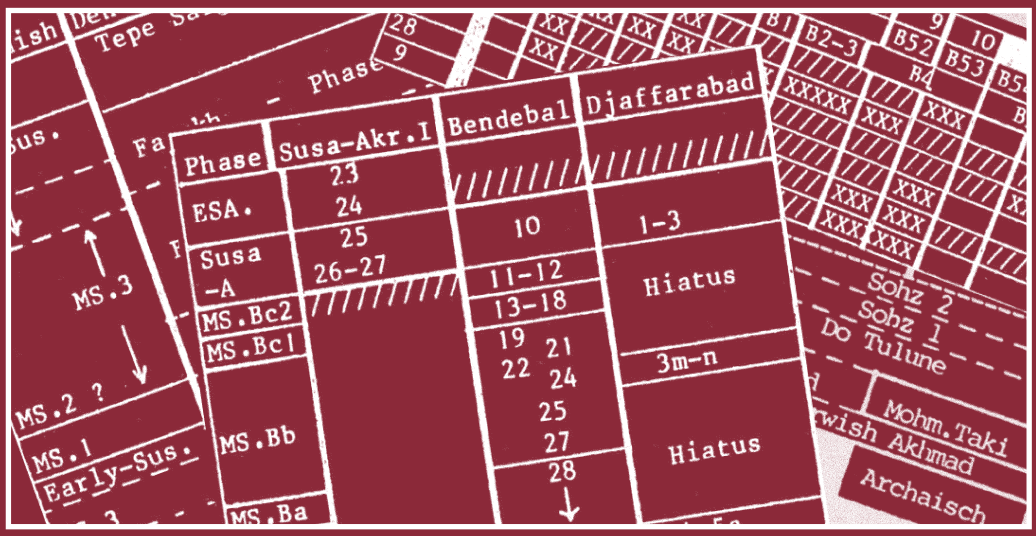

Übergangszeiten

Altorientalische Studien
für Reinhard Dittmann
anlässlich seines 65. Geburtstags

Herausgegeben von
Kai Kaniuth,
Daniel Lau und
Dirk Wicke

marru 1

Zaphon

Illustration auf dem Einband: Collage aus *Reinhard Dittmann, Eine Randebene des Zagros in der Frühzeit. Ergebnisse des Behbehan-Zuhreh Surveys. BBVO 3 (Berlin 1984)*, Tab. 2b. 3a, und *Reinhard Dittmann, Betrachtungen zur Frühzeit des Südwest-Iran. Regionale Entwicklungen vom 6. bis zum frühen 3. vorchristlichen Jahrtausend. BBVO 4/1–2 (Berlin 1986)*, Tab. 99

Übergangszeiten.
Altorientalische Studien für Reinhard Dittmann
anlässlich seines 65. Geburtstags

Herausgegeben von Kai Kaniuth, Daniel Lau und
Dirk Wicke
marru 1

Printed in Germany
Printed on acid-free paper

ISBN 978-3-96327-002-4

Inhaltsverzeichnis

Te'umman's Last Supper

Literary Motifs in Ashurbanipal's Garden Party and the Scholarly Origin of Assyrian Narrative Art

Alessandra Gilibert, Venice

In this contribution, I discuss the textual sources for Ashurbanipal's "Garden Party" and some implications for Assyrian narrative art in general.[1] The Garden Party consists of a series of stone reliefs with an almost miniature character, found at Nineveh and now on exhibit at the British Museum (Fig. 1). At the centre of the composition is Ashurbanipal, the last great king of Assyria (668–631 BCE), banqueting with his queen on a couch under a grapevine canopy in a secluded royal garden at Nineveh (Fig. 2). The king is surrounded by regalia and war trophies, and attended by a plethora of servants. A flute, harp and percussion ensemble is playing in the background. The severed head of his archenemy Te'umman, the king of Elam, hangs from a nearby tree. The richness in detail, the unusual leisurely setting, and the exceptional significance of some depicted objects have elicited much attention among scholars. In a seminal study, Albenda concluded that the visual impact of the scene is enhanced by the coexistence of symbols of war and peace in an ambivalent "garden of delights" (Albenda 1977: 45).[2] Recent works come back to this intrinsic ambiguity, and highlight how the whole composition seems to have multiple and deeper levels of meaning, accessible only to a restricted learned audience (Collins 2004; Ataç 2012; Feldman 2014: 100–104; Karlsson 2016: 121).[3] What kind of knowledge was this learned audience supposed to command? The question has been answered by Matthiae, with reference to the narrative reliefs of Ashurnasirpal II: in his opinion, the reliefs are strictly derived from the textual tradition of the royal inscriptions, down to the figurative transposition of literary similes (Matthiae 1988). Matthiae argues that, according to the cultural background of the viewer, one and the same scene may be

1 I am honoured to present this study to Reinhard Dittmann, whom I admire as a scholar of sweeping interests, vast knowledge and great generosity.

2 Discussing the emotive affects of Assyrian reliefs, Reed adds that, in the Garden Party, the juxtaposition of life and death creates a sense of "pervasive anxiety" (Reed 2007: 112). She also observes that scenes as such "transcend the morbid recesses of the battleground, blurring triumph with tragedy" (Reed 2007: 115).

3 Collins compares the Garden Party to a Netherlandish painting, where every detail is invested with a symbolic meaning (Collins 2004: 1).

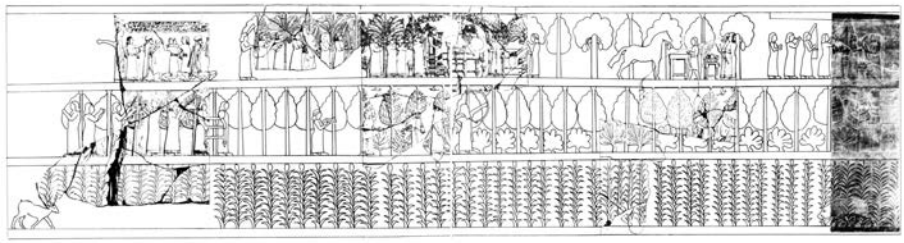

Fig. 1 The Garden Party, as reconstructed by Pauline Albenda. (Albenda 1976, Pl. I)

contemplated as a generic example ("warriors attacking a city"), recognized as a specific event ("the conquest of the city x in year y"), and, noting the detail of an eagle hovering over the scene, appreciated as the translation of textual imagery into the pictorial realm ("Into the midst of those which none of the kings my fathers had ever approached my warriors flew like birds.").[4] Ashurbanipal's Garden Party – located in a private wing of Ashurbanipal's North Palace[5] – seems to be attuned mostly to this highest level of comprehension, implying an audience intimately familiar with court literature. Can we trace the Garden Party back to its literary roots? The main problem is that, unlike many other episodes on the reliefs, the Garden Party as a whole is not matched by any passage of the extant corpus of Ashurbanipal's royal inscriptions (Bonatz 2004: 98). Feldman bypasses this obstacle and reads the Garden Party as an allegory of cosmic order alluding to the Babylonian creation epos *Enuma Eliš* (Feldman 2014: 102–108).[6] I agree with Feldman's observation that the composition may be seen as a diagrammatic representation of society, with the king at the centre of the top register and wild marshes at its bottom. Additionally, however, I believe that it is possible to identify *specific* literary motifs encoded in the Garden Party scene from Ashurbanipal's royal inscriptions. As literary works, the inscriptions themselves are interwoven with references to a whole world of other texts, including the *Enuma Eliš* (Pongatz-Leisten 2015: 290–321). This thick mesh of allusions and references materializes in Assyrian narrative art, too. Nonetheless, in order to decode the literary background of the reliefs, it is first advisable to define and exhaust the direct links to the annalistic tradition. I argue that taking this point of view is a preliminary condition for any further exploration of deeper intertextual connections.

