

TELL NEBI YŪNUS: THE *EKAL MĀŠARTI* OF NINEVEH

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FOR many centuries Tell Nebi Yūnus, the smaller mound of Nineveh, has been revered as the burial place of the prophet Jonah. This shrine, at one time part of a Christian monastery but now contained within a mosque,¹ and the surrounding village, now a suburb of Mosul, have hitherto restricted archaeological activities on this site. A brief summary is given below of the few discoveries so far made, but the main subject of this article is a comparative study of the inscriptions of Sennacherib (704–681 B.C.) and of his son Esarhaddon (680–669 B.C.), which describe the *ekal māšarti* or arsenal they built here.² These, when considered together, provide a more detailed picture of the general layout and aspect of this building than is usually to be found in such texts, and it is hoped that this study may prove to be of some guidance in the event of this site ever being more fully investigated in the future.

Archaeological material

Like Küyünjik, the larger mound and citadel of ancient Ninua,³ Nebi Yūnus lies astride the city wall on the southwest side of the town, opposite the River Tigris (see Plate XV). The early history of this *tell* remains obscure, and it is not known whether it was occupied before the Late Assyrian period as was the case of Küyünjik. A brick of Ashurnāširpal II (883–859 B.C.) given to Layard was said to be from here, but he was dubious of its provenance.⁴ Rawlinson found a stamped brick of Adadnirari III (810–783 B.C.),⁵ and building inscriptions of Sennacherib (704–681 B.C.), Esarhaddon (680–669 B.C.) and Ashurbanipal (668–626 B.C.) have also been discovered here. Little has been recovered of structural remains. Towards the end of 1852 the chance discovery was made of a winged bull, which was subsequently excavated by the workmen of the Turkish pasha of Mosul. They also found a second similar statue, its counterpart, and behind each a large “hero” or so called “Gilgamesh”

¹ See J. M. Fiey, *Assyrie Chrétienne* II, 493–524 for the history of Nebi Yūnus, especially its Christian connections; and also briefly in F. Sarre and E. Herzfeld, *Archäologische Reise im Euphrat- und Tigris-Gebiet* II, 206–207. The present mosque is described by Sa'īd ed-Dawachi in *Sumar* 10 (1954), 250–266 (Arabic section), 17 (1961), 100–112 (Arabic section), and 22 (1966), 75–78 (Arabic section).

² This article is based on a thesis done at London University, 1964–7, under the supervision of Professor Seton Lloyd and with further assistance, especially on

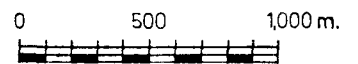
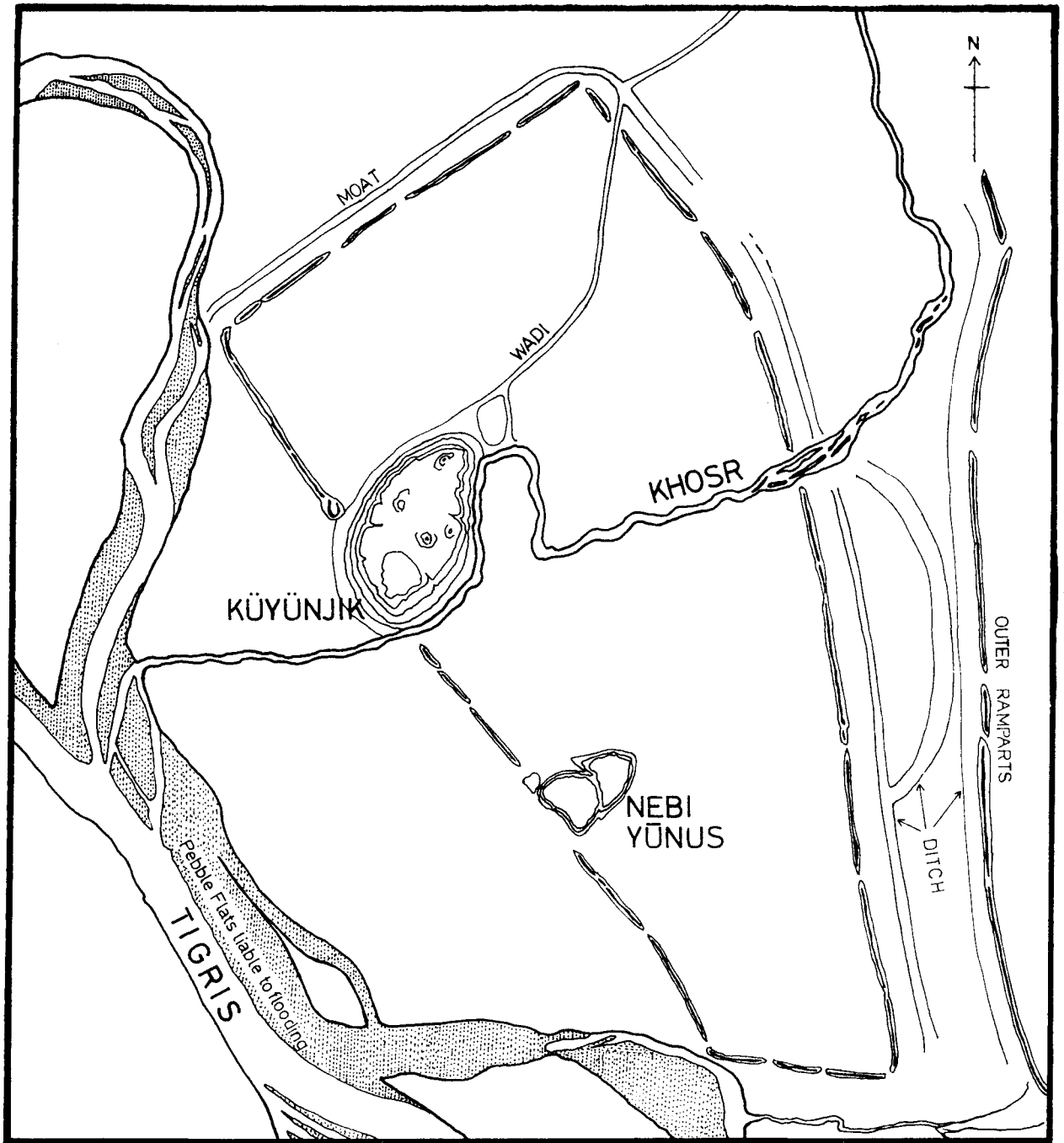
linguistic matters, from Professor D. J. Wiseman. To both I am most grateful for all their advice and help, and also to the British School of Archaeology in Iraq for a grant which enabled me to complete this paper.

³ For a general account of the history of this *tell* see R. Campbell Thompson, *Iraq* 1 (1934), 95–104.

⁴ Royal Asiatic Society, *Proceedings of the twenty-ninth anniversary meeting of the society* (1852), xliii.

⁵ I R 35, No. 4. See C. J. Gadd, *The Stones of Assyria*, 82.

PLATE XV



Nineveh, after Felix Jones.

figure holding a lion under one arm. These stood some thirty yards to the southeast of Jonah's tomb.⁶ At the same time a chamber was excavated on the southeast edge of the mound, the walls of which were decorated with roughly cut orthostats bearing a short inscription of Esarhaddon. Nearby lay a stone-lined well.⁷ Further rooms with similarly inscribed slabs were discovered on Nebi Yūnus by Layard when digging on the site of a courtyard.⁸ More recently the Department of Antiquities has examined the north corner of the solid mudbrick platform on which the *ekal māšarti* stood. This was buttressed, with a gateway on its northeast side leading up from the inner town.⁹ A hexagonal prism of Esarhaddon was discovered embedded in the platform.¹⁰

Epigraphical evidence

The lack of archaeological evidence is, to some extent, compensated for by the building inscriptions of Sennacherib and Esarhaddon which describe the site, construction, plan and decoration of this *ekal māšarti*.¹¹ Two versions of Sennacherib's account have been recovered: the "Oriental Institute Prism", column VI lines 36 to 73, and the "Nebi Yūnus Slab", lines 55 to 86, both of which are to be found in D. D. Luckenbill, *The Annals of Sennacherib* (OIP II), 128–130 and 131–133 respectively. Esarhaddon's texts have been collated by R. Borger, *Die Inschriften Asarhaddons Königs von Assyrien* (AfO, Beiheft 9), 59–63, *Episoden* 21 and 22. There is also an inscription of Ashurbanipal giving a brief account of his repairs to this building, the most recent edition of which is contained in A. C. Piepkorn, *Historical Prism Inscriptions of Ashurbanipal* (*Assyriological Studies* No. 5), 86, lines 64 to 72.

i. Site and construction

Both Esarhaddon and Ashurbanipal identify this building as an *ekal māšarti* "arsenal",¹² the former naming it *ĒŠ.GAL.ŠID.DÙ.DÙ.A ekallu pa-qi-da-at ka-la-mu* "The palace where all is mustered".¹³ Sennacherib refers to it as *ekal kutalli* "the back palace",¹⁴ that is in relationship to his main palace on Küyünjik; and only uses the phrase *ekal māšarti* as a secondary description in the latter part of the Nebi Yūnus Slab, this designation possibly appearing here as a new

⁶ H. Rassam, *Asshur and the land of Nimrod*, 4–7, and Gadd, *op. cit.*, 88–89 and 92.

⁷ Gadd, *op. cit.*, 91–92.

⁸ Royal Asiatic Society, *loc. cit.*, xlii–xliii.

⁹ *Sumer* 10 (1954), fig. 1 and pp. 110–111.

¹⁰ *Sumer* 12 (1956), 9–37.

¹¹ For the most part the Late Assyrian palace texts follow a standard format, namely: (i) preamble; (ii) foundations; (iii) component parts of the palace; (iv) roofing; (v) doors, doorways and the decoration thereof; and (vi) mural decoration. Nevertheless,

for reasons that will be evident below, those dealing with the Nebi Yūnus arsenal are more varied in their arrangement.

