STUDIES ON THE ANNALS OF AŠŠURNASIRPAL II
I. MORPHOLOGICAL ANALYSIS

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INTRODUCTION

1.   Within the teaching of "History of the Ancient Near East" in the University of Rome, a series of seminars began in the academic year 1980-1981, intended to deal primarily with the study of the political discourse and the political lexicon of the Ancient Near East. This study is to follow the methodological structure of analysis which has been defined (with reference to the contemporary/modern world's textual material and historical situations) during the last twenty or thirty years[1]. The intention is to go beyond a purely philological reading, which is undoubtedly necessary but which has in effect largely been carried out already by existing studies, and to proceed to a historical, complex and exhaustive analysis and utilization of the whole documentation. The intention is also to build up this analysis on the texts as such, i.e. on their formal aspects, and not on their use as finding spot for items of historical information. This does not deny the presence in the texts and the interest of such information. It means that their correct and precise individuation and subsequent evaluation is possible only once the aims and the mo

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[1] Bibliographical index in P. Desideri - A. Marcarino, *Testualità e tipologia del discorso politico. Bibliografia*, Roma 1980. See at least R. Robin, *Histoire et linguistique*, Paris 1973; G. Klaus, *Sprache der Politik*, Berlin 1971; J.P. Faye, *Introduction aux langages totalitaires*, Paris 1970; besides the classic H.D. Lasswell - N. Leites, *Language of Politics. Studies in Quantitative Semantics*, Cambridge Mass. 1965. For an example of analysis on ancient texts, cfr. *Texte, politique, idéologie: Cicéron*, Paris 1976.

dalities of the texts' redaction have been clarified[2].

2.   After a year (1980-1981) dedicated to a general introduction to the problem, the task focused on the choice of a specimen-text for analysis (1981-1982). First of all it was decided to limit the field of study to the Neo-Assyrian royal inscriptions. This was done for various reasons. In the first place these texts, in the ambit of the Ancient Near East, constitute the widest and most chronologically compact corpus of texts that can be qualified as "political discourse". Besides, and on a practical-operative level, we already dispose of instruments of work and preparatory materials resulting from the CNR research on the "History of the Political Conceptions of the Ancient Near East" and, particularly, on the "Assyrian Ideological Lexicon"[3].

From the Neo-Assyrian royal inscriptions it was decided to select as speci-men-text the Annals of Aššurnasirpal II (883-859 BC). This text combines the qualities of a sufficient length and a notable structural simplicity - by comparison with the more pro-nounced literary quality, complexity and inventiveness of the later texts - which permit and make easier our task. The intention is to subject the specimen-text to a series of dif-ferent analyses: the first of which has been carried out during the academic year 1981-1982 and is being published below[4]. The others, we hope, will appear later on.

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As for the transcription of the text, we have relied on that of King[5], bear ing in mind certain modifications introduced by subsequent studies[6] and, also, by the great dictionaries. As for the translation, we have made particular reference to the recent one by Grayson[7]. As for the organization of the textual material of Aššurnasirpal (ASN), Schramm's repertoire proved invaluable[8]. Recently, some interesting though not decisive contributions on ASN have also appeared, concerning both the inscriptions[9] and other re lated matters of a more general and diverse character[10].

3.   As a first exercise of analysis regarding the Annals of ASN it has been de cided to select a morphological analysis directly inspired by that which V.J. Propp car ried out on the corpus of Russian fairy-tales and which has effectively launched a series of analogical researches in many other sectors[11]. The narrative unit corresponding to a

[5]   L.W. King, *The Annals of the Kings of Assyria*, London 1902, pp. 254-387.

[6]   Cfr. especially W. Schramm, *Einleitung in die Assyrischen Königsinschrif ten*, II, Leiden 1973, pp. 22-29.

[7]   D.D. Luckenbill, *Ancient Records of Assyria and Babylonia*, I, Chicago 1926, §§ 436-484 is now replaced by K. Grayson, *Assyrian Royal Inscriptions*, II, Wiesbaden 1976, pp. 113-211.

[8]   Schramm, *Einleitung*, pp. 18-69.

[9]   After Schramm, the following articles have been published: B. Dombrowski, *The Original of British Museum Tablets 90.984, 90.979 and 92.985 and the Oldest Part of the Main Inscription of Ashurnasirpal II*: RA, 67 (1973), pp. 131-145 (cfr. W. de Filippi: RA, 68 [1974], pp. 141-148); E. Sollberger, *The White Obelisk*: "Iraq", 31 [1974], pp. 231-238; W. de Filippi, *The Royal Inscriptions of Aššur-nasir-apli II*: "Assur", I/7 [1977], pp. 1-47.

[10]   Cfr. W.G. Lambert, *The Reigns of Aššurnasirpal II and Shalmaneser III. An Interpretation*: "Iraq", 36 (1974), pp. 103-109; H. Tadmor, *Assyria and the West: the Ninth Century and its Aftermath*, in *Unity and Diversity*, pp. 36-48; S.M. Paley, *King of the World. Aššur-nāṣir-pal II of Assyria*, New York 1976 (id.: AJA, 81 [1977], pp. 523-543); A.K. Grayson, *Studies in the Neo-Assyrian History. The Ninth Century B.C.*: BO, 33 (1976), pp. 134-145. On the topography of ASN's campaigns cfr. now H. Kühne, *Zur Rekonstruktion der Feldzüge Adad-nīrāri II., Tukulti-Ninurta II. and Aššurnaṣirpal II. im Ḫābūr-Gebiet*: BaM, 11 (1980), pp. 44-70; K. Kessler, *Untersuchungen zur historischen Topographie Nord- mesopotamiens*, Wiesbaden 1980.

[11]   V.J. Propp, *Morfologija skazki*, Leningrad 1928 (our references follow the Italian translation: *Morfologia della fiaba*, Torino 1966).

single tale in Propp is obviously a single campaign. The Annals constitute, consequently, a corpus made up of ten campaigns. However, as will be made evident later on, the weight of repetitions and insertions is such as to in fact multiply the narrative sections that are subject to analysis according to Propp's model.

The Proppian model has been preferred to later models, which can boast of more complex and sophisticated elaborations[12], for the reason that it was perceived to be more suitable for such a text as the Annals of ASN. This does not imply, even remotely, any attempt of ours to suggest a link between so different texts as the Russian fairy-tales and the Assyrian military campaigns. The problem of the more general validity of Propp's scheme beyond his own immediate documentary material has been well looked into and this is not the place to take it up again. Naturally we have carried out certain modifications and added certain elements to it to meet the specific characteristics of our text. Such modifications will be clarified as we go along.

As we proceeded in the morphological analysis of the Annals of ASN we have not come across any specific precedent. Of course, the repetitive nature of the account was generally evident. This, however, has not been as yet the object of a structural organization. Two examples may help to bring out the point: the list of typical motives which Schramm provides for ASN[13], though helpful on a purely compilative level, does not turn out to be more than an amorphic inventory. And, even more banally, the paragraph division in the existing translations is more often than not counter to the breaks which punctuate the narrative structure. This means that a morphological analysis has not only never been yet explicitly made, but also that it has not even been implied in preceding treatments of the text.

DESCRIPTION OF THE CODE

The formalization of the individual campaigns of the Annals of ASN is acqui-

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[12] Cfr. e.g. C. Bremond, *Logique du récit*, Paris 1973; A.J. Greimas, *Sémantique structurale*, Paris 1966; also R. Barthes (and others), *L'analyse structurale du récit:* "Communications", 8 (1966).

[13] Schramm, *Einleitung*, pp. 64-66.

red through the employment of a code, inspired by Propp, whose fundamental principles are the following: (1) The capital letters single out "functions", in the Proppian sense of the term, which are related to one another in a syntagmatic way. (2) The numerical symbols in the exponent position single out systemic alternatives within the individual functions. (3) The Greek letters in the exponent position are also systemic, but of a cumulative rather than alternative nature. (4) Other exponential graphic symbols indicate the stylistic or ideological connotations of the functions. (5) A few symbols at the level of the capital letters scan the sequence.

It is hardly necessary to recall that the sequence of the functions is fixed and necessary (except for occasional inversions of stylistic relevance), since each one of them is related functionally to the preceding and the subsequent ones. Still, the constant presence of all the functions is not at all necessary since it is possible to go through an abbreviated way - as it is also possible to go through a way extended by the repetition of sections[14] to reach the outcome of the story. In any case, it is to be hoped that the present study will be utilized only after a preliminary knowledge of Propp's work, and possibly also of other relevant literature.

Compared with orthodox Proppian method, it must be said that our code is much more careful as regards the lexical and syntactic correspondence to the Assyrian text. For every function a recurrent and distinctive terminology is applied and the scansion in functions corresponds to syntactic unities. Three points must be clarified:

(1) The attention to the lexical and stylistic reality of the text derives from - and in our opinion is justified by - the fact that the material at our disposal is not made up of traditional texts, as happens in the case of fairy-tales which are "bands of variants" with lexical and stylistic realizations pertaining, from time to time, to each single variant. In our case we are dealing with a series of narratives of homologous structure, the product of a single scribal environment over a short period of years. Our code seeks to be precise enough to render possible even the re-writing in Assyrian of the texts themselves.

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[14] The unit here defined "section" corresponds in substance to the "movimento" in Propp, *Morfologia*, pp. 98-102.

(2) By comparison with Propp's code, which tends more towards the level of "deep structure", our method is more referred to the stylistic surface of the narrative. This is done without losing contact with the "deep structure" of the narrative, thus manifesting the high degree of correspondence between structure and narrative modality characterizing such a text.

(3) Discrepancies between the code and the text, that is, those instances wherein the relation between the application of the code and the lexical-stylistic reality is less satisfactory, should not, in our opinion, be taken as indications of "arbitrariness" in the code - beyond the extent to which "arbitrariness" in positively and obviously any application of a code - but should rather be considered an indication of the level of awareness, of emergence from the deep level, in the use of the literary scheme and of the ideological connotation by the Assyrian scribal environment. In any case, one may note a high degree of correspondence, and the instances of a lesser degree of awareness will be indicated as we go along and duly discussed.

We give now a list of the symbols which are employed and which will be followed by a detailed analysis of each function.

Functions: A = Spatial (A^1) and temporal (A^2) coordinates; a = spatio-temporal evocations.

B = Disorder.

C = Divine aid: normal (C^1), oracle (C^2), instruments (C^3).

D = Gathering of the troops; d = auxiliaries.

E = Move from place to place.

F = Presence: symbolic expressions (F^1), siege (F^2); f = passing of the night.

G = Flight.

H = Pursuit.

I = Combat.

L = Outcome of the combat: destructive (L^1), acquisitive (L^2), with natural causes (L^3).

M = Submission.

N = Exemplary punishment.

O = Consequences: imposition of taxes (O^1), Assyrian functionaries (O^2), symbolic expressions (O^3).

P = Acts of celebration: erection of steles (P^1), foundation or restoration of cities (P^2), religious rites (P^3).

Q = Return; q = return by one stage.

Connotations (in exponent to the functions, if not otherwise indicated):

$\emptyset$ = non-connotated or non-specified function.

Δ = difficulty of route (used in EGHQ).

! = motive of priority (used especially in E).

$*$ = comparison.

x = numerical quantification (used especially in LM).

$\circ$ = listing (more than 2 elements, used especially in LM)[15].

- = indication of the non-materialization of the function (above the letter).

() = suggestion of or allusion to a function (at the level of the capital letters).

: = brief preliminary statement (prefixed to L).

Specification of Persons or Objects (in exponent; especially in GILMN):

α = (enemy) king.

α' = Assyrian king (only if underlined, or in the third person).

β = (enemy) troops.

β' = Assyrian troops (only if underlined).

γ = civilians.

δ = animals.

ε = inanimate goods.

ζ = cities.

η = "the rest".

ϑ = leaders.

[15] Coding of the kind $^\circ$M means "submission of (three or more) cities, which are listed", while the normal coding M$^\circ$ means "submission, with supply of goods which are listed".

