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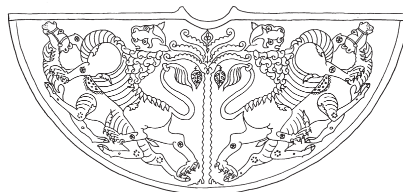

THE ASSUR-NINEVEH-ARBELA TRIANGLE

Central Assyria in the Neo-Assyrian Period

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A recent study by Mark Altaweel on settlement and land use of the area between the Lesser Zab in the south, Eski Mossul in the north, Wadi Tharthar and Jebel Sheikh Ibrahim in the west, and Jebel Qara Chauq and the Khazir River in the east defined this region as the Assyrian heartland (Altaweel 2008a, 6). But to any Assyrian of the Middle or Neo-Assyrian period, the traditional homelands of Assyria certainly stretched much further to the east and included the city of Arbela (modern Erbil).

In this contribution, I will focus on the roughly triangular area east of the Tigris and north of the Lesser Zab and southwest of the mountain barrier where Taurus and Zagros meet. The area constitutes the core of the lands that were under the continuous rule of the Assyrian kings from the 14th to the 7th century BC (Radner 2006-08, 45-48). Unlike the regions west of the Tigris, this area was unaffected by the loss of territory to the newly forming Aramaean states in the 11th century BC and there was consequently no need for Adad-nerari II (911–891 BC) and his successors to re-establish control, once they undertook to restore Assyria's old borders. In the following, I will analyse the role of this region during the period from the 9th to the 7th century BC when Assyria emerged as an empire, focusing in particular on the impact of the move of court and administration from Assur to Kalhu, then Dur-Šarruken and finally Nineveh.

The Assur-Nineveh-Arbela Triangle

The core region of Assyria (Fig. 1) can be described as the lands defined by Assur (modern Qala'at Sherqat) in the south, Nineveh (modern Mosul with the ruin mounds Kuyunjik and Nebi Yunus) in the north and Arbela in the east. While most of the regions within the triangle formed by these three ancient cities are situated east of the Tigris, Assur lies on the western riverbank and thus provides access to and control over the important route leading in western direction to the Habur valley and to the Euphrates valley. Situated at the fringes of the desert to the north of the artificially irrigated lands of Babylonia, Assur is a natural contact point with the pastoralists that make use of this arid region. Situated at the triangle's northern tip, Nineveh controls an important ford across the Tigris, like Assur, but it lies on the eastern riverbank. It is the natural destination of the overland route running along the southern foothills of the Taurus mountain range that leads to the Mediterranean coast and into Anatolia. The triangle's eastern tip, Arbela, is located on the western fringes of the Zagros mountain range and controls the various routes across the mountains into Iran which take their departure from there. The city is also located on the important route that leads alongside the Zagros down to the Diyala river and into Babylonia, the key overland connection between central Assyria and the south (Postgate & Mattila 2004, 244f.). Unlike Assur and Nineveh with their long history of archaeological

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Fig. 1. The Neo-Assyrian provinces, with the position of Assur, Nineveh, Arbela, Kalhu and Dur-Šarruken marked by asterisks. The dashed lines indicate the provincial boundaries but note that these are often hypothetical. For details see Radner 2006-08. Drawing by Cornelie Wolff after a sketch of the author.

exploration, excavations in Arbela have started only very recently,[1] and the most evocative source for Arbela in the Neo-Assyrian period is still a depiction of the city, which is identified by name, on a wall relief from Nineveh (Fig. 2).[2] As the crow flies, the distance between Assur and Arbela is c. 105 km, between Assur and Nineveh c. 100 km and between Arbela and Nineveh c. 80 km.

These three cities dominate Northern Mesopotamia's cultural and political history throughout the 2nd millennium, a view that emerges as clearly from the Mari state correspondence of the 18th century BC when they were the capital (Assur) or the religious centres (Nineveh in Nurrugum and Arbela in Qabra) of independent kingdoms that were then briefly brought together in the short-lived empire created by Samsi-Addu of Ekallatum (Charpin & Ziegler 2003, 79, 91-99. 101; Ziegler 2004) as from the sources of the 14th to 11th century BC when they constituted the core area of the Middle Assyrian kingdom (Radner 2006-08, 43-48; on Assur and Nineveh: Tenu 2004). From the 14th century until the disintegration of the Assyrian Empire in the late 7th century, this region was always politically united and under the rule of the Assyrian kings, traditionally governing from Assur where the dynasty had its origins.

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[1] Karel Nováček of the University of West Bohemia in Plzen, Czech Republic, and his team have excavated in Erbil since 2006; for the Assyrian finds see Nováček *et al.* 2008, 265. 276-278. In 2009, a team of the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut excavated a Neo-Assyrian tomb which will be published by A. Hausleiter.

