass die Gesetze Ḫammurapis auch nicht zu einer Stärkung von Eliten aus dem Umfeld des Palastes führen.

Chapter 6

The Daughters of the Kings of Babylon and their Role in the Old Babylonian Economy and Society (*Witold Tyborowski*) 59

A very interesting fact connected with the *nadītum* priestesses of Šamaš in Sippar is that one can find daughters of the kings of Babylon among them. Formally they were ordinary priestesses and surely they performed the same duties as the other women of that profession. Apart from that as many other *nadītum*, the king's daughters possessed land and other commodities which were necessary for their living and like the other priestesses they did business to make profit with it. One might expect also, that the presence and activity of the Babylonian princesses in the Sippar cloister might be significant somehow and it might be an informal link between the palace and the clergy and the city. However, the analysis of documents concerning the activity of the princesses shows that this did not happen and especially Iltani, daughter of Abī-ešuh might have separated herself from the other *nadītum* and from the clergy of the Šamaš temple and cloister. Thus her life in Sippar did not have any major significance for the social life of the local community.

Chapter 7

To Be King, or Not to Be King, or Much Ado About Nothing? The Concept of Royalty in the Amarna Correspondence (*Jana Mynářová*) 71

It has already been confirmed by a series of studies that the corpus of the Amarna letters, dated to the middle of the fourteenth century BCE, can be considered a set of diplomatic documents in all aspects entailed in this expression. This corpus of letters is hence closely related to the stage

of international politics. But who was (a) king in the Amarna correspondence? Based on the textual analysis it is obvious that the political and social dependency of the local kinglets of Syria-Palestine upon the king of Egypt is evident not only from their frequent pleas for help but unambiguously also from the manner in which the Pharaoh is identified. It is the aim of this study to discuss several aspects of the king's address attested in the respective bodies of the Amarna letters.

Chapter 8

Wer war der (erste ugaritische) König? (Pavel Čech)

85

Antike Königslisten werden in der Altorientalistik – mit der Ausnahme der Angaben, die sich solcher Deutung durch entstellte Namen oder gekünstelte Lebensdauerangaben vom Haus aus widerstreben – hauptsächlich als historische Quellen angesehen und gewertet. Aber manchmal dienen die Königslisten primär keinen historiographischen oder chronographischen Zwecken, sondern sind eher Ausdruck politischer Theologie und deshalb Objekt der Soziolinguistik. Auf dem Beispiel der ugaritischen Königsliste wird dargestellt, dass ihre ersten Namen sog. Charaktonyme sind, welche die ugaritische Gründungslegende wiedergeben, somit die Stellung des Stadtstaates in der Region definieren und zugleich Mittel zur Lösung potenzieller Probleme entwerfen. Die in diesen Charaktonymen verschlüsselte Nachricht kann unter Umständen auf der geographischen, historiographischen, mythologischen oder anderen Ebene gelesen werden, was durch strukturelle Ähnlichkeiten zur alttestamentlichen und anderen Gründungserzählungen veranschaulicht wird.

Chapter 9

Jehu, the King of Israel who Repaid and Paid. 'Last' King of Omride Dynasty according to Neo-Assyrian, Aramaean and Biblical Historiography (Filip Čapek)

95

King Jehu (842–815 BCE), the ruler of the Northern Israel, is according to 2 Kings 9–11 responsible for a *coup d'état* and for the slaughter of two kings, namely the Israelite Jehoram and Judean Ahaziah. Moreover, the killing of Jehoram entails the very end of the influential Omride dynasty. This contribution tries to settle problems related to the image of Jehu provided by external, non-biblical evidence, which makes king's image far from unambiguous. Neo-Assyrian documents (COS 2.113D, COS 2.113E, and COS 2.113F) depict Jehu as a weak ruler at the margin of the expanding Assyrian empire, whose existence is determined by Šalmaneser III (858–824 BCE) and the Aramaic Tel Dan inscription (COS 2.39) ascribes the responsibility for the termination of the two kings mentioned above to the Aramaean king Hazael (842–805 BCE) and not to Jehu. Who was then Jehu in reality, what was his relation to the Omrides, and what forces stood behind the literary construction of his biblical portrayal?

Chapter 10

Adad-šumu-ušur and his Family in the Service of Assyrian Kings (Kateřina Šašková)

113

From Neo-Assyrian period, there is preserved a number of texts dealing with different aspects of Assyrian scholarship. A huge amount of these texts related to scholars at the Assyrian royal court date back to the relatively short period of time, from the reign of kings Esarhaddon and Aššurbanipal, however, it is highly probable that even the other Neo-Assyrian kings regularly received reports and letters from their scholars. Assyrian royal scholars were very respectable and well-educated persons. Besides obvious knowledge of reading and writing, these people mastered one of the important disciplines of Mesopotamian learning, nevertheless, their education was much broader and contained knowledge of many other fields. It is evident that scholars were indispensable persons at the royal court. They used to look after the ruler within their discipline in which they were educated. However, they also used to fulfil tasks which were related to their field only very little or not at all. From the preserved texts it is apparent that the important offices

in the king's vicinity were shared only by some privileged families and family relations inside the group of king's closest scholars are documented very frequently. The family of Adad-šumu-ušur is likely to be the most significant example, because members of this family evidently used to work in the service of Assyrian kings for nearly 250 years.

Chapter 11

The Rulers and the Ruled in Achaemenid Art (*Michael Roaf*) 131

The royal monuments of the Achaemenid Persian dynasty illustrate the ruler and the ruled, i.e. the king and his subjects, who are depicted as representatives or delegations of distinct peoples. Current scholarship considers that these illustrations indicate an ideology of Persian kingship radically different from that of earlier and later empires, namely one in which there existed a mutually beneficial, harmonious relationship between the ruler and the ruled. A recently published article has suggested that in the delegations of subject peoples it is possible to identify and, in some cases, name both satraps and kings, who might be thought of as rulers among the ruled. This chapter discusses these proposals and reaches the conclusion that neither of them is supported by the available evidence.

Chapter 12

The Portrait of Nabonidus and Cyrus in Their (?) Chronicle. When and Why the Present Version Was Composed (*Stefan Zawadzki*) 142

Scholars regard the Nabonidus Chronicle as one of the most important sources for the reconstruction of the reign of Nabonidus, but there has been a lack of the requisite contemplation concerning the message it contains, and of discussion regarding the circumstances under which the present version, with its message, was composed. The argument put forward in the article suggests that fundamental changes were made to the original text of the Chronicle soon after the fall of Babylon in 539 BC, as a result of which the most positive figure in the Chronicle is not Nabonidus but Cyrus.

Index 155

“Who Was King? Who Was Not King?” The Rulers and the Ruled in the Ancient Near East

Petr Charvát – Petra Maříková Vlčková – Lukáš Pecha

The title of this volume of studies, which may sound somewhat surprising, does, of course, allude to the famous dictum by which, nearly four millennia ago, the Sumerian King List characterized the political situation in the lands of Sumer and Akkad after the demise of the Akkadian royal dynasty, by and large, in the 22nd century before the common era. As such, it sets before our faces the very first instance where one of the fundamental categories of human history appears to have been put into doubt so serious that the bearers of the cuneiform civilization of ancient Mesopotamia felt that the very existence of state had been put into jeopardy.