¹² Borger, *op. cit.*, 59 l. 40, and Piepkorn, *op. cit.*, 86 l. 64. On this term see Piepkorn, *op. cit.*, 87 n. 43, *ZA* 42 (1934), 174 n. 4, and *Iraq* 21 (1959), 39 n. 1.

¹³ Borger, *op. cit.* 62. ll. 42–43.

¹⁴ Luckenbill, *op. cit.*, 128 l. 39 and 131 l. 55. See also an inscription of Aššur-rēš-iši I which refers to *bit ša-ḫu-ri ša bit ku-t[al-li]* (E. F. Weidner, *Die Inschriften Tukulti-Ninurtas I. und seiner Nachfolger* (AfO, Beiheft 12), 56 §63 l. 4).

term.¹⁵ Both he and Esarhaddon give full descriptions of the purpose of this building: for example, *a-na šu-te-šur karāši pa-qa-di imér mur-ni-is-qi parē*^{is narkabāti} *meš til-li ú-nu-ut tāhāzi ù šal-la-at na-ki-ri gi-mir mim-ma šum-šú ša*^{d Aš-šur šār ilāni} *meš a-na eš-qi šarrūti-ia iš-ru-ka a-na šit-mur sīse*^{meš} *ši-tam-du-uh*^{is narkabāti} *meš* “for setting in order the camp, mustering the steeds, the mules, the chariots, the harness, the battle equipment and the spoil of the enemy, every type of thing which Ashur, the king of the gods, has granted me as my regal lot, for exercising the horses (and) for manœuvring the chariots”.¹⁶

In no text is there given any information as to the original foundation of this palace. Sennacherib notes that there was an earlier structure, the work of his predecessors, but fails to record their names. He describes its foundations as weak and not set upon a raised mudbrick platform, and so he had it demolished.¹⁷ He then prepared a large area of new land, *ki-šub-bu-ú ma-’-du ul-tu ki-rib ú-sal-li ù ta-mir-ti āli* “much waste-land from the meadows and city environs”, that is from both without and within the city walls,¹⁸ and on this site built his *ekal kutalli/māšarti*, setting it upon a raised platform (*tamlū*¹⁹) of mudbrick, 200 courses (*tipku*²⁰) high.²¹ Elsewhere Sennacherib records that he also built the city wall of Nineveh to a height of 200 *tipku*,²² and although this figure is reduced to 180 in another text,²³ suggesting that the height of the wall varied

¹⁵ Luckenbill, op. cit., 133 l. 85. In a slightly earlier text he refers to the city gate lying adjacent to Nebi Yūnus as *abul ekal māšarti* (ibid. 113 l. 2). In the case of Fort Shalmaneser, the arsenal of Nimrud, Shalmaneser III, its founder, simply refers to it as *ekallu* ‘palace’ (Iraq 21 (1959), 38 l. 1, and 25 (1963), 52 l. 1); and it is first called an *ekal māšarti* by Esarhaddon (Borger, op. cit., 34 l. 42).

¹⁶ Borger, op. cit., 59 ll. 42–46. See also Luckenbill, op. cit., 128 ll. 39–40 and 131 ll. 55–56.

¹⁷ Luckenbill, op. cit., 128 ll. 41–45 and 131 ll. 56–59.

¹⁸ Ibid. 128 ll. 46–47 and 131 l. 60. Although at this period the Tigris may well have followed a course different from that of to-day, it is evident both from this passage and also from the fact that this line of the city walls was pierced by a series of gates (ibid. 113 vii 94 to viii 5) that it did not actually flow along the wall, but that there was an intervening tract of pasture land (*usallu*, elsewhere described by Sennacherib as *qaq-qa-ri ú-sal-li ša ul-tu mal-dī nāri*, ibid. 129 ll. 49–50). In the various accounts of his Southwest Palace on Kūyūnjik Sennacherib also refers to two other rivers, *nār Husur* (ibid. 105 l. 2, et passim), the Khosr, which still flows along the southeast side of Kūyūnjik and thence into the Tigris, and a larger stream which is no longer existent, *nār Tebiltu* (ibid. 96 ll. 74–76, et passim). See also on this subject R. Campbell Thompson and R. W. Hutchinson, *A Century of Exploration at Nineveh*, 122–124 n. 1.

¹⁹ *tamlū* ‘building platform’ is first used by Aššuruballiṭ I (1364–1330 B.C.) (KAH I, 64 l. 11) and then throughout the Middle and Late Assyrian periods, in many cases in a cognate construction with the IP or

III¹ of *malū*, e.g. Iraq 14 (1952), 33 l. 25, and Luckenbill, op. cit., 129 l. 50. Compare the Hebrew *millō’* (L. Koehler and W. Baumgartner, *Lexicon in Veteris Testamenti Libros*, 527, and K. Kenyon, *Jerusalem: Excavating 3000 Years of History*, 50–51).

²⁰ *AJSL* 27 (1910), 188–189. The variant *tipku* is used exclusively in the texts of Ashurnasirpal II (AKA 186 l. 16, 209 l. 16, 220 l. 17 and 345 l. 132, and Iraq 14 (1952), 33 l. 24), and also once by Tukulti-Ninurta I (L. W. King, *Records of the Reign of Tukulti-Ninib I*, 90–91 ll. 12–13) and in a letter addressed to Esarhaddon (RC.AE No. 628 l. 14).

²¹ Luckenbill, op. cit., 129 ll. 50–51 and 131 ll. 62–63.

²² Iraq 7 (1940), 90 ll. 7–9.

²³ Luckenbill, op. cit., 111 l. 69. This text also gives the height of the platform of Sennacherib’s Southwest Palace on Kūyūnjik as 190 *tipku* (ibid. 106 l. 6), indicating that although it stood slightly lower than that of the *ekal māšarti* on Nebi Yūnus, it was still on a level with if not higher than the city wall at this point. The various accounts of this building differ in the height of the platform. The earliest puts it at 170 *tipku* (ibid. 96 l. 78) and the two latest at 190 (ibid. 106 l. 6 and 119 l. 18), whilst in a fourth version written in the intervening period Sennacherib records that he first made it 160 *tipku* high, but then raised it by a further 20 to 180 (ibid. 100 ll. 53–54). There may, however, only be an inconsistency in these versions of 10 *tipku*, the first being written before the subsequent increase in the height of the platform, and thus the 170 in this and the 190 in the latest two accounts correspond with the 160 and 180 of the fourth.

considerably along its length, it is thus quite possible that the Nebi Yūnus arsenal stood on a level with the top of the city wall against which its building platform was set. In his later additions to this palace Esarhaddon incorporated new land *ul-tu lib-bi eqlēti*^{mes} “from the fields”, that is probably arable land from within the city bounds, and also notes that he set the foundations (*uššū*²⁴) of his extension to the building platform on a base of limestone.²⁵

ii. Plan

Although no significant portion of the plan of this building has been recovered, an idea of its general layout can be gained from a study of that of Fort Shalmaneser at Nimrud, the only *ekal māšarti* yet extensively excavated.²⁶ This basically consisted of a square subdivided into four interconnecting quadrants. Three of these, the northwest, northeast and southeast sectors,

²⁴ Little can be added to Baumgartner's observations on the usage and meaning of the Akkadian words for foundations, *uššū*, *išdu* and *tem(m)en(n)u* (*ZA* 36 (1925), 220 and 236–253; see also *Orientalia* 35 (1966), 234–239); in short, although it is quite probable that there is some difference in meaning, this is not apparent in the texts, even where these terms appear side by side. There is thus no evidence to support the suggestion made in the Chicago Dictionary that *išdu* is used of the ‘damp course’ (*CAD* 7, 235–236), nor that *tem(m)en(n)u* refers to the foundation trench as put forward by Falkenstein as one of the meanings of the Sumerian *temen* (*Orientalia* 35 (1966), 236–239). Likewise there appears to be neither any linguistic nor archaeological grounds to justify Sidney Smith's equation of *uššū* with the actual foundations and *išdu* with the lower part of the wall resting thereon (*Essays Presented to J. H. Hertz*, 385–396). He bases this proposal on a Sumerian text of Ur-Baba of Lagash (*VAB* I, 60–61) and two temples excavated at Ur, the Ur III Gig-par-ku (*AJ* 6 (1926), 367–368) and the Late Babylonian Harbour Temple (*UE* IX, 39–40). These were built with their foundations as a separate entity, in plan identical to the superstructure but probably considered, for cultic reasons, a building complete in itself, buried and reserved for the gods. On these foundations stood the superstructure. Using Ur-Baba's text Smith identifies the foundations proper as *uš*, which he equates with the Akkadian *uššū*; but for the lower part of the walls of the superstructure there is no distinctive Sumerian word, and these he identifies as *išdu*. It is doubtful, however, that *uš* actually corresponds to *uššū* (*Orientalia* 35 (1966), 229), and there is also no evidence in the Akkadian texts for such a difference in meaning. Furthermore no example of this building technique, either in a temple or any other type of structure, has been found in Assyria, where foundations tend to be but the lower part of the wall, rarely being of different construction.