[2] North Palace of Assurbanipal (668–c. 630 BC), room I, slab 9, upper register. What survives of this relief is today kept at the Louvre (AO 19914) but the drawings made during the excavation show the slab in a more complete state: Albenda 1980.

It was not only geographically and geopolitically the heartland of Assyria but also culturally: the main temples of the three cities were dedicated to the most important Assyrian deities: Aššur, as whose earthly representative the Assyrian king acted, and Ištar of Nineveh and Ištar of Arbela who, too, were celebrated as patrons and protectors of Assyria. As a praise poem composed in their honour for Assurbanipal (668–c. 630 BC) puts it:

> "Exalt and glorify the Lady of Nineveh, magnify and praise the Lady of Arbela, who have no equal among the great gods! … Not [with] my [own strength], not with the strength of my bow, but with the power [… and] strength of my goddesses, I made the lands disobedient to me submit to the yoke of Aššur. … The Lady of Nineveh, the mother who bore me, endowed me with unparalleled kingship; the Lady of Arbela, my creator, ordered everlasting life (for me). They decreed as my fate to exercise dominion over all inhabited regions, and made their kings bow down at my feet." (Livingstone 1989, No. 3: 1-3; rev. 4-6; rev. 14-18).

And similarly in a composition of a king whose name is lost:

> "The Queen of Nineveh, the merciful goddess, turned to my side and graciously set me on the throne of the father who begat me. The Lady of Arbela, the great lady, granted regular acts of favour in the course of my kingship." (K. 9155: ll. 7-14; Lambert 2004, 35).

No king could afford to ignore these gods, their shrines and their festivals.[3]

The Impact of the Elevation of Kalhu

In 879 BC, the city of Assur was stripped of its ancient role as the seat of royal power and state administration when Assurnasirpal II (883–859 BC) moved the court to a new location. His choice fell on the city of Kalhu (modern Nimrud) which, during his reign and that of his son and successor Shalmaneser III (858–824 BC), was transformed into the political and administrative centre of Assyria. At least in the surviving sources Assurnasirpal did not explain the motivations for the move and modern commentators have come up with various reasons.[4] The analysis of Kalhu's geographical position in relation to Assur, Nineveh and Arbela provides the starting point for my analysis.

Kalhu was not a new foundation. Situated near a ford over the Tigris, this ancient city could by the 9th century BC look back at roughly a millennium of recorded history. It is attested in the cuneiform sources since the 18th century when it is mentioned in the texts from Mari as Kamilhu, Kawalhu and, once, as Kalhu (Ziegler 2002a, 270f.; Ziegler 2004, 20 n. 10). Under this last name, it served as a provincial capital during the Middle Assyrian period (Postgate 1985, 96) in the second half of the 2nd millennium and it continued to fulfil this role without interruption until the end of the 7th century when Assyria as a state ceased to exist. The claim that Kalhu was 'small and unimportant' (Joffe 1998, 558) prior to its elevation under Assurnasirpal II is therefore rather misleading, as is the designation as an 'disembedded capital' if this is defined as an 'urban site founded de novo' (Joffe 1998, 549). Unlike Dur-Šarruken (see below), Kalhu was an old city and, crucially, an integral part of the regional road network.

Seen in its geographical relation to Assur, Nineveh and Arbela, Kalhu occupies a uniquely central position (Fig. 1). The city is located just north of the Tigris' confluence with the Greater Zab and hence provides direct access to the two principal waterways of the region. Kalhu lies on the Tigris

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[3] On the cult of Aššur see van Driel 1969. There are no monographic studies on either Ištar of Nineveh or Ištar of Arbela but note the recent discussions of Lambert 2004, Porter 2004 and Walker 2006-07, 485-491.

[4] E.g. Mallowan 1966, 74f. stresses the advantages of the location near a Tigris ford: "It must have been a very important consideration to have an easy crossing point for the Assyrian army, within a day's reach of Nineveh, and not more than

between Nineveh and Assur and, thanks to a canal dug to the Zab, there is a direct river connection with Arbela which is situated alongside one of the Zab's tributaries. Kalhu lies in an ideal position between Assur, Arbela and Nineveh as the most convenient routes linking these cities all lead through it (Altaweel 2008a, 66-68. 116). The distance from Kalhu to Assur is c. 70 km, to Arbela c. 60 km and to Nineveh c. 35 km as the crow flies. Travelling to and from either of these cities therefore takes a day, two at most, depending on the direction and the mode of travel, but in any case about half the time it takes to cover the distance between any of the three cities themselves.

