

Honour and Shame

In Ashurbanipal's Kingship



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Abstract

This study analyses the Second Elamite Campaign (653 BC) and lion hunts of the Assyrian king Ashurbanipal (668-627 BC) from a cultural anthropological perspective. Specifically, whether the behaviour and depiction of Ashurbanipal and his enemies may be explained by reference to the value system of honour and shame that has been observed in both contemporary and ancient Mediterranean and Near Eastern cultures.

Part 1 presents a review of honour-shame value system, and then proceeds to examine the limited ancient Near Eastern research on the subject. An honour-shame model of Assyrian kingship is developed that comprise positive and negative values, public perception and various behavioural manifestations. A challenge-response model is also developed.

In Part 2 a literary and pictorial ethnographic research methodology is outlined using as a data source several religious, literary and historical texts, Ashurbanipal's annals Editions A and B, relief art from the Southwest and North Palaces at Nineveh and associated epigraphs.

The research findings are presented in Part 3. An Assyrian term for honour, "a good name, fame, reputation" and shame, "to be embarrassed, shame or to stink", are identified. The annal's Introductory and Dedicatory texts are shown to be statements of Ashurbanipal's positive honour values, whilst the annalistic and relief narratives of the Second Elamite Campaign suggest that the behaviour and depiction of the king and Te-umman can be partly explained by reference to the honour-shame and challenge-response models. Ashurbanipal's lion hunts can be similarly interpreted. The principal audiences of the annals and reliefs are identified as gods, future princes and Assyrian and foreign elites, whilst their function would seem to be as mediums of publicity to enhance Ashurbanipal's good name and his enemies shame both in his lifetime and for posterity. Part 4 of the thesis concludes with a summary of hypotheses testing and recommendations for future research.

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Part 1. Honour-Shame and Assyrian Kingship

1.1 Introduction

The reign of Ashurbanipal (668-627 BC) is amongst the most extensively documented and analysed of any Neo Assyrian monarch.¹ Research has largely focussed on the political, military (Waters 2000, Gerardi 1987, Carter and Stolper 1984, Potts 1999), and ideological perspectives (Oded 1992, Bersani and Dutoit 1985). However, new insights may be gained by using a cultural anthropological approach.

It is possible that the behaviour and depiction of Ashurbanipal and those with whom he interacted, may be explained by reference to the value system of honour and shame that has been observed in both contemporary (Pitt-Rivers 1965, Gilmore 1987, Pryce-Jones 1989, and Baram 1998) and ancient (Cohen 1991, Malina 2001:27-57, Botha 1996, Prinsloo 2000) Mediterranean and Near Eastern cultures. Specifically, the behaviour and depiction may have been partly motivated by a desire to gain enhanced honour, public esteem and respect, and conversely avoidance of shame, humiliation and disgrace. Whilst not denying the influence of royal ideology on the protagonists, it will be hypothesised that this ideology in turn is influenced by an underlying honour-shame value system that permeated Assyrian elite society.

At the outset it must be recognised that what is being researched is a dimension of the social psychology of a segment of Assyrian society, a most challenging task given that the time frame is set in antiquity. Fortunately this problem is somewhat ameliorated as there is a rich textual and visual data set available to draw upon that includes Ashurbanipal's annals and his Nineveh palace reliefs. The textual material provides a unique opportunity to apply a literary ethnographic methodology, whilst the visual material affords a means to obtain nonverbal evidence of honour and shame.

¹ To facilitate discussion "Neo Assyria" will be referred to as "Assyria" in this dissertation.

1.2 Honour – Shame Value Systems

The British structuralist Pitt-Rivers and Peristiany first comprehensively studied honour-shame value systems in the context of Mediterranean anthropology (Gilmore 1987: 2).² They saw the Mediterranean peoples “united by a pervasive and relatively uniform value system based on complementary codes of honour and shame” (Gilmore 1987:2).

A widely accepted definition of honour is provided by Pitt-Rivers who defines it as:

“The value of a person in his own eyes, but also in the eyes of his society. It is his estimation of his own worth, his claim to pride, but it is also the acknowledgement of that claim, his excellence recognised by society, his right to pride” (Pitt-Rivers 1965:21).³

Although not confined to the Mediterranean and adjacent areas in the Near East, it has a unique structure in this region.⁴ As Pitt-Rivers observed, honour “provides a nexus between the ideals of a society and their reproduction in the individual through his aspiration to personify them. As such, it implies not merely a habitual preference for a given mode of conduct, but the entitlement to a certain treatment in return. The right to pride is the right to status, and status is established through the recognition of a certain social identity” (Pitt-Rivers 1965: 22).

Honour is primarily a group value that is embodied by adult males who must achieve honour in public contests (Plevnik 1993: 96). It is associated with “value clusters” that include “strength, courage, daring, valour, generosity, and wisdom” (Plevnik 1993: 96). In contrast shame for males is perceived in terms

² Gilmore provides a review of the early cultural anthropological literature in Gilmore 1987.

³ This will be the definition used in this dissertation.

⁴ Examples in other cultures includes China (Hu 1948), Japan (Asano-Tamanoi 1987: 104-120, and De Vos 1986: 80-101), Indonesia (Bowen 1992: 81-90), Iceland (Miller 1993:116-125), and in Europe and the West (Bowman 2006: 41-293, Henderson 1994: 9-71).

of negative values such as “weakness, cowardice and lack of generosity” (Plevnik 1993: 96).

With respect to females they do not possess honour but “ethically neutral” shame (Pitt-Rivers 1965: 44) that is “neither won nor claimed” but rather “presupposed and then maintained as a veil of privacy and of personal sexual integrity” (Plevnik 1993: 96). Plevnik observes that in the case of females it is associated with the values of privacy, reserve, and purity (Plevnik 1993: 96).

Muenchow argues that in terms of its content “honour comes to reflect the dominant ideals of a given culture” where “the honoured man is one who is publicly acknowledged as embodying his cultures idealised self-image...he is a ‘whole’ man when measured against the chief values of his society” (Muenchow 1989: 600). The main insight, according to Muenchow, from the anthropological studies of honour, is that it is based on a “claim to precedence, in either power or virtue” where “honour is won insofar as this claim is accepted and approved by others; honour persists only so long as the claim continues to be openly acknowledged by one’s circle of others” (Muenchow 1989: 600-601). Correspondingly shame is “the penalty that must be paid for a claim of precedence that has been rebuffed”, it is more than a feeling of “acute embarrassment”, but is a “response to a public rejection of one’s claim to honour” (Muenchow 1989: 601).

Wikan has observed that “Concepts of honour and shame cannot reproduce, in real life, their own logical and absolute schematism. Combinations of cherished ideals, when put into practice, require a far more complex accounting. A person commits many positive and some highly honourable acts, and many negative and some compromising ones – all of which have their place in the accounting” (Wikan 1982: 152).

Just has noted that the honour-shame value system “amounts to a continual assertion of personal worth before a court of popular opinion that is always hostile, since it is made up of people anxious to assert their own worth in a currency whose value is strictly comparative” (Just 2001: 37). Some scholars

have gone as far to propose that this currency, honour, is "a sort of limited good" that can both increase and decrease (Brandis 1987: 121-122, Malina 2001:81). The means by which this is affected is through a highly competitive mode of personal interaction in public exchanges that often have a challenge-response dimension to them (Muenchow 1989: 599-600).

Therefore, acquisition of honour, pride, dignity, respect and the converse avoidance of shame, disgrace and humiliation are critical variables in social motivation (Pryce-Jones 1989: 34). Honour is what makes life worthwhile, shame is a living death not to be endured. Honour involves recognition, the openly acknowledged esteem of others that renders a person secure and important in his own eyes and in front of everyone else (Pryce-Jones 1989: 35, Bourdieu 1965: 193-211).

Honour-shame cultures can be contrasted to most contemporary western cultures where "guilt" influences human behaviour. Where honour and shame is public and reflects social pressure to conform to social norms, guilt is internal (Plevnick 1993: 103). In "guilt" cultures, humans "internalise a sense of obligation and feel appropriate internal sentiments about observing social norms or failing to observe them" (Plevnik 1993: 103-104).

The honour-shame value system is not just restricted to smaller communities that have tended to dominate anthropological research, but its presence has also been observed at the highest echelons of state leadership in the contemporary Near East.⁵

⁵ Studies documenting the dynamics of honour and shame in the arena of contemporary states include Pryce-Jones 1990, Makiya 1993, Baram 1998, and Post 2004:210-238.

1.3 Modelling Honour and Shame

Malina has developed models of the honour-shame value system (Malina 1983, 2001) that have been used as an analytical tool by many scholars. Although he primarily applies the models to a biblical context, it is also a useful summation of the principle observations derived mainly from structural functionalist anthropological research of advanced Mediterranean agrarian societies. He states that "honour" is the socially approved and expected behaviour where the "boundary markers" of "authority, gender status and respect intersect" (Malina 2001: 28-30).⁶ Like Pitt-Rivers he defines honour in terms of the assertion of worth and the acknowledgement of that worth by others (Malina 1983: 27-29, Lawrence 2003: 9-10).

Malina proposes that honour can be gained through being "ascribed", that is status that comes from birth from an honourable family or granted by a notable person such as association with a God, king, or aristocrat (Malina 1983: 29). Honour can also be "acquired" by excelling over others in the social interaction that is referred to as "challenge and response" (Malina 1983: 29-33) and is a feature of what he terms "agonistic culture" (Malina 2001: 36). He also postulates that as honour is mainly dependent on the opinions and estimations of others, people within an honour culture are outwardly orientated (anti-introspective self) rather than internally orientated with little thought to individual consciousness and thought (Malina 2001: 58, Lawrence 2003: 10). In such a culture he describes personality as being "dyadic" where it is established by and dependent upon the assessment of others (Malina 2001: 60-67, Lawrence 2003: 11).

Malina also argues that honour can be "symbolised by blood and by name". By "blood", refers to honour within ones own group, that is blood relatives (Malina 2001:36-37). As a "name" represents a person, honour and shame are closely connected to one's name (Malina 2001: 37-38, Villiers and

⁶ In an earlier edition of his work he refers to the "boundary markers" as "power, sexual status and religion" (Malina 1983: 26).

Prinsloo 2002: 27). If a name lives on after death, then one is remembered and honoured (Villiers and Prinsloo 2002: 27).

Malina adapts a “chart” developed by Pitt-Rivers (Pitt-Rivers 1965: 44) to a model depicting what he terms “the moral division of labour” between the sexes that identifies dimensions of honour and related behaviour unique to and shared by each sex (Malina 1983: 44-47). He also incorporates a “challenge-response model”, which was developed by Bourdieu,⁷ which explains how honour can be acquired (Malina 2001: 33-36, Bourdieu 1995: 215). Significantly, Malina asserts that the elements of his model are relatively stable and have endured from ancient times (Malina 1983: 22). It is therefore not surprising that he and several other scholars have used the models to examine the presence of honour and shame in a biblical context.

Whilst Malina has made a significant contribution in identifying the components of honour value systems, his models suffer from generalisation (Lawrence 2003: 11-13). Herzfeld observed that in much of the research there is “massive generalizations of “honour” and “shame” (that) have become counterproductive; their continued use elevates what began as a genuine convenience for the readers of ethnographic essays to the level of a theoretical proposition” (Herzfeld 1980: 349). Instead Herzfeld argues for more localised analyses not confined to the Mediterranean lands where greater attention is paid to indigenous terminologies taken from single languages to ensure more effective comparative analysis (Herzfeld 1980: 349)⁸.

This thesis is one attempt to examine the presence of honour-shame value systems in not only a non-Mediterranean region, but also at a time well distanced from contemporary studies.

⁷ For application in a Kabyle context.

⁸ A similar observation and other criticisms of the Mediterranean model is provided by Stewart 1994: 75-78. Note particularly his conclusion that “honour among Bedouin groups is very different from European honour whether northern or southern” (Stewart 1994:149).

1.4 Ancient Near Eastern Research on Honour and Shame

Although there has been considerable research on honour and shame in a biblical context,⁹ and an analysis on its presence in Second Intermediate Period Egypt (Joel Forthcoming), there is a paucity of material with respect to Assyria for any period.

In an analysis of the position of women in Mesopotamian society Glassner briefly draws upon some of Pitt-Rivers earlier observations, in particular where “man is vested with authority and the woman with purity” (Glassner 1989:75). He goes on to note four sets of “arguments”: anthroponomy - specifically *muti-bašti*, “my husband is my honour”; purity of the virgin before marriage; obligation to be veiled to avoid any risk of pollution; and the punishment for adultery where a wife’s adultery reflects “not only on the honour of the husband but on society as a whole” (Glassner 1989:75-77). Regrettably Glassner does not develop further the role of honour in his analysis.

Using Malina’s model, Botha examined the socio-political role of honour and shame in the description of Sennacherib’s assault on Jerusalem using as a source Isaiah 37:21-35 (Botha 2000a). This, however, is from a Judean perspective as Botha relies exclusively on the biblical text. He makes a passing reference to Sennacherib’s Lachish relief noting that they “are all about the honour of Sennacherib – his power and his exalted position”, but regrettably he does not elaborate (Botha 2000a: 279-280). In a comparative study on the kingship of Hezekiah and Josiah, Botha undertakes a further analysis of the same conflict in terms of honour and shame’s influence on royal etiquette (Botha 2000b: 36-49), but it is again only from the Judean perspective (II Kings 18: 13-37, 19: 1-37).

⁹ For a review of biblical research refer to Stiebert 2002: 25-86 and Lawrence 2003: 8-22. The biblical material will be used for comparative purposes in this study as it comes from a similar cultural milieu and time.

Prinsloo also examines Sennacherib's assault on Lachish and Jerusalem in terms of Malina's honour and shame model, but this time from the Assyrian perspective using both textual and relief sources (Prinsloo 2000: 348-363). Several of his interpretations, however, are questionable such as there was no palace relief of the Jerusalem siege, in contrast to Lachish, that Sennacherib wanted to publicly downplay the battle, despite its reference in his annals. There may have been a Jerusalem relief lost in the archaeological record, but Prinsloo overlooks this possibility. The discussion also does not adequately analyse the challenge and response in the conflict that is a central component of the Malina model. The challenge is referred to only in two sentences. Nor does Prinsloo make any attempt to identify the underlying values of Assyrian kingship that may be the very foundation of their honour. Apart from these shortcomings, Prinsloo's analysis suffers from a failure to examine the underlying Assyrian "indigenous terminologies" and cultural values that Herzfeld correctly identified as being essential for research in this field.

De Villiers and Prinsloo have undertaken a study of the role played by honour and shame in the epic of Gilgamesh, also using Malina's model (De Villiers and Prinsloo 2002). The analysis is rather superficial and further suffers from the authors' lack of insight into Mesopotamian culture.

There are no other honour-shame studies from a direct Assyrian or Babylonian perspective. Botha examined the Bar-Rakib inscription of Zinjirli and found strong evidence to suggest it was composed in terms of an honour-shame value system (Botha 1996). This inscription is significant as Bar-Rakib was a vassal of Tiglath-pileser and the inscription has strong parallels with Assyrian building dedicatory texts. Botha concluded, "every single line in this inscription, almost every single word in it, was chosen for its significance in terms of honour as a value in society" (Botha 1996: 10). He also comments on the associated "Assyrian style" carved relief of the king and another that contains visual elements that "formed a claim and a display of honour" with respect to Bar-Rakib's clothing and his physical elevation in relation to his servant or scribe (Botha 1996: 9). It is regrettable that Botha did not include comparative examples of Assyrian dedicatory inscriptions or examine the text

in relation to the underlying values of Assyrian kingship as this may have highlighted the inscriptions cross-cultural significance.

As noted earlier, whilst there is extensive research on Assyrian royal ideology, it does not address the possibility of the presence of an underlying honour-shame value system. Liverani in his seminal study on the subject (Liverani 1979), described ideology as having “the function of explaining how and why men are different, how and why some countries exist for the sake of others...how and why certain groups must devote themselves to certain activities and not to others, how and why some events acquire a positive value in one place but a negative one in another, introduce order if performed by us, but disorder if performed by others” (Liverani 1979: 298).¹⁰

He proposes a “provisional framework” as a first step towards the construction of an “ideological grammar” which is “a closed and coherent system of all the ‘rules’ which are used to write a Neo-Assyrian royal inscription which will be ‘correct’ at the level of political ideology” (Liverani 1979: 305). Liverani suggests both static and dynamic dimensions of ideology with respect to diversity of space eg. penetration of the periphery of the empire as a heroic enterprise that demonstrates the “king’s personal virtue”, diversity of time eg. the king’s role as “founder hero” where he may undertake far superior building programmes to his predecessors, diversity of men eg. “all positive qualities are concentrated in its (Assyria’s) inhabitants, whilst all the negative qualities go to define the barbarian, the enemy”, and diversity of goods eg. goods including “tips, tax and tribute” are “channelled” and “siphoned towards the centre” of the empire (the capital city and the royal palace) which “attempts to take on a microcosm” of the “whole world” (Liverani 1979: 305-314).

Although Liverani touches upon “positive value”, he fails to show how abiding by those desirable attributes leads to a positive outcome in eyes of Assyrian society or their gods, a positive outcome that could be termed “honour”. Indeed many of the dimensions of Assyrian ideology he describes could be

¹⁰ For a discussion on defining Near Eastern ideology see Bahrani 2001:36-39.

redefined as components of, or manifestations of behaviour in an honour-shame value system. Possibly the reason for Liverani's omission is that he comes from a Marxist perspective which emphasises class dynamics rather than the social psychology of groups.

Several scholars have furthered Liverani's observations, in the context of studying Assyrian Royal Inscriptions. These include Tadmor who examined the depiction of the king in terms of military prowess, master builder and legitimacy (Tadmor 1981: 13-33), Oded on royal ideology in the realm of warfare (Oded 1992), Lanfranchi who examined the ideological problem of royal responsibility and Rivaroli (Rivaroli 2004) with respect to topography. Others such as Reade (Reade 1979), Bersani and Dutoit (Bersani and Dutoit 1985), Porter (1993, 2004), Winter (Winter 1997) and Cifarelli (Cifarelli 1998) have found evidence of ideology in Assyrian art. Cifarelli does analyse posture and gestures in the reliefs of Ashurnasirpal II and briefly notes that some convey "messages of humiliation and subjection" (Cifarelli 1998: 216) and in the case of female exposure of legs, as being "associated with the diminution of social status, the loss of modesty, and the engendering of shame" (Cifarelli 1998: 223).¹¹ All, however, have failed to suggest that Assyrian ideology may be a component of an underlying honour-shame value system which has not only been observed in the contemporary Near East, but also in Levantine cultures of the same period.

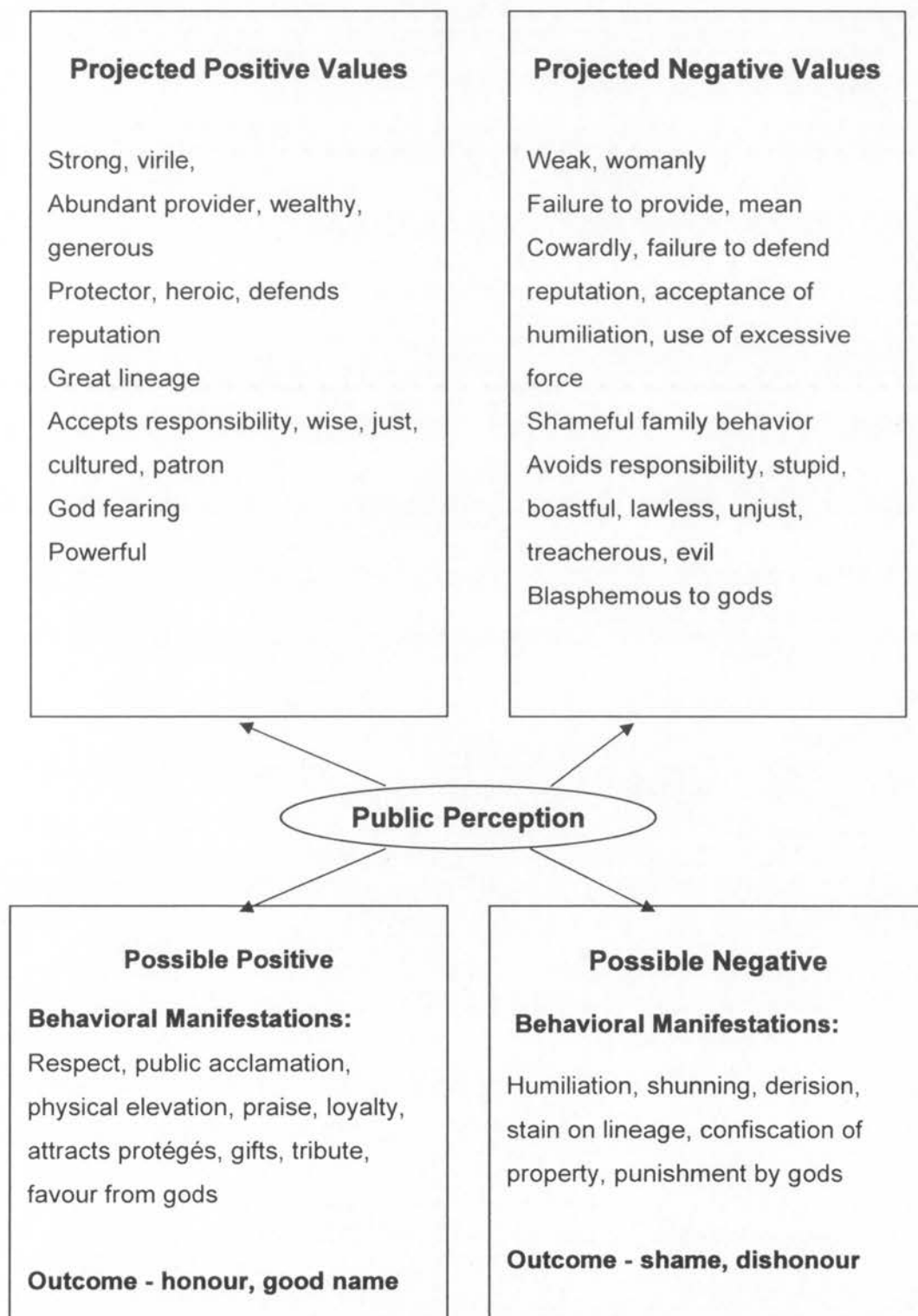
What is required is an interdisciplinary model that can be used to test the presence of an honour-shame value system in 7th century BC Assyria. Such a model could draw upon the rich reservoir of honour-shame literature from contemporary cultural anthropological and biblical studies, in addition to Assyrian ideological research.

¹¹ A claim rejected by Bahrani (Bahrani 2001: 127, 129-130).

1.5 An Honour-Shame Model of Assyrian Kingship – Overview

The model, shown in Diagram 1, has been constructed to specifically test the presence of an honour-shame value system in a 7th century BC Assyrian context. Whilst it contains broad features that have been observed in a contemporary and biblical context, it is proposed that specific variables unique to Assyrian kingship will emerge from the research.

Diagram1. Assyrian Regal Honour-Shame Model



It is contended that Assyrian society, and in particular kingship, was strongly motivated by a desire to publicly enhance ones honour or good name, and in particular to avoid shame or humiliation by adhering to socially approved and expected behaviour. It is this motivation that had a profound influence on the behaviour and depiction of the king. In Diagram 1 this is expressed through the interaction of four broad variables: positive values, negative values, public perception and behavioural manifestations.

“Positive values” are defined as what was expected by the king’s “public” as appropriate qualities and behaviour projected the monarch. Similarly, “negative values” are defined as what was perceived by the king’s public as inappropriate projected qualities and behaviour¹². Assyrian scholars have previously described this in terms of “ideology”, for example Liverani notes that “imperialistic ideology is capable of a strong hold over the population...if it is part of the overall scheme of values that ensures the global functioning of the society...the power of the Assyrian king is not free and arbitrary, but conditioned by habits, social codes, group interests, etc.” (Liverani 1979: 300-301). However, these scholars have failed to place the “values” in the context of an Assyrian honour-shame value system that explains the dynamics of “the global functioning of the society”. The attainment of the value standards, both positive and negative, displayed by the king and his contemporary rulers in other lands are not static, but are in a continual state of change depending on the rulers’ actions and reactions to events.

As noted in the cultural anthropological research, the honour-shame value system “amounts to a continual assertion of personal worth before a court of popular opinion” (Just 2001: 37). In the model, the court of public opinion, is termed “public perception”, however, the specific “public” should not necessarily be interpreted in the broad sense of the word. “Publics” are defined as those individuals or groups who are in a position to bestow honour

¹² For example note the anti-social behaviour of Gilgamesh and the “plaints” of Uruk residents for the gods to curb his excesses (Gilgamesh Tablet 1 lines 66-103; Foster 2001:5-6),

or shame on the king or his enemies. It was likely that the “publics” were the king’s peer group of Assyrian nobility, priests, senior scribes, foreign rulers and their representatives, and the gods who were continually evaluating his attainment of positive and negative values. This assessment of the king’s “honour rating” was communicated to him by his public’s behavioural manifestations. “Behavioural manifestations” are defined as the process by which the king’s public bestows honour or shame upon him or his enemies.

To more effectively explain the model, the detailed variables will be discussed. It should be noted that the positive and negative values and the behavioural manifestations in the model are not necessarily a comprehensive list, as it is probable that more may be uncovered through this research.

1.6 Positive Values

(i) Gender Status – strong, virile:

In a Mediterranean context it has been observed that most men are “deeply committed to an image of manliness” (Gilmore 1990:31), where “the excellent man, the admired man, is not necessarily a ‘good’ man in some abstract moral sense, rather he is good at being a man”, which includes being on public view and having the courage to expose oneself to risk (Gilmore1990: 36).¹³

Men are expected to be sexually assertive, procreating children, preferably males (Gilmore 1990: 41) where the number of offspring are a “simple and obvious token of his sexual virility and masculinity” (Zeid 1965: 251). It is proposed that this gender specific positive value was also apparent in Assyria. Winter has commented upon the emphasis on the king’s abundant full beards in Assyrian sculpture suggesting that they were a “coded message – manly, mature, noble, powerful, like the dominant male in a pride of lions with a generous mane” (Winters 1997: 370-371). This is what is described in

¹³ Gilmore quotes Hezfeld’s Greek study. No citation was given.

Akkadian as *kuzbu* – strength, heroism and sexual allure (Bahrani 2001: 55-57).

(ii) Provider – abundant provider, wealthy, generous:

Adequately providing for your dependents with food, clothing and housing is another basic positive value. In Southern Italy it has been observed that the “ability of a husband to support his wife and children is as important a component of honour as his control of his wife’s sexuality” (Davis 1973: 94-95, Gilmore 1990: 42-44). This value can also be related to personal wealth, as in the case of the Bedouin of the Western Desert of Egypt, where a man’s prestige and social standing are determined by the size of his herd (Zeid 1965: 249). A man is also expected to be generous, particularly with respect to hospitality (Pitt-Rivers 1965: 59-60, Pilch and Malina 193:104-107). Bourdieu has documented generosity in the case of gift giving (Bourdieu 1965: 213) and Zeid observed “generosity and hospitality have always been accorded a supreme value in Bedouin society” (Zeid 1965: 250). Honour is thus acquired through beneficence (Malina 1983: 34).

The Assyrian king’s image was often compared to that of a shepherd who not only protected his people, but at times provided them with abundance whether economic bounty, captured booty or tribute (Oded 1992: 182).¹⁴ There is also evidence of the positive value of providing food for neighbouring counties in times of famine.¹⁵ The obligation also extended to the provision of capital works programmes where the king had an obligation to restore and re-erect buildings far superior to those of his predecessors (Liverani 1979: 308-309,

¹⁴ The provision with economic bounty would seem to have been limited to Ashurbanipal.

¹⁵ Ashurbanipal stated that “when hard times arose in Elam and there was famine, I sent him (the Elamite king Urtak) grain to keep his people alive” Piepkorn 1933: B IV 20-23). He also allowed refugees from the famine to settle in Assyria and return to Elam when conditions improved (Piepkorn 1933: 23-26). This compassionate gesture is similar to that boasted by other ancient rulers such as Ankhthifi of Mo’alla in First Intermediate Period Egypt (Seidlmayer 2002: 128, 129) so it possibly reflects a widespread belief in what is a principle dimension of honourable behaviour in the ancient Near East.

Tadmor 1981: 21). There is also evidence that generosity in hospitality may have been a central value (Liverani 2004: 14-17, Reade 1979: 336).¹⁶

(iii) Protector – heroic, defends reputation, powerful:

Pitt-Rivers has observed that “masculinity means courage whether it is employed for moral or immoral ends...the quintessence of manliness is fearlessness, readiness to defend one’s own pride and that of one’s family” (Pitt-Rivers: 1961: 45, 89). In honour value systems it is a responsibility to defend the weak (Zeid 1965: 252) and stand up for yourself as an independent and proud actor, holding your own when challenged” (Gilmore 1990: 44). In some Near Eastern societies protection extends to giving a “right of refuge” to a man pursued by enemies for a crime (Zeid 1965: 254).

Liverani and Tadmor have observed that in the Assyrian royal inscriptions emphasis was placed upon the “heroic character of the king” (Tadmor 1981: 17), where he ventures onto a “difficult path” where only wild beasts and birds would go” (Liverani 1979: 306-307). The king not only had to be brave, he had to “protect the weak and the pious, to preserve the universal harmony and to maintain the peace of mankind” (Oded 1992: 183). Some scholars have gone as far as suggesting that it was also the king’s duty to “protect his realm, the realm of the god Ashur, from the powers of chaos which the enemy represented” (Liverani 1979: 307, Reade 1979: 332). However, there is little evidence to suggest that protection from chaos was a central value of Assyrian kingship compared to other cultures such as that of ancient Egypt with the concept of *maat* (Weeks Forthcoming 4-5).

¹⁶ Also note Liverani’s analysis of hospitality in his commentary on Judges 19-21 (Liverani 2004: 168-170, 179-184).

(vi) Legitimacy – great lineage:

Malina has observed that being born into an honourable family also makes one honourable, as the family is “the repository of the honour of past illustrious ancestors and their accumulated acquired honour” (Malina 1983: 29). Indeed, the “wellborn are supposed to possess by inheritance the appropriate character and sentiments which will be seen in their conduct” (Pitt-Rivers 1977: 2-3). For example, in Kabyle, “the greater the bravery or virtue of one’s ancestors, the more one is justified in being proud and consequently the more one must be punctilious in honour in order to match that bravery and virtue” (Bourdieu 1965: 220-221).

An illustrious or great lineage, therefore, can lead to the positive honour value of legitimacy. This positive value can also be ascribed to a person by a notable person of power such as a god, a king, or aristocrats “who can claim honour for others and can force acknowledgement of that honour because they have the power and rank to do so” (Malina 1983: 29).

Tadmor has observed this positive value in Assyrian ideology, where the legitimacy of several kings is justified by their royal descent and divine election (Tadmor 1980: 25). There is an emphasis in Assyrian royal inscriptions to the “uninterrupted permanence on the throne of members of the same royal family” which has “the effect of ‘piling up’ all the accomplishments obtained by the predecessors and of transmitting them to the reigning king” (Lanfranchi 2003: 104). In terms of the above model this would have had the effect of developing a significant deposit of positive values.

There is also evidence which suggests that the “purity” and “righteousness” of a king’s mother enhanced their legitimacy. As noted earlier, Pitt-Rivers commented that females do not possess honour but “ethically neutral” shame (Pitt-Rivers 1965: 44) where a woman is vested with “purity” (Glassner 1989: 75). Melville has observed that in the case of both Esarhaddon and Ashurbanipal their mothers probably enhanced their legitimacy (Melville 2004:

56). In the case of Ashurbanipal in a letter he credits his mother with his advancement, "Aššur and Šamaš decreed for me the crown princesship of Assyria on account of her righteousness" (SAA X 188, Melville 2004:56) Melville argues that "The very name of Esarhaddon's mother, Naqia, 'pure innocent one', conveniently provided Esarhaddon with a propaganda tool to declare his legitimacy through her womanhood (Melville 2004:56).

(v) Authority – accepts responsibility, wise, just, cultured, patron:

Certain values have been observed that relate specifically to kingship and other elite positions of authority.

The Assyrian kings had the "sole, final and total responsibility for his political behaviour" (Lanfranchi 2003: 102). He could not place blame for his mistakes or "sins" elsewhere, even if it was his counsellors who had led him astray, as at all times he was personally and fully responsible (Lanfranchi 2003: 106). Oded has observed that the king was also expected to be "the vocal champion of justice, good sense, order, freedom, and wisdom" and that an ideal king had to have a "propensity for goodness and truth, law and order, justice and peace" (Oded 1992:182-183).

It is possible that there was an expectation for Assyrian monarchs to be cultured by improving the cosmos with music, art and parks. Another possible positive value could have been his propensity to extend patronage. Pitt-Rivers has observed that a patron increases his prestige through the possession of clients, whilst the clients participate in the glory of their patron (Pitt-Rivers 1965: 58). Assyrian kings were in a position to extend such patronage to their peer group including nobility, senior military officers, scribal families and priests.

(vi) Religion -god fearing

Honour based societies often have a set of specific values that determine the "attitude one must have and the behaviour one is expected to follow relative to

those who control one's existence" (Malina 2001: 30). In 7th century BC Assyria it was the gods who ultimately controlled one's existence and there was therefore likely to be a set of positive values that governed the behaviour of the king towards his deities.

The Assyrian king had "no equals" as he was explicitly and carefully chosen by the gods (Liverani 1979: 310). Through his unique relationship he was regarded as their "earthly executor" to uphold justice and wipe out evil (Oded 1992:183). The king was expected to be "god-fearing" (Liverani 1979: 311, Oded 1992: 182) and at distinct specific moments in his royal career had to demonstrate this by attesting his constant adherence to the gods (Lanfranchi 2003: 104). In this respect it could be argued that a central value of Kingship was that the monarch was obliged to continually "honour" the deities.

(vii) Power

Power is the ability to exercise control over the behaviour of others (Pilch and Malina 1993: 139-140). Pilch has observed that "when subordinates accept and respect the power of superiors, the superior is considered to be honourable", it is "a means value which facilitates the realization of the Mediterranean core values of honour and shame" (Pilch and Malina 1993: 140). Pilch identifies Biblical examples of power as a positive value in both a kinship and political context (Pilch and Malina 1993: 140-142). It is probable that power is also a positive value in Assyria; indeed Prinsloo has found evidence of this in both the annals and reliefs of Sennacherib (Prinsloo 2000: 350-351, 356-357). In particular he identifies power with the size of Sennacherib's army, his superior military technology, his overwhelming victories, ability to extract tribute and the deportation of prisoners.

1.7 Negative Values

Whilst maintaining positive values enhances honour, exhibiting negative values may lead to a perception of shameful behaviour.

(i) Gender Status – weak, womanly:

Mediterranean anthropologists have observed a “sexual shame’ in many societies in contexts where a man appears “womanly” such as showing shyness, timidity, blushing, weakness, dominated sexually by women, relying on support of a woman or lacking in virile performance (Gilmore 1987: 10-11, Pitt-Rivers 1965: 42, Bourdieu 1965: 211, Zeid 1965: 246, Pryce-Jones 1990: 36).

It is probable that this may also have been a negative value in Assyrian society. For example in an incantation against Bel-etir, the text describes Ashurbanipal’s male enemy amongst other things as a “shit bucket of a farter, lowly family, servant of a dead god, house whose star has disappeared from the heavens, slave girl, woman, slave of the woman Balihitu, ‘beard’ of raped girls” (Livingstone 1989: 66, BM WA 82-5-22, 88).¹⁷ In a similar vein an inscription of Tukulti-Ninurta I states “He who destroys my inscription and my name, may Dinitu, my lady, destroy his kingdom, may she shatter his weapons, may she turn his manhood into womanhood, into the hands of his foes may she give him” (Luckenbill 1927: para 192)¹⁸

(ii) Provider – failure to provide, mean:

Failure to provide for one’s dependents is a negative value. Gilmore observed that a man who avoids these obligations renounces his claim to both

¹⁷Bel-etir was the leader of Bit-Ibâ during the reign of Ashurbanipal. For further biographical details refer to Radner 1999: 299 sec. 17 (British Museum WA 82-5-22,88). The reference to “lowly family” and “house whose star has disappeared from the heavens” is an example of the negative value of loss of legitimacy discussed below.

¹⁸ Grayson translates this as “causes his manhood to dwindle’ (Grayson 1972: no. 753). Also see Albenda 1987: 19, note 16.

respectability and manhood (Gilmore 1990: 42-43). Similarly, shame derives from meanness (Pryce-Jones 1990:36) and lack of generosity (Plevnik 1993: 96).

(iii) Protector – cowardly, failure to defend reputation, acceptance of humiliation, using excessive force:

Failure to protect your family or people, cowardly behaviour, “daring to do little” and in particular, suffering an offence without demanding reparation (Bourdieu 1965: 211) are amongst shameful values. Even excessive and unchecked passion for raiding and wars can be “regarded with dismay and considered a shameful rashness” (Zeid 1965: 259).

Liverani has noted that Assyrian ideology contrasts the “courage and determination of the Assyrians” to “the inability and cowardice” of their enemies who have a fear of other men (Liverani 1979: 310-311). This suggests that this negative value cluster may also be manifest in Assyrian society.

(vi) Legitimacy – shameful family behaviour:

A man who commits a shameful act not only brings shame upon himself, but subsequently shame upon his family and clan (Zeid 1965: 252-253) that can be transmitted over generations (Pitt-Rivers 1965: 52). Therefore, if a person has shameful ancestry it is likely to be a negative value.

Tadmor has argued that the reason why Sennacherib failed to mention his father's name, in any of his royal inscriptions was due to Sargon's “ignominious death” where his body was abandoned in the field of battle and “he became sort of taboo” (Tadmor 1981: 26). It is proposed that this was a negative value that Sennacherib wanted to expunge and therefore there is likely to be other evidence of this in the Assyrian royal inscriptions.

This negative value may also extend to the behaviour of one's wife reflecting on the honour of her husband. In this respect Glassner suggests that in the code of Hammurabi on questions of adultery, "the woman's purity is the husband's affair because his honour lies first in his capacity to defend his wife" and in the Middle-Assyrian legal code "the wife's adultery is a breach of the civil law, reflecting not only on the honour of the husband but on society as a whole" (Glassner 1989: 76).

(v) Authority – avoids responsibility, stupid, boastful, lawless, unjust, treacherous, evil:

Negative values are also ascribed to those who "fail to observe the rules of good manners in general" such as the "unreliable, the treacherous, the spiteful and the unfaithful to their spouses and friends" Zeid 1965: 245. Bourdieu includes the man who is "incapable of preserving dignity, grows impatient or angry, speaks at random or laughs without reason, is precipitate or uncontrolled, acts without thinking, throws his weight about, shouts, vociferates" (Bourdieu 1965: 210-211). However, there can be exceptions in some societies, such as deception involving a lie being legitimate behaviour (Pitt-Rivers 1977: 11, Pryce-Jones 1990: 41).

In an Assyrian context scholars have uncovered evidence of similar negative values, usually attributed to foreigners who "are not endowed with the fullness of the human character" (Liverani 1979: 310). They can be depicted as rebellious, abnormal, unnatural or wicked (Liverani 1979: 311). In this respect, a parody contained in a warning to Bel-etir contains an example of these negative values: "like one who is lacking in understand[ing, in] competent, he praised himself, [pouring] his endless obscenities from [his] heart. He himself did the talking, he himself did the saying, he himself did the [glor]ifying, and became an obscenity in the mouth of mankind. And as for him, he did not know [how to reason] with his heart" (Livingstone 1989: 66. K 1351).

Of particular probable importance for both Assyrian and non Assyrian kingship is the negative value of failure to accept responsibility as occurred in the case

of the ruler of Subria, who, in addition to being depicted as a coward and a swindler, tries to escape his punishment at the hands of Esarhaddon by blaming his court officials and advisors for telling him “unreliable lies” (Lanfranchi 2003: 100-101).

(vi) Religion - blasphemous to the gods

Disrespect to the gods was possibly the most negative value in Assyria. Oded notes that it was a frequent justification for war against not only foreign, but also internal enemies (Oded 1992: 121,123) whilst Tadmor and Lanfranchi document how Sargon II and Sennacherib were punished for their sins against the gods (Tadmor et. al. 1986, Lanfranchi 2003). In Sargon’s case he elevated Assyrian gods above Babylonian ones, and in the case of Sennacherib he failed to complete a statue of Marduk that he had decided to return to Babylon (Lanfranchi 2003: 103).

1.8 Public Perception

Honour and shame involve publicity and witnesses (Pryce-Jones 1990: 40). Representatives of public opinion must be present as honour is about the “court of public opinion and the reputation that court bestows” (Malina 1983: 36). In an honour-shame society men have to offer themselves to be seen and be placed under constant scrutiny (Gilmore 1990: 50) where the “extent of the damage to reputation relates to the range of public opinion within which the damage is broadcast” (Pitt-Rivers 1977: 7).

In terms of the model this will be termed “public perception” whereby the king and his contemporary elites are publicly evaluated in terms of their positive and negative values. With respect to the composition of public, it is proposed that it is primarily comprised of the monarch’s peer group within Assyrian and foreign cultures. This may include nobility, priests, foreign rulers and the gods.

Anthropologists have identified two main sources for validation of honour that may have relevance to Assyrian kingship. Pitt-Rivers distinguishes between "honour precedence " and "honour virtue". Honour precedence is worldly honour based on power, wealth and other status indicators validated before an evaluating public (Lawrence 2003: 29). In this case there is a hierarchy of honour where the person who submits to others recognises his inferior status (Pitt-Rivers 1965: 24). This hierarchy stretches " from its source in God, through a king whose legitimacy depends on divine sanction, through the ranks of the social structure down to those who have no honour at all, the heretics and infamous" (Pitt-Rivers 1965: 24). Therefore the importance of honour precedence increases with social status (Pitt-Rivers 1965: 55). In the competition for honour precedence the victor usually finds his reputation enhanced by the humiliation of the vanquished (Pitt-Rivers 1965: 24).

Honour virtue concentrates on the state of individual conscience, it relates to intentions rather than actual consequences where a claim to it is gained "before one's own inner being or before an omniscient divine figure, from whom nothing can be hidden and before whom honour is ultimately justified" (Lawrence 2003: 29-30). Honour virtue may be present in the Assyrian king's relationship to his gods.

Although Assyrian kings were powerful, it is highly probable that they could not rule in an arbitrary fashion as there was an ever present danger that they would be censured by the court of public opinion. For example, there is evidence which suggests that Sargon II and Esarhaddon presented publicly read "letters to the gods" in an endeavour to respond to what was perceived by their publics as inappropriate or shameful behaviour (Talon 2005:106-107).

1.9 Behavioural Manifestations

It is proposed that evidence of the conferral of honour or shame is found in the behaviour of the public and challenge-response actors towards the king, his enemies or other parties involved in a specific situation. Positive behaviour, that implies the conferring of honour, may include words or signs of respect and praise (such as public acclamation or elevation above subjects), attraction of protégés, conferring of gifts and tribute and favour from the gods.

Negative behaviour, implying shame, could include public humiliation, shunning, derision, a stain on a person's lineage, confiscation of property and punishment by the gods (such as disfigurement, disease or death).

With respect to negative behavioural manifestations, Bourdieu has observed through language the impact it has upon the recipient: "How shall I be able to appear before people? I can no longer open my mouth in front of others. Will not the earth swallow me up? My clothes have slipped from my body. My life is over!" (Bourdieu 1965: 211-212). It is the devastating impact that shame can have on an individual in an honour-shame society that motivates its members to conform to positive values; "he who has lost his honour no longer exists. He ceases to exist for other people, and at the same time he ceases to exist for himself" (Bourdieu 1965: 212).

It is possible that in Assyrian kingship, indeed in the broad society at that time, the avoidance of shame was of greater importance than the attainment of honour. In this respect Wikan has observed in a contemporary context that in some Near Eastern cultures such as the poor of Cairo, "life seems to centre on the shaming of others so as to gain value for oneself" and in contrast in other cultures, such as Oman, "the concern is to build merit within oneself by honouring others" (Wikan 1982: 166).

1.10 The Challenge-Response Model

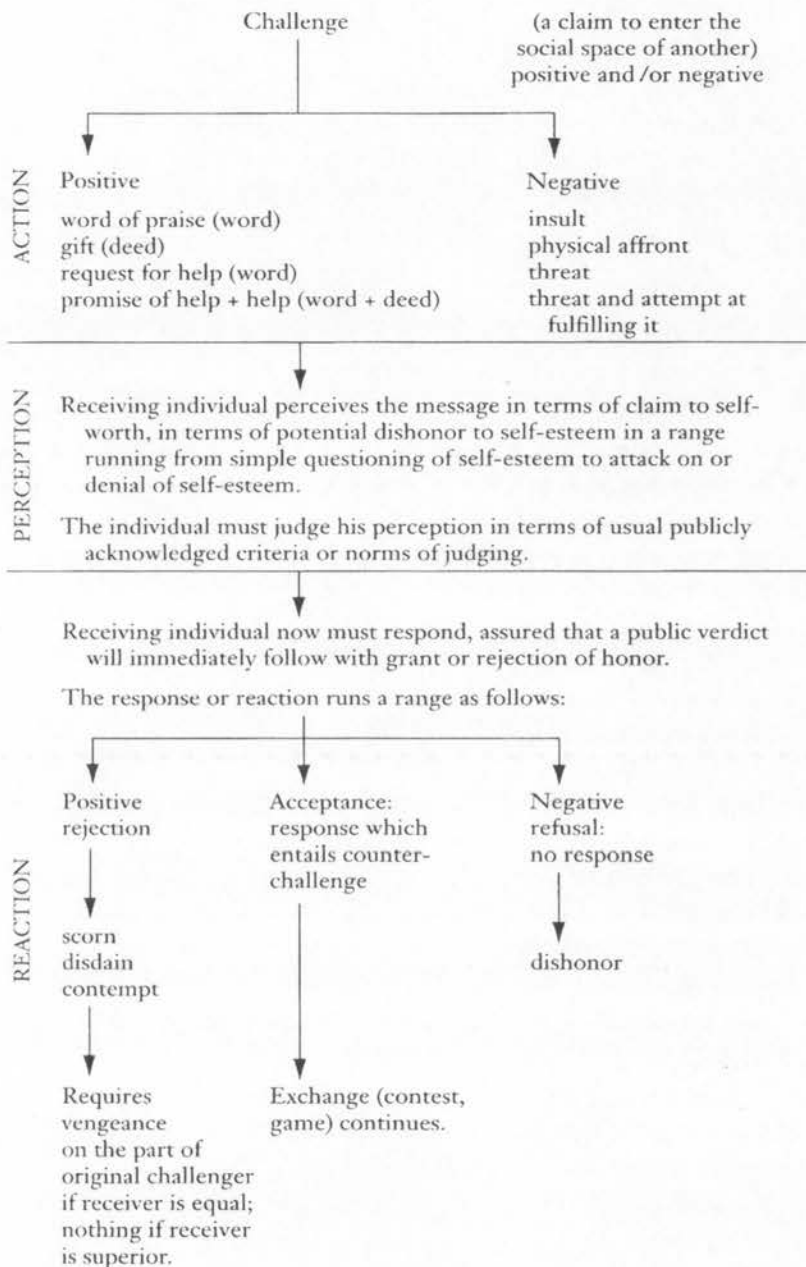


Diagram 2. Challenge -Response Model (Malina 2001: 34).