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Scansions: / = duplication of a section in the same place.

// = duplication of a section but in another place.

/// = end of campaign.

[] = insertion[16].

← = anticipation of news (marked above the letter).

< > = deferment of consequence (e.g. $G^{\alpha<}$ ... $L^{1\alpha>}$).

A - Spatio-Temporal Coordinates

A^1 = spatial collocation; A^2 = temporal collocation; A^{12} = spatio-temporal collocation; a = spatio-temporal reference within a campaign (esp. at the beginning of stages, insertions, or other narrative sections).

Every campaign commences with a spatial (A^1) and/or temporal (A^2) collocation. If the initial indication is not complete, an additional reference may immediately follow (I campaign: A^2// A^{12}; II campaign: A^2[ ]A^{12}; VII campaign: A^1 B A^{12}). The temporal collocation of day ($\bar{u}mu$), month ($arḫu$) and even year (by means of the $l\bar{\imath}mu$ eponym) seems to be of a technical character. However one may not exclude that the Assyrian public appreciated the lucky or unlucky character of each day. Even more, the indication of the city of departure, that is of the capital city, does not lack ideological weight. One notes that the compositional seam between campaigns I-V and campaigns VI-X, which resulted from the insertion of a passage (II 125-135) dealing with the founding of Kalaḫ, does indeed underline that the first five campaigns departed from the old capital Nineveh while the last five started from the new capital Kalaḫ[17]. One also notes the clearly ideological character of the spatio-temporal collocation at the beginning of the first year (I 43-45: with reference to the time of ascension to throne and to the place of latter) as possessing an introductory function with respect to the whole sequence of Annals that follows. In fact it is resumed once again in the first year (I 69) in a technical-descriptive manner with ref

[16] In Propp's code, p. 99, case (1) corresponds to our / or //, case (2) to our [ ].

[17] Cfr. lastly de Filippi: "Assur", I/7 (1977), pp. 30-31.

erence to the single campaign (as will happen for the successive ones).

The differences between the first group of campaigns and the second may appear to be of a strictly stylistic character. For instance in the second group there is always *ištu Kalaḫ attumuš*; there is always the month and the day, but three times out of five no eponym. Nevertheless, the major emphasis in recording the departure from Kalaḫ may derive from the desire to underline the role of the newly founded capital. On the contrary, no particular accent was given to the departure of campaigns I-V from Nineveh since this seemed to be in obvious consistence with the traditional role of this city. Even the omission of an indication of the year in the second group of campaigns may have been motivated by the fact that, contrary to the first five, campaigns VI-X seem to have taken place irregularly, something which the writers preferred not to emphasize[18].

Apart from the calendar and toponomastic indications, the sole key-word of function A is *ašābu* "to stay" (I 101, II 49, III 26) utilized to substantiate A^1 only when followed by B (motive of the "news", cfr. below). Otherwise A^{12} is deprived of a proper syntactic structure, and summed up in sentences centred on verbs of motion (esp. *namāšu*) belonging to function E. This underlines the character of A^{12} more as premise or as initial framework than as a genuine "function". All the same, the "ideological" link $A^1 \rightarrow P^2$ and the narrative links $A \rightarrow P$ and $A \rightarrow Q$ manifest the essential nature of A which, in any case, is never absent.

As regards the attenuated or resumed function a, it appears frequently and, one would say from the stylistic point of view, inevitably, in the case of internal narrative breaks: after /, after //, and at the beginning of [ ]. The typical formulation for a^1 is *ištu GN attumuš* "from GN I left" (after //) - this is in reality a spatial reference in a function which is primarily that of transfer (E); for a^2 it is *ina ūmēšuma* "in those days" (I 68, II 21, 46, 75, 84, III 43, 55, 63, 77, 84, 95) after /, after //, and at the beginning of [ ]. More emphatic expressions for a^{12} are *ina mētaqtija* "in my march"

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[18] On the sequence of eponyms (and of campaigns, according to them), cfr. de Filippi: "Assur", I/7 (1977), pp. 26-27; Schramm, *Einleitung*, pp. 29-31 (at p. 31 on avoiding eponyms in campaigns of the second group). For the pace of the campaigns cfr. also Lambert, cit., p. 107.

(I 77, II 20), *ina talartija* "in my return" (II 15), *ina girrija* "in my expedition" (III 31, 44). Typical for a[12] at the beginning of an insertion is *kī ina GN usbākūni* "while I was in GN" (I 56-57, 74-75, 94, II 12, 70, 80, III 94), followed by an announcement in analogy with what has been already seen for A, and more frequently by M[δε] (reception of tribute).

B - *Disorder*

Enunciation of a state of disorder which induces the Assyrian king to act. When the disorder has a specific character and is recent, it becomes known to the king, generally, by means of a report carried to him (*tēma turru*: I 75, 101-102, II 23, 49-50, III 27; in cases II 15-16, 84-85, 118 the report is not explicitly defined as such). The report of the new disorder is a well-evidenced and a well-collocated function, found generally at the beginning of a campaign (4 cases out of 8, and always with *tēma turru*), the whole sequence ABC[2]DE being typical and recurrent (I 74-77, 101-104, II 23-27, 49-51). As regards the numerous cases in which function B is absent, one may remark that from an ideological point of view the lack of an explicitly enunciated disorder does not mean that there was no disorder. Rather, since every action of the Assyrian king was aimed at the re-establishment of order, the absence of an explicit B would be due to the obvious and given existence of such disorder. With reference to the relationship between narrative structure and functional significance, it should be noted that the exclusive presence of B as motivation for the Assyrian action remains valid even for those cases not enunciated as B.

As regards the contents of the report (*tēmu*), that is, as regards the substance of the disorder, the typical verb that is employed is *nabalkutu* "to rise against", "to rebel" (in the formulation *PN/GN ittabalkit*: I 75, 103, II 16, 24, 118, III 27), a term typical of the idea that political change is the "overthrow" of the established order. Other formulations include the "interruption" of the current relations (*GN₁ GN₂ maddattu kudurru ša Aššur bēlija iklū*: II 50), the "crossing over" of frontiers in the physical sense (*ebēru*: III 28), the "killing" of the legitimate rulers (I 75, II 118) and their eventual replacement by usurpers (I 76), and the carrying out of military deeds against the Assyrians (I 102-103, II 23-25). It turns out that there is only one case (II 84) of older disorder, but even in this case the origin of the disorder lies in the ac-

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tion of an enemy (by the way: the same action *ana tilli u karmi turru* here carried out by the Babylonian king is of a negative nature and requires the reparatory contribution of ASN who, in his turn accomplishes it quite frequently [cfr. in L^1] in a positive sense).

C - Divine Aid

Between the knowledge about disorder (B) and the actions carried out to heal it (E and the following) there lies the acquisition of adequate working instruments. This problem is described on both ideological (C) and technical (D) levels. The description of divine aid has been sub-divided into: C^1 = enunciation of normal divine favour towards the Assyrian king (*ina tukulti DN* "trusting in god X" II 25, 103, III 46; *ina rēsūti DN* "with the help of god X" I 76, II 65); C^2 = the obtaining of an explicit divine guarantee, evidently by means of an oracle (*ina qibīt DN* "according to the word of god X" I 70, 99, 104, II 50, III 52, 92); and C^3 = tools or concrete aid provided by the divinity (^{d}*uri-gal*[19] *ālik pānija* "the (divine) banner that precedes me" II 25-26, 27-28, 50, III 52; *ina idāti ṣīrāti ša DN* "with the lofty arms (strength) of god X" II 27, 105; *kakkē šarāku* II 26). Non-typical and more extended is the terminology at the beginning of the first campaign (I 44-45) which performs the function of introducing the whole action of the king (*ṣulūla šakānu, ina kussî šarrūti ašābu, ḫatta ina qāti šutmuḫu*).

The tri-partition $C^1/C^2/C^3$ is in part artificial. The phraseology of C^3 is a figurative mode of expressing C^1. The concept of *tukultu/tiklu* is C^1 though presupposing indications of type C^2; and so on. The uses of *ina qibīti / ina rēsūti / ina tukulti* seem to be interchangeable and no differences appear in relation to the divinities referred to. There is only a certain preference for C^1/C^3 not connected with the beginning of but inserted within the relevant campaign; and for C^2 (oracle) before the departure from the capital. The most concrete element is the enucleation of C^2 as acquisition, through oracular procedures, of an explicit divine guarantee concerning the

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[19] Schramm, *Einleitung*, p. 23.

action which is on the verge of taking place. In this sense one may assume a certain cor

respondence and concatenation of B (type *ṭēma turru*) and C^2: at the explicit (human) news

of disorder there follows, immediately, the explicit divine indication on how to restore

order.

On the level of syntax, function C is never expressed by a principal sentence (ex

cept in I 44-45), but rather by a circumstantial expression annexed to sentences that e-

nunciate the function which follows (D or E or some other one). This signifies that the

acquisition of the divine assent is a prerequisite of the most operative technical and

military preparation for the campaign and that the link between the ideological and ope-

rative levels (C and D) is solidly acknowledged and recorded.

The collocation of the sequence is either at the beginning of the campaign

(5 instances), in which case it is normally followed by DE (4 instances, E 1 instance), or

comes after // (4 cases: twice DE follows, once E, once H) or is within the action as if

it were a preparation for a particularly difficult undertaking (4 cases having various re

sults: 2 instances M, 1 I and 1 FL).

The most interesting fact concerns the progressive rarification of the ex-

plicit attestation of function C with the passing of years:

I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X
3	2	1	2	2	0	1	1	0	1

Especially in the second group of campaigns following the transfer to Kalaḫ, divine aid

is very rarely indicated. Indeed, two campaigns (VI and IX) ignore it completely. Further

more, while Aššur continues to be referred to in every need of C, the other divinities

practically disappear after the second campaign (Šamaš I and IV, Ištar I and II, Adad I

and II, Ninurta II). This tendency is indicative of the greater need of support at the be

ginning of the reign, and of a bolder attitude once power was consolidated.

D - *Gathering of the Troops*

D = gathering of the Assyrian troops, normally at the beginning of every campaign; d =
gathering of auxiliary contingents.

Function D, normally preceded by the initial sequence ABC (I 77, 104, II 26,

51), only exceptionally by AC (I 45) or by A (II 86), and always followed by E, possesses a fixed formulation: *narkabāti ummānāti dekû* "to assemble chariots and troops". Only in one instance the equivalent expression *dekûta šakānu* "to establish the gathering" is employed (II 51). Different is the case relative to the further assembling of auxiliary troops (d: II 53, 72, 103, III 58, 60, 63, 68, 77) during the campaign; this invariably follows //. In such a case the formula is *issija lequ* "to take with me" and the type of troops is indicated in *pithallu* + *kallabu* (II 72), *narkabātu* + *pithallu* + *ašarittu* (II 53, 103), *narkabātu* + *pithallu* + *zūku* (III 58, 60, 63, 68-69, 77): light troops or special troops.

It is noteworthy that function D in its typical form (with *dekû*) features at the outset of all campaigns I-V but turns out to be totally absent in the campaigns VI-X relative to the second group. (On the other hand, the formula *issija lequ* D/d is only used occasionally, in campaigns IV, V, IX). This fact is not to be considered merely as stylistic, but endowed also with ideological implications. As already with divine aid (C) so also as regards the assembling of troops (D) the more attentive attitude gives way to one which is more unconstrained, with the king as the only (apparent) actor of the expeditions.

(An instance of the gathering of troops by the enemy, referred in analogous terminology *narkabāti ummānāti dekû* (III 34-36) obviously does not cover function D which concerns solely the Assyrian troops. This instance is dealt with under function G).