Kalhu was turned into a megacity, with a surface of 380 hectares contained inside the city walls and regional canal systems constructed to provide additional water for its maintenance (Altaweel 2008a, 86-88. 121). The city was elevated to its new prominence not only at the expense of Assur, which it replaced as the main residence of the king, but also at the expense of Nineveh and Arbela. Due to Assur's peripheral location within the Assyrian state, these cities were effectively economic and political centres in their own right, of almost the same importance as Assur and, at least in Nineveh's case (Tenu 2004, 30), with their own royal palace. Also, the special significance of the cults of Ištar of Nineveh and Ištar of Arbela to state ideology required the king to spend considerable amounts of time in these cities in order to take his place in their festivals, just like the cult of Aššur regularly called for the king's attention and presence. When considering the reasons for the move from Assur to Kalhu, we must therefore include also Nineveh and Arbela in our deliberations: By choosing Kalhu as the administrative centre of the renewed Assyrian state the influence of all three cities, and their inhabitants, within the state was substantially weakened.

In my opinion, this was part of an intentional strategy designed to strengthen the position of the king at the expense of the old urban elites: while these had previously played an important role in the political life of the Assyrian state many of the highest administrative and military offices were now reserved for eunuchs of deliberately obscure origins but undoubted loyalty to the king.[5] The residents of the new centre of state were to be handpicked from among the old urban elites by one of these eunuchs, as the royal edict appointing Nergal-apil-kumu'a to oversee the move to Kalhu makes abundantly clear (Kataja & Whiting 1995, no. 83). We can safely assume that only those who had showed enthusiasm for the king and his plans for the Assyrian state were chosen, thus creating in 879 BC not only a new political centre but one that was exclusively populated by loyal supporters of the king.

Moreover, by moving the central administration to the centrally located site of Kalhu the regional dominance of Arbela and Nineveh, which had counterbalanced but also weakened the status of Assur as the overall centre, was neutralised. In contrast to Assur, Kalhu was not just in name but also in effect the sole focal point of political power and administrative competence. While Assur, Arbela and Nineveh remained the cultural centres of the Assyrian state Kalhu, too, was now invested with temples and festivals of nationwide importance, most significantly those of Nabu (Oates & Oates 2001b, 119-123).

By creating new patterns of authority and allegiance, both geographically and socially, Assurnasirpal was successful in changing the power structures that had previously defined central Assyria and reinforced

two days' march upstream from Assur" (p. 74), "that this was good agricultural as well as pastoral land and that the countryside was eminently suitable for horsebreeding" (p. 75) and "the attraction of planning a new capital in which he [= Assurnasirpal] could conduct the affairs of state unfettered by the political cliques of Nineveh or the ecclesiastical dominance of Assur" (p. 75). Or Oates & Oates 2001b, 16: "Assur lay at the southern boundary of rainfed agricultural land and a more central location would have been both strategically and economically desirable." Or Stronach 1997, 309: "The need for such a move may have been at least partly driven by a need for greater space."

[5] The reduced importance of the old aristocracy becomes apparent when considering the office of year eponym: In the 2nd millennium BC, this prestigious role was habitually given to one of these men but from Assurnasirpal II's reign onwards, eunuch governors held the office (in addition to the king himself).

and secured the pre-eminence of the king and the state administration. Kalhu's elevation provided the emerging Neo-Assyrian Empire with one unrivalled centre whose population was moreover loyal to the crown and supportive of the state. It is safe to assume that the royalist message communicated so clearly by the wall decorations of Assurnasirpal's palace matched the political opinions of the inhabitants of his city, providing him and his successors, at least in the following decades, with a guaranteed power base.

The Impact of the Foundation of Dur-Šarruken and its Province

When Sargon II (721–705 BC) moved the court and the central administration again in 706 BC, Kalhu's early advantages in providing a guaranteed royalist power base and a safe haven for the king had been long lost as the city and its inhabitants had developed an identity of their own over a period of more than one and a half centuries as Assyria's political and administrative centre.

This had become apparent already in 746 BC, when a rebellion against Aššur-nerari V (754–745 BC) started in Kalhu with the support of its governor; in the following year, Tiglatpileser III (744–727 BC) who had certainly supported the revolt seized the throne (Zawadzki 1994). The insurrection had started at the very centre of the Assyrian state, with the backing of some of its most senior officials, and this makes it clear that Kalhu's elite could no longer be seen as unquestioningly loyal to whoever happened to be king. But Tiglatpileser who had profited from this newfound confidence had no reason to fear it, and his chosen heir and successor Shalmaneser V (726–722 BC), too, found Kalhu a suitable centre for his rule.

Sargon II, however, who had ousted his brother Shalmaneser in 722 BC from the Assyrian throne, faced massive resistance against his rule in the early years of his reign (Fuchs 2009, 53f.), in the Assyrian heartland as well as further away where the western provinces carved out of the former kingdoms of Hamath, Arpad, Damascus and Israel all rose in revolt. After Sargon eventually managed to crush the revolt in 720 BC, the rebellion's epicentre Hamath was destroyed and '6,300 guilty Assyrians', people from the heartland who had supported Shalmaneser, were exiled from the empire's core region to Hamath's ruins, repaying their merciful king for sparing their lives by rebuilding that city (Hawkins 2004, 160: Hama Stele).