A short note can also be added on one usage of a

fourth word, *dannatu*, translated by the Chicago Dictionary under subheading 3.b) as ‘bottom of the foundation trench’ (*CAD* 3, 90). In such contexts, however, it is most commonly used of the solid mudbrick of a decayed building (see *ZA* 36 (1925), 38–40. and *AHW* 160), and occurs in texts which describe the rebuilding of a structure. This necessitated the removal of debris and other ruined material, e.g., *an-bu-su ú-ni-keš a-šar-šá ú-me-si dan-na-sa ak-šú-da* ‘I removed its ruined parts, I cleared its site, I reached its solid brickwork’ (W. Andrae, *Die Festungswerke von Assur* (*WVDOG* 23), 166, ll. 9–10). That is the decayed and fallen mudbrick was cleared away until the builders reached that part of the structure which had remained sound, at which point they could begin their restoration. In two inscriptions of Tukulti-Ninurta I *dannatu* is also used of the solid natural earth or bedrock. In one he describes the ‘New Palace’ at Assur (C. Preusser, *Die Paläste in Assur* (*WVDOG* 66), 30–31): *qa-qa-ra-te ma-da-te lu-ú-me-is-si 80 mu-šá-ri zi-iq-pa [ú]š-še-la-a a-na šu-pa-li dan-na-su ki-šir šadī lu ak-šud* ‘I cleared much ground, I went down vertically 80 *mušarū* (and) below I reached its solid ground on the bedrock’ (Weidner, op. cit., 12 ll. 74–79; see also *ibid.*, 5 ll. 45–51 and 10 ll. 22–26). That is, not wishing to build his palace on insecure disturbed ground surface, formerly the site of private houses, he completely cleared this area down to firm ground, in this case bedrock. Similarly when digging a moat round the walls of Assur, he penetrated down into the *dannatu*, the bedrock: *bi-ri-ša rabā a-na li-me-it dūri lu aš-ri dan-na-su ki-šir šadī i-na aqullāš^{mes(at)} eri lu-pi-si-id 20 mu-šá-ri a-na šu-pa-lu mē^{mes} na-aq-be lu ak-šud* ‘I cut a great ditch around the wall. I dug into its solid ground, the bedrock, with copper pickaxes, I reached 20 *mušarū* below the water-table’ (*ibid.*, 32 ll. 7–8).

²⁵ Borger, op. cit., 60 ll. 51–53.

²⁶ *Iraq* 20 (1958), 106–108, 21 (1959), 98–129, 23 (1961), 1–14, 24 (1962), 1–25, and 25 (1963), 6–37, and M. E. L. Mallowan, *Nimrud and its Remains*, 369–470.

were each centred on a large courtyard off which opened workshops, store-rooms, administrative offices and barracks; while the fourth, the southwest quarter, was made up of magazines disposed around four small courts. On to the southeast courtyard faced the throneroom suite, that is Rooms T 1, T 3 and T 7 to T 9, which, as in the residential palaces of this period,²⁷ led through to the other state apartments. In Fort Shalmaneser, however, these were less extensive than in the residential palaces, and opened not off a courtyard but on to a high level terrace which stretched up to the parapet wall of the building platform. To the northwest of this terrace lay a further block of buildings, Wing S, as yet only partly excavated, but which probably contained additional residential quarters, domestic offices and storage units.

A second *ekal māšarti* is probably to be recognised at Khorsabad, namely Palace F.²⁸ This formed part of a large square enclosure in the south corner of the city, comparable to the outer bailey or parade ground to be seen around Fort Shalmaneser.²⁹ Likewise the plan and arrangement of its state apartments, the only part of this building yet excavated, closely resemble the same section of the Nimrud arsenal. The surface contours of Palace F, however, suggest that, unlike Fort Shalmaneser, it contained only two outer courtyards, and Sennacherib similarly only refers to two in the *ekal māšarti* on Nebi Yūnus: *kisallu bābānū* “the court of the gate” or outer courtyard,³⁰ and *kisallu rabū šaplānu ekal aban pīli* “the great court below the limestone wing”.³¹ He describes the role of the first as, *a-na šū-te-šur šal-mat qaqqadi pa-qa-di mur-ni-is-qi parē^{mes} a-ga-li i-be-li ʿnarkabāti^{mes} ʿat-ta-ra-te e-riq-qi iš-pa-a-te pit-pa-na-a-te u-šī mimma šum-šu u-nu-tū tāḫāzi na-aš-ma-di sisē^{mes} parē^{mes} ša e-mu-qi ra-ba-a-te i-šū-ū šuk-nu-še a-na ni-ri* “to organise the men, to muster the steeds, the mules, the *agālu*, the camels, the chariots, the wagons, the carts, the quivers, the bows and arrows, every category of battle equipment, the harness of the horses (and) mules which have much strength (and) are broken to the yoke”.³² This courtyard, therefore, appears to have fulfilled the functions of both the northeast and northwest courtyards in Fort Shalmaneser as well as of the southwest magazine block.

Sennacherib’s designation of the second courtyard in his Nebi Yūnus building as “the great court below the limestone wing” probably indicates that it was the inner court off which this wing of state apartments opened, and is thus to be compared with the southeast courtyard of Fort Shalmaneser from which access was gained to the throneroom suite. In this courtyard of

²⁷ The general architectural formulae found in such buildings are set out by Loud in *RA* 33 (1936), 153–160 and repeated in G. Loud and C. B. Altman, *Khorsabad II, The citadel and the town (OIP XL)*, 10–13.

²⁸ Loud and Altman, *op. cit.*, 75–78. See also *Iraq* 25 (1963), 36–37 and Mallowan, *op. cit.*, 456.

²⁹ See Loud and Altman, *op. cit.*, pl. 68 and Mallowan, *op. cit.*, 371–373.

³⁰ Luckenbill, *op. cit.*, 130 ll. 70–71, 131 l. 58 and 132 l. 67. On *bābānū* see the dictionaries and *Babyloniaca* 2 (1908), 168–176.

³¹ Luckenbill, *op. cit.*, 133 l. 82.

³² *Ibid.* 130 ll. 65–70; and a shorter version on 132 ll. 66–67.

the Nimrud arsenal a limestone throne dais was discovered set against its northwest façade, towards the west corner.³³ This was probably intended for reviewing parades held in this court, and Sennacherib similarly records that he installed a dais in the *kisallu rabū šaplānu ekal aban pīli*.³⁴ This he describes as being made up of various stones and sheltered by a wood canopy overlaid with silver and supported on four pillars of bronze. In his later additions to the Nebi Yūnus arsenal Esarhaddon was primarily concerned with the residential sector of the building, and only briefly refers to this, the outer part.³⁵ He records that he enlarged its courtyard, but without specifying which one, and widened the road giving into it. This is possibly to be identified as the ramp which led up to the gateway recently excavated by the Department of Antiquities.

On the state apartments of the Nebi Yūnus palace Sennacherib says that he built: *ekal aban pi-i-li ū ʿeri-ni ni-piš-ti māḫat-ti ū ekalla ši-ir-tu ip-šit māḫat Aššur-ki šá eli mah-ri-ti ma-ʿdiš šū-tu-rat ra-ba-ta ū nak-lat* “a limestone and cedar suite in the Hittite style and a large suite of Assyrian work which much surpassed the previous ones in size and skill”.³⁶ In such contexts in the Assyrian building inscriptions *ekallu* refers not to the palace as a whole, its more common use, but to a specific wing or suite.³⁷ This secondary usage is first found in Tiglath-pileser I’s description of three structures at Assur, the *bīt šahuri*, *bīt labuni* and *ekal ʿkakke*.³⁸ Although each is treated as a separate unit, it is evident from the text that they were all included in one complex, probably the “New Palace” originally built by Tukulti-Ninurta I,³⁹ and thus the *ekal ʿkakke* was not a palace in itself, but simply a separate wing or suite. Similarly the *bīt šahuri*, which was built partly of cedar-wood, is referred to as *ekal ʿerimi* “the cedar palace”.⁴⁰ This usage of *ekallu* next occurs in the Broken Obelisk⁴¹ and is subsequently found in the main Late Assyrian palace

³³ Iraq 21 (1959), 113 and Mallowan, op. cit., 424–426.

³⁴ Luckenbill, op. cit., 133 ll. 83–85.

³⁵ Borger, op. cit., 62 ll. 32–34.

³⁶ Luckenbill, op. cit., 129 ll. 53–56 and 131–132 ll. 64–65.

³⁷ As recognised by Wiseman (Iraq 14 (1952), 3–6) and hinted at in the Chicago Dictionary (CAD 4, 54 §3), but ignored by von Soden (AHw 191–192). Thus in these texts ‘palace’ can be rendered in Akkadian either by *ekallu* in the singular or collectively in the plural form, e.g. Borger, op. cit., 62 l. 35 and 61 l. 3 respectively.

³⁸ AFO 18 (1957–8), 351–353 ll. 52–89; see also KAH II, 66 ll. 27–42 and 67 ll. 3–14.

³⁹ WVDOG 66, 30–31. Tukulti-Ninurta I names the ‘New Palace’ *é.lugal.umun.kur.kur.ra* (Weidner, op. cit., 10 l. 30, 12 l. 79 and 39 §32 l. 3), while

Tiglath-pileser I refers to that which contained the *bīt šahuri*, *bīt labuni* and *ekal ʿkakke* as *é.gal.lugal.šár.ra.kur.kur.ra* (AFO 18, 353 l. 78), that is probably one and the same building. Wiseman, on the other hand, has suggested that these three structures formed part of the Anu-Adad Temple at Assur (CAH rev. ed. II, Ch. XXXI 23), but Tiglath-pileser states that in the construction of this temple he used some cedar wood, and with what remained he decorated the *bīt šahuri* (AFO 18, 352 ll. 59–62). On these three terms see *ibid.* 354–355 and 358–359, and on *bīt šahuri* also JAOS 39 (1919), 71, ZA 40 (1931), 1–5, and Syria 21 (1940), 6–8 and 160–161.

⁴⁰ Lines 73, 77 and 87. Although the *bīt labuni* was likewise partly of pistachio wood, it is simply referred to as *bīt ʿšubni* (l. 58), possibly due to its lesser importance.

