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Beate Pongratz-Leisten

RELIGION AND IDEOLOGY IN ASSYRIA

STUDIES IN ANCIENT NEAR EASTERN RECORDS

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Religion and Ideology in Assyria

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Volume 6

To my students

Acknowledgments

This book is the product of several phases of development. It began as part of a larger project on Ancient Near Eastern religions during the academic year 2003–04, which I spent at Harvard University with a grant from the Center for the Study of World Religions. My colleagues at the time, Irene Winter, Peter Machinist, Piotr Steinkeller, and Paul-Alain Beaulieu together with their students graciously met with me several times to discuss various aspects of my research. In the years that followed, a draft manuscript emerged and received its most valuable comments from Zainab Bahrani, Benjamin Foster, Bruce Lincoln, and Peter Brown. During the academic year 2007–08, a grant from the National Endowment of the Humanities enabled me to spend a year at the Institute for Advanced Study, where I enjoyed the privilege of discussing my research in the seminars held by Caroline Bynum and Heinrich von Staden. At this time I narrowed my research focus to emphasize aspects of kingship and ideology in Mesopotamia. In 2009, with my appointment at the Institute for the Study of the Ancient World at New York University, I worked intensely with my colleagues to build the institution, formulate its vision, and design a graduate program and my research took another turn. I placed the historical development of ideology in Assyria – and its intercultural exchange with its neighbors – at center stage, working to delineate it from its beginnings through the Sargonid period in the first millennium BCE. Concomitant with the new research direction, I came to realize the need to clearly elucidate the fascinating interdependency between religion and ideology, which so often have been treated independently rather than as inextricably intertwined in the context of the ancient world.

Thanks are due to a number of scholars who kindly offered their comments and questions, and who invited me to present my work for discussion and analysis. Early drafts of several sections were read by Giorgio Buccellati, Marilyn Kelly-Buccellati, and Simo Parpola, and I am most grateful for their insightful comments. Productive and inspiring workshops include a 2007 meeting on royal ideology at the University of Pennsylvania, organized by Jane A. Hill, Philip Jones, and Antonio J. Morales; a 2010 meeting in Paris on Middle Assyrian developments in the Hābūr area in 2010 in Paris, organized by Nele Ziegler; a 2011 meeting on divination at the SBL conference in San Francisco, organized by Alan Lenzi and Jonathan Stoeckl; a 2013 meeting on intertextuality, organized by Johannes Bach and his peer students at Topoi Berlin; and a 2014 meeting on *Transmission, Translation, and Reception*, organized by Yoram Cohen and Amir Gilan at Tel Aviv University. These workshops provided the opportunity to discuss aspects of ideology, the relationship between historiography and divination, a topic that I further had the opportunity to intensely dis-

cuss with Jean-Jacques Glassner, the intertextuality of what has been distinguished as literary texts and historiographic texts, and the transmission of cultural ideas and cultic practices. Most of my contributions to these workshops have been published in the respective volumes of their proceedings. I decided to rework them into a coherent narrative of this book. My work on historiography also benefited from in-depth discussions with the students in my seminar on Assyrian historiography in spring 2013, and with Peter Machinist, Piotr Michalowski, Jean-Jacques-Glassner, and Nele Ziegler during the concluding workshop, *Ancient and Modern Perspectives on Historiography*, which I organized at ISAW in April 2013.

I am further indebted to my colleague Lorenzo d'Alfonso as well as to all those who attended the Ancient Near Eastern Table at ISAW, where I presented my ideas on religion and ideology in two intense sessions of discussion. Harmut Kühne most generously shared with me his work and thoughts on the development of the Assyrian state on the basis of his long-standing experience with the archaeology of the Hābūr region. I am very grateful to Andrew George who provided me with his insights on the texts from Tigunānum and shared Lambert's notes on the ritual texts from that site with me. A thorough study of these texts would have delayed the publication of the book and I decided to leave that for a later project. Further thanks are due to Kim Benzel, Dominique Charpin, Yoram Cohen, Jerrold S. Cooper, Betina Faist, Amir Gilan, Jamie Novotny, Francesca Rochberg, Wolfgang Röllig, Daisuke Shibata, Maurizio Viano, and Shigeo Yamada who shared unpublished manuscripts and thoughts with me along the way.