Without any doubt Sargon's decision to move the court and the central administration to a new centre was in part motivated by the lack of acceptance and the active and fierce resistance his rule had met with in the Assyrian heartland. The construction of Dur-Šarruken (modern Khorsabad) began in 717 BC, as soon as the king had been able to consolidate his power. Unlike Kalhu, Dur-Šarruken ('Sargon's fortress') was an entirely new foundation on a site that had hitherto been occupied only by a small agricultural settlement called Magganubba (Fuchs 2009, 59). It offered Sargon the opportunities of a blank canvass on which to realise his ideal capital and indeed, the city with a surface of 315 hectares was conceived on the drawing board with far more regard for the geometry of its features than pre-existing geographical conditions (Battini 2000).

Unlike Kalhu with its excellent traffic links in northern, southern, eastern and western direction, Dur-Šarruken does not occupy a central location (Fig. 1). It is situated north of all the major cities of central Assyria on the eastern bank of the Khosr river, a tributary of the Tigris which meets this river just south of Nineveh. As the crow flies, Dur-Šarruken lies just 18 km northeast of Nineveh, but 45 km north of Kalhu, 75 km northwest of Arbela and even 115 km north of Assur. Kalhu and Assur are reached by travelling via Nineveh and while it is possible to travel to Arbela by using the overland route along the mountains in clockwise direction it is best reached on water, on the Tigris until Kalhu

and then onto the Greater Zab. This means that Dur-Šarruken's position within the road network was secondary to and dependent on its link with Nineveh.[6] The move from Kalhu to Dur-Šarruken therefore substantially strengthened Nineveh's geopolitical importance in the region. The traffic of goods, personnel and information through Nineveh must have increased by a multiple factor. On the other hand, Assur and especially Arbela were further sidelined by the creation of the new centre.

But while Nineveh gained much in the way of traffic and flow of communications, it was made to suffer substantial territorial losses. Dur-Šarruken was made the centre of a new province whose territory had to be carved out of the existing provinces of the area. This was an unusual strategy without precedents in Neo-Assyrian history.[7] The creation of the new province reduced the economic and political possibilities of the affected provincial administrations and of course concerned all landowners who owned property in the region. The textual record shows that the district of Halahhu – famous as a destination of deported Israelites after the Assyrian conquest under Shalmaneser V (2 Kings 17:6) – was assigned to the province of Dur-Šarruken (Radner 2006-08, 54). While it had been a province in its own right in the Middle Assyrian period (Postgate 1985, 97) there is no evidence that Halahhu ever held this status in the 1st millennium BC and before its integration into the newly created province of Dur-Šarruken, Halahhu must have been belonged to Nineveh, forming the eastern half of that province. Kalhu, too, may have suffered a loss in territory, in that case losing the northern stretches of its province to Dur-Šarruken. But as the position of the boundary between Kalhu and Dur-Šarruken is unclear this remains a hypothesis. There is the distinct possibility that all of Dur-Šarruken's lands were split off the Ninevite province.

To sum up, the creation of the city of Dur-Šarruken offered Sargon the chance for a new start. As the move to Kalhu some 170 years before, it provided the king with a royalist power base whose carefully selected population was not (yet) shaped by deeply ingrained patterns of authority and allegiance that the king could not control. Unlike Kalhu, however, Dur-Šarruken's location within the Assyrian core region shows very little concern for the communication with Assur and Arbela while the site is largely dependent on nearby Nineveh for its links to the rest of the empire.

The successive annexation of the lands on the Mediterranean coast and north of the Taurus under Tiglatpileser III, Shalmaneser V and Sargon II had turned the western traffic route, which reached the Assyrian heartland at Nineveh, into the empire's most important overland connection and all goods, people and information travelling on this route had to pass through Nineveh which controlled the principal ford over the Tigris in this region. The expansion had made Nineveh the hub of the Assyrian Empire.

The choice of Dur-Šarruken as Sargon's new centre took this into account. Assur's and Arbela's now increasingly peripheral position within the heartland was not the result of the creation of Dur-Šarruken but of the western expansion of the Empire. On the other hand, Dur-Šarruken principally fed off resources previously under the control of Nineveh, most importantly agricultural lands, personnel and water, lowering Nineveh's economic potential. Sargon's move of the royal court and central state administration can be seen as a reaction to the geopolitical changes brought about by the growth of the empire in the last decades and the resulting increase in Nineveh's nationwide

[6] One may compare the distance and relationship between Nineveh and Dur-Šarruken to that of Paris and Versailles, which after the decision of Louis XIV (1643–1715) to move the royal court and government there permanently served as France's political and administrative centre from 1682 to 1789. The distance between Paris and Versailles is 17 km.