Incidentally, after four millennia of human history or so, we have chosen this title in order not only to investigate the nature, structure, reliability and, so to speak, stamina of the ancient Mesopotamian state, but also to put to a serious test our own ability to comprehend the historical features determining the main currents of ancient Near Eastern history.

It fills us with pride and honour that this undertaking, one of the very first in recent history of central Europe, has been taking place under the patronage of the Institute of Archaeology of the Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic in Prague. This Institute, which can rightfully look back at a long and remarkable history of scholarly endeavour, has recently expanded its field of vision not only into issues of European, but also of universal archaeology and history. Suffice it here only to remind the readers of the effort of Institute of Archaeology research specialists to elucidate historical problems of ancient Egypt, not speaking about the work aimed at the full appreciation of one of the Institute's most durable achievements, that of its Mongolian expedition of 1958. With a laudable intention to pursue the gathering of knowledge of ancient societies still further, specialists from the Institute are now submitting before their learned audience results of a three-year project aimed at the investigation of the nature of the state in ancient Mesopotamia and the Near East.

Another remarkable feature of this undertaking lies in the fact that our project has been linking the efforts of scholars all over the area of the central Europe. Academic cooperation between specialists working in institutions of learning and of the pursuit of high studies has always belonged to one of the traditions of this part of the world, and it gives us a great pleasure to refresh these contacts, severed for a considerable time by the adversities of the history of 20th century AD. We owe to our colleagues from Poznań, Budapest, Wien (Vienna), München (Munich) and Paris a great debt of gratitude for having been kind enough to accept our invitation, to come to Prague and to have shared with us their expert knowledge and deep wisdom.

The scholars who exchanged their views during a common session which took place on the premises of the Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic at Prague from April 14th to April 16th, 2010, submitted contributions included in this volume of studies. Should we be proposing general historical conclusions which follow out of these scholarly efforts,

it seems to us that we have outlined the main trends of the state development in the ancient Near East in terms of three subsequent phases.

For the third pre-Christian millennium, the nature of the state may be termed theocratic. This does not mean that the suzerains would have ruled their states solely as representatives of their gods. It seems rather that anyone putting himself forward as a sovereign ruler had to possess a special “inner” qualification, a personal quality indicating that the exercise of public power by the throne-keeper in question was approved, and applauded, by the gods of the Sumerian world. This principle seems to have been operative long before Narām-Sîn and then Šulgi cast it into an official garb by adopting divine status. The case of Šulgi seems particularly instructive: the numerous hymns sung in praise of him sound alien to us, but we have to acknowledge the fact that for the very functioning of the state, the superhuman nature of its chief representative was of key importance.

This changed fundamentally with the advent of the second millennium. King Ḫammurapi did not feel any need to claim divine status, as his immense power clearly represented the common consent of people living in what may be termed the corporate state. The Old Babylonian and Kassite kings did not derive their power from divine sources, but from the fact that they devised, put into operation and engineered an overall scheme of social co-operation and participation in projects carried out for common good which met with public approval, and in which the non-royal sector of Mesopotamian society willingly participated. Of course, this took place only insofar as the non-royal élites saw it sensible to upkeep the image of supreme royal power for the sake of common utility, or insofar as the Mesopotamian royal office did not meet with the onslaught of an external threat the impact of which it could not sustain.

Things went still farther in the first millennium BCE. The huge states and empires of this age, with their multitudes of subject nations, creeds and languages, could no longer claim legitimacy deriving from one single source or one single society. In the Babel of languages and cultures characterizing first-millennium metropolitan states, the rulers deemed it expedient to return to the age-old notion of suzerains holding their power as representatives of the gods, indeed, gradually assuming the garb of the gods themselves. All the subject nations had to comprehend that the divine endowments of their rulers kept the states under control, maintained the day-to-day functioning of the essentials of the social engines and represented the pledge of general security of life, property and ‘civic rights’. This was achieved through the fiction of the benevolent rulers full of wisdom, compassion, valour and munificence, shedding the rays of their beneficent light over the nations subjected to their all-encompassing suzerainty. Born within the Assyrian empire, this concept came to its first peak in the realms of the Achaemenid rulers, spreading from there to the Hellenistic states and finding its second climax in the Roman Empire.

It is only with the return of worldly power from where it had once sprung – to heaven – with Christianity that a new cycle of development of the state began. That phenomenon, however, belongs already to the history of the Middle Ages.

We now submit the fruit of our scholarly efforts to our readers, hoping from all our hearts that they will weigh us and find us at least not light with error, presumption or vanity.

This publication represents a research output of a grant project supported by the Grant Agency of the Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic in Prague under the No. IAA8000 20804. We duly acknowledge our debt of gratitude to this sponsoring body.

Prague and Brussels, in this month of October 2010.

List of Abbreviations / Abkürzungsverzeichnis / Abréviations utilisées

1 Kings	The Bible, Old Testament, the 1 st Book of Kings.
2 Kings	The Bible, Old Testament, the 2 nd Book of Kings.
AB	Assyriologische Bibliothek (11: <i>Meissner 1893</i>). Leipzig.
ABAW NF	Abhandlungen der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Neue Folge (72: <i>Edzard 1970</i>). München: BAW.
AbB	siglum for the texts from Kraus, F.R. (ed.): <i>Altbabylonische Briefe im Umschrift und Übersetzung</i> (2: <i>Kraus 1964</i> ; 5: <i>Kraus 1972</i> ; 6: <i>Frankena 1974</i> ; 7: <i>Kraus 1977</i> ; 9: <i>Stol 1981</i> ; 10: <i>Kraus 1985</i> ; 11: <i>Stol 1986</i> ; 13: <i>van Soldt 1994</i>). Leiden – Boston – Köln: Brill 1964ff.
ABC	Grayson, A.K. <i>Assyrian and Babylonian Chronicles</i> . Locust Valley – Glückstadt: J.J. Augustin 1975.
Ad	Ammī-ditāna.
Ae	Abī-ešūḫ.
AfO	Archiv für Orientforschung. Berlin – Gratz – Vienna: Institut für Orientalistik der Universität Wien.
AJA	American Journal of Archaeology. Boston: Archaeological Institute of America.
AJAH	American Journal of Ancient History. New Brunswick: Rutgers, The State University of New Jersey.
AHw	von Soden, W. <i>Akkadisches Handwörterbuch</i> . 3 vol. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz 1959–1981.
AMI (NF)	Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran, Neue Folge (10: <i>von Soden 1983</i>). Teheran: DAI.
ANET	Pritchard, J.B. (ed.): <i>Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament</i> . Princeton: Princeton University Press 1969 (1974).
AnSt	Anatolian Studies. Ankara: the British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara.
Anm.	Anmerkung.
AO	Antiquités orientales, Département des Antiquités Orientales, Musée du Louvre, Paris.
AOAT	Alter Orient und Altes Testament (1: <i>Deller 1969</i> ; 2: <i>Hunger 1968</i> ; 5/1: <i>Parpola 1970</i> ; 5/2: <i>Parpola 1983</i> ; 4/1: <i>Berger 1973</i> ; 25: <i>Eichler 1976</i> ; 33: <i>Borger 1981</i> ; 252: <i>Stol 1999</i> ; 267: <i>Klengel 1999</i> ; 256: <i>Schaudig 1998</i> ; 273: <i>Tropper 2000</i> ; 274: <i>Waetzoldt 2003</i> ; 281: <i>Loretz et al. 2002</i> ; 324: <i>van Soldt 2005</i> ; 325: <i>Seminara 2005</i>). Kevelaer – Neukirchen - Vluyn – Münster: Butzon und Bercker – Neukirchener Verlag – Ugarit-Verlag.
AoF	Altorientalische Forschungen. Berlin: Institut für Altorientalistik der Freien Universität Berlin.
ARM	Archives royales de Mari (6: <i>Kupper 1954</i> ; 10: <i>Dossin 1978</i> ; 18: <i>Rouault 1977</i> ; 26/2: <i>Charpin 1988</i> ; 30: <i>Durand 2009</i> ; 31: <i>Guichard 2005</i>). Paris: ERC.
ArOr	Archiv Orientální. Prague: Oriental Institute of the Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic, Prague.
AS	Assyriological Studies (16: <i>Güterbock – Jacobsen 1965</i> ; 21: <i>Gelb 1980</i> ; 22: <i>Whiting 1987</i>). Chicago: Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago.
ASJ	Acta Sumerologica. Tokyo: The Middle Eastern Culture Center in Japan.
Aš	Ammī-šaduqa.
AulaOr	Aula Orientalis. Revista de Estudios de Próximo Oriente Antiquo. Barcelona: IPOA.
AulaOr (S)	Aula Orientalis. Revista de Estudios de Próximo Oriente Antiquo – Supplementa (22: <i>del Olmo Lete – Feliu – Millet Albà 2006</i>). Barcelona: IPOA.
B. TAVO	Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients, Beihefte Reihe B. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
BaMi	Baghdader Mitteilungen. Berlin: DAI, Orient-Abteilung.
BAPr	siglum for the texts from Meissner, B. <i>Beiträge zum altbabylonischen Privatrecht</i> [AB 11]. Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs 1893.