4 As in Grayson 1991: 197, A.0.101.1, i 58b–69a.

5 This location of a leisure scene in a side wing of the royal palace is reminiscent of an inscription commissioned in the 690s by King Sennacherib on portal sphinxes(?) at the entrance into the queen's suite in the west wing of the Southwest Palace at Nineveh. In the inscription, Sennacherib wishes for the queen and himself in those chambers many days of "physical and emotional bliss" (*ṭūb šīri u ḫud libbi*, after Frahm 2014: 190; cf. also Borger 1988 and Frahm 2008: 204 – the same remarkable expression is used as a generic wish for the king also by the scribes of Ashurbanipal: Hunger 1968: 101, no. 327, l. 12). On the difference between official and private royal banquets, see Ziffer 2003: 204.

6 On the *Enuma Eliš* in Assyria, cf. Frahm 2010 and Pongratz-Leisten 2015: 309–321.

Fig. 2 The Garden Party, central scene. BM 124920. 0.565×1.395 m. (Barnett 1975: 169)

The Garden Party and Ashurbanipal's Royal Inscriptions

In 664, intrigue was rampant in the land of Elam. After the death of king Urtak, the royal throne at Susa was seized by Teʾumman, the king's brother (Gerardi 1987: 128; Waters 2000: 474). Fearing for their lives, Urtak's sons and nephews, their families and entourage, dozens of notables and part of the Elamite army fled their homeland and sought refuge at the Assyrian court at Nineveh, where they waited for the winds to change (*BIWA*[7], B IV 72–86; Gerardi 1987: 133–134). As opposed to his brother's mostly pro-Assyrian politics, Teʾumman was a long-time champion of the anti-Assyrian cause in the contentious struggle for power at the Elamite court (Gerardi 1987: 131–132; Waters 2000). A decade later, in 653 (Gerardi 1987: 144), Ashurbanipal waged war against Teʾumman, in order to re-install to power the philo-Assyrian Elamites who had absconded to Nineveh. Ashurbanipal did not lead the campaign in person, but ordered the Assyrian army to join the loyalist Elamite troops stationed in Nineveh under the command of Ummanigaš, whom Ashurbanipal supported as legitimate heir to the crown of Elam (Weidner 1932–1933: 178, A1 I 1–3). The campaign culminated in a pitched battle at the River Ulai, near Susa, where Teʾumman was killed. His severed head was immediately sent to Assyria, where it was exhibited in public and embedded in various triumphal rituals. After the campaign, Ashurbanipal's scholars construed this episode and many other related events into a grand narrative with epic overtones, thickly interwoven with intertextual correspondences.[8] The longest and most elaborate version of this "Story of Teʾumman" appears in Editions B and D of Ashurbanipal's Annals (*BIWA*, B IV 87–VI 56), issued respectively in 649 and 648 (Gerardi 1987: 57. 241–242). These editions consecrate the birth of a series of

7 Here and in the following, *BIWA* = Borger 1996.

8 For example, the episode of the beheading of Teʾumman resonates with parallels with the story of the beheading of Humbaba in the *Epic of Gilgamesh* (Bonatz 2004: 100; Collins 2014: 627); the text also incorporates poetry verses (B v 63–70; Fales 1981: 173) and quotations from the *Enuma Eliš* and the *Erra Epos* (as proposed in *BIWA*, 101, 157).

literary motifs, bound together by the leitmotiv of Teʾumman's severed head (which was probably preserved and kept as a ritual fetish at the Assyrian court[9]). Later annals, issued when the figure of Teʾumman had long lost topicality (Gerardi 1987: 150), report only short versions of Teʾumman's story. However, the literary motifs connected to it lived on: they were a key recurrent reference for further episodes of the Elamite wars,[10] they were integrated into Ashurbanipal's titulary in commemorative inscriptions (Luckenbill 1927: 383, nos. 992. 996), and made it into historical omen compendia (Starr 1985: 65, Rm 2. 134, Rev. ll. 12–15; Pongratz-Leisten 2014: 44–45). Significantly, the Story of Teʾumman was also amply celebrated in narrative reliefs of both the South-West and the North Palace at Nineveh (Nadali 2007).

In order to explore the Garden Party's literary motifs, I propose to start from the cuneiform tablet K 8016, published by Livingstone in his volume on *Assyrian Court Poetry and Literary Miscellanea* (Livingstone 1989: 66–67, text no. 31).[11] The fragmentary tablet is inscribed with a version of Ashurbanipal's royal inscriptions not known elsewhere. In lines 12'–13', we learn of Teʾumman's insufferable insolence (*mēreḫtu*) in graphic terms:

> [12'] *iqabbi mā ˹la˺* [*aṣallal*] [13'] [*adi*] *bīt allakūni ina qabsi Nīnuʾa akal*[*ūni*
> [12'] […] he said: "I will not sleep [13'] until I have come and dined in the centre of Nineveh!"

This line of speech resonates with tragic irony: Teʾumman speaks in prophetic terms of the circumstances of his triumph, but the reader knows that he is actually involuntarily foreshadowing the circumstances of his death.[12] The severed head of Teʾumman in the Garden Party is an encoded reference to this literary motif, which, with poetic licence, we may call "Teʾumman's Last Supper". In short, the hanging head illustrates the *contrapasso* that Teʾumman must endure. Teʾumman comes indeed to the centre of Nineveh, but only as a mutilated trophy.[13] In the royal inscriptions, Ashurbanipal makes it clear what happens to the vestiges of enemies carried away to Nineveh:

---

9 Enemy heads could be preserved under salt (*BIWA*, A VII 39; Minunnu 2008: 19). On the value of the enemy head as a ritual and symbolic object, see Minunno 2008; Steinert 2012: 137–147; Dolce 2014: 51–54.

10 cf. *BIWA*, A IV 12–18. F III 59. B VII 22–25. C IX 72.

11 The connection between this text and the Garden Party has been indirectly suggested by Reade, editor of the illustrations of Livingstone's volume (Livingstone 1989: 68 Fig. 24); cf. also Nadali 2013: 86 no. 50.

12 In analogous passages, Frahm recognizes a typically Assyrian sense of humour (Frahm 1998: 156–158).

13 In a further passage of the royal inscriptions, severing the head from the body of a dead enemy (in that case: Nabû-bēl-šumāti) is tantamount to "turn his death into something even worse than before" (*BIWA*, A VII 46: UGU *ša maḫri metussu uttir*). Perhaps that is why, elsewhere, Ashurbanipal, upon receiving the head of Teʾumman, is said to have "cut the tendons of his face with a knife" (Weidner 1932–33: 181, no. 11; Russell 1999: 160).