E - *Move from place to place*

Normally function E describes any movement in space of the protagonist (=the Assyrian king), apart from the specific functions of pursuit (H) and return (Q). In the narrative structure, however, E particularly refers to the transfer of the protagonist from his occasional or permanent residence to the place of combat or encounter with the antagonist. Two different modalities of transfer can be detected: a non-connotated one ($E^{\emptyset}$), and one which takes place on a difficult road (E^{Δ}). Sometimes, in connection with this function there appears the motive of priority ($E^{!}$).

In its structurally more significant use, that is, relative to the initial transfer to the place of combat, function E is obviously preceded by the introductory functions ABCD in consonance with the restrictions that qualify their presence (20 instances,

in 9 of which there is D). Nonetheless, the use of E after // is quantitatively prevalent, that is, in describing a resumption or a section of the transfer in the course of the campaign. It is obvious that the initial departures are in a minority with respect to the notations that refer to the stages and the movements from one enemy to another.

The point of arrival of function E is theoretically an annotation of presence (F/f) which, in fact, follows in almost half of the cases (F 13 times and f 21 times). Just as frequent is, however, the omission of F, insofar as it is obvious and hence not explicitly indicated, in which case the functions of confrontation with the enemy immediately follow, whether these be of a bellicose nature (L 16 times, I 2 times, $\bar{G}$ 1 time), of an interlocutory one (G 2 times), or of a submissive character (M 13 times, $\bar{N}$ 1 instance). In 4 instances function P (acts of celebration along the route) follows.

It results, therefore, that transfer E is very frequently articulated by stages // and also inserts [ ], which do not alter the basic sequence but, rather, complicate it according to patterns

Campaign V in particular, and campaign VI above all, in consideration of their pattern of "itinerary" which records the stages night by night, put out of balance the statistical $\underline{e}$ valuation since they over-emphasize sequence // Ef.

The terminology of E is very repetitious though, given the wide number of attestations, it is rich enough. The simple term "to go" *alāku* is rarely employed (10 times). Generally the text underlines the moments of departure, of the overcoming of difficulties and of arrival. As regards departure (especially with reference to the very wide number of re-departures following intermediate stages or episodes), the term which is exclusively used is *namāšu* (49 times). The problem of selecting the road to be followed is alluded to by expressions linked to ṣabātu ("road" as the intended object, 4 times) and, particularly, the following: *šiddi/ana pūt FN ṣabātu* and *šēp/šiddi MN ṣabātu* "to take the road along the

bank of the river X / by the foot of the mountain Y" (8 instances in all). Rarely used is *redû* "to proceed" (3 instances), otherwise typical of function H (Pursuit). The "crossing" of the river is always referred to by means of *ebēru* (16 cases), and the "climbing up" of mountains by means of *nabalkutu* (4 cases) as well as by the term "to enter" (*erēbu* 12 cases) into mountain "passes" or "paths" (*nērebu* 10 cases, mostly as internal object of *erēbu*). The "coming out" of tight spots is more rarely referred to (*aṣû* 3 cases, but cfr. Q^Δ). The success in "crossing over" mountains (*etēqu* 4 cases) that lack "passage-ways" (*ana mētiqi ... lā šaknū*) is another instance of a play on words with a manifest undertone of celebration. The moment of arrival is indicated by *qarābu* (17 cases) "to draw near" an enemy city, in which the king will eventually enter following the successive actions. The expression "to pitch (camp)" (*šakānu* 18 times) is typical of the daily stages. Often, the progress of the journey (the overcoming of interposed mountains and the arriving in valleys or plains) induces the employment of the term "to go down" (*arādu* 7 times) in order to reach the destination. Rarely are the terms "to go up" (*elû* 3 times) and "to turn round" (*saḫāru* 1 time) used.

This terminology is mostly employed in a cumulative manner (e.g. departure from a given place and arrival at a given destination) according to associations which may be patterned as follows:

		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
1	*etēqu*	4	1	1			1							1	
2	*alāku*	1	10	3			2	1	1			1	1		
3	*namāšu*	1	3	49	3	9	7	14	6	2		1	1	18	1
4	*arādu*			3	7	1	2		2	2					
5	*erēbu*			9	1	12	2	3	2					1	
6	*ebēru*	1	2	7	2	2	16	5	1			2	1	2	
7	*qarābu*		1	14		3	5	18	1		1	2		1	
8	*ṣabātu*		1	6	2	2	1	1	12	2		1	1	3	1
9	*nabalkutu*			2	2				2	4					
10	*aṣû*							1			3				
11	*redû*		1	1			2	2	1			3			
12	*elû*		1	1			1		1				3		
13	*šakānu*	1		18		1	2		3					18	
14	*ešēru*			1				1	1						1

In relation to the bi-partition between E^Δ and $E^\emptyset$, some verbs are by their very nature typical of the difficult route: *etēqu* (4:0), *erēbu* (10:2), *ebēru* (16:0), *nabalkutu* (4:0), etc. The verb *šakānu* alone appears more frequently in $E^\emptyset$ (3:15) for the reason that it is employed in relation to brief stages. The basic verbs *namāšu* (21:28) and *qarābu* (8:8) are indifferent to any distinction.

Only rarely does the description of the difficulties appearing in the route refer to night-time (*mūšu* 3 cases). Normally it refers to natural obstacles such as mountains and rivers. As regards the crossing of rivers, an exercise familiar to the Assyrians, no particular adjectives or notations are used, except in one instance the expression "high water" (*mīlu*) and in another the expression "against the stream" (*ana elīni*). As regards mountains, a landscape foreign to the Assyrians, the typical definitions are *girru pašqu* (1), *šadû marṣūtu / dannūtu* (3/2), *eqlu namrāṣu* (2), *ašru rūqu* (1). The relevant difficulties are overcome either by utilizing natural paths (*nērebu*: 10 times, *ina birīt* MN$_1$ *u* MN$_2$: 4 times) or through technical interventions such as the cutting of rocks with metallic tools (*ina kalappāt parzilli nakāsu + ina akkullē erî naqāru*: 2 cases). In the same way rivers are crossed by the construction of boats (*elippē epēšu*: 2 cases). The mountainous regions not suitable for the transit of the army (*ana mētiq narkabāte u ummānāte lā šaknū*, 5 times) are now travelled for the first time ("their place had not been seen by anyone" *ašaršunu + lā amāru*: 1 instance; "in them no one had ever penetrated" *ina qerebšunu + lā teḫû*: 2 times; "the trail and the passage no one had ever traced" *kibsa u mēteqa + lā šakānu*: 1 instance).

F - Presence

Under function F, which theorically marks the presence of the Assyrian king at the end of the transfer that leads to the place where the confrontation with the enemy will take place, we have gathered three situations which are, to some extent, diverse on both conceptual and terminological levels. In fact, outside these three types of situation, the sheer and simple presence of the Assyrian king on the spot of encounter or confrontation is not especially narrated insofar as it is obvious (being the termination of function E). In any case here one has: F^1 = the (terrifying) presence of the god and of the Assyrian king expressed through symbolic expressions, F^2 = the siege of the enemy city; f = the passing of

the night.

In the case of F¹ the presence expressed in symbols may either refer to the god Aššur (I 57, 80, II 46, 80-81) or to the Assyrian king (II 78, 112, 113, 119, III 47). As regards the god Aššur one speaks of *melammū* (I 57) or *pulḫu melammū* (I 80, II 46, 80-81), and the verb is always *saḫāpu* "to overwhelm". As regards the Assyrian king one speaks also of *melammū* (+ *šarrūtija*) but, in this case, accompanied by the verb *palāḫu* "to fear" (II 113). However, more frequently, there appear elements that allude to military strength - always with the use of verbs corresponding to "fear" *ištu pān kakkēja dannūti tāḫāzja šitmuri idātija gitmālūti palāḫu* (III 46-47), *ištu pān namurrat kakkēja šurībāt bēlūtija adāru* (II 78, 119-120). The action can take place both through direct contact (by the king) and at a distance (by the god) (I 57, II 46, 80-81). The action that takes place from a distance obviously constitutes an insertion in the sequence [aFM]. That which takes place through direct contact is inserted in the normal sequence, mostly following E and before M. As already in the case of C, one notes a difference between the first group of five campaigns where F¹ is employed more frequently, and the second group which is qualified by only one occurence (III 47 in campaign VII). Moreover, F¹ with reference to the god exhausts itself with campaigns I (2 cases), III (1) and IV (1) and is succeeded by F¹ with reference to the king in campaigns IV (1 case), V (2) and VII (1). In a parallel way the verbs expressing "fear" (IV: 1; V: 3; VII: 1) follow those corresponding to "overwhelming" and "pouring out" (I: 2; III: 1; IV: 1). Considering the whole picture one perceives that the greater attention given to the role of the divinity gives place to a more combative attitude, then to a more disinterested one.

The characteristic term corresponding to F² is *lamū* "to surround" (10 cases out of 12) governing the object *āla* "city" (9 cases). In two instances the expression is specified by *ina gipiš ummānāte tāḫāzija šitmuri* (I 106-107) and *ina mitḫuṣ tidūki* (I 115) whose function is parallel to that of C in II 52. The two instances without *lamū* use respectively the expression *PN ina ālišu esēru* (III 46) and a more complex phraseology which shows the siege carried out by exemplary punishments inflicted upon the already vanquished enemies: heaps of impaled heads and bodies arranged around the walls and in front of the gates of the besieged city (III 108). This is also the only instance where the

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siege does not culminate in a conquest but is followed only by a rather symbolic punishment: the cutting down of the gardens (cfr. under N). In all other cases the siege is obviously followed by pillage (L: 19 instances) the description of which may be preceded or not by the explicit account of the combat and the conquest (I: 4 instances). If the enemy surrenders without combat there follows M (3 cases). An attenuated instance of F^2 has been considered to be an ambush (II 70-71 *ana šubti šūšubu*).

The terminology of the nightly stage is absolutely stereotyped: it is always *bâtu* "to pass the night" (19 instances) preceded by the term (*ušmāna*) *šakānu* "to encamp" of E (19 instances) and the term *târu* "to return (to camp)" (3 times). Here we are dealing with stages of a purely functional character, stages which take place in the course of one's moving from one place to another (Ef //: 8 instances; qf //: 3 instances) or in the proximity of the cities where tributes are to be collected (EfM: 9 instances). Rarely are they followed by violent actions (EfL: 2 instances).

G - *Flight*

The flight of the enemy when faced by the presence of the Assyrian king. The "non-flight" $\bar{G}$ is obviously only codified when the text explicitly refers to it. The flight occurs mostly (12:3) in difficult places (G^Δ), and those who perform it are hereby indicated by Greek letters.

The logical and terminological sequence is the following: (1) The moment of "fearing" *palāḫu* (II 61-62) governed by the subject$^\alpha$ or of "hiding oneself" *qarāru* (I 48, 62, II 35, 40-41) governed by the subject$^\beta$. The contrary deed of "trusting" *takālu* is referred to the cases of "non-flight" $\bar{G}$ (I 114 *ana dūrāni dannūti u ummānāte ma'dūte*; II 27 *ina gipiš ummānāti*; III 17 *ana ummānāt GN rapšāti*; III 35 *ina gipiš narkabāti ummānāti idāti*; III 52 *ana ummānāte ma'dūte*; III 39 *ana idāte*), though there is also one instance of flight (II 16 *ana GN āl dannūti šadê marṣūte*). (2) The moment of the "abandoning" *uššuru* appears only in two cases (II 16 *ālāni*; III 113 *ālāni dūrāni*). In non-flight, at this point, there is the action of "assembling" the troops (III 35 *dekû*). (3) The flight in the true sense of the word is indicated by the term *naparšudu* "to fly (escape)" (II 9, 81-82), more often by the term *elû* "to go up" given that the destination is normally a mountain

(II 40-41, 68, 81-82, 113-114, III 45), exceptionally by the opposite *maqātu* "to throw oneself into" a river (III 19) and also by *erēbu* "to enter" a fortified place (I 113). In the non-flight, at this point, one comes across a battle (III 36 *ana tarṣi tebû*). (4) The outcome of flight is "occupying" *ṣabātu* protected places (I 48, 62, II 35, 40-41, 61-62, III 40) with goal of there "resting/staying" (*ašābu* + *šakānu* II 82-83) or with the aim figuratively presented with the image of "building (there) one's nest" (*qinna nadû* I 65). In the case of non-flight the issue will be that of hostilely "occupying" the crossing (*nēbera ṣabātu* III 39).