The means by which one can defend or acquire honour is through the interaction of challenge and response. Malina describes this behaviour as “excelling over others” and notes that it is like a “social game ...in which persons hassle each other according to socially defined rules in order to gain

the honour of another” (Malina 1983: 29). Diagram 2 is a model of challenge and response, originally developed by Bourdieu and refined by Malina (Bourdieu 1965: 215, Malina 2001: 34). This model will be applied in the research to an Assyrian context.

In the model the source or the exchange is the “challenger” who instigates as a first step a message to the “recipient” by way of a “symbolled thing” (words, a gift, an invitation) or by an “event” (some action) or both (Malina 2001: 33). The interaction is public and, therefore, the publicity ensures that the receiving individual will react, since even a non-action is interpreted as a response (Malina 2001: 33). A challenge can be positive or negative. A positive challenge would include action such as a word of praise, a gift or request for help, whilst a negative challenge includes an insult, physical affront or threat (Malina 2001: 33). In the second step, the receiver of the challenge evaluates the message with respect to its potential to dishonour his self-esteem and he must judge how the “challenge falls within the socially acknowledged range of such actions” (Malina 2001: 35).

The third step is the reaction to the message where the receiver’s behaviour enables the public to pass a verdict. Responses can include a positive rejection of the challenger by way of scorn, disdain or contempt. In this instance if the recipient is inferior or equal to the challenger, this would require the challenger to take steps to obliterate the insulting response, as such a response would imply that the challenger is inferior (Malina 2001: 35). The receiver can accept the challenge and offer a counter challenge so the contest continues. Alternatively, the receiver may issue no response implying dishonour whereby he loses his reputation in the eyes of the public (Malina 2001: 35).

In the social game of honour, anthropologists have observed rules of “challenge etiquette”. For example, Bourdieu described how a challenger must consider whomever he challenges to be worthy of it, in other words the recipient must be his peer in honour, an equal (Bourdieu 1965: 197). To

challenge someone incapable of riposte is to dishonour oneself. Similarly, to take unfair advantage or crush ones opponent can expose the challenger to sharing in the recipient's humiliation (Bourdieu 1965: 199). Where the offender is clearly superior, the offended person merely has to "play the game". He need not triumph, as although he may be defeated according to the laws of combat, he is the "victor according to the laws of honour". To preserve honour also requires that the time between the offence and its reparation be as short as possible (Bourdieu 1965: 214).

It should be noted that Bourdieu in a later work, after reanalysing the same material, rejected the notion of an abstract set of rules as misleading (Bourdieu 1977: 14-15). Instead he describes a transformation of "ritualised exchange into a confrontation of strategies" where "the skilled strategist can turn a capital of provocations received or conflicts suspended, with the potential ripostes, vengeance, or conflicts it contains, into an instrument of power, by reserving the capacity to reopen or cease hostilities in his own good time" (Bourdieu 1977: 14-25). Bourdieu describes how the actors manipulate the collective definition of a situation so as to mobilise public support or to pursue the strategy of reducing it "to merely a private affair" (Bourdieu 1977: 40). As Cohen has noted, "reputation is not 'determined' by the mechanical application of 'rules' imposed on individuals from without. It exists only in the minds of the members of the community" and is subject to change "through the manipulation of public opinion and 'collective definitions' by knowledgeable actors pursuing their particular strategies....The politics of reputation, operating through the normalising force of social pressure and public opinion, thus constitute a structuring principle for the maintenance of social order" (Cohen1991: 69).

It is possible that through the "manipulation of public opinion" Ashurbanipal may have also pursued similar challenge–response strategies, rather than abiding by a fixed set of rules.

In the contemporary Near East the challenge-response often can be in terms of extreme violence where "any power holder orders torture or massacre, or

declares war without reference to his subjects, and without a qualm. Far from being some kind of bloodstained beast, he is only a supreme careerist and would feel himself shamed or lacking in manly and warrior like qualities if he were to treat his challengers on the merits of their case. Leniency or the admission that he might have been wrong in his own decisions would prove dishonourable” (Pryce-Jones 1965: 39). In this respect, this study will also investigate the degree to which Ashurbanipal’s challenges and responses may have been played out with extreme violence.

1.11 Research Hypotheses

Emerging from the models are several hypotheses that will be tested in the context of Ashurbanipal's kingship:

- (i) The Assyrian elite had an honour-shame value system that was dominated by the fear of being shamed.
- (ii) Ashurbanipal was depicted as possessing a discrete set of positive honour values.
- (iii) The behaviour and depiction of Ashurbanipal, his enemies and publics in both peaceful and military contexts can be partly explained by reference to the honour-shame and challenge – response models.
- (iv) Ashurbanipal's principal publics were the gods, Assyrian nobility, senior scribes, priests, foreign rulers, their ambassadors and royal descendants.
- (v) Ashurbanipal's victory parades, public hunt spectacles, palaces, relief sculpture and annals were media through which he publicised his honour and his enemies' shame.

The next section will explain how the above hypotheses will be tested.

Part 2 – Research Methodology

2.1 Methodological Problems in Honour-Shame Research

In undertaking research to test the above hypotheses one needs to be aware of the major methodological shortcomings of other studies into honour and shame in both the anthropological and historic spheres.

(i) Generalisation:

As noted in Part 1, several scholars have cautioned against generalisations because as honour and shame varies widely from “one language group to another, from one moral community to another”, that “no single model is capable of capturing local subtleties and complexities” (Brandes 1987: 121, Hertzfeld 1980: 349, Gilmore 1987: 6, Davis 1987: 23, Chance 1996: 141, Lawrence 2003: 13). To avoid this Hertzfeld proposed that anthropologists return to the careful ethnographic particularism of the first writings on the subject by Peristiany and his colleagues (Peristiany 1965) together with closer attention to linguistic differences (Hertzfeld 1980).

Although this needs to be considered, it is argued that the application of a model can assist in providing a framework for more effective analysis of the component parts of a culture’s value system, providing “it possesses no special evidentiary advantages and its success or failure depends upon its internal coherence, anthropological accuracy, and explanatory power” (Cohen 1991: 38). Cohen has noted, that despite the many differences across cultures “there are typical patterns of social practice that characterise a wide range of Mediterranean communities. These patterns may vary from place to place, but there is also considerable similarity in the underlying normative structures” (Cohen 1991: 40). It is proposed that Near Eastern cultures also exhibit these “underlying normative structures”.

(ii) Determinism:

Another criticism of applying models to studying honour and shame is that of determinism, whereby “once evidence is viewed within the framework of a

particular model, it is difficult, if not impossible, to consider viewpoints which do not fit that framework” (Lawrence 2003: 22). Chance has commented on this problem particularly in the case of biblical scholars (Chance 1996: 146). As a solution, Lawrence has proposed that because the compatibility between a model and text cannot be assumed, a fit between a model and evidence has to be demonstrated and argued (Lawrence 2003: 23).

(iii) Indirect Communication:

Just has commented that much of what anthropologists have written about as “honour”, was not derived from the words of the research subjects, but through observations of their behaviour as much of what was communicated between them was “not through words but through context and action” (Just 2001: 34). This has created a problem for scholars in areas such as biblical cultural analysis because of the unavailability of field observation (Lawrence 2003: 3). However, for some ancient cultures, including 7th century BC Assyria, there is a rich body of visual records that could be drawn upon in addition to textual description of non-verbal communication. Gruber has observed that the literature of ancient Canaanites, Israelites, and Akkadian speaking Mesopotamians “contains numerous references to the postures, gestures, and facial expressions which were employed in the Ancient Near East” (Gruber 1980: 16-17).

Therefore, in developing a research methodology for ancient cultures, evidence of nonverbal communication should be sought where possible.

(iv) Upstreaming:

A significant consideration in applying modern studies in cultural anthropology to assist in the analysis of ancient cultures is the problem of what ethnohistorians term “upstreaming” (Chance 1996: 141). The assumption that the cultures anthropologists study are “characterized more by continuity than by change” has increasingly been called into question and therefore

considerable care needs to be taken when using comparative data from the present in interpreting ancient cultures (Chance 1996: 141-142). As a solution, in the case of the interpretation of Assyrian palace reliefs, Hall proposes that the “interpreter must attempt to place himself out of his own time and context and seek to objectify his own experience in such a way as to avoid the imposition of his own values on the event and work” (Hall 1992: 10).

(v) Normative values:

A problem in using ancient documents such as the bible or Assyrian royal inscriptions is that the texts are often composed for “didactic or inspirational purposes” and therefore tend to emphasise the normative perspective rather than the reality (Chance 1996: 145-146). The same problem arises with the propagandistic content of these texts and also with the visual material of the period. Whilst this may be a problem for ancient historians, it is not for this study, as honour-shame value systems have at their core normative social values and identifying their presence, or otherwise, should not be impeded by any diversion from historical reality.¹⁹

(vi) Linguistic Challenges:

Unlike contemporary languages where there are native speakers who can be consulted to ensure that a translation is as accurate as possible, “all native Assyrian speakers have been dead for more than 2000 years” (Russell 1999:3). The translation of Akkadian, therefore, can only at best be an approximation of the original intent of the language. Whilst this can at times pose problems in the light of Herzfeld’s advice to give close attention to

¹⁹ It is probable that the king could not deny reality as the audience witnessing the events could subsequently view their depiction in palace reliefs. This would not, however, prevent a king from presenting a more favourable impression of battles with a mixed outcome such as the reasons given for Sennacherib’s discontinuation of an Elamite campaign, “In the month of rain, extreme cold set in and the heavy storms sent down rain upon rain and snow. I was afraid of the swollen mountain streams; the front of my yoke I turned and took the road to Nineveh” (Luckenbill 1924: Sennacherib Prism V 7-11).

linguistic differences, hopefully by careful examination of the contexts of words can an accurate analysis be undertaken.

(vii) Problems in Measuring Perception

Pitt-Rivers definition of honour has two elements, firstly “the value of a person in his own eyes” and secondly “in the eyes of his society”. Wikan has noted that “students of honour and shame have usually been content to investigate the latter, because it is more amenable to observation” (Wikan 1982: 154). Indeed in terms of the model the latter perception is measurable by observing the “behavioural manifestations”. To overcome the problem in determining the former perception many scholars just assume “that a person’s image of himself is the reflection he sees in his fellow being’s reactions to him” (Wikan 1982: 154). However, this can not be just assumed away as “value in your own eyes” may differ from those of society.²⁰

As will be noted later, in this study the former perception does not present a problem as the data set is a largely a statement by Ashurbanipal of “his value in his eyes”. What is more challenging is to determine whether this coincides with the evaluation of Ashurbanipal by his peers.

2.2 A Literary and Pictorial Ethnographic Methodology

Literary ethnography is a research methodology that holds considerable promise to research questions such as the presence of honour and shame in Assyrian kingship.²¹ The term includes several approaches that endeavour to synthesise anthropological insights and literary evidence. The methodology “seeks to interpret and read social reality and action as presented in the text”

²⁰ These methodological problems are discussed in Wikan 1982: 154-155.

²¹ Lawrence reviews some of the anthropological studies in this field in Lawrence 2003: 43-50.

and includes reading novels, short stories, diaries, memoirs and autobiographies to describe and compare the personal lives of individuals (Lawrence 2003:46). The literature provides an insight into “complex indigenous reflection about the nature of persons and social relationships” (Lawrence 2003: 48).

Literary ethnographic analysis of ancient texts in particular, could prove most fruitful as it may reveal the changes in an honour-shame value system in cultures over time. Baroja, however, raises cautions in the use of purely literary works as they may incorporate behaviour borrowed from another culture to enhance the work and thereby giving a false ethnographic reading (Baroja 1965: 82). He suggests that in many cases the use of legal, theological and strictly historical²² texts are also valuable sources of information (Baroja 1965: 82). The Assyrian royal inscriptions are one collection of texts that could be used for literary ethnographic research as they include all four categories. Ashurbanipal's annals in particular, as historic autobiographical texts, hold tremendous appeal for applying this methodology.

A significant methodological problem noted above is non-verbal, or indirect communication, from which at times elements of honour and shame can only be observed. Whilst literary material may not detect this important data set, pictorial evidence could be more revealing. In a contemporary context, the iconography of honour and shame is displayed in the Near East in still, video and sculptural form.²³ The palaces of Ashurbanipal contained relief decoration and it is possible that this may also contain similar imagery. In particular there are works that provide a visual historic narrative that could be analysed using

²² Memoirs, chronicles, letters, newspapers, ect.

²³ Pryce-Jones has observed that “honour is symbolised architecturally in triumphal arches of plywood blazoned with heroic military slogans; in larger-than-life portraits of the country's power holder in a martial or benevolent pose, his uniform bright with medals and badges, or perhaps all-wise in a civilian suit; in a massively laid-out Liberation Square usually adorned with a statuesque but deteriorating tank and arrayed flags fraying in the wind” (Pryce-Jones 1990:46-47). Makiya has undertaken a study of monuments and art in Saddam Hussein's Iraq that also documents imagery with an honour-shame content (Makiya 1991).

a similar approach to literary ethnography. In this respect, Cifarelli has used reliefs of Ashurnasirpal II as a non verbal data source for the analysis of postures and gestures (Cifarelli 1998).²⁴

Given the opportunity to examine both Assyrian literary and pictorial evidence, a modified literary ethnographic methodology will therefore be applied to test the hypotheses. In so doing the following ethnographic approach will be used²⁵:

- (i) Data collection: Data will be collected to answer predefined questions and the field informants identified.
- (ii) Theoretical and comparative analysis: The data will be tested in light of comparative contemporary and ancient anthropological studies and theory.
- (iii) Ethnographic reading: The results are documented and conclusions are reached in light of all the evidence.

Through using this data set and research method it is hoped to more effectively manage the methodological problems that have been noted in other studies.

2.3 Data Collection

The following data will be evaluated.

- (i) Religious, literary and historical texts:

A sample of religious, literary and historic documents will be examined to determine if there is direct linguistic evidence of the use of the terms honour and shame in 7th century BC Assyria. These documents are:

- Ashurbanipal's Coronation Hymn (Livingstone 1989: 26-27)

²⁴ Also see Lumsden 2004 on the narrative art of Ashurnasirpal II.

²⁵ This methodological path has been adapted from Lawrence (Lawrence 2003: 41).

- Letter of King Ashurbanipal to the People of Babylon (Moran 1991: 320, Waterman 1930: 208-209)
- The Investiture of Ashurbanipal (Mattila 1995: 140-141)
- In the Lap of My Goddess (Mattila 1995: 175-177)
- Dialogue Between Ashurbanipal and Nabu (Livingstone 1989: 33-35)
- A Righteous Sufferer's Prayer to Nabu (Livingstone 1989: 30-32)
- A Petition to Ashurbanipal (Livingstone 1989: 59-60)
- Letter from Bēl-ibni to Ashurbanipal (Waters 2002: 85, Waterman 1930: 54-55, Letter 792).
- Epic of Gilgamesh (George 1999, 2003, Parpola 1997, Foster 2001)
- The Poem of the Righteous Sufferer (Foster 1993: 310-324)

Two of the documents, the Epic of Gilgamesh and The Poem of the Righteous Sufferer, were composed earlier than the Neo-Assyrian period, however, due to their literary significance they have been included to give a deeper historic perspective.

Two seals will also be examined to provide further textual evidence and possibly visual evidence for a motif of honour.

- Neo-Assyrian cylinder seal BM 89145 (Livingstone 1989: 34)
- Royal Assyrian Seal (Sachs 1953: 167-170)

(ii) Ashurbanipal's Annals:

The account in the annals of Ashurbanipal's Second Elamite Campaign against Te-umman in 653 BC²⁶ is amongst the most extensively documented

²⁶ Dated by Geradi (Geradi 1987: 127-130, 14-145).

actions of the monarch's many wars, it therefore represents a valuable data set from which the models can be tested in a dynamic context. However, to fully appreciate the campaign's significance with respect to honour and shame, the account cannot be divorced from the annals introductory and building dedicatory texts.²⁷ In this respect, it is proposed that the introductory and dedicatory texts are statements revealing different, but complimentary, dimensions of the king's positive values and acquisition of honour in a peaceful context compared to what is revealed in the campaign account. Together all three components may present Ashurbanipal's honour in the most favourable light.

The following Editions and sections of the annals will be analysed:

- Introductory Text Edition B:

The Introductory Text contained in Edition B (Piepkorn 1933: 29-31, 87-89) will be analysed to determine the presence or otherwise of the king's positive values.

- Dedicatory Text Edition B:

The building dedicatory text contained in Edition B (Piepkorn 1933: 87-89) will be analysed from the perspective of acquisition of honour in a peaceful context and for evidence of Ashurbanipal's publicis.

- Ashurbanipal's Second Elamite Campaign Editions B and A:

To test the two models in the dynamic environment of warfare, Ashurbanipal's Second Elamite campaign contained in annals Editions B and A will be used (Piepkorn 1933:61-77; Luckenbill 1927: 787-788; Borger 1996: 224-228). As

²⁷ Ashurbanipal's annals are composed in three distinct sections: an introduction that contains a description of the king's titles and attributes, a narration of military campaigns, and at the end an account of a building accomplishment. In a study of Editions F and A, Tadmor demonstrated that each of these sections (that were all too often considered separately) were written to be part of a single composition whose elements were chosen for a particular ideological purpose (Tadmor 1983). Therefore, the annals need to be examined in their entirety. For a detailed discussion on Ashurbanipal's annals see Gerardi 1987: 19-75.

the campaign accounts have been described as “more like historical novels” (Grayson 1981: 43-46, Tadmor 1997: 327), rather than just factual documents (Oded 1992:1, 3-4), they are well suited when using a literary ethnographic methodology.

(iii) Hunting Texts:

There are three fragmentary textual accounts that will be used in analysing the presence of honour and shame in Ashurbanipal's hunts:

- Prism Fragment (Edition E) BM 82-5-22,2 (Weissert 1997: 357, Bauer 1933:30, Borger 1996:198f)
- The Great Hunting Text BM K 2867+ 1904-10-9,11 (BM 98982) (Luckenbill 1927: 935, Bauer 1933: 87-89)
- The hunt in the Nineveh Arena BM K 6085 (Bauer 1933: 88)

(iv) Palace relief sculpture:

To provide a nonverbal data set to test the models, there is a rich repository of palace relief sculpture from the royal palaces at Nineveh (Map 1), which may provide valuable insights. As Reade noted the written documents and the sculptures “are inseparable, like print and pictures in an illustrated book” (Reade 1979b: 329, Winter 1997: 359).

- Ashurbanipal's Second Elamite Campaign

Two relief data sets will be used in the analysis, the visual narrative of the Second Elamite Campaign and Ashurbanipal's hunt narratives. In addition to the reliefs are several associated epigraphs carved on the front of the slabs that can contribute to the interpretation.²⁸

²⁸ For a discussion of the epigraphs see Russell 1999: 156-209.

The narrative reliefs depicting the Second Elamite campaign were located in room XXXIII of the Southwest Palace (SWP) and room I and S¹ (and possibly H) of the North Palace (NP) at Nineveh (location shown in Map 1-2 and Plans 1-2). From room XXXIII six slabs in two registers have been preserved (three on either side of the entrance, Figures 3-8) and include ten epigraphs (Barnett et.al.1998: 27-30, 94-100, Pl. 268-320). In room I there are only two significant sections of the reliefs preserved (a section of slab 1 or 2, and part of the upper relief of 9), however, there are illustrations of slabs 5-7, 9 and part of the lower register of 10 (Figures 9-11, 31). Room I also has two epigraphs.²⁹ Room S1, from an upper floor, has a reference on one slab to Te-umman (Barnett 1976: 14-15, 18-19, 42-43, 57-58, Pl. XXIV-XXVI, LXIII-LXVI, Figure 34).

- Epigraphs related to missing Second Elamite Campaign reliefs

Russell has identified several Epigraphs, identified as Texts A-H, which the evidence suggests were prepared as primarily narrative scripts to guide the sculptors in carving the Second Elamite Campaign reliefs or a record of the completed slabs (Russell 1999: 156-199). This data source therefore, provides considerable information to help ascertain both the narrative composition of the missing reliefs and possibly associated epigraphic captions. The translations used of these epigraphs are those adopted by Russell 1999 and included in Appendix C.³⁰

- Asurbanipal's Hunt Reliefs

The hunt reliefs selected for analysis were located in rooms C, S and S¹ of the North Palace. Room C reliefs are in one register depicting a hunt in an arena on two adjacent walls (Barnett 1976: 12-13, 37-38, Pl. V-XIII, north-east wall

²⁹ For a description of the reliefs see Reade 1983: 61, Geradi 1987: 139-145, 155-156, and Russell 1999: 156-199.

³⁰ Listed in Russell 1999: 157-158.

slabs 1-17, south-west wall slabs 18-29). Room S, located at a lower entry to the palace (Barnett 1976: 19,49-52, Pl. XLIV-LIV), has reliefs depicting Ashurbanipal hunting gazelle (lr slabs 16-13), hunting onagers (lr slabs 13-6), hunting lions on foot, probably in an arena (ur slabs 14-11,8-9?), hunting lions while riding a horse (mr slabs 14-10, 16) and hunting lions from a Phoenician galley (slabs 5-3). Hunting scenes in Room S¹ (Barnett 1976: 19, 53-54, Pl. LVI-LIX) include a lion hunt on the plain (slabs A-B), lion hunt in an arena (mr? and ur C-E) and a libation over lion carcasses (lr C-E). The hunting reliefs in Room S¹ also include five epigraphs.

Winter has observed that the reliefs would have functioned in their time “like modern news photographs of actual military campaigns” (Winter 1997: 360). Although this claim may be regarded as somewhat of an exaggeration because of the more likely limited audience of the relief medium, there are, as noted earlier, cultural anthropological studies that have drawn upon similar imagery to demonstrate the presence of the value system in contemporary Near Eastern political contexts.

In support of the use of the reliefs as visual data, Hall has also argued that art functions within the fabric of a social structure to give visual expression to the value systems that hold it together (Hall 1992: 66).

Therefore, using the reliefs as a data source presents an opportunity to obtain non verbal evidence of honour and shame which will not only complement the textual evidence, but assist in overcoming some of the methodological problems that have been observed in contemporary research in this field (Just 2001: 34-50).

(v) Spatial context of the annals and reliefs:

The archaeological context of the annals and reliefs in the palaces will be used as a data set to assist in evaluating their role as mediums through which Ashurbanipal publicised his honour and shame, and to assist in determining

the composition of the king's principal publics. In this respect there are two levels of analysis. The first at the "micro level" where honour and shame is imbedded within the historic narrative, the second is at the "macro level" where the annals and reliefs are mediums to publicise honour and shame.

2.4 Analysis of the Data

The data analysis will be undertaken in four sections and reported in Part 3 as the Research Findings:

- (i) The Assyrian concept of honour and shame

Analysis of a sample of texts to determine if there is linguistic evidence of a concept of honour and shame in Assyrian culture.

- (ii) Annals Introductory Text: a statement of Ashurbanipal's positive values

The introductory text of Edition B will be examined to determine whether it may be a statement of Ashurbanipal's positive values.

- (iii) Annals Building Dedicatory Text: acquiring honour in a peaceful context

The building dedicatory text of Edition B will be analysed to determine whether it represents the acquisition of honour in a peaceful context and identifies the annals' audience.

(iv) Second Elamite Campaign: the dynamics of honour and shame in warfare

The textual and relief accounts of the Second Elamite Campaign will be analysed on the “micro level” using the literary and pictorial ethnographic methodology. Informants will be identified and contemporary and historical cultural anthropological comparisons made.

The two models will then be subject to more rigorous testing through the tabulation of the linguistic and pictorial evidence as follows:

- a. Status of participants – includes role of “associates” as representatives of principal combatants
- b. Challenge – includes publics perceiving challenges.
- c. Response – includes publics perceiving responses.
- d. Kings positive values
- e. Enemy’s negative values
- f. Behavioural manifestations towards the king
- g. Behavioural manifestations towards the enemy
- h. Challenge honour-shame probable outcome

This section will conclude with an ethnographic reading reached in light of the evidence.

(v) Master of the Animals and Ashurbanipal’s Hunt Reliefs: motifs of Honour

Neo Assyrian seals and Ashurbanipal’s hunting reliefs will be examined to determine if they are motifs of honour and to also determine if the hunt reliefs are depicted in terms of the honour-shame and challenge response models.

(iv) Publicising honour and shame.

This section will explore at the "macro level" the probable audience of Ashurbanipal's communication mediums and their function.

Part 3 – Research Findings

3.1 The Assyrian Terms for Honour and Shame

Although this thesis will be using as a data source texts translated by Akkadian scholars, it is nevertheless appropriate to examine the linguistic terminology for “honour” and “shame”. In this respect Herzfeld has argued that in undertaking studies of honour and shame it is imperative to examine each “terminological system as an independent whole in its local setting and to elucidate the relationships between such systems within each linguistic area before proceeding to wider cross-cultural comparisons” (Herzfeld 1980: 339). He also cautions against assuming equivalent meaning when translated to familiar English words (Herzfeld 1980: 340).

Unlike biblical studies in the field that have documented the context and frequency of word usage for the terms (Muenchow 1989: 603) no such analysis exists with respect to Akkadian literature. Therefore, to determine if linguistic terminology existed during the reign of Ashurbanipal, a sample of religious, literary and historic texts will be examined.

3.1.1 Honour: A Good Name

There are various Akkadian words that describe the act of honouring a person or god, such as in the *Nanaya Hymn of Sargon II*:

GÍD-ti UD.MEŠ ITI-šam *kun-na-a rém-ni-tu*

“For the extent of days, every month honour the merciful one” (Livingstone 1989: 14, l. 11-12)

where *kun-na*, an imperative of *kanu*, means to “praise” or “do honour to” (CAD *kunnû*: 540-541).

Another term used is *rēša našu* as spoken in *Gilgamesh XII*:

*abu(ad) – šú u umma(ama) – šú rēš(sag) – su na- šu-ú u aššat(dam)-su ina
muh-hi-š[ú-i-bak-k]a-a-[šú]*

"Did you see the one who was killed in battle?' 'I [saw(him.)]

His father and mother honour his memory and his wife [weeps] over [(him).]"

(George 2003: 734-735)

In this context the phrase *rēš-su na-šu- ú* is literally translated as "hold up his head" (George 2003: 735, CAD *našu*: 108, CDA *našu*: 246). Malina has noted the role that the "head" plays in a biblical context as a symbol of honour and dishonour when it is "crowned, anointed, touched, covered, uncovered, made bare by shaving, cut off, struck, or slapped" (Malina 2001: 38-39). Therefore it would appear that in Assyrian culture "to lift the head", might have been an idiom, which conveyed that a person was in an honoured position or being honoured. In the above example as the dead warrior cannot assume the stance of honour his father and mother "hold up his head" for him. Gruber, however, questions this interpretation in the context of the dead warrior's head being lifted by his parents. He proposes that it could be a gesture of "happiness regained" rather than a "gesture of pride or satisfaction" (Gruber 1980: 10-11, 607-613)

A further expression of honour is *kabātu*, "to be honoured, treat honourably or respectfully" or literally "to become heavy" (CAD *kabātu*: 14,16). This is similar to the Hebrew term **קָבוֹד** (*qavod*) "to be honoured" which primarily means, "being heavy, weighty" (Brown et al 1951: 457, Rabcichev 1996, Stansell 1996: 58). The term is at times associated with *rēšum* and *qaqqadum* (literally "heavy head") that also means "honour" (CAD *kabātu*: 14). A further and significant variant is *kabtu*, meaning "heavy, important, honoured or an important person" (CAD *kabtu*: 24,26). Expressed as *šumu kabtu*, a "heavy name", it means "a respected, honoured or famous name" (CAD *kabtu*: 27,

šumu: 292). As will be noted below it is the linkage to *šumu* that is particularly significant.

Glassner has suggested *bāštu* as another term for honour, as used in the expression *multi-bašti*, “my husband is my honour”. He argues that *bāštu* has a primary meaning “to do with notions of vigour, modesty, dignity and honour” (Glassner1989: 75). On *bāštu* Cavigneaux also observes that in the lexical lists of CAD, *ur* = *bāštu*, and that “this equation allows a good analysis of names of the type ^dND-ur-mu, making an analogy of Akkadian names like *Abi-bāšti* ‘my father is my honour (?)’”(Cavigneaux 1978:178,note 6). However, it must be questioned whether translating the word as “honour” is correct as noted by the CAD it “refers to a positive quality such as dignity (in action and looks), decorum, ect,” (CAD *baštu*: 144). Indeed, Cavigneaux concedes that the meaning of *bāštu* is rather complex to define, being associated with “personality, personal god, dignity” (Cavigneaux 1978:178, note 6). What *bāštu* would appear to be is a quality whose presence enhances honour.

Whilst the above suggests terms that describe the act of honouring, a more direct link to Assyrian kingship is required to adequately determine the most appropriate noun for the concept. The evidence suggests, that the expression, “a good name” or “fame”, was the Assyrian term for “honour”. This is apparent in *Ashurbanipal’s Coronation Hymn*³¹, which contains the *tākultu* prayer (Livingstone 1989: xxiii-xxiv) that implores the gods to:

[UD].MEŠ GÍD.DA.MEŠ MU.AN.[N]A.MEŠ *ma-a’- da -[ti]*
[GIŠ.TU]KUL *dan-nu* BALA GÍD. DA M[U.AN.N]A.MEŠ *tuh¹-di* M[U] DÙG.GA
[*ni ib* MU] DÙG.GA ŠÀ-*bi hu-ud* ŠÀ-*bi ge-er- ra¹* SIG₅ *ù a-šá-rid-du-t[u]*
UGU LUGAL.MEŠ a-na ^m*aš-šur-DÙ-A* MAN KUR-*aš-šur* EN-*ni di-na-niš-šú*

“Give our lord Ashurbanipal long [days], copious years, strong [wea]pons, a long reign, y[ear]s of abundance, a good name, [fame], happiness and joy,

³¹ Modern scholars gave the name of the “hymn” as it is dated to the beginning of the reign of Ashurbanipal (Livingstone 1989: xxiii).

auspicious oracles, and leadership over (all other) kings!" (Livingstone 1989: 26-27, VAT 13831 r.1-2).

Two similar terms are used here, MU DÙ.GA, "A good name", and *ni-ib* MU DÙG.GA, "fame" (literally translated as "naming a good name"). It is probably the equivalent to the concept of honour symbolled by name as described by Malina, "One's good name, that is, ones reputation, holds the central concern of people in every context of public action and gives purpose and meaning to their lives" (Malina 3001: 37). According to Livingstone it is significant that the composition contains "language which could be paralleled in many texts, and belongs to the standard phraseology of Mesopotamian kingship", such as the *tākultu* prayer (Livingstone 1989: xxiii). This suggests that having "a good name" may have been central to a broader Mesopotamian concept of kingship.

The term is also found in other contexts such as *Ashurbanipal's Letter to the People of Babylon* warning them not to side with his rebellious brother Shamash-shum-ukin. Here "good name" and "reputation" are possibly used as equivalents such as when Ashurbanipal sarcastically quotes Shamash-shum-ukin:

*ak-bu-ú al-la nik-lu šú-ú it-ti-kil um-ma šú-mu ša ^{amél}Bâbilar^{ki meš} ra-l-ma-ni-šú
it-ti-ia lu-ba-iš ù a-na-ku ul a-šim-me-ši*

"I will ruin, along with myself, the reputation of the Babylonians, who are loyal to him" (Moran 1991: 320, Waterman 1939: letter 301, l. 11-14)³²

and Ashurbanipal's warning:

³² An alternate translation from Waterman is "I will make the reputation of the Babylonians, who love him, as shameful as my own" (Waterman 1939: 208- 209, letter 301, l. 11-14). Note that in citations line is abbreviated as "l."

*lâ ta-šim-ma-a šú-un-ku-nu šá ina pâni-ia u ina pâni mâtâti gab-bu ba-nu-ú lâ
yu-ba-'a-ša*

“Do not ruin your reputation, which in my judgement and that of the world is simply perfect” (Moran 1991: 320, Waterman 1939: letter 301, l. 20-23).³³

In the first quote *šu-mu* is used, which can mean, “good name, reputation or fame” (CAD *šumu*: 292 2a, CDA: 384). In the second quote the term is *šú-un-ku-nu* “good name” or “reputation” (CAD *šumu*: 293 2d).

In this context “good name” or “reputation” is applied to a group, rather than the individual. This suggests that there was also a concept of collective honour in Assyrian and Babylonian cultures during that time. Malina has identified collective honour in a biblical context (Malina 2001: 43-45), and Bourdieu, Zeid and Pitt-Rivers in contemporary ethnographic studies (Bourdieu 1965: 207-208, Zeid 1965: 259. Pitt-Rivers 1977: 13-14.)

The importance of a good name in Assyrian kingship is also apparent in a letter to Esarhaddon’s from his exorcist, Adad-shumu-usur, on the occasion of Ashurbanipal’s investiture:

“May Ashur make your name endure with heaven and earth!” (Mattila1995: 140, SAA 10 185).

Ashurbanipal uses similar language in a hymn to the Ishtars of Nineveh and Arbella:

“They glorified my stature and fortified my strength; they caused my name to be pronounced ahead of all rulers” (Mattila 1995: 176, SAA 3 3).

³³ Waterman’s translation is similar “Do not contaminate your good name, which is unsullied before me and before the whole world” (Waterman 1939: 208- 209, letter 301, l. 20-23).

As noted above, it is possible that the importance of a “good name” as a central value in Assyrian culture can be traced to earlier Mesopotamian periods. For example, in *Gilgamesh* there are several references such as:

šu-ma ša da-ru-ú a-na-ku lu-uš-ták-nam

“a name that is eternal I will establish for ever” (George 1999: 20; Yale Tablet OB III188, George 2003: 202-203).

Commenting upon *Gilgamesh*, Liverani notes “Gilgamesh as is proper for a king, obtains a kind of permanence in time which is linked to his ‘name’, that is, the eternal fame that belongs to someone who accomplishes memorable feats”(Liverani 2004: 22). Kraus cites other examples that demonstrate “ein grosser Name – Ruhm im Lande – Dauer in ferne Zukunft” (Kraus 1960: 128-129,132).

It is therefore suggested that the linguistic terminology most closely associated with what the model describes as “honour” in the context of Assyrian kingship is found in the expression MU DÙ.GA and *šumu* - “a good name”. The behavioural terms associated with its acknowledgement include *kun-na* to “praise” or “do honour to” and *kabātu*, “to be honoured, treat honourably or respectfully” or literally “to become heavy”.

3.1.2 Shame: Stink, Embarrassment, Bow in Shame

There are specific references to the word “shame” in literary works associated with Ashurbanipal. In the *Dialogue Between Ashurbanipal and Nabu*, Ashurbanipal prays to the god:

šá is-ba-tu ina GIR.2 ^dšar-rat-NINA.KI la i-lu-ad UKKIN DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ

*šá ina qa-an-ni ša ^dur-kit-tu ka-mus la i-lu-ad ina UKKIN ha-da-nu-te-šú
ina UKKIN ha-da-nu-te-ia la tu-maš-šar-an-ni ^dAG*

ina UKKIN EN sa-as-si-ia la tu-maš-šá-ra ZI.MEŠ-ia

“May he who grasped the feet of the Queen of Nineveh not come to shame in the assembly of the great gods; may he who sits next to Urkittu not come to shame in the assembly of those who wish him ill! Do not abandon me to the assembly of those who wish me ill, O Nabu! Do not abandon my life to the assembly of my adversaries” (Livingstone 1989: 34, K1285 r. l. 2 – 5).

The term for “shame” used in this context is *i-lu-ad*, derived from the verb *luadu* “to bend down”. It is possible that in the Neo-Assyrian dialect it meant, “to bow in shame” (CAD *lâdu*: 36 b).

A text that contains similar expression is the *Righteous Sufferer's Prayer to Nabu* (Livingstone 1989: 30-32). This is the only Assyrian example of a genre well represented in Babylonian literature of the repentant sinner and the righteous sufferer. Significantly the evidence suggests that the subject of suffering is Ashurbanipal (Livingstone 1989: xxvi). The sufferer calls upon Nabu to:

la tu-maš-šar-an-ni be-lí a-na [UK]KIN¹ ša ha-da-nu-a ma-a-du
ŠU.2 ma ad še da MÍ.UŠ₁₂.ZU-MU l[a š]u-maš-šar-an-ni^dMU.DÙG.GA.SA₄¹.A
an-šu-u pa-lih-ka a-na-ku la t[u-b]a-šá-a-ni ina pu-uh-ru

“Do not abandon me, my lord, to the assembly where there are many who wish me ill! Do not abandon me, O Munduggasa, to the hands of...my sorceress! I am one in a weak condition, who fears you; do not let me come to shame in the assembly!” Livingstone 1989: 32, SU 52/103 r.11-13).

In this instance the word for “shame” is *ba-šá-a*, which is probably a variant of *ba'āšu* that means “to smell bad, stink, be rotten” (CAD: *ba'āšu*: 4-6, CAD *bu'šu*: 352). It is likely that it is from the same root cognate as the Hebrew

באש (*baash*) “to be rotten” or “stink” (Stansell 1996: 69).³⁴ Significantly, ^dMU.DÙG.GA.SA, is an epithet of Nabu meaning in Sumarian “one called by a good name” (Livingstone 1989: 32, note 12), which places a term for honour in juxtaposition to shame in the following verse, lending further support to the interpretation of the terminology.

The term *ba-ša* can also be used in an ironical fashion as in the Old Babylonian Bagdad Tablet of *Gilgamesh*:

mi-nu-ú-um ú-ba-ša-ka

“what can bring you dishonour?” (OB IM 21, George 2003: 268-269).

A similar expression to “shame” is found in *A Petition to Ashurbanipal*, which rather than a pure letter, was a literary work formed by excerpting sections of eulogy in praise of Ashurbanipal from letters (Livingstone 1989: xxvii). The petitioner says to Ashurbanipal:

[xx]x šá LUGAL *lul-du-ud im-ma-tim-ma šá KÁ.GA*[L xx]

[x] x x - *ba i-ba-šú ia-a-nu a-na-ku la a-ba-[a-šá xxxx]*

“Let me pull the kings [...]! Never has there been (anybody) who [has approached] the gate of [...] and come to shame. Let me not come to sh[ame...]!” (Livingstone 1989: 60, K 4793 r. I.12-13).³⁵

In this case the word for shame is *ba-a-šá*. The same term is also used in *Ashurbanipal's Letter to the People of Babylon*: “Do not ruin your reputation, which in my judgement and that of the world is simply perfect” but in this case

³⁴ Personal communication Dr. Noel Weeks. Stansell notes how the Hebrew equivalent באש (*baash*) is connected with acts that bring dishonour (Stansell1996: 69).

³⁵ It is probable that the passage commenced with the phrase “let me pull the kings *hem!*” Commenting upon this expression Malul notes that “the act of grasping a god's or a lord's hem in a vassal treaty conveyed the idea of submission and falling under the owner of the hem's power” (Malul: 1988: 420 note 5)

it is translated as “ruin” or “contaminate” (Moran 1991: 320, Waterman 1939: letter 301, l. 20-23). Again there is a close juxtaposition of words implying honour and shame (*šú-un-ku-nu* and *ba-a-šá*) in both this and in lines 11-14 (*šú-mu* and *ba-iš*).

Another variant is *bultu*, a version of *buštu*, meaning “embarrassment, distress, duress and shame” (CAD *buštu*: 351-352, CDA *buštu*: 50). It is similar to the Hebrew **בשה** (*busha*) that also means shame (Domeris: 1993: 285). An example is found in a *Letter from Bēl-ibni to Ashurbanipal* that quotes correspondence from Elamite leaders concerning the request from Ashurbanipal for the return of the rebel Nabubelshumate whom they had given sanctuary. Their message was:

*mát*Elamtu na-da-nu ša ^milNabû-bêl-šumâte^{mes} a-na
*mát*Aššur^{ki} si-bu-ú al-la ina bu-ul-ti...

“Elam is willing to give over Nabubelshumate to the land of Assyria rather than in shame” (Waterman 1930: 54-55, Letter 792 13-14)

The words *ina bu-ul-ti* is translated by Waterman as “in shame”. In a more recent translation by Waters, he uses the expression “under duress” or literally, “in embarrassment” (Waters 2002: 85). As noted in the contemporary anthropological research it is a shameful act not giving sanctuary to a refugee (Zeid 1965: 254). Clearly, the Elamites were shamed or embarrassed by consenting to hand over the rebel to Ashurbanipal.

The literary evidence therefore suggests that the Akkadian terms meaning shame include *i-lu-ad* “to bend down” or “to bow in shame”; *ba-šá-a* and *ba-a-ša*, “stink”; and *buštu*, “shame or embarrassment”, and their derivatives.

The use of the word “assembly”, UKKIN and *pu-uh-ru* (CDA *puhru*: 277-278), is also significant as it appears in several of the above texts in relation to shame. The “assembly” in an Assyrian context had a broad meaning referring

to an assembly of gods, adversaries, a group of people or elders.³⁶ It would seem that the “assembly” was the equivalent to “publics” in the honour-shame model, which is the court of public opinion.

To conclude this linguistic review of shame one should consider what constituted the apparent great fear of shame in the assembly. A possible insight can be gained from a literary source from an earlier period³⁷, *The Poem of the Righteous Sufferer* (Foster 1993: 310-324), a work that probably influenced the composition of the *Righteous Sufferer's Prayer to Nabu* (Livingstone 1989: xxvi). This poetic monologue tells “how a certain noble gentleman, once important and prosperous, for no apparent reason was driven to disgrace and disease by the god Marduk” (Foster 1993: 308). The social ostracism that followed is like a chronicle of shame, a living death:

“My vigour was taken away, my manly appearance became gloomy,
My dignity flew off, my cover leaped away.

Terrifying signs beset me:

I was forced out of my house, I wandered outside...

What was said in the street portended ill for me,

When I lay down at night, my dream was terrifying.

The king, incarnation of the gods, sun of his peoples,

His heart was enraged with me and appeasing him was impossible.

Courtiers were plotting hostile action against me...

Slander and lies they try to lend credence against me.

My mouth, once proud, was muzzled like a ...,

My lips, which used to discourse, became those of a deaf man.

My resounding call struck dumb,

My proud head bent earthward,

My stout heart turned feeble for terror,

My broad breast brushed aside by a novice,

My far reaching arms pinned by (flimsy) matting(?),

³⁶ Such as the assembly of the elders of Uruk, in *Gilgamesh* (Standard Version III 11, George 2003: 575).

³⁷ Foster places the work in the Mature Period, 1500-1000BC (Foster 1993: vi-vii).

I, who walked proudly, learned slinking,
I, so grand, became servile.
To my vast family I became a loner,
As I went through the streets, ears (?) were pricked up (?) at me,
I would enter the palace, eyes would squint at me,
My city was glowering at me like an enemy,
Belligerent and hostile would seem my land!
My brother became my foe,
My friend became a malignant demon,
My comrade would denounce me savagely,
My colleague was constantly keeping the taint to his weapons,
My best friend would pinch off my life.
My slave cursed me openly in the assembly (of gentlefolk),
My slave girl defamed me before the rabble.
An acquaintance would see me and make himself scarce,
My family disowned me.” (Foster 1993: 311-313, l.47-92).

Clearly the “sufferer” was being publicly shamed, as if he was “rotten” or “stunk”. He also appeared in a deep psychological state of shame.

An insight into being “shamed in the assembly of those who wish him ill” can also be gained from a letter of Esarhaddon to the god Ashur concerning his conquest of Subriya in the winter of 672 (Borger 1956: 102-107, Tadmor 1983: 43). It details the complete humiliation of the Subrian ruler in front of Esarhaddon, the Assyrian army and his own people in an attempt to appease the anger of Esarhaddon. The ruler appears “atop of his capital’s walls dressed like a penitent, with the demeanour of a slave, and, kneeling, offers the submission of his country” (Oppenheim 1979: 129). After offers of tribute fail to placate Esarhaddon and a siege wall is constructed, the Subrian king’s two sons “bring out an effigy of their father clad as a slave, in fetters, and shown working a millstone to demonstrate his complete loss of social status” (Oppenheim 1979: 130). As Lanfranchi has observed, the behaviour of the Subrian king as described in the letter “is aimed at shamefully depicting him as a coward and swindler” (Lanfranchi 2003: 101).

Given the intensity and threat of these types of shaming episodes, it was not surprising that Ashurbanipal prayed for protection from such occurrences to Nabu. It was an ever-present danger for the king and the preoccupation of the above texts with its avoidance suggests that "shame" rather than a "good name" may have dominated the value system.