[75'] *eṭemmēšūnu la ṣalālu ēmid* [76'] *kispī nāq mê uzammēšunūti*
[75'] I condemned their ghosts never to sleep, [76'] I deprived them of the food and drink for the dead.
(*BIWA*, A VI 75–76)

The rhetoric parallel between Teʾumman's ill-advised boast and the cruel afterlife in store for those lacking a proper burial must have been immediately evident to the ancient reader as it is to us now.[14] From the pictorial point of view, the Garden Party adds a touch of black humour: Teʾumman, forever deprived of sleep,[15] food, and drink, is forced to witness Ashurbanipal's lavish banquet.[16]

14 Ashurbanipal's claims in the royal inscription contain a literary reference to Tablet XII of the *Epic of Gilgamesh*, a key-text in Assyrian scribal circles (Frahm 1999). There, Gilgamesh interviews his friend Enkidu, who had descended to the Netherworld and come back:

> [150] "Did you see the one whose corpse was left lying in the open countryside?" "I saw him. [151] In the Netherworld, his ghost cannot sleep." [152] "Did you see the one who does not receive funerary offerings?" "I saw him. [153] He eats the scraps and crumbs tossed out in the street." (George 2003: 734–735, ll.150–153)

Cf. also the action taken in 700 by Marduk-apla-iddina II, leader of a Chaldean tribe, in order to save his people and the bones of his forefathers from defilement by Assyrian hands:

> [8] He collected the gods of his entire land, together with [9] the bones of his forefathers from their tombs, [10] loaded them and his people onto boats, and crossed over to the city Nagītu, which is on the other side of the Bitter Sea. In that place, [11] he disappeared. (Grayson/Novotny 2012: 221, ll. 8–11)

The same literary motif survives in the prophecy of Isaiah against the king of Babylon:

> [18] All the kings of the nations lie in glory, each in his own tomb; [19] but you are cast out, away from your grave, like a loathed branch, clothed with the slain, those pierced by the sword, who go down to the stones of the pit, like a dead body trampled underfoot. (Is. 14: 18–19)

15 On the use of sleep as a metaphor or euphemism for death in Mesopotamian literature, see Hallo 1993.

16 There may be a further layer of allusion to Teʾumman's speech. Gaspa places the quote from SAA 3, 31: 12'–13' as opening epigraph of his study of elite banquets in Assyria, suggesting that, at Teʾumman's time, the court of Nineveh may have had an international reputation for its *haute cuisine* (Gaspa 2012). At the same time, Elamite cuisine too had a long-standing (rival?) fame (cf. recipies in Bottéro 1995: 9–10). In the Garden Party, the juxtaposition of consumption of rare delicacies and annihilation of the enemy may also be encoded into the somewhat incongruous image of a locust depicted near the hanging head of Teʾumman (Albenda 1977: 32). Locusts were much appreciated as culinary tidbits at the Assyrian court; at the same time, the likening of the enemy army to a swarm of locusts (a serious threat to agriculture) is a well-known simile in Iron Age literature, applied to the Elamites in Ashurbanipals' annals (*BIWA*, B IV 46; cf. also Lion/Michel 1997). Thus, the locust in the Garden Party may have served to enhance the significance of the represented banquet as "a *redde rationem* […] a gastronomic triumph of the Assyrian king, who, once again, demonstrates his ability in protecting the land and eliminating external threats" (Gaspa 2012: 191). Milano (2005: 58–64) has discussed how, in the royal inscriptions, animal similes are applied both to the king and his enemies, according to opposing principles: his observations can be usefully compared with the use of animal similes detected on the

In the royal inscriptions, Teʾumman's pseudo-prophetic hubris has two sides. On one side, there are Teʾumman's insolent utterances: he is "an arrogant boaster" (*multarḫu*: *BIWA*, A III 37).[17] On the other side, there is Teʾumman's guilty failure to acknowledge bad omens foreboding his annihilation: he "does not respect the gods" (*la mušaqir ilī*: *BIWA*, B V 35).[18] The inscriptions report:

> [3'] *Teʾumman lemuttu* [4'] *ištenēʾa Sin ištenēʾašu* [5'] *ittāt lemutti*
> [3'] Teʾumman for evil [4'] was seeking; Sin was seeking [5'] for him evil omens
> (*BIWA*, B V 3–5)

Among the bad omens that Teʾumman incautiously disregards on the eve of the war against Ashurbanipal, one manifests himself on the Elamite king's own face:

> [10'] *ina ūmēšu miḫru imḫuršuma* [11'] *šapātsu uktambilma* [12'] *ēnušu iṣḫirma gabaṣu iššakin ina libbiša*
> [10'] At that time he was affected by an affliction[19]: [11'] his lip became lame, [12'] his eye shrunk and twisted up inside.
> (*BIWA*, B V 10–12)

In the Garden Party relief, the head of Teʾumman is depicted with the left eyelid tightly shut over a deformed eye socket (Fig. 3). This detail is a direct reference to the literary motif introduced above, which we may call "Teʾumman's Evil Eye", and which stands for Teʾumman's disregard for omens.[20] Teʾumman's head has distinctive physical features consistently applied every time it is portrayed, allowing the informed viewer to immediately identify the subject (Collins 2006: 4) – and to link it to its literary background. While the deformed eye refers to the king's arrogant ignorance of divine signs, the receding hairline and shaggy hairs are grotesque physiognomic indexes of a vile and wicked personality (Collins 2014: 632–633). These features parallel passages of the royal inscriptions where Teʾumman is described as *tamšīl gallê*, "the spitting image of an evil demon" (*BIWA*, B IV 74) or, alternatively, *ḫiriṣ gallê*, "the exact copy of an evil demon", (*BIWA*, 198, 66-5-19.1, l. 7').[21] In the Garden

---

reliefs, yet a systematic study in this sense is still lacking.

17 For an investigation of the literary topic of the "arrogant enemy" in Assyrian royal propaganda, see Aster 2007: 265–268.

18 On the key role of prophetic oracles in Ashurbanipal's war against Elam, see de Jong 2007: 276–278; Pongratz-Leisten 1999: 120–122; Bahrani 2004; Bahrani 2008: 41–47; Nissinen 1998: 52–61.

19 This passage makes use of a polyptoton, i. e., a repetition of the same root word.

20 In the royal inscriptions, the moon god Sin sends two simultaneous bad omens to Teʾumman: the contracting eye, that is, a physiognomic omen, and a lunar eclipse, that is, an astronomical omen (*BIWA*, B V 5–8). The omina suggest an interesting logic analogy between the moon as part of the cosmic macrocosm and the eye as part of the body microcosm.

21 On the enemy as a literary figure and "theatrical mask" in Assyrian royal inscriptions, see Fales 1982. Cf. also Pongratz-Leisten 2015: 297–299.

Party, Teʾumman's ugliness is visually opposed to the "radiant features" of Ashurbanipal (*būni namruti*; Hunger 1968: 101, no. 327, l. 11)[22]. Along the same lines, the literary tradition describes Teʾumman as the living opposite of Ashurbanipal, down to the physiognomic aspects of their faces. Divine intervention confounds Teʾumman's "intelligent judgement" (*milik ṭēmešu*; *BIWA*, B V 22) and causes his eye to contract and close. On the other hand, colophons inform us that the gods endowed Ashurbanipal with "big ears" (*uznu rapaštu*) and "a bright eye" (*īnu namirtu*; e. g., Hunger 1968: 98, no. 319, ll. 3–4)[23], that is, attentiveness and insight (Nevling Porter 2009: 215). In the Garden Party, the conceptual opposition of Ashurbanipal's and Teʾumman's faces is also visually expressed by their specular position within the compositional space, with Ashurbanipal's steady gaze on Teʾumman's face turned upside down.[24]

Fig. 3 The Garden Party, detail. From Barnett 1975: 171.