⁴¹ AKA 146 ll. 14–16. For the date of this monument see AFO 12 (1937–9), 377 and JSS 4 (1959), 204–215.

texts.⁴² In these the king records that he built a number of “palaces”, that is wings or suites thereof, each of a different material. These materials were for the most part various types of wood and ivory, but in his palace on Küyünjik Sennacherib also used stones and metals: *ekallāti^{mes} hurāši kaspi siparri^{aban} sānde^{mes} aban^{TUR.MI.NA.MAR.DA} aban^{gišnugalli} šin pīri^{is} ušī^{is} taskarinni^{is} mis-mà-kan-na^{is} erini^{is} šurmēni^{is} burāši^{is} e-lam-ma-ku^{is} si-in-da-a a-na mu-šab be-lu-ti-ia ab-ni-ma* “I built for my noble residence suites of gold, silver, bronze, red stones, breccia, alabaster, ivory, ebony,⁴³ box/walnut(?),⁴⁴ sissoo,⁴⁵ cedar, cypress, juniper, sandal(?)⁴⁶ (and) oak”.⁴⁷ The nature of the materials shows that most were probably used in the decoration or furnishing of each *ekallu* rather than in its construction, but in no instance is there any indication as to the actual form this took. Since the doors, doorways, roofing timbers and orthostats are fully described elsewhere in the texts, these fittings are excluded; and these materials, therefore, may have been used either for the manufacture of the furniture or for some form of mural decoration, such as the ivory panelling discovered at Nimrud, in Room 6 of Palace AB.⁴⁸

Sennacherib’s description of the two wings in his *ekal kutalli|māšarti* is unusual in a number of respects. In the first place he differentiates between architectural styles, Assyrian and Hittite, that is north Syrian. On the latter wing he elaborates: *apsasāti^{a-ti} aban^{AN.ŠE.TIR} tim-me^{is} eri-ni^{is} ši-ru-ši-in ul-zi-iz-ma šá ekal^{aban} pi-i-li ša-a-tu e-mid bēte^{mes} -ša i-na uš-ni ni-kil-ti šá ú-sat-li-ma bēl ni-me-qi^a Ea ma-la dul-la-a-ti siparri šá a-na hi-šib-ti ekallāti^{mes} -ia šá Ninua^{ki} ap-ti-qu ki-i te-im ili zi-² pi ti-ti ab-ni-ma erā ki-rib-šu aš-pu-uk-ma i-ši-ra šip-ru qa-ti-ia u šá lamassāti^{mes} erī ma-ša-a-ti as-kup-pu^{aban} AN.ŠE.TIR ú-ša-aš-ši-ši-na-ti bi-rit^{apsasāti^{mes}}*

⁴² *AKA* 186 ll. 18–19 and 220 l. 18; *Iraq* 14 (1952), 33 ll. 25–26; *II R* 67 l. 67; A. G. Lie, *The Inscriptions of Sargon II*, 76 ll. 13–14; H. Winckler, *Die Keilschrifttexte Sargons I*, 166 ll. 18–19 and 170 l. 13, and *II*, pl. 43 obv. ll. 19–22; *ZDMG* 72 (1918), 182 l. 35; Luckenbill, op. cit., 96 l. 79, 100 l. 56, 106 ll. 14–18, 119 ll. 20–21, 129 ll. 53–56 and 131–132 ll. 64–65; and Berger, op. cit., 61 ll. 9–10.

⁴³ *CAD* 4, 380. Campbell Thompson suggests ‘willow’ (*DAB* 289–291), whereas for the stone *abanušū* he gives ‘diorite, dolerite’ (*DAC* 163), which favours the more widely accepted equation of *isūšū* with ebony. Unless otherwise noted, the identification of the various types of wood, metals and stones in this article is taken from Campbell Thompson’s *DAB* and *DAC*.

⁴⁴ Campbell Thompson equated the Akkadian *taskarinnu* with the Syriac *ʿeškār’ā*, and thus translated it ‘boxwood’ (*DAB* 348; see also *WO* 1 (1950), 368–371 and *JNES* 26 (1967), 269–270). Alternatively Wiseman has suggested ‘walnut’ on the grounds that box is not a suitable building material, whereas walnut is and grows in considerable quantities in Assyria (*Iraq* 17 (1955), 3–4). There is, however, no etymological evidence for this and, as kindly pointed

out to me by Professor Saggs, box can grow to a height of some thirty feet or more, and it is possible that in their campaigns the Assyrians passed through virgin forests where it was to be found in such a state. Furthermore *taskarinnu* may not have been used in the construction of the building, but in its decoration, for which box would be both effective and adequate. This, however, still leaves unanswered the question as to which Akkadian word refers to walnut, and since this wood must have been widely used, the identification of *taskarinnu* must remain open until new evidence is brought to light.

⁴⁵ *BSOAS* 19 (1956), 317–320.

⁴⁶ *DAB* 300. Von Soden simply describes it as a building timber from Syria (*AHW* 196), and the Chicago Dictionary as a precious wood (*CAD* 4, 75–76).

⁴⁷ Luckenbill, op. cit., 106 ll. 14–20. Other materials also found in such lists are *isbuṣnu* ‘terebinth’, *isṭarp’u* ‘tamarisk’ *isdaṣṣānu* ‘juniper’ and *ismehru* ‘poplar(?)’ (*DAB* 267–268), ‘type of fir’ (*AHW* 641).

⁴⁸ *Iraq* 20 (1958), 110 and Mallowan, op. cit., 293–294.

ul-ziq na-bur-riš ú-še-me-ma ú-ša-lik as-me-iš “On sphinxes⁴⁹ of an.še.tir stone⁵⁰ I stood cedar columns and set the lintels of that limestone suite (on them). By means of the skilled understanding which Ea, the Lord of Wisdom, endowed me, I made clay moulds upon an inspiration of the god for all the necessary bronze work which I cast for my palaces in Nineveh, and I poured copper into them, and my handiwork was successful. And I set twin cow colossi of copper on plinths of an.še.tir stone, I stood them between the sphinxes; I caused them to be like crenellations⁵¹ and made them beautiful”.⁵² In other palace texts there are references to a feature which is similarly described as in the Hittite taste, that is the *bīt hilāni*. This was a portico erected in front of certain doorways of the palace and was supported by either two or four columns set on metal bases, each in the form of a pair of lions.⁵³ Mention of it is found in the texts of Tiglath-pileser III,⁵⁴ Sargon,⁵⁵ Sennacherib⁵⁶ and Ashurbanipal,⁵⁷ and, with the exception of the first, is always described as being set in front of the doorways, plainly not referring to a complete wing in itself.⁵⁸ For

⁴⁹ *AHW* 61, *CAD* 1/2, 193–194 and *Afo* 14 (1941–4), 70–72. This type of figure was used for both column bases (Luckenbill, op. cit., 110 ll. 31–35, 123 ll. 33–34 and here) and as colossi flanking doorways (ibid. 110 l. 23 and 123 l. 31, and Borger, op. cit., 61 ll. 15 and 18). No such colossi have yet been discovered, but column bases of this type have been found at Nimrud, in the Southwest Palace (A. H. Layard, *Nineveh and its Remains*, 1, 376, and R. D. Barnett and M. Falkner, *The Sculptures of Tiglath-pileser III*, 23 and pls. CVIII–CXI).

⁵⁰ This word is variously read in Akkadian as *ašnān*, *pindū* and *eḫennū* (*DAC* 163–164 and *CAD* 1/2, 451–452 and 4, 427), and likewise its meaning is as obscure. Campbell Thompson suggested that it was used of a feldspathic-pyroxenic rock, which is basically a basalt and augite stone to be found in Iraq and which forms the matrix of garnet, thus possibly explaining the talismanic qualities of an.še.tir (*DAC* 163–164). Alternatively since the Assyrians usually only employed stones of the limestone variety for building purposes and as Sennacherib compares the appearance of an.še.tir stone to that of cucumber seeds (Luckenbill, op. cit., 132 ll. 72–74), it is possible that this term refers to a limestone with a high fossil content.

⁵¹ *naburru* (see *ZA* 36 (1925), 226–227, and E. Porada, *Essays in the History of Architecture*, presented to R. Wittkower, 10–11) is used in a few instances in the phrase *ištu uššū adi naburrišu* in place of *gabdiḫbu*, obviously referring to some upper feature of the building (Luckenbill, op. cit., 130 l. 72, and Borger, op. cit., 4 l. 17; 21 l. 22, p. 22 *Episode* 26, c:E l. 22, and p. 88 l. 10), and twice by Sennacherib in other contexts. One is in the passage quoted above in which he describes the *ekal ubanpili u iserini* on Nebi Yūnus, and the other is in his account of the town wall of Nineveh: 40 *libitti i-na na-a[l-ba-ni-ia] rabīš ū-kab-bir-šū a-na e-liš a-di šap-la-[ti] na-bur-*

ri-šū a-na 39 libitti ū-tir-[ma] i-na 3 uš 20 li-ip-ki libitti ša pān zu-ū-luq-ti (?) mu-sir-šā e-la-niš a-di pa-aš-ki-šū ri-šū ul-li-ma ‘I made it 40 bricks wide by my great brick mould. From below to above [. . . .] I added its *naburru* to 39 bricks, and by 200 courses I raised the brickwork of the front of the ridge(?) of its enclosure(?) upwards as far as its *pašku*, its top’ (*Iraq* 7 (1940), 90 ll. 4–9). Recent excavations have shown that Sennacherib built this wall in two stages. On the outer façade, the lower stage was faced with stone and surmounted by stepped crenellations of the same material. These enclosed a paved causeway, doubtless for manoeuvring soldiery. Above this towered the main bulk of the wall (*Sumer* 23 (1967), 77–78 and pls. V–VII). Thus Sennacherib describes how he set the *naburru* ‘crenellations’ on the first stage, 39 bricks high, while the main part of the wall was five times this height. Similarly in his Hittite style wing on Nebi Yūnus the outlines of the *šamassatu* statues set on their stone plinths reminded him of such stepped crenellations.