There is therefore linguistic evidence, which supports the presence of an Assyrian honour shame value system. As to whether it was dominated by honour or shame, a more detailed analysis of the underlying values of kingship is required.

3.2 Annals Introductory Text: A Statement of Ashurbanipal's Positive Values

Whilst not detracting from past ideological interpretations of the annals introductory texts,³⁸ it is proposed that new insights could be gained through an examination from the perspective of the honour-shame model. In particular, determining if the texts are a statement of Ashurbanipal's positive values.³⁹

The "field informant" in this and subsequent sections of the annals to be examined is the king who provides the narration:⁴⁰

From the outset words are selected which emphasise Ashurbanipal's "exaltedness" or royal splendour, indicative of his honour (Prinsloo 2000: 358)

"I, Ashurbanipal, the great king, the mighty king, king of the universe, king of Assyria, king of the four world-regions..." (B I 1-2).

The text then makes a clear statement of his great lineage that firmly establishes his royal legitimacy:

"...offspring of the loins of Esarhaddon, king of Assyria, duke of Babylon, king of the land Shumerian and the Akkadian, grandson of Sennacherib, king of the universe, king of Assyria..."

Malina describes this as "ascribed honour" which is a "the repository of the honour of past illustrious ancestors and their accumulated acquired honour" (Malina 1983: 29). There is an emphasis in Assyrian royal inscriptions to the

³⁸ In particular see Tadmor 1981, 1983, 1997.

³⁹ References to the annals will quote the edition, column and lines, for example B VI 27-28.

⁴⁰ In reality, scribes composed the text, but it would have most probably been undertaken with close consultation with the king, particularly in the case of Ashurbanipal who considerable documentary evidence suggests he was literate (Tadmor 1981: 32, Lanfranchi 1997: 329).

"uninterrupted permanence on the throne of members of the same royal family" which has "the effect of 'piling up' all the accomplishments obtained by the predecessors and of transmitting them to the reigning king" (Lanfranchi 2003: 104).⁴¹ It should be noted that three kings; Tiglath-pileser III, Sargon II and Sennacherib, refrained from using the statement of direct parentage. Tadmor suggests that this was due to the first two usurping the throne under extraordinary circumstances and in the case of Sennacherib, antagonism toward his father's political-religious policies and Sargon's ignominious death (Tadmor 1981: 26). These exceptional circumstances could have cast shame upon the ruling monarch, this probably being the reason for their omission. Similarly, in the case of Esarhaddon he was the first king to include a link to the ancient kings of Bel-bani and Adasi, probably to consolidate his legitimacy due to the irregular circumstances in which he came to the throne (Tadmor 1981: 29). Ashurbanipal also frequently adopted a reference to the founder kings, possibly in an endeavour to maximise his legitimacy (Tadmor 1981: 29).

Ashurbanipal's ascribed honour is not only from his lineage, it is also derived from his gods "who can claim honour for others and can force acknowledgement of that honour because they have the power and rank to do so" (Malina 1983: 29) :

"...(when as my fate) the great gods in their council decreed a favourable destiny, they gave me a broad comprehension, caused my mind to grasp all of the scribal art, exalted my name in the assembly of princes, magnified my rule" (B I 6-9).

It is significant that similar language emphasising royal legitimacy from a great lineage and the gods is used in relatively contemporaneous "memorial inscriptions" by Kilamuwa and Bar-Rakib of Zinjirli, Azitawadda of Karatepe and Mesha the Moabite (Miller 1974). In the case of Bar-Rakib, Botha has

⁴¹ For commentary on legitimacy in Assyrian ideology see Gerardi 1987:41-48; Tadmor 1981: 25-30, 1983; and Lanfranchi 2003: 104.

specifically liked the statement of legitimacy to ascribed honour (Botha 1996: 6-7). Tadmor documents other Assyrian, Judean and second millennium Hittite, North Syrian, and possibly Egyptian examples contained in a similar genre, the “autobiographical apology”, which he proposes had its origin to the west of Assyria (Tadmor 1983). This suggests that this may have been a common element of a royal honour-shame value system throughout the region.

The gods did not just confer on Ashurbanipal royal legitimacy; they also ascribed him with the positive honour values of wisdom, strength and virility. With respect to wisdom Ashurbanipal says:

“...they gave me a broad comprehension, caused my mind to grasp all of the scribal art...” (B I 7-8)

Ashurbanipal would seem to have placed high importance on the positive value of wisdom as in an earlier text, which echoes the annals he claims that:

“The god Nabu, the scribe of all things, granted me the precepts of his craft as a gift....I learned the craft of the sage Adapa, the secret lore of all scribal learning. I am knowledgeable about celestial and terrestrial portents (and can discuss them) in the assembly of scholars. I am able to argue with expert diviners about the series ‘If the liver is a correspondence of the sky’. I can solve complicated divisions and multiplications which do not have a solution. I have read cunningly written text(s) in obscure Sumerian (and) Akkadian that are difficult to unravel. I have examined confused *kakku sakku* inscriptions on stone (dating) from the Flood” (Frame and George 2005: 279-280, Luckenbill 1927:986 BM K 3050+2694). This suggests that the king not only read ancient texts, but discussed them with leading scholars (Frahm 2004: 45). The specific text he mentions “If the liver is a correspondence of the sky” is a difficult commentary attached to the extispicy series suggesting he was highly interested in hermeneutics (Frahm 2004: 45), the every mention of it is publicising his extensive wisdom and intellectual prowess.

On the physical attributes bestowed by the gods he states that:

“Strength, virility, enormous power they vouchsafed me.” (B I 11-12).

As noted earlier, in cultures with an honour-shame value system men are “deeply committed to an image of manliness” (Gilmore 1990:31) and this would seem to be particularly apparent in the case of Assyrian royalty with such emphasis on the positive value of physical prowess.

The introductory text also stresses how Ashurbanipal restored the god’s sanctuaries “with gold (and) [silver]” and increased the temples revenues (B I 14-26). This is a clear expression of his religious piety, a central value in Assyrian kingship. The king was expected to be “god-fearing” (Liverani 1979: 311, Oded 1992: 182) and at distinct specific moments in his royal career had to demonstrate this by attesting his constant adherence to the gods (Lanfranchi 2003: 104). The inclusion of such a statement in his memorial inscription in a building project was one such opportunity.

The positive value of being an abundant provider (Davis 1973: 94-95, Gilmore 1990: 42-44) is also contained in the text. Because of Ashurbanipal’s religious devotion his people were blessed with an economic nirvana:

“In my reign there was prosperity aplenty, [in my years there was ful]ness [to overflowing]” (B I 34-35). “[Year] after year [in prosperity righteously] [I shepherd]ded the dom[ains of Enlil]” (B I 39-40).

Included in the text is an extensive list of economic achievements (B I 27-38). The reference to shepherd also implies that he protected his people.

Therefore, at the outset Ashurbanipal clearly demonstrates he has a “good name” through acknowledging his positive values of a great lineage, favour from the gods, wisdom, strength, virility, religious piety, an a abundant provider and shepherd protecting his people.

Although the term “honour” or “good name” is not expressed here, it is clear from the positive behavioural manifestations of some of his public, noted in the introduction, that Ashurbanipal is perceived in a most positive light:

“[From the] Medi[terranean Sea] to [the Persian Gulf I ruled(?)]. [The kings of the East and the West] [brought their heavy tribute.][People living in the sea and those inhabiting high mountains] [I subj]ected [to my yoke.] [At the comm]and of Ashur and [Ishtar the kings who inhabit palaces] kisse[d my feet]. Mighty [p]rinces of the East [and West] [bes]ought me [to be]come the[ir] ally” (B I 41-49).

Bringing tribute, kissing of king's feet and other rulers seeking alliances, are positive behavioural manifestations consistent with honouring Ashurbanipal.⁴² Prinsloo, commenting on scenes in Sennacherib's Lachish relief showing the posture of the captives crouching before the king, suggests they signify submission and respect for the king and in turn the enemy's shame (Prinsloo 2000: 351-352). He makes a similar observation with respect to Sennacherib's annals account of the delivery of tribute and kissing of the king's feet (Prinsloo 2000: 358). The seeking of alliances by lesser rulers can also be regarded as a dimension of patronage from which Ashurbanipal benefited, probably through enhanced prestige (Westbrook 2005: 211), receipt of a grant of honour and accolades of benefaction (Pilch and Malina 1993: 135).⁴³

⁴² For a discussion on these gestures refer to Cifarelli 1998. On “kissing of the king's feet” also see Gruber 1980: 264-278.

⁴³ For a discussion on the significance of patronage in the ancient Near East see Westbrook 2005. In a biblical context see Pilch and Malina 1993: 133-137, 83-86.

3.3 Annals Building Dedicatory Text: Acquiring Honour in a Peaceful Context

The dedicatory building inscriptions at the conclusion of the annals were written to a formula where the king is depicted “as a pious master builder and restorer” (Tadmor 1981: 21). At the outset of this passage Ashurbanipal again emphasises his royal lineage and describes how the Nineveh arsenal had become dilapidated:

“At that time the storehouse-palace which (is) in Nineveh, which Sennacherib, king of Assyria, father of the father who begat me, had grown old and its base had become shaky, so that its walls were about to collapse” (B VIII 64-67).

Ashurbanipal then details the building works in language that demonstrates how he improved on the work of his predecessor:

“ That storehouse-palace which had grown old, whose foundation was dilapidated – I cleared away its ruined parts, I found its retaining walls. From its foundation to its cornice I built it completely. Stronger than formerly I made its base” (Edition B VIII 68-72).

Building dedications are steeped in the ideology of kingship. Rivaroli suggests “when a king builds or rebuilds a city he acts, ritually, in the same way as the god of creation in mythical time...the building processes...are an expression of the state’s renewal and of the reconstitution of cosmic order” (Rivaroli 2004: 199). Liverani also suggests that through rebuilding “the king puts himself in the wake of the founder heroes” (Liverani 1979: 308). The dedicatory inscription is therefore a demonstration of the king “acquiring” honour in terms of the positive value of providing a renewal of the built environment, a heroic act. Botha has observed similar phraseology on an inscription dedicating the new palace of Bar-Rakib, the Assyrian vassal ruler of Zinjirli that he suggests,

“in its totality can be regarded as a claim to honour and a display of honour” (Botha 1996: 6). Botha in particular notes how the act of improving upon the palace of your forebears and its display of wealth enhances ones “claim to honour” (Botha 1996: 8). In this respect, the language of Ashurbanipal’s building dedications could be attributed a similar interpretation as he effectively states, in a respectful way, that what he constructed was better than Sennacherib’s storehouse-palace. On the practice of kings comparing themselves to their predecessors Kraus has commented: “Könige vergleichen sich besonders gern mit ihren Vorgängern, spiegeln sich mit Vorliebe in der Vergangenheit” (Kraus 1960:127). Whilst self-praise, or boasting, was considered a human weakness, or negative value, for normal humans,⁴⁴ in the case of a king it was permissible in front of the gods or on their inscriptions (Kraus 1960: 127).

The passage concludes with a restatement of a number of Ashurbanipal’s positive values - heroism, power, authority and in particular, favour from the gods:

“A memorial inscribed with my name and the praise of my heroism – (how) with the help of Ashur, Sīn, Šamaš, Bēl, Nabū, Ishtar of Nineveh, Ishtar of Arbela, Ninurta, Nusku, (and) Nergal I walked back and forth in the lands, established (my) power and authority – I wrote and left (it) for the days to come” (B VIII 73-78).

This passage clearly links Ashurbanipal’s name and his heroism to the memorial prepared for eternity.

The dedication continues:

⁴⁴ See the parody of Bel-etir cited earlier (Livingstone 1989: 66).

“Let a later prince among my royal descendants, whose names Ashur and Ishtar for the dominion of (my) land and people will nominate, when that storehouse-palace shall have grown old and dilapidated, restore its ruins. The memorial inscribed with my name let him behold, anoint (it) with oil, offer sacrifice; with the memorial inscribed with his name and the name of Sennacherib, my grandfather, [let him return] (it) [to its place] and set (it) up” (B VIII 78-87).

This is essentially a challenge to a future relative to honour Ashurbanipal’s through restoring the storehouse–palace, anointing the memorial, making an offering to the gods and most importantly to replace the inscription with his “name”. In this respect, Kraus has noted that “‘(seinen) Namen setzen’ und ‘rühmen’ reziprok” (Kraus 1960: 128). He also observes that the motif of “Namen setzen” and also the concept of “Name” were enormously important in the thought of ancient Mesopotamia (Kraus 1960: 128). It is significant that the “names” of Ashurbanipal, Sennacherib and the future prince are noted, which again suggests the linkage between honour and that term.

The dedication concludes with a request to the gods to “[permit] power and strength [to be]fall” his descendant (B VIII 90), that is bestowing these key positive values, and a warning as to the fate of anyone destroying, losing or not replacing the memorial inscription in the future:

“Whoso destroys (this) memorial inscribed with my name (B *variant adds*: and the name of [my grandfather]), (or) through some deceitful machination permits it to become lost, (or) does not set it up beside the memorial insc[ri]bed] with his name – may the great gods of (inhabiting B *variant*) heaven and earth curse him in wrath, smite down his kingship, eradicate his name (and) his seed out of the land. (B VIII 91-96).

This passage in particular conveys Ashurbanipal’s overwhelming desire for his name, that is his honour, to be preserved and endure. Significantly one of the fates that would befall a future prince who disrespects Ashurbanipal’s name through destroying, losing or not setting up the memorial is to “eradicate

his name". This again demonstrates the centrality of a "good name" for an Assyrian king.

The building dedicatory text can also be interpreted in terms of a challenge and response. Ashurbanipal is essentially issuing a positive challenge to his equal, a future prince, to improve on the storehouse palace and to maintain his name. The acceptance of the challenge is through the act of restoration, anointing the name and replacing the inscription, just as Ashurbanipal did in relation to his grandfather's building and inscription. Acceptance of the challenge gives the future prince the opportunity to acquire honour in his lifetime and enhance his name for posterity. If he ignored the challenge this would be a negative refusal that would likely have been perceived as shameful behaviour given the importance of building and rebuilding in Assyrian royal ideology. Should there be a positive rejection of the challenge, through destruction of the inscription or failing to replace it, the gods would have posthumously exacted Ashurbanipal's vengeance.

3.3.1 Introductory and Building Dedicatory Texts: Ethnographic Reading

Interpreting the introductory and building dedicatory texts from a cultural anthropological perspective therefore, suggests that they could be regarded as a statement of Ashurbanipal's positive values and acquiring honour in a peaceful context through building renewal. This was recognised by his contemporary rulers through their tribute, respect and esteem, and future rulers by anointing his memorial inscription with oil and offering sacrifice. In essence they were conferring upon him honour precedence (Lawrence 2003: 29, Pitt-Rivers 1965: 24), or in Assyrian terminology, a "good name".

Having established his positive values in the introductory and dedicatory texts, Ashurbanipal demonstrates in the more lengthy campaign account, how he enhances his "good name" through the "acquisition" of honour in warfare.

3.4 Second Elamite Campaign: The Dynamics of Honour and Shame in Warfare

Ashurbanipal's Second Elamite Campaigns is one of the most extensively documented and illustrated of his wars. This therefore, represents an excellent data set to test the honour-shame and challenge-response models in a "dynamic" warfare context as opposed to the more "static" depiction of his positive values in the annals introductory and building dedicatory texts. It should be noted that this analysis is not concerned with the political or strategic reasons for the campaign, only with interpreting the participants' behaviour and depiction in terms of the underlying value system of honour and shame.⁴⁵ To facilitate analysis, the textual account will first be reviewed, followed by the palace reliefs.⁴⁶ Specific linguistic and visual evidence emerging from the analysis is categorised in terms of each model in Appendix A. The section will then conclude with an ethnographic reading.

3.4.1. Analysis Of The Literary Narrative

3.4.1.1 Te-umman's First Challenge

The Elamite ruler, Te-umman, initiated a "negative challenge" (Malina 2001: 33-34) to Ashurbanipal through a series of monthly "insolent messages" (B IV 97), delivered by his officials, which demanded the extradition of the sons and nephews of the former king Urtak. Ashurbanipal had granted them protection eleven years earlier after Te-umman had seized the throne and threatened their lives. In addition to this "insolence", Te-umman would seem to have boasted of his demands to his troops (B IV 99). In terms of honour and shame

⁴⁵ For a perspective on Ashurbanipal's possible strategic motives see Geradi 1987: 148-153. Her conclusions are not inconsistent with the model, as it is proposed that honour and shame is the social value system with which Ashurbanipal's campaign was partly justified. For a discussion on the background to the conflict with Te-umman see Waters 1999.

⁴⁶ The epigraphic evidence will be reviewed in conjunction with the reliefs due to their close association.

this can be interpreted as a major insult to Ashurbanipal as has been observed in a contemporary context where it is an obligation to grant asylum to a fugitive, even if he is your enemy (Zeid 1965: 254-255).⁴⁷ Although this is evidence of the practice in Assyria there are documented instances that may suggest regional cultural variation in this value under exceptional circumstances.⁴⁸ The challenge to Ashurbanipal was completed through publication of the insult by Te-umman boasting to his troops.⁴⁹ Honour and shame involve publicity; “display has priority over reticence and self-control” (Pryce-Jones 1989: 40; Malina 2001: 40).

3.4.1.2 Ashurbanipal's and His Gods' First Response

Ashurbanipal refused the request of “his rebellious mouth” (B V 2), a “positive rejection” of the challenge (Malina 2001: 35). There is evidence that the gods were also insulted, as an eclipse occurs which signified “the end of the king of

⁴⁷ A more recent example is the asylum granted by King Hussein of Jordan to Hamas leader Kahled Mashaal which was violated by a Mossad assassination attempt. This subsequently led to a major diplomatic rift between Jordan and Israel (Byman 2006: 98).

⁴⁸ Such as the Elamite king's refusing asylum to Merodach-baladan in 710 due to fear of conflict with Assyria (Gerardi 1987: 246). In the late 650's or early 640's there was a similar incident where Elamite elders agreed to give over Nabu-bel-sumati, but only under *ina bulti*, literally embarrassment or shame (Waters 2002: 85, Waterman 1930: 55, letter 792). Possibly the Elamite Elders were influenced by the fate of the Šubrian king in 672 who was humiliated and punished by Esarhaddon for breaching his loyalty oath by giving sanctuary to Assyrian refugees (Tadmor 1983: 43, Talon 2005: 105). What these examples also suggest is that whilst it may be honourable behaviour for an Assyrian king to grant asylum, there was nothing in the value system to prevent him from extraditing a wanted fugitive. Indeed, doing so can be interpreted as responding to a challenge to protect his honour.

⁴⁹ A contemporary example was the “insult” to Gamal Abdel Nasser's honour when the Eisenhower government withdrew from financing the Aswan Dam project. Rather than being communicated through diplomatic channels, it was officially announced to the media by the State Department while the Egyptian Ambassador was still in a meeting with Secretary of State Dulles. The publication of the decision exacerbated Nasser's humiliation (Humphreys 1999: 86,88; Lucas 1996: 45-46). He retaliated to his loss of honour by nationalising the Suez Canal (Pryce-Jones 1989:240-241).

Elam's reign (and) the destruction of his land" (B V 7). Furthermore, it is implied that Te-umman was initially punished by the gods through a minor stroke or seizure "his lip was paralysed and his eye was twisted" (B V 10).

3.4.1.3 Te-umman's Second Challenge

Ashurbanipal's response did not deter Te-umman, indeed in terms of the model, Ashurbanipal's scornful rejection made it imperative that he sought vengeance by initiating a second negative challenge through advancing his troops towards Assyria "without the god's consent" (B V 19). Te-umman also raises his rhetorical threat, "I will not give up until I have come and fought a battle with him" (B V 23-24). Another document reports "I will not (sleep until) I have come and din(ed) in the centre of Nineveh!" (Livingstone 1989: 67-68, K 8061), this language implies a clear attempt to further humiliate Ashurbanipal.

The pattern of Te-umman's negative challenge is consistent with that observed in the contemporary Near East. Pryce-Jones observes that "In the search for endorsement,⁵⁰ the power holder will also mount challenges to other power holders within reach, his equals in the region, in the hope that victory over them will substantiate his own position in the eyes of his group" (Pryce-Jones 1989: 24-25).

3.4.1.4. Ashurbanipal's Second Response – The Battle of Til-Tuba

Under the honour-shame code Ashurbanipal had no alternative but to accept the challenge. An Assyrian monarch had an obligation to protect his people from aggression (Oded 1992: 52-53, 115). To draw back would have been a blameable offence (Bourdieu 1965: 206; Pryce-Jones 1989: 24-25; Malina 2001: 33-36,40-43). Furthermore, protection of your family or people is pivotal in an honour-shame value system (Gilmore 1990: 44-48). As Te-umman was

⁵⁰ Endorsement is interpreted by Pryce-Jones as honour.

a king, he was Ashurbanipal's equal and, therefore, there was no protocol barrier to accepting the challenge (Malina 2001: 35).⁵¹

Te-umman's "insolent words" (B V 25-26) were taken by Ashurbanipal to the god Ishtar with "my tears flowing" (B V 28) and seeks her divine intervention to "rip him open in the midst of battle; raise up against him a tempest, an evil wind!" (B V 45-46). In Assyria the gods alone possessed the right to initiate a war and the king was their viceroy and holy priest who acted on their behalf (Oded 1992: 10-27). Ashurbanipal honour's Ishtar by humbling himself (Oded 1992:10). Although weeping would normally be regarded as shameful behaviour for a male (Gilmore 1990: 32-35,52-55), as an act of piety to a god it is honourable behaviour. The action of Ashurbanipal is very similar to that of Hezekiah in his confrontation with Sennacherib, where the challenge to him was also a disregard of the honour of his god, YHWH (Botha 2000a: 40-44, 2000b: 269-282).⁵² Ishtar because of Ashurbanipal's pious behaviour extends her mercy (B V 48).

A further positive message is received from Ishtar via a seer's dream, which confirms her divine protection to the king and determination to conquer Te-umman. With Ishtar's assurance a month later (Geradi 1987:147) he "took to the road and made straight the way" (B V 82-83). Maintenance of honour requires that "the time lapse between the offence and its reparation should be as short as possible" (Bourdieu 1965: 214).

When Te-umman hears of Ashurbanipal's invasion "fear took hold of him and he turned back" (B V 85-86) to Susa and "to save his life he divided silver and

⁵¹ It is likely, however, that the "rules" of challenge observed in anthropological studies of smaller communities might not apply to kingship. If a monarch is insulted or threatened by a person of lesser standing it is probable that the monarch, or his representative will respond.

⁵² Hezekiah "rent his clothes, and covered himself with sackcloth" (2 Kings 19:1) on another occasion in YHWH's presence he "wept profusely" (2 Kings 20:3). Josiah, also in a situation when YHWH's honour was compromised, rent his clothes and wept before his god (2 Kings 22:19, Botha 2000a: 44-47).

gold among the people of land” (B V 87).⁵³ This implies cowardice, therefore shameful conduct, on the part of Te-umman. Ashurbanipal with the aid of the gods defeats Te-umman at Til-Tuba where he “blocked the Ulaya with their corpses.”⁵⁴ Their bodies like weeds filled the plain of Susa” (B V 97-99), “Their blood I let run down the Ulaya; its water I died (red) like wool” (A III 42-43). This language suggests not only defeat for the Elamite army, but a complete rout. Ashurbanipal is therefore depicted as a warrior hero (Tadmor 1997: 326-327, Oded 1992: 149), which would have reinforced his positive honour value of manliness.

For Te-umman, he suffers battlefield humiliation, as his head was “cut off before his assembled troops” (B VI 3). This was a clear public display of Te-umman’s failure as a protector of his people and the loser in his power challenge. The extent to which this act shamed Te-umman is indicated by the surprised comment of the pro – Assyrian Elamite Tammaritu, “Will they cut off the head of the king of Elam in his (own) land and in the presence of his troops?” (Luckenbill 1927:793). In this respect Dolce notes that decapitation “has all the more impact when those who suffer it are particularly worthy of respect, such as Ituni, a high officer, or King Te-umman” (Dolce 2004: 129)⁵⁵. Whilst it was highly doubtful in that Ituni or Te-umman were “worthy of respect” in Assyrian eyes, it is probable that Ituni and Te-umman were respected by their Elamite publics and therefore decapitation would have brought considerable shame on their names.

Earlier the significance of the “head” was noted as both a symbol of honour and shame (Malina 2001: 38-39). The loss of a head is a powerful shame

⁵³ This suggests he may have faced defections and had to bribe people to fight. Waters suggests it may also refer to hiring additional troops (Waters 2000: 32).

⁵⁴ Potts 1999b identifies the Ulaya River as the Karkheh which is to the west of Susa (refer to Map1). There is uncertainty, however, with respect to the location of the cities of Madaktu and Hidalu referred to in the annals, reliefs and associated epigraphic texts. For a discussion on this problem see Potts 2005: 165-177.

⁵⁵ As will be discussed later it is uncertain if Ituni was decapitated.

motif of the victim and a symbol of honour for the vanquished.⁵⁶ Decapitation as a form of public humiliation also has biblical parallels, in particular in the apocrypha of Judith of Bethulia, a similar image is presented where Judith beheads the “Assyrian” commander Holofernes and his servant Bagoas declares the act “brought shame upon the house of king Nabuchodonosor” (Judith 14: 18).⁵⁷

Following the battle Ashurbanipal honoured two of the sons of the former Elamite king Urtak who he had protected for ten years, by placing Ummanigas on Te-ummans throne and Tammaritu as king of Hidalu (B VI 6-9). This action would also have increased respect for Ashurbanipal, as they could have been perceived as acts of a generous patron to his protégés. In addition Ashurbanipal also gained control of the Elamite throne by what he would have perceived as two grateful and compliant vassals.

To his soldiers “...eacha piece of equipment was given” (B VI 16) from the captured booty (Bourdieu 1965: 213). This honoured his troops through generosity and in turn would have enhanced their esteem towards and loyalty for the king.

⁵⁶ Note the decapitation of Humbaba by Gilgamesh (Standard Version V 264-267, 302).

⁵⁷ This account is probably more of legend than fact, but illustrates from a Judean perspective their perception what the impact of a decapitation would have had on the Assyrian/Babylonians. Other biblical examples include David's cutting off Goliath's head in front of the Phillistines then presenting it to Saul (1 Samuel 17:51-58) and John the Baptist's head being publicly given to Herod on a plate (Mark 6: 14-26, Matthew 14: 1-12), Also see Lawrence 2003:122-126, Liverani 2004: 164-166. For a historic review of the Assyrian practice see Dolce 2004. In a contemporary context Ignatieff has commented upon beheadings by Abu Musab al-Zarqawi as a means of effecting enemy humiliation in Iraq (Ignatieff 2004) and Makiya notes the case of “an Iraqi wallposter depicting a victorious Arab warrior with the severed head of an Iranian opponent” (Makiya 1991: 13).

3.4.1.5 Ashurbanipal's Second Response – The Battle of Sapibel

On Ashurbanipal's return from Susa he attacked Te-umman's ally Dunanu, king of Gambulu. At the city Sapibel, in addition to its inhabitants being "slaughtered like lambs" (A III 56), Ashurbanipal puts Dananu and his brother in iron shackles (A III 59-60) and takes as spoil "his wife, his sons, his daughters, his concubines, his singers, male and female....Silver, gold, the treasure of his palace" (B VI 27-30). Again this is expressed in terms of humiliating and shaming his enemy, as Dunanu was incapable of even protecting his wife and children. Melville suggests this act "not only validates an Assyrian king's own masculinity, but also essentially cuckold his enemy, whose manhood and reputation are thereby dealt a terrible blow" (Melville 2004: 56).

The identification of the "singers, male and female" may suggest humiliation extended to the very cultural fabric of Gambulian society.⁵⁸ The art of music was one of the eighty MEs or "arts of civilisation" taken by Inanna, goddess of Uruk, from the god Enki to her city (Bahrani 2001: 59), it is therefore possible that this action had even stronger symbolic value. But just as likely, including the singers as spoil could have merely implied the capture of the entire Gambulian court.

Ashurbanipal is again portrayed as the heroic warrior, "with my mighty battle array I covered all Gambulu like a storm" (B VI 21-22), the depiction of this victory, and the considerable booty, would have further enhanced his standing.

3.4.1.6 Post Battle Honour and Shame

Ashurbanipal decapitated an infantry general of Te-umman who was "a guard of Dananu" (B VI 39). He also hung Te-umman's head "around the neck of

⁵⁸ Sennacherib also extracted as tribute from Hezekiah "male and female musicians" after his siege of Jerusalem (Prinsloo 2000: 357).

Dananu" (B VI 50-51) and the head of Istarnandi, the king of Hidalu,⁵⁹ around that of Dananu's younger brother Samgunu. They both took pride of place in Ashurbanipal's victory parade on his return, where he "entered into Nineveh with joy" (B VI 56), a highly public act. He later takes them both to Ashur and Arbela "for future obedience" (B VI 82) and no doubt to further publicise his victory. This more than any other literary image demonstrates the Assyrian monarch's honour in victory and complete enemy humiliation. There is possibly also a "shaming metaphor" intended by hanging the heads around Dananu and Samgunu's necks, as they would literally have "stunk". The enemy humiliation is reinforced with the report that when the two Elamite officials who conveyed Te-umman's insolent message saw their former king's severed head, one "tore his beard" and the other attempted suicide (B VI 57-65). Beards are a symbol of a man's honour and there is a similar biblical example interpreted as manifestation of shame.⁶⁰ The head was then "displayed conspicuously in front of the gate in the middle of the city of Nineveh" (B VI 66) which would have provided ongoing publicity of Ashurbanipal's enhanced honour and a reminder as to the fate of rulers who are insolent and threatening to the king and gods. Again, a strong biblical parallel exists in Judith, where Holofernes head was hung "upon the highest place" of Bethulia's walls (Judith 14:1).

Further publicity of his triumph and the shame of the victims are gained through the flaying of Dananu, the execution of his other brothers and Sumayya (the grandson of the rebel Merodachbaladan), then sending "their flesh to be gazed at throughout the land" (B VI 83-93).⁶¹ Possibly the one of the most telling episodes in shaming the enemy was Ashurbanipal forcing Nabua'id and Beletir, sons of Nabusumeres, "whose father had incited Urtak to fight against Assyria" (B VI 93-96), to crush the bones of their father,

⁵⁹ The identity of Ishtar-nandi is identified in Text A.

⁶⁰ 2 Samuel 10: 1-6a where courtiers of King David were shamed by Hanun the Ammonite king by cutting off one side of their beards, Stansell 1996: 68-69.

⁶¹ A contemporary example of this means of enemy humiliation was the case in Iraq where the dismembered burnt bodies of two US contractors were hung "like slaughtered sheep" on the bridge at Fallujah (Fisk: 2004).

brought from Gambulu, “before the gate in the middle of Nineveh” (B VII 1-2). This act symbolises that shame can be the “living death” (Pryce-Jones 1989: 35) as honouring the family patriarch is paramount in an honour-shame value system and the two sons were desecrating not only his memory, but his earthly remains (Malina 2001: 45). A comparative biblical case is where Josiah humiliated the cult followers by killing their priests and exhuming and burning their ancestors’ bones (Botha 2000a: 46-47). By this act Ashurbanipal was also demonstrating that complicity in a challenge, even eleven years earlier, would be fully avenged to the next generation.

3.4.2. Analysis of the Visual Narrative

As in the case of the annals, the field informant is Ashurbanipal as evidenced from the epigraphic commentaries on the reliefs.

3.4.2.1 Te-umman’s Challenge

Evidence that Te-umman’s first negative challenge, the “insulting messages” (B IV 97), was a significant affront to Ashurbanipal’s honour is shown by the depiction of the two Elamite ambassadors in a denigrating post battle scene where they hold the message in front of the king and a large assembly of Assyrian officials, military and Urartian ambassadors (SWP XXXIII slabs 5-6 urms).⁶² This image will be discussed in more detail later. There is no visual evidence of Ashurbanipal’s first response.

⁶² References to the reliefs will quote the palace, room, slab number and register, for example SWP XXXIII slab 4 urms ie. Southwest Palace, room 33, slab 4, upper register middle sub-register (l= lower, u = upper, m = middle, r = register, s = sub-register). Figures 3 - 8 show the SWP reliefs and 9-11 the NP reliefs. Detailed highlights of these and segments of other reliefs will be separately identified in the text. Reference will also be made to associated epigraphs, in addition to those on the reliefs. These will be referred to as Texts A – H, see Russell 1999: 158-164 for translations and reconstruction.

With respect to Te-umman's second negative challenge, his declaration of war and threatening, troop movements, although there is a reference to "The line of battle of Te-umman, king of Elam" (Texts A and E 32), it is questionable whether there is visual evidence. There is a possibility that NP H slab 10 (room adjacent to I), depicts an orderly Elamite advance in front of Assyrian architecture and a park (Figure 12), however, it more likely relates to a later campaign, where the troops were allied to Ashurbanipal (Reade 1979a: 104, Russell 1999: 187).

3.4.2.2 Ashurbanipal's Second Response – the March to Hidalu

The epigraphic account includes details of a march to Hidalu, which was likely a prelude to the main battle at Til-Tuba, and is not mentioned in the annals or depicted in the reliefs. It reveals that Ummanigash and Tammaritu not only accompanied (Text A 1, Text B 1a) the Assyrian army "for the conquest of Elam" (Text A), but Ashurbanipal sent his army "with him (Ummanigash) to assist him" (Text A, B). This implies a significant act of patronage, whereby Ashurbanipal is depicting himself as helping Ummanigash reclaim his rightful throne. This would have been honourable behaviour on the part of Ashurbanipal.⁶³

As the Assyrian army approaches Hidalu, the enemy is depicted in a shameful state of fear "The might of Assur, my lord, and the fear of my majesty overwhelmed them" (Text A 3). It would seem that this caused a mutiny as

⁶³ It is clear from earlier texts that Ashurbanipal was proud of his patronage. For example, prior to his ascension to the throne, he claims that "without my consent, no governor was appointed, no prefect was installed in my absence....When I entered the palace the whole army rejoiced, being full of gladness. The nobles were glad (and) the officials, and they attended upon the word of my lips. Before the king, my father, my begetter, I took their part (interceded for them), to their advancement" (Luckenbill 1927: 986, 987, BM K 3050 + 2694). Clearly Ashurbanipal's patronage was effective as upon becoming king he claims, "The nobles (and) officials were desirous that I should rule (the land), they favoured my exercising the kingly office" (Luckenbill 1927: 987, BM K 3050 + 2694).

senior Hidaluian officials beheaded their king, Ishtar-nandi, and other nobles, then cast the heads “down in front of my magnates and submitted to me” (Text A 3; B, C 3v), exacerbating their shame and that of their deceased king.

3.4.2.3 Ashurbanipal’s Second Response – the Battle of Til-Tuba

There are only fragments of a relief depicting the commencement of the Assyrian attack against Te-umman. They show Assyrian chariots and cavalry attacking fleeing Elamites (SWP XXXIII slab 0, BM WA 124804 + 131126, Barnett et. al. 1998: pl. 314). There is also an associated epigraph stating “[The line of battle of Ashurbanipal, king of As]syria, which accomplished the def[eat of Elam]” (SWP XXXIII slab 0).⁶⁴ In SWP XXXIII slab 1 Ir the Elamite forces are depicted not only faltering under Assyrian military might, but also as they run down a hill some are beating their heads while others are pulling their hair and beards. Beard pulling has previously been identified as a sign of shameful male distress. With respect to head beating and hair tearing, it is usually interpreted in the ancient Near East as womanly behaviour in a context of mourning (Cifarelli 1998: 221, Bahrani 2001: 125, Cohen 2005: 49). With respect to women depicted in battle scenes or as prisoners the repeated gesture, “...is a narrative device that tells us that the defeat is final and devastating. They are now without male protection, and at the mercy of the Assyrian army” (Bahrani 2001: 125). In this relief it is male Elamites who are so depicted fleeing in this state of fear and distress, which would therefore suggest shameful womanly behaviour. However, there is evidence that men also pulled their hair as in case of Gilgamesh mourning Enkidu (Cohen 2005):

“He was pulling out his curly [tresses] and letting them fall in a heap, tearing off his finery and casting it away, [... like] something taboo.” (Standard Edition VIII 63-64, George 2003: 657).

Therefore, the scene should be interpreted as ridiculing the Elamites as they are effectively giving up the fight and assuming an expression of mourning just as the battle gets underway. This is reinforced by other Elamites in a

⁶⁴ This is also the same in Text A and E 31.

fragment of the slab to the left (SWP XXXIII slab 0, BM WA 124804 + 131126, Barnett et. al. 1998: pl. 314) and to the right (SWPXXXIII slab 1 lrms) pleading for mercy from the back chariots. In contrast the scene depicts the disciplined armed might and power of Asurbanipal's army who are devastating their enemy and incur no casualties.

The battle intensifies in slab 2 and by slab 3 Ir, it has turned into a humiliating rout with Elamite corpses, their horses and weapons falling into the Til-Tuba river with the suggestion that they are being eaten by fish and crabs.⁶⁵ Other bodies are defiled by vultures (SWP XXXIII slab 3 Ir us, NP slab 2 (?), Figure 33). The bodies are not only being defiled, but more significantly abandoned as they float by the celebrating populace of Susa and Mauaktu who show no interest in recovering the remains for burial (SWPXXXIII slabs 4-5 lrls, NP I slab 9 lrls).⁶⁶ The Assyrians perceived abandoning or desecrating bodies as a particularly shameful act, as in the case of Sargon's unburied remains being left in enemy country (Lanfranchi 2003: 103,108 note 14).⁶⁷ Other examples are found in *Gilgamesh* when Humbaba curses:

"...may Enkidu have nobody to bury him!" (Standard Version V 257, George 2003: 615),

or where Gilgamesh asks Enkidu:

"Did you see the one whose corpse was left lying in the open countryside?" to which Enkidu replies "I saw (him). His ghost does not lie at rest in the Netherworld" (Standard Edition XII 148-153, George 2003: 734f).

⁶⁵ Similar scenes are depicted on NP I slabs 5-7 Ir, and in the river of slab 9.

⁶⁶ Although Cohen provides two other examples of bodies floating down a river (*Lamentation over Sumer and Ur* and *Bilgames and Hawawa* A 26-27) and suggests that in times of famine, drought and epidemic it may have been a means of disposal, this does not negate the Assyrian abhorrence of abandonment and the norm of burial (Cohen 2005: 79).

⁶⁷ Frahm comments on a possible link between the death of Sargon II and the passage from *Gilgamesh XII* in Frahm 2005: 4-5.

In a relief of the battle in the NP (NP I slab 2?, Figure 33) and the illustration of the missing reliefs in Room I (NP I slabs 5-6 lrls, Figures 9-10) most of the dead are naked compared to the depiction in the SWP relief where there is only one discernable naked body in the river whilst all other dead are clothed (SWP XXXIII slab 6 lrls, Figure 8). Cifarelli has suggested that nudity of prisoners conveys "the shame and humiliation of being stripped of their clothing" (Cifarelli 1998: 219-220). Prinsloo makes a similar interpretation with respect to the naked impaled and flayed dead in Sennacherib's Lachish relief: "a man was shamed when he was stripped of his clothes by an aggressor so that his male member was displayed" (Prinsloo 2000: 352-353, SWP XXXVI slabs 7, 9-10). This interpretation, however, must be seriously questioned from an Assyrian perspective. Biggs has noted that there is no derogatory reference for nakedness in Sumerian or Akkadian texts (Biggs 1998, Bahrani 2001:130) as the concept is expressed in terms of "dress" and "undress" rather than nudity or nakedness (Bahrani 2001: 44). The words typically associated with "naked" by some philologists are *erû* and *mêrênu*, however, these terms generally mean "empty handed" or "destitute" (Biggs 1998, Bahrani 2001: 44).⁶⁸ In this respect Cifarelli has argued that naked prisoners are so depicted to also convey their "destitution" as they are "stripped of all their possessions, including their weapons" (Cifarelli 1998: 220).⁶⁹ Rather than being shamefully depicted or in a state of destitution, Bahrani suggests that the relationship between nudity and defeat probably reflects "Mesopotamian attitudes to undress and death as they are expressed in several literary images", particularly with respect to being undressed for entry to the netherworld (Bahrani 2001: 59-65). It is possible that the nudity may have

⁶⁸ For example, *mi-ra-nu* has been translated as "naked" when Tammaritu together with other Elamite royalty and nobles "naked on their bellies crept to me and took hold of my royal feet" (B VII 69-70, Piepkorn 1933: 79, Borger 1996: 230), but in this context it would seem to be more appropriately translated as "destitute on their bellies" as they were fleeing Indabigaš who seized Tammaritu's throne and seeking Ashurbanipal's protection.

⁶⁹ In a discussion on symbolism in the laws of dissolution of familial ties, Malul also notes that "Nakedness as a symbol of destitution and deprivation is readily understood, and is attested frequently in Mesopotamia" (Malul 1988: 138).

implied shame in terms of Elamite culture, as it did so in Judean.⁷⁰ However, as Assyrians executed the reliefs, the state of undress most probably reflected their attitudes to death. As to why the bodies were naked in the NP compared to the sole one in the SWP relief, possibly Ashurbanipal or his sculptors wanted to emphasise the finality of the Elamite defeat in the NP depiction.

Although Ashurbanipal is not shown on the battlefield, the extent of the enemy defeat reinforces his positive honour values as his army is his proxy and it therefore projects his strength, heroism and defence of his reputation.⁷¹ This is also indicated by an epigraph associated with a remnant of a slab, "The defeat of the troops of Te-umman, king [of Elam]. At Til-Tuba, Assurbanipal, [great king, strong king], king of the world, king of Assyria, [defeated] countless [of his warriors] and threw down their corpses" (SWP XXXIII slab 0).⁷²

3.4.2.3 The Death of Te-umman and his Battlefield Humiliation

The battlefield depiction of Te-umman and his son, Tammaritu, probably included an additional scene at the outset of the battle as evidenced by Text A: "Teumman, king of Elam, saw the defeat of his troops. To save his life he fled and tore at his beard" (Text A 5) and "[Tammaritu], son of Te-umman, king of Elam, who escaped from the rout, tore his garment and said to his father: 'Hurry, do not delay'" (Text A 6). This depicts both men as cowards, not only deserting their troops, but also showing physical signs of distress with Te-umman tearing his beard and Tammaritu tearing his clothes. The significance of tearing of beards has been noted above, whilst the tearing of

⁷⁰ For a discussion on the relationship between nudity and shame from a biblical perspective see Pilch and Malina 1993: 119-125.

⁷¹ For a discussion on Ashurbanipal's non presence on the battlefield see Winter 1997: 363, Reade 1981: 165-166 and Poisel 2005: 59).

⁷² Also in Texts A and H 33.

clothes was probably of equal shameful behaviour in a battlefield context as it is often associated with mourning.⁷³

A key focal point of slab 2 Irus is an overturned chariot with four rearing horses and Te-umman, and Tammaritu, depicted in an unedifying position under the wheels (Figure 13). It is a humiliating spectacle made more so by the loss of his royal feathered cap which is thrown to one side. Prinsloo has noted the loss of headdress in a battle context can be interpreted as a mark of shame (Prinsloo 2000: 352).⁷⁴ Te-umman is then shown staggering away holding the hand of his son with an arrow in his left side, he is clearly trying to flee the battle and hide in a forest that suggests cowardice (Figure 14). By slab 3 Irus, Te-umman is in a desperate situation kneeling in front of advancing Assyrian spearmen, imploring to his son to "Take up the bow" (slab 3 Irus, left epigraph; Russell 1999:21), just as Tammaritu is about to be struck by a mace (Figure 15).

Te-umman's shame is complete as both he and his son are shown in various states of decapitation in front of the remnants of the Elamite forces (slab 3 Irus, Figure 16). The associated epigraph reinforces this, "Te-umman, king of Elam, was wounded in fierce battle. Tammaritu, his eldest son, took him by the hand and they fled to save their lives. They hid in the midst of a forest. With the encouragement of Assur and Ishtar, I killed them. I cut off their heads before one another" (Russell 1999:170-171). The relief shows that Tammaritu was initially beheaded in front of his father. This emphasises Te-umman's complete failure to protect not only his people, but also his own son. As he is being decapitated his feathered hat lies on the ground to the lower left signifying a loss of his throne and, therefore, further dishonour.⁷⁵

⁷³ For example in Judith 14 15-16 where Bagoas discovers the decapitated Holofernes "he cried with a loud voice, with weeping, and sighing, and a mighty cry, and rent his garments".

⁷⁴ Again note the significance of the head as the seat of honour (Malina 2001: 38-39).

⁷⁵ Prinsloo provides a parallel with scenes in Sennacherib's siege of Lachish (Prinsloo 2000: 353).

Although Te-umman is shamefully depicted, in contrast, his son is shown assisting and protecting his father in his hour of need. Thus Tammariu displays positive honour values. Rather than being an inconsistency in the depiction of the Elamite's humiliation, this imagery was possibly included to contrast the shameful behaviour of Te-umman fleeing the scene of battle with the honourable actions of his son.