Let us turn to the image of Ashurbanipal reclining on a couch, drinking from a wine bowl and listening to music.[25] This image is unusual in Assyrian iconography. Barnett defines it "one of the most remarkable, but also one of the most enigmatic, subjects in Ancient Near Eastern Art" (Barnett 1985: 1). The formal display of regalia and war trophies suggests that the depicted event was connected with victory celebrations and followed ritualized patterns (Barnett 1985; Deller 1987; May 2012), yet the identification of the scene with a specific ritual is still a matter of speculation.

22 On the proverbial "beautiful face" (*pānu damqu*) of the Assyrian king, see Parpola 1983: 208.

23 Further equivalent epithets in Hunger 1968: no. 325, l. 2. no. 326, l. 3. no. 329, l. 2. no. 338, l. 4.

24 The symbolic meaning encoded into this visual opposition is also significantly highlighted by the fact that Ashurbanipal's face and his libating hand were deliberately and accurately chiselled out in antiquity, presumably by "mutilation teams" led by angry Elamite officers that went around the palace in the days after the fall of Nineveh in 612 (Nevling Porter 2009: 218–220).

25 A servant approaches with a tray of cakes. On the cakes and the possible religious symbolism attached to them, see Gaspa 2012: 197–198.

Banquet imagery on Phoenician bowls (Matthäus 1985, no. 424–426)[26], the prophet Amos' famous description of lavish banquets in Samaria (Amos 6: 4–7) and a Luwian inscription from the region of Kayseri, Turkey (Hawkins 2000, Kululu 2) prove that Ashurbanipal's dining etiquette and the reclining couch were part of a courtly lifestyle imported from the cities of the Levant, which impressed the Assyrian elite as models of savoir-vivre.[27] Essentially, the Garden Party shows the king at leisure, arms laid down, surrounded by the signs of his might, in a festive atmosphere of ritual celebration. This image parallels in all its defining aspects a key passage of the royal inscriptions, where Ashurbanipal reports an oracle sent to him by the goddess Ishtar. The oracle arrives when Teʾumman is preparing to wage war against Assyria. Ashurbanipal, in tears, supplicates Ishtar to tell him what to do. The goddess answers at night, in a dream sent to a *šabrû*, a professional "seer".[28] In the dream, she appears dressed for battle and commands:

> [64] *lū ašbāta ašar maškānika* [65] *akul akālu šiti kurunnu* [66] *ningûtu šukun nuʾid ilūtī* [67] *adi allaku šipru šuātu eppušu* [68] *ušakšadu ṣummerāt libbika* [69] *pānūka ul urraq ul inarruṭā šēpēka* [70] *ul tašammaṭ zūtka ina qabal tamḫāri*
> [64] Stay in your residence! [65] Eat food, drink wine, [66] organize a feast with joyful music and praise my divinity, [67] while I go, carry out this work for you [68] and let you attain your heart's desire. [69] Your face shall not thin out, your legs shall not tremble, [70] you shall not wipe away sweat in the middle of the battle!
> (*BIWA*, B V 64–70; Parpola 1997: XVII; Nissinen 2003: 148)

Ishtar's words are the most explicit among a consistent number of "good omens, dreams, oracles and prophetic messages" (*BIWA*, B V 95) sent to Ashurbanipal by the gods, legitimizing his choice to remain in Nineveh and not to march into battle with his army.[29] The Garden Party entails a direct reference to this literary motif, which we may call "the Prescribed Feast". The reliefs are a pictorial illustration of Ashurbanipal following the command of the gods and accepting the good fate decreed by them for him. The informed viewer recognizes the motif of Ashurbanipal listening to the divine

26 Cf. also the "picnic in the palm grove" depicted on a Cypro-Archaic pottery amphora from Amathus, Cyprus (des Gagniers 1972; Stach 2007: pl. 3) and the image on a fragment of an 8th-century bronze shield found at the Idaean Cave in Crete (Matthäus 2000: 545 fig. 20).

27 Not unlikely the way in which Levantine and Eastern Mediterranean habits inspired the Archaic Greek aristocratic ideal of ἁβροσύνη, or "luxurious lifestyle" (Kurke 1992).

28 For the analysis of this dream in the context of ancient Near Eastern oneiromancy, see Oppenheim 1956: 200–201.

29 An analogous oracle (of Ishtar?) to Ashurbanipal, dated 650, invites Ashurbanipal to "sit down" while the gods "put the enemy countries in order" and includes the vision of a rich banquet: Parpola 1997, 42–43 (SAA 9 11), with the discussion at pages XLVI–XLVII, LXXI; cf. also Nissinen 1998: 54. From the literary point of view, both oracles can be framed within the ancient Near Eastern "carpe diem" wisdom tradition or "vanity literature" that spans from Sumerian compositions and the *Epic of Gilgamesh* to the Qohelet (most recently, Samet 2015).

Fig. 4 Elamite kings serving food and drink for Ashurbanipal. BM 124794. 0.55×0.67. (Barnett 1975: 167)

orders, keeping away from the perils of war, preserving his bodily health and letting the gods and his army fight and win on his behalf.

To the spectator's left, a procession of male figures is shown approaching the Garden Party (Fig. 4). Some of them are Assyrian officers; others creep and crawl on all four. An epigraph placed above the scene identifies the latter as "all the rulers of the world" (Gerardi 1988: 25), paying homage to Ashurbanipal. Two figures with a bulbous headgear are singled out: they stand and hold a wine bottle and a fly-whisk. In line with the iconography,[30] the epigraph identifies the figures as "kings of Elam, whom, with the encouragement of Assur and Ninlil, my hands conquered […] they stood(?), they prepared their royal meal with their own hands and they brought it [before me]" (Gerardi 1988: ibidem). In all probability, the two personages are the Elamite kings Tammaritu and Ummanaldaš, whom – the royal inscriptions report – were both employed as servants in Ashurbanipal's palace as part of their political humiliation. Concerning Ummanaldaš, the royal inscriptions says:

> [6] *Ummanaldaš šar Elam* [7] *ša ultu ulla Aššur u Ištar bēlūtija* [8] *iqbû ana epēš ardūti-ja* […] [16] *balṭussu alqaššu ana Aššur*

30 On the North Palace reliefs, the bulbous headgear is the fashion for Elamite royalty after Teʾumman's defeat (Albenda 1976: 62–63).