List of Abbreviations

BAR	Biblical Archaeology Review. Washington: Biblical Archaeology Society.
BASOR	Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research. Boston: The American Schools of Oriental Research.
BAW	Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften. München.
BCSMS	Bulletin of the Canadian Society for Mesopotamian Studies. Toronto: Canadian Society for Mesopotamian Studies.
BDHP	siglum for the texts from Watermann, L. <i>Business Documents of the Hammurapi Period from the British Museum</i> . London: Luzac & Co. 1916.
BM	siglum for tablets from the British Museum, London.
BSOAS	Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies. London: University of London.
BZABR	Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für Altorientalische und biblische Rechtsgeschichte (13: <i>Achenbach – Arneht 2009</i>). Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag
CAD	The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago. Chicago – Glückstadt 1956-2011.
CBS	museum siglum of the tablets from the University Museum, Philadelphia (Catalogue of the Babylonian Section).
CDAFI	Cahiers de la Délégation Archéologique Française en Iran. Teheran: IFRI.
CDLJ	Cuneiform Digital Library Journal. University of California at Los Angeles – the Max Planck Institute for the History of Science.
Cf.	confer.
CIS	Copenhagen International Seminar. Copenhagen: University of Copenhagen.
CM	Cuneiform Monographs (41: <i>Shehata – Weiershäuser – Zand 2010</i>). Leiden – Boston – Köln: Brill.
CNI Publications	The Carsten Niebuhr Institute of Near Eastern Studies Publications. Copenhagen: Museum Tusulanum Press.
CNRS	Le Centre national de la recherche scientifique. Paris.
COS	The Context of Scripture. Canonical Compositions, Monumental Inscriptions and Archival Documents from the Biblical World (<i>Hallo – Younger 1997, 2000, 2002, 2003</i>). Leiden – Boston – Köln: Brill.
Col(s).	column(s).
CRAIBL	Comptes rendues des séances de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres. Paris: l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres.
CT	siglum for the texts from <i>Cuneiform Texts from the Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum</i> . London: 1896ff.
CurrAnthropol	Current Anthropology. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
DAI	Deutsches Archäologisches Institut Berlin.
DB	siglum for Darius Bisutun inscription (www.livius.org/aa-ac/achaemenians/inscriptions.html).
DNa	siglum for Darius Naqsh-i Rostam inscription A (www.livius.org/aa-ac/achaemenians/inscriptions.html).
DPe	siglum for Darius Persepolis inscription E (www.livius.org/aa-ac/achaemenians/inscriptions.html).
DPh	siglum for Darius Persepolis inscription H (www.livius.org/aa-ac/achaemenians/inscriptions.html).
EA	siglum for Amarna texts following the edition of Knudtzon, J.A. <i>Die El-Amarna Tafeln</i> . Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs 1914.
Ean.	Eannatum; siglum for the texts from Steible, H. <i>Die altsumerischen Bau- und Weihinschriften</i> [FAOS 5]. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag 1982, 120ff.
ED	Early Dynastic Proverbs (<i>Alster 1991/1992</i>).
EI	Eretz-Israel. Jerusalem: IES.
Ent.	Entemena; siglum for the texts from Steible, H. <i>Die altsumerischen Bau- und Weihinschriften</i> [FAOS 5]. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag 1982, 211ff.
esp.	especially.