Two Assyrian soldiers carry the two heads across the battlefield which is shown as creating a sense of despair with Te-umman's senior officers. One, Intuni, cuts his bow (SWP XXXIII slab 3 l r ms, Figure 17). The act is described in an epigraph as "Intui, the *šūt rēši* of Te-umman, king of Elam, whom he insolently sent against me, saw my powerful onslaught. With his own hand he drew the iron dagger from his belt and cut his bow, the trusted companion of his arm" (NP I slab 2?, Russell 1999: 171). Cutting the bow can be interpreted as a humiliating act of surrender. In the scene an Assyrian soldier is grasping Intui securely by the hair and threatening him with a sword, possibly a prelude to decapitation (SWP XXXIII slabs 2-3 l r ms). Cifarelli has noted that this is a highly charged image, as male hair was considered an important attribute of virility in the ancient Near East (Cifarelli 1998: 219). The representation of a high-ranking captive with his hair in the grasp of an Assyrian soldier implies "emasculat[i]on of this Other, and perhaps to portend greater humiliation to come" (Cifarelli 1998: 219).⁷⁶

In the other scene (SWP XXXIII slab 2 l r ms) Urtak, Te-umman's son in law lies on the ground wounded requesting an Assyrian spearman to "Come, cut off my head. Take it before the king, your lord, and make a good name for yourself" (Epigraph SWP XXXIII slab 2 l r ms, Russell 1999: 172, Figure 18). Such a request to be publicly humiliated through beheading is a shameful act; in turn the message is conveyed that a soldier who decapitates a prized officer makes "a good name" (honour) for himself.⁷⁷ Again there is a contrast

⁷⁶ The motif of grasping the hair while smiting the foreign enemy is also found in depictions of Egyptian kings from 3000BC (Bard: 2000: 78-79).

⁷⁷ For a transliteration see Geradi 1988: 30.

of shame and a good name. This is reinforced in slab 3 lrms where two soldiers are depositing two heads in a tent, possibly in front of military scribes who record the soldiers' honour. The heads appear to be those of Te-umman and his son.⁷⁸ Captured and bound Elamite prisoners are also in the tent suggesting enemy subjugation and further humiliation on the display of the remains of their king (Figure 19). To the left of the tent on a captured Elamite wagon an Assyrian soldier proudly holds Te-umman's head, above it the epigraph records "Head of Te-um(man, king of Elam), which a common soldier in my army (cut off) in the midst of bat(tle). To bring me the good ne(ws) they hastily dispatched it to Assy(ria)" (Russell 1999: 171, Figure 20). As will be noted in further scenes, the display of Te-umman's head emerges as the leitmotiv of his and his Gambulian allies' humiliation.

3.4.2.4 Honour to Ummanigash

SWP XXXII slabs 4-6 and NP I slabs 6-7 and 9-10 depict triumphant military parades and the installation of Ummanigash as the new Elamite ruler. SWP XXXIII slabs 4-5 lr show an ordered procession of Assyrian military power with cavalry, chariots, spearmen, archers and shield bearers. At the front is Ummanigash, his hand held by an Assyrian officer (Figure 21), and above an epigraph records "Ummanigash the fugitive, the servant who submitted to me. At my command, the *šūt rēši* I had sent with him brought him joyfully into Susa and Madaktu and set him on the throne of Te-umman, whom I had defeated".⁷⁹ In front of Ummanigash, Elamite bowmen prostrate themselves and bow, male and female musicians play while in slab 6 women and children are shown clapping their hands (Figure 22). A walled city is depicted and labelled as "Land of Madaktu" (Russell 1999: 176). Similar scenes are shown in NP I slabs 6-7 lr and slabs 9-10 lr except there is no orchestra and the city

⁷⁸ Each head has the facial characteristics to that of Te-umman and Tammariu. In the case of Te-umman note the receding hairline.

⁷⁹ NWP XXXIII slab 5, Russell 1999: 175.

is probably Susa due to the reference in a NP epigraph and the depiction of a horned ziggurat.⁸⁰

What are particularly noteworthy are the various hand and body gestures of the Elamites that can be interpreted as positive behavioural manifestations towards Ashurbanipal or his representative. The adult males both fully and partially prostrate themselves at the feet of Ashurbanipal's *šūt rēši* and an Assyrian officer. They also bow and indicate fealty through hand gestures (SWP XXXIII slab 5 Ir, NP I slabs 6-7 Ir). Cifarelli has referred to the bowing gesture as "crouching tributary" and noted it was often used in earlier periods to depict foreign tributaries in contrast to the straight posture of the Assyrians (Cifarelli 1998: 214-216, Figures 37-38). She suggests that it is a visual motif that expresses foreignness and communicates "more specific messages of humiliation and subjection" (Cifarelli 1998: 216). With respect to full and partial prostration, this relates to the expression "caught hold of my royal feet" which is usually used to describe the submission of non-Assyrian rulers⁸¹ and describes a "codified gesture by which foreign rulers surrendered militarily and politically to the Assyrian king" (Cifarelli 1998: 218). This seems the probable explanation for the defeated Elamites behaviour to Ashurbanipal's proxy, his *šūt rēši* in this context, indeed as Ummanigas is introduced he also assumes the "crouching tributary" position. Rather than Ummanigas being honoured upon his return, he and the Elamites, through their gestures are honouring Ashurbanipal.

In contrast to the Elamite soldiers, the women and children of Madaktu and Susa are depicted with straight postures and hand gestures that imply celebratory clapping, or as a minimum a gesture of fealty. In the case of one

⁸⁰ Annals Edition A V 810 refers to "the ziggurat of Susa.....Its horns , which were of shining bronze" (Luckenbill 1927: 810).

⁸¹The expression is used by Ashurbanipal to describe what occurred when he gave sanctuary to Ummanigas and his royal entourage from Te-umman (B IV 79-86). In the relief one Elamite, possibly a noble, is actually touching the foot of the *šūt rēši* (SWP XXXIII slab 5 Irms). Gruber, commenting on this specific relief, notes "That repeated kissing the ground was a peculiarly Elamite form of obeisance" Gruber 1980: 261. For his wider discussion on this gesture see Gruber 1980: 257-278.

woman in Madaktu (SWP XXXIII slab 6 Irms) and another in Susa (NP I slab 9 Ir) they are depicted holding their right hands to their throats, indicating that they are ululating, a Near Eastern custom associated with celebration (Barnett 1998: 96). The presence of an orchestra, also suggests that the populace welcomes the Assyrians as “friends and liberators” (Reade 1979b 333). The Assyrian king had freed the Elamites from Te-umman’s tyranny a honourable act. In some contemporary honour-shame cultures it is a responsibility to defend the weak (Zeid 1965: 252) and acting as a liberator could be regarded as an extension of this value. Although bodies still float in the rivers at the bottom of each relief, it is clear that the inhabitants are not being punished as Ashurbanipal’s quarrel was with Te-umman and his supporters (Reade 1983:61). If he had unjustifiably persecuted the inhabitants it may have been interpreted as a shameful behaviour (Bourdieu 1965: 199). It could be

questioned whether this contemporary positive value was manifested in Assyria, as is apparent in the harsh treatment of the populace of other cities in this and future campaigns.⁸² What is more likely is that Ashurbanipal made strategic decisions depending upon the circumstances and what would be acceptable to his peers under Assyrian values. Indeed, there is evidence to suggest that both Sargon II and Esarhaddon exceeded the acceptable limits of warfare at times and were required to issue “apologies” (Oppenheim 1979: 123-133, Talon 2005: 105-107).

3.4.2.5 Ashurbanipal’s Second Response – The Battle of Sapibel

Again, only the epigraphs provide clues to the visual evidence of the Assyrian assault on Sapibel, the Gamgolian city. The Assyrian troops were directed to Sapibel after the campaign against Elam even though they “had not yet rested from their exertions” (Text A 18). This again stresses the positive values of courage and fortitude of Ashurbanipal’s military.

⁸² Note the description of the destruction of Susa in Ashurbanipal’s annals Edition A (Luckenbill 1927: 809-811).

The Assyrians blockaded the city and “terror overcame Dunanu” who “abandoned his city” (Text A 19). It is also reported that Dunanu “broke his bow. [He and] his magnates, [came before] my envoy with fervent entreaties and they submitted to me” (Text A 36) and he was bound “with iron fetters and sent him quickly to me [at Ni]neveh” (Texts A, C, G 37). This portrays Dunanu as a weak fearful ruler. The reference to “broke his bow” and “entreaties” implies complete surrender and humiliation.

In contrast to Dunanu’s bow gesture of capitulation, when Ashurbanipal received Dunanu in Milqia, he threw Dunanu “down onto his stomach and held up a [bow] over him” (Text A, G 21). This can be interpreted as not only a gesture of Ashurbanipal’s triumph and shaming of Dunanu, but its association in Text A with the religious rites of *akiti* suggests that the king may have also been honouring the goddess Ishtar of Arbela for her contribution to his victory.⁸³ Other royal inscriptions and letters of Esarhaon and Ashurbanipal reveal that the *akiti* festivities in Arbela were at times associated with “triumphs celebrated to commemorate extraordinary military achievements” (Weissert 1997: 347).

3.4.2.6 Ashurbanipal’s Victory Celebration in Nineveh

Little visual information remains of the victory celebration in Nineveh. On SWP XXXIII slab 3 ur are a line of captives, men women and children. Their attire suggests they may be Gambulian elite, and their open hand gestures together with aggressive actions of their Assyrian captors, indicate they are being forced to pay homage, most likely to Ashurbanipal (Figure 23). Unlike the Elamites of Susa and Madaktu, in the case of the Gambulian elite Ashurbanipal probably wanted to expose them to public ridicule by forcing

⁸³ Weissert has noted a link between the *akiti* festivities and military and hunting triumphs where the king’s bow is placed over his defeated enemy or a dead lion (Weissert 1997: 347-350).

them to honour his presence in Nineveh. The Gambulian's gesture resembles the "crouching tributary" position as there is a stoop in their necks and hands are raised, conveying a sense of humiliation and subjugation.

Unlike the harsh treatment extended to some of the male captives, the women and children are not mistreated or shackled. Albenda suggests that this may be due to their passive role in the defence of a town, city or region (Albenda 1987: 20). However, it is probable that it may have been regarded as shameful to mistreat women and children. A sole exception noted by Albenda was Ashurbanipal's campaign against the Arabs where one relief scene shows Assyrians "ruthlessly slaying women" in tents (Albenda 1987: 20). Possibly the reason for this departure from practice may reflect a harsher Assyrian attitude to the largely nomadic Arabs who posed a persistent threat compared to enemy's from an urban context.⁸⁴

In contrast to the children at Maduktu who are all clothed, in this scene seven of the eight are naked. This may be intended to further emphasise the "distress" and shame of the disloyal Gambulians compared to the Elamites who now have a ruler "loyal" and respectful to Ashurbanipal. However, given the above comments on the Assyrian concepts of undress, rather than conveying shame, it possibly is a sign of their younger age, as the one clothed child is taller.⁸⁵

On the upper register of SWP XXXIII slab 1 (Figure 24) is shown two men in Gambulian dress held by yokes, kneeling and being beaten while grinding some object on a stone. This image is probably the depiction of Nabuna'id and Beliter crushing their exhumed fathers "bones before before the gate in the middle of Nineveh" (B VI 93-99, VII 1-2). As noted above, such an act has biblical equivalents and is regarded as most shameful behaviour as it would have stained the son's lineage for generations. It is significant that the two

⁸⁴ Eph'al has observed that "Ashurbanipal's determination to disempower the nomads by burdening his army with so strenuous a campaign reflects the degree of the nomad's threat to the border regions of his kingdom" (Eph'al 1984:160)

⁸⁵ Albenda supports this conclusion (Albenda 1987: 19).

brothers are held by their hair and yokes, signifying further humiliation. Cirfarelli has noted that the choice to represent a captured leader held by the hair is “ideologically charge” as male hair was considered an important attribute of virility; therefore the captive is being emasculated and humiliated (Cirfarelli 1998: 219). The yoke imposed by an Assyrian king is also an ancient metaphor that conveys “complete domination and control” over non-Assyrians, and “dehumanisation” by “the analogy of their status to that of animals” (Cirfarelli 1998: 220).

Most revealing as to the intensity of enemy shaming is found in the epigraphs describing Ashurbanipal’s triumphal arrival at his capital. Ashurbanipal states that his victorious soldiers threw the head of Te-umman’s in front of his chariot before the “Long live the viceroy of Assur” gate (Texts A, E 10; BM 83-1-18,442), whereby “With a knife [I cut(?)] the tendons of his face and spat upon it” (Text A 11). These acts demonstrate intense public shaming of Te-umman as his remains are desecrated. Throwing Te-umman’s head in front of the royal chariot also is a contrast to Ashurbanipal’s exaltedness.

After Ashurbanipal “entered joyfully into Nineveh with the severed head of Te-umman” (Text A 13), he presents the head “like an offering in front of the gate inside the city. As it has been said of old by the oracle, ‘You will cut off the heads of your enemies, you will pour wine over them, [...]’, accordingly the gods Shamash and Adad granted this in my time: [...] I cut off the heads of my [enemies], I poured wine [over them,..]” (Text Ab 14). This again suggests that Ashurbanipal undertakes further religious rituals honouring his gods for the victory.⁸⁶

Several epigraphs also indicate that there was a relief of the scene, included in the annals, where the two Elamite officials who delivered Te-umman’s insulting message were publicly ridiculed (Texts A, E 12). This scene will be discussed below as it appears in a relief of the Arbela celebration.

⁸⁶ The libation over the head has strong parallels with reliefs depicting the conclusion of his lion hunts. See Weissert 1997: 350, Watanabe 1992: 91-104.

A further epigraph provides evidence that Dunanu's execution in Nineveh was also depicted, "[Duna]nu, son [of Bel-iqi]sha, the Gambilian, who had disrupted the exercise of my kingship. I slaughtered him on slaughter bench like a sheep and dismembered him" (Text A 29). The simile comparing Dunanu to a "sheep" and the defilement of his body further reinforces his shame in front of the assembly of his enemies. Stewart has observed in a first century AD caliphate context that certain forms of execution were considered dishonourable (Stewart 1994: 122), and the evidence suggests that the execution of Te-umman and his allies were orchestrated in this vein.

3.4.2.7 Ashurbanipal's Victory Celebration in Arbela

Surviving illustrations of the NP reliefs show Assyrian nobles (or unarmed soldiers) with hand gestures similar to applauding, in a procession adjacent to, and in front of what is probably the royal chariot (NP I slabs 5-6 urls). This scene is identified by Russell as the procession to Arbela (Russell 1999: 183-184) and the applause is conducive with the description in the Texts: "...after I had seized the reigns of the chariot of Ishtar, I entered Arbela amidst rejoicing..." (Texts A, E, Ga 34). Therefore from Ashurbanipal's approach to the city his honour is being acknowledged.

The upper register of SWP XXXIII slabs 5-6 depicts the victory celebration in Arbela. On slab 6 Ashurbanipal is shown dressed in fine clothes, wearing his crown and is standing on the royal chariot in front of which stands two senior Assyrian officials, then two Elamite ambassadors (Nabu-damiq and Umbadara with their distinct headbands) who are in turn facing two Urtian ambassadors (short build with floppy hats). Behind them facing the king in the upper two sub registers are Assyrian nobles, in the lower sub register archers, spearmen and other military personnel form an honour guard adjacent to a row of pine trees, flora native to Assyria.

The associated long epigraph reads "I am Ashurbanipal, king of the world, king of Assyria, who with the encouragement of Assur and Ishtar my lords, conquered my enemies and attained the desires of my heart. Rusa, king of Urartu, heard of the strength of Assur, my lord, and fear of my kingship overwhelmed him. He sent his nobles to ask about my health. In the city of Arbela, I made Nabudamīq and Umbadara, nobles of Elam, stand before them with writing boards containing the insolent message" (Russell 1999:178).

This scene is a most positive behavioural manifestation of honour towards Ashurbanipal as he receives public acclaim from his nobles, the army and the kingdom of Urartu. His stature, high elevation, rich attire, royal parasol, massive horses and chariot, and assembled military (Figure 25), all convey the positive honour values of strength, heroism, royal legitimacy, exaltedness, power and attraction of protégés (the respect from the king of Urartu).⁸⁷ Although the image of Ashurbanipal and his attendant have been defaced, the king's long beard is discernable which conveys a strong sense of manliness and virility (Winter 1997: 370-371). This contrasts to his beardless attendant who may have been so depicted and positioned to emphasise Ashurbanipal's *kuzbu*. It is also notable that the two Elamite ambassadors are depicted as "portly aging gentleman" and one of the Urartian emissaries appears to have an elderly "grizzled" appearance (Collon 2005: 68). This was so depicted to possibly emphasise Ashurbanipal's strong physique and vigour.⁸⁸ A further stark contrast is found in the exaltedness of Ashurbanipal standing high in the royal chariot compared to that of Te-umman falling from his in a state of disarray in the adjacent relief.

The posture and hand gestures also convey honour, and in some cases submission, to Ashurbanipal. The two officers in front of the chariot and one

⁸⁷ For commentary on height and honour see Prinsloo 2000: 351; clothing Prinsloo 2000: 352, Neyrey 1993: 25; and a general discussion on the depiction of the royal image Winter 1997: 367-374, 376-377.

⁸⁸ Collon has observed that she knows of no depictions of "venerable elderly Assyrians" and therefore she deduces that Assyrians were all depicted as "permanently in their prime" (Collon 2005: 68).

behind a Urartian ambassador, honour the king through a gesture of raising the fist with the thumb fully extended (Figure 26). Describes as *laban appi*, literally, "to touch the nose" it had its origins as "a ceremonial act that expressed humility and intensified begging for mercy in the presence of a divinity" (Cifarelli 1998: 216). Cifarelli suggests that in the Neo-Assyrian period it may have evolved to be a means by which higher ranking tributaries ceremonially submitted and pledged their fealty to the Assyrian king (Cifarelli 1998: 216-217). The evidence in this relief, however, suggests that it was a gesture also used by the Assyrian elite. The two Urartian ambassadors are depicted in the "crouching tributary" position, standing with their open palmed hands raised and heads slightly bent, an expression of their fealty and probably their king's submission to Ashurbanipal. Most of the Assyrian nobles and military, who are not preoccupied with the torture of the Gambilians or directing the attention of the Urartian ambassadors, are standing perfectly upright holding their hands over each other at their waist. This stance is an ancient Mesopotamian gesture indicating prayerfulness and respect often employed in depictions of the king before the gods (Cifarelli 1998: 216). In this context it suggests "obedience without abasement", placing the Assyrian royal officials, nobility and military in an "appropriately respectful attitude before their king" (Cifarelli 1998: 216). Such gestures in the terms of the model would be recognition of Ashurbanipal's honour precedence.

In contrast the two Elamite ambassadors are shamed as they accept public humiliation by holding the "insolent message" in front of the assembly (Figure 26). This depiction, the associated epigraph and likely repetition of the scene in the Nineveh celebration relief, also demonstrates the impact that the insult had on Ashurbanipal. It is this challenge that is emphasised in the victory celebration rather than Te-umman's aggressive troop movements. It is notable that the king of Urartu sent his ambassadors "to ask about my health", in other words, to pay respect to Ashurbanipal. This positive behavioural manifestation of honour is in sharp contrast to Te-umman's "insolent message". It is not coincidental that the two Urartian ambassadors are standing almost opposite the two Elamite officials holding the "insolent message". Again the depiction of honour and shame in close juxtaposition.

Dananu and his son, Samgunu are publicly humiliated as they are depicted with the heads of Te-umman and Istarnandi around their necks observed by Assyrian nobles and the Urartian ambassadors (SWP XXXIII slab 5 urus, Figure 27). In the case of one, a possible Elamite collaborator is depicted striking and spitting, whilst grabbing the victim on his right shoulder, a most negative behavioural manifestation implying public shame of not only the Gambulians, but also of Te-umman through further display of his head. Dunanu and Samgunu are in the "crouching" stance with opened palmed hands, emphasising their submission.

Text A reveals that Ashurbanipal also "chained Dunanu, Samgunu and Aplaya, together with a bear, to the Gate of the Rising and Setting of the Sun for display to my people" (Text A, Ec 26). This reduces his enemy to objects of amusement and therefore further shame.

To the right on slab 4 two naked⁸⁹ men have their tongues torn out and then are flayed alive, again watched by the Urartian ambassadors, Assyrian nobility and military (SWP XXXIII slab 4 ur, Figure 28). The epigraph notes "Mr. (blank) and Mr. (blank) spoke great insults against Ashur, the god, my creator. Their tongues I tore out, their skins I flayed" (Russell 1999: 180). The two omitted names are given in other texts as Mannu-kiahhe and Nabu-usalli (Russell 1999: 180). Through this graphic imagery, Ashurbanipal is not only humiliating his enemy by an unedifying torture and execution, but through the epigraph reminds the beholder that the challenge was also to the gods honour on whose behalf he had shamed and punished the enemy elite.

The Urartian ambassadors presence in three scenes also conveys the strong message that Ashurbanipal wanted to demonstrate to foreign rulers the length he would go to defend his "good name", this also acting as a deterrent to future challenges.

⁸⁹ See earlier comments on nakedness of enemies.

Of particular significance is a remnant of slab 9 from the NP that depicts Ashurbanipal making a libation to the gods over Te-umman's head in front of two divine standards on the city walls (Barnett 1976: 15, PI XXV-XXVI, Reade 1979a: 97, Weissert 1997: 350, Figures 29, 30, 31).⁹⁰ There is an offering table and he holds his bow over Te-umman's head. This image is not so much a further shaming of Te-umman as honouring the gods who made Ashurbanipal's victory possible.⁹¹ In terms of the model it can be regarded as honour virtue. As noted above, this has strong parallels with his libations over the bodies of dead lions following a hunt (Weissert 1997: 350, Watanabe 1992: 91-104, Figure 32).⁹² As in the hunt, the king's positive honour values of strength, bravery and protection of his people are also implied through his victory over Te-umman.

3.4.2.8 Te-umman's Final Humiliation

The final reference in the reliefs to the Second Elamite Campaign is in a completely non-military context, a "banquet" scene of Ashurbanipal and his queen Ashur-sharrat (Barnett 1976: 56). Set some years after the campaign in a luxuriant garden, a reclining Ashurbanipal is surrounded by several symbolic objects, one of which is the head of Te-umman hanging by a ring from an adjacent pine tree (NP S¹ ur, Figure 34-35).⁹³ It is significant that although

⁹⁰ Although the relief is badly weathered an outline of the king is discernable and all necessary offering equipment is present. Watanabe discusses the order of offering equipment in Watanabe 1992: 92-104.

⁹¹ As in *Bilgames and Huwawa* when the head of Huwawa is presented to the gods Enlil and Ninlil, although in this case Enlil was angry with Bilgames (*Bilgames and Huwawa* Version A 261-264, Frayne: 2001: 114).

⁹² As Weissert has observed, "whether it be hunted lions or defeated kings, the gestures of victory were staged in the same way. In the eyes of the ancient spectators the public image of the triumphant king and the public image of the lion hunter merged into a single figure – that of Ashurbanipal" (Weissert 1997: 350).

⁹³ For a discussion on the identification of the head as that of Te-umman see Albenda 1977: 224, Collon 2005: 68).

Ashurbanipal's reclines on a couch he is still elevated above all other persons depicted, which reinforces his exaltedness. Significantly his line of sight is towards the head of Te-umman. Collins proposes that the severed head symbolises the defeat of Elam with its placement on the pine tree (a native of Assyria) conveying that Assyria now "literally dominates Elam" (Collins 2004: 2). Whilst this may be one interpretation, it is also probable that it is a final humiliation of Te-umman and Elam as it is in close juxtaposition with images of two Elamite nobles acting as servants one carries a jar the other a fly whisk to the mock obeisance of Assyrian courtiers (Albenda 1977: 31, Reade 1979b 335, 1983: 65, Figure 36). There can be little doubt that over the role of the Elamite royalty as the associated epigraph states:

"[...] his good (deeds?) they love, all the princes of the wor[ld...] kings of Elam, whom, with the encouragement of Assur and Ninlil, my hands conquered [...] they stood (?), their royal meal they prepared with their own hands and they brought (it) [before me]." (Geradi 1988: 25).

It is noteworthy that the Elamite nobles are in a "crouching tributary" gesture indicating submission while the Assyrian courtiers assume a prostrate position, but it is their rears that face the Elamites, a significant, but comical insult.⁹⁴ Albenda has interpreted a locust on an upper branch of a tree, a short distance from Te-ummans head, about to be devoured by a bird, as a metaphor for the defeat of Elam as it alludes to the simile in the annals equating the Elamites to "the encroachment of grasshoppers" (Albenda 1977: 31-32, B IV 45-47).

Ashurbanipal would seem to be taking humorous delight in the derisory depiction of his enemy. The scene is also a triumphant statement of his enhanced "good name".

⁹⁴ Although the Assyrian courtiers face in the direction of Ashurbanipal, the significant distance in the relief from him would make it unlikely they are prostrating towards the king.

3.4.3 Ethnographic Reading

The analysis of the campaign account in the annals and reliefs suggests that on the basis of comparative contemporary and historic anthropological evidence, and the application of the two models, that Ashurbanipal's and Te-umman's behaviour and depiction can be partly explained through reference to an honour-shame value system. The testing of the two models with the literary and visual data, contained in Appendix A, is particularly compelling.

With respect to the challenge-response model, both combatants were of equal status. There were two clear challenges from Te-umman, his insulting message and threatening troop movements. Ashurbanipal rejected the first challenge with derision and the second was accepted which led to combat and Te-umman's death. Through his alliance with Te-umman, Dunanu also challenged Ashurbanipal and met a similar brutal response. Both challenges and responses were undertaken in the presence of a range of publics and were certainly well publicised.

There was also considerable evidence to support the honour-shame model:

Ashurbanipal was depicted as projecting a range of positive values - a heroic warrior, strength, virility, defender of reputation, powerful, protector of refugees, protector of Assyria from aggression, liberator from tyranny, enhancing wealth through booty, religious piety, generous, and a patron.

Te-umman and his supporters were largely depicted as projecting negative values: in the case of Te-umman - evil, a murderer, insolent, boastful, sinner against the gods, hostile to Assyria, cowardice, undignified, failed to protect Elam and failed to protect his son. Tammartu, his son – cowardice and undignified, however, he does protect his father. Te-umman's soldiers and officers – cowardice, womanly behaviour and defilement of the dead. Dunanu – treacherous, hostile to Assyria, cowardice, failure to protect his family, failure to protect his people and a stain on his lineage. Manukiahhe and

Nabusalli– blasphemous to the gods. Nabuna'id and Beletir – a stain on their lineage.

What are also particularly supportive of the model were the positive and negative behavioural manifestations that occurred in highly public contexts. With respect to Ashurbanipal - favour from the gods, public acclamation of his victory (in Nineveh, Arbela and possibly Ashur), postures of praise and submission, loyalty from his troops, and respect from a fellow ruler. In contrast Te-umman, Dunanu, Istarnandi and their supporters – humiliation and derision.

The behavioural manifestations strongly suggests that the outcome of the challenge would have enhanced Ashurbanipal's honour precedence with his earthly publics and honour virtue in his relationship with the gods. His good name would have endured. For Te-umman, Dunanu, Istarnandi and their supporters it was a shameful and in some cases, a literally stinking end. It has been observed that honour in ancient societies was perceived as a "limited good" (Malina 2001: 33), therefore, Te-umman and Dunanu's humiliation in turn would have enhanced Ashurbanipal's honour.

Although the data supports the two models a number of cultural variations were detected. The evidence suggests that nakedness of children, prisoners, and dead soldiers are unlikely to imply shame in an Assyrian context compared to some other cultures such as Judean. There is also the possibility that an Assyrian monarch may have been less sensitive to excessive brutality to an enemy than cases observed by more recent anthropological studies.⁹⁵ Although, Pryce-Jones has observed in the case of the contemporary Near East, that "any power holder orders torture or massacre, or declares war without reference to his subjects, and without qualm. Far from being some kind of bloodstained beast, he is only a supreme careerist and would feel himself shamed or lacking in manly and warrior like qualities if he were to treat his challengers on the merits of their case. Leniency or the admission that he

⁹⁵Refer to Bourdieu 1965: 199.

might have been wrong in his own decision would prove dishonourable....” (Pryce-Jones 1990: 39). Ashurbanipal's behaviour is certainly consistent with this observation.

Another anthropological area of debate is whether the treatment of Te-umman's head may have been a headhunter's memento as proposed by Bonatz, rather than used as an object to convey honour and shame. There is evidence of Syro-Mesopotamia depiction of enemy decapitation from as early as the third millennium *Ebla Standard* (Dolce 2004: 124). In the Neo Assyrian period it featured in reliefs of Ashurnasirpal II, Tiglath-pileser III, Sargon II, Sennacherib and in particular Ashurbanipal. This has led Bonatz to propose that, unlike his predecessors who cut off the enemy heads for “statistical purposes”, Ashurbanipal in the treatment of Te-umman's head created a new tradition, that of a “head hunter” (Bonatz 2004: 99-100). In contemporary anthropology, heading is defined as an organised, coherent form of violence in which the severed head is given a specific ritual meaning and the act of head hunting is consecrated and commemorated in some form (Hoskins 1996:2). Bonatz argues that Ashurbanipal's treatment of Te-umman's head conforms to headhunting as the severed head emerges as a political symbol to commemorate an important historical event, the head became a consecrated medium of communication with the gods, and finally the headhunting ritual was set within an “age-old tradition” (Bonatz 2004: 99).

These observations are not inconsistent with the model. Indeed Bonatz cites striking parallels to the triumphal return of Gilgamesh with the head of Humbaba to Nippur (Bonatz 2004: 100). In this respect through the slaying of Humbaba, Gilgamesh claimed he would “establish for ever a name eternal” (George 1999: 20. Yale Tablet II 187). Therefore, through Ashurbanipal's political and ritual act of slaying Te-umman, he would also have in turn secured his “good name” forever.

3.5 Master of the Animals and Ashurbanipal's Hunt Reliefs: Motifs of Honour

3.5.1 Master of the Animals as a Motif of Honour

The call on a deity for protection from shame is found on a cylinder seal of the Neo-Assyrian period (Livingstone 1989: 34, BM 89145, Figure 1). The seal depicts two winged bulls standing rampant astride a youthful hero-god who is holding their forelegs in a "Master of the Animals" stance.⁹⁶ The inscription, written in a form of abbreviated Sumerian, reads:⁹⁷

NIR-ka NU TĒŠ dPA
DU.Du^{ka} EGIR-ka

"May the one who trusts in you not come to shame, O Nabu!
May he constantly walk behind you."

The word for shame in this context is TĒŠ, the Sumerian equivalent of *bašu*, "to come to shame" (CAD *ba'āšu*: 5-6).

Significantly, as in the case of the *Righteous Sufferer's Prayer to Nabu*, *Ashurbanipal's Letter to the People of Babylon*, and the imagery contained in the reliefs of the Second Elamite Campaign, there is possibly a juxtaposition of honour and shame, with the text conveying protection from "shame" and the robed hero-god acting as a visual metaphor or motif of honour. Whilst there is no certainty on the significance of the iconography of the Master of the Animals, it is generally recognised as a symbol of control, power and

⁹⁶ Collon notes that during the second half of the eighth century BC both Babylonia and Assyria adopted this specific Master of the Animals compositional scheme that was favoured in the fourteenth and thirteenth centuries BC (Collon 1995: 32). Note that as the lower wings are longer, this differentiates the seal from Babylonian examples of the same period (Collon 1995: 32). For a Near Eastern history of the iconography and other references see Barclay 2001: 374-378.

⁹⁷ Transliteration Dr. Noel Weeks. Translation Livingstone 1989: 34.

possibly protection (Barclay 2001: 377). With respect to BM 89145, the very stance of the hero could in addition symbolise strength, virility, bravery and possibly bringing order – values that may lead to a good name. This visual and textual association of the two poles of the value system again supports the possibility of the centrality of honour and shame in Assyrian culture.

There is also significance that the inscription and motif of BM 89145 is on a seal. Barclay has observed that the Master of the Animals is primarily featured on seals and therefore, by determining who commissioned the seal design one can understand the function of the motif (Barclay 2001: 378). As the seals were used for administrative purposes and usually made of precious stones, they were most likely high status objects suggesting “a clear association between the ‘Hero’ as Master of Animals and royalty, or at least the upper classes and so, again an association of power” (Barclay 2001: 378). As noted, power is a positive honour value.

Other evidence suggesting an association of this seal with honour is that it was inscribed in Sumerian, possibly to enhance the honour of its owner, as there is evidence from Ashurbanipal that a knowledge or use of Sumerian was regarded as a positive value.⁹⁸ An alternate interpretation is that abbreviated Sumerian was merely used to fit the inscription on the seal.

What is more probable was that the Assyrian elite associated the master of the animals and combat scene motifs with the values that embodied a “good name”. This is particularly apparent in the motif’s treatment in the Assyrian royal seal that depicts a crowned bearded king standing with right foot forward, his left hand grasping the top of a rampant lion which faces him, and the right hand holding a dagger which the king plunges into the lions chest (Sachs 1953: 167, Figure 2). Again it is a powerful image conveying several of the positive honour values of kingship, particularly strength, virility, protection and bravery. It is the king as a royal hero, the epitome of a “good name”.

⁹⁸ “I have read cunningly written text(s) in obscure Sumerian (and) Akkadian that are difficult to unravel.” (Frame and George 2005: 279-280, Luckenbill 1927: 986 BM K 3050+2694).

Hall has noted the similarity of the seal impressions to the "hunt" palace reliefs, arguing that the focal point in both mediums is the king who is depicted as a "hero" figure. Like the seal impressions, the hunt reliefs in the case of both Ashurnasirpal II and Ashurbanipal, are generally executed without a background that give the works a "timelessness" (Hall 1992: 48), which Hall suggests reinforces the idea that they were references to the traditional concept of the king as the shepherd of his people rather than mere mediums of "entertainment or campaigns in miniature" (Hall 1992: 48). However, it may be possible that the hunt reliefs were also a statement, or a motif, of Ashurbanipal's honour. In this respect an analysis of the reliefs and associated hunting texts in terms of the honour-shame and challenge-response models may prove illuminating.

3.5.2 The Hunting Reliefs: An Honour-Shame Narrative

It is possible that the hunt reliefs transform the heroic motif of honour into reality where Ashurbanipal assumes the stance of the hero figure. To determine if this is the case the hunting texts and reliefs need to be examined in terms of the honour-shame and challenge-response models.

3.5.2.1 Challenge from Lions and Other Wild Animals

Although lions do not present a conventional military challenge to Ashurbanipal, they are nevertheless depicted in this vein. This is particularly apparent in The Great Hunting Text where Ashurbanipal states:

"The young of the lions grew up therein, in countless numbers, they.....They became fierce and terrible through their devouring of herds, flocks, and people. With their roaring the hills resound, the beasts of the plain, they (keep) shedding the blood of men. As if the plague had broken loose, there were heaped up the corpses of dead men, cattle and [sheep]. The shepherds and herdsmen weep at the

lions'.....The villages are in mourning day and night. Of the deeds of these lions they told me" (Luckenbill 1927: 935).

Similarly, in the epigraph of a relief:

"I went out on the plain, a wide expanse, raging lions, a fierce mountain breed, attacked....They surrounded the chariot, my lordly vehicle...."(NP Room S¹ Slab A-B mr).

Clearly the lions are depicted as a serious challenge from which Ashurbanipal would have been expected to protect his people. The challenge is witnessed by those who are threatened by the lions, this elevating the necessity for Ashurbanipal to respond.

Although there is no textual references to any challenge from other animals depicted in the hunting reliefs such as the gazelle and onagers, it is probable that hunting them could have been justified due to their probable damage to farmers' crops (Reade 1983: 60). Evidence also suggests that "their presence was even regarded as synonymous with desolation" (Reade 1983: 60). Again Ashurbanipal is protecting his people from harm, a prime value noted earlier in honour-shame value systems.

In addition to hunting wild animals on the plain there are also scenes of Ashurbanipal conducting hunts in an arena. Two of the epigraphs state that these hunts were for the kings "great sport" (North Palace Room S¹ Slab C ur, Gerradi 1988:26) or "princely sport" (North Palace Room S¹ Slab D mr, Gerradi 1988:27), which may suggest that there is no challenge. However, an examination of one scene of a hunt in the arena supports a contrary view. In the Room C relief is depicted people on a hill overlooking the hunt "panicking" (Reade 2005: 23) at the sight of the lions. This is evident from the poise and gestures of twelve of them who appear to be running away with arms outstretched from the direction of the lions (Figure 40, North Palace Room C Slabs 8-9). Five of them also turn their heads in the direction of the arena as if to check the lions are not too close. There are four other people behind the hillock, who are also moving away, with one turning his head. Reade had

commented that “the panic was both serious, showing how ferocious the lions were, and funny, because it is artificial, like the screams from the audience at a horror film” (Reade 2005: 23-24).⁹⁹ This scene conveys the threat and therefore challenge from the lions, thereby establishing the justification for the king to slay the animals. This is further supported by the gestures of two other men on the hillock whose line of sight and left arms are outstretched in the direction of Ashurbanipal as if to indicate not to worry as the king was on his way “performing his ancient ritual duty, protecting civilization against barbaric wild animals” (Reade 2005: 24). Significantly, the “fearful” spectators also demonstrate that the challenge has an audience in addition to the many spearmen creating the arena with their shields and the bowmen behind (North Palace Room C Slabs 9-10, 17).

3.5.2.2 Status of the Participants

The hunt reliefs display the lion as a most worthy challenger to the king.¹⁰⁰ This is particularly apparent where severely wounded animals still take the fight to Ashurbanipal as illustrated in Figures 41 and 42 (NP Room C slabs 24,26).¹⁰¹ This contrasts to his military enemies who nearly always are shown with a cowardly demeanour fleeing the battle. Whilst lions are not humans there can be doubt that they are Ashurbanipal’s equal in combat. A scene in Room S depicting Ashurbanipal slaying a rampant lion is particularly noteworthy (Figure 43, NP Room S slab 13 ur). The lion stands with his “hind

⁹⁹ Barnett has interpreted the scene as eager citizens of Nineveh, both men and women, swarming up the hillock to “watch the sport” with picnic bags (Barnett 1976: 37). Whilst they were undoubtedly spectators, it is questionable from their gestures as noted above whether they were “eager”, also it is questionable whether the beardless people were women, rather they were more likely eunuchs who are shown in an earlier scene (Room C Slabs 4-6) prior to the hunt. They also have bare arms and in most cases muscular forearms in contrast to other scenes where Assyrian women are shown with covered arms and diadems on their head in juxtaposition with bare armed and bare headed eunuchs (North Palace Room S¹ Slabs A-E).

¹⁰⁰ There is one exception that will be discussed later.

¹⁰¹ Similar scenes are also found in NP Room C slabs 20; Room S slabs 13ur, 14-13 mr; 3 mr; Room S¹ slabs A Ir, C-D ur

legs planted firmly on the ground in close conjunction with the Assyrian king on foot who plunges a dagger into its body whilst clutching the beast by its throat" (Albenda 1974: 8).¹⁰² With his abundant beard and long hair, rich attire, flexing arm muscles, and a look of determination, Ashurbanipal displays his positive gender values of courage, strength and sexual allure. The lion's physical features and stance are almost a mirror image of the king – a flowing mane, taught muscles on his outstretched paws and hind legs, a fierce determination to attack the king, the lion exudes positive values of strength, ferocity and power, fighting to the end. The lion is therefore depicted as a truly worthy challenger to the hero king. The parallel to the Assyrian royal seal and other "master of the animals" scenes noted above is clearly apparent.

With respect to hunting gazelle and onagers, this may seem somewhat to contradict the suggestion that the king must have an equal challenger. Although not necessarily fierce, gazelle and onager are most alert and fleet of foot and require tremendous skill to kill with an arrow, therefore worthy game to hunt. Possibly the hunt scenes with these species are consigned to the lower register of Room S as they were clearly not regarded in the same light as lions. It is significant that Ashurbanipal is not shown hunting small game such as the birds or rabbit depicted in a scene or royal attendants returning from a hunt (NP Room R, Slab 29). It is probable that small game hunting would have been perceived an unworthy challenge for someone of the king's stature. Poisel, in the context of Sargon II, has proposed that the omission of the king from similar scenes may have been "to avoid shaming their king and labeling him a hunter of small and vulnerable game" (Poisel 2005: 51).

¹⁰² Similar scenes were depicted on missing slab Room S¹slabs A ur, where the king is wearing his crown. Also in Room S¹slabs A mr the king dispatches a rampant lion with a spear while holding its ears.

3.5.2.3 Ashurbanipal's Response

Both the textual and visual narratives demonstrate a determined response by Ashurbanipal to the lions challenge.

Prism Fragment Edition E states: “[With] my single [team], harnessed to [my] [ordly] vehicle, [forty] minutes after daybre[ak], I pier[ce]d the throats o[f] ragi[ng] l[i]ons, each (lion) with a single arrow (BM 82-5-22,2; Weissert 1997: 357). K6085 in a similar vein “With a single team, my lordly team, [(harnessed to) my royal vehicle], forty minutes after daybreak, I [quelled] the tumult of eighteen raging lions” (BM K6085, Bauer 1972: 89, Weissert 1997: 345) and in The Great Hunting Text “In the course of my campaign...I inflicted upon them a defeat, (and) scattered their prides” (Weissert 1997: 345).

Weissert has observed the motif of the king conducting the hunt with a single team of horses harnessed to the royal chariot conveys an image of “a brave and impatient warrior” (Weissert 1997: 343). It also suggests that Ashurbanipal made a timely response. As noted earlier in a contemporary context “the time lapse between the offence and its reparation should be as short as possible” (Bourdieu 1965:214). The references to the hunt only taking 40 minutes also contributes to the image of a swift response, whilst the piercing the throats of the lions with a single arrow emphasises Ashurbanipal's positive value of his hunting skills.

It is however, in the visual narrative that the king's positive values truly emerge. His strength and prowess is clearly demonstrated in all the scenes where he kills lions. Ashurbanipal slays the animals on horseback, chariot, from a galley and on foot. His weapons are the bow, spear, dagger and mace. A clear image emerges of an accomplished warrior skilled in all forms of Assyrian martial arts. This prowess is further reinforced in Room S¹ through the epigraphs. For example in Slab C:

“On foot, with an arrow, x times pier[ced him], (but) he did not die. At the command of Nergal, king of the plain, who granted me strength and

manliness, afterwards, with the iron dagger from my belt, I stabbed him (and) he died" (North Palace Room S¹ Slab C ur, Gerardi 1988:27).

It is significant in this epigraph Ashurbanipal enhances his positive values of strength and manliness by noting that they were bestowed by the god Nergal. He is also deferring to the gods wishes as Nergal also commands him to slay the lion, this being a sign of his religious piety.

There are also scenes of positive behavioural manifestations. In one scene at the conclusion of the hunt two attendants standing in front of the king point in awe at two huge lions, one turning his head to colleagues as if remarking on the great accomplishment (North Palace Room S Slab 11mr)¹⁰³. This suggests an acknowledgment of the king's enhanced honour. In another scene (North Palace Room S¹ Slabs D and E Ir) Ashurbanipal honours the gods through an offering and a libation over the dead lions. This demonstrates not only the king's positive value of respect for the gods, but also the hunt's very success is an acknowledgement that Ashurbanipal is favoured by the deities as the accompanying epigraph states:

"I Ashurbanipal, king of the world, king of Assyria whom Assur and Ninlil have granted exalted strength". (North Palace Room S¹ Slabs D Ir, Gerardi 1988:28).

The imagery, however, is not solely focused on Ashurbanipal's honour. There are also two scenes and an epigraph that convey shame. The Room S hunt relief includes a scene where Ashurbanipal's spare horse has broken loose and is attacked by a wounded lion in close proximity to the king who is occupied killing another with a spear (Figure 44, North Palace Room S Slabs 14-13 mr). Two horsemen, one bearded with a spear, the other beardless with a whip, in haste gallop to protect the king.¹⁰⁴ Neither horseman is holding his

¹⁰³ There is a similar gesture on Slab 6 ur, however, the adjacent scene is missing.

¹⁰⁴ It is possible as will be evident later that there may have been a further two beardless horsemen on the missing Slab 15.

reins; rather their spare hands are outstretched in an attempt to grab the runaway horse's bridle. This also suggests that they erred in their responsibility as not only did the kings spare horse brake free, but they did not ensure that a lion left for dead was now endangering their king. This was in all probability what occurred as in the adjacent scene where the king inspects his quarry four of the Assyrian attendants, significantly one with a beard, are lying prostrate in front of Ashurbanipal (Figures 44 and 45, Reade 1998: 76-77). This a most unusual gesture from Assyrians as full or partial prostration was usually used to describe the submission of non-Assyrian rulers (Cifarelli 1998: 218). This is in all probability a public humiliation in front of all the hunt participants for failing in their duty to protect the king and one of his horses. With respect to the horse, the lions attack upon it may have been interpreted as a direct attack on Ashurbanipal honour as has been observed in a contemporary context where "the horse is a key symbol of Arab pride" (Makiya 1991: 11). This could explain why this scene is one of the rare occasions in Asurbanipal's reliefs when Assyrians are depicted prostrating to their king.¹⁰⁵

In Room S¹ an epigraph alludes to a missing scene:

"[...U]rtaki, king of Elam, who fled and submitted [to me]...a lion sprang upon him...he feared, and he implored my lordship (for aid)" (North Palace Room Slabs A-B ur and mr, Gerardi 1988: 26).

This depicts the Elamite king in somewhat cowardly vein for a monarch ("he feared"), almost reducing him to the status of the terrified shepherds and herdsman described in The Great Hunting Text who were also rescued by Ashurbanipal. Significantly this epigraph is above a scene of the king spearing a lion from a chariot. Like the inscribed seal described above it provides a juxtaposition of honour and shame.

¹⁰⁵ The banquet relief in Room S¹ also shows prostrate Assyrian attendants but this is in mock obeisance to the Elamite princes serving Ashurbanipal.

A further juxtaposition is found in Slab D where a cowardly lion is depicted. Despite a horseman with whip in hand attempting to encourage the lion to fight the king, he refuses. As a sign of humiliation towards the lion, Ashurbanipal is shown seizing the upright lion by its tail while it turns its head back snarling and "At the command of Ninurta and Nergal, the gods, my trust, with my mace I smashed its skull" (Figure 46 North Palace Room S¹ Slab D nr, Geradi 1988: 27). Again Ashurbanipal's heroism and honour is contrasted to cowardice and shame. Although there appears to be no Neo-Assyrian counterpart for this motif, Albenda notes a direct antecedent in a Syrian seal impression of a similar scene with a hero pulling a lions tail (Albenda 1974: 9). This imagery lends further support to the master of the animals as a motif of honour.