[6] Ummanaldaš, king of Elam, [7] who since remote times Aššur and Ištar, my lords, [8] had predicted would be my servant […] [16] I took him alive to Assyria.[31]
(*BIWA*, A X 6–16)

Lanfranchi and Fales argue that this last passage employs the verb *qabû* in its technical meaning of "predict", referring to "some kind of prophecy rendered by the gods" (Lanfranchi/Fales 1997: 115, n. 23).[32]

In conclusion, the Garden Party is an image or, better, a complex pictorial landscape dense with allusions to divination, oracles, and prophecies. The same allusions structure the story of the Elam wars as reported in the royal inscriptions and pertain to episodes that punctuate the entire span of Ashurbanipal's military engagement in Elam: from the war against Teʾumman, dating to the year 653, to its final act, the public humiliation of Ummanaldaš and Tammaritu in 645.[33] In the Garden Party, "what is actually displayed in abbreviated manner is the outcome of events dealing with several major campaigns dealing with the kings of Elam" (Albenda 1977: 31).[34] The organizing principle of this "summary tableau" is the archetypical contrast between Teʾumman and Ashurbanipal. According to this principle, the Garden Party is a tale of two banquets. On one side, there is the "evil" banquet envisaged by Teʾumman, which, in the reliefs, morphs into its cruel reverse.[35] On the other side, there is the "just" banquet prescribed to Ashurbanipal by Ishtar, which, in the reliefs, is telescoped together with its outcome, the trophies of the victory over Elam. At the same time, the Garden Party is also the pictorial counterpart of two literary speeches: the insolent boasts of Teʾumman on one side, and the prophetic words of Ishtar on the other side.

The Scholarly Origin of Assyrian Narrative Art

The case of the literary motifs encoded into Ashurbanipal's Garden Party is emblematic of the entanglement between narrative art and royal inscriptions in Assyria. As we have seen, many key compositional elements of the Garden Party can be fully appreciated only by a cultivated audience. In fact, this "literary dimension" is a defining characteristic of Assyrian narrative art in general. In the following, I would like

31 For Tammaritu, cf. *BIWA*, B VII 71: *Tammaritu ana epēš ardūtija ramānšu imnūma*, "Tammaritu counted himself to the number of my servants" and B VII 75–76: *Tammaritu nīšê mala ittišu qereb ekallija ulzissūnūti*, "Tammaritu and the people with him I had work as servants in my palace".

32 Cf. also Nissinen 1998: 53.

33 It has been noted that the haruspices' guild may have been involved in the composition of royal inscriptions: Tadmor/Landsberger/Parpola 1989: 50–51. On the presence of prophecies and the "orgy of divine punishments" for enemy kings in Ashurbanipal's annals, see Liverani 2017: 140–141.

34 For analogous observations, cf. Nadali 2013: 87–88, with no. 54.

35 Perhaps, Ashurbanipal's banquet may also be intended as a mockery of a funerary ritual: evidence for serving royal meals in a garden and apportioning part of it to funerary offerings and to the goddess Ishtar is found in texts from Mari (Schmidt 1996: 34–35).

to discuss a number of implications concerning the degree of literacy and scholarly curriculum of the Assyrian artistic milieu.

It appears that a great number, perhaps even the totality of episodes depicted on Assyrian narrative reliefs are *directly* derived from the corpus of the royal inscriptions. In some cases – the Garden Party among them – the visual rendering of the textual sources is remarkably sophisticated. A crucial question, therefore, concerns the protocol for the reliefs' production: which passages led from the textual to the visual narrative? Through a comparative analysis of epigraphs on reliefs and collections of epigraphs on clay tablets, Russell has been able to retrace a sequence of operative steps that links the literary corpus to the reliefs (Russell 1999: 187–199). This *chaîne opératoire* appears to have been analogous to that behind the composition of the royal inscriptions (as envisaged by Tadmor 1997: 332; Fales 2006: 83). At the beginning, specific motifs were selected from the royal inscriptions and drafted in short descriptive epigraphs on tablets (e.g., BM 83-1-18, 442; Russell 1999: 197–198). This preliminary draft was then negotiated and emended, and "verbal scripts" for the visual compositions were compiled (Russell 1999: 198–199). Based on the choice of motifs, short captions for salient episodes and/or personages were composed (Russell 1999: 194). The king, who exercised a critical eye,[36] approved the final program (Russell 1999: 190). The specialists involved in this procedure appear to have been acutely aware of the difference between textual and visual mechanisms of communication.[37] The choice of topics and motifs for the narrative reliefs was weighted differently than for the royal inscriptions and adjusted for a broader audience, with a great focus on military deeds and less attention to theological motifs (Fales 2006: 87–88. 94–95; Liverani 2017: 101. 127–128). In short, topics were selected that were considered more suitable for visual representation than others.

However, the royal inscriptions are not only a reservoir of literary motifs. They also tell stories according to specific narrative codes and conventions – and the same is true for the cycles of reliefs. As the case of the Garden Party demonstrates, narrative reliefs do not merely illustrate episodes of the royal inscriptions, but rather are structured in significant parts according to the same narrative codes.[38] In other words,

36 Cf. CT 53 387 for a critical enquire of Sargon about missing relief epigraphs with the personal names of distinguished military officials (Lanfranchi/Parpola 1990, no. 282). The letter also indicates the importance accorded to the explicit mention of names for fame's sake. This is well exemplified by the episode – recorded on relief – in which Urtakku, an evidently chivalrous Elamite official, exhorts an Assyrian soldier to cut off his head, bring it to the (Assyrian) king and „make a good name for himself" (Russell 1999: 172). On this specific path to eternal fame in Assyria, cf. Radner 2011.

37 Cf. Sennacherib's ekphrasis of the reliefs on the doors of the *bīt akīti ša ṣeri* outside Assur and the explicit mentions of related motifs treated only in inscriptions (Grayson/Novotny 2014, Sennacherib 160).

38 This aspect was already observed in the early 20th century by Curtius (1913: 272), who coined the term "Bildannalen" for Assyrian narrative art and characterized it as such: "Nicht nur die einzelne bedeutende Szene […] sondern eine an den Gang des faktischen geschichtlichen Geschehens selbst gebundene Darstellung, die zu zeigen hat, wie ein Ereignis wird".

the spatial composition of the visual motifs appears to be organized according to principles analogous to those applied to the textual composition of the literary motifs (Winter 1981; Fales 2005: 163–164; Fales 2006: 94–95. 107, no. 45). By the time of Ashurbanipal, royal inscriptions had become considerably long in content, complex in structure and ambitious in style, and exactly so did the narrative reliefs. The Garden Party exemplifies this growth in complexity and sophistication. The discussion above adds to the results of other comparative analyses of literary and visual narrative codes, such as those done for the throne room of Ashurnasirpal II (Winter 1983; Roaf 2008) and Sennacherib (Nadali 2008; Jeffers 2011). Essentially, this avenue of research combines a semiotic approach to the royal inscriptions with narratological concepts of graphic storytelling applied to Assyrian narrative art (as explored in Battini 2013; Watanabe 2004; 2014; Jia 2014: 105–114).

If correct, these observations suggest that the master sculptors were educated in the scribal milieu of the royal court, worked in close contact with its master scholars, and were intimately familiar with a range of texts directly pertinent to the royal inscriptions (Novotny/Watanabe 2008: 117. 120. 122; Roaf 2008: 211).[39] In fact, it is conceivable that the master sculptors designed the visual details of their projects in collaboration with the *rab ṭupšarri*, the "chief scribe", who superintended over the composition of the royal inscriptions (Luukko 2007; Tadmor/Landsberger/Parpola 1989: 51). The artists' high status is confirmed by the fact that the Assyrian king Sennacherib was proud to call himself "a maker of sculptures in relief […] by my own artistic ability" (Grayson/Novotny 2014: Sennacherib 160, ll. 1, 6; Berlejung 2007: 13, no. 22).