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I dedicate this book to my students at ISAW. Their curiosity and enthusiasm provided a continuous resource of energy and inspiration as I worked to complete this book.

Princeton, July 2014

Abbreviations

AfO	<i>Archiv für Orientforschung</i>
AHw	<i>Akkadisches Handwörterbuch</i> , 3 volumes. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz
AOAT	Alter Orient und Altes Testament
ARET 7	A. Archi, <i>Archivi reali di Ebla, Testi. Testi amministrativi: registrazioni di metallic e tessuti</i> . Roma: Missione archeologica italiana in Siria, 1988
ARI	A. K. Grayson, <i>Assyrian Royal Inscriptions</i> , 2 vols. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1976
ArOr	<i>Archiv Orientalní</i>
ASJ	<i>Acta Sumerologica (Middle Eastern Culture Center Japan)</i>
BA	<i>Biblical Archaeologist</i>
BAK	H. Hunger, <i>Babylonisch-assyrische Kolophone</i> . AOAT 2; Kevelaer: Verlag Butzon und Bercker, 1968
BagM	<i>Baghdader Mitteilungen</i>
BASOR	<i>Bulletin of the American School of Oriental Research</i>
BATSH	Berichte der Ausgrabung Tall Šēḥ Ḥamad / Dūr Katlimmu, Berlin
BATSH 4	E. Cancik-Kirschbaum, <i>Die mittellassyrischen Briefe aus Tall Šēḥ Ḥamad</i> . Berlin: Dietrich Reimer Verlag, 1996
BiOr	<i>Bibliotheca Orientalia</i>
CAD	The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago. Chicago: The Oriental Institute; Glückstadt: J. J. Augustin
CBQ	<i>Catholic Biblical Quarterly</i>
CT	Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum
CTN	Cuneiform Texts from Nimrud. London
CUSAS	Cornell University Studies in Assyriology and Sumerology
CUSAS 10	A. R. George, <i>Babylonian Literary Texts in the Schøyen Collection</i> . Bethesda: CDL Press, 2009
CUSAS 17	George, A. R. Ed. <i>Cuneiform Royal Inscriptions and Related Texts in the Schøyen Collection</i> . Bethesda: CDL Press, 2011
CUSAS 18	George, A. R., <i>Babylonian Divinatory Texts Chiefly in the Schøyen Collection</i> . Bethesda: CDL Press, 2013
Emar 6/3	D. Arnaud, <i>Recherches au Pays d'Aštata</i> . Paris: Éditions Recherche sur les Civilisations
FAOS	<i>Freiburger Altorientalische Studien</i>
FAOS 5	H. Steible, <i>Die altsumerischen Bau- und Weihinschriften. Teil I</i> . Stuttgart: Franz Steiner
FAOS 7	I. J. Gelb (†) and B. Kienast, <i>Die Alttakkadischen Königsinschriften des Dritten Jahrtausend v. Chr.</i> Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag
GAG	W. von Soden and W. R. Mayer, <i>Grundriss der Akkadischen Grammatik. Analecta Orientalia 33</i> . Roma: Pontificio Istituto Biblico, 1995
GBAO	<i>Göttinger Beiträge zum Alten Orient</i>
GKT	K. Hecker, <i>Grammatik der Kültepe Texte</i> . Roma: Institutum Biblicum, 1968
HdO	Handbuch der Orientalistik
HUCA	<i>Hebrew Union College, Annual</i>
IAS	R. D. Biggs, <i>Inscription from Tell Abū Ṣalābīkh</i> , OIP 99. Chicago and London 1974