3.5.2.4 Ethnographic Reading

The above analysis suggests the lion hunt texts and reliefs can be interpreted in terms of the challenge-response and honour shame models. Like other enemies lions are clearly displayed as threatening Assyrians, a challenge swiftly accepted by Ashurbanipal. The imagery emphasizes the kings positive values of strength, vigour, virility, protection to his people, an accomplished and skilled hunter, and religious piety. The lions are also depicted as a most worthy challenger which makes Ashurbanipal's success all the more significant. Both the challenge and response has an audience, this particularly the case in the hunt in the arena depicted in Room C. Where post hunt scenes are shown, the gestures towards Ashurbanipal suggest positive behavioural manifestations. In contrast in one scene four of his attendants prostrate themselves in shame and in another reference an Elamite king is fearful for his life and is rescued by Ashurbanipal. The hunt reliefs and texts therefore unequivocally suggest enhanced honour for the king.

Lion hunting as a means to enhance ones honour also has biblical parallels where only in "exceptional (and legendary) instances was a lion slain in a

clash with a man, and these when the encounter was with a man of great personal courage: Samson (Judges 14:6) David (I Samuel 17:34) and Benaiah the son of Jehoiada (II Samuel 23:20)".¹⁰⁶ Similarly the heroes of Mesopotamian legend Gilgamesh and Enkidu, also slay lions.¹⁰⁷

In a contemporary nineteenth century context there were also "well attested stories" of young Arabs "proving their worth" by fighting lions (Reade 1983: 53, Frankfort 1996: 187 and note 51: 390).

However, Ashurbanipal's hunts have been given different interpretations. Anderson has suggested that Ashurbanipal is acting like a "sportsman" that is "one who delights in dangerous physical activity for its own sake" (Anderson 1885: 9). Reade at times also infers this interpretation (Reade 1983: 58). Whilst the depiction in the lower registers of Room S showing the king hunting gazelle and wild onagers have the clear appearance of sport, it is questionable whether this was the main motivation of the lion hunt where Ashurbanipal is shown in numerous scenes heroically slaying the wild beasts.

A persuasive interpretation by Weissert, is that the lion hunts were ritual symbolism, in particular the hunt in Room C that shows the slaying of 18 lions in the Nineveh arena (Weissert 1997).¹⁰⁸ By killing lions "Ashurbanipal symbolically secured each exit from the capital city, every gate and road leading out of it being secured by the killing of one lion" (Weissert 1997: 355). Whilst the lion hunt may have been staged for ritual purposes, it was nevertheless depicted to emphasise the kings positive values and enhance his good name. As Weissert also noted, the reliefs "publicly realize the image of the brave hunter, which for more than two hundred years had been represented on the imperial seal" (Weissert 1997: 356).

¹⁰⁶ See <http://www.jhom.com/topics//lions/biblical.htm#4a>.

¹⁰⁷ Gilgamesh said he "killed lions at the mountain passes" (Gilgamesh Tablet 10, line 34; Foster 2001:73) and Enkidu "hunted" and "defeated lions" (Gilgamesh Tablet 2 lines 45-47; Foster 2001:14)

¹⁰⁸ Also see Reade 2005: 23.

There is however, a further interpretation, which may explain the hunts' significance, and at its core is the honour-shame value system. Unlike Sargon II and Sennacherib, Esarhaddon and Ashurbanipal were absent from most of their campaigns (Poisel 2005: 59 note 152). However, unlike Ashurbanipal, and possibly Esarhaddon¹⁰⁹, there are no reliefs of these two predecessors fighting lions or other wild beasts. The only other Assyrian king with any certainty depicted in lion hunts was Ashurnasirpal II, however his reliefs on the subject were nowhere near the frequency and scale of his seventh century successor.¹¹⁰ Poisel has proposed that Ashurbanipal's non attendance on the battlefield may have necessitated demonstrating his "masculinity and prowess" in ways alternate to warfare (Poisel 2005: 59note 152), in particular the lion hunt. A closer examination of the reliefs would suggest this may have been the case.

Platform	Weapon	North Palace Depiction		
		Room C	Room S	Room S ¹
Standing	spear			Slab C mr
	sword		Slab 13 ur	Slab C ur
	bow		Slab 12 ur	Slab D ur
	mace			Slab D mr
Kneeling	bow		Slab 16 lr	
Horse	spear		Slab 13 mr	
	bow		Slab 12 lr	
Chariot	spear	Slabs 20-21; Slab 24		
	bow	Slab 10; Slab 14		Slab A ur; mr; lr
Galley	bow		Slab 4 mr	

Table 1. Ashurbanipal's Hunt Reliefs - Profile of Platforms and Weapons

¹⁰⁹ Poisel presents evidence that suggests the Til-Barsip relief of a lion hunt depicts Esarhaddon (Poisel 2005: 54-58).

¹¹⁰ See Albenda 1985 for a review of lions on Assyrian wall reliefs.

Table 1 shows the platform of battle and the weapons Ashurbanipal used to when fighting lions. He is depicted in the hunt standing, kneeling, on horseback, chariot and even on a galley. His weapons include spear, sword, bow and mace. What these scenes demonstrate is no matter what the platform or weapon the king is successful in close armed combat with an animal more courageous and fiercer than his human enemies. The images leave little doubt that if a real battle necessitated, Ashurbanipal would be as equally adept and brave. As Weissert comments "In the eyes of the ancient spectators the public image of the triumphant king and the public image of the lion hunter merged into a single figure – that of Ashurbanipal" (Weissert 1007: 350). In this respect, despite his non presence on the battlefield, through the hunt his good name is secured, if not enhanced. It is possible that one of the roles of these reliefs, and indeed on the royal seal, was to convey that he was physically, as well as metaphorically, a heroic warrior despite his non-appearance on the battlefield. Therefore, in all probability the lion hunt reliefs formed a central part of Ashurbanipal's honour-shame narratives, indeed the iconography of him killing lions emerges as an enduring motif of honour.

3.6 Publicising Honour and Shame

An important component of honour-shame value systems is the role of publicity in communicating both positive and negative values in the honour - shame spectrum (Pitt-Rivers 1965: 21-22, Malina 2001: 30-32, Pryce-Jones 1990: 40). It is specific audiences that ultimately acknowledge a persons "claim to pride" or honour (Pitt-Rivers 1965: 21).

Four major mediums of communication can be identified which projected Ashurbanipal's honour. These were victory parades, public hunt spectacles, his annals, and relief sculpture. In the earlier analysis of the Second Elamite Campaign and royal hunts the audience of the victory parades and public hunt spectacles were identified and the role of each medium discussed. One could describe this as a "micro" level" of analysis within the literary and visual narratives where there was considerable evidence to assist in audience identification. However, determining the audience and function of the annals and palace reliefs, "the macro audience", is more challenging. The function of these mediums is particularly widely debated. For example, Oded has proposed that Assyrian monumental propaganda had a wide audience and was "aimed to impress the masses throughout the empire" (Oded1992: 158). A contrary opinion is argued by Porter who has observed that the "particular texts and images were intended less to inform than to persuade, and that they were designed to influence the opinions and behaviour of a particular group to the advantage of the king" (Porter 2000: 8). Porter suggests that the messages were carefully targeted to specific audiences (Porter 2000: 8-9).

To determine the probable audience of the annals and palace reliefs their archaeological context needs to be examined¹¹¹ as well as direct and indirect textual and visual references.¹¹²

¹¹¹ Hayim and Miriam Tadmor together with Porter argue the importance of examining the texts and images in their archaeological contexts (Porter 2003: 181).

¹¹² Due to limitations in data from the reign of Ashurbanipal information will also be used from the time of his predecessors.

3.6.1 The Annals – Archaeological Context and Audience

Unlike some of his predecessors who also displayed annalistic texts on palace thresholds, text registers on wall reliefs and bull colossi;¹¹³ Ashurbanipal committed his annals to clay prisms placed in building foundations.¹¹⁴ This restricted location suggests that the intended audience was the “later prince” and possibly the gods noted in the dedicatory text (Oppenheim 1964: 146-148, Russell 1991: 225-230, Tadmor 1997: 331).

Whilst the “later prince” is specifically mentioned, the gods are only implied by the king’s request to them to bestow positive values on the later prince, “May the great gods, as many as are written in this memorial, [incline to his majesty,] [permit] power and strength [to be]fall his position” (B VIII 87-90). This is in contrast to letters, prayers, or dialogues with the gods where the deities are specifically addressed.¹¹⁵ However, the discovery of a copy of one of Ashurbanipal’s building inscriptions in the Nabu temple in Nineveh (Lambert and Millard: Supplement 35, Porter 1993:112), raises the possibility that formal duplicate copies were routinely deposited in temples, thereby suggesting not only an audience of gods, but also priests, scribes and other temple personnel who were amongst the most literate at that period (Porter 1993: 112).¹¹⁶ This may have been the audience limit as indicated by research which suggests that access to temples and their immediate precincts were restricted to priests and temple employees (Porter 2003: 181).

¹¹³ For a summary of annalistic palace inscriptions see Russell 1999: 210-219. Ashurbanipal’s relief epigraphs are of an “annalistic-type” (Russell 1999:210), but due to their brevity can be regarded as a communication device to enhance the impact of the relief’s visual narrative, rather than complete annals.

¹¹⁴ It should be noted that only Cylinder A was found in situ, inside a wall by Hormuzd Rassam (Gerardi 1987: 71).

¹¹⁵ In particular see Oppenheim 1979: 124-125, Tadmor 1997: 331-332 on letters to the gods as they contain campaign accounts.

¹¹⁶ Another example are building inscriptions of Ashurbanipal’s father, Esarhaddon, that were copied on prisms and found at Assur which included records of projects at Nineneh, Tarbisu and in Babylon (Porter 1993:111). This again suggests multiple copies.

Liverani, Tadmor and Porter, however, have proposed a wider audience. Based upon the public display of annalistic texts of other kings including Assurnasirpal II (palace thresholds), Sargon II (text registers on wall reliefs), and Sennacherib (bull colossi). Liverani has argued that the principle audience was the Assyrians themselves, especially the ruling elite (Liverani 1979: 297-317). Tadmor also shares this view of a “corporate audience” comprised of both a literate and non-literate state elite who “would have understood their language, appreciated their literary value and their innovative nuances” (Tadmor 1997:334).

Porter has hypothesised that the annals may have been publicly read “during ground-breaking or dedication ceremonies for buildings” to an audience of “the power elite of the city where the building project took place” (Porter 1993: 109, 1996: 168). As evidence she points to the literary content and structure (Porter 1993: 106-111),¹¹⁷ and also cites accounts of building ceremonies offered in royal inscriptions, particularly those of Esarhaddon and of other occasions like that inferred in Sargon II text addressed to the city of Assur (Porter 1993: 112-113). These were occasions she argues for “showing the people” and also for “telling the people” (Porter 1993:113). Such audiences would need to have been able to understand Akkadian, and therefore more likely elites,¹¹⁸ because by Ashurbanipal’s rule Aramaic was probably the dominant popular language (Tadmor 1982, Porter 1993:116).

The literary structure of Ashurbanipal’s annals may support this conclusion, as they are “more like historical novels” where the authors skilfully weave the subject matter, such as the Elamite wars, to build into a climax, in that case, the sack of Susa (Grayson 1981: 43). Grayson has observed the use of rhetorical devices in the texts (Grayson 1981:43) which could imply that they were read aloud, but his conclusion is qualified as he notes that unlike Assyrian and Babylonian epics where “speeches abound” there are “none in

¹¹⁷ This is discussed in relation to Esarhaddon’s Nineveh A inscription.

¹¹⁸ Porter suggests that the elites comprised “scribes, temple officials, powerful merchants, and administrators, the people in Assyria who were either literate themselves or regularly employed scribes” (Porter 1993: 116).

the royal texts” which also lack mnemonic devices typical of oral works (Grayson 1981: 44).

Apart from the slim evidence Porter presents, what also raises further doubt concerning a broader audience is her own argument that texts were specific to the situation (Porter 2000: 8-9). As Weeks observed, “If texts were consciously being adapted to their location, then it must follow that location is crucial to determining their message” (Weeks Forthcoming: 7), to which should also be added, their “audience”. Given the hidden location of the annals and their address to a “later prince” and by inference the gods, there is, therefore no firm evidence to support Porter’s hypothesis.

One can only conclude with reasonable probability that later princes and possibly the gods were the intended audience of Ashurbanipal’s annals. The actual audience may have also included priests and officials if it was common practice to lodge copies of the annals in temple precincts, but they may have only been incidental.

3.6.2 The Palace Reliefs – Archaeological Context and Audience

To ascertain the probable audience of the palace reliefs their archaeological context in Ashurbanipal’s North Palace at Nineveh needs to be first ascertained.¹¹⁹ Map 2 shows the location of the palace, and Plans 2 and 3 the architectural and isometric plans respectively, with the rooms indicated. Particular note should be taken of the columned northeast entry from where ascending passageways (R and A) lead to rooms of state and associated courtyards (Plan 4).

¹¹⁹ Only the North Palace will be discussed as it was largely built by Ashurbanipal and the subject matter of the reliefs reflect important episodes in his life. In comparison the North West Palace is primarily a reflection of Sennacherib’ s propaganda objectives with the exception of Room XXXIII, which depicts Ashurbanipal’s campaign against Te-umman.

Appendix B details and illustrates the subject theme of the remains of the reliefs found in each room or passage.¹²⁰ It is notable that the ascending and associated passages (S, R, A, E, C) from the northwest entrance to one entry of courtyard J was decorated with scenes of the hunt. Reliefs dedicated to warfare, most probably specific campaigns, were clustered in rooms H, I, G, F, L and courtyard J. The throne room M, however, depicted various campaigns. In the lower rooms of S, T and V were the remains of reliefs, which had fallen from the upper rooms S¹, T¹ and V¹. These reliefs like those in the throne room were also of varied subjects including the later Elamite campaigns, hunting and the scene showing Ashurbanipal and his queen dining in a garden. It should be noted that these “upper rooms” were most probably on the same level as the throne room and in all probability a similar large ceremonial space (Barnett 1976: 33).¹²¹

With the exception of the throne room M and the adjacent areas of O and L, which were probably waiting rooms for visitors or officials prior to entering to meet the king, it is difficult to determine the function, let alone the audience of each area.¹²² Textual and other visual records need to be examined in order to assist in answering this question.

For the period of Ashurbanipal's reign there is no visual and only limited textual evidence of possible audiences who may have been exposed to the reliefs. Edition A of the annals notes that foreign labour, specifically captured

¹²⁰ Appendix C provides a more detailed description of the subject matter. It should be noted that in some rooms slabs were left blank or were too badly damaged to determine the subject matter.

¹²¹ For a detailed description of the reliefs see Barnett 1976 Pp 36-53.

¹²² Barnett proposes that based upon the location of a drain and ventilation shafts, that Room F might have been a bathroom (Barnett 1976: 30). If so, the relief subject of the capture of the city of Hamanu and other highlights of the Elamite campaign may certainly have found the audience in an interesting context. He also suggests that the passageways with hunt scenes may have lead to one of Ashurbanipal's gardens where wild game was located for hunting, therefore not the principle entry to the palace (Barnett 1976: 32). Barnett speculates that the northeast entry to courtyard O may have been the main access route, via steps, to throne room M (Barnett 1976: 29).

Arabian kings assisted in the construction of his *bīt-redūti* (Luckenbill 1927: 836), however, the passage in no way implies that the labourers were exposed to the reliefs. Other sources record voluntary tribute and oaths of loyalty received from kings of both subject and autonomous lands including Egypt, Arvad, Tabalu, Hilakku, Mannea, Babylonia, Nabatea and Lydia (Russell 1991: 229). This more likely audience included either the foreign king in person or his envoys travelling to Nineveh for an audience with Ashurbanipal (Russell 1991: 229-230).

Palace reliefs of Assurnasirpal II and Sargon II, located adjacent to the throne rooms, show processions of tribute bearers approaching the throne (Russell 1991: 236, Porter 2000: 16, 2003: 184-185, Reade 1979b: 237-238; Figures 37-39), which suggests that this group would have had access to the throne and adjacent waiting rooms in Assyrian palaces. Royal letters that deal with the delivery of *madattu* (tribute) and *nāmurtu* (gifts) to the Assyrian king at an annual event, also confirms that the foreign envoys were probably of high rank and when they arrived in the capital they had an audience with the king (Postgate 1974: 123-125, Russell 1991: 233-235).¹²³ One letter to the crown prince, Ashurbanipal, states “Just as today the ambassadors (*sērāni*) of all the lands passed (in procession) before your father, so may they pass before the king’s son for one thousand years” (Postgate 1974: 126).

As to other likely audiences, texts from earlier periods need to be cited. Assurnasirpal II “Banquet Stele” which commemorates the celebration of the building of his palace at Nimrud lists 47,074 men and women from across Assyria, 5,000 foreign dignitaries, 16,000 people of the city of Nimrud and 1,500 functionaries from other of his palaces for 10 days of celebration (Russell 1991: 224, Porter 2003: 183, Reade 1979b: 336-338).¹²⁴

¹²³ Some of the letters refer to royal audiences held in the palace (Russell 1991: 235).

¹²⁴ Sargon II in his annals also refers to a similar dedicatory festival including “kings from foreign lands; governors of my land; overseers, commanders, nobles, high officials, and Elders of Assyria” (Luckenbill 1927: 74), as does Esarhaddon at the dedication of his Nineveh

Assurnasirpal also notes that the gods were invited (Russell 1991: 225, 226, Porter 2003: 183).¹²⁵ It is possible that Ashurbanipal may have had a similar celebration involving foreign and Assyrian elites; however, given such large numbers, it must be seriously questioned how many would have been exposed to the reliefs. Furthermore, what Russell and Porter overlook, is that it was unlikely so soon after construction of a new palace that there was a significant quantity of reliefs to see. The reliefs were probably carved over a period of many years, indeed the discovery of many blank reliefs at the North Palace suggests that the process extended across the reign of Ashurbanipal.¹²⁶

One useful source to determine relief audiences are palace administrative texts, in particular the Nimrud Wine Lists (Kinnier Wilson 1972). Although covering a period from late in the reign of Adad-nirari III (810-783 BC) to the first half of the reign of Sargon II (721-705 BC) and possibly limited in their interpretive value as they may give rations only for the arsenal staff (Russell 1991: 230), they are nevertheless informative. They reveal palace wine was issued to the king's magnates (great ones) that included his senior officers, ministers and advisors. One text (K8669) describes a winter feast held in the presence of the king and his magnates, the crown prince and his sons (Kinnier Wilson 1972: 32-43, Russell 1991: 230-231). Russell suggests that such a feast was likely to have been held in the throne room or one of the other large reception rooms in the royal palaces (Russell 1991: 231). Ashurbanipal's throne room could have been such a location. Alternatively, feasts may have also been held in "rooms" S¹, V1 and T1 the reliefs of which, like the throne room, were varied in composition and included the banquet scene depicting Ashurbanipal and his queen (Figure 35).

The wine list included the queen, her entourage of the palace harem. In this respect the reliefs in such an area would have had a more limited audience

arsenal where "all of the magnates and people of my land" were invited (Russell 1991: 228-229).

¹²⁵ Sargon II and Esarhaddon also invited the gods (Russell 1991: 226, 229).

¹²⁶ Barnett notes blank slabs in rooms T, V (Barnett 1976: 31).

(Kinnier Wilson 1972:6, 44,46). The lists also features royal attendants (Kinnier Wilson 1972: 46, 48), Assyrian, Aramean and Egyptian scribes (Kinnier Wilson 1972: 62), household staff (including food preparers, bakers, housekeepers and servants, many of who were from foreign countries; Kinnier Wilson 1972: 78-87, Russell 1991: 232), diviners, bird augurs (Kinnier Wilson 1972: 44), royal singers (Kinnier Wilson 1972: 76-78), diplomats (Russell 1972: 233) and interpreters (Kinnier Wilson 1972: 94).

With respect to the interpreters Kinnier Wilson, Russell and Porter suggest that one of their functions may have been to “serve as tour guides for visiting foreigners, and this could have included interpreting the reliefs for foreigners unable to read the Akkadian captions” (Kinnier Wilson 1972: 94, Russell 1991: 233, Porter 2000: 16). It is proposed that if this was the case, they and other officials may have also interpreted the reliefs for the non-literate Assyrian elite, particularly given the decline in Akkadian during the reign of Ashurbanipal.

Turner has suggested that Rooms A, C E, R and S, where the hunt reliefs are only found, may have led to a game park north-west of the palace (Turner 1976: 32). If this was the case the audience may have included the king's hunting parties comprised of his attendants and Assyrian and foreign elites. Evidence of foreign elite attendance at hunts is found in the epigraph to NP S¹ slabs A-B where there is mention of the presence of an Elamite prince who was attacked by a lion and “implored” Ashurbanipal for aid (Wiessert 1995: 345). With respect to attendants, the prominent depiction of four attendants prostrating themselves for failing to protect the kings spare horse was in all probability positioned as a warning to Ashurbanipal's hunt attendants (Room S, Slab 11 mr). The location of this relief, directly opposite the columned external exit from room S can not be overlooked and lends particular support to Turner's proposition.

Unlike the case of the annals, the evidence of Ashurbanipal's relief audiences is not as compelling, however, data from his predecessors does provide illumination. There is a high probability that the intended audience in the

throne room and adjacent reception areas included the king, crown prince, other select members of the royal family, courtiers, certain servants, musicians, magnates, foreign ambassadors, and gift and tribute bearers from subject and independent foreign lands.¹²⁷ The gods would have also been an intended audience.

The queen and her royal attendants may have been restricted to the harem, and various service areas where the presence of reliefs cannot be ascertained, but such a conclusion is speculative. Undoubtedly some palace artisans undertaking maintenance, renovations or new relief carvings would have comprised part of the actual audience. It is also possible that some foreign labourers during building construction and members of the Assyrian general populace at palace dedications may have viewed the reliefs, but again there is no compelling evidence.

The overall evidence suggests that Ashurbanipal's reliefs were primarily targeted at Assyrian and foreign elites, and gods, and in the case of the annals, a later prince and probably the gods. This was in all probability his intended audience. The elite audiences and gods comprised his "court of public opinion", or "assembly" as referred to in the literary texts, from which Ashurbanipal sought acknowledgement of his "good name" in his own time and for posterity.

There is, however, one relief sculpture for which an audience is depicted. In the Room C hunt relief is shown a stela standing on a wooded hill overlooking the Nineveh hunting arena (Weissert 1997: 351,354). The stela shows Ashurbanipal killing a lion with a bow from the rear of his chariot.¹²⁸ This relief sculpture is clearly in view of citizens either clambering for a good vantage point of the hunt or running in fear of the lions. In close proximity are

¹²⁷ Cifarelli argues that early in the neo-Assyrian period the audience of narrative reliefs were predominantly the Assyrian court and later it expanded to include ambassadors, tributaries, merchants and captives (Cifarelli 1998: 212, note 12).

¹²⁸ Weissert also attributes text K6085 as the missing epigraph to the stela (Weissert 1997:351).

also members of the king's entourage and soldiers (Figure 40, North Palace Room C, slab 9). Whilst this provides evidence of the use of public stelaes as a medium for the promotion of Ashurbanipal's honour, unfortunately we can not determine whether the hillock was in a private park or a public domain.

3.6.4 Function of the Annals

Scholars have proposed several possible functions for the annals. Oppenheim has suggested that they are "basically ceremonial writings, rather than messages meant for communication" (Oppenheim 1979: 118), Oded describes them as merely "propaganda for domestic consumption"¹²⁹ where "the Assyrian king deemed it necessary to justify his military expeditions before the gods...., before the Assyrian people, who bore the real burden of the wars, and before future kings and generations... by attributing to them moral and religious factors, which hid the genuine reasons" (Oded 1992: 179). Others, such as Olmstead, have focused on the portrayal of violence arguing that it is not a matter of gratuitous cruelty, but rather "calculated frightfulness" (Olmstead 1923: 81) whose aim was to "terrify potential enemies and rebels into co-operating with Assyria" (Porter 2003: 180).

It is proposed that the function of the annals can be ascertained through reference to their most likely intended audience, the "later prince". As this was a future reader it must therefore be seriously doubted that the intensity of enemy humiliation portrayed was there as a deterrent (Porter 2003:181). Similarly, much of the enemy humiliation takes place in Assyria where there was no need to terrify the populace. Rather than fear, as noted in the analysis of the historic narrative, the language was written to reinforce Ashurbanipal's positive values as a strong leader who defended Assyria, his reputation and that of the gods in contrast to the shameful behaviour and humiliation of Teumman and Dunanu.

¹²⁹ For a discussion on propaganda in Assyrian Royal Inscriptions see Tadmor 1997: 332-334.

The arguments that they were ceremonial writings or a justification of military expeditions to the Assyrian people must also be questioned in light of the “later prince” audience. It is possible that their function may have been to instruct Ashurbanipal’s successors. In this respect, Machinist has observed this function in a similar Neo Assyrian literary genre the *narū*, specifically the *Cuthean Legend of Naram –Sin* where the Agade king is critical of a predecessor as he “did not inscribe or leave [a record] on a stela” (Gurney 1955: 98-99,29; Machinist 1986: 193). In contrast Naram-Sin advises that he wants to ensure “his successors profit from the mistakes he was forced to make; and such wisdom can come only if they will ‘read this document and listen to the words thereof’ and in turn, they will leave a record of their own, which ‘wise scribes will read aloud’” (Machinist 1986: 194; Gurney 1955: 108-109, 173-175). A problem with this interpretation is that Ashurbanipal’s annals do not admit to mistakes or are written in a form that implies instruction. At best from this perspective they could be regarded as a “case studies” for a future prince on what constitutes correct behaviour that will lead to a good name.

What is more probable interpretation is that due to the social and psychological isolation of Assyrian kings, the annals served a deeper need for affirmation that could not be met by “the populace in general nor the courtier” (Weeks Forthcoming: 5-6).¹³⁰ In this respect, Weeks proposes, “the future ruler is the blank space upon which the king has cast his own need for affirmation, endorsement and assurance that his accomplishment will live forever” (Weeks Forthcoming: 5-6).

Whilst the evidence from the analysis of the historic narrative suggests that Ashurbanipal was certainly not averse to affirmation from the general populace and courtiers in his lifetime,¹³¹ the main thrust of Week’s proposition is consistent with the honour-shame model. As noted in the dedicatory text,

¹³⁰ For an analysis on the relationship of the Assyrian king to those around him see Tadmor 1986.

¹³¹ Note the triumphal entry to Nineveh and Arbela.

Ashurbanipal was well aware of the impermanence of buildings as they could be destroyed, decay or collapse. Placing copies of the annals, composed in terms of an honour-shame value system, in foundations at various locations was a secure way for a monarch to preserve a record of his accomplishments and to ensure that later princes would recognise his claim to honour, his good name, hopefully for eternity. The *Epic of Gilgamesh* also reinforces this function as it is about “a royal hero in search of ‘making a name’” and a quest for “personal immortality” (Machinist 1986: 194). The prologue suggests the immortality of Gilgamesh’s name is not necessarily derived through the walls of Uruk that he has built, but from the buried foundation text that is the epic account of his quest (Machinist 1986: 194, Michalowski 1978). It is probable that Ashurbanipal identified with the legendary hero, and through his annals also wanted to demonstrate how he acquired his good name and for it to be preserved eternally.

3.6.5 Function of the Reliefs

Ashurbanipal’s reliefs in the South West and North Palaces at Nineveh, represent carefully crafted communications principally directed at a largely non literate audience of Assyrian and foreign elites, and probably the gods. It is proposed that the reliefs were visual propaganda, through which Ashurbanipal publicised both his good name and shamed his enemies in the “assembly”. As Pryce-Jones observed in a contemporary context “By definition, honour and shame involve publicity. There can be no honour without show and even swagger. Display has priority over reticence and self control” (Pryce-Jones 1990: 40). Through such publicity Ashurbanipal would have aimed at enhancing his respect and consolidating support from his contemporary Assyrian and foreign elites, while at the same time conveying a strong message of the serious consequences that befell any person who dared to mount a challenge.

This interpretation is consistent with Porter's analysis. Although she overlooks the honour-shame dimension, Porter argues, in the context of Ashurnasirpal II and Esarhaddon, that the propaganda "alternated messages of intimidation and of friendly persuasion, in proportions carefully adjusted for different audiences" (Porter 2003: 181, 2000: 16). In the case of "friendly persuasion", Ashurbanipal's dominating image at the Arbela victory parade with the many gestures of respect and submission communicated a clear message to the beholder, particularly the Assyrian elite who would have recognised the significance of the gestures (Cifarelli 1998: 214), that the king was not just deserving of honour, but being honoured. Similarly, the installation of Ummanigash at Madaktu and Susa, in totality another dominating image in the relief sequence, probably conveyed to foreign and Assyrian elites alike, that loyalty to their royal patron would be handsomely rewarded through honouring them with material rewards, power and status. Such imagery would have engendered respect towards Ashurbanipal and probably consolidated his support with the Assyrian elite and a component of the foreign elite.¹³²

The relief's message of intimidation, to both Assyrian and foreign elite audiences alike, was if they dared to challenge Ashurbanipal, their fate would be more than a painful death. The offender would be publicly humiliated and shamed in the "assembly" through acts such as cutting off a king's head "in his (own) land and in the presence of his troops", being forced to wear the head of a dead enemy around your neck, chained to a bear for public amusement, forced to stand in the "assembly" with an insulting message, and grinding of a father's bones at the city gate. Even if a person were dead his name would be subject to further derision through the treatment of his remains such as spitting on a severed head, hanging it in front of the city gate, parading it from one Assyrian city to another or being hung in a garden for amusement. Furthermore, through depiction in the reliefs of the humiliating incidents a sense of eternal publicity of the shame was also conveyed. It was

¹³² Cifarelli notes that with a history of coups d'etat and assassination attempts it was in the interests of the king through the reliefs to promote conformity, solidarity, and obedience within the ranks of courtiers (Cifarelli 1998: 212).

the destruction of one's good name that was likely to have been a most salient message.

It is also possible that the reliefs' role was to formally and publicly mark "the transition that a person makes from being honourable to being dishonourable" (Stewart 1994: 119).¹³³ These images range from the mock obeisance of Assyrian courtiers towards Elamite princes, who were reduced to mere household servants, to the dishonourable methods of execution of Ashurbanipal's enemies.

In an alternate interpretation of the relief's function, Bahrani suggests that repetition of Te-umman's severed head was "performative imagery" with a similar role to the colossi winged bull figurines or protective clay figurines buried under the palace floor, "it could make things happen, it could be apotropaic, it could construct Assyrian power and make the Assyrian victory inevitable...you could destroy something by destroying its image" (Bahrani 2004: 118). Similar examples Bahrani cites include abducting images of enemy gods or defacing representations of kings. It therefore may have formed one of the supernatural weapons which were very much part of Assyrian warfare (Bahrani 2004: 118). Whilst Te-umman's head may have been partly used for this purpose, it cannot be isolated from the many other powerful images such as the humiliation of the Elamite officials or the triumphal installation of Ummanigas, which are unlikely to have been depicted for performative purposes. The abduction of gods, monuments and defacement of a king's image could also be interpreted as acts of humiliation that brought shame upon a ruler.

Bahrani also argued that the battle of Til-Tuba relief "is a clutter of *horror vacui*" lacking an "orderly linear progression in time" and "no focal point in the composition" other than the repetition of Te-umman's head (Bahrani 2004: 115-116). Such an observation must be seriously questioned. Although the

¹³³ Stewart has noted a similar role of defamatory images in the Middle Ages of continental Europe (Stewart 1994: 119- 121).

head at times is a focal point, the sculptors use a variety of other techniques to draw attention to the main messages the reliefs convey.

To enhance the effectiveness of their medium the sculptors avoid melodrama. There is a "casualness with which they treat violence" (Bersani and Dutoit 1985: 56) that seductively draws the beholder through the narrative. Bersani and Dutoit identify various "mobilizing strategies" including the use of bows and curves that both direct the beholders attention while at the same time "includes the cues which keep us on the move" (Bersani and Dutoit 1985: 15, 73-103)¹³⁴. The epigraphs play a similar role (Winter 1997: 359). Key focal points include the curve in the hill that attracts the eye to the scenes of Elamites pulling their hair and beards (Figure 6); the circumference of large wheels causes one to focus on surrendering Elamites (Figure 3), the unedifying sight of Te-umman falling from his chariot (Figures 13) and in contrast Ahurbanipal standing in triumph in his (Figure 25); or the curvature of the bow and associated epigraph that highlights Tammaritu's defence of his father (Figure 15). Similarly, the hunt reliefs also include visual devices including chariot wheels, spears and bows to focus the viewer's attention on the king's heroic exploits. These are but a few examples that demonstrate how the Assyrian sculptors deliberately employed strategies to attract the beholder's view to key messages that conveyed Ashurbanipal's honour or his enemy's shame.

Before concluding, there is the possibility as Reade suggests, that the reliefs also had an entertainment function where the king and his courtiers could reflect on the battlefield anecdotes depicted (Reade 1979b: 339). With respect to the Second Elamite Campaign, there is no evidence to support this, however, in the case of the "banquet relief" (NP S¹ ur, Figure 34) it is probable. As noted above, the depiction is rich in subtle honour-shame imagery that

¹³⁴ Bersani and Dutoit note, "The sculptor manages simultaneously to bring a coherent centering to his scene and to transform every centre into the margin of another (provisional) focus of our attention" (Bersani and Dutoit 1985: 15).

would have only had meaning to an educated elite Assyrian audience.¹³⁵ It is a composition that probably caused considerable amusement to both the king and his courtiers.

¹³⁵ Lumsden highlights the differentiation of visual messages directed at a "heterogeneous" audience and those targeted at "a sophisticated elite Assyrian courtly audience schooled in literary and rhetorical stylisations" (Lumsden 2004: 377).

Part 4. Conclusions

4.1 Testing Hypotheses

At the outset of this thesis five hypotheses were posed, each of which needs to be addressed in light of the research findings.

(i) The Assyrian elite had an honour-shame value system that was dominated by the fear of being shamed.

The linguistic, literary and visual evidence is supportive of the presence of an honour-shame value system in Assyrian culture with respect to kingship. Honour would appear to be equated to a “good name”, “reputation” and “fame”, whilst shame was also found to mean “embarrassment”, “shame” or to “stink”. However, there appears to be no evidence to support the domination of shame. Rather, enhancing a good name and avoidance of shame were both significant factors in the value system.

Although in the literary and relief historic narratives the depiction of honour was restricted to Ashurbanipal and shame to his enemies or inferiors, it is clear from the other literary texts examined that avoidance of shame was also an important factor for the king. Therefore, the hypothesis should be accepted with the qualification that the evidence does not support the domination of either honour or shame.

(ii) Ashurbanipal was depicted as possessing a discrete set of positive honour values.

The evidence is supportive of accepting the hypothesis. The Introductory and Dedicatory texts of Edition B of Ashurbanipal's annals were shown to project his positive values. The campaign account and warfare and hunt reliefs were also composed or depicted to highlight the king's positive values and the negative values of his opponents. It is possible that this may have nothing to do with an honour-shame value system and only reflect Assyrian ideology as expressed in literary and sculptural mediums. However, these elements of the

model should not be examined in isolation; they need to be observed in a dynamic context. An exception to the negative portrayal of “enemies” may be several of the lions in the reliefs who were depicted as worth challengers to the king.

(iii) The behaviour and depiction of Ashurbanipal, his enemies and publics in both a peaceful and military context can be partly explained by reference to the honour-shame and challenge – response models.

Analysing the Second Elamite Campaign in a dynamic context for evidence to test the challenge-response and honour-shame models suggested that the behaviour and depiction of Ashurbanipal, his enemies and publics could be explained in terms of the models. The hypothesis can therefore be accepted. There was considerable data to suggest the challenges and responses were conducted in similar terms to what has been observed in contemporary anthropological studies. In addition to evidence identifying the projection of positive and negative values, publics perceiving the principle protagonists were identified, as was an array of positive behavioural manifestations towards Ashurbanipal and negative behaviour towards Te-umman and his allies. Ashurbanipal’s behaviour conformed to that of the anti introspective male noted in both contemporary Mediterranean and several Old Testament Biblical studies on the subject.

It would appear what other scholars have identified as Assyrian ideology is only one part of the model, the positive and negative values. The honour-shame value system would seem to underpin Assyrian royal ideology.

(iv) Ashurbanipal’s principal publics were the gods, Assyrian nobility, senior scribes, priests, foreign rulers, their ambassadors and royal descendants.

The evidence of publics at both the historic narrative “micro” level and the annals and relief “macro” levels, is supportive of accepting the hypothesis. However, the historic narrative analysis also indicates that an additional and

important audience may have been the Assyrian populace who viewed the triumphal victory celebrations in Arbela, Nineveh and possibly Ashur. It is possible that foreign populaces may have also been an audience such as residents of the Elamite cities of Madaktu and Susa. There was also some evidence from a relief that suggests that a section of the populace may have viewed the lion hunt in the arena.

In the case of Ashurbanipal's annals the evidence only supports with any certainty royal descendants ("later prince") and possibly the gods as the intended audience. The palace relief audience was even more problematical to determine due to the paucity of evidence from Ashurbanipal's reign, however, it probably was directed at the gods and Assyrian and foreign elites.

(v) Ashurbanipal's annals and palace reliefs were media through which he publicised his honour and his enemies' shame.

There is considerable evidence to support this hypothesis. It would seem that in the annals, through their composition in terms of honour and shame, Ashurbanipal wanted to publicise his good name for posterity to the "later prince" from who he desired affirmation of his accomplishments. The shameful depiction of his enemies, in terms of the value system, would have further enhanced Ashurbanipal's good name as honour may have been a limited good and it is possible that justifiably humiliating an enemy was expected behaviour for a king.

The palace reliefs, also composed in terms of a honour-shame value system, was most likely the preferred publicity medium directed at a contemporary audience who were subject to friendly persuasion and intimidation. The friendly persuasion projected his good name to probably ensure a continuity of support from the gods, Assyrian and friendly foreign elites. The intimidation, particularly by means of scenes involving humiliation and derision of enemies, was so depicted to deter both Assyrian and foreign elites from mounting challenges to his rule. It is probable that the public shaming of enemies in the assembly might have been just as effective a deterrent as the threat of a

painful death. It is also likely that the palace reliefs were a device to formally recognise an individual's honour or shame. Several artistic devices were observed that focused the beholder's view on key scenes executed in terms of the value system.

It is possible that the reliefs may have had other roles, such as performative art to assist Ashurbanipal in future campaigns. Their dominant role, however, appeared to be the publicising of Ashurbanipal's good name and the shame of his enemies.

4.2 Future Research

Considerably more research is required before concluding with any certainty the presence of an honour-shame value system in Assyrian culture.

Future research should examine not only the other Elamite campaigns, but also those with Ashurbanipal's other enemies. Similarly, an analysis of Ashurbanipal's conflict with his brother, Shamash-shun-ukin, may give an insight into the honour-shame dynamics of a challenge in a royal family context. In addition to the annals, epigraphs and reliefs, other data should be examined, such as correspondence from Ashurbanipal's governor Belibni that would provide an additional field informant.

Due to the rich textual and relief data set for other Assyrian kings, future research could be conducted in this direction to not only determine the presence of the value system, but how it may have changed over time. Differences were noted in the formulation of the royal lineage segment of the Introductory Texts of Sennacherib, Esarhaddon and Ashurbanipal, possibly there are other differences in the expression of positive and negative values from one ruler to another.

In addition to the annals and campaign accounts, further research could be undertaken into the relation of the hunt to master of the animals imagery. If both are a depiction of motifs for honour, would the master of the animals be a means by which the origin of honour and shame can be traced back through antiquity?

Specific issues observed in the context of this research should also be examined in greater depth such as the obligation to protect a person seeking refuge. Is this practice peculiar to Assyria or more widespread? Does it prevent a monarch endeavouring by any means to capture the fugitive even if in "protected" custody?

This study has only tested the model on one segment of Assyrian society, the king. Future research could examine its applicability to other social segments. Again the rich Assyrian data set of literary, administrative, religious and legal documents could be used. Examining honour and shame in a family and gender context is one such area.

The model also needs rigorous testing on other Near Eastern cultures to determine if honour-shame value systems were common throughout the region. With its extensive textual, relief sculpture, tomb paintings and monumental architecture, Egypt may prove to be a particularly productive culture to examine. If there is evidence of the presence of honour and shame in the Amarna letters, this could also give significant insights into Egyptian, Hittite and several Levantine cultures and how the value system works in the context of international relations. Another opportunity would be a study of the Achaemenid dynasty, as while there are scenes in Persepolis suggestive of an honour-shame value system, such as the king fighting wild and mythical creatures and delegations of tribute bearers, the reliefs lack any suggestion of enemy humiliation. Does this mean that honour and shame was not part of that culture or did it take on a different form?

4.3 Concluding Comments

This study has presented evidence, which suggests that, the behaviour and depiction of Ashurbanipal can be partly explained by reference to the value system of honour and shame, similar to that observed in contemporary Mediterranean, Near Eastern and Biblical cultures. What Ashurbanipal desired was to be perceived by the assembly as honourable in his lifetime, and for posterity. As expressed at the outset of his reign in his coronation hymn, the gods were requested to "Give our lord Assurbanipal....a good name, [fame]..." (Livingstone 1989: 26-27, VAT 13831 r.1-2), and in his dialogue with the god Nabu he pleads that he "not come to shame in the assembly of the great gods; may he who sits next to Urkittu not come to shame in the assembly of those who wish me ill!" (Livingstone 1989: 33-34, K 1285 r. 2-3). His annals and palace reliefs in particular stand as a testament of Ashurbanipal's desire, at nearly every opportunity, to enhance his good name and avoid shame.

Remarkably, Ashurbanipal's offence taken at the insolent messages from Teumman and his ruthless response to maintain his honour, echoes from the mid 7th century BC to the late 20th century AD:

"Maintaining honour and esteem is at the forefront of our social traditions...Thus our tribes have been fighting among themselves for years, and scores of people have died as a result of just one degrading word that came out, or of placing the coffee cup in a certain [offensive] way. Revenge and drowning the shame [in blood] whatever we think about them, are all part of social values according to which honour and respect demand blood and sacrifice...the tribe is guarding its honour with a wall of corpses and a sea of blood...And can anyone expect from Iraq,...that it would ignore the humiliations from the worms and serpents of the earth just because..[the offender, Kuwait] is guarded by [the US], a wild beast ready to attack and destroy? The rude and provocative actions of the rulers of Kuwait demanded an appropriate punitive reaction to protect the Iraqi state's esteem and honour

and give future generations an example of their great fathers' concern about...[their] honour" (Salah al-Mukhtar, Editor in Chief of the Iraqi government daily newspaper *al-Jumhuriyya*, 1993).¹³⁶

The overriding concern to protect ones honour, ones good name, in your lifetime and for posterity continues to this day in the lands of ancient Assyria.

¹³⁶ This comment by Salah al-Mukhtar was made in an article published after the first Gulf War to justify the invasion of Kuwait. Baram states that it "could not have appeared without the explicit blessing of Saddam Hussein" (Baram 1998: 156).

Appendix A: The Second Elamite Campaign - Testing The Models with Literary and Visual Data

The objective of the following analysis is to provide more specific linguistic and visual evidence to more rigorously test the challenge-response and honour-shame models in the context of the Second Elamite Campaign. In this respect A= annals, R= relief images and associated epigraphs, and T = texts possibly related to missing reliefs or used as the verbal script for the visual narrative when executing the reliefs¹³⁷.

1. Status of the participants: challenger and responder equal

A: "I Ashurbanipal, the great king" (B I 1-2), "...Te-umman, king of Elam" (B IV 88) The text does not specifically state that Dananu was a king (B VI 18, A III 5), however, as he was Te-umman's ally, it would be implied he was of equal status in the challenge (Malina 2001:42).

R: The attire of Ashurbanipal and Te-umman includes symbols of elite rank. Ashurbanipal is depicted at Arbella wearing his royal robes, crown and covered by an parasol (SWP XXXIII slab 6 mr). Te-umman has a distinctive royal feathered headdress that is identified in four scenes (SWP XXXIII slab 2 ur and mr, slab 3 Ir and mr).

2. Te-umman's first challenge: an insult, a negative challenge

A: request for "the extradition of these people" (B IV 94), "the insolent message....he had been sending monthly" (B IV 97), "he boasted (puffed himself up) in Elam before his assembled troops" (B IV 99).

¹³⁷ See Russell's comments on the verbal script for the visual narrative (Russell 1999: 199).

R: Elamite officials, Nabu-damique and Umbadra, in Arbela holding the “writing boards containing the insolent message” (SWP XXXIII slabs 5-6 ums).

T: Reference to the presence of Nabu-damique and Umbadra in Nineveh and Arbela in association the “insolent message”(Texts A, E 12 and Text E).

Publics perceiving the first challenge

A: Elamite officials, Umbadara and Nabudara, who sought the extradition (B IV 94-98). By inference Ashurbanipal’s court officials. Te-ummans military “he boasted in Elam before his assembled troops” (B IV 99).

3. Ashurbanipal’s and his god’s first response: expression of contempt, a positive rejection

A: “ I did not grant him the request of his rebellious mouth, nor give him those refugees” (A V 2-3), “an accident befell him (Te-umman), and his lip was paralysed and his eye was twisted and a gabasu was placed in it’s midst. By these things that Sin and Ishtar did to him he was not confounded” (B V 10-13).

Publics perceiving the first response

A: Te-umman’s officials “who I had detained in my presence to await my decision” (B VI 60-61), Ashurbanipal’s officials (by inference) and his gods (B V 4 14)

4. Te-umman's and his allies second challenge: military threat and withholding of tribute, a negative challenge

A: "I (Te-umman) will not give up until I have come and fought a battle with him" (B V 23-24), "who does not esteem the gods, has set in motion all his resources to do battle with my troops." (B V 35-36), "(withheld) tribute, mustered his troops, arrayed (his) hosts, invoked his weapons, to march against Assyria" (B V 42-44), "I (Te-umman) will not (sleep until) I have come and din(ed) in the centre of Nineveh!" (K 8061), "Dananu....who helped the king of Elam (and) not submitted to my yoke" (B VI 18-20).