[7] Later on, there is a parallel in the creation of the Province of the Crown Prince on the western Tigris bank with Balaṭu (modern Eski Mosul) as its centre (Radner 2008, 49). Its establishment seems to have happened during the reign of Sennacherib (704–681 BC) and may again have been a move designed to reduce Nineveh's regional power once it had been chosen as the seat of the court and the central administration.

importance. Yet it is obvious that the king did not want to forego the political (and architectural[8]) opportunities offered by founding a new and 'disembedded' power base. The creation of an entirely new city went hand in hand with the establishment of a corresponding province at the expense of nearby Nineveh (and perhaps also Kalhu), a strategy that would seem to be deliberately designed to counter and lessen Nineveh's (and perhaps also Kalhu's) regional political and economic importance.

The court moved to Dur-Šarruken in 706 BC but when Sargon died on the battlefield in the following year, his son and successor Sennacherib (704–681 BC) chose to abandon the city and move his court and the central administration to Nineveh (Fuchs 2009, 59f.), which was expanded into a megacity of 750 hectares. Despite adding no new provinces to the Assyrian state, Sennacherib had more people moved across the empire than any of his predecessors (or any of his successors, for that matter). On the basis of his inscriptions, he resettled close to half a million people, with almost half of them coming from Babylonia (Oded 1979, 20f.), and most of these deportees were destined for Nineveh. The experiment Dur-Šarruken was not completely reversed: the province existed until the end of the Assyrian state and the city retained its role as provincial centre (Radner 2006-08, 54). The needs of the court and the central administration at Nineveh, met as they were by the entire empire, were not directly concerned by the decision to preserve the province of Dur-Šarruken. As the geopolitical advantages of a move from Dur-Šarruken to Nineveh are obvious the question arises whether Sennacherib would have moved to Nineveh also if his father had not died in a way that tainted his new city and necessitated its re-evaluation. The answer to this question must remain open but it is probable that Sennacherib who, unlike Sargon, was not contested in his claim to the throne saw the old urban elites of central Assyria as far less of a danger to royal power than his father. As we have seen, when the decision was based primarily on location and long-distance traffic links Nineveh was by the late 8th century BC the natural choice for Assyria's political centre.

The Provinces of Central Assyria within the Empire

Compared to the rest of the Empire, the Central Assyrian provinces are small in size (Fig. 1). This reflects historical developments as the provinces in this oldest part of the state had been established at a much earlier time and survived, in most cases unchanged, sometimes merged with a neighbouring province into a bigger unit (e.g. Assur and Libbi-ali; Nineveh and Halahhu), from the Middle Assyrian period.

But while the land controlled by these provinces was much more limited than that of the new provinces created in the 9th and especially in the 8th century, it was intensely developed agricultural land without any of the empty space occupied elsewhere in the Empire by desert or mountains. As far as we can see, all governors were expected to provide the central administration with the same contributions in taxes and labour, regardless of the size of their province; this emerges most clearly from the records on the construction of Dur-Šarruken (*cf.* Parpola 1995). To me, this would seem to indicate that at least in theory all provinces were expected to have roughly the same economic potential. One has to bear in mind that the Assyrian administration established in a newly annexed region would at first have faced huge expenditures in order to secure Assyrian rule and set up the necessary infrastructure. But note, for example, how the holdings of the once enormous province of Raṣappa were split up after its previously largely barren lands had come under cultivation (Radner 2006-08, 52f.). If our hypothesis

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[8] Stronach 1997, 310 deems that Sargon's main reason for the move to Dur-Šarruken was his supposed "wish to emulate the actions of the earlier Sargon [of Akkad], who chose to found the entirely new city of Agade instead of dignifying adjacent, time-honored Kish as his capital."

is correct, then the economic power of the small Central Assyrian provinces equalled that of the much larger Syrian, Anatolian or Iranian provinces, and given the importance of human labour it stands to reason that the core provinces therefore had to be far more densely populated. This matches the fact that the Assyrian heartland was the destination for most deported populations (Oded 1979, 28, 116-135). In addition, the large-scale irrigation projects supporting Kalhu, Dur-Šarruken and Nineveh reduced the insecurities of rainfed agriculture and, as Jason Ur (2005, 343) argues, increased productivity substantially by allowing a more intensive production of winter grain and water-intensive summer vegetable crops and by reducing the need for biennial fallow.

However, by the reign of Sargon II, the governorship over a Central Assyrian province was no longer the pinnacle of a successful career in the state administration it once had been. It now held far more prestige to govern one of the new provinces and the governorship over a Central Assyrian province represented an earlier, more junior stage in an official's career. This is clear from the cursus honorum of individual state officials active under Sargon: Šep-Aššur, for instance, was first governor of Dur-Šarruken and then promoted to govern Ṣimirra on the Phoenician Coast (Parpola 1987, no. 124) whereas Nabu-belu-ka''in (Postgate & Mattila 2004, 251f. with n. 50) was first governor of Arrapha (modern Kirkuk) and then of the Median province of Kar-Šarruken before being promoted to vizier (*sukallu*), one of most senior state offices. Changes in who held the title of year eponym (Millard 1994) also reflected that the more experienced governors now ruled over the newly annexed and distant provinces. From at least the reign of Assurnasirpal II onwards, there is a specific sequence in which the king, the most senor state officials and some provincial governors, including those of the core provinces, occupy this prestigious role. But under Sargon, we find that it is the governors of the newly annexed provinces rather than those ruling the core provinces who were made eponym, and this trend continued under his successors.[9]