In this view, Assyrian narrative art is a direct product of the scribal schools and scholarly circles active at the Assyrian capitals. This proposition has direct consequences for the time scope and geographical range of this specific art form. Assyrian narrative art, as opposed to other forms of monumental art,[40] enjoyed only a very

39 Explicit information about sculptors and their curriculum are poor. The Assyrian terms for specialists are *urrāku* for "sculptor" (perhaps to be intended as a more generic term for any "art designer": Frahm 2003: 166, no. 7) and *ēṣiru* for "engraver" (cf. *uṣurtu*, "relief"). The degree of proficiency in the naturalistic rendering of animal anatomy is indicative of a close study in the royal zoo and manège (Curtius 1913: 284), confirming the impression that (master) sculptors were professional figures with regular access to the royal compound.

40 I include in this category all Assyrian reliefs that are not narrative in nature, including stelas, rock reliefs and the life-size images of tribute-bearers, servants etc. decorating building façades and corridors of the Assyrian palaces. This latter kind of monumental images reflects the nature of the activities that took place on special occasions in the locations where the reliefs were erected. This unique and specific connection between images and architecture – which we may term "immersive" or, perhaps, "situative" – was probably inspired by artistic conventions of the Hittite-influenced West (Gilibert 2011; Gilibert 2015). As opposed to narrative reliefs, "situative" reliefs enjoyed great favour also after the collapse of the Assyrian empire, notably in the Achemenid Empire. If compared to "situative" reliefs, Assyrian narrative reliefs are remarkably disconnected from the built environment. In a few cases, however, a play between architectural space and represented image can be detected: one may think of the *lamassu* reliefs at king Sennacherib's Southwest Palace. The Garden

limited life outside the core of the Assyrian empire. Although Assyrian monuments were expressively created "to be (universally) admired,"[41] provincial centres, vassal courts and antagonistic powers with a less sophisticated level or an altogether different concept of scholarly expertise never did feel its appeal and consequently did not appropriate Assyrian narrative art for themselves. This is because they had neither the competences nor the interest to reproduce an art form whose genesis was inextricably entangled with the unique scribal environment of the Assyrian capitals and with the self-indoctrination of its literate intelligentsia.[42]

Bibliography

Albenda, P.
1976 Landscape bas-reliefs in the Bīt-Ḫilāni of Ashurbanipal, *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 224, 49–72.
1977 Landscape bas-reliefs in the Bīt-Ḫilāni of Ashurbanipal, *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 225, 29–48.

Aster, S. Z.
2007 The image of Assyria in Isaiah 2:5–22: the Campaign Motif reversed, *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 127/3, 249–278.

Ataç, M.-A.
2012 "The charms of tyranny:" conceptions of power in the "Garden Scene" of Ashurbanipal reconsidered. In: G. Wilhelm (ed.), *Organization, Representation, and Symbols of Power in the Ancient Near East*. 54th Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale at Würzburg, 20–25 July 2008 (Winona Lake), 411–427.

Bahrani, Z.
2008 *Rituals of War: The Body and Violence in Mesopotamia* (New York).
2004 The king's head, *Iraq* 66, 115–119.

Barnett, R. D.
1985 Ashurbanipal's feast, *Eretz Israel* 18, 1*–6*.
1970 *Assyrian Palace Reliefs in the British Museum* (London).

Scene may also be called upon to suggest an altogether different correlation between architecture and image, namely one that may lead to hypothesize that, at least in some cases and only to an extent that is still to be determined, the degree of visual sophistication and intertextuality would increase with the decrease of the degree of space accessibility: i.e., the more secluded the room, the more "complex" the image.

41 *ana tabrâti*: Grayson/Novotny 2012: Sennacherib 17, vi 30–36; cf. also the explicit passage in Sargon's inscriptions: Fuchs 1994: 240–241. 354 ll. 165–166. For a discussion on the audience in Russell 1991: 223–240; Fales 2006: 88–94; Siddall 2013: 146–147; Liverani 2017: 75–86.

42 On propaganda and self-indoctrination, cf. Liverani 1979: 302; Cooley 2014: 11–12; Liverani 2017: 101.

Battini, L.
2013 Time "pulled up" in Ashurnasirpal's reliefs. In: L. Feliu et al. (eds.), *Time and History in the ancient Near East*. Proceedings of the 56th Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale at Barcelona, 26–30 July 2010 (Winona Lake), 35–46.

Berlejung, A.
2007 Die Reduktion von Komplexität. Das theologische Profil einer Gottheit und seine Umsetzung in der Ikonographie am Beispiel des Gottes Aššur im Assyrien des 1. Jt. v. Chr. In: B. Groneberg/H. Spieckermann (Hrsg.), *Die Welt der Götterbilder* (Berlin), 9–58.

Bonatz, D.
2004 Ashurbanipal's headhunt: an anthropological perspective, *Iraq* 66, 93–101.

Borger, R.
1996 *Beiträge zum Inschriftenwerk Assurbanipals. Die Prismenklassen A, B, C = K, D, E, F, G, H, J, and T sowie andere Inschriften*. Mit einem Beitrag von Andreas Fuchs (Wiesbaden).
1988 König Sanheribs Eheglück, *Annual Review of the Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia Project* 6, 5–11.

Bottéro, J.
1995 *Textes culinaires Mésopotamiens*. Mesopotamian Civilizations 6 (Winona Lake).

Collins, P.
2014 Gods, heroes, rituals and violence: warfare in Neo-Assyrian Art. In: B. Brown/M. H. Feldman (eds.), *Critical Approaches to Ancient Near Eastern Art* (Berlin), 619–644.
2004 The symbolic landscape of Ashurbanipal, *Notes in the History of Art* 23/3, 1–6.
2006 The development of the individual enemy in Assyrian art, *Notes in the History of Art* 25/3, 1–8.

Cooley, J. L.
2014 Propaganda, prognostication, and planets. In: A. Lenzi/J. Stökl (eds.), *Divination, Politics and Ancient Near Eastern Empires*. Ancient Near East Monographs 7 (Atlanta), 7–32.

Curtius, L.
1913 *Die antike Kunst*, Band I (Berlin).

Deller, K.
1987 Assurbanipal in der Gartenlaube, *BaM* 18, 232–234.

des Gagniers, J.
1972 Une fête champêtre sur une amphore d'Amathonte, *Revue Archéologique* 1, 53–56.

de Jong, M. J.
2007 *Isaiah among the Ancient Near Eastern Prophets: A Comparative Study of the Earliest Stages of the Isaiah Tradition and the Neo-Assyrian Prophecies*. Vetus Testamentum, Supplements 117 (Leiden).