T: "The line of battle of Te-umman, king of Elam" (Texts A and E).

Publics perceiving the second challenge

A: Te-umman's and Dananu's military, by inference their officials, and the populace in the vicinity of troop movements (B V 84). Ashurbanipal's military intelligence, "they brought me intelligence" (B V 20), his gods and by inference his officials, "These insolent words which Te-umman had uttered I took; into exalted Ishtar's presence" (B V25-27).

5. Ashurbanipal's and his god's second response: war on Elam and Gambulu, acceptance of the challenge

A: "Against Te-umman, king of Elam, with whom she (Ishtar) was angry she set her face" (B V 75-76), "I (Ashurbanipal) mobilised my warriors, my fighters, who by the command of Ashur, Sin, and Ishtar sweep along in the heat of battle. (B V 80-81), "I accomplished his defeat at Tell-Tuba. I blocked the Ulayya with their corpses. Their dead bodies like weeds filled the plain of Susa." (B V 96-99), "With my mighty battle array I covered all Gambulu like a storm. Sapibel, his

(Dananu's) stronghold his seat, I took". (B VI 23-24).

R: Scenes of the Assyrian army successfully attacking the Elamite forces (SWP XXXIII slabs 1-3 Ir, NP I slabs 5-7 Ir).

T: "(The line of battle of Ashurbanipal, king of As)syria, which accomplished the def(eat of Elam)" (Text A 31) and "The defeat of the troops of Te-umman, king (of Elam). At Til-Tuba, Assurbanipal, (great king, strong king), king of the world, king of Assyria, (defeated) countless (of his warriors) and threw down their corpses" (Texts A, H 33). "I directed my troops, who had undertaken the campaign against Elam...toward Shapibel, the city of Dunanu" (Text A 18).

Publics perceiving the second response: the battles

A: Te-umman's military, his allies and the populace of Bit-Imbi, Der and Susa (B V 83-90). Dunanu's military and the populace of Gambulu, especially Sapibel (B VI 21-.28, 37-39). Asurhbanipal's military (B V 80-81, VI 21-22) and his gods (B VI 4).

R: Assyrian and Elamite soldiers and officers, (SWP XXXIII slabs 1-3 Ir, NP I slabs 5-7 Ir). Elamite elite on the battlefield (Intuni and Urtak, SWP XXXIII slab 2 mr and slab 3 lus). Populace of Madaktu and Susa who witness Elamite bodies, horses and chariots floating down the river (SWP XXXIII slabs 4-6 Ir, NP I slab 9).

T: Probably Elamite army of Hidalu (Texts B, C 3v), Assyrian and Elamite armies at Til –Tuba (Texts A, H 33), Assyrian and Gambulian armies at Sapibel, and the city's populace (Text A 19, 36).

Publics perceiving the second response: victory celebrations

A: The populace of Nineveh and Te-umman's two officials who delivered the insulting message (B VI 56-60). The populace of Ashur

and Arbela where Dunanu and Samgunu were brought “for future obedience” (B VI 76-82). Later, other Assyrian population centres would have been informed of the victory when Dunanu and Sumayya’s other brother’s flesh was “sent to be gazed at throughout the land” (B VI 90-92).

R: Populace of Madaktu and Susa, Ashurbanipal’s *šūt rēši*, Assyrian soldiers and officers, who witnessed the installation of Ummanigash (SWP XXXIII slabs 4-6 Ir NP I slabs 6,7,9 Ir). Possibly Gambulian elite and Assyrian military at Nineveh during a victory celebration (SWP XXXIII slab 3 ur). At Arbela Assyrian soldiers, officers, nobility/courtiers, Uratian ambassadors, two Elamite officials (SWP XXXIII slabs 4-6 ur, NP I slabs 5-7 ur). The gods (implied) at Ashurbanipal’ Arbela libation (NP I slab 9 ur).

T: In Nineveh the populace (Text A 13), The Elamite officials, Nabudamique and Umbadra (Texts A, E) and implied the gods at the city gate libation (Text Ab 14). At Miliqia probably the populace (Text A 20). In Arbela the populace (Text A, Ec 26) the Uratian ambassadors and the two Elamite officials (Text E 27a).

6. Ashurbanipal’s positive values

- Heroic warrior

A: “Countless of his warriors I slew. Alive, with (my) own hands, I seized his fighters” (A III 38-39).

R: The Assyrian army is depicted as determined and brave and there are no Assyrian casualties (SWP XXXIII slabs 1-3 Ir). As the army is the king’s proxy their bravery is a reflection of his, as reflected in the associated epigraph, “The defeat of the troops of Te-umman, king [of Elam]. At Til-Tuba, Assurbanipal, [great king, strong king], king of the world, king of Assyria, [defeated] countless [of his warriors] and threw down their corpses” (SWP XXXIII slab 0).

T: Ashurbanipal's troops attacked Sapibel even though they "had not yet rested from their exertions" (Text A 18).

- Strong, defends reputation

A: "Like the onset of a terrible hurricane I overwhelmed Elam in its entirety" (A III 34-35), "I covered all Gambulu like a storm" (B VI 21-22), "That city (Sapibel) I destroyed, I devastated, demolished with water, annihilated. That district I ruined" (B VI 43-45), "I brought them for future obedience" (B VI 82).

- Virile

R: Ashurbanipal's long beard in contrast to his beardless attendant. (SWP XXXIII slab 6 urms).

- Powerful

R: Military superiority of Ashurbanipal's army destroying the Elamite forces (SWP XXXIII slabs 1 1-3 Ir).

T: "The might of Assur, my lord, and the fear of my majesty overwhelmed them" (Text A 3).

- Protector of refugees

A: "I....did not grant him the request....nor give him those refugees" (B V 1-3).

- Protector of Assyria from aggression

A: "Against Te-umman, King of Elam, I took the road and made straight the way" (B V 82-83), "...I wiped out my enemies (and) returned safely to Nineveh." (B VI 48-49).

- Liberator from tyranny

R: "Liberation" of the populace of Madaktu and Susa from Te-umman's tyranny (SWP XXXIII slabs 5-6 Ir).

- Enhancing wealth through booty

A: "Chariots, wagons, horses, mules broken to the yoke, weapons suited for war....my hands captured" (B VI 10-13), "Silver, gold, the treasures of his palace – I brought (it) forth and counted it as spoil The peoples of this land....I led them forth and counted them as spoil" (B VI 29-38).

- Religious piety

A: “before her (Ishtar) I bowed down, I besought her divinity, my tears flowing” (B V 27-28), “Because of the raising of thy hands....thy eyes, filled with tears, I have had mercy upon you” (B V 48-49).

R: Ashurbanipal is depicted making a libation on Arbela’s city wall over the head of Te-umman in front of two divine standards and an offering table (NP I slab 9).

T: “I Ashurbanipal, king of Assyria, offered abundant sacrifices in Milquia and observed the feast of the goddess Shatri (Ishtar of Arbela)” (Text A 20). “I presented the head of Te-umman, king of Elam like an offering in front of the gate inside the city. As it has been said of old by the oracle, ‘You will cut off the heads of your enemies, you will pour wine over them, [...]!’, accordingly the gods Shamash and Adad granted this in my time: [...] I cut off the heads of my [enemies], I poured wine [over them,..]” (Text Ab 14).

- Generosity

A: “to each of my soldiers a piece of equipment was given” (B VI 16), (B VI 6-9).

- Patronage

A: “Ummanigas....I set upon his (Te-umman’s) throne. Tammaritu....I established as king of Hidalu” (B VI 6-9).

R: Installing Ummanigas on the Elamite throne (SWP XXXIII slabs 3-5 Ir, NP I slabs 6-7 Ir) “Ummanigash the fugitive, the servant who submitted to me. At my command, the *šūt rēši* I had sent with him brought him joyfully into Susa and Madaktu and set him on the throne of Te-umman, whom I had defeated” (SWP XXXIII slab 5 Irus).

T: “I sent my army with him (Ummanigas) to assist him” (Texts A, B 30).

7. Nobles of Hidalu negative values

- Fearful

T: “Fear of my majesty overwhelmed them” (Texts A 3, C 3v).

8. Te-umman negative values

- Evil
A: “the image of the devil” (B IV 74), “Te-umman plotted evil” (B V 3).
- Murderer
A: “toward murdering the sons of Urtaku and the sons of Ummanigas, Urtaku’s brother, he plotted his evil plan” (B IV 76-78).
- Insolent
A: “insolent messages” (B VI 97), “rebellious mouth” (B V 2), “the haughty one” (A III 37)
- Boastful
A: “he boasted in Elam before his assembled troops” (B IV 99).
- Sinned against the gods
A: “who does not esteem the gods” (B V 35), “who against Ashur, king of the gods....has sinned” (B V 41-42).
- Hostile to Assyria
A: “(withheld) tribute....invoked his weapons, to march against Assyria” (B V 42-43).
- Cowardly
A: “fear took hold of him. Te-umman became afraid and turned back” (B V 85-86), “To save his life he divided silver and gold among the people of his land” (B V 87-88).
R: Hides in a forest (SWP XXXIII slabs 2-3 Irus), “...they fled to save their lives. They hid in the midst of a forest” (SWP XXXIII slab 3 Irus).
T: “Teumman, king of Elam, saw the defeat of his troops. To save his life he fled and tore at his beard” (Text A 5).
- Failed to protect Elam
A: “I (Ashurbanipal) overwhelmed Elam in its entirety” (A III 35).
- Failure to protect his son
R: Tammaritu is killed by a mace and beheaded in front of Te-umman on the battlefield (SWP XXXIII slab 3 Irus). “I killed them. I cut off their heads before one another” (SWP XXXIII slab 3 Irus).

- Undignified (lack of exaltedness)
R: Depicted wounded, falling out of his toppled chariot with his royal headdress on the ground (SWP XXXIII slab 2 Irus).

9. **Tammaritu's (Te-umman's son) negative and positive values**

- Cowardice (negative)
R: "...they fled to save their lives. They hid in the midst of a forest" (SWP XXXIII slab 3 Irus).
T: "[Tammaritu], son of Te-umman, king of Elam, who escaped from the rout, tore his garment and said to his father: 'Hurry, do not delay'" (Text A 6).
- Undignified (lack of exaltedness, negative)
R: Depicted falling out of his father's toppled chariot (SWP XXXIII slab 2 Irus).
- Protects his father (positive)
R: Aids and protects his father in a forest (SWP XXXIII slab 2-3 Irus).
 "Tammaritu, his eldest son, took him by the hand..." (SWP XXXIII slab 3 Irus).

10. **Te-umman's soldiers and officers negative values**

- Cowardly
R: Elamite soldiers flee the advancing Assyrians in fear (SWP XXXIII slab 1 Ir). Intuni cutting his bow (SWP XXXIII slab 3 I rms, NP I slab 2?) "With his own hand he drew the iron dagger from his belt and cut his bow, the sign of his strength" (NP I slab 2?), Urtak requesting "Come, cut off my head" (SWP XXXIII slab 2 I rms).
- Womanly behaviour
R: Fleeing Elamite soldiers tearing their hair and beards, and possibly beating their heads as in mourning (SWP XXXIII slab 1 Iur and Ir).
- Defilement of the dead
R: Abandoned and dismembered Elamite bodies (some of which are naked in NP I slab 2?) being eaten by birds on the battlefield (SWP XXXIII slab 3 ulr, NP I slab 2?) and others in the river, presumably

being eaten by fish and crabs, as they float past the populace of Susa and Madaktu in full view of the populace (SWP XXXIII slab 3 Ir, slabs 4-6 Ir; NP I slabs 5-7 Ir, 9 Ir).

11. Dananu's and his supporters negative values

- Treacherous
A: "had helped the king of Elam" (B VI 19)
- Hostile to Assyria
A: "had not submitted to my yoke" (B VI 20), "had made difficult the exercise of my sovereignty" (B VI 80).
- Cowardly
T: "Terror overcame Dunanu ...and he abandoned his city" (Text A 19). "Dunanu ...broke his bow" (Text A 36).
- Failed to protect his family
A: "his wife, his sons, his daughters, his concubines.... I led (them) forth and counted (them) as spoil" (B VI 27-28).
- Failed to protect his people
A: "The people of his land, male and female, small and great, without exception, the warriors (as well) – I led (them) forth, I counted (them) as spoil" (37-38).
- Stain on his lineage
A: "whose forefathers had made trouble for my royal ancestors" (B VI 78).

12. Mannukiahhe's (the lieutenant of Dananu) and Nabusalli's (a ruler of a Gamgulian city) negative values:

- Blasphemy to the gods
A: "who had spoken disrespectfully to my gods" (B VI 85).

13. Nabuna'id's and Beletir's negative values

- Stain on lineage

A: "Nabuna'id (and) Beletir, sons of Nabusumeres, the *guenna*, whose father had incited Urtaku to fight against Assyria – the bones of Nabusumeres, which they had brought from Gambulu to Assyria – these bones before the gate in the middle of Nineveh I had his sons crush" (B VI 95-96).

R: Nabuna'id and Beletir crushing their father's bones (SWP XXXIII slab 1 ur).

14. Positive behavioural manifestations towards Ashurbanipal

- Favour from the gods

A: "the great gods, who strengthened me through the favourable omens of a revelation" (B V 93-95), "The splendour of Ashur and Ishtar overcame Elam" (B VI 4), "With the help of Ashur, Bel, Nabu, the great gods, my lords, I wiped out my enemies and returned to Nineveh" (B VI 47-49).

- Public acclamation

A: "...with singers to make music, I entered Nineveh with joy" (B VI 55-56).

R: Joyful reception by clapping women and children, a woman ululating and an orchestra in Madaktu (SWP XXXIII slabs 4-7 lr), and clapping and an ululating women in Susa (NP I slab 9), at the installation of Ummanigas by Asurbanipal's representative, "...the *šūt rēši* I had sent with him brought him joyfully to Susa and Madaktu..." (SWP XXXIII slab 5 lrus). Applauding nobles or soldiers at Ashurbanipal's entry to Arbela (NP I slabs 5-7 ur). Probably "joyful" reception depicted in Nineveh (SWP XXXIII slab 3 ur).

T: "...after I had seized the reigns of the chariot of Ishtar, I entered Arbela amidst rejoicing..." (Texts A, E, Ga 34). "[I]...entered joyfully into Nineveh with the severed head of Te-umman" (Text A 13).

- Postures of praise and submission

R: Elamite soldiers at Madaktu (and probably Susa) prostrate themselves (both full and partial) at the feet of Ashurbanipal's *šūt rēši* and an officer. They also bow and indicate fealty through hand gestures (SWP XXXIII slab 5 Ir, NP I slabs 6-7 Ir). Gambulian elite through "crouching tributary" gestures expresses their humiliation and submission to probably Ashurbanipal (SWP XXXIII slab 3 ur). At Arbela nobles and some of the soldiers cross their hands as a gesture of honour to the king (SWP XXXIII slabs 4-6 ur), some senior officials in front of his chariot express *laban appi* (Figure 29). Dunanu and Samgunu assume the "crouching tributary" gesture in all scenes signifying their humiliation and submission.

T: "Dunanu...he broke his bow. [He and] his magnates, [came before] my envoy with fervent entreaties and they submitted to me" (Text A 36).

- Loyalty from troops

R: Honour guard from his military at Arbela (SWP XXXIII slabs 4-6 ur, NP I slabs 5-7 ur).

- Respect from a fellow ruler

R: The Uratian ambassadors make "crouching tributary" gestures of respect and submission in all scenes of the Arbela victory celebration (SWP XXXIII slabs 4-5 ur, Figure 29). "Rusa, king of Urartu, heard of the strength of Assur, my lord, and fear of my kingship overwhelmed him. He sent his nobles to ask about my health" (SWP XXXIII slab 6 urms).

- Exaltedness

R: High elevation of Ashurbanipal in his chariot at Arbela compared to all other persons (SWP XXXIII slab 6 urms).

- Clothing and insignia
R: Ashurbanipal's rich attire, royal headdress, parasol, largest horse and chariot, and elaborate horses bridle (SWP XXXIII slab 6 urms).

15. Negative behavioural manifestations towards Ishtar-nandi (king of Hidalu) and his nobles

- Humiliation
T: "...Umbakidinu, the *nagiru* of Hidalu. He cut off the head of Ishtar-naandi, king of Hidalu, [in the presence of his army?], brought it here, cast it down [in front of] my magnates, and submitted to me (Texts B, C 3v).

16. Negative behavioural manifestations towards Te-umman, Tammaritu, his officers and officials

- Humiliation
A: "Will they cut off the head of the king of Elam in his (own) land and in the presence of his troops?" (Luckenbill 1927: 793). "The head of Te-umman....I cut off before his assembled troops" (B VI 1-3), "Ummanigas.... I set upon his throne" (B VI 6-7).
R: Decapitation of Te-umman and Tammaritu on the battlefield in front of the Elamite and Assyrian troops. Te-umman's feathered hat lies on the ground (SWP XXXIII slab 3 lr ms). Both heads carried across the battlefield (SWP XXXIII slabs 2 and 3 lrms), shown to military scribes to record in the presence of Elamites (SWP XXXIII slab 1 lrus), then Te-umman's head carried off by an Assyrian soldier on a captured Elamite wagon: "Head of Te-um(man, king of Elam), which a common soldier in my army (cut off) in the midst of bat(tle). To bring me the good ne(ws) they hastily dispatched it to Assy(ria)" (SWP XXXIII slab 1 lrus). Assyrian soldier grasping Inuni's hair (SWP XXXIII slab lrms, NP I slab 2?).

- Derision

A: “Umbarada and Nabudamiq, nobles of Te-umman, king of Elam, by whose hands Te-umman had dispatched (his) insolent message, whom I had detained in my presence to await my decision, saw the severed head of Te-umman, their master, in Nineveh, and insanity seized hold of them. Umbadara tore his beard, Nabudamiq pierced his abdomen with his girdle dagger.” (B VII 57-65). “The severed head of Te-umman I displayed conspicuously in front of the gate in the middle of the city of Nineveh” (B VI 66-67).

R: Umbarada and Nabudamiq depicted in Arbela in front of Ashurbanipals chariot and the Uratian ambassadors with the following epigraph, “I made Nabudamiq and Umbadara, nobles of Elam, stand before them with writing boards containing the insolent message” (SWP XXXIII slab 6 urms). Depiction of Te-ummans head on a pine tree in Ashurbanipal’s private garden (NP S¹ ur).

T: In Nineveh, “...the soldiers who won my victory cut off the head of Te-umman, king of Elam, brought it quickly, and threw it down in front of my chariot-wheels before the ‘Long live the viceroy of Ashur’ Gate” (Text A, E 10). “With a knife [I cut(?)] the tendons of his face and spat upon it” (Text A 11). Umbarada and Nabudamiq also described in similar language to the Arbela annals account (Text A, E 12).

17. Negative behavioural manifestations towards Dananu, his brothers and supporters

- Humiliation

A: “(Massi...)ra, the infantry general of Te-umman, king of Elam, (who to) assist Gambulu as guard of Dananu lived in Sapibel....His head I cut off. In the presence of Dunanu I struck the helper who had not saved him.” (B VI 39-42). “His (Dananu’s) wife, his sons, his daughters, his concubines, his singers, male and female – I led (them) forth and

counted (them) as spoil.” (B VI 27-28). “The tongues of Mannukiahhe, the lieutenant of Dananu, and Nabusalli, a man over a city of Gambulu,....I tore out in Arbela (and) flayed them.” (B VI 83-87). “In Nineveh they threw Dunanu on a skinning table and slaughtered him like a lamb. The other brothers of Dunanu and Sumayya I killed, their flesh I sent to be gazed at throughout the land.” (B VI 87-92). “The bones of Nabusumeres, which I had brought from Gambulu to Assyria – these bones before the gate in the middle of Nineveh I had his sons (Nabuna’id and Belitir) crush.” (B VI 93-99, VII 1-2).

R: Nabuna’id and Beletir are forced by Assyrian soldiers to grind their father’s bones while being held in yokes in Nineveh (SWP XXXIII slab 1 ur). In Arbela naked Mannu-kiahhe and Nabu-usalli have their tongues torn out and are flayed while watched by the Urartian ambassadors, Assyrian nobility and military (SWP XXXIII slab 4 ur). The epigraph notes “ Mr. (blank) and Mr. (blank) spoke great insults against Ashur, the god, my creator. Their tongues I tore out, their skins I flayed”.

T: “My warriors bound him (Dunanu) with iron fetters” (Text A, C, G 37). [I carried off to Assyria Dunanu, son] of Bel-iqisha, Samgunu, [younger brother of Dunanu], Nabu-na’id and Bel-etir, [sons of Nabu-shumares], the governor of Niuppur, [...] his brothers, [...] the people of Gambu[lu...] (Text A 38). “I threw Dunanu...down onto his stomach and held a bow over him” (Text A, Gb 21). In Nineveh “I slaughtered him on slaughter bench like a sheep and dismembered him” (Text A 29).

- Derision

A: “The head of Te-umman, king of Elam, I hung around the neck of Dunanu, the head of Istarnandi (I hung) around) the neck of Samgunu, the younger brother of Dananu.” B VI 50-51).

R: In Arbela Dananu and his son, Samgunu are shown with the heads of Te-umman and Istarnandi around their necks observed by Assyrian nobles, military and the Urartian ambassadors (SWP XXXIII slabs 5 ur). In the case of one, a possible Elamite collaborator, strikes and spits at him (Figure 30).

T: "I chained Dunanu, Samgunu and Aplaya, together with a bear, to the Gate of the Rising and Setting of the Sun for display to my people" (Text A, Ec 26).

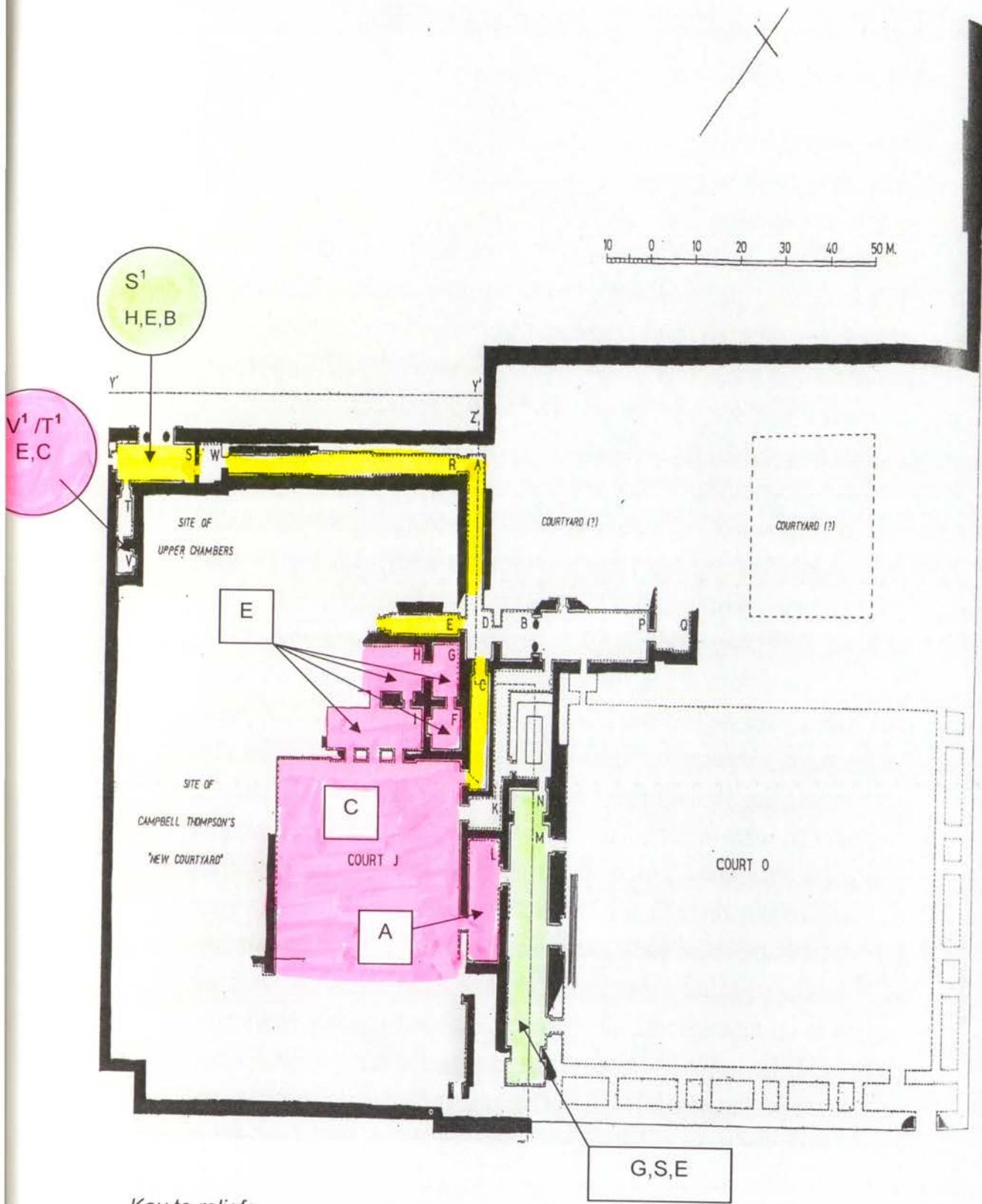
18. Challenge probable outcome

- Asurbanipal:
Enhanced honour, fame and continuity of his good name.
- Te-umman, Dananu and their supporters:
Shame and dishonour.

Appendix B: Relief Subjects Ashurbanipal's North Palace¹³⁸

<u>Room</u>	<u>Subject</u>	<u>Description</u>
Room A	Hunt	Servants and bodyguards returning from the chase
Room B	Religious	Guardian figures at doorway
Room C	Hunt	Lion hunt
Room E	Hunt	Attendants with hounds, musicians with a tame lion
Room F	War	Capture of Hamanu and another Elamite City, Elamite prisoners, Elamites hiding in the marshes .
Room G	War	Elamite prisoners and a city
Room H	War	Elamites hastening to battle
Room I	War	Elamite battle of Ulai River
Room J	War	Battle in the marshes, Chaldeans prisoners led away
Room K	Religious	Guardian figures at doorway
Room L	War	Campaign against the Arabs
Room M	Various	Capture of Ummanaldas, Assault on a city, Surrender of Ummanaldas and Shamash-Shun-Ukin, Sack of an Egyptian city
Room O	Religious	Guardian Figures
Room R	Hunt	Journey to the hunt, Return from the hunt
Room S	Hunt	King hunting gazelle, lions and onagers, King hunting lions from a Phoenician Galley, Hunting stags with nets
Rooms T&V	Religious	Guardian figures
Room S ¹	Various	King hunting lions from his chariot and on foot, Libation over lion carcass, Surrender of Ummanaldas and capture of a city, A triumphal banquet in the garden, Sack of Hamanu, Capture of Din-Sharri, Elamite prisoners, musicians and Assyrian soldiers, Prisoners the king and an attack, Persian auxiliary bowmen marching to the Assyrian triumphal reception
Room V ¹ /T ¹	War	Capture of Elamite city of Din-Sharri, Surrender of Chaldeans, The king in his chariot, Elamite prisoners, Assyrians attacking

¹³⁸ Adapted from Barnett 1976: 36-53



Key to reliefs

Hunt War Varied Upper Level

E = Elamite C = Chaldean S = Shamash-Shun-Ukin

G = Egyptian H = Hunt B = Banquet A = Arabs

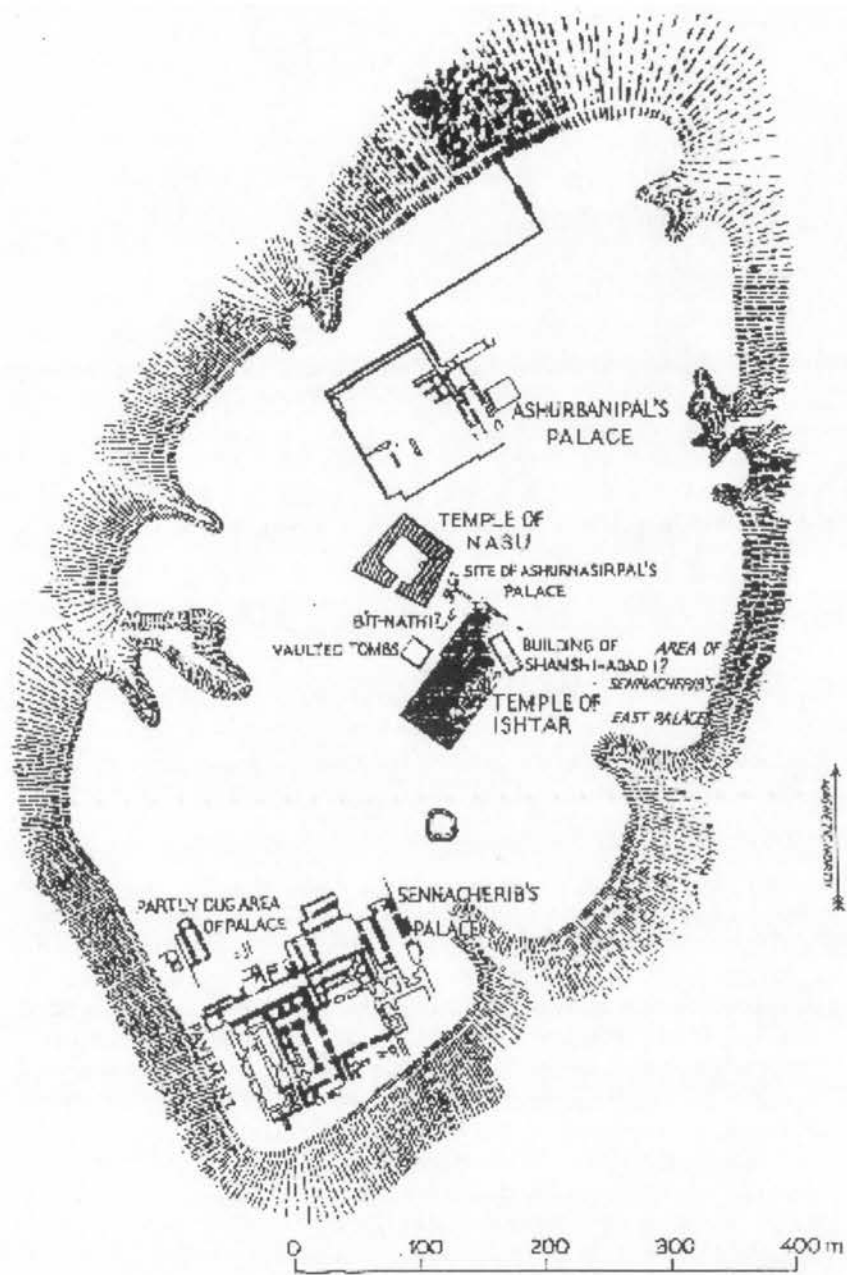
Appendix C: Ground Floor Plan North Palace, Nineveh showing subjects depicted in reliefs.

Maps



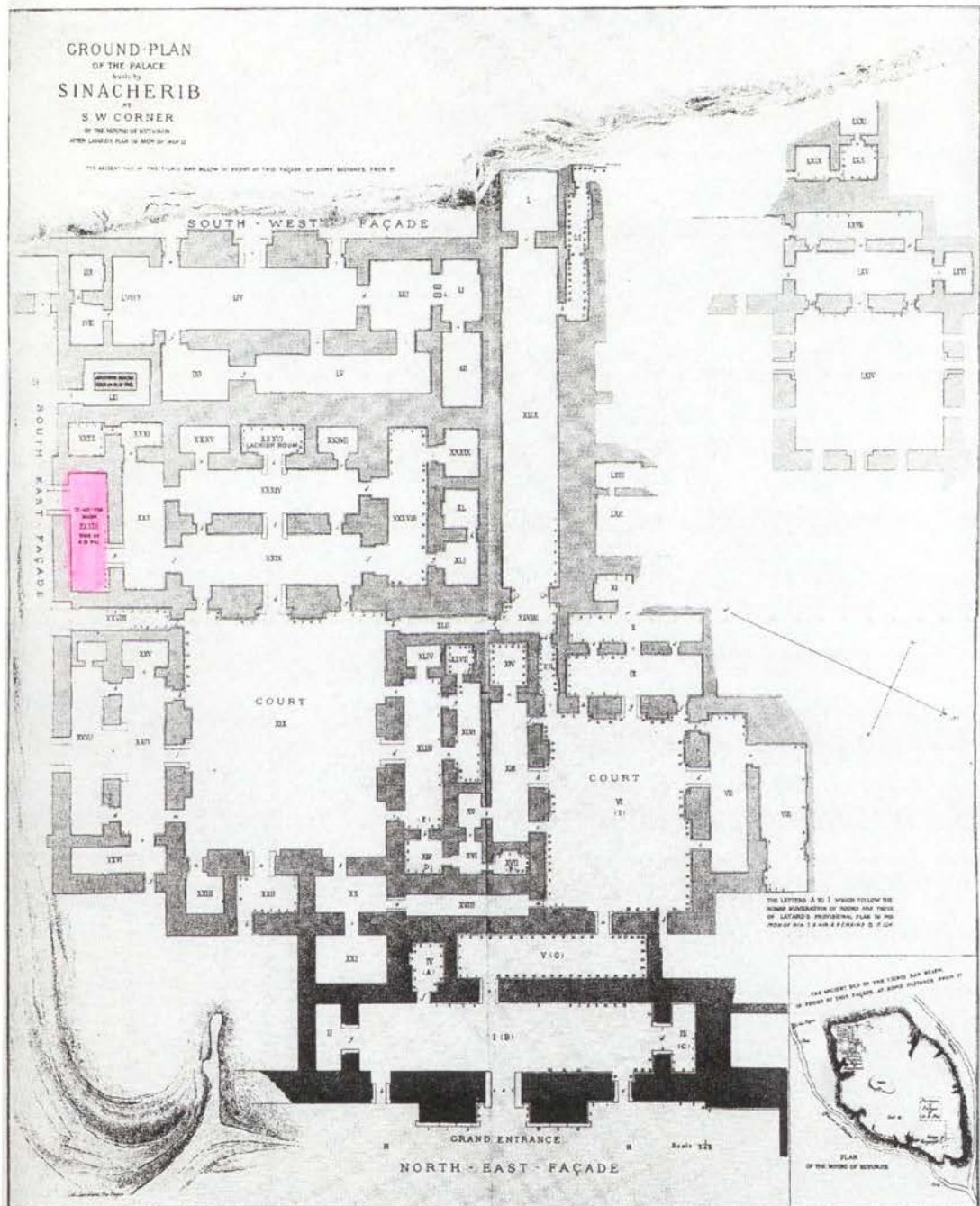
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Map1. Assyria, Babalonia, Gambulu and Elam in the Neo Assyrian Period (Waters 2000: xviii)



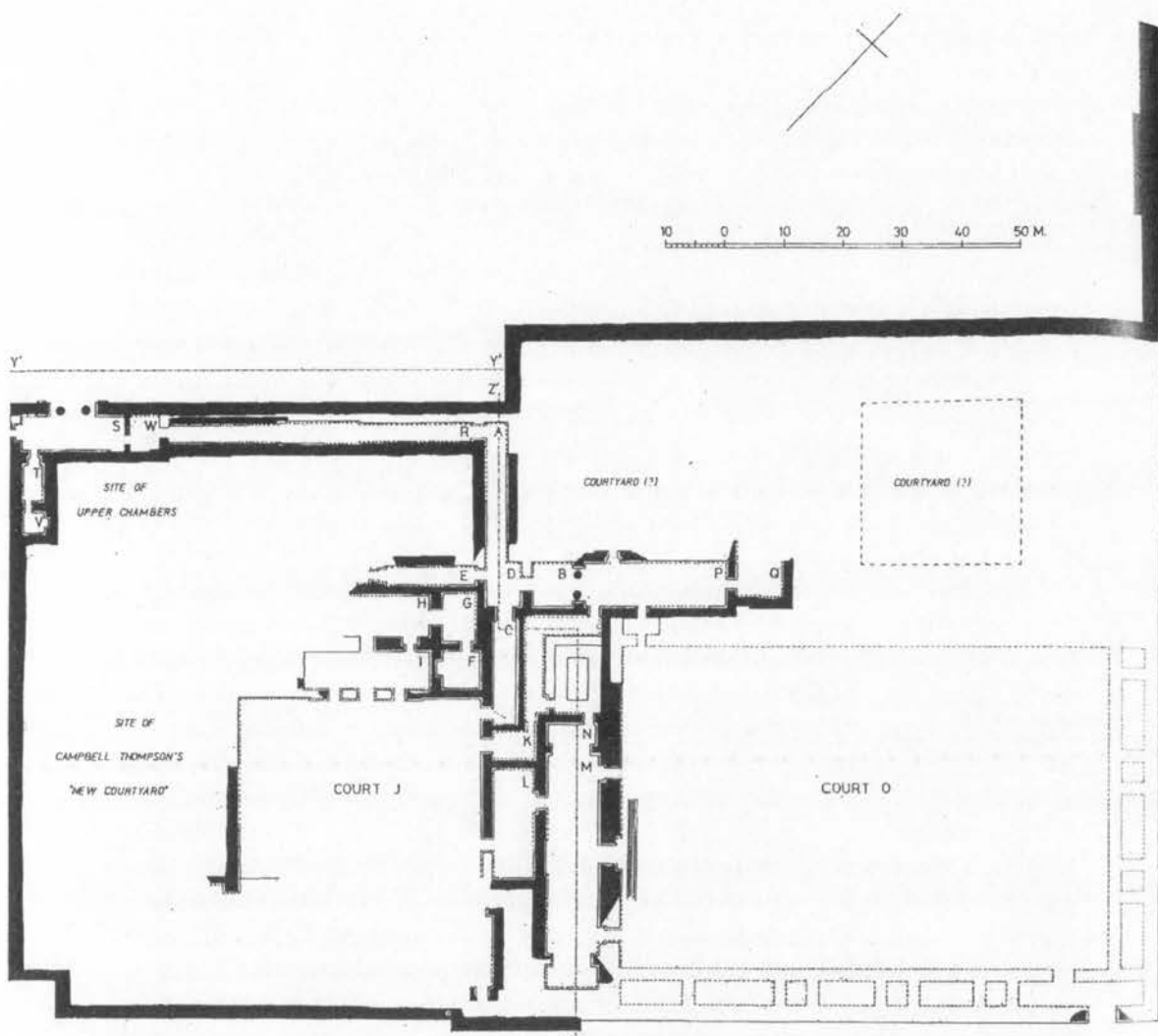
Map 2. Location of North Palace (Ashurbanipal) and North West Palace (Sennacherib) Nineveh (Dolce and Santi 1995:265).

Plans

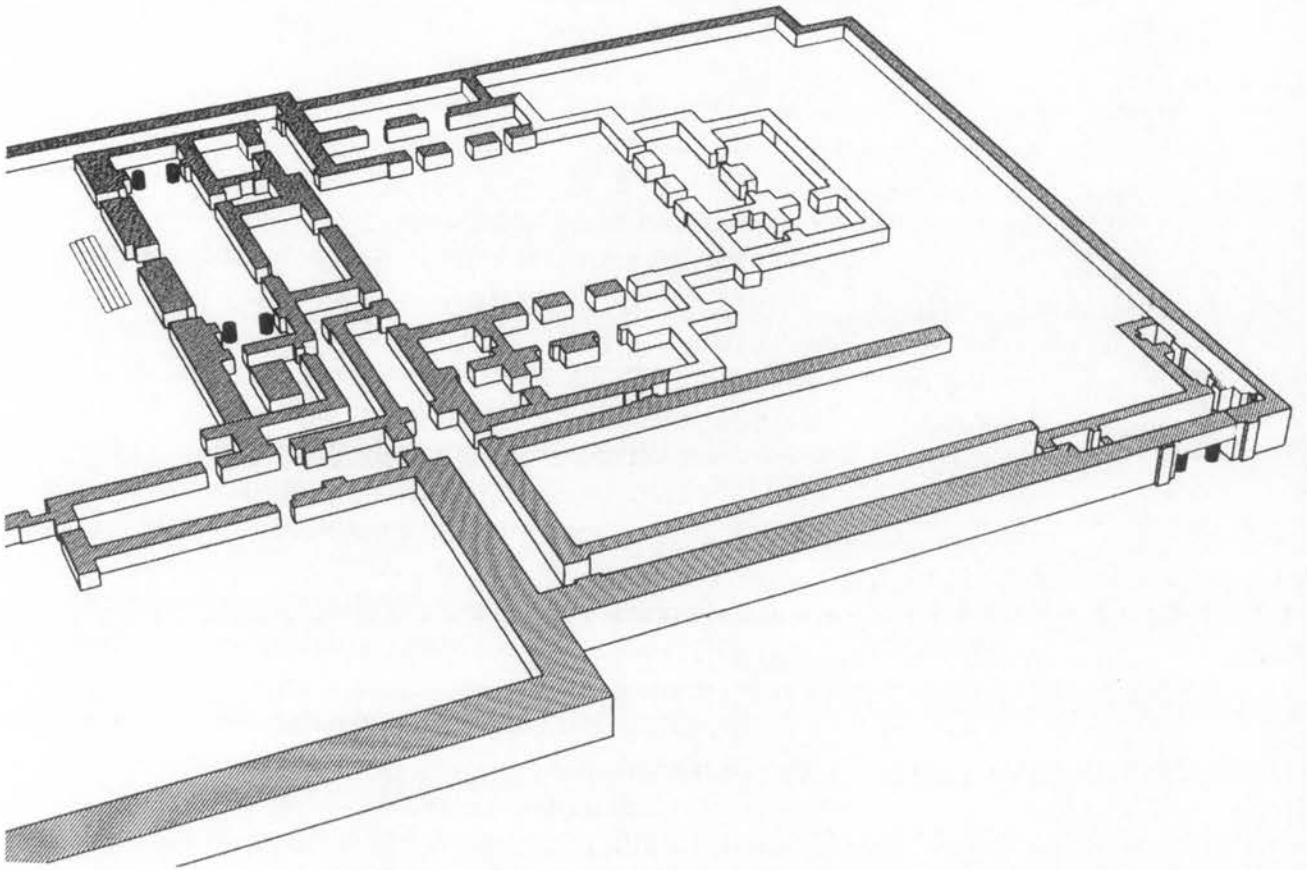


Room XXXIII

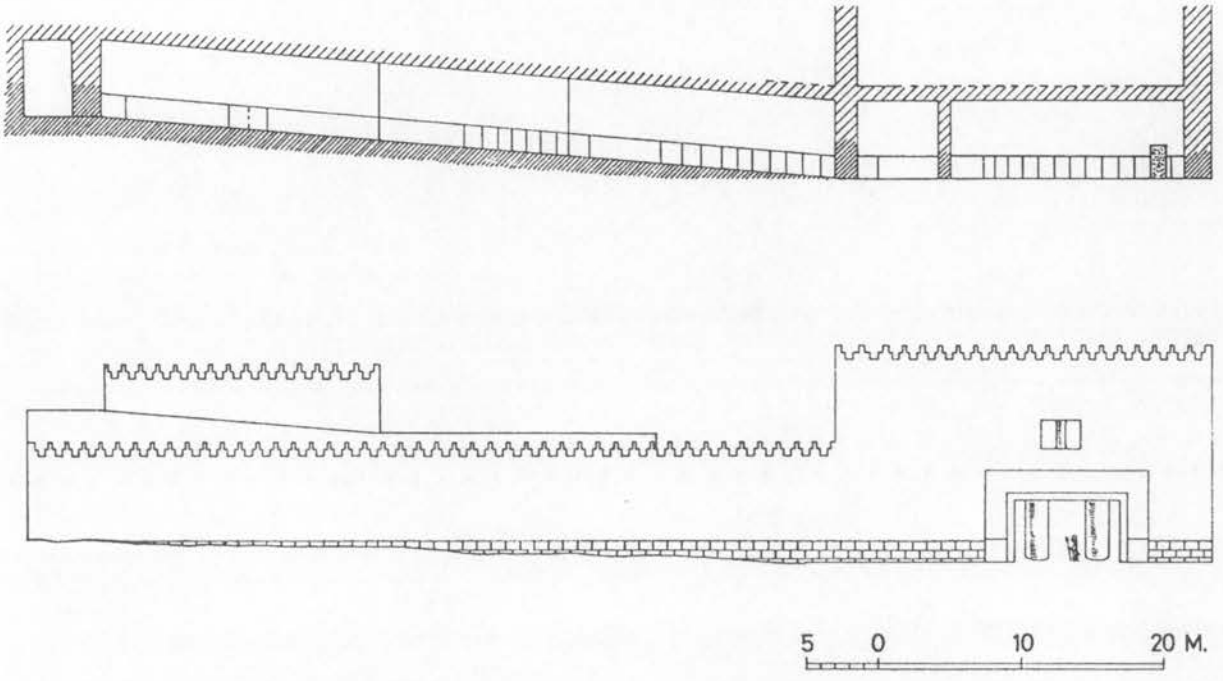
Plan 1. Ground Floor Plan South West Palace Nineveh (Barnet et. al. 1998:pl 15).



Plan 2. Ground Floor Plan North Palace, Nineveh (Dolce and Santi 1995: 268).



Plan 3. North Palace Nineveh Isometric Plan (Dolce and Santi 1995: 269).



Plan 4. Reconstructed section and interior elevation of rooms S, W and R
North Palace, Nineveh (Barnett 1976: 33).

Figures



Figure1. Neo Assyrian cylinder seal BM 89145 with Master of Animals motif. (Livingstone1989: 34). The translation of the inscription reads: "May the one who trusts in you not come to shame, O Nabu! May he constantly walk behind you."



Figure 2. Assyrian Royal Seal (Sachs 1953, illustrated Livingstone 1989: title page).