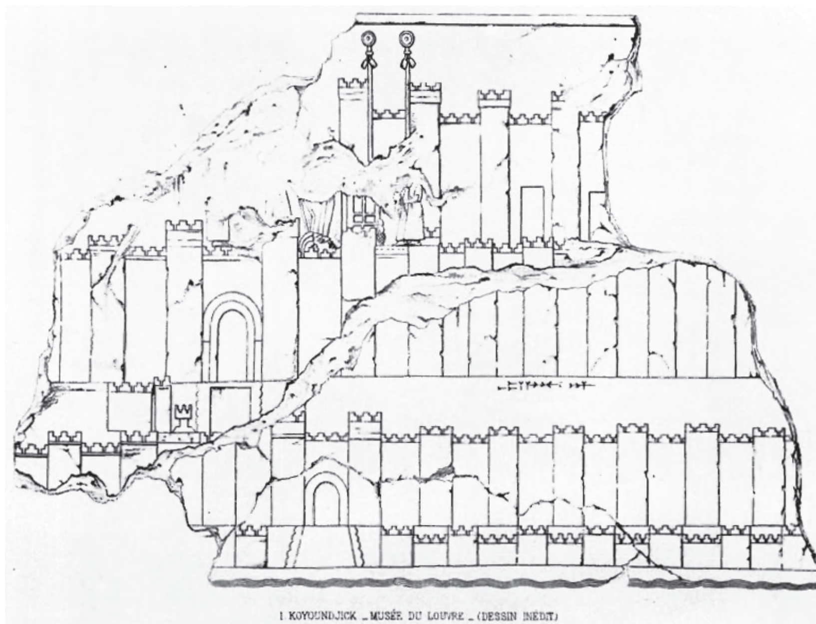

Fig. 2. A view of Arbela showing the city walls, the fortification walls of the acropolis and the temple of Ištar. North Palace of Assurbanipal (668–c. 630 BC), room I, slab 9, upper register: AO 19914, Louvre. Drawing reproduced from Place 1870, Pl. XLI.

[9] However, the governors' position within the state hierarchy was continually diminished during the reigns of Esarhaddon and Assurbanipal, who followed Sennacherib's lead in pursuing a policy designed to shift power away from the state officials to the members of the king's immediate family and his attendants (Radner 2008, 510; *cf.* Mattila 2009).

It obviously makes good political sense to dispatch only officials who have already proven their worth and their loyalty to the king to postings far away from the court and the central administration, and therefore the Assyrian core region. But this strategy automatically made governing a Central Assyrian province less prestigious. It mirrors the more general shift of the attentions of the king and his administration away from the heartland, the almost unavoidable result of the rapid extension of the provincial system during the second half of the 8th century. The regional power shift is, as we have seen, also reflected by the move of the political and administrative centre of the Empire to the Nineveh region, which provides the starting point for the principal route to the increasingly more important western half of the empire. Yet while the Assyrian heartland may have gradually lost in political significance the textual evidence such as the praise hymn of Assurbanipal quoted above, makes it absolutely clear that Assur, Arbela and Nineveh retained their cultic and ideological importance for and within the empire until the demise of the Assyrian state in the late 7th century.