Dolce, R.
2014 *"Perdere la testa". Aspetti e valori della decapitazione nel Vicino Oriente antico* (Roma).
Fales, F. M.
2006 Narrazione visuale e testuale: il caso delle campagne militari assire. In: *L'arte nel Vicino Oriente antico: bellezza, rappresentazione, espressione*. Atti del convegno internazionale, Milano, 12 ottobre 2005 (Milano), 79–116.
2005 Tiglat-Pileser III tra annalistica reale e epistolografia quotidiana. In: F. Pecchioli-Daddi/M. C. Guidotti, *Narrare gli eventi. Atti del convegno degli egittologi e degli orientalisti italiani in margine alla mostra „La Battaglia di Qadesh"*. Studia Asiana 3 (Roma), 163–191.
1982 The enemy in Assyrian royal inscriptions: 'the moral judgement'. In: H.-J. Nissen/J. Renger (eds.), *Mesopotamien und seine Nachbarn: politische und kulturelle Wechselbeziehungen im alten Vorderasien vom 4. bis 1. Jahrtausend v. Chr.* BBVO 1 (Berlin), 425–435.
1981 A literary code in Assyrian royal inscriptions: the case of Ashurbanipal's Egyptian campaigns. In: F. M. Fales (ed.), *Assyrian Royal Inscriptions: New Horizons in Literary, Ideological, and Historical Analysis. Papers of a symposium held in Cetona. (Siena), June 26–28, 1980* (Roma), 169–202.
Feldman, M.
2014 *Communities of Style: Portable Luxury Arts, Identity and Collective Memory in the Iron Age Levant* (Chicago).
Frahm, E.
2014 Family matters: psychohistorical reflections on Sennacherib and his times. In: I. Kalimi/S. Richardson (eds.), *Sennacherib at the Gates of Jerusalem: Story, History, and Historiography*. Culture and History of the Ancient Near East 71 (Leiden), 163–222.
2010 Counter-texts, commentaries, and adaptations: politically motivated responses to the Babylonian Epic of Creation in Mesopotamia, the Biblical world, and elsewhere, *Orient: Reports of the Society for Near Eastern Studies in Japan* 45, 3–33.
2008 Sanheribs Baubericht auf dem Tonprisma VA 5634. In: F. Pedde/S. Lundström, *Der Alte Palast in Assur. Architektur und Baugeschichte*. Mit einem Beitrag von Eckart Frahm. WVDOG 120 (Wiesbaden), 201–204.
2003 Review of J. M. Russell, The Writing on the Wall (Winona Lake 1999), *Bibliotheca Orientalis* 60, 162–169.
1999 Nabû-zuqup-kēnu, das Gilgameš-epos und der Tod Sargons II, *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* 51, 73–90.
1998 Humor in assyrischen Königsinschriften. In: J. Prosecky (ed.), *Intellectual Life of the Ancient Near East*. Papers presented at the 43rd Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale, Prague, July 1–5, 1996) (Prague), 147–162.
Fuchs, A.
1994 *Die Inschriften Sargons II. aus Khorsabad* (Göttingen).

Gaspa, S.
2012 La cucina del dio e del re nell'alimentazione dell'impero assiro. In: L. Milano (ed.), *Mangiare divinamente. Pratiche e simbologie alimentari nel Vicino Oriente*. Collana di studi sulle civiltà dell'Oriente antico 20 (Firenze), 177–232.

George, A. R.
2003 *The Babylonian Gilgamesh Epic. Introduction*, Critical Edition and Cuneiform Texts. Volume 1 (Oxford).

Gerardi, P.
1987 *Assurbanipal's Elamite Campaigns: A Literary and Political Study*. PhD dissertation, University of Pennsylvania (Philadelphia).

Gilibert, A.
2015 Religion and Propaganda under the Great Kings of Karkemiš. In: A. d'Agostino/V. Orsi/G. Torri (eds.), *Sacred landscapes of Hittites and Luwians, proceedings of the International Conference in Honour of Franca Pecchioli Daddi, Florence, February 6th–8th 2014*. Studia Asiana 9 (Firenze), 137–155.
2011 *Syro-Hittite Monumental Art and the Archaeology of Performance: The Stone Reliefs at Carchemish and Zincirli in the Earlier First Millennium BCE*. TOPOI Berlin Studies of the Ancient World 2 (Berlin).

Grayson, A. K.
1991 *Assyrian Rulers of the Early First Millennium BC. I (1114–859 BC)* (Toronto).

Grayson, A. K./Novotny, J.
2012 *The Royal Inscriptions of Sennacherib, King of Assyria (704–681 BC), Part 1*. RINAP 3/1 (Winona Lake).

Hallo, W. W.
1993 Disturbing the dead. In: M. Fishbane/M. Brettler (eds.), *Minḥah le-Naḥum: biblical and other studies presented to Nahum M. Sarna in honour of his 70th birthday* (Sheffield), 183–192.

Hawkins, J.-D.
2000 *Corpus of Hieroglyphic Luwian Inscriptions. Vol 1. Inscriptions of the Iron Age*. Untersuchungen zur indogermanischen Sprach- und Kulturwissenschaft, N. F., 8.1 (Berlin).

Hunger, H.
1968 *Babylonische und assyrische Kolophone*. AOAT 2 (Kevelaer).

Jeffers, J.
2011 Fifth campaign reliefs in Sennacherib's 'Palace Without Rival' at Nineveh, *Iraq* 73, 87–116.

Jia, Y.
2014 *Imperial doors of Assyria: monumentality, spatiality, and rituality of the Neo-Assyrian architectural doors from Balawat*. PhD dissertation, Harvard University.

Karlsson, M.
2016 *Relations of Power in Early Neo-Assyrian Ideology*. SANER 10 (Berlin).
Kurke, L.
1992 The politics of ἁβροσύνη in Archaic Greece, *Classical Antiquity* 11/1, 91–120.
Lanfranchi, G. B./Parpola, S.
1990 *The Correspondence of Sargon II. Part II: Letters from the Northern and Northeastern Provinces*. SAA 5 (Helsinki).
Lion, B./Michel, C.
1997 Criquets et autres insects à Mari, *MARI* 8, 707–724.
Liverani, M.
1979 The ideology of the Assyrian empire. In: M. T. Larsen (ed.), *Power and Propaganda. A symposium on ancient empires*. Copenhagen Studies in Assyriology 7 (Copenhagen), 297–317.
2017 *Assiria. La Preistoria dell'Imperialismo* (Bari).
Livingstone, A.
1989 *Court Poetry and Literary Miscellanea*. SAA 3 (Helsinki).
Luckenbill, D. D.
1927 *Ancient Records of Assyria and Babylonia, Vol. 2: Historical Records of Assyria From Sargon to the End* (Chicago).
Luukko, M.
2007 The administrative roles of the "Chief Scribe" and the "Palace Scribe" in the Neo-Assyrian period, *State Archives of Assyria Bulletin* 16, 227–256.
Matthäus, H.
2000 Die idäische Zeus-Grotte auf Kreta. Griechenland und der Vordere Orient im frühen 1. Jahrtausend v. Chr., *Archäologischer Anzeiger* 2000, 517–547.
1985 *Metallgefäße und Gefäßuntersätze der Bronzezeit, der geometrischen und archaischen Periode auf Cypern, mit einem Anhang der bronzezeitlichen Schwertfunde auf Cypern*. Prähistorische Bronzefunde Abt. II, Band 8 (München).
Matthiae, P.
1988 Realtà storica e livelli di lettura nei rilievi narrativi di Assurnasirpal II a Nimrud, *Scienze dell'Antichità* 2, 347–376.
May, N.
2012 Royal triumph as an aspect of the Neo-Assyrian decorative program. In: G. Wilhelm (ed.), *Organization, Representation, and Symbols of Power in the Ancient Near East. 54th Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale at Würzburg, 20–25 July 2008*. RAI 54 (Winona Lake), 461–488.
Milano, L.
2005 Il nemico bestiale. Su alcune caratteristiche animalesche del nemico nella letteratura sumero-accadica. In: E. Cingano/A. Ghersetti/L. Milano (eds.), *Animali tra zoologia, mito e letteratura nella cultura classica e orientale*. Quaderni del Dipartimento di Scienze dell'Antichità e del Vicino Oriente 1 (Padova), 47–67.