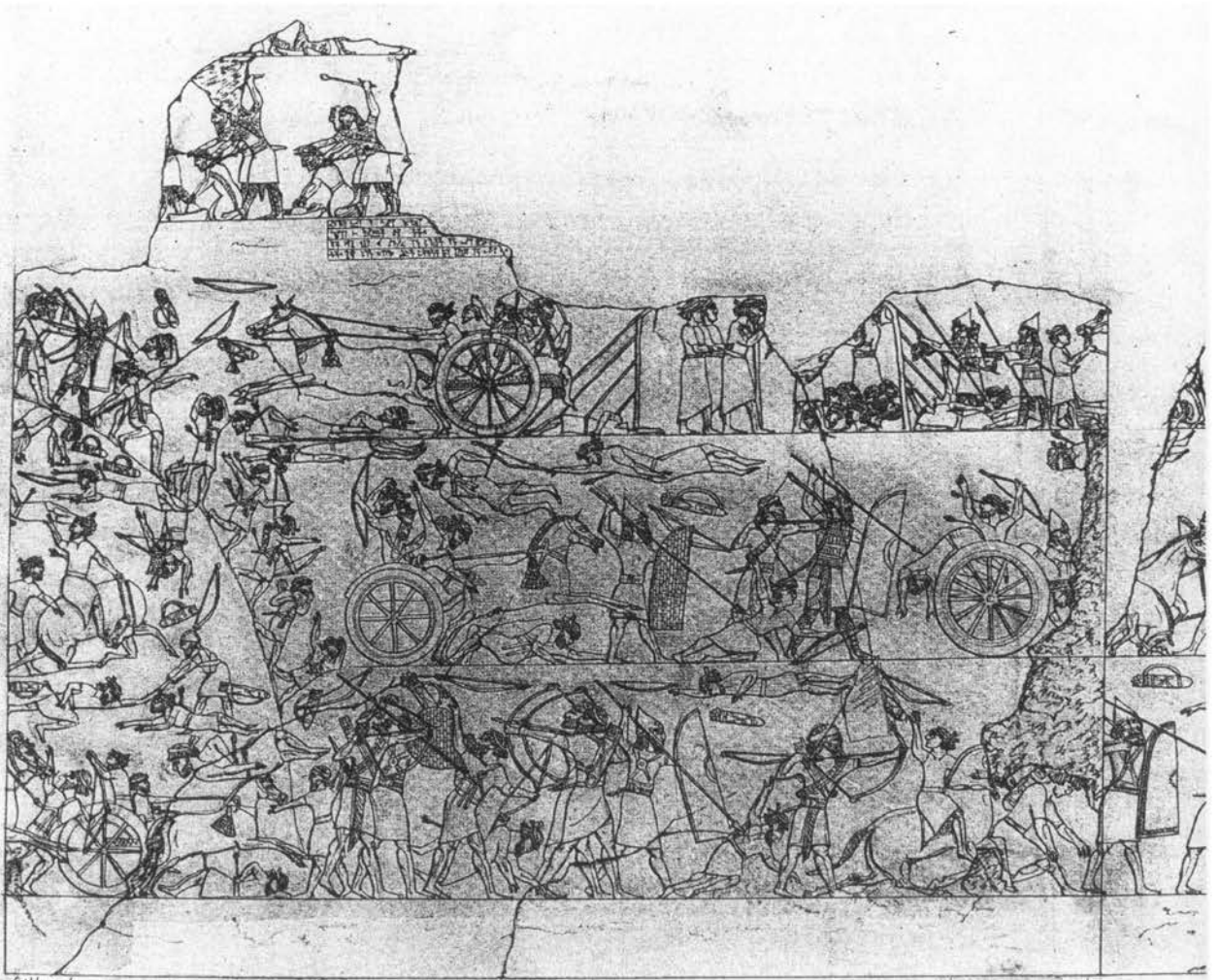
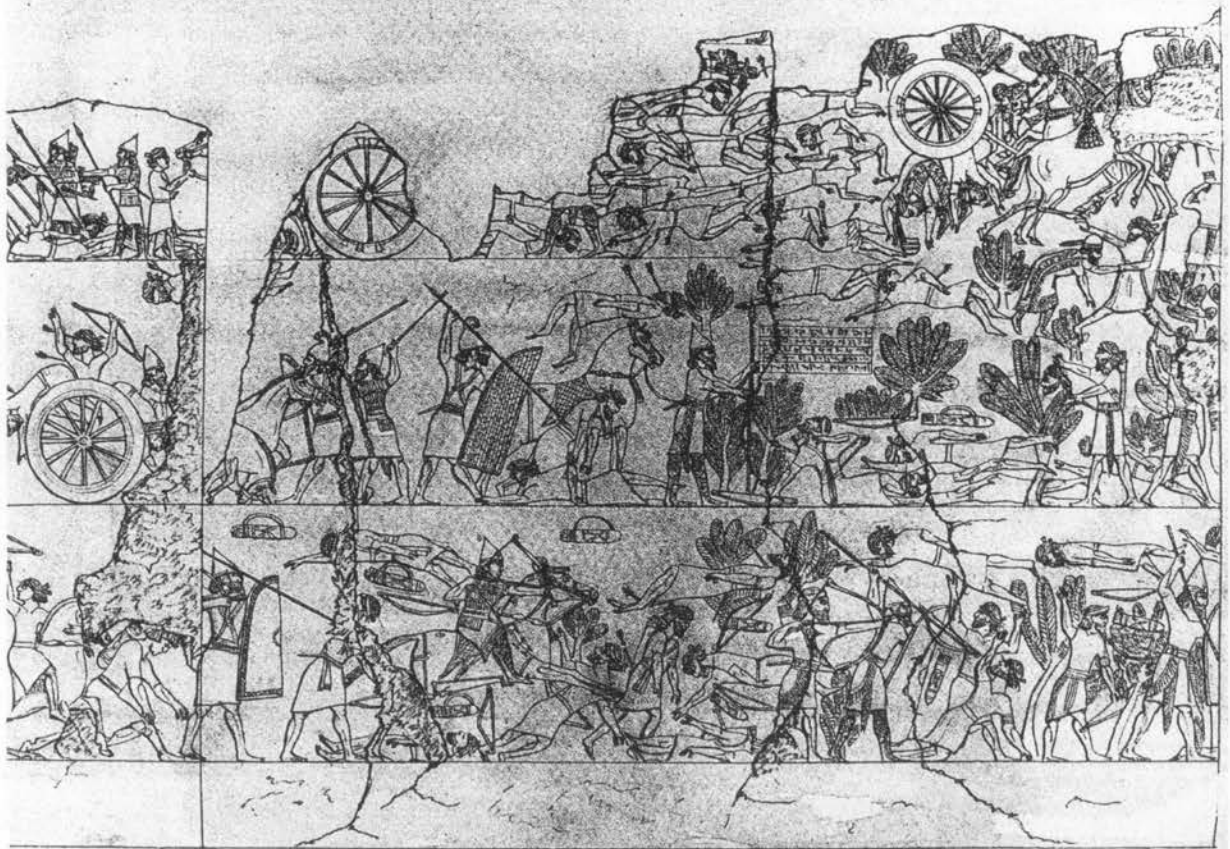


Figure 3. South West Palace Room XXXIII slab 1(Barnett et. al.: pl 288).



Koyunlik Chamber BB. 171.2. Pl. XLV.

Figure 4. South West Palace Room XXXIII slab 2
(Barnett et.al.:pl.292).

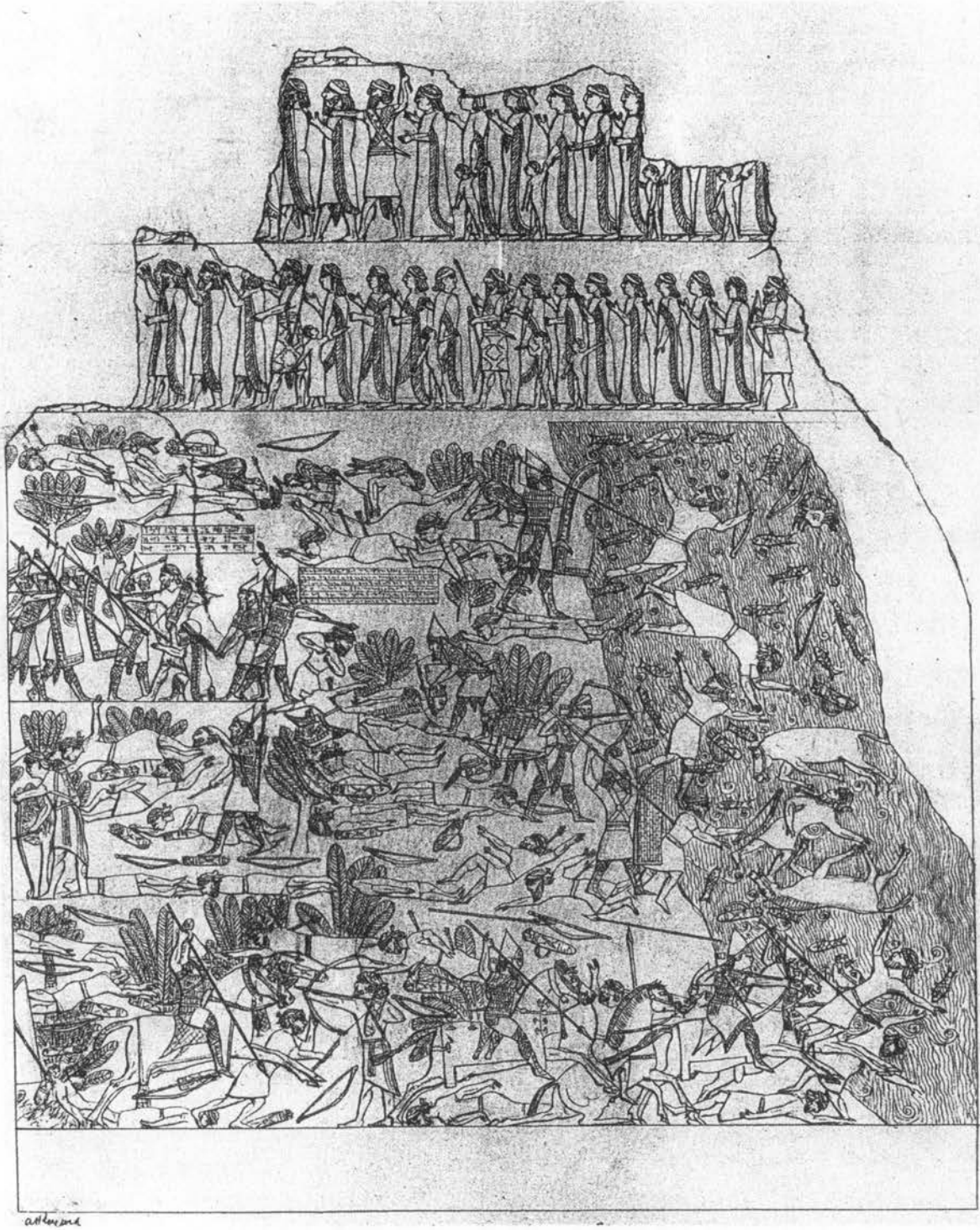


Figure 5. South West Palace Room XXXIII slab 3 (Barnett et. al.: pl. 296).

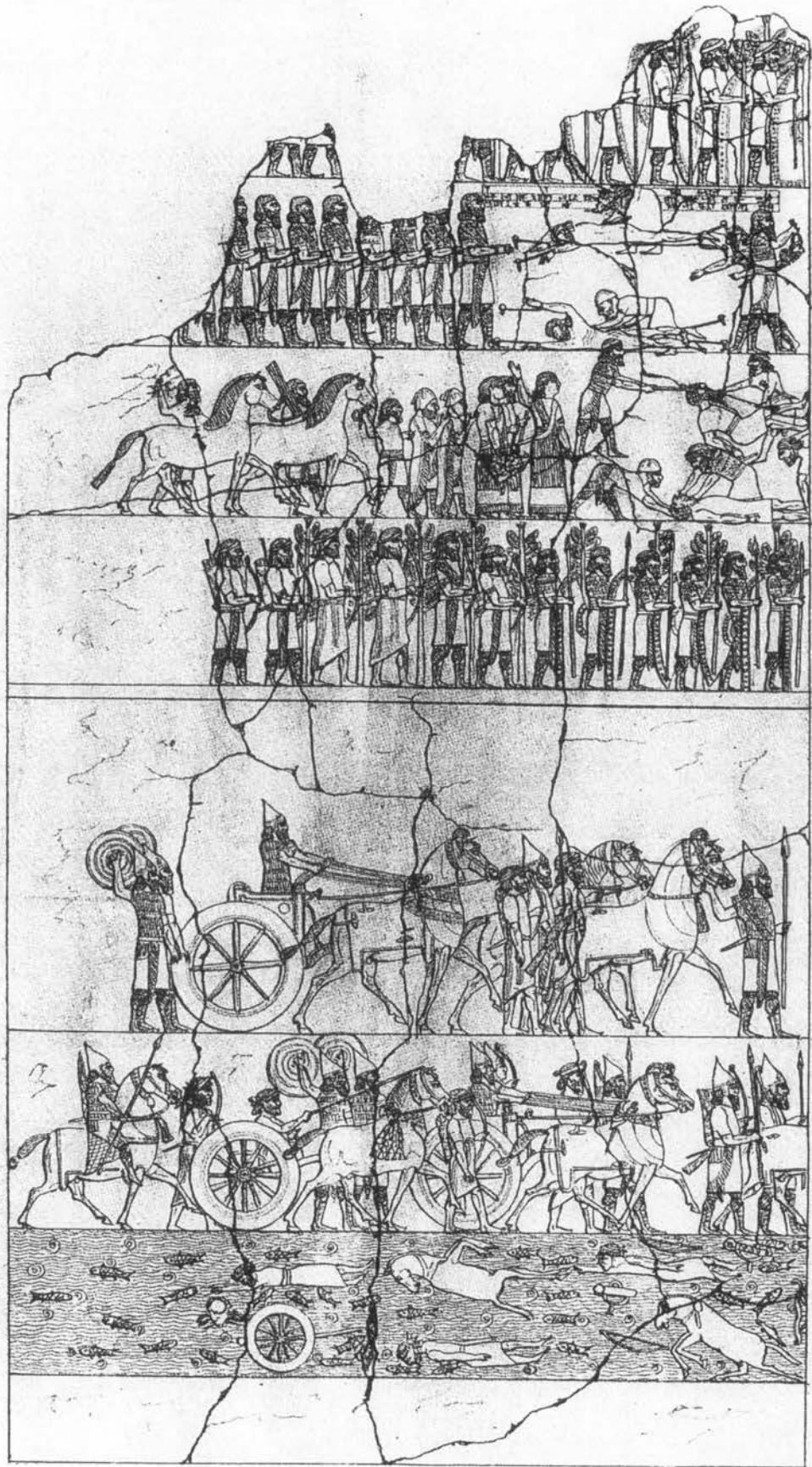


Figure 6. South West Palace Room XXXIII slab 4 (Barnett et. al.: pl. 300).

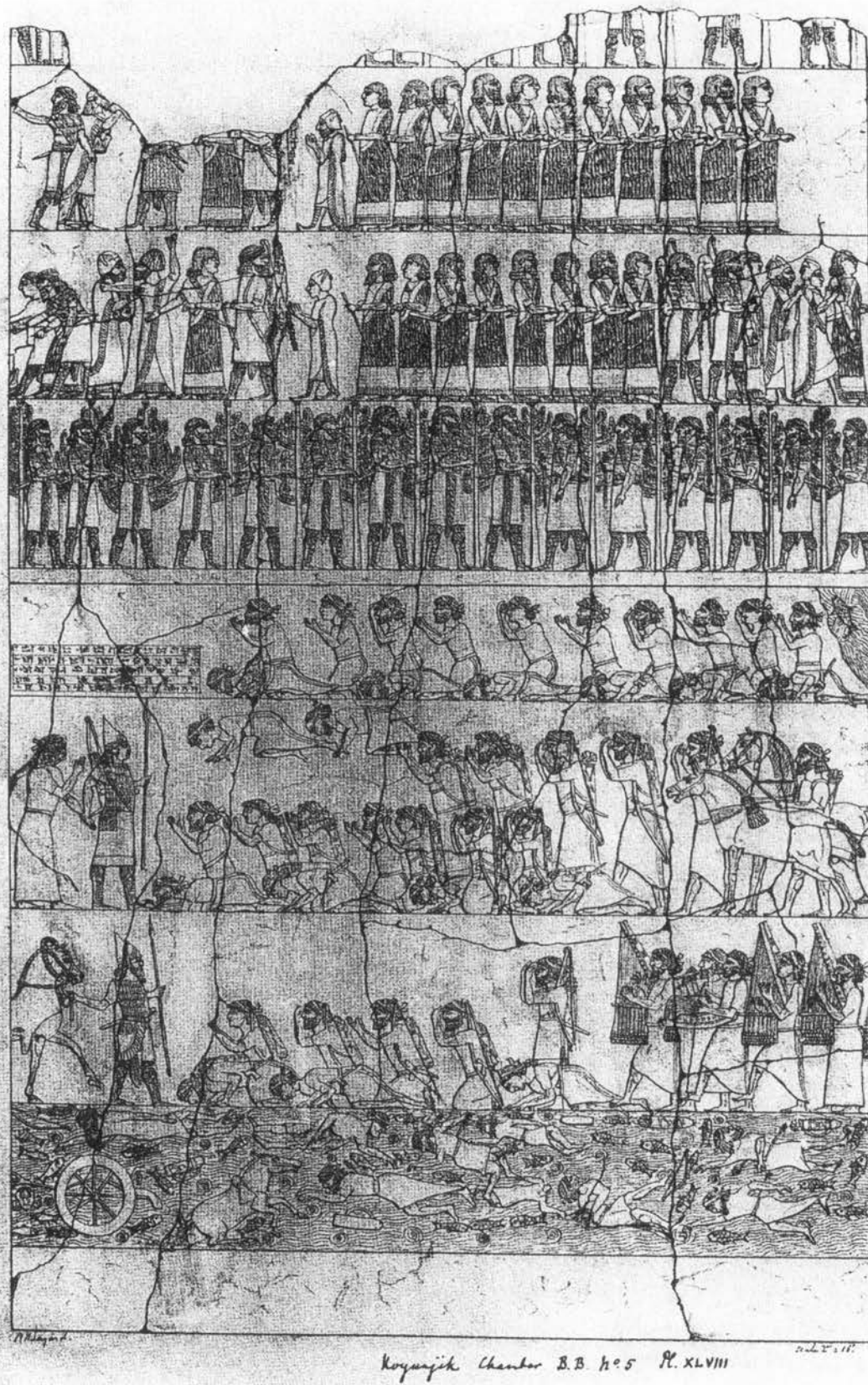


Figure 7. South West Palace Room XXXIII slab 5 (Barnett et. al.: pl. 304).

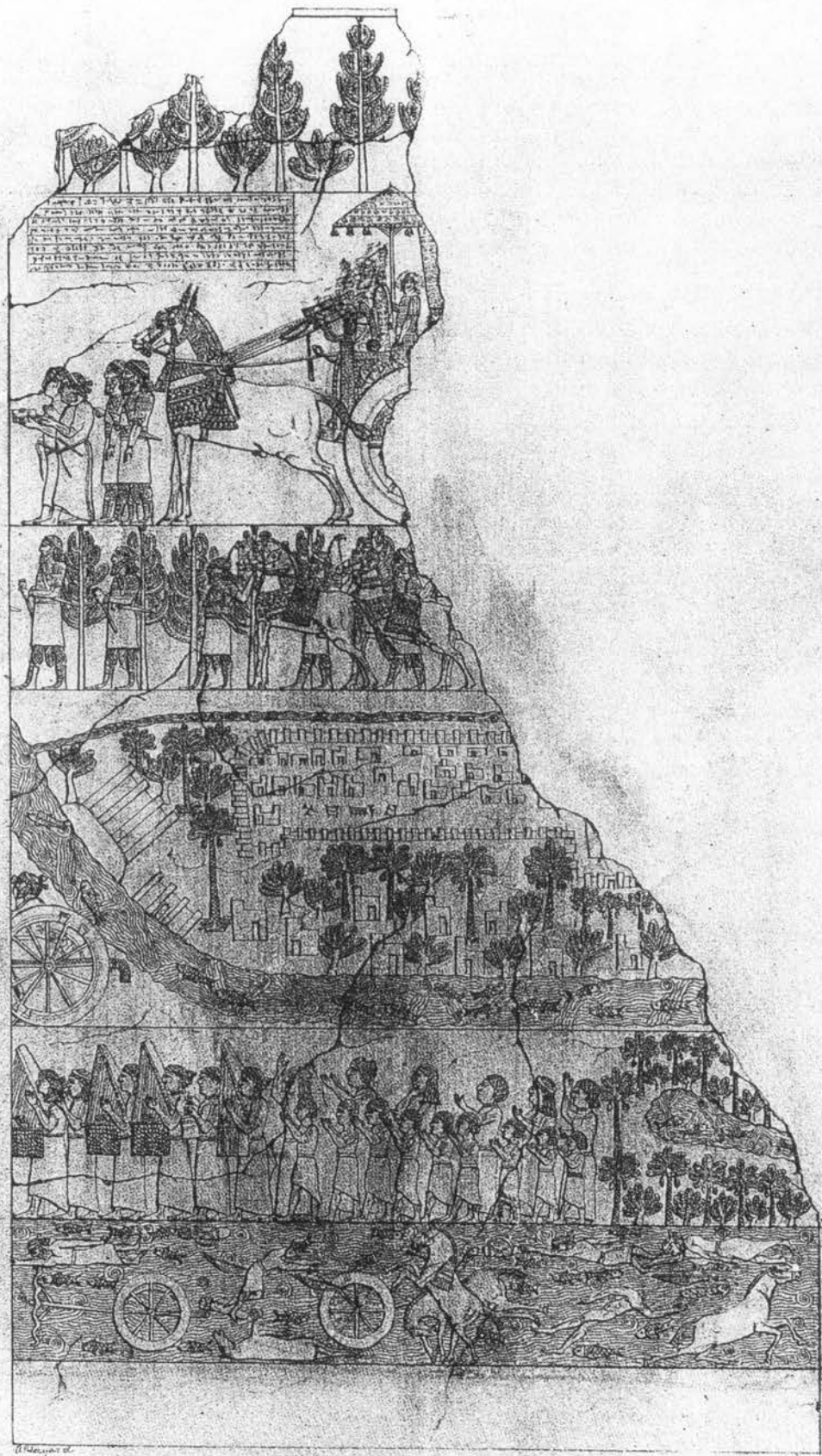


Figure 8. South West Palace Room XXXIII slab 6 (Barnett et. al.: pl. 308).

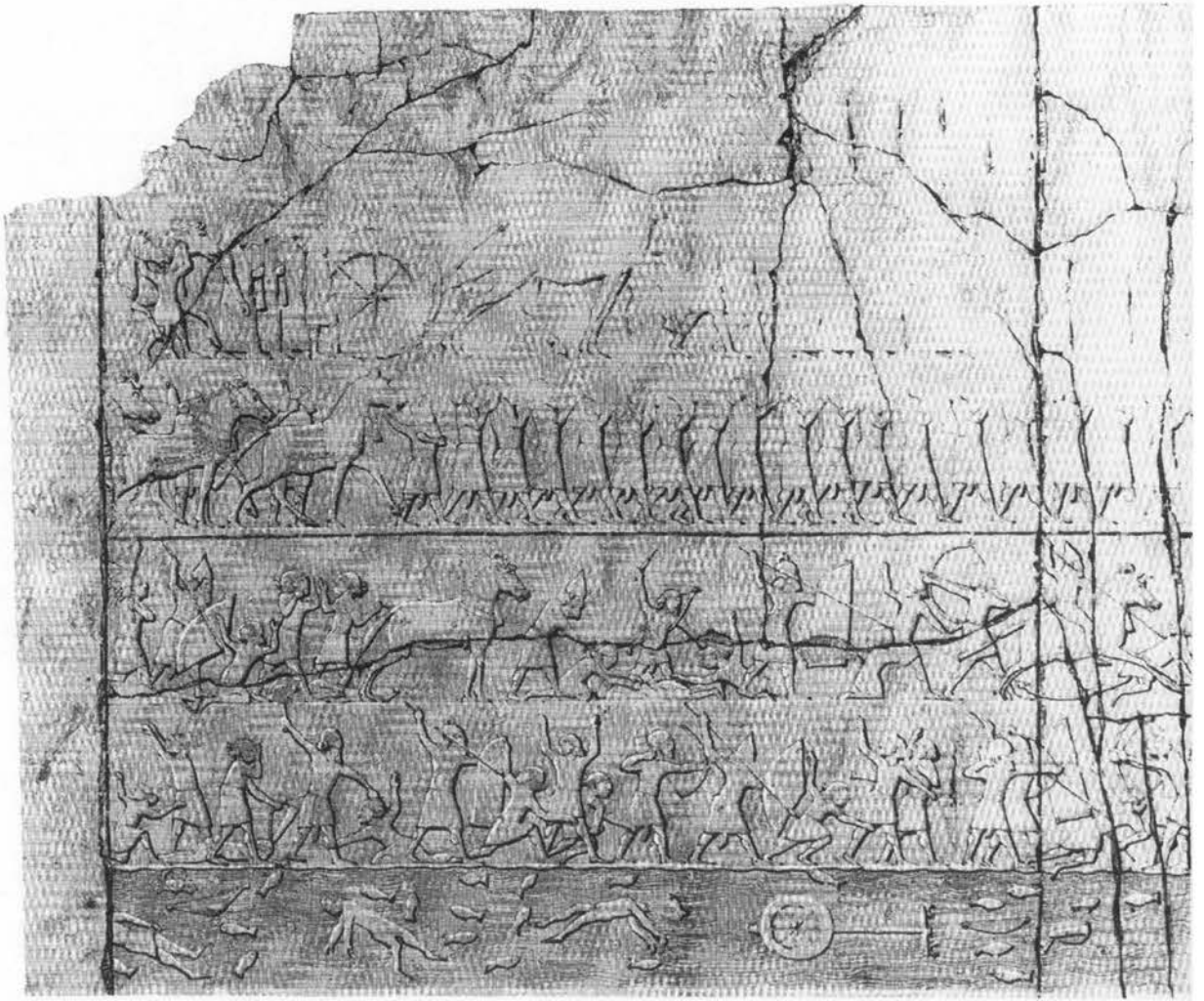


Figure 9. North Palace Room I slabs 5-6 (Russell 1999: 183).

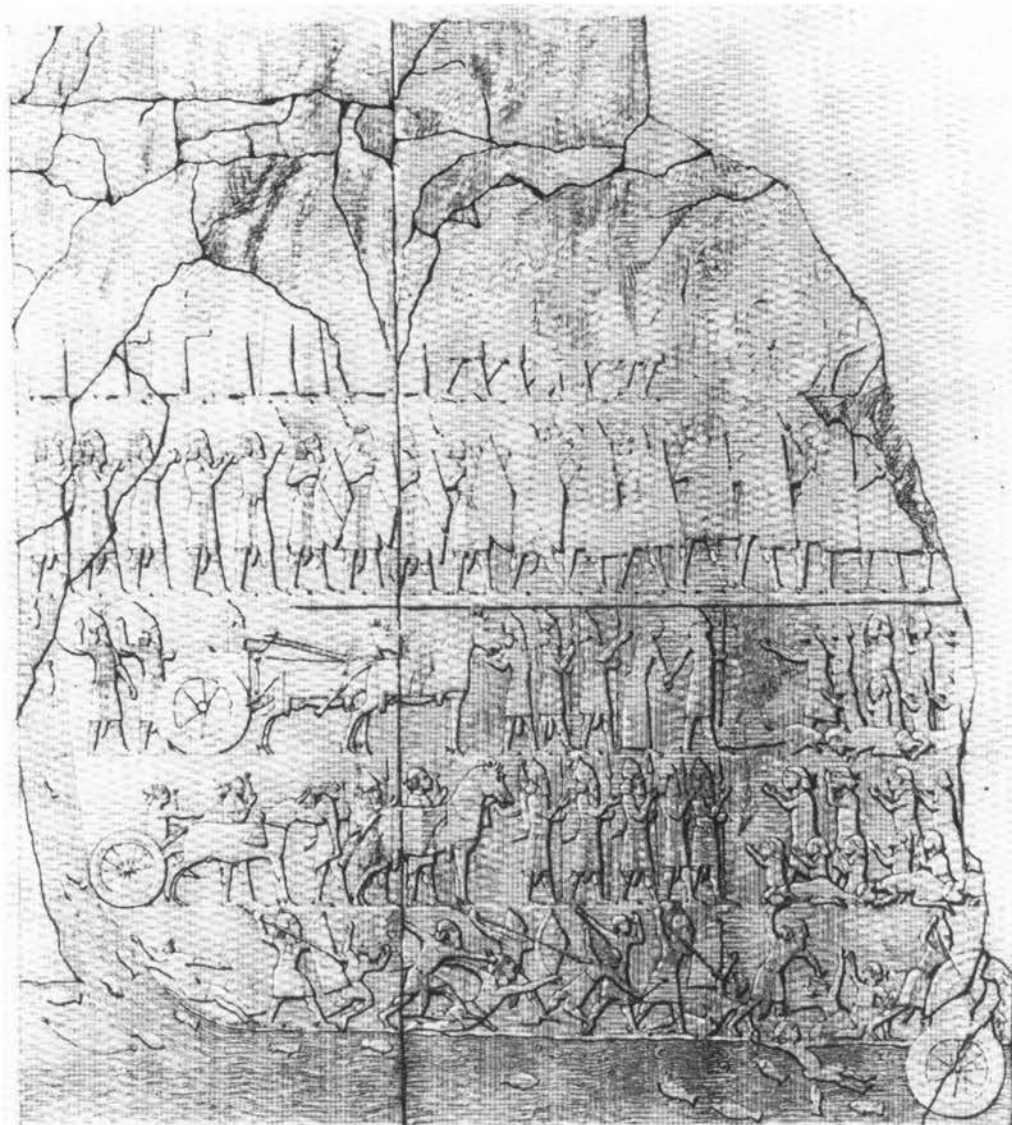


Figure 10. North Palace Room I slabs 6-7 (Russell 1999: 184).

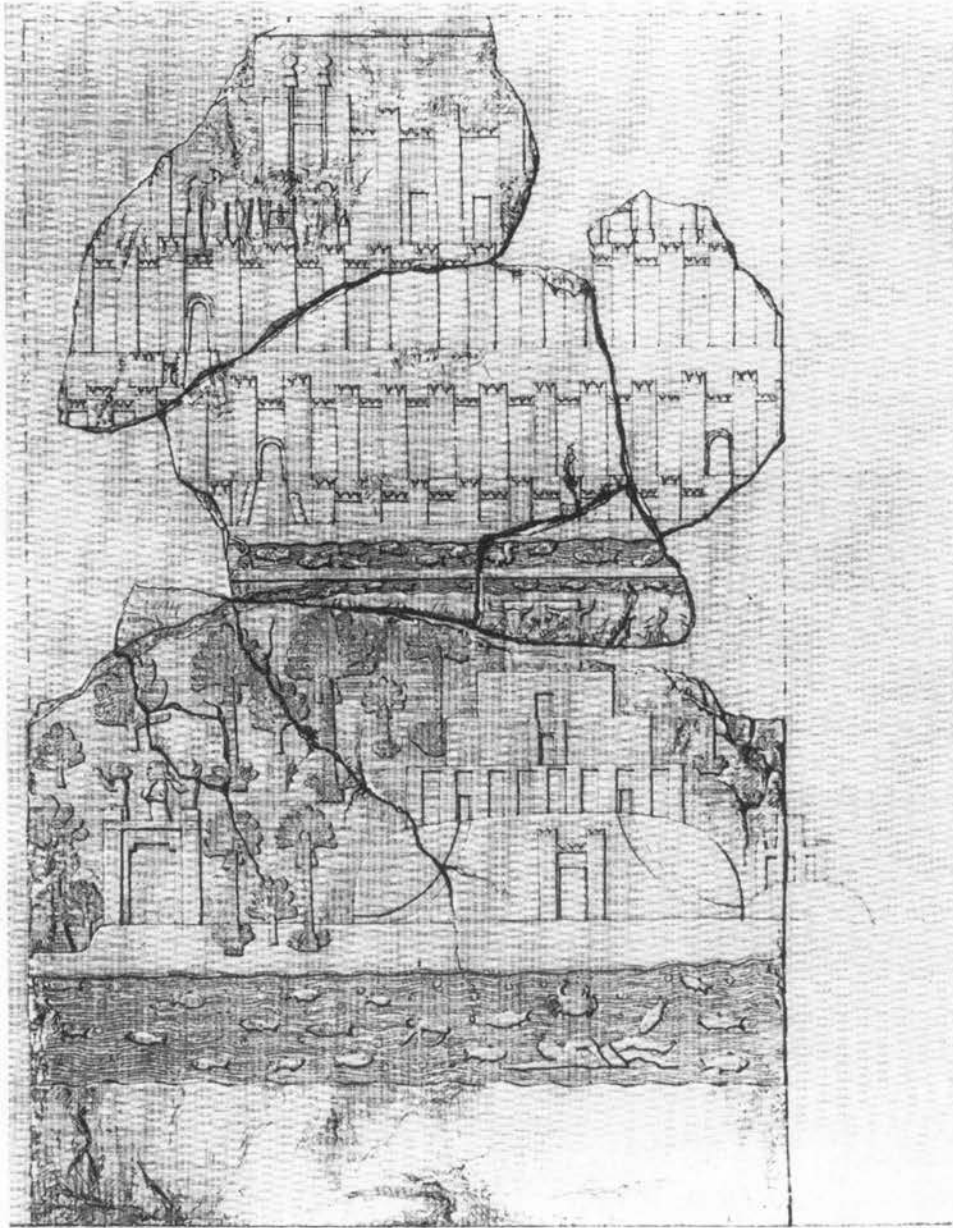


Figure 11. North Palace Room I slab 9 (Russell 1999: 185).

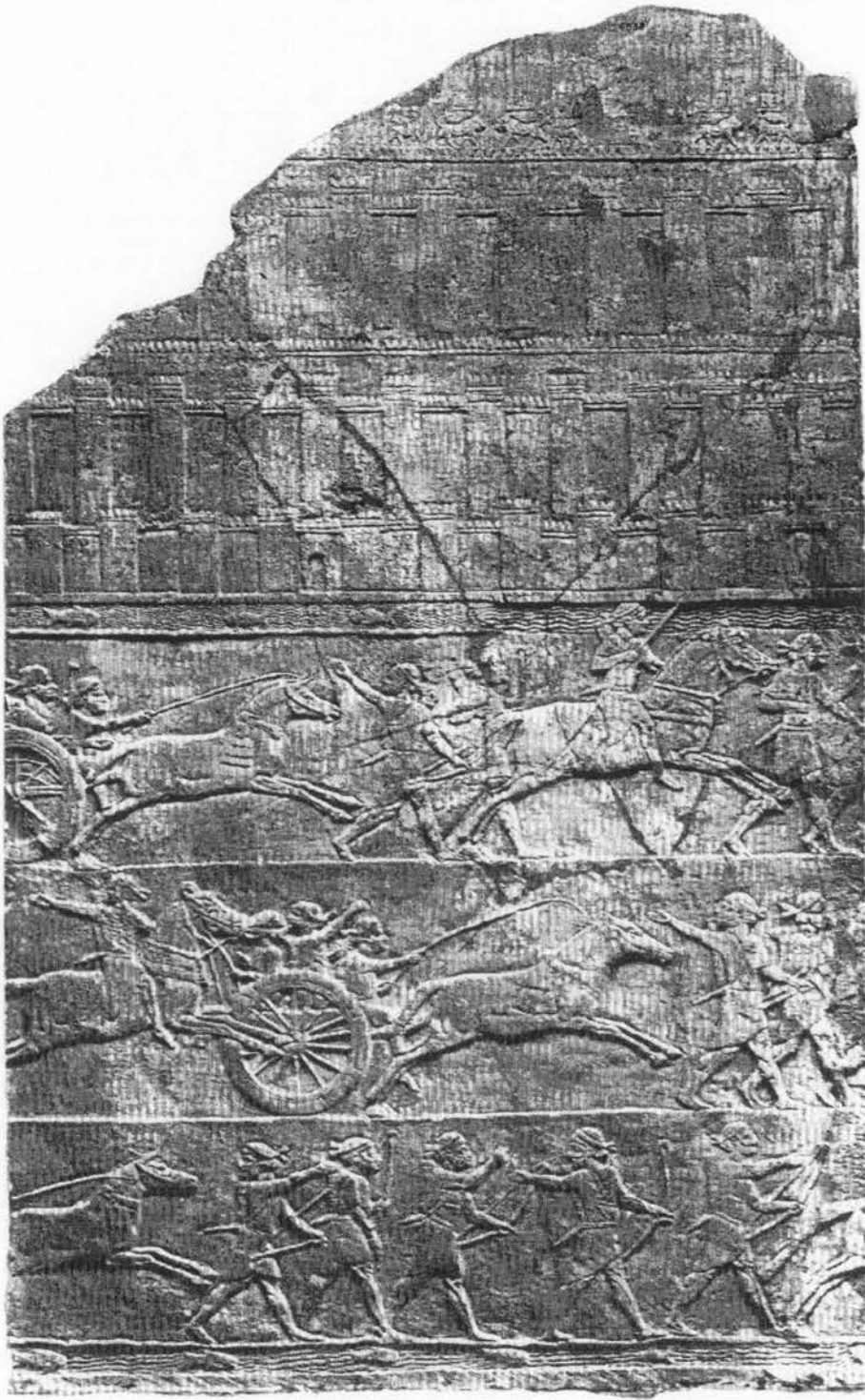


Figure 12. North Palace Room H slab 10. Nineveh (above) and advancing Elamites (below), width 118cm. British Museum WA 124938 (Russell 1999: 188).



Figure 13. Southwest Palace Room XXXIII slab 2. Te-umman's overturned chariot. British Museum WA 124801 (Russell 1999: 172).



Figure 14. Southwest Palace Room XXXIII slab 2. Te-umman, wounded, fleeing the battle with Tammaritu holding his hand. British Museum WA 124801(Russell 1999: 173).



Figure 15. Southwest Palace Room XXXIII slab 3. Te-umman asks Tammaritu to "take up the bow. British Museum WA 124801(Russell 1999:169).

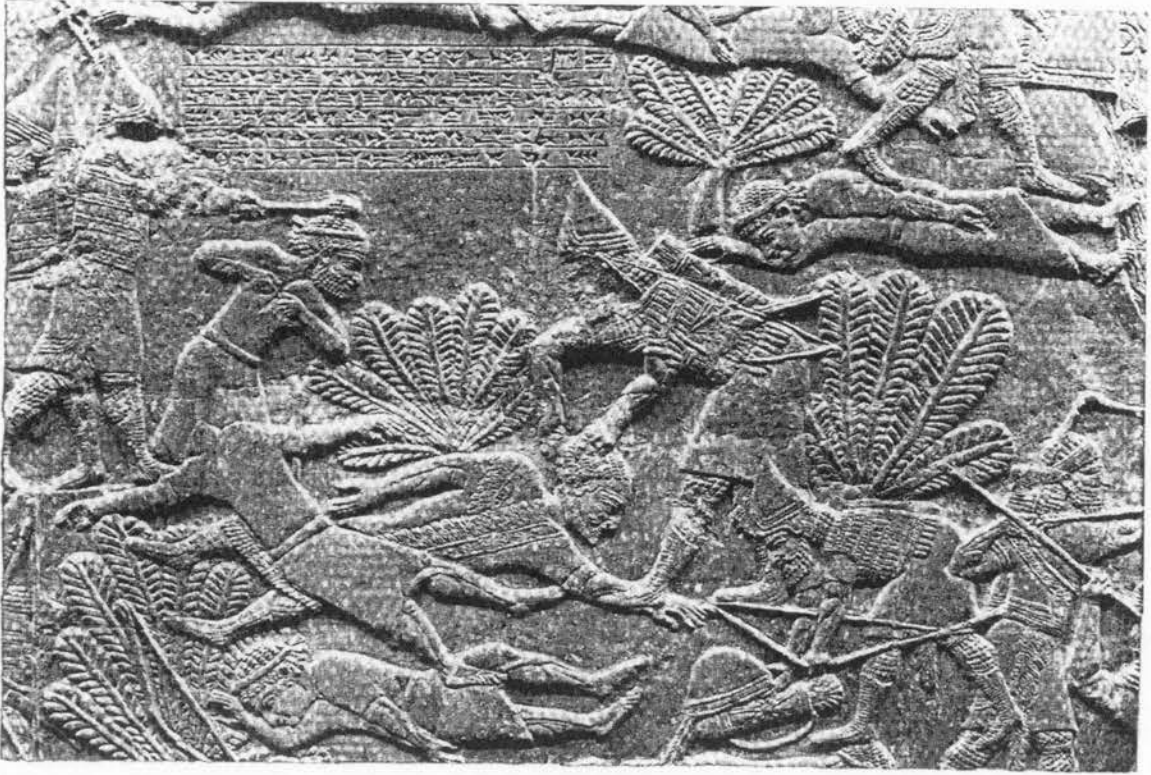


Figure 16. Southwest Palace Room XXXIII slab 3. Beheading of Te-umman. British Museum WA 124801(Russell 1999: 170).

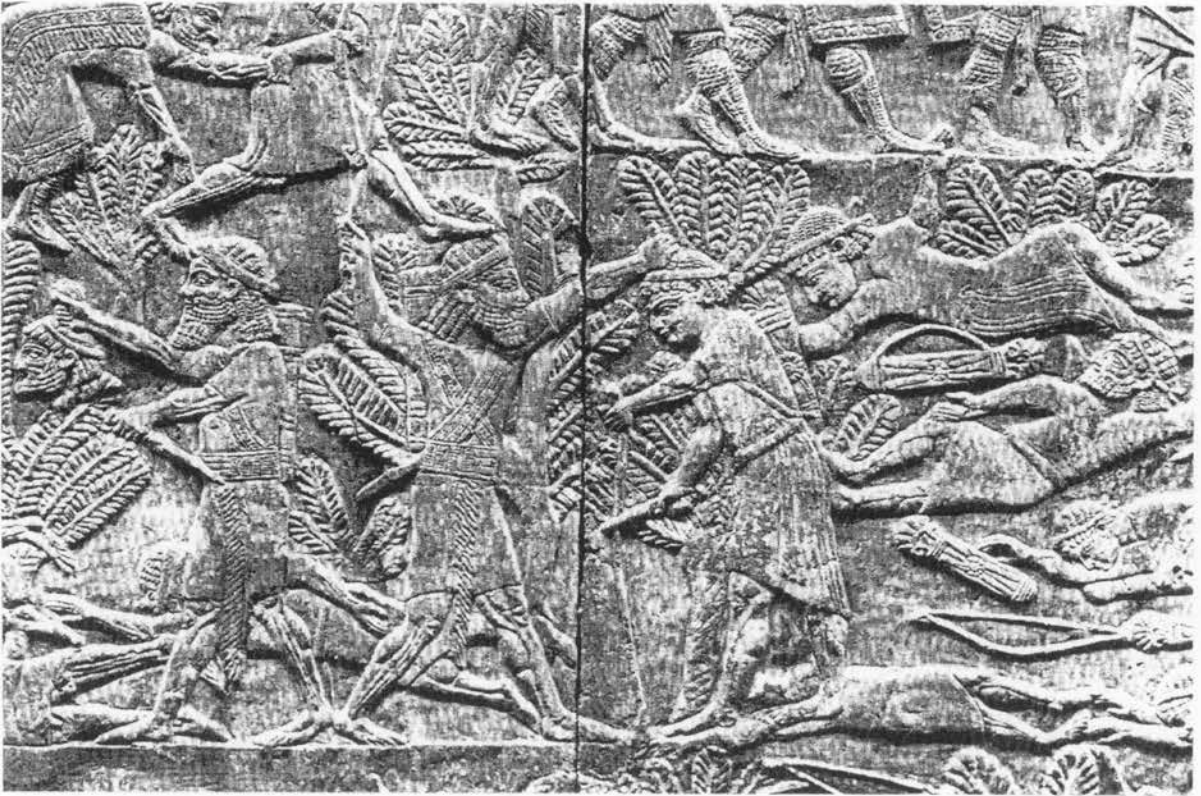


Figure 17. Southwest Palace Room XXXIII slab 2-3. Soldier with the head of Te-umman and the surrender of Ituni. British Museum 124801 (Russell 1999: 174).