List of Abbreviations

ERC	Éditions Recherche sur les civilisations, Paris.
ETCSL	Electronic Text Corpus of Sumerian Literature (http://etcsl.orinst.ox.ac.uk).
FAOS	Freiburger Altorientalische Studien (5: <i>Steible</i> 1982; 7: <i>Gelb – Kienast</i> 1990; 9: <i>Steible</i> 1991; 20: <i>Dombradi</i> 1996). Stuttgart: Steiner.
FAT	Forschungen zum Alten Testament (11: <i>Schmidt</i> 1994). Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck).
FM	Florilegium Marianum. Mémoires de N.A.B.U. (2: <i>Charpin – Durand</i> 1994; 3: <i>Charpin – Durand</i> 1997; 5: <i>Charpin – Ziegler</i> 2003; 6: <i>Charpin – Durand</i> 2002; 9: <i>Ziegler</i> 2007). Paris: Sepoa.
Friedrich	siglum for the texts from Friedrich T. <i>Altbabylonische Urkunden aus Sippara</i> [Beiträge zur Assyriologie 5/4]. Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs 1906.
Gilg.	The Gilgamesh Epic.
GMTR	Guides to the Mesopotamian Textual Records (4: <i>Da Riva</i> 2008). Münster: Ugarit-Verlag.
Ha	Ḫammurapi.
HANEM	History of the Ancient Near East, Monographs (11: <i>Lanfranchi – Rollinger</i> 2010). Padova: Sargon.
HANES	History of the Ancient Near East, Studies (5: <i>Liverani</i> 1993; 6: <i>Michalowski</i> 1994). Padova: Sargon.
HdO I.NME	Handbook of Oriental Studies, Section 1. The Near and Middle East (39: <i>Watson – Wyatt</i> 1999; 71: <i>Westbrook</i> 2003). Leiden – Boston – Köln: Brill.
HSAO	Heidelberger Studien zum Alten Orient (9: <i>Sommerfeld</i> 2004). Heidelberg: Heidelberger Orient-Verlag.
HSS	Harvard Semitic Studies (37: <i>Abusch – Huehnergard – Steinkeller</i> 1990). Atlanta: Scholars.
ICEVO	Instituto di Studi sulle Civiltà dell' Egeo e del Vicino Oriente. Rome.
IEJ	The Israel Exploration Journal. Jerusalem: IES.
IES	Israel Exploration Society. Jerusalem.
IFRI	Institut Français de Recherche en Iran. Teheran.
IM	museum siglum of the Iraq Museum. Baghdad.
IPOA	Instituto Interuniversitario del Próximo Oriente Antiquo de la Universidad de Barcelona. Barcelona.
IrAnt	Iranica Antiqua. Leuven – Paris – Walpole, MA: Peeters.
Iran	Iran. Journal of the British Institute of Persian Studies. London: British Institute of Persian Studies.
JAOS	Journal of the American Oriental Society. Ann Arbor: American Oriental Society.
JCS	Journal of Cuneiform Studies. Boston: Baghdad School of the American Schools of Oriental Research.
JCS 2	siglum for the texts from Goetze, A. Thirty Tablets from the Reigns of Abī-ešūḫ and Ammī-ditānā. <i>JCS</i> 2/2 (1948), 73–112.
JESHO	Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient. Leiden – Boston – Köln: Brill.
JNES	Journal of Near Eastern Studies. Chicago: Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations, University of Chicago.
JSS	Journal of Semitic Studies. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
Josh	The Bible, Old Testament, the Book of Joshua.
JSOT	Journal for the Study of the Old Testament. Thousand Oaks, California – London: SAGE Publications.
JSOT SS	Journal for the Study of the Old Testament. Supplement Series (12: <i>Athas</i> 2005). London – New York: T&T Clark.
K	field numbers of tablets excavated at Kuyunjik.
KAV	Schroeder, O. <i>Keilschrifttexte aus Assur. Verschiedenen Inhalts</i> . Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs 1920.
Ḫ	Kodex Ḫammurapi.
KTU	Dietrich, M. (Hrsg.): <i>Die keilalphabetischen Texte aus Ugarit</i> . Kevelaer – Neukirchen – Vluyn – Münster: Butzon und Bercker – Neukirchener Verlag – Ugarit-Verlag.
l./ll.	line / lines.

List of Abbreviations

LAPO	Littératures anciennes du Proche-Orient (16: <i>Durand 1997</i> ; 17: <i>Durand 1998</i> ; 18: <i>Durand 2000</i>). Paris: Le Cerf.
LSAWS	Linguistic Studies in Ancient West Semitic (3: <i>Bordreuil – Pardee 2009</i>). Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns.
MARI	MARI. Annales des Recherches Interdisciplinaires. Paris: ERC.
MC	Mittlere Chronologie / Middle Chronology.
MDP	Mémoires de la Délégation de Perse. Paris: 1899ff.
MEE	Materiali epigrafici di Ebla (4: <i>Pettinato 1982</i>). Naples: Istituto Universitario Orientale 1979ff.
MHaE	Mesopotamian History and Environment (II/1: <i>Gasche 1989</i> ; II/4: <i>Gasche et al. 1998</i>). Ghent: University of Ghent.
MHET	Mesopotamian History and Environment, Series III. Cuneiform Texts (2: <i>Dekiere 1994ff</i>). Ghent: University of Ghent.
MKNAW	Mededelingen der Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen, Afd. Letterkunde – Nieuwe Reeks. Amsterdam: Royal Dutch Academy of Sciences.
MSVO	Materialien zu den frühen Schriftzeugnissen des Vorderen Orients (1: <i>Englund – Grégoire – Matthews 1991</i> ; 2: <i>Matthews 1993</i> ; 4: <i>Englund – Matthews 1996</i>). Berlin: Gebr. Mann Verlag.
MSL	Materialien zum Sumerischen Lexikon (14: <i>Civil 1979</i>). Rome: The Pontifical Biblical Institute.
N	museum siglum of tablets from Nippur kept in the University Museum, Philadelphia.
NABU	Nouvelles Assyriologiques Brèves et Utilitaires (11: <i>Heltzer 2001</i> ; 12: <i>Durand 1988</i> ; 32: <i>Charpin 1991</i>). Paris.
NINO	Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten/Netherlands Institute for the Near East.
ND	field numbers of tablets excavated at Nimrud.
OBO	Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis (30: <i>Stamm 1980</i> ; 55: <i>Frei – Koch 1996</i> ; 160/3: <i>Sallaberger – Westenholz 1999</i> ; 160/4: <i>Attinger et al. 2004</i> ; 166: <i>Flückiger-Hawker 1999</i> ; 175: <i>Uelinger 2000</i>). Freiburg – Göttingen: Universitätsverlag Freiburg Schweiz – Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
OBO SA	Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis. Series archaeologica (6: <i>Charpin 1990</i>). Freiburg – Göttingen: Universitätsverlag Freiburg Schweiz – Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
OIP	Oriental Institute Publications. Chicago: The Oriental Institute.
OIS	Oriental Institute Seminar (4: <i>Brisch 2008</i>). Chicago: The Oriental Institute.
OLA	Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta (100: <i>Lipinski 2000</i> ; 109: <i>Goddeeris 2002</i>). Leuven – Paris – Sterling: Peeters.
OLA 21	siglum for the texts from van Lerberghe, K. <i>Old Babylonian Legal and Administrative Texts from Philadelphia</i> [OLA 21]. Leuven – Paris – Sterling: Peeters 1986.
OrAnt	Oriens Antiquus. Rome: Herder Editrice e Libreria.
OrNS	Orientalia. Commentarii periodici Pontificii instituti biblici, Nova Series. Rome: Facolta di studi dell'antico oriente del Pontificio istituto biblico di Roma.
OS/OTS	Oudtestamentische Studien. Old Testament Studies (40: <i>de Moor 1998</i>). Leiden – Boston – Köln: Brill.
PBA	Proceedings of the British Academy (136: <i>Jursa 2007</i> ; 143: <i>Williamson 2007</i>). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
PEF	Palestine Exploration Fund. London.
PEQ	Palestine Exploration Quarterly. London: PEF
PIHANS	Publications de l'Institut Historique-Archéologique. Néerlandais à Stamboul (36: <i>Harris 1975</i> ; 40: <i>Stol 1976</i> ; 89: <i>Roth 2001</i>). Leiden: NINO.
PNA	The Prosopography of the Neo-Assyrian Empire (1/I: <i>Radner 1998</i> ; 1/II: <i>Radner 1999</i> ; 2/I: <i>Baker 2000</i> ; 2/II: <i>Baker 2001</i> ; 3/I: <i>Baker 2002</i>). Helsinki: Helsinki University Press.
RA	Revue d'Assyriologie et d'Archéologie Orientale. Paris: Association pour l'Assyriologie et l'Archéologie Orientale.
RGTC	Répertoire géographique des textes cunéiformes [B. TAVO 7].
Ri	The Bible, Old testament, Richter-Buch / Bible, Old testament, Judges.