Bibliography

Abbreviations

AAA	Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology (Liverpool)
AB	Assyriologische Bibliothek Neue Folge (Leipzig).
AbhBerlin	Abhandlungen der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-Hist. Klasse (Berlin)
AbhRWAW	Abhandlungen der Rheinisch-Westfälischenen Akademie der Wissenschaften, (Düsseldorf)
ActSum	Acta Sumerologica (Hiroshima)
ADOG	Abhandlungen der Deutschen Orientgesellschaft (Berlin / Saarbrücken / Saarwellingen / Wiesbaden)
ÄAT	Ägypten und Altes Testament (Wiesbaden)
AfO	Archiv für Orientforschung (Berlin – Graz / Wien)
AfO Beih.	Archiv für Orientforschung Beihefte (Berlin – Graz / Wien)
AJA	American Journal of Archaeology (Boston / Princeton)
AmAnt	American Antiquity (New York / Washington)
AMI	Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran (Berlin)
ANES	Ancient Near Eastern Studies (Leuven)
AnOr	Analecta Orientalia (Roma)
Antiquity	Antiquity. A Quarterly Review of Archaeology (Glouchester / London)
AOAT	Alter Orient und Altes Testament. Veröffentlichungen zur Kultur und Geschichte des Alten Orients und des Alten Testaments (Münster)
AoF	Altorientalische Forschungen (Berlin)
Aram	Aram: Society for Syro-Mesopotamian Studies (Leuven)
ARM	Archives Royales de Mari (Paris)
ArtB	The Art Bulletin (New York)
AS	Assyriological Studies (Chicago)
ASAA	= *ASAIA*
ASAIA	Annuario della Scuola Archeologica Italiana di Atene e delle Missioni Italiane in Oriente (Bergamo / Roma)
ASJ	Acta Sumerologica Japonica (Hiroshima)
AulOr	Aula Orientalis (Barcelona)
AUWE	Ausgrabungen in Uruk-Warka, Endberichte (Mainz)
BaF	Baghdader Forschungen (Mainz)
BAH	Bibliothèqe archéologique et historique (Paris)
BaM	Baghdader Mitteilungen (Berlin / Mainz)
BAR Int. Series	British Archaeological Press International Series (Oxford)
BASOR	Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research (New Haven)
BATSH	Berichte der Ausgrabungen in Tell Šēḫ Ḥamad/Dūr-Katlimmu (Berlin / Wiesbaden)
BBV	Berliner Beiträge zur Vor- und Frühgeschichte (Berlin)
BBVO	Berliner Beiträge zum Vorderen Orient (Berlin / Gladbeck)

BCSMS	Bulletin. The Canadian Society for Mesopotamian Studies (Toronto)
BiMe	Bibliotheca Mesopotamica (Malibu)
BiOr	Bibliotheca Orientalis. Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten te Leiden (Leiden)
BMOP	British Museum Occasional Papers (London)
BMSAES	British Museum Studies in Ancient Egypt an Sudan (London)
BSMS	= *BCSMS*
BTAVO B	Beihefte zum Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients, Reihe B: Geisteswissenschaften (Wiesbaden)
CDOG	Colloquien der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft (Saarbrücken / Wiesbaden)
CHANE	Culture and History of the Ancient Near East 3. Leiden – Boston.
CM	Cuneiform Monographs (Groningen)
CRRAI	Compte Rendu de la Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale
CSSH	Comparative Studies in Society and History (Den Haag/Cambridge – New York)
CSMS	The Canadian Society for Mesopotamian Studies (Toronto)
CSMSJ	The Canadian Society for Mesopotamian Studies Journal / Bulletin (Toronto)
CUSAS	Cornell University Studies in Assyriology and Sumerology (Chicago)
DAA	Denkmäler Antiker Architektur (Berlin)
DAFI	Cahiers de la Délégation Archéologique Française en Iran (Paris)
FAOS	Freiburger Altorientalische Studien (Chicago)
GironAsIt	Gironale della Società Asiatica Italiana (Firenze)
HANEM	History of the Ancient Near East Monograph (Padova)
HANES	History of the Ancient Near East Studies (Padova)
HSAO	Heidelberger Studien zum Alten Orient (Wiesbaden / Heidelberg)
HSS	Harvard Semitic Series
IAS	= R. D. Biggs, Inscriptions from Abu Ṣalabiḫ, *OIP* 99 (Chicago)
ICAANE	International Congress on the Archaeology of the Ancient Near East
ILN	Illustrated London News (London)
IMGULA	Imgula (Münster)
Iraq	Iraq. Published by the Bristish School of Archaeology in Iraq (London)
ISIMU	Revista Sobre Oriente Próximo y Egypto en la Antigüedad (Madrid)
ISR	Interdisciplinary Science Reviews (London)
ITT	= F. Thureau-Dangin, H. de Genouillac & L. Delaporte, Inventaire des tablettes de Tello conservées au Musée Impérial Ottoman (Paris 1910-12)
JAOS	Journal of the American Oriental Society (New Haven)
JAPr	Journal of Archaeological Prospection (Bradford)
JASc	Journal of Archaeological Science (London)
JAWRA	Journal of the American Water Ressources Association (Middleburg)
JCS	Journal of Cuneiform Studies (New Haven/Boston/Atlanta – New York)
JESHO	Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient (Leiden – New York)
JGS	Journal of Glass Studies (Corning)
JNES	Journal of Near Eastern Studies (Chicago – New York)