The stereotyped motivations of flight are those of "saving one's life" (*ana šūzub napišti* II 40, 68, 113-114, III 18-19, 40, 45), "from my weapons" (*ištu pān kakkēja* II 9, 81-82; + *dannūte* III 18, 45 + *tāḫāzi šitmuri* II 61-62). The motivation of non-flight is that of "making battle" (*ana epēš qabli u tāḫāzi* III 35; *tāḫāza ēpušu* II 27). The sanctuary sought when there is flight is normally that provided by "difficult mountains" *šadû marṣūte* (I 48, II 17, 30, 35, 41, 62, III 40; with other terminol ogy cfr. I 62, 64-65, II 68, 114).

The sequence type FGH is complete in only one case since both F and H are for the most part implied. The outcome is frequently L (6 instances) or H (7 instances). Correctly enough, G$^<$ is followed by // (1 instance). As a precedent, one has more often than not L (9 instances) insofar as flight concerns the survivors and the defeated and this leads to a repetition of the clash and the massacre.

H - Pursuit

With respect to E, it is characterized on the structural level by its oc-curing after the flight (5 cases of the type GHL, 1 case GH̄HL, only in 1 case CHL) and on the lexical level by the expression *arkišu(nu)* "after him/them" (7 instances out of 9). Just like G and E, H also may be difficult (H$^\Delta$: 3 instances in 9). The verbs employ ed are the simple ones *alāku* (I 48-49, II 82) and *ṣabātu* (II 66), the specific one *redû* "to pursue" (II 114, III 41, 42), the ascending ones *elû* (I 50-51, II 41) and *še'û* "to fly" (I 50-51 in " with birds), and the only more-descriptive one *šadê ḫātu* "to ex plore" + *saḫāpu* (I 50-51).

There is only one instance of "non-pursuit" (H̄: I 48-49) which is, nevertheless, immediately followed by pursuit. This case constitutes none other than a rhetorical expedient to underline the difficulty of the situation.

I - *Combat*

The moment of combat goes significantly disregarded in the narrative of $\underline{\text{H}}$. A negligible formality, it is scarcely even mentioned (7 times). The account passes immediately to the burdensome enunciation of the consequences following the obvious victory (L). The terminology is simple: *ittišunu maḫāṣu* (II 27-28, 105-106, III 36, 39) or the equivalent *mitḫuṣa šakānu* (III 18, 108-109). In one case (II 105) there appears the indication *ina gipiš ummānāti tāḫāzi šitmuri* already seen in F^2 (and followed by figurative expressions). III 105 differs.

L - *Outcome of the combat*

The outcome of the combat, being wholly taken for granted, is but rarely explicitly enunciated (cfr. below for the relevant terminology). On the other hand the concrete results of the victory are given in detail. These results are clearly divided between those having a character of destruction (L^1) and those having that of acquisition (L^2). The interpenetration of L^1 and L^2 (which has suggested the unitary consideration of function L) is underlined by the frequent presence of a generic "conquest" (:L^2) or "victory" (:L^1) to be eventually described in detail (L^2 and L^1). Lastly, a distinct numerical indicator (L^3) is given to the rare but significant case of a destruction of the enemy attributable to natural causes in addition to the Assyrian military action.

Function L, being essential and culminating in the narrative chain, is necessarily present (apart from the instances of a spontaneous M). The irregular use of functions F and I, on the other hand, does indeed cause L to be very often in immediate contact with E (another of the most used functions). Typical premises of L can be also the couples GH (6 cases) and ḠI (3 cases). Also the functions that follow (of the type M, (P)Q or N) are not too stable, so that the sequences L/, L//, L[ ]// and similar ones are frequent.

More interesting is the analysis of the sequences within function L, and also the relation between special cases of L and adjacent functions (such as between $L^{1\beta}$ and N, or between G and L^{η}, etc.). The most characteristic sequence is : $L^{2\zeta}$ $L^{1\beta}$ $L^{2\gamma\epsilon}$ $L^{1\zeta}$. This sequence means: (1) an initial/generic statement of the conquest of the city; (2) a description of the massacre on the enemy combatants; (3) a description of the booty in terms of prisoners and goods; (4) a description of the physical destruction of the settlement. This type of sequence fits in cases of siege and, hence, it is normally the outcome of F^2 (7 cases in 10 of F^2 are followed by such a sequence). This typical sequence can be complicated either through an insert relating to the flight and pursuit (thus : $L^{2\zeta}$ $GHL^{1\beta}$ $L^{2\gamma\epsilon}$ $L^{1\zeta}$), or through an insert relative to punishments (of the type $L^{2\beta/\gamma}$ $N^{\beta/\gamma}$ $L^{2\phi}$ or the like), or through the employment of the concept of "the rest" (*sittu/sitāte*, rarely *riḫtu*, codified as L^{η}; used both in connection with GH and to distinguish in the destiny of the enemy combatants case $L^{1\beta}$ and case $L^{3\eta}$), or, finally, though the scansion with / within the same sequence. On the other hand the sequence can be simplified, though rarely (e.g. : $L^{1\zeta}$ $L^{1\beta}$ $L^{2\epsilon}$ without final destruction II 17-18, 35-37, 89-90, III 111-112; cfr. also I 111; : $L^{1\zeta}$ $L^{1\beta}$ $L^{1\zeta}$ without booty II 74-75, III 83).

Just as typical, though much less frequent, is the sequence : L^1 $L^{1\beta x}$ (occasionally followed by $L^{2\phi}$ and/or $L^{3\eta}$), typical of the battles on the field and, hence, the outcome of I (II 28-29, III 36-37, 39-40). Apart from these two sequences which are more significant, there remain various instances of a briefer description of the slaughter, the booty and the taking of hostages.

The terminology of : L^1 is always *abikta šakānu* "to bring about the defeat" (II 28, III 36, 39, in the first case with the added expression *puḫra parāru* wich also appears in I 51-52) in immediate contact with *ittišunu maḫāṣu* (codified as I).

The terminology of : $L^{2\zeta}$ is just as stereotyped: *āla kašādu* "to conquer the city" (passim).

As regards $L^{1\beta}$ there is a generic formulation $L^{1(\beta)}$ *dīkta ma'atta dâku* "to make a great havoc" which normally comes after : L^2. There is also a more explicit $L^{1\beta x}$ (both after : L^1 and after : L^2), with such variants as *ṣābē tidūki ina kakkē šumqutu* (I 52, 111, 115, II 32, 89, 110, III 33, 111; *dâku* instead of *maqātu* II 41, III 39-40); *ṣābē mundaḫṣi*

ina kakkē šumqutu (I 64, 107-108, II 55, 107, III 106; *dâku* instead of *maqātu* II 28-29, 71); *muqtablī napāšu* (II 36, 83, 114, III 53; *ina kakkē šumqutu* instead of *napāšu* III 36); *ṣābē ina mitḫuṣi ina ṣēri dâku* (I 112, II 45); *ṣābē ma'dūte ina kakkē šumqutu* (III 21). The only instance of L^1 which does not regard $^\beta$ is wholly atypical: the hunting for wild animals in the Euphrates valley (III 48, codified as $L^{1\delta x}$ $L^{2\delta x}$).

$L^{3\eta}$ is described as *sitāte ḫurru u nadbaku ša šadē akālu* (I 53, II 17-18, 35; always preceded by *dāmu * šadê ṣarāpu* or *pagrē ina šadê tabāku*; cfr. also II 41-42), with such variants as *pagrē* instead of *sitāte* (hence $L^{3\beta}$) and *mullû* instead of *akālu* in II 114 (also preceded by *dāmu šadê ṣarāpu*) and *riḫtu* instead of *sitāte* and *šadê Puratti* instead of *ḫurru nadbaku ša šadê* in III 41.

The terminology of $L^{1\zeta}$ (which normally appears in the last position) is almost always centered on *napālu* + *naqāru* + *ina išāti šarāpu* (passim), with such variants as *napālu* + *naqāru* + *ina tilli u karmi turru* (II 100, 102, 107, 114, 116: all in campaign V), or the addition of the two variants (II 59-60, 69-70: all in campaign IV). To the most usual tern one may add *akālu* (II 1, III 53). One finds only *ina išāti šarāpu* (I 72, II 21, 38, 42-43, 49, 84, 94, III 101-102); more rarely only *napālu* + *naqāru* (II 83 with *šarāpu* a little before; III 19 with O^3 instead of *šarāpu*), and exceptionally only *ana tilli u karmi turru* (III 103).

The terminology of L^2 is nearly always based on the expression *šallata* (*ma'atta* or *kabitta*) *šalālu* (passim). The simple term *šallatu* (which alone could refer to $^\gamma$ only, especially if accompanied by ^{x}, or otherwise to a generic booty $^{\gamma+\delta+\epsilon}$ to be codified hence as $L^{2\phi}$) may be accompanied by other fairly generic terms such as *bušû* or *makkūru* (where the juxtaposition *šallatu* + *bušû* would be evidently equivalent to animate + inanimate, that is $L^{\gamma\epsilon}$), by embryonic listings of the type *šallatu* + *bušû* + *alpē* + *ṣēnē*, and lastly by listings of a rather long and detailed character. In the code we make use of the symbol ° only when the Greek letters are not enough to render on their own the plurality of terminology. The basic verb *šalālu* only very rarely is substituted by *našû* (with reference to *makkūr ēkalli* II 62 and 64-65), *aṣû* Š (III 106 and 111), *arādu* Š (I 65), *târu* D (II 32, 42, 114, III 39 with reference to *ilāni*). Otherwise one comes across such special expressions as *lītē ṣabātu* "to take hostages" (III 56, 69, 77, 104:

campaigns VIII, IX and X; and cfr. one case of L^2 *kī lītūte ištēn ina libbišunu balṭu ul ēsib* I 108); *ṣābē balṭūti ṣabātu* "to take alive" (II 111, III 106, 111 in preparation to N); *nasāḫu* "to deport", said with reference to troops (II 31 and 32 alone; III 43, 45-46 with *abālu*, cfr. Q̌; III 53 with *ṣabātu* Š); *sisē ekēmu* "to take possession of horses" (II 36, 68); *ebūru / eṣēdi māti eṣēdu* (III 32, 82, II 117-118, III 82), mostly associated with *še'a u tibna ina GN tabāku* (connected with O^ϕ).