Minunno, G.
2008 Pratiche di mutilazione dei nemici caduti nel Vicino Oriente antico, *Mesopotamia* 43, 9–30.
Nadali, D.
2013 Outcomes of battle: triumphal celebrations in Assyria. In: A. Spalinger/J. Armstrong (eds.), *Rituals of Triumph in the Mediterranean World*. Culture and History of the Ancient Near East 63 (Leiden), 75–94.
2008 The role of the image of the king in the organizational and compositional principles of Sennacherib's throneroom: a guide to historical narrative and meaning of a specified message. In: H. Kühne/R. M. Czichon/F. J. Kreppner (eds.), *Proceedings of the 4th ICAANE, 29 March – 3 April 2004, Freie Universität Berlin* (Wiesbaden), 473–493.
2007 Ashurbanipal against Elam: figurative patterns and architectural location of the Elamite wars, *Historiae 4*, 57–91.
Nevling Porter, B.
2009 Noseless in Nimrud: more figurative responses to Assyrian domination. In: M. Luukko/S. Svärd/R. Mattila (eds.), *Of god(s), Trees, Kings, and Scholars. Neo-Assyrian and related studies in honour of Simo Parpola*. Studia Orientalia 106 (Helsinki), 201–220.
Nissinen, M.
2003 *Prophets and Prophecy in the Ancient Near East*. Writings from the Ancient World 12 (Atlanta).
1998 *References to Prophecy in Neo-Assyrian Sources*. SAAS 7 (Helsinki).
Novotny, J./Watanabe, C. E.
2008 After the fall of Babylon: a new look at the presentation scene on Assurbanipal relief BM ME 124945–6, *Iraq* 70, 105–125.
Oppenheim, A. L.
1956 *The Interpretation of Dreams in the Ancient Near East: With a translation of an Assyrian dream-book* (Philadelphia).
Parpola, S.
1997 *Assyrian Prophecies*. SAA 9 (Helsinki).
1983 *Letters from Assyrian Scholars to the Kings Esarhaddon and Assurbanipal. Part II: Commentary and Appendix*. AOAT 5/2 (München).
Pongratz-Leisten, B.
2015 *Religion and Ideology in Assyria*. SANER 6 (Berlin).
2014 The king at the crossroads between divination and cosmology. In: A. Lenzi/J. Stökl (eds.), *Divination, Politics and Ancient Near Eastern Empires*. Society of Biblical Literature Ancient Near East Monographs 7 (Atlanta), 33–48.
1999 *Herrschaftswissen in Mesopotamien: Formen der Kommunikation zwischen Gott und König im 2. und 1. Jahrtausend v. Chr.* SAAS 10 (Helsinki).

Radner, K.
2011 Fame and prizes: competition and war in the Neo-Assyrian empire. In: N. Fisher/H. van Wees (eds.), *Competition in the Ancient World* (Swansea) 37–57.
Reed, S.
2007 Blurring the edges: a reconsideration of the treatment of enemies in Ashurbanipal's reliefs. In: J. Cheng/M. H. Feldman (eds.), *Ancient Near Eastern art in context. Studies in Honor of Irene J. Winter by Her Students*. Culture and History of the Ancient Near East 26 (Leiden), 99–128.
Roaf, M.
2008 The decor of the throne room of the palace of Ashurnasirpal. In: J. E. Curtis et al. (eds.), *New Light on Nimrud: Proceedings of the Nimrud Conference 11th–13th March 2002* (London), 209–213.
Russell, J. M.
1999 *The Writing on the Wall: Studies in the archaeological context of Late Assyrian palace inscriptions*. Mesopotamian Civilizations 9 (Winona Lake).
1991 *Sennacherib's Palace Without Rivals at Nineveh* (Chicago).
Samet, N.
2015 Religious redaction in Qohelet in light of Mesopotamian vanity literature, *Vetus Testamentum* 65, 1–16.
Schmidt, B. B.
1996 *Israel's Beneficent Dead: Ancestor Cult and Necromancy in Ancient Israelite Religion and Tradition*. Forschungen zum Alten Testament 11 (Tübingen).
Schmidt-Collinet, C.
1997 'Ashurbanipal Banqueting with his Queen'? Wer thront bei Assurbanipal in der Weinlaube?, *Mesopotamia* 32, 289–308.
Siddall, L. R.
2013 *The Reign of Adad-nīrārī III: An Historical and Ideological Analysis of an Assyrian King and His Times* (Leiden).
Stach Y.
2007 Bankettszenen in der Cypro-geometrischen und –archaischen Vasenmalerei als Beispiels für Akkulturation. In: S. Rogge (ed.), *Begegnungen. Materielle Kulturen auf Zypern bis in die römische Zeit*. Schriften des Instituts für Interdisziplinäre Zypern-Studien 5 (Münster), 39–64.
Starr, I.
1985 Historical omens concerning Ashurbanipal's war against Elam, *Archiv für Orientforschung* 32, 60–7.
Steinert, U.
2012 *Aspekte des Menschseins im Alten Mesopotamien. Eine Studie zu Person und Identität im 2. und 1. Jt. v. Chr*. Cuneiform Monographs 44 (Leiden).

Tadmor, H.
1997 Propaganda, literature, historiography: cracking the code of the Assyrian royal inscriptions. In: S. Parpola/R. M. Whiting (eds.), *Assyria 1995: Proceedings of the 10th Anniversary Symposium of the Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus Project, Helsinki, September 7–11, 1995* (Helsinki), 325–338.
Tadmor, H./Landsberger, B./Parpola, S.
1989 The Sin of Sargon and Sennacherib's last will, *State Archives of Assyria Bulletin* 3, 3–51.
Watanabe, C. E.
2004 The 'continuous style' in the narrative scheme of Assurbanipal's reliefs, *Iraq* 66, 103–114.
Waters, M. W.
2000 *A Survey of Neo-Elamite History*. SAAS 12 (Helsinki).
Winter, I. J.
1981 Royal rhetoric and the development of historical narrative in Neo-Assyrian reliefs, *Studies in Visual Communication* 7/2, 2–38.
1983 The Program of the throneroom of Ashurnasirpal II. In: P. O. Harper/H. Pittman (eds.), *Essays on Near Eastern Art and Archaeology in honor of Charles Kyle Wilkinson* (New York), 15–31.
Weidner, E. F.
1932 Assyrische Beschreibungen der Kriegsreliefs Aššurbânaplis, *Archiv für Orientforschung* 8, 175–203.
Ziffer, I.
2003 What happened under the grapevine? New insights into Ashurbanipal's Garden Party Relief, *Eretz-Israel* 27, 204–211 [in Hebrew].