KAJ	= E. Ebeling, Keilschrifftexte aus Assur juristischen Inhalts, *WVDOG* 50
KAL	Keilschrifttexte aus Assur literarischen Inhalts = *WVDOG* 116. 117. 121.
LAPO	Littératures anciennes du Proche-Orient (Paris)
MAAr	Monographs in Art and Archaeology (Princeton)
MAD	Materials for the Assyrian Dictionary (Chicago)
MAOG	Mitteilungen der Altorientalischen Gesellschaft (Leipzig)
MARI	Mari. Annales de Recherches Interdisciplinaires (Paris)
MC	Mesopotamian Civilizations (Winona Lake, Indiana).
MDOG	Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft (Berlin)
MDP	Mémoires de la Délégation en Perse (Paris)
MMAJ	Metropolitan Museum of Art Journal (Turnhout – New York)
MHE	Mesopotamian History and Environment (Gent – Chicago)
MARV	Mittelassyrische Rechtsurkunden und Verwaltungstexte (Berlin / Saarbrücken / Saarwellingen / Wiesbaden); see Freydank 1976, 1982a, 1994a, 2001a; Freydank & Feller 2005, 2007
MVAG	Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatische-Ägyptischen Gesellschaft (Berlin – Leipzig)
MVN	Materiali per il Vocabulario Neosumerico (Roma)
MVS	Münchener Vorderasiatische Studien (München – Wien)
NABU	Nouvelles assyriologiques brèves et utilitaires (Paris)
NAPR	*MHE* Series I. Northern Akkad Project Reports (Ghent)
OBO	Orbis biblicus et orientalis; *Series Arch.* Series Archaeologica (Fribourg – Göttingen)
OIC	Oriental Institute Communications (Chicago)
OIP	Oriental Institute Publications (Chicago)
OLZ	Orientalistische Literaturzeitung (Leipzig / Berlin)
OrAr	Orient-Archäologie (Rahden)
OrE	Orient-Express (Paris)
OrNS	Orientalia Nova Series (Roma)
PBA	Proceedings of the British Academy (Oxford – London)
PBF	Prähistorische Bronzefunde (München – Stuttgart)
PBS	Publications of the Babylonian Section, University of Pennsylvania (Philadelphia)
PhERS	Photogrammetric Engineering and Remote Sensing (Bethesda)
PIHANS	Publications de l'insitut historique et archéologique néerlandais de Stamboul (Leiden)
PIHEM	Publications de l'institut des hautes études marocaines (Paris)
PKG	Propyläen Kunstgeschichte (Berlin)
RA	Revue d'assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale (Paris)
RGTC	Répertoire géographique des textes cunéiformes (Wiesbaden)
RIMA	Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia. Assyrian Periods (Toronto – Buffalo – London); see Grayson 1987, 1991, 1996
RIMB	Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia. Babylonian Periods (Toronto – Buffalo – London); see Frame 1995
RIME	Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia. Early Periods (Toronto – Buffalo – London); see Frayne 1990, 1993.

RlA	Reallexikon der Assyriologie (Leipzig / Berlin)
RSO	Rivista di Studii Orientali (Roma)
RSSIS	Remote Sensing and Spatial Information Sciences (online ressource)
SAA	State Archives of Assyria (Helsinki)
SAAB	State Archives of Assyria Bulletin (Padova)
SAAS	State Archives of Assyria Studies (Helsinki)
SAMD	Studies in Ancient Magic and Divination (Leiden)
SAOC	Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization (Chicago)
SaStAn	Saggi di Storia Antica (Roma)
SCCNH	Studies on the Civilization and Culture of Nuzi and the Hurrians (Bethesda)
SDB	Supplément au dictionnaire de la Bible (Paris)
SENEPSE	Studies in Early Near Eastern Production, Subsistence, and Environment (Berlin)
SGKAO	Studien zur Geschichte und Kultur des Alten Orients (Leiden)
SMEA	Studii micenei ed egeo-anatolici (Roma)
SSN	Studia Semitica Neerlandica (Assen)
StOr	Studia Orientalia published by the Finnish Oriental Society (Helsinki)
Subartu	Subartu. European Centre for Upper Mesopotamian Studies (Turnhout)
TAARII	The American Academic Research Institute in Iraq
TCS	Texts from Cuneiform Sources (New York)
TSTS	Toronto Semitic Texts and Studies (Toronto)
TUAT	Texte aus der Umwelt des Alten Testaments (Gütersloh)
UA	Ausgrabungen der Deutschen Forschungsgemeinschaft in Uruk-Warka (Leipzig / Berlin)
UAVA	Untersuchungen zur Assyriologie und Vorderasiatischen Archäologie. Ergänzungsbände zur Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und Vorderasiatische Archäologie. Neue Folge (Berlin)
UCP	University of California Publications in Semitic Philology (Berkeley)
UF	Ugarit-Forschungen. Internationales Jahrbuch für die Altertumskunde Syrien-Palästinas (Neukirchen-Vluyn – Münster)
UMI	University Microfilms International (Ann Arbor, Michigan)
VAB	Vorderasiatische Bibliothek (Leipzig)
WdO	Die Welt des Orients. Wissenschaftliche Beiträge zur Kunde des Morgenlandes (Wuppertal – Stuttgart – Göttingen)
WVDOG	Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft (Leipzig / Osnabrück / Berlin / Saarbrücken / Saarwellingen / Wiesbaden)
ZA	Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und Vorderasiatische Archäologie (Leipzig / Berlin)
ZOrA	Zeitschrift für Orient-Archäologie (Berlin – New York)

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