As in function E, here follows a table showing the connections between the various key-terms of function L:

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25
1 *kašādu*	34	19	23		10	2	3	15	15	18	2	1		8		8		4		1			1		1
2 *dāku*	19	26	17	1		1	2	8	8	14	3			3		5	2	1	1	1	1	1			
3 *šalālu*	23	17	30		6	3	4	12	12	14	3			6		5	1	1	1	3	1		2		
4 *parāru*		1		2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1						1								
5 *maqātu*	10		6	1	16	2	4	7	7	4	2			8		8	1	2					1	1	2
6 *ṣarāpu*	2	1	3	1	2	4	2	2	2	2	1			2		2				1			2		
7 *akālu*	3	2	4	1	4	2	7	3	3	3				1		2	1	1	1	2	1				
8 *napālu*	15	8	12	1	7	2	3	25	25	20	6		1	8		6		1	1	2			1	2	
9 *naqāru*	15	8	12	1	7	2	3	25	25	20	6		1	8		6		1	1	2			1	2	
10 *šarāpu*	18	14	14	1	4	2	3	20	20	29	3		1	6		6		1	2	2		1	1	1	
11 *târu*	2	3	3		2	1		6	6	3	12			2		3	1	1	1	1		1	1	1	
12 *nakāsu*	1											2													
13 *arādu*								1	1	1			1												
14 *ṣabātu*	8	3	6		8	2	1	8	8	6	2			18		7		1		1			2	1	2
15 *našû*															2										
16 function N	8	5	5		8	2	2	6	6	6	3			7				1	1	1		1	1	1	2
17 *abikta šakānu*		2	1	1	1		1				1						3								
18 *nasāḫu* (+*abālu*)	4	1	1		2		1	1	1	1	1			1		1		6		1					1
19 *tabāku*		1	1				1	1	1	2	1			1		1			3	2	1	1			
20 *napāṣu*	1	1	3			1	2	2	2	2	1			1		1		1	2	4	1		1		
21 *ekēmu*		1	1				1												1	1	2				
22 *nadû*		1								1	1					1			1			1			
23 *malû*	1		2		1	2		1	1	1	1			2		1				1			2		
24 *esēdu*					1			2	2	1	1			1		1								2	
25 *aṣû*	1				2									2		2		1							2

M - Submission

The personal submission of the enemy king (M^α) or of the enemy people ($M^{\beta\gamma\epsilon}$) together with the delivery of the tribute ($M^{\delta\epsilon}$) are distinguished from the taking of booty (L^2) insofar as the former occur spontaneously, perhaps through fear, but without Assyrian recourse to any military action. In this sense, the sequences of type FM// (11 instances, with non-essential variations), type EfM// (9 instances especially in campaign VI), type [aM] (14 instances, with non-essential variants) and others similar to them are typical. The relation between "peaceful" M and M preceded by L is of 44:4. In some cases, the Assyrian king, before departing again from the site where M takes place, takes along with him hostages (ML^2: III 56, 69, 104, in I 82-83, however, the rebels *bēl ḫīti* handed over will be punished) or auxiliary troops (Md: III 57-58, 59-60, 61-62, 65-68, 73-76, all in campaign IX). More normal is sequence MO^1 (8 instances; more rare MO^{12}: 3 instances): definition of the tribute to be given by the conquered. When this is not explicitly enunciated or (one may presume) where the tribute to be handed over was already established, we find M// (18 cases) or M] (11 cases), after which the campaign proceeds against other enemies.

The terminology is very constant. The submission of persons (esp. M^α is indicated by means of the symbolic act of "seizing the feet" *šēpē ṣabātu* of the Assyrian king (11 instances; 2 negatives "not to seize the feet" to indicate non-submissions, $\bar{M}^\alpha$). The passage I 81 exceptionally features the verbal enunciation of submission. The submission of goods ($M^{\delta\epsilon}$) is indicated by the term *maḫāru* "to receive" (39 instances), or also by the expression *ana muḫḫi abālu* "to bring into the presence (of)" (3 cases). Rarely indicated preliminary moments are those concerning the motivation and the arrival. The motivation of submission is that of "being afraid" *palāḫu* (2 instances: III 103-104 without specifications; III 73-76 with *ištu pān kakkejā ezzūte tāḫazi šitmuri*) or of wanting "to save one's life" *ana šūzub napišti* (I 80-81, 100-101, III 73-76). The motivation of non-submission is *takālu* "to trust" (codified as $\bar{G}$ to which one is referred for examples; see also II 16-17 *ana GN al dannūtišunu u šadê marṣūte*). The set of motivations is, therefore, the same as that already examined in the cases of F and G. The approach of the enemy king to the place of submission is one of "going down" *arādu* (I 66-67, 71-73; II 10; negative in I 114-115, III 51-52), of "entering into the presence (of)" *ana muḫḫi alāku* (III 69) and of "coming out to the pres-

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ence (of)" *ana pāni aṣû* (I 80-81). These verbs expressing fear and coming are always followed by *šēpē ṣabātu*. The surrender of goods is, instead, normally enunciated without premises.

The goods surrendered are generally described in detail, with listings (and quite often with quantitative specifications) which tend to give an impression of richness and abundance. The summing-up terms (which in some cases are the only ones used) are mostly *maddattu* (36 cases, sometimes "numerous" *ma'attu*), exceptionally associated to *biltu* (II 81) or substituted by *makkūru* (III 47; II 99 with *bušû*), and *niṣirti ekalli* (III 55-56 at the end of the list). A table of the specific contents of the tribute, as well as of the booty, is not furnished here. These seem to be stereotyped in terminology even if not devoid of differences reflecting the characteristics of the places to which they are related.

N - *Exemplary Punishment*

A distinct function has been assigned to the description of those exemplary punishments that go beyond the normal massacres (L^1 as outcome of F^2 or of I) and which resort to a special terminology. One tends to perceive a certain preference (even in the non-frequent use of N) for sequences F^2 ... N (7 instances), G ... N (5 instances) and $\bar{M}$ ... N (1 instance), that is, for the use of exemplary punishments carried out upon those enemies who have shown a stiffer resistence. The more specific punishment of flaying alive seems to have been reserved for Assyrian traitors and usurpers (Aḫyababa and his soldiers in I 89-90; Ḫulāya in I 109-110; but cfr. I 67-68). Obviously N is mostly preceded by or intermingled with the normal massacres of type L^1. Furthermore, it could be associated to O (4 instances), the punishment not being in conflict with the proper ordering of the place just conquered. One notes a case of non-punishment, $\bar{N}$ (II 99).

Punishments, with a physical character, have the clear function of deterrence. This results not only from the fact of their being underlined in the narrative but also, and above all, from the fact of their being underlined at the moment of their execution by being carried out in a striking manner, in the presence of the enemies themselves or in the Assyrian cities after the return. Corpses or parts of corpses are used to transmit a quite eloquent message.

Punishment may be carried out by means of: (a) Flaying alive ($k\hat{a}\d{s}u$, 4 instances, in general as N^{α}) followed by the public showing of the skin which is spread out on city walls or others ($ma\check{s}ka\ \underline{h}al\bar{a}pu$, 5 cases). (b) Impalement ($ina\ ziqpi\ zaq\bar{a}pu$, 6 cases, or $ina\ siqpi\ rak\bar{a}su$, 1 case) normally with $\d{s}\bar{a}b\bar{e}\ bal\d{t}\bar{u}ti$ "soldiers (that are) still alive" as objects. (c) Cutting or excising: $nak\bar{a}su$ (3 instances with reference to the head $qaqqadu$, and one, atypical, with reference to the "gardens" $kir\bar{a}te$), $bat\bar{a}qu$ (4 cases with reference to other parts of the body: hands, noses, ears and so on) and $nap\bar{a}lu$ (2 instances with reference to the eyes). With the cut-off heads as also with the corpses ($pagr\bar{u}$) and with those still alive ($bal\d{t}\bar{u}ti$) the Assyrians piled up heaps ($as\bar{\imath}ta\ ra\d{s}\bar{a}pu$, 6 instances) with the object of instilling fear. With this same object, the detached heads were sometimes hanged ($ina\ gupni\ e^{\prime}\bar{e}lu$, 3 instances). (d) Burning alive $ina\ i\check{s}\bar{a}ti/maql\bar{u}ti\ \check{s}ar\bar{a}pu$ (7 cases, among which 5 instances have as an object $batul\bar{e}\ batul\bar{a}te$ "boys and girls". (e) Smashing, indicated by the term $mak\bar{a}ku$ "to scatter" (2 instances).

0 – Consequences

After submission, whatever the manner in which it has taken place, a new arrangement can be established which will define the relation of the conquered land to Assyria. The generic affirmation of belonging to Assyria (0^{ϕ}) is more often than not rendered explicit with reference to the imposition of taxes or corvée (0^1) or to the installation of an Assyrian governor (0^2), or it could be expressed by a figurative phraseology (0^3).

0, obviously, is normally placed after submission M, or in its absence after L; coming at the climax of the narrative sequence, it is only rarely separated from // and from /// because of the presence of NQ^2 in one instance, of P^2 in two cases, of L in one instance, or because of the presence of insert [ ]. More particularly, one can perceive a preference, on the one hand, for the sequence M^{ε} ... 0^1 (7 times, and 3 times more of $M^{\bar{\varepsilon}}$), that is, for a prolungation and stabilization of the tribute from occasional to regular and, on the other, for the sequence L ... $0^{23\phi}$ (9 times). One perceives, moreover, a certain preference for 0^3 at the end of the campaign (3 times in 4 cases).

The terminology of 0^{123} is based on the expression $eli\check{s}unu\ \check{s}ak\bar{a}nu$ "to place upon them (=the defeated)" which expression recurs 15 times in 18 cases with the only sub-

stitutions being *elišunu kunnu* (I 56) and *emādu + šunūti* (I 73, II 47). This basic expression is varied by means of occasional parallelisms and is clearly distinguished into O^1, O^2, O^3, according to the relevant objects.

In the case of O^1 we find 4 times the parallelism *ušātir elišunu aškun* (I 95-96; II 10-12, 78-79, III 47-48) and only once the parallelism *udannin elišun aškun* (II 90-91). With reference to the supplying of goods the object is defined as *maddattu* by itself (2 instances) and more often with *biltu* (5 instances), to which hendiadys *tāmartu* "gift" may be added (1 instance). With reference to the provision of work the term is *kudurru* (2 times, with *emēdu*; the non-typical notation *kudurra ina Kalḫi ēpušū* in II 79) or *zābil kudurri* (3 times) or *urasē* (2 times). The last typical expression is *eli ša pān* "more than before" (3 times and always with *ušātir elišunu aškun*, hence $O^{1!}$). The only phraseologically non-typical passage in O^1 is III 82-83).

The imposition of an Assyrian governor (O^2) is stereotypically narrated as *(PN) šaknu ša ramānija elišun/ana muḫḫišunu aškun* (I 83, III 104). Even in the case of O^3 the basic verb is *šakānu*, but it governs diverse objects: *lītu u danānu* (I 93-94), *mātu ša pā ištēn* (II 47), *pulḫu u melammu Aššur* (III 54). A more rich parallelism with other expressions features in III 23-24 (*lītu u danānu eli GN_1 šakānu + pulḫat bēlūti adi GN_2 kašādu + šuribāt kakkēja GN_3 saḫāpu + namurrātu eli GN_4 tabāku*; cfr. in II 112 *melammī bēlutja tabāku*). The terminology of O^ϕ is different: *āla/GN ana ramānija ṣabātu*. This is on the one hand related to the expression of O^2 through the phrase *ana ramānija* and, on the other, to the acquisitive sphere of L^2 by the verb *ṣabātu*.

P - Acts of Celebration

The final acts of celebration consist either in the erection of a statue or a stele of the Assyrian king (P^1), or in the foundation or restoration of cities (P^2) or in offerings to the divinity (P^3).

The collocation of these acts is obviously at the end (11 instances in 13) either of the narrative sections within the campaign itself or, and above all, at the end of the whole campaign (out of 10, 5 campaigns end with P). There remains to be noted a connection between P and (Q̂) (3 instances) which is rather a complex codification on our part

of a unitary act.

The terminology of P^1 is rich but stereotyped. As a rule there is a subdivision into three periods: (1) The stele/statue is "made" (always *epēšu*); (2) It is "inscribed" (always *šaṭāru*); (3) It is erected (*uzuzzu* Š, *šakānu*, *zaqāpu*).