JANER	<i>Journal of Ancient Near Eastern Religions</i>
JBL	<i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i>
JCS	<i>Journal of Cuneiform Studies</i>
JEOL	<i>Jaarbericht Ex Oriente Lux</i>
JNES	<i>Journal of Near Eastern Studies</i>
JRAS	<i>Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society</i>
LAPO	<i>Littératures Anciennes du Proche-Orient</i> (Paris: Les Éditions du CERF)
LAS	Simo Parpola, <i>Letters from Assyrian Scholars, Parts I and II</i> . Kevelaer-Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchner Verlag, 1971
MARI	<i>Mari, Annales de Recherches Interdisciplinaires</i> . Paris: Recherches sur les Civilisations
MARV	Mittelassyrische Rechts- und Verwaltungsurkunden
NABU	<i>Nouvelles Assyriologiques Brèves et Utilitaires</i>
OAAS 1	C. Michel, <i>Old Assyrian Bibliography</i> . Old Assyrian Archives, Studies, volume 1. Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten 2003
OBO	Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis
PAPS	Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society
RGG	<i>Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart. Handwörterbuch für Theologie und Religionswissenschaft</i> . Ed. H. D. Betz et al. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck
RHR	<i>Revue de l'histoire des religions</i>
RIMA 1	A. K. Grayson, <i>Assyrian Rulers of the Third and Second Millennium BC (To 1115)</i> . Toronto, Buffalo, London: University of Toronto Press, 1987
RIMA 2*	A. K. Grayson, <i>Assyrian Rulers of the Early First Millennium BC I (1114–859 BC)</i> . Toronto, Buffalo, London: University of Toronto Press, 1990
RIME 1	D. R. Frayne, <i>Presargonic Period (2700–2350 BC)</i> . Toronto, Buffalo, London: University of Toronto Press, 2008
RIME 2	D. R. Frayne, <i>Sargonic and Gutian Periods (2334–2113 BC)</i> . Toronto, Buffalo, London: University of Toronto Press, 1993
RIME 3/1	D. O. Edzard, <i>Gudea and His Dynasty</i> . Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997
RIME 4	D. R. Frayne, <i>Old Babylonian Period (2003–1595 BC)</i> . Toronto: University of Toronto, 1990
RINAP 1	H. Tadmor and S. Yamada, <i>The Royal Inscriptions of Tiglath-pileser III (744–727 BC) and Shalmaneser V (726–722 BC), Kings of Assyria</i> . Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2011
RINAP 3/1	A. K. Grayson and J. Novotny, <i>The Royal Inscriptions of Sennacherib, King of Assyria (704–681 BC), Part 1</i> . Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns 2012
RINAP 4	E. Leichty, <i>The Royal Inscriptions of Esarhaddon, King of Assyria (680–669 BC) (The Royal Inscriptions of the Neo-Assyrian Period, vol. 4)</i> . Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2011
SAA	State Archive of Assyria
SAA 1	S. Parpola, <i>The Correspondence of Sargon II, Part I</i> . Helsinki: Helsinki University Press, 1987
SAA 2	S. Parpola and K. Watanabe, <i>Neo-Assyrian Treaties and Loyalty Oaths</i> . Helsinki: Helsinki University Press, 1988
SAA 3	A. Livingstone, <i>Court Poetry and Literary Miscellanea</i> . Helsinki: Helsinki University Press, 1989
SAA 4	I. Starr, <i>Queries to the Sungod</i> . Helsinki: Helsinki University Press, 1990