List of Abbreviations

RIMA	The Royal Inscriptions of the Mesopotamia. Assyrian Period (1: <i>Grayson 1987</i> ; 3: <i>Grayson 1996</i>). Toronto – Buffalo – London: University of Toronto Press.
RIMB	The Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia. Babylonian Periods (2: <i>Frayne 1995</i>). Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
RIME	The Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia, Early Periods (1: <i>Frayne 2008</i> ; 2: <i>Frayne 1993</i> ; 3/1: <i>Edzard 1997</i> ; 3/2: <i>Frayne 1997</i> ; 4: <i>Frayne 1990</i>). Toronto – Buffalo – London: University of Toronto Press.
RIA	Reallexikon der Assyriologie und Vorderasiatischen Archäologie. Berlin – München – New York: Kommission für Keilschriftforschung und Vorderasiatische Archäologie der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften (Edzard (Hrsg.) 1993–1997).
RS	museum siglum for finds from Ras Shamra in the Louvre, Paris and the National Museum in Damascus.
SAA	State Archives of Assyria (3: <i>Livingstone 1989</i> ; 4: <i>Starr 1990</i> ; 6: <i>Kwasman – Parpola 1991</i> ; 7: <i>Fales – Postgate 1992</i> ; 8: <i>Hunger 1992</i> ; 10: <i>Parpola 1993</i> ; 13: <i>Cole – Machinist 1998</i> ; 16: <i>Lukko – Van Buylaere 2002</i> ; 17: <i>Dietrich 2003</i>). Helsinki: Helsinki University Press.
SAA Studies	State Archives of Assyria Studies (2: <i>Millard 1994</i> ; 7: <i>Nissinen 1998</i> ; 9: <i>Melville 1999</i>). Helsinki: Helsinki University Press.
SAOC	Studies on Ancient Oriental Civilizations (46: <i>Gibson – Biggs 1991</i>). Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
Sargon	siglum for the texts from Winckler, H. <i>Die Keilschrifttexte Sargons nach den Papierbläschen und Originalen</i> . Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs 1889.
SD	Studia et documenta ad iura orientis antiqui pertinentia (11: <i>Kraus 1984</i>). Leiden – Boston – Köln: Brill.
SEL	Studi Epigrafici e Linguistici sul Vicino Oriente Antico. Roma: Instituto de Estudios Islámicos y del Oriente Próximo.
SHANE	Studies in the History of the Ancient Near East (6: <i>Hallo – Dijkstra 1996</i>). Leiden – Boston – Köln: Brill.
Si	Samsuiluna.
SJOT	Scandinavian Journal of the Old Testament. London: Routledge.
SMEA	Studi Micenei ed Egeo-Anatolici. Rome: ICEVO.
SO	Studia Orontica. Damascus: Syrian Center for Archeological Studies.
SP	siglum for the texts from Alster, B. <i>Proverbs of Ancient Sumer. The World's Earliest Proverb Collections</i> . Bethesda, Maryland: LDC Press 1997.
SSN	Studia Semitica Neerlandica (46: <i>Kalimi 2005</i>). Assen: Van Gorcum.
StOr	Studia Orientalia of the Finnish Oriental Society. Helsinki: Finnish Oriental Society.
StudPohl	Studia Pohl (1: <i>Gröndahl 1967</i>). Rome: The Pontifical Biblical Institute.
TA	Tel Aviv. Tel Aviv: Institute of Archaeology, Tel Aviv University.
TCL	siglum for the texts from <i>Textes Cunéiformes du Louvre</i> . Paris 1910ff.
TIM	siglum for the texts from <i>Texts in the Iraq Museum</i> . Baghdad – Wiesbaden 1964ff.
TLB	siglum used for texts from <i>Tabulae Cuneiformes a F.M.Th. De Liagre Böhl Collectae Leidae Conservatae</i> . Leiden 1954ff.
TM	field numbers for finds from Tell Mardikh.
TSTS	Toronto Semitic Texts and Studies (3: <i>Grayson 1975</i>). Toronto: University of Toronto.
TUAT I	siglum for the texts from Kaiser, O. (Hrsg.): <i>Texte aus der Umwelt des Alten Testaments. Bd. I. Rechts- und Wirtschaftsurkunden. Historisch-chronologische Texte</i> . Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus 1985.
UDT	siglum for the texts from Nies, J. B. <i>Ur Dynasty Tablets. Texts chiefly from Tello and Drehem written during the Reigns of Dungi, Bur-Sin, Gimil-Sin, and Ibi-Sin</i> . Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs 1920.
UE	Ur Excavations (III: <i>Legrain 1936</i>). London – Philadelphia: The Trustees of the Two Museums (The British Museum – The University Museum).
UET	siglum for the texts from <i>Ur Excavations. Texts</i> . London: 1928ff.
UF	Ugarit-Forschungen. Kevelaer – Neukirchen - Vluyn – Münster: Butzon und Bercker – Neukirchener Verlag – Ugarit-Verlag.

List of Abbreviations

Ukg.	Urukagina; siglum for the texts from Steible, H. <i>Die altsumerischen Bau- und Weihinschriften</i> [FAOS 5]. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag 1982, 278ff.
UM	siglum of Ur finds kept in the University Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology of the University of Pennsylvania at Philadelphia.
VAB	Vorderasiatisches Bibliothek (4: <i>Langdon 1912</i>). Leipzig: Universität Leipzig. Altorientalisches Institut.
VE	Vocabulario di Ebla [MEE 4].
VS	siglum for the texts from <i>Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler der (Königlichen) Museen zu Berlin</i> . Berlin: 1907ff.
VT	Vetus Testamentum. Rome: International Organization for the Study of the Old Testament.
WZKM	Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes. Wien: Institut für Orientalistik.
YNER	Yale Near Eastern Researchers (10: <i>Beaulieu 1989</i>). New Haven : Yale University Press.
YOSN	Yale Oriental Serie, Researchers (15: <i>Dougherty 1929</i>). New Haven: Yale University Press
ZA	Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und Vorderasiatische Archäologie. Leipzig – Berlin: De Gruyter.
ZATU	Zeichenliste der archaischen Texte aus Uruk (<i>Green – Nissen 1987</i>). Berlin: Gebr. Mann Verlag.
ZAW	Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft. Leipzig – Berlin: De Gruyter.
ZKTh	Zeitschrift für Katholische Theologie. Innsbruck: Katholisch-Theologische Fakultät der Universität Innsbruck.