The statue/stele is generally defined as *ṣalmu* (hence an image that represents the person of the king *bunnannû*, 4 instances, or of his kingly function *šarrūtu*, 2 cases). Only in two passages which repeat the description is the term *narû* employed in the repetition as a variant of *ṣalmu* (with emphasis, hence, on the writing rather than on the figuration). In this case the verb "to erect" also varies: always *ṣalmu* + *uzuzzu* but *narû* + *šakānu* (in which case, perhaps the different nuances of the verbs are adapted to the different configurations of the objects). It is to be noted here that III 89 is an exception with *asumētu* + *zaqāpu* (in effect this case concerns a rock relief and not a statue or a stele). The places where the images of the kings are erected are primarily those places which have witnessed the end of the campaign (as has already been seen), and therefore they mark the most distant point reached by the Assyrian king and, implicitly, the area which he conquered. Of the two instances which feature a non-terminal location one (I 104-105) is explicitly motivated by the presence of images of preceding kings (codified hence as $P^{1\bar{I}}$): the place was terminal during the age of Tukulti-Ninurta I and of Tiglathpileser I but is not for ASN, being now only a stage on his route. From the topographical point of view the appropriate places are the mountains (I 68-69, III 89), the springs (I 68-69, 104-105) and cities and palaces (cfr. P^2). In the two already mentioned passages with repeated structures we find the variation *ēkallu/abullu* "palace"/"gate" (I 97-99) and the variation *ālu/dūru* "city"/"walls" (II 5-7) with particular attention to the border elements. The contents of the inscription are defined by means of the terms *tanattu* "fame", *kiššutu* "strength", *lītu* "victory", *danānu* "force", and *qurdu* "valour" (also *alkakāt qurdi* "valorous actions"), coupled in various ways amongst each other. Such terminology is linked to that already mentioned in O^3 (cfr. III 23 and 25, respectively O^3 and P^1, using the same definition *lītu u danānu*). In one instance (III 25-26) the very text of the inscription seems to be repeated word by word (and in it there appear such terms as *tanattu* and *danānu*).

The terminology of P^2 is less fixed. In II 3-5 and II 85-86 there is underlined primarily the work of reconstruction (*ana aššūti ṣabātu*) but also of improvement (*eli ša pān* I 85) and of accuracy and completeness (*raṣāpu* + *šuklulu* two times in II 4-5). In II 87 and 101 we find simply *ēkalla ina GN šurru*. In III 49-50 the founding of cities is divided between the building action (*ālāni...nadû*) and the giving of the name (*šuma...nabû*) which is already implicit in I 69. In the sphere of P^2 (but with solid implications of type 0^1) are the provisioning of grain and straw (verb *tabāku*: II 9,86). Lastly, the terminology of P^3 comprises such obvious phrases as *kakkē ullulu* "to wash the weapons", *niqē ṣabātu* "to make libations" and so on.

Q - Return

It is significant that function Q is almost wholly absent. The interest of the narration culminates and disappears with the victory and the acts of celebration. The description of the return journey is omitted as obvious and lacking ideological interest. It has been decided to list under this function two groups of passages: (1) The four return journeys to the camp which served as military base, codified as q insofar as they were stage returns that occured during the campaign (typical terminology *ana ušmāni târu* + *bâtu* "to return to camp + to pass the night", obviously followed by //). (2) The nine statements that booty and prisoners were brought to Assyrian cities, codified as (Q̌) since they provide only allusions to the return (which is not explicitly described) and since they constitute logical anticipations (prevalent terminology *abālu*, 4 instances). Apart from these cases, the passages II 21, 44, III 104, belong to the type "difficult transfer", but on the way of the return, or to "the way out" the verb employed being *aṣû* (codified Q^Δ).

SPECIMEN OF ANALYSIS - CAMPAIGN IV (11. II,49-86)

(49) *ina li-me* [I]*Miqti-a-dúr ina* [URU]*Ninua us-ba-ku-ni*

In the eponym of Miqti-adur, while I was in Nineveh $\qquad$ A[1,2]

tè-e-mu (50) *uṭ-te-ru-ni ma-a* [I]*A-me-ka* [I]*A-ra-áš-tu-a ma-da-tu ki-dúr-ru ša Aš-šur*
EN (*bēli*)-*ia ik-lu-ú* $\qquad$ B

A report was brought back to me saying "Ameqa (and) Araštua had withheld the trib-
ute (and) corvée of Aššur my lord"

ina qí-bit Aš-šur EN (*bēli*) GAL[e] (*rabê*) EN (*bēli*)-*ia u* [d]URÌ.GAL (*urigallu*) *a-lik*
pa-ni-a $\qquad$ C[2,3]

At the command of Aššur, the great lord, my lord, and Nergal (the divine standard)
which goes before me

(51) *ina* ITU (*araḫ*) SIG$_4$ (*Simāni*) UD (*ūmi*) 1 KAM 3-*te-šú*

On the first day of the month Siman for a third time $\qquad$ A[2]

a-na [KUR]*Za-mu-a áš-ku-na di-ku-tu*

I mustered (my army) against the land Zamua $\qquad$ D

pa-an GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ (*narkabāti*) *u* ERÍN.ḪI.A[MEŠ]-*a* (*ummānātija*) *la-a ad-gul* TA (*ištu*)
[URU]*Kal-zi at-tu-muš* ÍD (*nāru*) *Za-ba* (52) KI.TA (*šupāli*) *e-te-bir ina* [KUR]*ni-ri-bi*
ša [URU]*Ba-bi-te e-ru-ub* ÍD (*nāru*) *Ra-da-a-nu e-te-bir a-na* GÌR (*šēp*) KUR-*e* (*šadê*)
[KUR]*Si-ma-ki* DÙ (*kal*) *u$_4$-me-ia aq-ṭi-rib* $\qquad$ E[v]

Without waiting (my) chariotry and my troops I moved on from the city Kalzi, crossed
the lower Zab (and) entered the pass of the city Babitu. I crossed the River Rada-
nu (and) all day I approached to the foot of Mount Simaki.

GU$_4$.MEŠ (*alpē*) (53) UDU.MEŠ (*ṣēnē*) GEŠTIN.MEŠ (*karānu*) *ma-da-tu ša* [KUR]*Da-ga-ra at-*
-ta-ḫar $\qquad$ M[boe]

I received the tribute of the land Dagara, oxen, sheep, (and) wine.

TA (*ištu*) GÌR (*šēp*) KUR (*šadê*) *Si-ma-ki* [GIŠ]GIGIR [MEŠ] (*narkabāti*) KALAG-*tu* (*dannūtu*)
bit-ḫal-lu SAG-RID (*ašarid*)-*su i-si-ia a-si-kin mu-šu a-di* (54) *na-ma-ri ar-te-di* $\qquad$ d E

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íD (nāru) Tur-na-at e-te-bir ina mit-ḫar ša-an-te a-na KUR (māt) ^{URU}Am-ma-li

al dan-nu-ti-šú ša ^{I}A-ra-áš-tu aq-ṭi-rib

From the foot of Mount Simaki I took with me strong chariots, cavalry (and) crack troops. I continued travelling through the night until dawn, crossed the River Turnat, and at first light approached the city Ammali, his fortified city, of Araštu

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(55) ina mit-ḫu-ṣi ti-du-ki URU (āla) a-si-bi KUR^{ad} (aktašad)   F^2

In a clash of arms I besieged the city (and) conquered (it).

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800 ME ERÍN^{MEŠ} (ṣābē) mun-daḫ-si-šú-nu ina ^{GIŠ}TUKUL^{MEŠ} (kakkē) ú-šam-qit pag-   :L^{2ζ}

-ri^{MEŠ}-šu-nu SILA (sūqī) URU (āli)-šu-nu ú-mal-li ÚŠ (dāmē)-šu-nu (56) É.ḪI.   L^{1βx}

.A^{MEŠ}-šu-nu (bītatišunu) aṣ-ru-up ERÍN.MEŠ (ṣābē) ḪI.A.MEŠ (ma'dūte) TI.LA^{MEŠ} L^{2βφ} L^{1ζ}/

(baltūte) ina ŠU (qāti) ú-ṣa-bi-ta šal-la-su-nu ḪI.A (ma'atta) aš-lu-la URU   :L^{2ζx} L$^{1(β)}$

(āla) ab-bul a-qur ina IZI.MEŠ (išāti) GIBÍL-up (ašrup) ^{URU}Ḫu-du-un (57) u 30!   L$^{2δo(γ)}$

URU.MEŠ-ni (ālāni) ša li-me-tu-šú-nu ak-šud GAZ-šu-nu (dīktašunu) a-duk šal-   L^{1ζ}

-la-su-nu GU$_4$.MEŠ (alpē)-šú-nu ^{UDU}ṣi-ni-šu-nu aš-lul URU.MEŠ-šu-nu (ālānišu-

nu) a-bul a-qur ina IZI.MEŠ (išāti) aš-ru-up

I felled with the sword 800 of their combat troops. With their corpses I filled the streets of their city (and) with their blood I dyed their houses red. Many troops I took in my hand alive. I took away their heavy booty. I de stroyed (and) burnt the city. I conquered the city Hudun (and) 30 cities in its environs. I massacred them (and) carried off captives, oxen (and) sheep from them. I knocked down, destroyed (and) burnt their cities.

LÚ$_{ba-tul}$^{MEŠ}-šu-nu (58) MÍ$_{ba-tu-la-ti-šú-nu}$ ana GIBÍL-te (maqlūte) GIBÍL (ašrup)   N^γ /

I burnt (on the stake) their adolescent boys (and) girls.

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^{URU}Ki-ṣir-tu al dan-nu-ti-šú-nu ša ^{I}Ṣa-bi-ni a-di 10 URU.MEŠ (ālāni) ša li-   :L^{2ζx}

me-tu-šú-nu KUR-ud (akšud) GAZ-šu-nu (dīktašunu) a-duk šal-la-su-nu (59) aš-   L$^{1(β)}$ L^{2φ}/

-lul

I conquered the city Kisirtu, his fortified city, of Sabini, together with 10 cities in its environs. I massacred them (and) carried off their booty.

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URU.MEŠ (*ālāni*) *ša* URUBa-ra-a-a *ša* IKi-ir-ti-a-ra *ša* URUDu-ra-a-a *ša* URUBu-ni-
-sa-a-a a-di ni-rib *ša* KURḪaš-mar a-bul a-qur ina IZI.MEŠ (*išāti*) GIBÍL-up
(*ašrup*) (60) ana DU₆ (*tīli*) u kar-me GUR-er (*utēr*)

I knocked down, destroyed, (and) burnt the cities of the Bareans, of the man
Kirtiara, of the Dureans, of the Buniseans, as far as the pass of Mount Ḫašmar.
I turned (them) into ruin hills.

iš-tu ŠÀ (*libbi*) URU.MEŠ (*ālāni*) *ša* IA-ra-aš-tu-a a-tu-muš ina ni-rib *ša* bi-
-rit KURLa-a-ra KURBi-di-ir-gi KUR.MEŠ-e (*šadê*) mar-ṣu-te *ša* a-na me-tiq (61)
GIŠGIGIRMEŠ (*narkabāti*) u ERÍN.ḪI.AMEŠ (*ummānāti*) *la* GAR-an (*šakan*) TU-ud
(*īterub*).

Moving from among the cities of the man Araštua, I entered the pass which is
between Mount Lara (and) Mount Bidirgi, rugged mountains which were unsuitable
for chariotry and troops.

ana URUZa-am-ri URU (*āl*) MAN-ti-šú (*šarrūtišu*) *ša* IA-me-ka KURZa-mu-a-a aq-ṭi-
-rib

I approached the city Zamru, the royal city of Ameka the Zamuean.

IA-me-ka TA (*ištu*) IGI (*pān*) GIŠTUKULMEŠ-a (*kakkēja*) KAL.MEŠ (*dannūte*) MÈ-ia
(*tāḫāzija*) (62) šit-mu-ri ip-laḫ-ma KUR-ú (*šadû*) GIG (*marṣu*) iṣ-bat

Ameka became frightened in the face of my strong weapons (and) my fierce battle
and took to a rugged mountain.

NÍG.GA (*makkūr*) É.GAL-šú (*ekallišu*) GIŠGIGIR-šú (*narkabtšu*) aš-ša-a

I removed the property of his palace (and) his chariot.