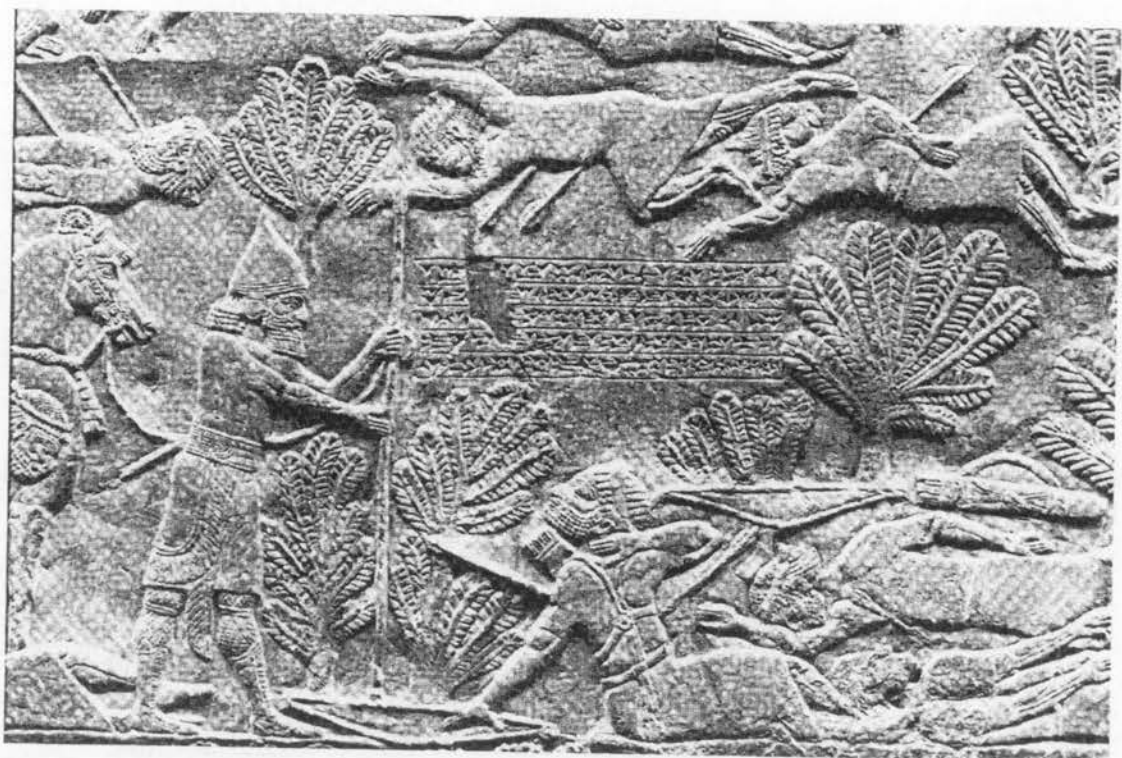


Figure 18. Southwest Palace Room XXXIII slab 2. The surrender of Urtak. British Museum WA 124801 (Russell 1999: 174).



Figure 19. Southwest Palace Room XXXIII slab 1. Assyrian soldiers display Te-umman's and Tammaritu's heads. British Museum WA 124801(Barnett et.al. 1998: pl 291).



Figure 20. Southwest Palace Room XXXIII slab 1. Assyrian soldier holds the head of Te-umman in a cart. British Museum 124801 (Russell 1999: 171).



385c (detail)

Figure 21. Southwest Palace Room XXXIII slab 4 an Assyrian officer introduces Ummanigash to the Elamites. British Museum WA 124802 (Barnett et.al. 1998: pl. 307).

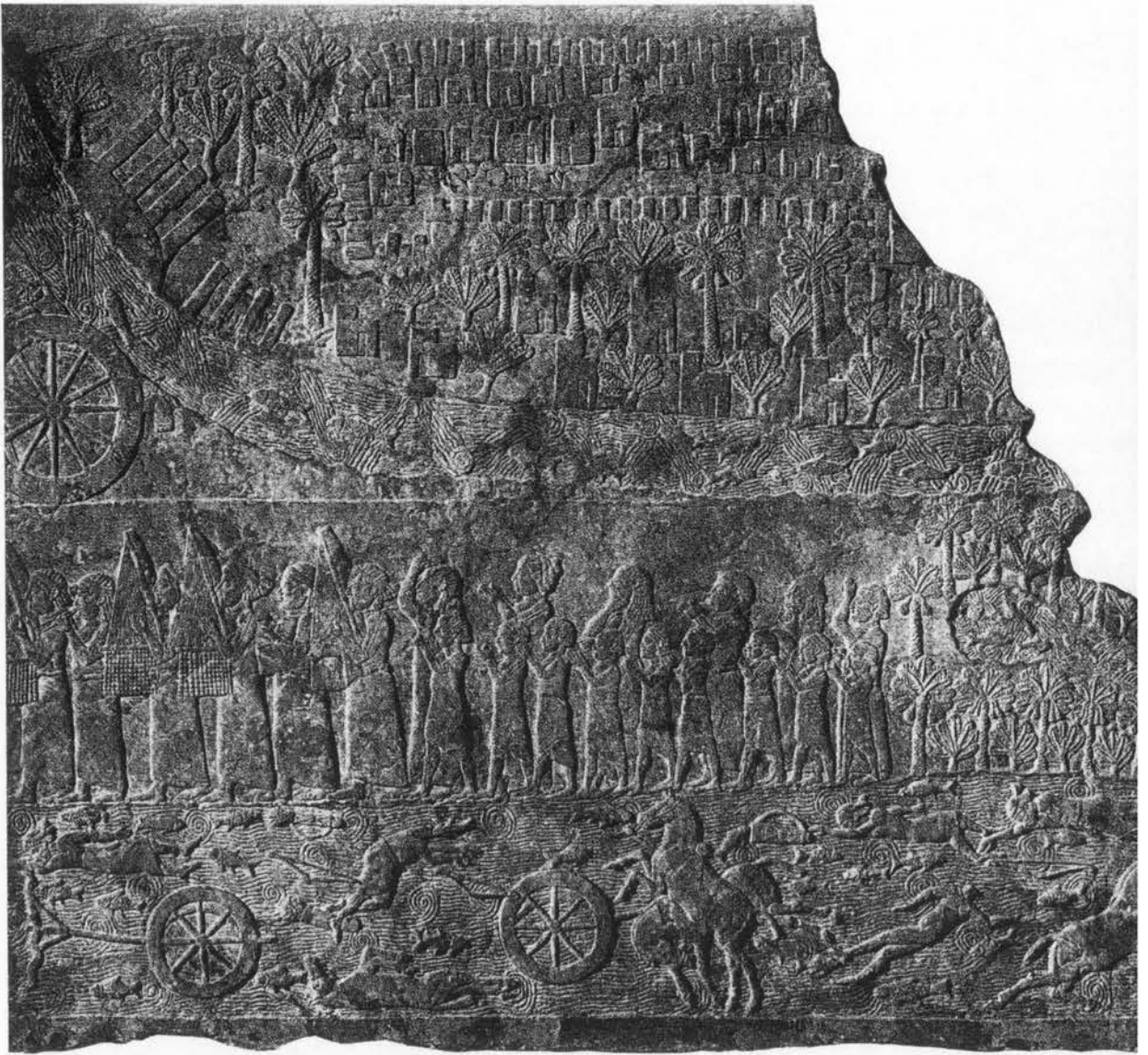


Figure 22. Southwest Palace Room XXXIII slab 6 Elamites joyfully welcome Ummanigash. British Museum WA 124802 (Barnett et.al. 1998: pl. 309).

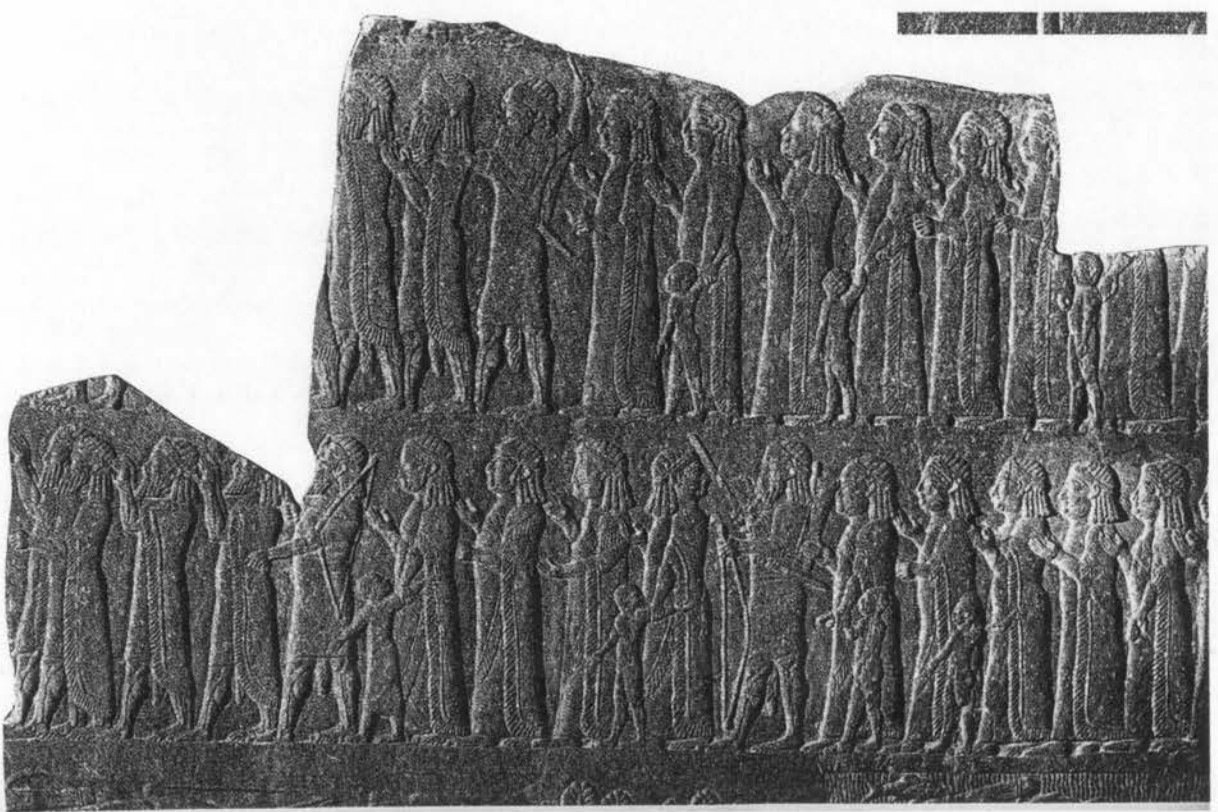


Figure 23. Southwest Palace Room XXXIII slab 3 Gambulian captives.

British Museum WA 124801(Barnett et.al. 1998: pl. 297).



Figure 24. Southwest Palace Room XXXIII slab 1 Nabuna'id and Beliter grinding their father's bones. British Museum WA 124801(Barnett et.al. 1998: pl. 289).



Figure 25. Southwest Palace Room XXXIII slab 6 Ashurbanipal in his chariot at the victory celebration in Arbela. British Museum WA 124802 (Barnett et.al. 1998: pl. 310)

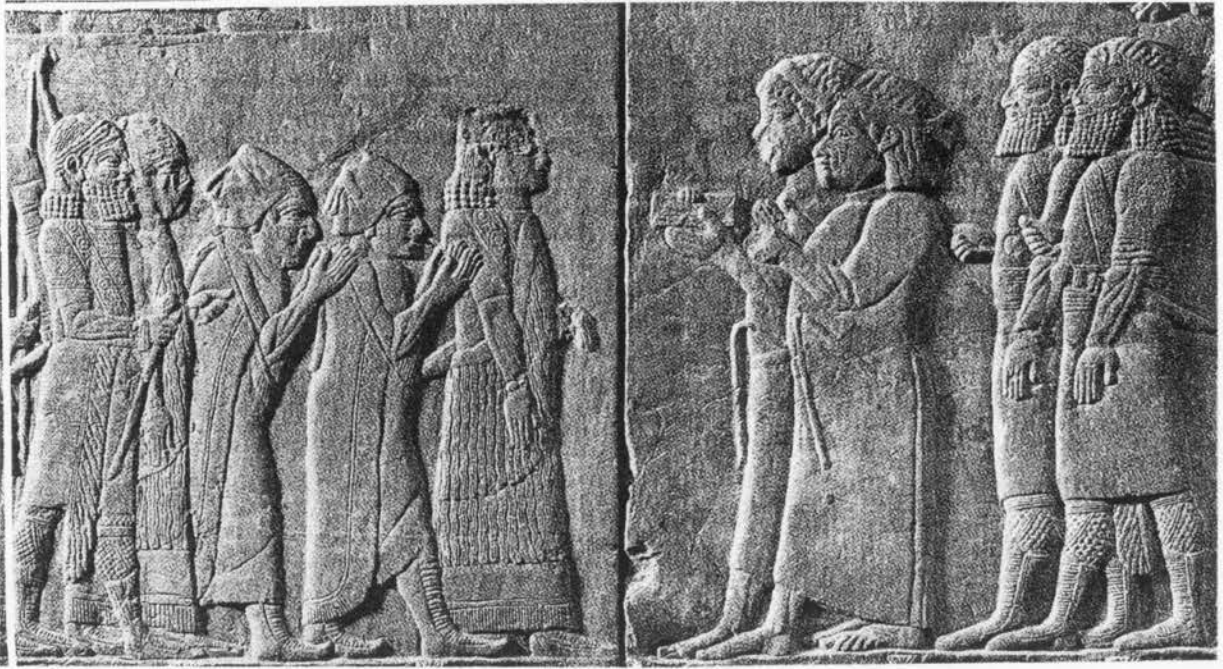


Figure 26. Southwest Palace Room XXXIII slabs 5-6 The Elamite ambassadors holding the insolent message with the Urtian ambassadors to the left. British Museum WA 124802 (Barnett et.al. 1998: pl. 312).



Figure 27. Southwest Palace Room XXXIII slab 5, Dananu with the head of Te-umman around his neck. British Museum WA 124802. (Barnett et.al.1998: pl. 312).



Figure 28. Southwest Palace Room XXXIII slab 4, tongue pulling and flaying of captives. British Museum WA 124802 (Barnett et.al. 1998: pl. 302).

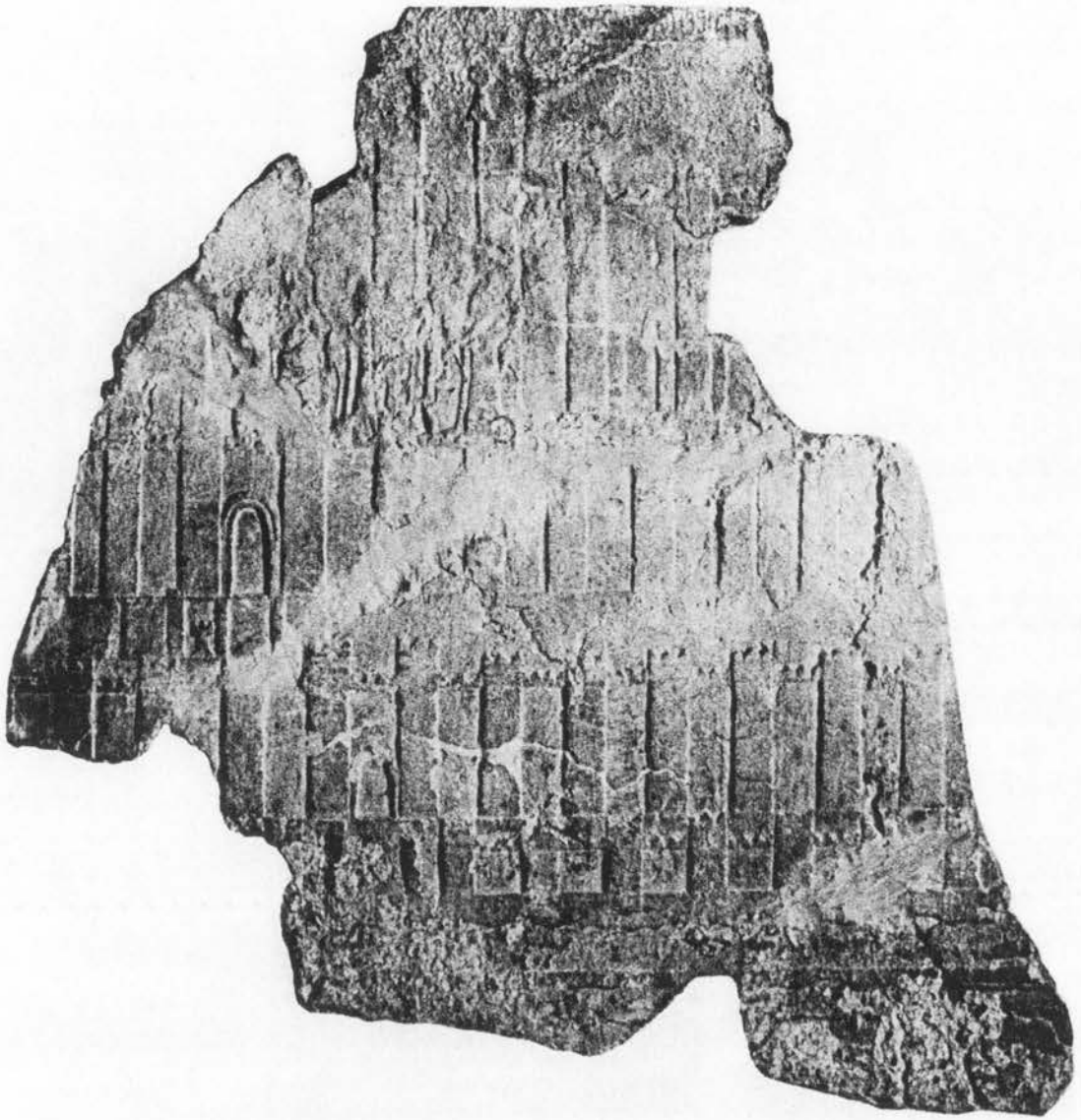


Figure 29. North Palace Room I slab 9, Ashurbanipals libation over Te-
umman's head on the walls of Arbela. Louvre AO 19914 (Barnett 1976:
pl. XXV).

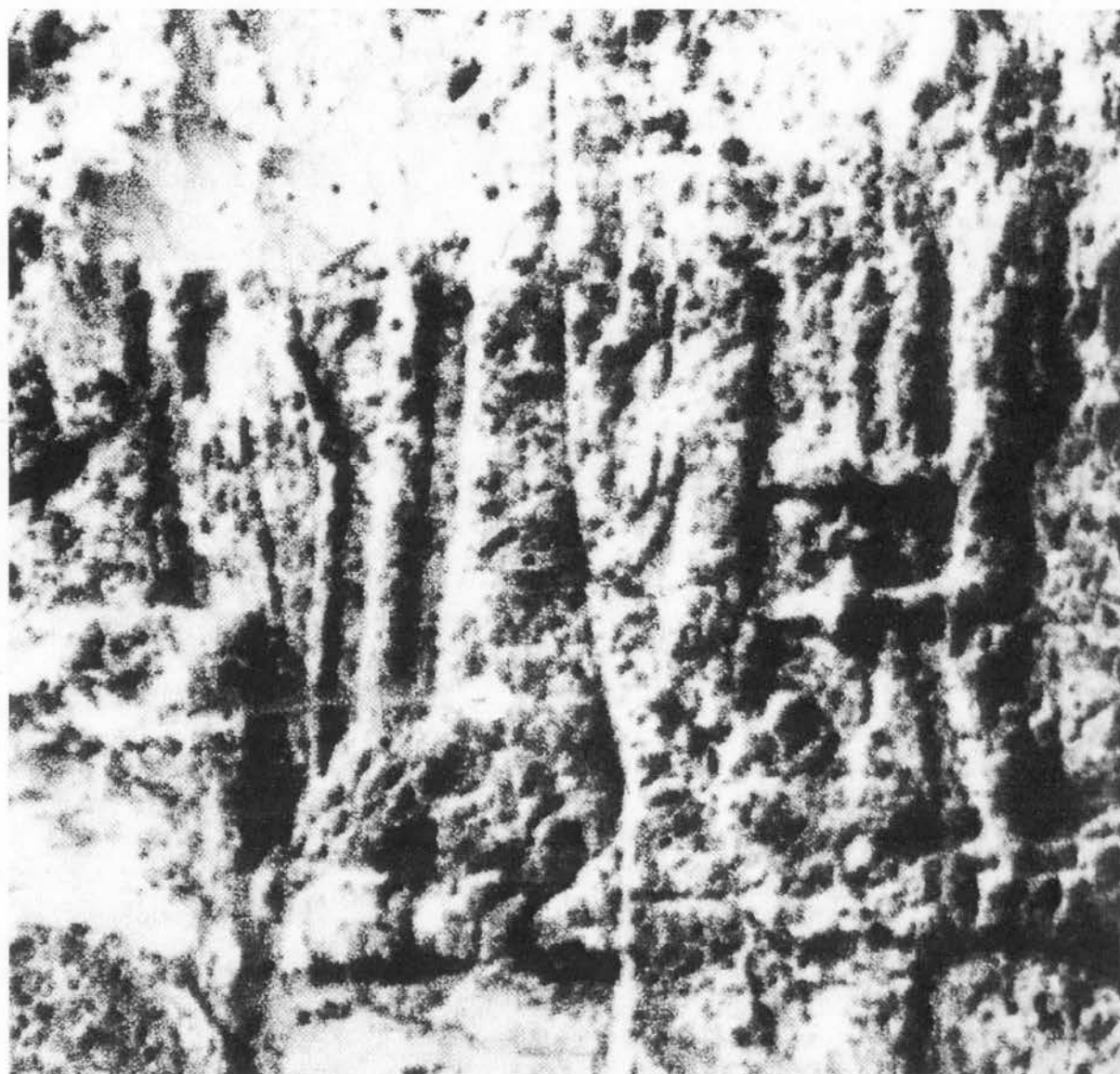


Figure 30. North Palace Room I slab 9, detail of Te-umman's head in libation scene. Louvre AO 19914 (Barnett 1976: pl. XXV).

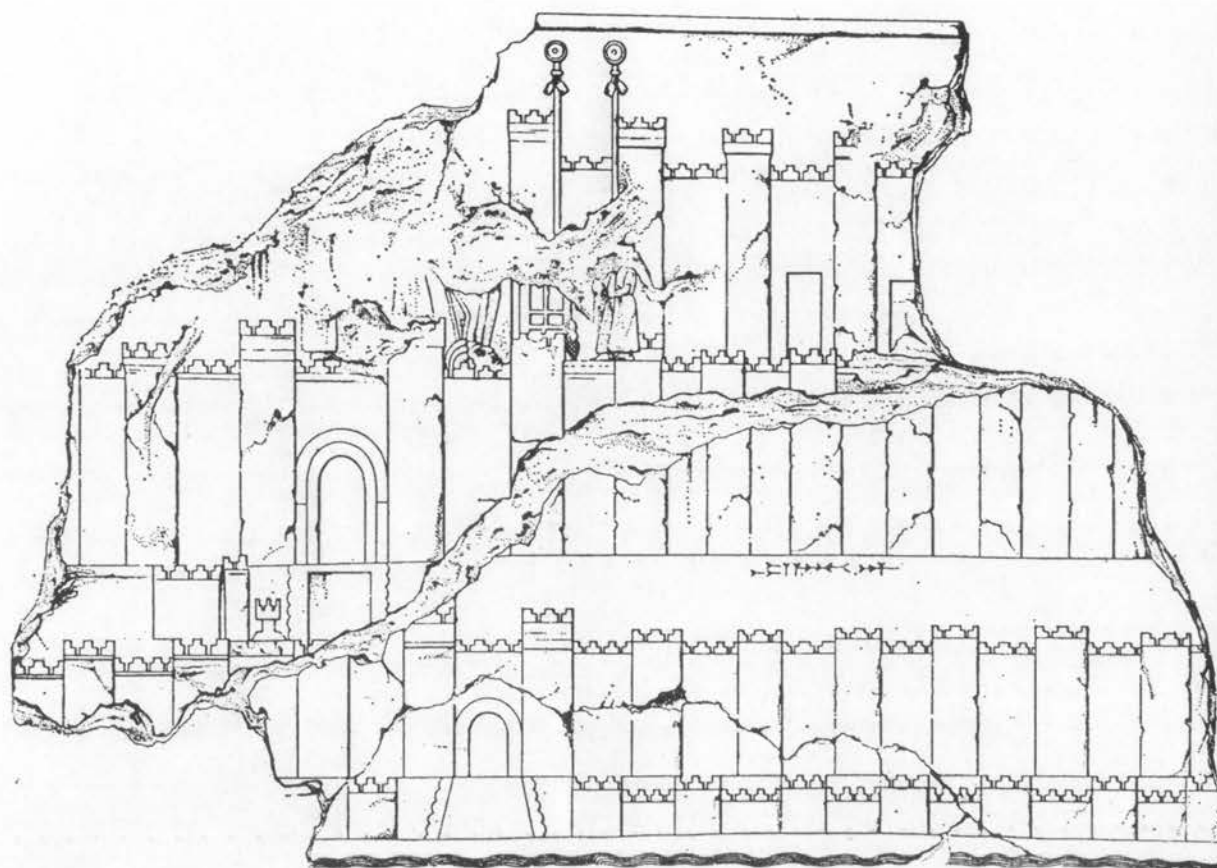


Figure 31. North Palace Room I slab 9, illustration of Ashurbanipal's libation over Te-umman's head (Barnett 1976: pl. XXV).



Figure 32. North Palace Room S¹ Slab D Ir. Ashurbanipal's libation over lions at the conclusion of a hunt. British Museum BM 124886-7 (Barnett 1976: pl. LVII)

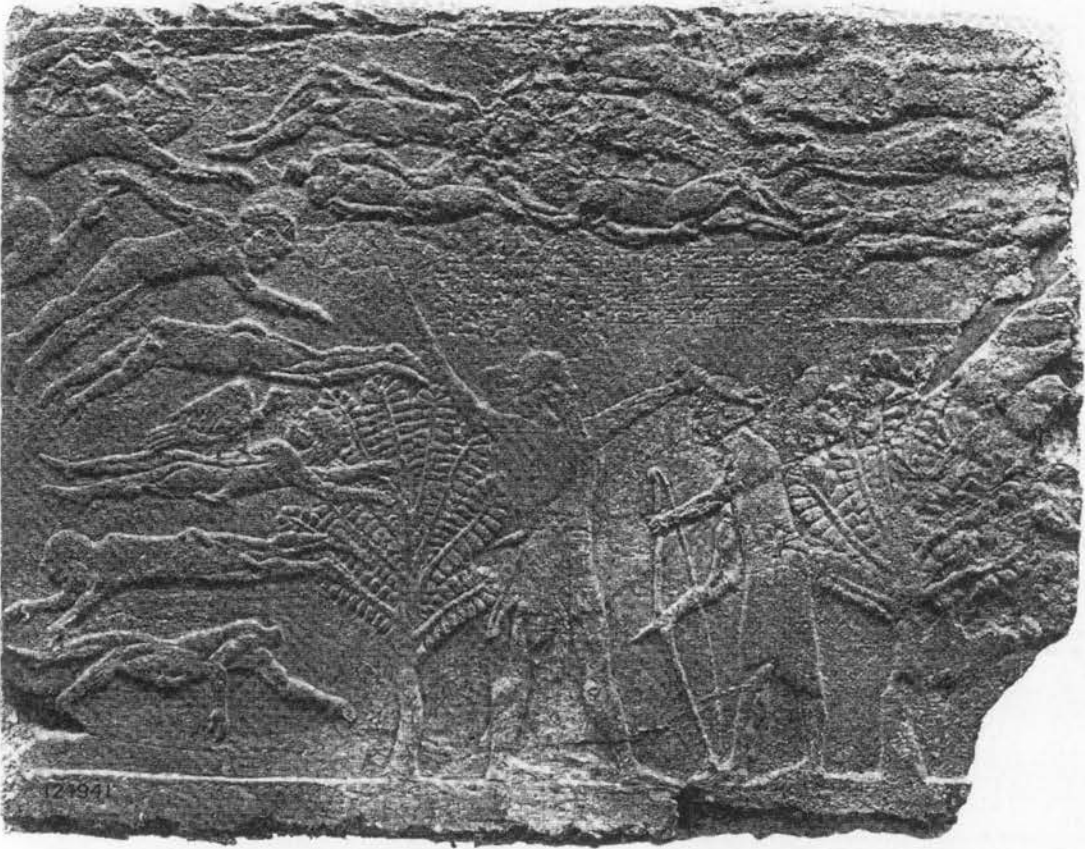


Figure 33. North Palace, Room I Slab 2 (?). Surrender of Intui and depiction of naked dead bodies (British Museum WA 124941, Russell 1999: 176).

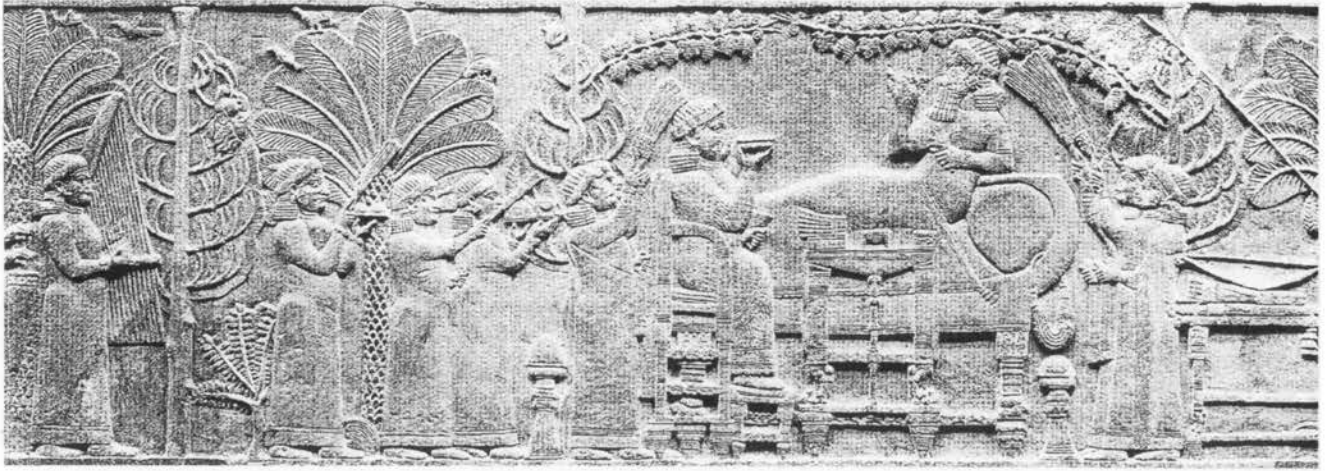


Figure 34. North Palace Room S1 Slab B (part) and Slab A, Ashurbanipal and his queen Ashur-sharrat relaxing in a garden to music (the "banquet" relief). British Museum BM 124920 (Reade 1998: 88, Barnett 1976: Pl. LXIV).



Figure 35. North Palace Room S1 Slab A, detail of Te-umman's head hanging on a pine tree. British Museum BM 124920 (Barnett 1976: Pl. LXIV).



Figure 36. North Palace Room S1 Slab A, Elamite nobles forced to act as servants to the mock obeisance of Assyrian courtiers. British Museum BM 124794 (Reade 1998: 86, Barnett 1976: Pl. LXIV).

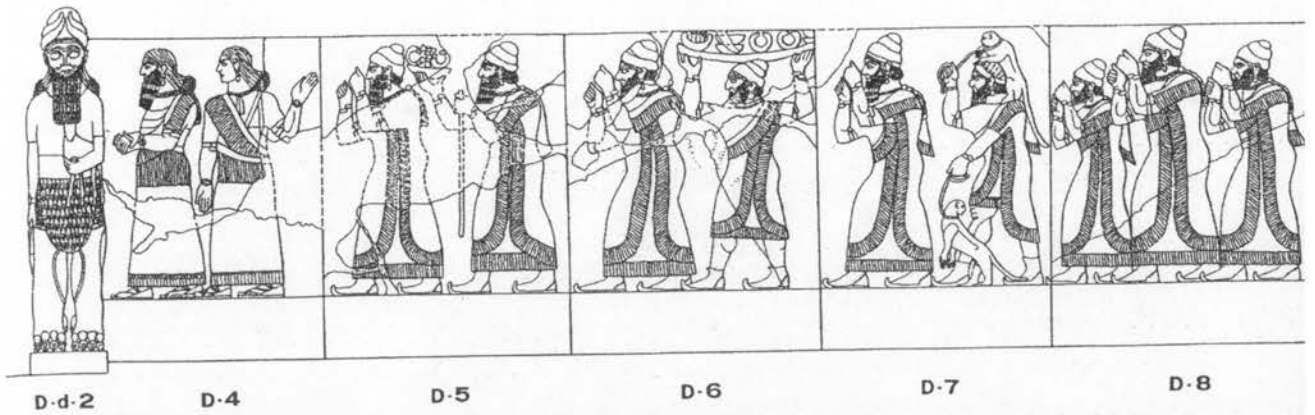


Figure 37. Tribute bearers approaching Ashurnasirpal II, in recessed area outside the throne room, Court D slabs Dd2- D8 (Porter 2003: 185).



Figure 38. Detail of Slab 7 Court D, Nineveh of tribute bearers approaching Ashurnasirpal II (Russell 1991: 236).

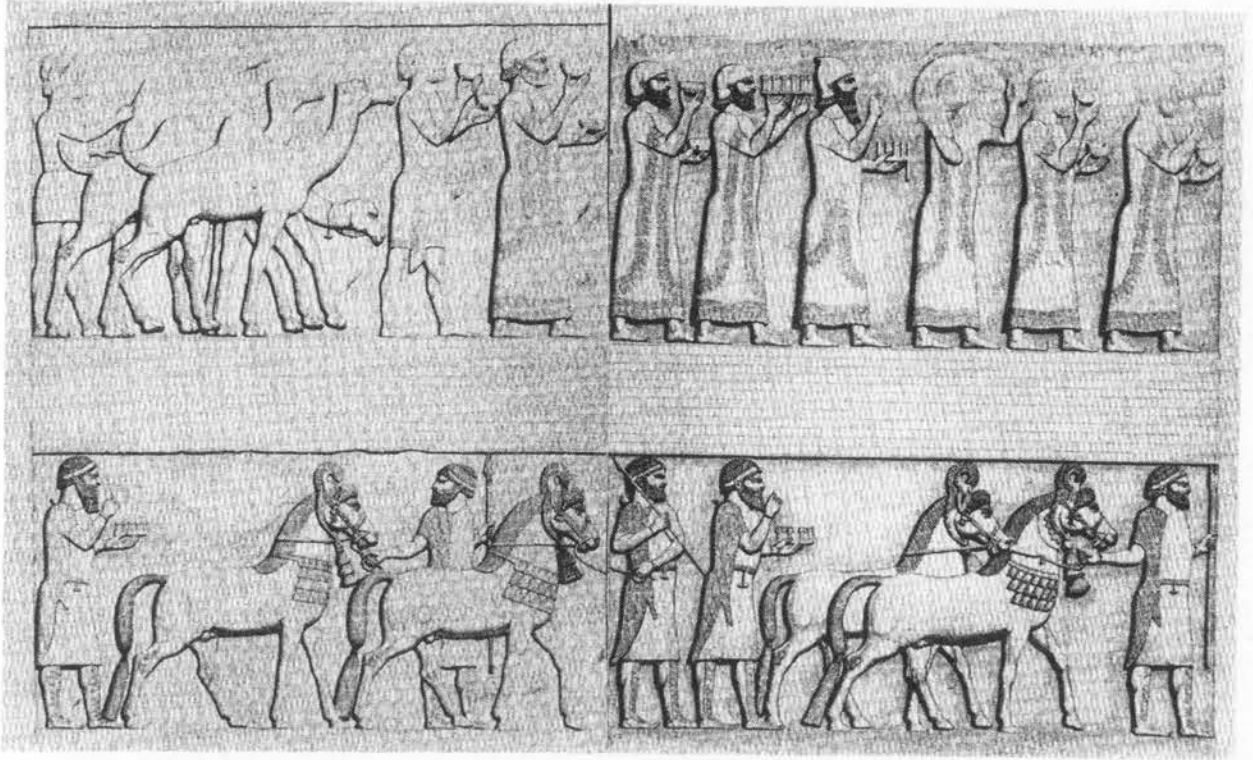


Figure 39. Western (top) and eastern tributaries slabs 6-7, Room 10, Palace of Sargon II, Khorsabad (Russell 1991: 237).

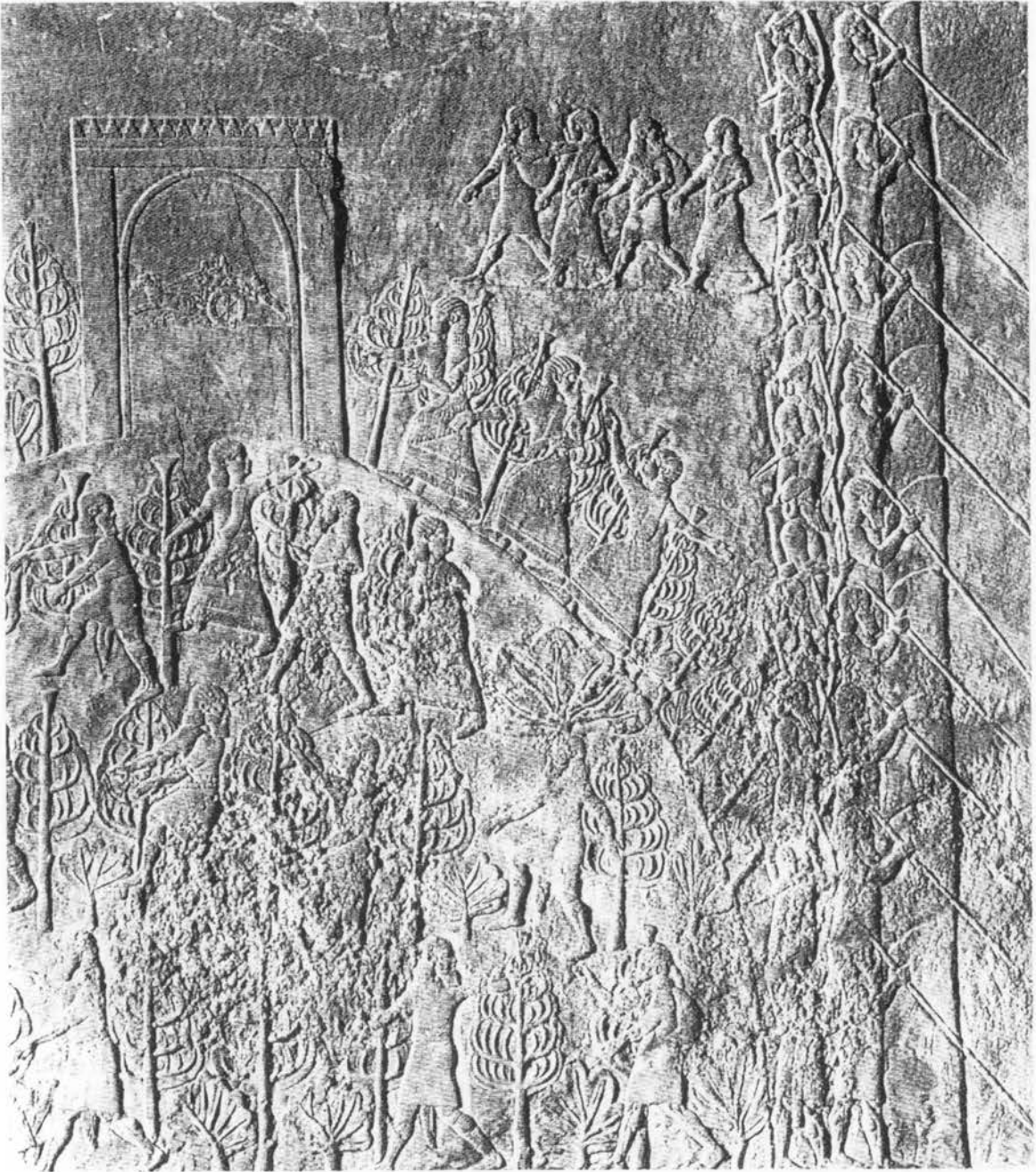


Figure 40. North Palace Room C Slabs 8-9, People of Nineveh watching a lion hunt, possibly in panic, from a hill. British Museum BM 120860-3 (Barnett1976: Plate VI, Weissert 1997:354).



Figure 41. North Palace Room C Slab 26. Severely wounded lioness continues to attack Ashurbanipal. British Museum BM 124855-6 (Reade 1998: 73).

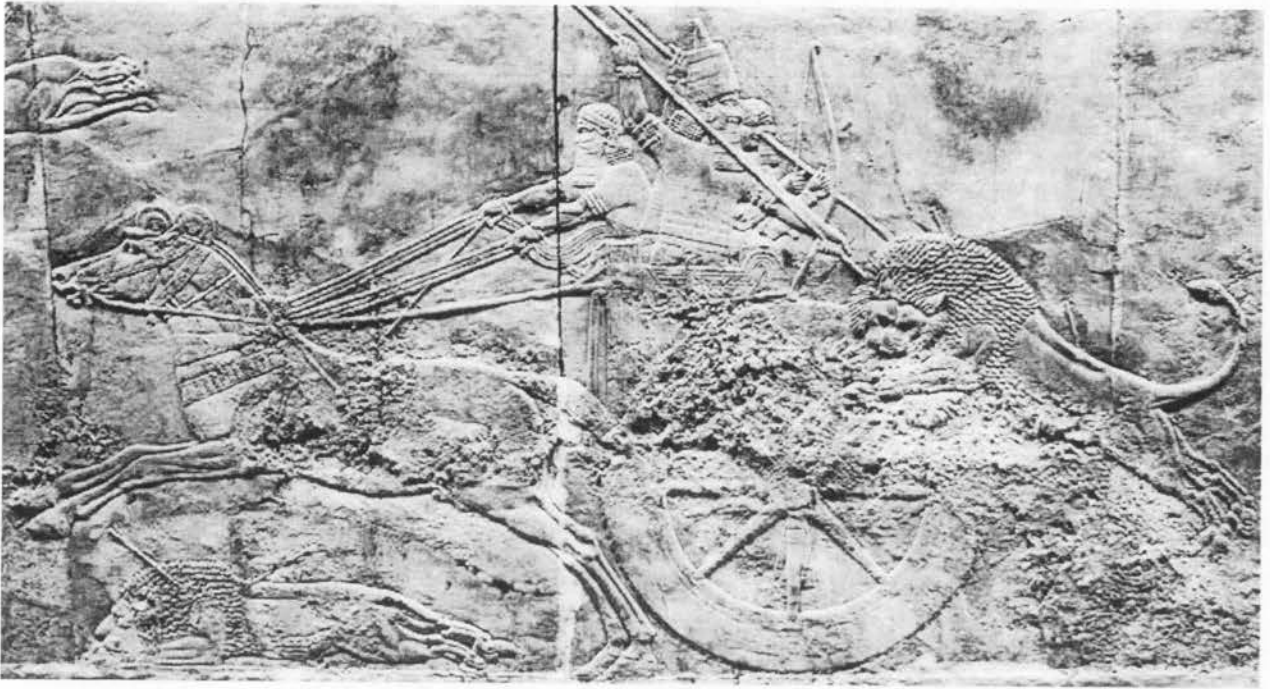


Figure 42. North Palace Room C Slab 23-25. Wounded lion continues to attack Ashurbanipal. British Museum BM 124853-4 (Reade 1998:77).



Figure 43. North Palace Room S Slab 13ur. Ashurbanipal killing a rampant lion with a dagger. British Museum BM 124873-6 (Reade 1998: 79).



Figure 44. North Palace Room S Slabs 14-13 mr. Wounded lion attacking Ashurbanipal's spare horse. British Museum BM 124876-9 (Reade 1998: 77).



Figure 45. North Palace Room S Slab 12-11 mr. Scene after the hunt with "shamed" attendants prostrating themselves to Ashurbanipal. British Museum BM 124876-9 (Reade 1998: 77).

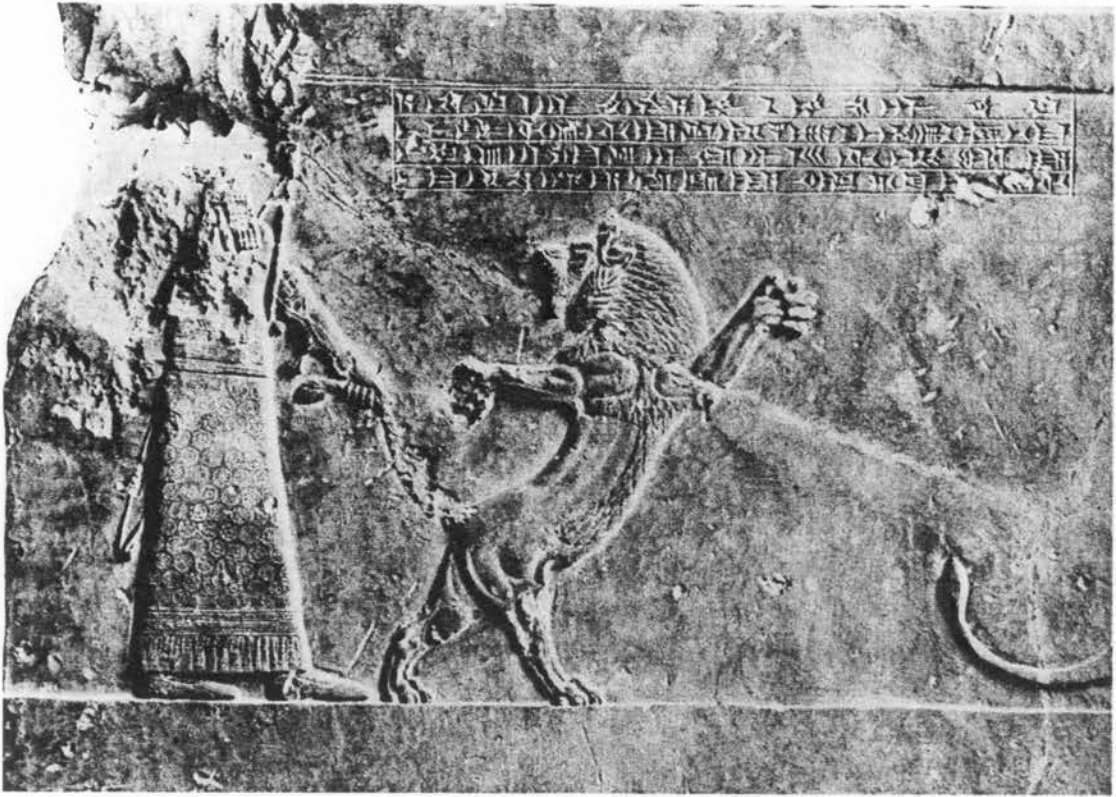


Figure 46. North Palace Room S¹ Slab D mr. Ashurbanipal seizing a lion by its tail. British Museum BM 124886-7 (Barnett 1976: Plate LIX).

Abbreviations

CAD *The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago*. Chicago, Oriental Institute and J.J. Augustin Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1965.

CDA *A Concise Dictionary of Akkadian*. Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz Verlag, 2000.

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