⁵² Luckenbill, op. cit., 132–133 ll. 75–82.

⁵³ See principally *ZA* 45 (1939), 108–168, *Orientalia* 11 (1942), 251–261, and *ZDMG* 108 (1958), 66–73.

⁵⁴ *II R* 67, l. 68. It is found in two earlier texts, in a Mari letter (*ARM* I, 26 l. 10′) and in a Middle Assyrian ritual text from Assur in which it appears to have been a cult structure in the Temple of Ashur (*KAV* 42 i 14–16).

⁵⁵ Lie, op. cit., 76–78 ll. 17–3, Winckler, op. cit., I 166 ll. 20–21, and *II pl.* 42 rev. ll. 5–8 and pl. 43 obv. ll. 23–24, and *ZDMG* 72 (1918), 182 ll. 36–38.

⁵⁶ Luckenbill, op. cit., 97 ll. 82–84, 106 ll. 20–22 and 119 l. 22.

⁵⁷ *V R* 10, col. X ll. 101–102.

⁵⁸ See *CAD* 6, 184–185 where it is wrongly stated that *bīt hilāni* not only refers to the portico, but also to ‘a room or section of a palace provided with a portico’.

example Sargon says of his palace at Khorsabad: *bīt ap-pa-a-ti tam-šil eka māṭṭat-ti ša i-na li-šá-an māṭṭat Amurri^{ki} bīt hi-la-an-ni i-šá-as-su-šú ú-še-pi-šá miḫ-ril ba-bi-šin* 8 *urmahḫi^{mes} tu-a-me šu-ut* 1 *šar ner* 6 *šušši* 50^{ta.ām} *bilat mal-tak-ti ert nam-ri šá ina ši-pir* ^a*Nin-á-gal nak-liš ip-pat-qu-ma ma-lu-ú nam-ri-ir-ri* 4 ^{is}*tim-meṣ erini šu-ta-ḫu-ti šá* 1 *NINDA* ^{ta.ām} *ku-bur-šú-un bi-ib-lat* ^{šad}*Ha-ma-ni eli úg-gal-li-e ú-še-šib-ma* ^{is}*dap-pi ku-lul bābāni^{mes}-šin e-mid* “I had a *bīt appāti*⁵⁹ built in front of their doorways like a Hittite palace, which in the Amorite tongue they call a *bīt ḫilāni*. Eight lion colossi⁶⁰ in pairs, each 4,610 talents in weight, of shining copper, which had been skilfully cast by the craft of Ninagal and were full of brilliance; four tall cedar columns, whose thickness was twelve cubits each, the products of Mount Amanus, I sat upon the lion bases⁶¹ and I set wooden boards as the *kulūlu*⁶² of its doorways”.⁶³

As recorded in the texts this architectural feature was borrowed from the west, and the original has been identified as a type of palace common in north Syria in the early part of the first millennium.⁶⁴ In these the main entrance led up a flight of steps and through a columned portico into the principal room or reception hall, off which opened subsidiary chambers. In most cases a stairwell led off the portico. The Assyrians, therefore, copied this convention by adding a porch to what were probably the more important suites of the palace, and the resulting plan must have closely resembled that of the western

⁵⁹ Also found in Luckenbill, op. cit., 97 l. 82 and 119 l. 22. Four derivations have been proposed for *appāti*: (i) *appu* ‘nose’, that is a structure projecting out from the main building (*ZA* 45 (1939), 134–135 and *Orientalia* 11 (1942), 254). (ii) *aptu* ‘window’, that is a building with windows (*ZA* 45, 135, *Orientalia* 11, 254 and *CAD* 6, 184). In support of this is the equation of *ḫilāni* with the Hebrew *ḥallōn*, but alternatively Hittite derivations have also been proposed for this word (*ZA* 45, 134–135 and 140, and *AfO* 9 (1933–4), 127). (iii) *appatu* ‘upper surface, top’, that is a building with an upper storey (*Orientalia* 11, 254); this word is used elsewhere of the top of a stick or the rim of a pot (*AHW* 59 and *CAD* 7, 236 and 239), but there is no evidence that it can also refer to an upper part of a building. Nor is there any evidence that the Assyrian porticos were thus equipped, although this may have been the case in the Syrian prototypes. And finally (iv) *appannu* ‘a building term (portico?)’ (*AHW* 59–60). This word is found in the Nuzi texts, probably a Hurrian loan-word. There is no evidence that it refers to a portico, but such a structure probably did exist in the Stratum II palace at Nuzi (R. F. S. Starr, *Nuzi* I, 127) and also in the House of Shilwi-teshub at the same site (*ibid.*, 340), and thus this may be the more preferable though by no means proven derivation of *bīt appāti*.

⁶⁰ *ur.maḫ|urmahḫu* ‘lion statue’ is used of portal statuary here and in three other texts: in the Broken Obelisk (*AKA* 147 l. 17), by Tiglath-pileser III on the Central Palace at Nimrud (II R 67 l. 79), and by

Esarhaddon on the Nebi Yūnus *ekal māšarti* (Borger, op. cit., 61 l. 17; see below).

⁶¹ *uggallu*, which is only found in connection with the *bīt ḫilāni*, may either be a Sumerian loan-word ‘great lion’, or be made up of *úg* ‘lion and’, an Akkadian word *gallu*. In a letter sent to Sargon reporting on the progress of the building of Khorsabad (*RCAE* No. 452) reference is made to the *bīt ḫilāni* there, including: *gul-la-a-te* [. . . .] *šá šap-la tim-me* ‘the *gallāte* [. . . .] which (fit) under the columns’ (obv. ll. 5–6), i.e. the column bases (see *CAD* 5, 128, *AHW* 297 and A. Salonen, *Die Türen des alten Mesopotamien*, 92). *gallu*, the second element of *úg-gallu*, may therefore be a variant of *gullatu*, the term meaning ‘column base in the form of a lion’.

⁶² The phrase *is(a)dappi kulūl bābāni* is used both in the descriptions of the *bīt ḫilāni*, as here, and of the columns used to support the lintels of openings between rooms, e.g. *is-tim-me eri rabūti^{mes} is-tim-me is-erini širuti^{mes} is-a-dap-pi ku-lul bābāni^{mes}-šin e-mid* ‘I set the boards of the *kulūlu* of its doorways (upon) great columns of copper (and) tall cedar columns’ (Borger, op. cit., 61–62 ll. 22–23). In similar contexts *bittu* ‘lintel, architrave’ is also used (e.g. Luckenbill, op. cit., 110 l. 40), and thus *kulūlu* may either be a synonym or refer to another, closely related part of the doorway, as for instance von Soden’s ‘Bekrönung von Toren’ (*AHW* 505).

⁶³ Lie, op. cit., 76–78 ll. 17–3.

⁶⁴ *ZA* 45 (1939), 143–168, and *Iraq* 14 (1952), 120–131.

building. But whereas in the latter the portico was an integral part of the structure, in the Assyrian palaces it was simply added to the basic plan of the suite as an appended extra.⁶⁵

There is no indication in Sennacherib's account that the Hittite style structure on Nebi Yūnus was such a porch, it probably being a complete wing or suite in itself. Nevertheless this may have been inspired by those same north Syrian palaces whose porticos were the prototype of the *bīt ḫilāni* porch and which themselves are now referred to by archaeologists as *bīt ḫilāni*. However there is also no indication in the text that the columns in this wing formed a portico, and they may equally well have been used to support the lintels of the openings between rooms, as found in the Southwest Palace at Nimrud.⁶⁶ *nipišti māšartti*, therefore, may refer not to the plan but to the materials and method of construction. It has been seen above that where the various wings or suites of the palace are listed, the materials used in each *ekallu* were for the most part probably of a decorative nature rather than constructional. Here, however, *abanpīlu* "limestone" is given which is not found elsewhere, and although it was used for the stone orthostats,⁶⁷ obviously not referred to here, it has otherwise no rare or special decorative qualities. On the other hand in Assyria where mudbrick was and still remains the standard building material, the use of stone for constructional purposes is comparatively rare and tends only to be found in the foundations, or as the substructure of a retaining or defensive wall, and it is thus possible that Sennacherib copied the "Ḫatti" in that he built this wing entirely of limestone. He notes that the columns contained therein were of cedar, but this material may have been used more extensively in the construction of this suite, possibly after the Anatolian and north Syrian practice of incorporating wooden beams in a stone structure as a precaution against earthquake damage.⁶⁸ Similarly the designation of the second wing in the Nebi Yūnus arsenal as in the Assyrian style may refer to it either being of the normal Assyrian plan or built in the local material, that is mudbrick, or indeed to both.

It has been seen above that Sennacherib refers to one of the courtyards of his *ekal kutalli|māšarti* as *kisallu rabū šaplānu ekal abanpīli* "the great courtyard

⁶⁵ At Khorsabad the portico leading into Room 15 of Palace F and that into Room S of Ashurbanipal's North Palace at Nineveh have been identified as *bīt ḫilāni* (*Orientalia* 11 (1942), 257; B. Meissner and D. Opitz, *Studien zum Bīt Ḫilāni im Nord palast Assurbanaplis zu Ninive* (*Abhandlungen der Preuss. Akad. Wiss.* 1939), and *Iraq* 14 (1952), 125); but these do not correspond to the descriptions of this structure, and instead are to be grouped with those doorways of which the lintel was supported on pillars, as referred to by Sennacherib (Luckenbill, *op. cit.*, 110 ll. 36–40 and 123 ll. 35–36) and Esarhaddon (Borger, *op. cit.*, 61–62 ll. 22–23), and in the temple texts of Ashurbanipal (Piepkorn, *op. cit.*, 28 col. 1 l. 18, *LAAA* 20

(1933), 81 l. 29, and S. A. Smith, *Die Keilschrifttexte Ashurbanipals*, 19 l. 12; it is also possible, however, that in these texts Ashurbanipal refers to the 'sacred trees' which stood by the entrance to the shrine, as found at Khorsabad—V. Place, *Ninive et l'Assyrie* I, 120–121, G. Loud, *Khorsabad I, Excavations in the palace and at a city gate* (OIP XXXVIII), 97, and Loud and Altman, *op. cit.*, 61).