TA (*ištu*) URUZa-am-ri at-tu-muš ÍD (*naru*) Lal-lu-ú e-te-bir ana KUR-e (*šadê*)
KURE-ti-ni (63) A.ŠÀ (*eqel*) nam-ra-ṣi *ša* ana me-tiq GIŠGIGIRMEŠ (*narkabāti*) u
ERÍN.ḪI.AMEŠ (*ummānāti*) *la* GAR-nu (*šaknū*) *ša* ina MAN.MEŠ-ni (*šarrāni*) AD.MEŠ-a
(*abbēja*) ma-am-ma ina qí-rib-šú-nu *la* TE-u (*iṭḫû*) a-lik MAN (*šarru*) TA (*itti*)
ERÍN.ḪI.AMEŠ (*ummānāti*) a-na KUR-e (*šadê*) KURE-ti-ni (64) E₁₁ (*eli*)

Moving on from the city Zamru I crossed the River Lallu. I marched to Mount
Etini over rugged terrain which was unsuitable for chariotry and troops (and)

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to which no king among my fathers had ever approached. The king with (his) troops climbed up to Mount Etini.

NÍG.GA-*šú* (*makkūršu*) NÍG.ŠU.MEŠ-*šú* (*bušāšu*) *ú-nu-tu* ZABAR.MEŠ (*siparri*) HI.A (*ma'attu*) AM (*rīmu*) ZABAR (*siparri*) UDÚL (*diqār*) ZABAR (*siparri*) *sa-ap-li* ZABAR (*siparri*) *zu-qa-te* ZABAR (*siparri*) *ni-ṣir-ti* É!GAL-*šú* (*ekal lišu*) *na-kam-te-šú* (65) TA (*ištu*) *qí-rib* KUR-*e* (*šadê*) *aš-ša-a*   L²ᵉ°

I removed from inside the mountain his property, possessions, many bronze utensils, bronze tubs, bronze casserole, bronze bowls, bronze tureens, the treasure of his palace (and) his storehouse.

a-na uš-ma-ni-ia-ma GUR-*ra* (*utēra*) *be-dak*   q f //

Returning to my camp I spent the night.

ina ri-ṣu-te ša Aš-*šur* ᵈ*Ša-maš* DINGIR.MEŠ (*ilāni*) *tik-li*   C¹

With the help of Aššur and Šamaš, the gods my helpers.

TA (*ištu*) *uš-ma-ni an-ni-te-ma at-tu-muš* EGIR-*šú* (*arkišu*) (66) *aṣ-bat* ÍD (*nāru*) E-*di-ir lu e-te-bir*   Hⱽ

Moving on from this camp I took after him. I crossed the River Edir.

a-na bi-rit ᴷᵁᴿSu-*ú* ᴷᵁᴿE-*la-ni-u* KUR.MEŠ (*šadê*) KAL.MEŠ (*dannūte*) GAZ-MEŠ-*šú-nu* (*dīktašunu*) HI.A.MEŠ (*ma'atta*) *a-duk* NÍG.GA-*šú* (*makkūrsu*) NÍG.ŠU.MEŠ-*šu* (*bušāšu*) AM (*rīmu*) ZABAR (*siparri*) (67) UDÚL (*diqār*) ZABAR (*siparri*) *sa-ap-li* ZABAR (*siparri*) *nam-zi-a-te* ZABAR (*siparri*) *ú-nu-tu* ZABAR.MEŠ (*siparri*) HI.A.MEŠ (*ma'attu*) ᴳᴵˢBANŠUR (*paššūr*) KÙ.GI (*hurāṣi*) *iḫ-zi* GU₄.MEŠ-*šú-nu* (*alpēšunu*) ᵁᴰᵁ*ṣi-ni-šú-nu* NÍG.ŠU.MEŠ-*šú-nu* (*bušāšu-nu*) (68) *šal-la-su-nu* DUGUD-*ta* (*kabitta*) *iš-tu* GÌR (*šēp*) KUR-*e* (*šadê*) ᴷᵁᴿE-*la-ni-u aš-lu-la* ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ-*šú* (*sisêšu*) *e-kim-šu*   L¹(β)
L²δᵉ°(γ)

I massacred many of them between Mounts Su (and) Elaniu, mighty mountains. I carried off from the foot of Mount Elaniu his property, possessions, bronze tubs, bronze casseroles, bronze bowls, bronze vessels, many bronze utensils, a dish decorated with gold, their oxen, sheep, possessions, (their) valuable booty. I deprived him of his horses.

45

^{I}A-me-ka a-na šu-zu-ub ZI.MEŠ-šú (napšātišu) a-na ^{KUR}Sa-bu-a e-li

Ameka, to save his life, climbed up Mount Sabua.

(69) ^{URU}Za-am-ru ^{URU}A-ra-si-it-ku ^{URU}Am-ma-ru ^{URU}Par-sin-du ^{URU}I-ri-tu ^{URU}Šu-
-ri-tu al dan-nu-ti-šu a-di 1 ME + 50 URU.MEŠ.MEŠ (ālāni) (70) ša li-me-tu-šu
ab-bul a-qur ina IZI.MEŠ (išāti) GIBÍL-up (ašrup) ana DU$_6$ (tilli) u kar-me GUR-
-i (utīr)

I knocked down, destroyed (and) burnt the cities Zamru, Arasitku, Ammaru, Par
sindu, Iritu, Suritu, his fortified cities, together with 150 cities in the
environs of his (region). I turned (them) into ruin hills.

ki-i ina pu-ut ^{URU}Par-sin-di us-ba-ku-ni

While I remained before the city Parsindu

bit-ḫal-lu ^{LÚ}kal-la-pu (71) a-na šub-ti ú-se-šib

I set the cavalry (and) light troops in ambush

50 ERÍN.MEŠ (ṣabē) mun-daḫ-ṣi-šu ša ^{I}A-me-ka ina EDIN (ṣēri) a-duk

I killed 50 of the combat troops of Ameka in the plain.

SAG.DU.MEŠ-šu-nu (qaqqadēšunu) TAR-is (unikkis) ina ^{GIŠ}gup-ni ša TÙR (tarbaṣ)
É.GAL-šú (ekallišu) e-ʾ-ib (72) 20 ERÍN.MEŠ (ṣabē) TI.LA.MEŠ (balṭūti) ina ŠU
(qati) DIB-ta (uṣabbita) ina BÀD (dūr) É.GAL-šú (ekallišu) ú-ma-gi-gi

I cut off their heads (and) hung (them) on trees of the courtyard of his pal-
ace. I captured 20 soldiers alive (and) spread (them) out in the wall of his
palace.

TA (ištu) ^{URU}Za-am-ri pit-ḫal-lu ^{LÚ}kal-la-pu i-si-a a-si-kin

From the city Zamru I took with me the cavalry (and) light troops.

a-na URU.MEŠ (ālāni) ša ^{I}A-ta ^{URU}Ar-zi-za-a-a ša ina MAN.MEŠ-ni (šarrāni) AD.
MEŠ-a (abbēja) ma-am-ma qi-rib-šú-nu la TE-u (iṭḫū) a-lik

I marched to the cities of Ata, the Arzizean, amongst which no king among my
fathers had ever penetrated.

46

URU_Ar-si-su_ URU_Ar-si-in-du_ (74) *al dan-nu-ti-šu a-di* 10 URU.MEŠ-*ni* (*ālāni*)   :L²ⲥx

ša li-me-tu-šu ina KUR_Ni-is-pi_ KUR (*šadû*) GIG (*marṣu*) GAR-*nu* (*šaknu*) KUR-   L¹ᵝⲥ

-*ud* (*akšud*) GAZ-*šu-nu* (*dīktašunu*) *a-duk* URU.MEŠ (*ālāni*) *ab-bul a-qur ina*

IZI.MEŠ (*išāti*) GIBIL (*ašrup*)

I conquered the cities Arzizu (and) Arsindu, his fortified cities, together

with 10 cities in the environs of his (region) which lay in Mount Nispi,

a rugged mountain. I massacred them. I knocked down, destroyed (and) burnt

the cities.

---

(75) *a-na uš-ma-ni-ia-ma a-tu-ra*   q

I returned to my camp

---

ina u₄-me-šu-ma   [a²

At that time

ZABAR.MEŠ (*siparri*) *tab-bi-li* ZABAR (*siparri*) *kam-ma-at* ZABAR (*siparri*)   Mᵋ*]

sa-ri-a-MEŠ *ma-da-tu ša* KUR_Si-pir-me-na_ *šá* GIM (*kīma*) SAL.MEŠ (*sinnišāti*)

(76) *ṣap-ru-ni am-ḫur*   //

I received bronze, bronze..., bronze rivets, rich (objects) the tribute of

the land Sipirmena whose (inhabitants) do their hair like women.

TA (*ištu*) URU_Za-am-ri a-tu-muš a-na_ KUR_La-a-ra_ KUR (*šadû*) *mar-ṣu ša a-na*   Eᐁ

me-tiq GIŠ GIGIR^MEŠ (*narkabāti*) ERÍN.ḪI.A.MEŠ (*ummānāti*) *la* GAR-*nu* (*šaknu*)

ina ka-la-ba-te AN.BAR (*parzilli*) *a-kis* (77) *ina aq-qul* URUDU.MEŠ (*erê*) *a-*

qur GIŠ GIGIR^MEŠ (*narkabāti*) ERÍN.ḪI.A.MEŠ (*ummānāti*) *u-se-tiq*

I moved on from the city Zamru to Mount Lara, a rugged mountain which was

unsuitable for chariotry (and) troops, I cut through with iron axes (and)

I smashed (a way) with copper picks. I let the chariotry and troops move

along.

---

a-na URU GIŠ.TUKUL-*ti* (*tukulti*)-*Aš-šur-aṣ-bat ša* KUR_Lu-lu_ URU_A-ra-ak-di i-*   F¹

qá-bu-šu-ni at-ta-rad

I went down to the city Tukulti-Aššur-aṣbat which the Lullu call Arakdi.

MAN.MEŠ-ni (šarrāni) (78) ša ^{KUR}Za-mu-a ana si-ḥir-ti-šú-nu TA (ištu) IGI (pān) na-mar-rat ^{GIŠ}TUKUL^{MEŠ}-a (kakkēja) u šur-bat EN-ti-a (bēlūtija) e-dur-ma GÌR.MEŠ-a (šēpēja) iṣ-bu-tu

M^4

All the kings of the land Zamua took fright before the brilliance of my weapons and the magnitude of my dominion and they seized my feet.

GÌN (biltu) ma-da-tu KÙ.BABBAR.MEŠ (kaspu) KÙ.GI.MEŠ (ḫuraṣu) AN.NA.MEŠ (anāku) (79) ZABAR.MEŠ (siparru) UDÚL (diqar) ZABAR.MEŠ (siparri) TÚG (ṣu-bātu) lu-bul-ti bir-me ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ (sisē) GU$_4$.MEŠ (alpē) UDU.MEŠ (ṣēnē) GEŠTIN.MEŠ (karānu) UGU (eli) ša pa-an ú-ša-tir UGU (eli)-šú-nu áš-kun lu ka-dur-ra-šú-nu (80) ina ^{URU}Kal-ḥi DÙ-uš (epuš)

0$^{1!o}$
(Q)

I imposed upon them more tribute and tax than ever before: silver, gold, tin, bronze, bronze casseroles, garments with multicoloured trim, horses, oxen, sheep, wine. Their corvée they performed in Kalaḥ.

ki-i ina ^{URU}Za-mu-a uš-ba-ku-ni

[a$^{1-2}$

While I was in Zamua

^{URU}Ḫu-du-na-a ^{URU}Ḫar-ti-iš-a-a ^{URU}Ḫub-uš-ka-a-a ^{URU}Gil-za-na-a-a pul-ḥi (81) me-lam-me ša Aš-šur EN-ia (bēlija) is-ḥup-šu-nu

F^1

The awe of the radiance of Aššur my lord overwhelmed the inhabitants of the cities Ḫudunu, Hartishu, Hubuškia, Gilzanu

GÌN (biltu) ma-da-tu KÙ.BABBAR (kaspu) KÙ.GI (ḫurāṣu) ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ (sisē) TÚG (ṣubātu) lu-bul-ti bir-me GU$_4$.MEŠ (alpē) UDU.MEŠ (ṣēnē) GEŠTIN.MEŠ (karānu) ana UGU (eli)-ia ub-lu-ni

^{o}M$^{δε^o}$]

(and) they brought to me tribute (and) tax, silver, gold, horses, garments with multicoloured trim, oxen, sheep, wine.