List of Tables and Figures / Tabellen- und Abbildungenverzeichnis / Liste des tableaux et figures

Tables / Tabellen / Tableaux

2.1	Comparison of cities listed in the archaic Ur sealings and in the List of geographical names from Fara	18
4.1	Year names of Isin	41
4.2	Year names of Larsa	41
4.3	Year names of Babylon	41
4.4	Comparison of Ur, Isin, Larsa and Babylon year names	43
6.1	Officials and Babylonians in the texts of Iltani, daughter of Abī-ešuh	67
8.1	RS 94.2518	87
8.2	Zusammengesetzte Reihenfolge der ugaritischen Könige	89
9.1	Jehu in Tel Dan fragment A, l. 11	102
9.2.	Jehu according to Neo-Assyrian, Aramaean and biblical / Judaeen historiography	109

Figures / Abbildungen / Figures

2.1	A bas-relief carving found at Kiš-Uhaimir by the Henri de Genouillac expedition, 1911–1912	17
3.1	Étendard d'Ur (fragment), époque sumérienne archaïque	25
3.2	Plaque d'Ur-Nanše (Tello), époque sumérienne archaïque	25
3.3	Empreintes de sceau, époque d'Ur III : scènes de présentation avec « roi à la coupe »	26
3.4	Empreinte de sceau avec cavalier, époque d'Ur III	34
3.5A	Lame de poignard, Byblos, époque amorrite	34
3.5B	Lame de poignard, Byblos (détail), époque amorrite	34
7.1	The region of Syria-Palestine with sites mentioned in the Amarna archive	72
8.1	Königliches Hypogäum in Ugarit	90
8.2	Plan des ugaritischen Königspalast	91
9.1	Black Obelisk of Šalmaneser III. Detail of Jehu paying tribute	97
9.2	Tel Dan stela	101
11.1	The Bisutun relief carved early in Darius' reign	133
11.2	Figures on the right (above) and left (below) sides of the base of the statue of Darius labelled in Egyptian hieroglyphs	135
11.3	The subject peoples on the Tomb of Darius	136
11.4	Delegations of subject peoples (I–IX) on the South wing of the East Façade of the Apadana at Persepolis	137

Index

General

A

Achaemenid, art 131, 132
 Achaemenid, dynasty / kings 131, 133, 137
Akītu festival 121, 124, 144, 145, 149, 150
 Amarna, archive 72–74, 76–78, 81, 82
 Amarna, system 77, 78
 Amorite / Amorrite 23, 28, 32
 Aramaean, kings / period 95, 96, 100, 103, 105, 106, 144
 Astrologer 114, 115, 119–121
 Augur 114, 120

B

Babylon, fall of 143, 147, 150, 151
 Black Obelisk 97, 98, 110

C

City League 18
 Chief scribe 114, 118, 120
 Corvée work 11

D

Damnatio memoriae 85
 Daughter of the King 59, 60, 62–67
 Deuteronomistic History 105–108
 Diplomacy 75, 77
 Diviner 114

E

Early Dynastic, period 2, 3, 9, 18, 20
 Egyptian art, 134
 Elamites 137, 138
 Exorcist 114, 118, 120–123, 125, 126
 Étendard d'Ur 24, 25

F

Flood stratum 20

G

Great King 75, 76, 78–80

H

Haruspice 120
 Herodotus, writing 131, 139, 146, 147, 149
Heros eponymos 89
 House of Omri 96, 100, 105, 107, 109

I

Ionian Revolt 138
 Isin-Larsa, period 30, 33, 35, 39, 40

J

Jemdet Nasr, period 16, 19

K

Karum-organization 63
 Kiš, Palace A 19, 20
 Kiš, Plano-convex Building 19, 20
 Kurba'il statue 96

L

Lamentation priest 12, 114
 Lapis lazuli 8
 Late Bronze Age 71
 Late Uruk, period 16
 Lease, land 59, 61, 62, 64, 65, 68
 Legitimacy 1–3, 6, 13, 19
 Loans 59, 61, 63, 66, 67
 Lord of all foreign lands 82

M

Mandate of Heaven 12, 13
 Marble Slab 96, 98
 Medes 137–139
 Middle Bronze Age / Âge du Bronze moyen 35, 71
 Middle class 7, 13

N

Nadītum priestesses 53, 55, 59–62, 64, 65, 68
 Neo-Assyrian, period / Empire 95–97, 108, 113
 Neo-Babylonian, chronicles 145, 148, 149, 151
 Neo-Babylonian, Empire 143, 146
 Nubians 137

O

Old Akkadian, Empire / rulers 2, 4
 Old Akkadian, period 2, 4, 6, 20
 Old Akkadian, royal inscriptions 3
 Old Babylonian, economy 43, 59, 61, 62
 Old Babylonian, period 13, 38–40, 42–44, 59,
 64, 67, 68
 Old Babylonian, society 42, 44, 59, 68
 Old Testament 95, 98, 104, 105

P

Palace / Palast 2, 7, 8, 10–12, 19, 20, 38, 51,
 53–57, 60, 62, 65, 67, 73, 91, 114, 115, 118, 120,
 121, 123, 125, 128, 136
 Persian Empire 131, 134, 137, 138, 139, 146
 Persians 134, 137, 138
 Pharaoh 73–77, 79, 80, 82, 83
 Physician 114, 120, 126
 Plaque d'Ur-Nanše 24, 25
 Proto-cuneiform 16
 Punishment / Strafe 51, 53–56

R

Rituals, purifying 115, 120, 122, 123, 125
 Royal correspondence 82, 83

S

Satrap 138
 Scholars 114, 120, 122
 Statue of Darius 134, 137, 139

T

Temple / Tempel 12, 20, 31, 33, 38, 43, 47, 55,
 59–61, 64, 65, 121, 133, 142, 143, 149
 Trade / Handel 5, 8, 19, 53, 54, 56, 57, 63, 65
Translatio regni 18

U

Ur, royal necropolis 19
 Ur, Seal Impression Strata 18
 Ur III, dynasty / kings 4–6, 13, 20, 23, 24, 28–30,
 40, 42
 Ur III, theology 5
 Urtenna-Archiv 88

V

Vanity, theme 2, 10
 Vassal correspondence 73–75, 82, 83

W

Women's role 59

Y

Year names 38, 40, 41, 43

Z

Ziggurat 98

Literature**B**

Babylonian Chronicle 142, 147

C

Canal Stelae 134
 Codex Hammurapi / Kodex Hammurapi / Code
 de Hammurabi 1, 30, 46–57
 Curse of Akkade 2
 Cuthean Legend of Narām-Sîn 2
 Cyrus Cylinder 142, 145, 146, 151

E

Enūma Anu Enlil 117, 122
 Epic of Gilgameš 118

H

Hymne de Šulgi A 32
 Hymne de Šulgi B 28, 31, 32

I

Instructions of Šuruppak 10, 12

K

King List from Aššur 119
 King List, Sumerian / Sumerische Königsliste /
 Liste Royale Sumérienne 7, 29, 31, 85
 King List, Ugarit / Ugaritische Königsliste 85
 Kodex Lipit-Eštar 49
 Kurkh Monolith 99, 100

L

Lamentation over the Destruction
 of Sumer and Urim 2
 Letter of the Monkey to his Mother 12

M

Mesopotamian Wisdom 114
 Mesha Stela 99

N

Nabonidus Chronicle 142, 146, 147, 148, 149, 151

S

- Stele of Vultures 2, 3
 Sin of Sargon 115
 Sumerian Proverbs 1, 2, 7–10

V

- Verse Account 142, 151

Š

- Šumma ālu* 117
Šumma Sîn ina tāmartī-šu 117

T

- Tel Dan stela 101, 102, 106, 108–110

Toponyms**A**

- Aegean 71
 Alašiya 78
 Arabia 144
 Aratta 8, 10, 12
 Arbela 113, 120, 124, 127
 Arzawa 78
 Anatolia / Anatolie 23, 71, 149
 Apheq 104
 Assyria 78, 79, 95, 96, 98, 108, 109, 113–115,
 118, 120, 121, 125, 134–136, 140, 144
 Aššur 23, 96, 99, 107, 113, 114, 116, 118–121,
 125–127
 'Amuq, valley / Tal 88