⁶⁶ Layard, *op. cit.*, I, 376 and Plan 2.

⁶⁷ Lie, *op. cit.*, 78 l. 4, and Luckenbill, *op. cit.*, 97 l. 86, 110 l. 42 and 123 l. 37.

⁶⁸ R. Naumann, *Architektur Kleinasien*, 83–104, and S. Lloyd, *Proceedings of the British Academy* 49 (1963), 167–173.

below the limestone wing”, implying that the Hittite style wing opened off this court. If, therefore, this is correctly identified as the inner of the two courts and is to be compared to the Southeast Courtyard of Fort Shalmaneser at Nimrud, it would appear that the *ekal abanpīli* replaced the standard Late Assyrian throneroom suite. For this there is no parallel in the palace architecture of this period, and it can only be hoped that future excavations will shed further light on this interesting subject.

iii. Esarhaddon's additions

Esarhaddon also describes the *ekal abanpīli u iserini*,⁶⁹ but without referring to it as in the Hittite manner and failing to mention that his father had built it, insinuating that he himself was its founder. His account of its decoration includes: *š⁴lamassāti^{mes} erī maš-šá-a-ti šá a-be-en-na-a pa-na u ar-ka i-na-aṭ-ṭa-la ki-la-ta-an qí-rib-šá ul-zi-iz is^{is}tim-me is^{is}erini ši-ru-ti is^{is}a-dap-pi ku-lul bābāni^{mes}-ši-in e-mid* “I stood in it twin cow colossi of copper of which each pair was looking forward and backward. Upon tall cedar columns I set the boards of the *kulūlu* of its doorways”.⁷⁰ From this it is not clear whether the cedar columns stood on the copper figures or not; but from the earlier records of Sennacherib we know that Esarhaddon is simply referring to the former's work, not mentioning the sphinxes of AN.ŠE.TIR stone that acted as column bases, and not explaining that the copper colossi stood between the pillars. A second version of Esarhaddon's inscription, written three years later,⁷¹ also mentions this wing but together with six other suites: *ekal abanpī-i-li pe-ši-i ù ekallāti^{mes} šin pīri is^{is}ušī is^{is}taskarinni is^{is}mu-suk-kan-ni is^{is}erini is^{is}šurmēni* “a wing of white limestone and suites of ivory, ebony, box/walnut(?), sissou, cedar (and) cypress”.⁷² The first wing, *ekal abanpīli pešī*, is treated separately and evidently refers to the Hittite style wing. It is probably not called here *ekal abanpīli u iserini* to avoid ambiguity, the latter material being used in one of the new suites. In neither version is there mention of Sennacherib's Assyrian type wing, and it is probably to be assumed, therefore, that this was now either demolished or extended into the six new suites.

Esarhaddon also added another wing or suite to this palace, which he specifically says had not existed previously. In his earlier inscription it is called *bittānu*, and in the second *bīt šarri*.⁷³ These terms are also found in connection with each other in two Late Assyrian letters. Of one, which was possibly sent to Esarhaddon, the first part is fragmentary, but it then reads: *ina pān bit-tan-ni ina pān É.KI.NA.MEŠ bīt šarri is-si-niš ú-ta-ka-mu-ni* “they (some

⁶⁹ *Sumer* 12 (1956), 32 l. 33, and Borger, op. cit., 63 l. 48.

⁷⁰ *Sumer* 12 (1956), 32 ll. 36–41, and Borger, op. cit., 63 ll. 52–54 and 61–62 ll. 22–23.

⁷¹ Borger, op. cit., §27 A. This is dated to the

limmu of Atarilu, i.e. 673 B.C., whereas the first text is that of Banbā, i.e. 676 B.C.

⁷² Borger, op. cit., 61 ll. 9–10.

⁷³ *Sumer* 12 (1956), 30 ll. 18–32, and Borger, op. cit., 61 ll. 5–8.

form of goods?) will be deposited together in front of the *bītānmu*, in front of the bedrooms of the *bīt šarri*".⁷⁴ The second letter was addressed to Ashurbanipal by an official, Bēl-iqīša who had been slighted and threatened by a scribe: *ma-a a-na-ku ištu bit-an-ni a-ṣa-ra-aš-ka u ištu bīt šarri bēli ina bīt bēlēm^{mes}-ia ip-qid-da-ni-ni ina muḫḫi me-me-ni ina bīt bēlēm^{mes}-ia la šal-ṭa-ak* "saying, 'I shall have you barred from the *bītānmu*, even from the *bīt šarri*". He has posted me to the *house of my lords*. I have authority over no one in the *house of my lords*".⁷⁵ In these cases, therefore, *bītānu*, is used not generally of the inner section of the building but of a specific part thereof.⁷⁶ The alternative term, *bīt šarri*, indicates the king's own quarters, that is the throneroom or his residential suite. Esarhaddon gives the dimensions of his *bītānu/bīt šarri* as 95 by 31 great cubits,⁷⁷ that is approximately 47.025 × 15.345 metres,⁷⁸ which, by comparison with such sets of rooms as excavated in other Late Assyrian palaces, could fit either suite; but the mention of bedrooms in the *bīt šarri* in the first letter points to the residential quarters.

Oppenheim, on the other hand, has suggested that the *bītānu* was a western style building.⁷⁹ He proposes that two homonyms are to be recognised in this word: i) the Akkadian word "interior, inside, inner quarters, etc."; and ii) a west Semitic loan-word made up of *bīt* and the diminutive suffix *-ōn* "small house", which is used in Akkadian "as the designation of a small luxury structure, an independent architectural unit for the use of the king or heir apparent".⁸⁰ He bases the latter on the Hebrew *bītan* found in Esther 1:5 and 7:7–8. This book describes a series of events which took place in Susa in the palace of king Ahasuerus, that is probably Xerxes. In the course of the story reference is made to various parts of the building, including *bītan*. This was used for banquets; it led off a courtyard and was provided with a garden. Oppenheim suggests that the Assyrian *bītānu* was a similar structure

⁷⁴ RCAE No. 22 rev. ll. 5–8.

⁷⁵ RCAE No. 84 rev. ll. 2–6.

⁷⁶ CAD 2, 274–275 and AHW 131–132; for further references to *bītānu* see Borger, op. cit., 62–63, and JNES 24 (1965), 328–330.

⁷⁷ Sumer 12 (1956), 30 ll. 18–19, and Borger, op. cit., 61 l. 5.

⁷⁸ A. Salonen, *Die Hausgeräte der alten Mesopotamier* I, 278.

⁷⁹ JNES 24 (1965), 328–333.

⁸⁰ *bītānu* is found only once in association with the crown prince; Sennacherib built one for his eldest son in Assur (Luckenbill, op. cit., 152 No. XV l. 3).

He also dedicated the rebuilt *bītānu* in the Temple of Ashur on behalf of a younger son (ibid. 150 No. X l. 3, and 151 No. XI l. 2). In neither case is there any indication that it referred to a specific structure and not generally to the inner part of the building.

Oppenheim also suggests that the phrase *é.gal.tur.ra* 'small palace', like *bītānu* 'small house', referred to the crown prince's palace, it being used twice by Esarhaddon in this connection (Borger, op. cit., 69 §30 l. 10, and 71 §43 l. 22). It is, however, simply to be read as *ekalla šibra^{ra}* and is commonly found in accounts of palaces that are being rebuilt and enlarged, e.g. Sennacherib on his palace on Küyünjik: *ekalla šibra^{ra} ša-a-tu a-na si-ḫir-ti-ša aq-qur-ma* 'I completely demolished that small palace' (Luckenbill, op. cit., 99 l. 48). Furthermore it is to be noted that in his account of the rebuilding of the North Palace on Küyünjik, formerly the *bīt rēdūti*, that is the official residence of the heir apparent, Ashurbanipal refers to it neither as *é.gal.tur.ra* nor *bītānu* (V R 10, col. X ll. 51–108).

which, like the *bīt hilāni*, had been borrowed from the west, and took the form of a pavilion or kiosk set in a garden. The dimensions which Esarhaddon gives for his *bītānu|bīt šarri* on Nebi Yūnus would be suitable for a building of this kind, and it is possible that the enigmatic “ Temple ” on the palace terrace at Khorsabad⁸¹ is to be recognised as such. Unfortunately we know little of the plan of this structure and nothing of its function, and thus such an identification must remain purely conjectural. Similarly Esarhaddon records that he planted a garden in the *ekal māšarti* at Nebi Yūnus,⁸² possibly on the terrace; but in both texts he refers to it after his description of the other suites of this palace, clearly not associating it with the *bītānu|bīt šarri*. Furthermore the Book of Esther cannot be considered reliable evidence. This, it is now generally held, was probably not written until as late as the second century B.C., and then possibly not based on fact but as a fictional story to provide an historical origin for the Feast of the Purim. Thus in the first place it describes an Achaemenid palace which was constructed some two centuries after the reign of Esarhaddon and of a totally different plan to anything yet found in Assyria.⁸³ And secondly its late date suggests that its author had little or no knowledge of the layout of this building and doubtless based his story on the local type palace of his day, which again probably had little affinity with its seventh century predecessors, Esarhaddon’s supposed prototype. It is also to be noted that the *bītānu* is nowhere likened to a western palace, as in the case of the *bīt hilāni*. This usage of *bītānu*, therefore, probably refers to a specific part of the inner section of the building, in this case the king’s own quarters, and not to a specific type of structure, and as such is comparable to the dual usage of *ekallu*.

iv. Decoration

On the decoration of the Nineveh arsenal it has already been seen that Sennacherib and to a lesser extent Esarhaddon describe the cedar columns with their sphinx bases of an. še. tir stone and the accompanying free-standing copper figures of the *ekal aban pīli u iserini*. For the rest Sennacherib gives the usual account of the roofing beams of cedar,⁸⁴ the doors of cypress and white cedar (*is liāru*) which were decorated with copper bands similar to those of

⁸¹ P. E. Botta and E. Flandin, *Monument de Ninive* II, pls. 148–150, and V, 53–56 and 164–166, and Place, op. cit. I, 149–151, II, 6–7 and 36–42, and III, pl. 37 *bis*. Koldewey and Parrot have identified this building as a *bīt hilāni* (F. von Luschan, *Ausgrabungen in Sendschirli* II, 188, and A. Parrot, *Nineveh and Babylon*, pl. 10 B on p. 8).