SAA 6	T. Kwasman and S. Parpola, <i>Legal Transactions of the Royal Court of Niniveh, Part I</i> , Helsinki: Helsinki University Press, 1991
SAA 8	H. Hunger, <i>Astrological Reports to Assyrian Kings</i> . Helsinki: Helsinki University Press, 1992
SAA 9	S. Parpola, <i>Assyrian Prophecies</i> . Helsinki: Helsinki University Press, 1997
SAA 10	S. Parpola, <i>Letters from Assyrian and Babylonian Scholars</i> . Helsinki: Helsinki University Press, 1993
SAA 12	L. Kataja and R. Whiting, <i>Grants, Decrees and Gifts of the Neo-Assyrian Period</i> . Helsinki: Helsinki University Press, 1995
SAAB	<i>State Archives of Assyria Bulletin</i>
SAACT	State Archives of Assyria Cuneiform Texts
SAAS	State Archive of Assyria Studies
SCCNH	Studies of the Civilization and Culture of Nuzi and the Hurrians
SMEA	<i>Studi Micenei ed Egeo-Anatolici</i>
StBot	Studien zu den Bogazköy Texten
SVAT	E. Ebeling, <i>Stiftungen und Vorschriften für assyrische Tempel</i> . Berlin 1954
TCL 3	F. Thureau-Dangin, <i>Une relation de la huitième campagne de Sargon (714 av. J.-C.)</i> . Paris: P. Geuthner, 1912
UF	<i>Ugarit-Forschungen</i>
WO	<i>Welt des Orients</i>
WVDOG	Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft
WZKM	<i>Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes</i>
ZAR	<i>Zeitschrift für altorientalische und biblische Rechtsgeschichte</i>

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1 Introduction

1.1 Setting the Stage

In his commemorative inscriptions the Assyrian king Tukultī-Ninurta I (1233–1197 BCE) relates that, subsequent to his victory over Babylon in 1215 BCE, he transferred his residence from the city of Aššur to his newly founded capital, Kār-Tukultī-Ninurta (figs. 1 and 2).¹ The construction of the new royal capital had been under way since the early years of his reign, and the ideological message promulgated by Tukultī-Ninurta sought to link Assyria's victory over Babylon – the time-honored religious center – with the creation of a new political and religious center in Assyria.² Tukultī-Ninurta's extraordinary move from Aššur to Kār-Tukultī-Ninurta included not only the building of a new royal palace, but also the attempt to transfer the cult of the god Aššur away from the city Aššur, an act unique in Assyrian history.³ This audacious development took place when the Middle Assyrian state was at the peak of its territorial expansion, counting for a short time Babylonia among its domains. By exploring the ideological discourse employed by Tukultī-Ninurta I to justify his political decisions, I intend to set the stage for an investigation of the history of the cultural discourse surrounding Assyrian kingship from the late third millennium through to the Neo-Assyrian period. First, however, I will shed light on the rich tapestry of traditions implicated in the naming of Tukultī-Ninurta's new palace, in order to provide the reader with an inkling of the immense potential of possible insights that the modern scholar can gain from taking such choices seriously.

The building inscriptions commemorating Tukultī-Ninurta I's move to Kār-Tukultī-Ninurta record the ceremonial names given to the newly built Aššur temple and to the new royal palace. To my knowledge, this is the only known example in which temple and palace share the same name: “house, mountain of all the ME” (é.kur.me.šár.ra),⁴ and “palace of all the ME” (é.gal.me.šár.ra)⁵ respectively. The name of the palace was rendered in Akkadian as *bīt kiššati*,

1 RIMA I A.O.78.22–25.

2 Gilibert 2008, 179.

3 Instances such as the presence of Aššur's dagger in Kanesh must be regarded as a strategy for extending Aššur's agency in the juridical context (Donbaz 2001; see further CAD P, 279–280, s.v. *patru* and CAD Š/3, 196f. s.v. *šugariāu*) and should be distinguished from Tukultī-Ninurta I's move.

4 RIMA 1, A.O.78.23:114. For the name of the temple see George 1993, no. 687. The name is derived from that of Enlil's temple in Nippur (Machinist 1978, 526).

5 RIMA 1, A.O.78.22:51.