UN.MEŠ (nišē) (82) am-mar TA (ištu) IGI (pan) ^{GIŠ}TUKUL^{MEŠ} (kakkē) ip-par-si-du ana KUR.MEŠ-ni (šadāni) e-li-ú-ni

G^{IV}

After as many people as had fled from my weapons (and) climbed up into the mountains

48

EGIR-*šú-nu* (*arkišunu*) *ina bi-rit* KUR (*šadû*) *A-zi-ru* KUR (*šadû*) *Si-ma-ki* *ù-*   H
ši-bu-ni URU*Me-su al dan-nu-ti-šú-nu* (83) *iš-ka-nu-ni*

I marched. They were ensconced between Mounts Aziru (and) Simaki (and) had
made the city Mesu their garrison.

KUR (*šadû*) *A-zi-ru a-bul a-qur* TA (*ištu*) *bi-rit* KUR (*šadû*) *Si-ma-ki a-di* ÍD   L¹ζβx
(*nāru*) *Tur-na-at pag-ri-šú-nu at-bu-uk* 5 ME *muq-tab-li-šú-nu   u-nap-pi-iṣ*   L²φ
(84) *šal-la-šú-nu* DUGUD-*ta* (*kabitta*) *aš-lul* URU.MEŠ (*ālāni*) *ina* IZI.MEŠ   L¹ζ
(*išāti*) GIBÍL-*up* (*ašrup*)

I knocked down, destroyed Mount Aziru (and) piled up their bodies from Mount
Simaki as far as the River Turnat. I slew 500 of their men-at-arms (and)
carried off their valuable booty. I burnt the cities.

---

ina u₄-me-šú-ma   [a²
At that time

---

ina KUR*Za-mu-a* URU*At-li-la ša* I*Si-bir* MAN (*šar*) KUR*Kar-du-ni-aš* DIB-*šú-ni*   B
(*iṣbatušuni*) *i-ʾ-ab-ta* (85) *ina* DU₆ (*tīlu*) *u kar-me* GUR-*ra* (*itūra*)

in the land Zamua, the city Atlita which Sibir, king of Karduniaš had cap‑
tured, was dilapidated (and) had turned into ruin hills.

I*Aš-šur*-PAB(*nāṣir*)-A(*apli*) MAN(*šar*)*Aš-šur ana eš-šu-te iṣ-bat* BÀD-*šú* (*dū‑*   P²α¹!
rašu) *al-mi* É.GAL (*ekalla*) *a-na šu-bat* MAN-*ti-a* (*šarrūtija*) *i-na lib-bi*
a-di ú-si-im ú-šar-riḫ UGU (*eli*) *ša pa-an u-ša-te-ir* (86) *še-am*.MEŠ ŠE.IN.
NU.MEŠ (*tibnu*) *ša* KUR (*māti*) DÙ.A.BI (*kališu*) *ina* ŠÀ (*libbi*) DUB-*uk* (*atbuk*)
URU BÀD (*Dūr*)-*aš-šur* MU-*šú* (*šumšu*) *ab-bi*   ///

Aššur-naṣir-apli, king of Aššur, took (that) city in hand for renovation.
I put a wall around it, founded therein a palace for my royal residence,
(and) decorated it more splendidly than ever before. I stored therein bar‑
ley (and) straw from all the (surrounding) land. I named it Dur-Aššur.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

1. An attentive reading of the tables will lead to the conclusion that the Proppian pattern employed has shown itself to be substantially adequate to permit a codification of the narrative structure of the campaigns of ASN. The correspondence of the pattern to the narrative is even more evident if one takes into account the inserts and repetitions of the individual segments (scanned by / and //), and if one takes into account also the fact that the text has been codified very faithfully and in great detail: expedients such as junction or inversion of small elements would have lead to an even greater correspondence. A codification on larger lines would have brought into greater relief the structural homogeneity of the campaigns. But it has been preferred, for obvi ous reasons (cfr. p. 18), to maintain the codification as detailed and as close to the text as possible.

As has already been stated with reference to the fairy tales, it could be said that there exists (on the narrative level) one sole campaign of ASN, that is, one sole sequence of functions, with variations concerning persons, places and details. A quite varied topographical, political and economic reality is regularly depicted accord ing to a quite reduced number of typical situations[20].

The verification of the adaptability of the Neo-Assyrian campaign to the Proppian pattern requires a contribution of comprehension and explanation. That which seems to substantially associate the event exemplarily expressed in the fairy tales and the event of the Annals of ASN (let alone, of course, the other types of texts not here under examination), over and above the details relative to the individual functions and their variants, is the general progress from the individuation of a state of disorder, disfunction or uneasiness to its recomposition or elimination, through the carrying out of determinate acts by the protagonist, with the employment of external or superior sup ports, and against the opposition proferred by the antagonist. This progress from dis-

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[20] Liverani, cit., *Power and Propaganda.*

function to recomposition in the fairy tale is set on an individual level; in the Assyrian inscriptions it appears on a general political and ideological level. Through the individual operative and narrative segments, the control of the Assyrian political centre is systematically affirmed over the chaotic and hostile periphery, the surrounding disorder progressively reduced to order and correct functioning[21]. The final functions of organization and celebration explicitly associate the new fate of the periphery to the situation which already from the start exists at the centre of the cosmos.

The very monotonous iteration of the typical event that features in the successive realizations instills in the public a sense of forced anticipation of the obvious outcome of the event itself, and hence, in the last analysis, of the relentless efficacy of the action of the Assyrian king both in its operative aspects (whether of a bellicose-destructive nature or of an economic-acquisitive nature) and in its institutional implications (on a political level, but also on a religious one).

2.   The type of analysis and formalization hereby performed, being very (apparently, perhaps, too much) detailed and coherent on the logical-conceptual level, has served to uncover the narrative structure of the text. If in general terms the closed and repetitive character of such a structure reflects a fixed ideological vision, in concrete terms it also reflects an elementary technique of composition and a stereotyped phraseological repertoire. Separate syntactic units correspond, normally, to the principal functions. The terminology is generally not only constant within the individual functions but also exclusive between one function and another (so much so that it serves to individuate one from the other). The adjectives (let alone the comparisons and the underlining of the priorities) connote constant situations and elements in a univocal manner. Even the properly stylistic devices (verbal terns, nominal pairs, etc.) tend to be established within the individual functions. A very restricted basic lexicon is only marginally enriched by varying expressions of only modest stylistic ambition. Also the listings (sometimes quite

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[21] We do not face here the problem of correspondence between the reality and the story; some drastic arrangements are implied e.g. in the discussion whether the campaign to Karkemish and that to the Mediterranean Sea took place in the same year (J.A. Brink

long), the numerical data (whatever their correspondence to reality), end even the topono
mastic display serve primarily to add fixed connotations (all of them relative to Assyrian
control on reality) to the basic events.

This type of analysis, then, has proved to be suitable for an organic syste
mization not only of the ideology expressed by the text, but also of the stylistic elements.
These have revealed themselves to be susceptible of collocation within an organic and very
precise pattern, thus overcoming the level of a vague and impressionistic perception.

3.   The selection (whatever its level of awareness) of the typical pattern for
the purpose of narrating the individual campaigns reflects the Assyrian idea of what a cam
paign (girru) really is, and why it is carried out. It has already been seen that the com
prehensive sense of the campaign lies in the recomposition of an initial state of disorder
and disfunction. But the decisive moment of the event is set in function M: the ordered and
correct situation is the submission of all the surrounding minor political centers to the
Assyrian king. This submission is obtained in three ways: 1) The antagonist decides imme-
diately that it is convenient to submit, and here one has the basic sequence E $\longrightarrow$ M. 2) The
antagonist decides to face the Assyrian king, and is irremediably defeated, which equally
leads to submission; here the basic sequence is E $\longrightarrow$ IL $\longrightarrow$ M. 3) Through flight, the an
tagonist endeavours to evade submission or combat but nevertheless is caught, defeated,
and made to submit; here the basic sequence is E $\longrightarrow$ GH $\longrightarrow$ IL $\longrightarrow$ M. The three alterna-
tive ways may be graphically summed up as follows:
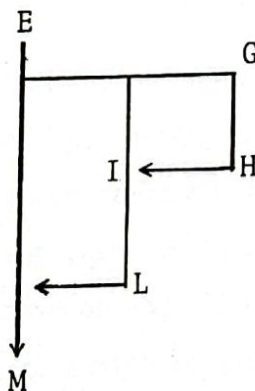
man, A Political History of Post-Kassite Babylonia 1158-722 B.C., Roma 1968, pp. 393-394;
Schramm, Einleitung, pp. 27-28; de Filippi: "Assur" I/7 [1977], pp. 28-29, 34-35).

The fact that all three ways lead to the same outcome signifies that, from the Assyrian point of view, the object has in any case been attained. However there do exist some differences (especially for the enemy) according to the manner of submission. A substantial similarity is evident between the listings of booty ($L^{2\delta\epsilon}$) and the listings of tribute ($M^{\delta\epsilon}$); but a substantial difference appears between the fate of the enemy who resists and is suppressed ($L^{1\alpha\beta\gamma}$) and that of the enemy who submits and is granted his life ($M^{\alpha\zeta}$). Thus the Assyrians obtain in any case the material goods, while for the enemies it is more convenient to submit than futilely to offer resistence (this is one of the messages of texts of this kind).

4.   A structural reading of the text does not provide any information on the degree of innovation and territorial expansion under ASN: the old and the new tributaries are considered in the same way insofar as all of them are equally potential tributaries both in principle and in real terms (as this step by step materializes). It is to be noted that the practice of underlining priorities (!) focuses on E and not on LM: such emphasis is relative to the heroic personal behaviour of the king rather than to the complex political reality. The homogeneous consideration of the enemies as potential tributaries reflects the kind of relations practicable in the 9th century - at a time, that is, when there was not yet an organic and definitive possession of the foreign territories as "provinces" of the empire. But a premise of an eventual step appears already in the acts of organization (type O^{12}): such acts mark the only effective change in the political status of the territories brought to submission.

5.   Within the basic sequence one notes that several functions are constantly present and more detailed, while others appear less frequently and are only briefly expounded. We will refer only to the most manifest cases: while the journey to the place of combat (E) is always present and often connotated, the return journey (Q) is practically ignored. The actual combat (I) is normally passed over, while the subsequent massacre (L^1) is insistently described. This disparity of attention to the various functions provides the possibility of establishing in scale what was considered to be more or less significant and functional for the attainment of the objectives (of persuasion or deterrence and of celebration) in view of which the Annals were drawn up and promulgated.

The different evaluation and presentation, on the one hand of the Assyrian king and his troops, and on the other of the enemies, is evident: just as the former is active so are the latter passive. There is no true combat since the opposition is founded on illusions, and the outcome is univocal. The Assyrian king is unique and self-sufficient, even if sometimes he has recourse to divine and human tools (the army, whose number, significantly, is never revealed). The enemy, on the other hand, is of its very nature multiple and diversified. The enumerations and quantifications (obsessively given) consistently regard the enemy as object of booty, of tribute and of massacre.

6.   Besides the differences between functions within the typical sequence, there emerge also differences between the individual campaigns (as already mentioned in the description of functions A, C, D, F[1]), which spring from two motives. First and foremost the king assumes, as time goes by, an ever increasing security which leads him to figure more and more exclusively as first protagonist and to neglect recognizing divine and human assistance[22]. Secondly, the gap between the first and the second group of campaigns, marked factually by the movement of the capital from Nineveh to Kalaḫ, and textually by a wide interval, involves several stylistic (and perhaps other) variations.

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[22] A quite similar case is studied by M. Liverani, *Critique of Variants and the Titulary of Sennacherib*, in Fales (ed.), cit., pp. 234-247.