⁸² *Sumer* 12 (1956), 32 ll. 54–56, and Borger, op. cit., 62 ll. 30–31.

⁸³ *MDP* 30 (1947), 1–119, and see also *Iranica Antiqua* 5 (1965), 98–99.

⁸⁴ Luckenbill, op. cit., 129 ll. 58–60 and 132 ll. 69–70. In both palace and temple texts *iserinu* ‘cedar’ is the usual roofing material, and it is only for Sennacherib’s palace on Küyünjik and that of Sargon at Khorsabad that *isšurmēnu* ‘cypress’ was also used (*ibid.*, 106 ll. 23–26 and 119 ll. 22–23, and Winckler, op. cit., I, 166 l. 21 and II, pl. 42 rev. l. 8 and pl. 43 rev. l. 5). In all cases these references are apparently to a flat roof and in no text is there any indication of vaulting, although this may also have been used.

bronze found at Balawat,⁸⁵ and of the winged human-headed guardian figures of limestone and an.še.tir stone which flanked the principal doorways.⁸⁶

In both versions of his account Esarhaddon describes the decoration of the *bitānu*/*bit šarri* separately. In the earlier one he mentions its roofing timbers of cedar, doors of cypress banded in silver and copper, and the stone colossi,⁸⁷ whereas in the second he only refers to the roofing timbers but also adds that its walls were skirted with alabaster orthostats.⁸⁸ As regards the Hittite style wing, in the earlier version he describes its pillars and copper figures, as quoted above, followed by a long account of the mural decoration.⁸⁹ In the later text the decoration of this wing is given together with that of the six new suites and is of the usual format, that is roofing timbers, doors and their flanking colossi and supporting columns, and mural decoration.⁹⁰ The various types of portal statuary listed in this passage include twin ^{1a}*lamassatu* of copper and sphinxes (¹*apsasātu*) of an.še.tir stone, which are probably to be identified as those incorporated by Sennacherib in the Hittite style wing, and also sphinxes and lions (*urmabhu*) of copper and ^a*alàd* ^a*lamma.meš* of an.še.tir stone, copper and limestone. The last type of colossi, which are always written as Sumerograms and never syllabically in the Assyrian building inscriptions, are usually rendered in Akkadian as one word, ^a*aladlammū*.⁹¹ They are first found together in the Broken Obelisk in which it is recorded that 2 ^a*alàd* ^a*lamma* were made of marble (*parūtu*).⁹² The plural sign *meš* does not follow either word. They similarly occur together in the texts of Tiglath-pileser III,⁹³ Sennacherib⁹⁴ and in the above passage of Esarhaddon, in which it is seen that they could be of either stone or metal. In all these texts the divine determinative precedes both words, but in most cases *meš* is only found after *lamma*. However in that of Tiglath-pileser III the plural sign is repeated after both terms, and similarly in the earlier version of Esarhaddon's Nebi Yünus inscription reference is made to ^a*alàd.meš* *u* ^a*lamma.meš* which he installed in the *bitānu*.⁹⁵ Likewise in one of the

⁸⁵ Luckenbill, op. cit., 129 ll. 60–62 and 132 l. 71. Other types of wood given in the Late Assyrian palace texts as the material for doors are: *iserinu* cedar, ^{1s}*daprānu* juniper, ^{1s}*musukānu* sissoo, ^{1s}*taskarinnu* box/walnut(?), ^{1s}*sūū* ebony, ^{1s}*burāšu* juniper, ^{1s}*sindā* oak, ^{1s}*ašūhu* fir. Although ivory is not mentioned in any case, a door discovered in Fort Shalmaneser at Nimrud did contain elements of this material (*Iraq* 25 (1963), 26–27 and Mallowan, op. cit., 451), and it is found in the Late Babylonian texts (e.g. *VAB* 4, 138 col. IX l. 9). Other materials used for the metal bands (*mēsiru*, see Salonen, *Die Türen des alten Mesopotamien*, 73) are *siparru* bronze, *kaspu* silver, *zabalū* a silver alloy (?), (*CAD* 21, 12–13; but *DAC* 60 'gold leaf(?), overlay(?) or perhaps electrum'), and *šāviru* a type of gold. Bands of *hurāšu* gold are also found in Esarhaddon's temple texts (Borger, op. cit., 5 vi 12, 23 l. 6 and 87 l. 23). In one of his accounts of the *bit akītu* at Assur Sennacherib gives a long description

of the scenes with which he had these bands decorated (Luckenbill, op. cit., 140–141 obv. l. 5 to rev. l. 2).

⁸⁶ Luckenbill, op. cit., 129–130 ll. 62–65 and 132 ll. 72–75. See also below.

⁸⁷ *Sumer* 12 (1956), 30 ll. 22–32.

⁸⁸ Borger, op. cit., 61 ll. 7–8.

⁸⁹ *Sumer* 12 (1956), 32 ll. 36–53.

⁹⁰ Borger, op. cit., 61–62 ll. 12–29.

⁹¹ *CAD* 1/1, 286–287, *AHW* 31 and *ZA* 37 (1927), 218–219 n. 2.

⁹² *AKA* 147 ll. 17–18.

⁹³ II R 67 l. 79, Central Palace at Nimrud.

⁹⁴ Luckenbill, op. cit., 109–110 ll. 20 and 22–23 and 123 ll. 30–31, on the Southwest Palace on Küyünjik; and *ibid.*, 129 l. 64 and 132 l. 75, on the *ekal kutalli māšarti* on Nebi Yünus.

⁹⁵ *Sumer* 12 (1956), 30 l. 27, and Borger, op. cit., 62 l. 41.

Nimrud letters, which describes some of the problems encountered when setting these statues in position, the scribe has left a definite space between ^aalàd and ^alamma.⁹⁶ This evidence, therefore, would suggest that the Sumerian is in fact to be read as two separate Akkadian words, ^asēdu and ^alamassu, and not as ^aaladlammū.

^alamma/lamassu is also found on its own, not in conjunction with ^aalàd/šēdu. It is thus used by Shalmaneser I, who refers to the *bābu ša ^alamma.lamma* “the gate of the two(?) lamassu” in the Temple of Ashur,⁹⁷ and by Sargon and Sennacherib of their palaces. The former had *lamma.mah/lamamahbu* of stone at Khorsabad,⁹⁸ and Sennacherib *lamma/lamassu* of silver, bronze and stone at Kūyūnjik.⁹⁹ In the latter palace there were also ^{sd}lamma/lamassatu in the shrines,¹⁰⁰ but these may have been free-standing figures similar to the ^{sd}lamma/lamassatu in his Hittite style wing on Nebi Yūnus. ^aalàd/šēdu is not found on its own.

^aalàd/šēdu and ^alamma/lamassu, which appear in Akkadian literature as good genii,¹⁰¹ are generally taken to refer in the building inscriptions to the winged human-headed bull colossi.¹⁰² There are in fact two kinds of such composite figures, the bull and the lion. Thus these terms may refer either to these statues in general, or, more probably, to a specific type; that is ^alamma/lamassu is the bull and ^aalàd/šēdu the lion, *urmahbu* probably being used for the more naturalistic lion. Composite lion figures have been discovered at Nineveh and Nimrud, but not at Khorsabad; and accordingly Sargon records that he furnished his palace there with *lamma.mah/lamamahbu*, not mentioning ^aalàd/šēdu.¹⁰³

Esarhaddon's description of the mural decoration of the Hittite style wing and of his six new suites on Nebi Yūnus reads: *si-ḫi-ir-ti ekalli šá-a-tu né-bé-ḫu pa-áš-qu ša ^{aban}šurri ^{aban}uqnū ú-še-piš-ma ú-šal-ma-a ki-li-liš si-il-lu (ù) kur-gi-qu ki-ma* “Manzāt ú-šá-as-ḫi-ra gi-mir bābāni^{meš(ni)} sik-kāt kaspi ḫurāši ù erī nam-ri ú-rat-ta-a qé-reb-šin da-na-an ^aAš-šur bēli-ia ep-šet ina mātāte nak-ra-a-ti e-tep-pu-šū ina ši-pir ^{amei}ur₅-ra-ku-ti e-si-qa qé-reb-ša ‘I had made around that palace a *nebeḫu* (and) *pašku* (glazed/painted with the pigment) of obsidian (and) lapis lazuli, and encompassed it like a garland. I surrounded all its doorways with a *sillu* (and) *kurgiqu* like a rainbow. I set in it *sikkatu* of silver, gold and shining copper. By means of the handicraft of the stone-mason I depicted in it the might of Ashur, my lord, the deeds he performed in foreign lands.’¹⁰⁴ Six types of decoration are mentioned here: *nebeḫu*, *pašku*, *sillu*, *kurgiqu*, metal

⁹⁶ *Iraq* 17 (1955), 134 l. 8.