B

- Babylon / Babylone 32, 34, 39–43, 46–49, 59, 60,
 68, 115–117, 124, 125, 133, 136, 143, 145, 149
 Babylonia 39, 40, 42, 78, 79, 113, 118, 121, 134,
 140, 142, 149, 150
 Bashan 105
 Betshean 103
 Biq'ā, valley / Tal 104
 Bisutun 132–134
 Byblos 32
 Byblos, Temple aux obélisque 33

D

- Damascus 96–98, 107
 Dūr-karāši 148
 Dūr-Kurigalzu 121

E

- Ebla 19, 23

- Egypt / Égypte 23, 71, 74, 77, 78, 95, 120, 133, 134
 Ekallāte 127
 Elam 23, 133–136, 140
 Ereš 18
 Eridu 12, 18
 Ešnunna (Tell Asmar) 27, 29
 Euphrate / Euphrat / Euphrate 28, 29, 32, 32,
 97, 98, 148

G

- Galilee 104
 Gilead 105

H

- Haurānu 96, 97
 Hazor 75, 78
 Ḥarrān 121
 Ḥatti 76, 78, 80, 95, 108

I

- Ingharra 16
 Irak 35
 Isin 29, 39–41, 43
 Israel / Israēl 23, 95, 100–102, 106, 107

J

- al-Jazira, upper / Haute-Djéziré 28
 Jericho 105, 106
 Jerusalem 76, 104
 Jezreel 95, 100, 103
 Judah 95, 107

K

- Kahat 27
 Kalḫu 113, 116, 122, 126
 Kilizi 113, 120
 Kiš 3, 8, 16, 18–20, 23
 Kullani 117
 Kunduru 132

L

- Lagaš 3, 7, 24, 32
 Larsa 18, 29, 39–41, 43
 Levantine 73, 139
 Libanon 104
 Lydia 139, 140, 146, 147

M

- Mari (Tell Hariri) 23, 26–33, 77, 108
 Media 132, 133, 135, 136, 140, 144

Megiddo 95, 103

Mesopotamia / Mesopotamien / Mésopotamie

1, 7, 13, 19, 23, 28, 39, 56, 59, 60,
71, 115, 149

Mittani / Mitanni 59, 76, 78, 89

N

Naqsh-i Rostam 132, 135, 136

Nimrud (Calah) 96, 98

Niniveh 113, 116, 118, 120, 122, 133

Nippur 2, 8, 18, 20, 92

Nuḫašše 76

O

Oman (Magan) 5

P

Persepolis 131, 132, 135, 136

Persepolis, Apadana 136–138, 140

Q

Qatna 46, 81

R

Ramoth Gilead 102, 104

Rehov 103

S

Samaria 95, 99, 103–105

Sidon 108

Sippar 59–61, 64–68, 148

Sumer 4, 8, 18, 20, 29, 35

Susa 17

Syria / Syrie 35, 135, 149

Syria-Palestine 71–73, 75, 76, 82, 95

Š

Šuruppak (Fara) 18, 20

T

Ta'anach 103

Tabal 118

Teima 144, 145, 149, 150

Tel Dan 95, 101

Tel Yoqne'am 103

Tell el-Amarna 71, 76

Tell el-Farah (Tirzah) 95

Tell Leilan (Šekhna, Šubat-Enlil) 29

Transjordan 104, 144

Tyre / Tyros 96, 108

U

Ugarit 85, 86, 88–91

Uhaimir 16

Umma-Ĝišša 2, 3

Ur 6, 18, 20, 28, 32, 40

Urartu 136, 146, 147

Urim 2, 6

Uruk 4, 5, 18, 147

Z

Zabalam 18

Gods

A

Ahuramazda 132

Amurru 121

An / Anum 2, 4, 29, 30

B

Baal 107

E

Ea 4, 5

Enki 5, 29, 30

Enlil 2–5, 11, 12, 29, 30, 122

Ezinu 5

G

Gilgameš 5, 6

I

Ilaba 4

Inana 5, 16, 31

Iškur 5

Ištar 4, 5, 49, 121, 124, 133

L

Lugalbanda 5, 28

M

Marduk 47–49, 115, 121, 144, 145

N

Nanna-r 2, 6

Nanše 3

Nergal 4, 5

Ninlil 6

Ninsuna 5

Nintu-r 4

Ninurta 6
Nissaba 4

S

Sîn 4

Š

Šamaš 4, 5, 47, 48, 60, 64, 124, 149
Šatra 120

U

Ūm(um) 4

Royal Names**A**

Abdi-Ḥeba 76
Abī-ešūḫ 41, 42, 59, 62, 66–68
Addu-nirari / Adad-Nirari 76, 104, 107
Ahab 95, 99, 104, 105, 106, 107
Ahaziah 95, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 109
Akizzi 81
Akîn-Amar 27
Amar-Su'ina 6
Amenhotep III 78
Ammī-ditāna 41, 42
Ammī-šaduqa 42, 66
Artaxerxes I 136, 143
Astyages 144, 146, 147
Aššurnaširpal II 116
Aššuruballiḫ I 79
Aššurbanipal 113, 117, 119, 122, 124, 126, 127
'Amqūnu 87

B

Bar-hadad II 103, 104, 110
Bilalama 27
Burnaburiyaš II 79

C

Croesus 148, 149
Cyrus 131, 142, 144–147

D

Darius I 131–136, 139, 140, 143

E

E'anatum 2, 3
Enmetena 24
Eri-inimgina-k 3, 7
Esarhaddon 113, 114, 118, 120, 122–125, 127

G

Gudea / Gudéa 4, 6, 24, 32

H

Hazael 96, 97, 98, 100–106, 109, 110
Ḥammurapi / Hammurabi 32, 40, 46, 47, 59–61, 68, 86

I

Ibbīrānu VI. 90
Ibbī-Sîn 5, 6, 31
Iltani, daughter of Abī-ešūḫ 59–63, 67
Iltani, daughter of Sin-muballiḫ 59–63, 65, 67
Irikagina 24
Išbi-Erra 28

J

Jehoahaz 104, 105, 107
Jehoram 95, 102, 103, 105–107, 109
Jehu 95–108, 110
Jerobeam 88
Jezebel 105
Joash / Jehoash 103, 107

K

Kadašman-Enlil 78

L

Lim-il-Malik 90
Lugalzagesi 3, 7

N

Nabonidus 142–145, 147, 149, 150, 151
Naqī'a 124
Narām-Sîn 2, 4, 23, 29
Niqmaddu 89
Niqmepa VI. 86

O

Omri 88, 95, 99, 100, 106, 107, 109, 110

R

Rap'ānu 88, 92
Rib-Hadda 81
Rīmuš 4
Ruttum 60, 61, 65, 68

S

Samsu-ditana 42
Samsu-iluna 42

Sargon 4, 115, 116
 Sargon II 99, 116, 118
 Shosheq 103
 Sennacherib 115, 116, 118, 121, 127
 Sumu-Abum 42

Š

Šalmaneser III 95–99, 102, 110
 Šalmaneser V 99
 Šiptu 31
 Šulgi 5, 28–30, 32
 Šu-Sîn 6

T

Tarḥundaradu 78
 Tibni 88
 Tiḡlathpileser 96, 99
 Tukultī-Ninurta II 116

U

Ur-Namma 5, 6, 30, 32
 Urḫi-Teššub 85
 'Uḡārānu 87, 92
 Utu-heḡal 4, 6

Z

Zimri 95, 106, 109
 Zimri-Lim 27, 31, 32, 33

Personal Names

Abda-El 27
 Adad-šumu-ušur 113, 114, 116, 120–128
 Adda-guppi 145, 148, 149, 151

B

Balāssu 121
 Belshazzar 144, 145, 148–150
 Burtanum 63

E

Elali 60
 Etel-pi-Dagan 29

G

Gabbu-ilāni-ēreš 114, 116, 128

H

Hajab-rabi 60
 Huziri 27

I

Ibni-Marduk 66
 Iddin-Marduk 66
 Ikun-pi-Sin 65
 Iltani 65
 Inapališu 66
 Issār-šumu-ēreš 114, 117–121, 123, 128
 Izi-gatar 60

M

Marduk-ellassu 66
 Marduk-lamassašu 65
 Marduk-muballiṡ 65, 66
 Marduk-mušallim 65
 Marduk-šākin-šumi 121, 123, 124, 126
 Marduk-šāpik-zēri 114, 127
 Marduk-šumu-iqīša 116
 Mukannišum 32

N

Nabû-gāmil 121
 Nabû-muše i 120
 Nabû-zēru-lēšir 114, 118, 120–123, 128
 Nabû-zuqup-kēnu 116–118, 122, 128
 Naramtum 61, 65
 Nergal-šarrāni 126
 Ninurta-aḡu-iddina 121
 Ninurta-uballissu 116
 Niši-inišu 61, 65

R

Rēmanni-Adad 119

S

Sin-eribam 64
 Sin-nadinšumi 64, 66
 Sumāia 121, 125
 Šamaš-šumu-ukīn 125
 Šu-Sîn-ilī 30

U

Urdu-Daguna 124
 Urdu-Gula 121, 122, 125–127
 Urdu-Nanā 124
 Ušur-me-Šamaš 60
 Ušašum

Y

Yahdun-Lim-ilī 30

Who Was King? Who Was Not King?

The Rulers and the Ruled in the Ancient Near East

Petr Charvát – Petra Maříková Vlčková (eds.)

Published by:

Institute of Archaeology of the Academy of Sciences
of the Czech Republic, Prague, v.v.i.

Letenská 4, 118 01 Prague 1, Czech Republic

Cover: Petr Meduna

Book design, composition, and page break:

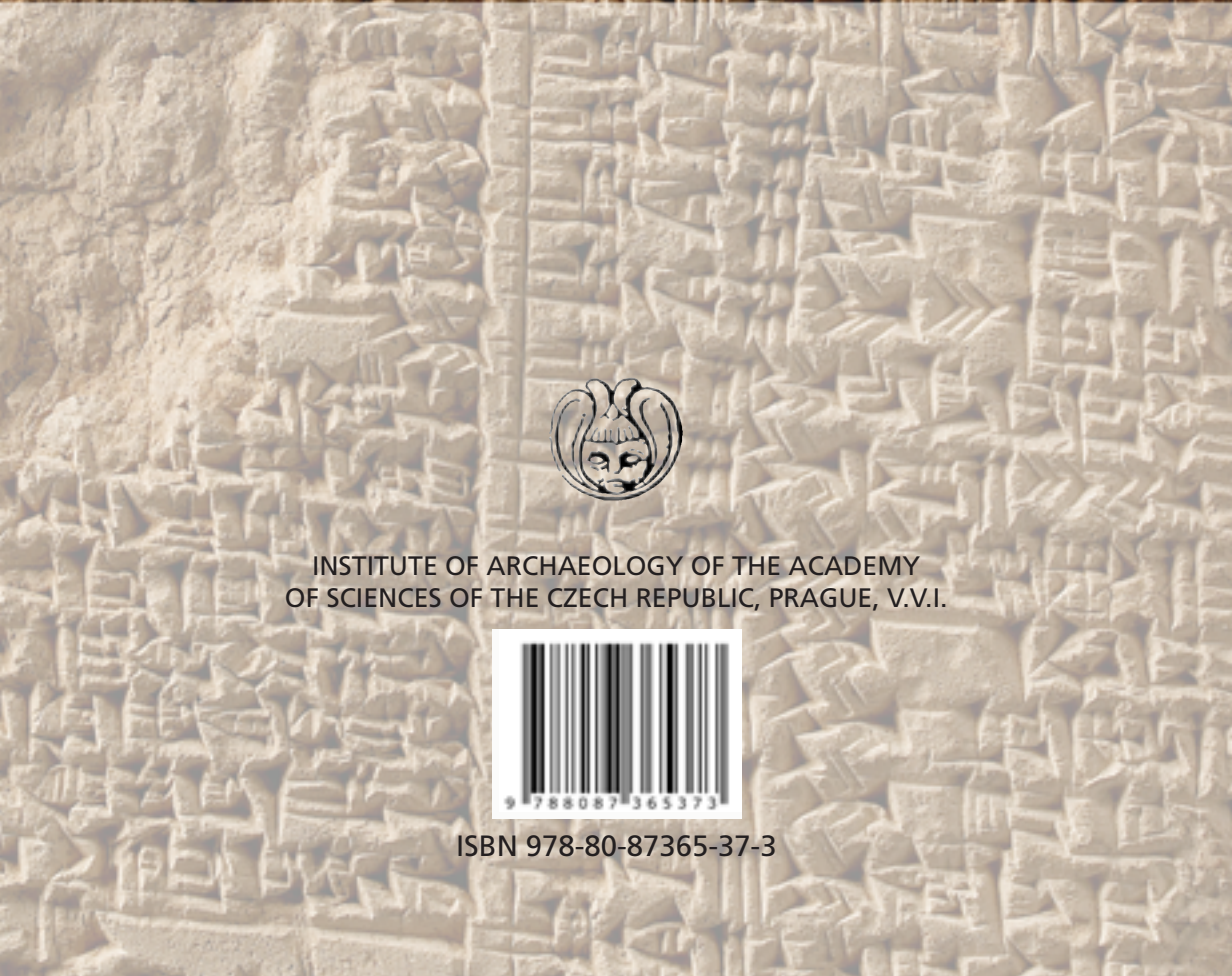
AGAMA® poly-grafický atelier, s.r.o.

Na Výši 424/4, 150 00 Praha 5

First edition.

© Institute of Archaeology of the Academy of Sciences
of the Czech Republic, Prague, v.v.i. 2010

ISBN 978-80-87365-37-3



INSTITUTE OF ARCHAEOLOGY OF THE ACADEMY
OF SCIENCES OF THE CZECH REPUBLIC, PRAGUE, V.V.I.



ISBN 978-80-87365-37-3