⁹⁷ *KAH* I, 14 obv. l. 22 and 15 obv. l. 21.

⁹⁸ Lie, op. cit., 78 l. 3.

⁹⁹ Luckenbill, op. cit., 97 l. 85.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 106–107 ll. 32–36 and 120 ll. 25–27.

¹⁰¹ *Baghdader Mitteilungen* 3 (1964), 148–156.

¹⁰² *CAD* 1/1, 286–287, and *AHW*, 31 and 532.

¹⁰³ Sargon also records that he had portal statues in the form of *immeri šadi* ‘mountain sheep’ (Lie, op. cit., 78 l. 3) and likewise Sennacherib at Kūyūnjik (Luckenbill, op. cit., 97 l. 85), but at neither site has any statue been discovered which can be identified as such.

¹⁰⁴ Borger, op. cit., 62 ll. 23–29, and *Sumer* 12 (1956), 32 ll. 42–48.

sikkatu and stone orthostats, the last of which Esarhaddon also used in the *bītānu|bīt šarri* of this palace but without specifying that they were carved.¹⁰⁵ Of the other types four are also found in Sennacherib's description of the shrines in his palace on Küyünjik: *sik-kat kar-ri kas-pi ù erī ki-rib-šin ú-šal-me i-na agurri* ^{aban}šurri ^{aban}uqnī *us-si-ma si-el-lum né-bé-ḫi ù gi-mir pa-aš-ki-ši-in* 'I surrounded their interior with *sikkat karri* of silver and copper. I adorned the *sillu*, *nebeḫu* and all their *pašku* with baked brick (glazed with the pigment) of obsidian and lapis lazuli.¹⁰⁶ The term *sikkat karri* is first found in a text of Tiglath-pileser I in which he describes one of his palaces at Nineveh,¹⁰⁷ and subsequently in those of Ashurnasirpal II¹⁰⁸ and Tiglath-pileser III¹⁰⁹ on the Northwest and Central Palaces at Nimrud, and in the above passage of Sennacherib. They were always of metal, copper, bronze, silver or gold, and were used for the decoration of both walls and doorways, probably in the form of studded nails,¹¹⁰ the metal counterpart of the terracotta *sikkatu*. They are not found in temple texts. The Esarhaddon passage quoted above mentions *sikkatu*, but the fact that these were of metal indicates that *sikkat karri* are probably here referred to.

It is evident from the above passages that the terms *sillu(m)*, *nebeḫu*, *pašku* and *kurgiqu* refer either to architectural features which were subject to decoration or to the actual form of decoration. Sennacherib specifies that they were of glazed brick, but the omission of *agurru* by Esarhaddon may imply painted decoration. *nebeḫu* is also found in three texts from the Temple of Ashur¹¹¹ and in Ashurbanipal's description of that of Sin at Harran.¹¹² Of the former Sennacherib records that he decorated its *nebeḫu* with baked brick, and on the latter Ashurbanipal says, [. . . . ^{aban}]surri ^{aban}uqnī *né-bé-ḫu e-bi-ib-šú* [. . . .] ' [. . . .] with (the pigment/glaze of) obsidian and lapis lazuli I girded its *nebeḫu* [. . . .]'. In none of these is there any evidence as to its form or shape but, based on its apparent derivation from *ebēḫu* 'to gird', such translations as 'frieze'¹¹³ and 'Schmuckschieben'¹¹⁴ have been suggested.

pašku is also found in Sennacherib's description of the defences of Nineveh: *ki-rib ma-a-me šap-la-a-nu aban šadī dan-ni ak-si-ma e-la-niš a-di pa-aš-ki-šu i-na* ^{aban}pi-i-li *rabūti*^{mes} *ú-nak-kil ši-pir-šú* 'in the subterranean waters I laid (blocks of) strong mountain stone, and skilfully built it (the wall) with great (blocks of)

¹⁰⁵ Borger, op. cit., 61 l. 7. Orthostats are also referred to by Tiglath-pileser III for the Central Palace at Nimrud (II R 67 l. 81), and by Sargon and Sennacherib for their palaces at Khorsabad and Küyünjik (Lie, op. cit., 78 ll. 4-7, and Luckenbill, op. cit., 97 l. 86, 110 ll. 41-44 and 123 ll. 36-37).

¹⁰⁶ Luckenbill, op. cit., 107 ll. 40-44 and 120 ll. 28-32.

¹⁰⁷ *AJO* 19 (1959-60), 141 l. 15, and *KAH* II, 67 l. 9.

¹⁰⁸ *Iraq* 14 (1952), 33 l. 29, and *AKA*, 221 l. 20, 245 l. 15 and 247 l. 29.

¹⁰⁹ II R 67 l. 82.

¹¹⁰ *AHW*, 450 and Salonen, op. cit., 32, 76 and 78.

¹¹¹ *KAH* I, 15 obv. ll. 25-26, 42 l. 5' and 71 l. 5 and Luckenbill, op. cit., 148 IV l. 4.

¹¹² S. A. Smith, op. cit., 13 ll. 29-30.

¹¹³ *CAD* 6, 208.

¹¹⁴ *AJO* 9 (1934), 41. See also *ZA* 36 (1925), 229 and 45 (1939), 127, *MIO* I (1953), 88, and *OLZ* 53 (1958), 524.

limestone upwards as far as its *pašku'*;¹¹⁵ and it again occurs in Tiglath-pileser III's account of the Central Palace at Nimrud: $5\frac{1}{2}$ NINDA 4 *ammati ul-tu šu-pul me^{mes} a-di pa-aš-ki si-kit-ta-šin-ma e-šir-ma* 'I executed its construction seventy cubits from below the water level up to the *pašku'*.¹¹⁶ In these texts the *pašqu* was evidently some architectural element to be found at the top of the structure, while the passages of Esarhaddon and Sennacherib quoted above indicate that it could also be a decorative feature. Edith Porada has suggested that it may refer to the battlements,¹¹⁷ but alternatively attention is here drawn to a pottery storage bin discovered in Fort Shalmaneser at Nimrud which was decorated in relief with a representation of a city wall.¹¹⁸ The upper part of this, that is just below the stepped crenellations, was decorated with impressed rosettes, and on the same site such rosettes of glazed brick have been found.¹¹⁹ The term *pašku*, therefore, may possibly refer to these or to some related form of architectural decoration.

sillu(m) is found only in the two passages given above, and *kurgiqu* only in that of Esarhaddon. From these it is evident that they also were decorative features akin to *nebehu* and *pašku*, *sillu(m)* probably being used on both walls and doorways. Esarhaddon describes the effect of combining the two as like a rainbow and they were, therefore, probably in the form of a glazed brick panel which either followed the curve of the vaulted doorway,¹²⁰ as found in Gate 3 at Khorsabad,¹²¹ or an arched panel which surmounted the flat lintel of the doorway, as found at Nimrud in Fort Shalmaneser.¹²²

Conclusions

Without extensive and thorough excavation our knowledge of an ancient site cannot be anything but meagre, even if supplemented by a large corpus of textual evidence as in the case of Nineveh. So of Tell Nebi Yūnus it is not known when it was first occupied, whether this was prior to the first millennium B.C., and if not, at what point in the Late Assyrian period. Sennacherib tells us that he demolished an earlier building, and a stamped brick of Adad-nirari III has been found here. Subsequently Sennacherib's *ekal māšarti* or arsenal

¹¹⁵ Luckenbill, *op. cit.*, 113 ll. 10–12. See also another version, *Iraq* 7 (1940), 90 l. 8, which is quoted in n. 51 above.

¹¹⁶ II R 67 l. 75.

¹¹⁷ Porada, *loc. cit.*, 10. See also *ZA* 36 (1925), 227–229 and 45 (1939), 127.

¹¹⁸ *Iraq* 24 (1962), 8–9 and pl. Vc, and Mallowan, *op. cit.*, 462–463 and pl. 378.

¹¹⁹ *Iraq* 24 (1962), 9. Place found a similarly decorated crenellation on the parapet of the Khorsabad ziggurat (Place, *op. cit.* III, pl. 35, 7).

¹²⁰ Hence 'Archivolte' (C. Bezold, *Babylonisch-assyrisches Glossar* 214, *ZA* 45 (1939), 125–126, and Borger, *op. cit.*, 62), but not Heidel's 'arch' (*Sumer* 12 (1956), 33).

¹²¹ Place, *op. cit.*, I, 174 and III, pl. 14. George Rawlinson illustrates what appears to have been a similarly decorated doorway in the North Palace at Nineveh, based on one of Boutcher's drawings in the British Museum (G. Rawlinson, *The Five Great Monarchies* I, 335). Dr. R. D. Barnett, however, has kindly informed me that Rawlinson's reproduction appears to be an inaccurate copy, for that which is evidently the original drawing shows not an arch with two equal sides but a stone with an irregular loop-shaped cavity, which he suggests may in fact have been a threshold. This drawing, moreover, is marked 'Centre Palace Nimrud'.

¹²² *Iraq* 25 (1963), 38–47, and Mallowan, *op. cit.*, 453–455.

was further enlarged by his son Esarhaddon, and later restored by his grandson Ashurbanipal. Such are the basic historical facts we know of this site. The inscriptions of Sennacherib and Esarhaddon, which are of especial interest in that they describe the work of two consecutive kings on one building, also give us an impression of what this palace looked like and of its general layout, which is to be compared with the plans of excavated buildings of this type, namely Fort Shalmaneser at Nimrud and probably also Palace F at Khorsabad.

The basic function of an *ekal māšarti* was to act as the headquarters of the Assyrian army, and although there was contained therein a throneroom suite of the standard pattern and other state apartments, these were less extensive than in the residential palaces. Thus Sennacherib records that in the Nebi Yūnus arsenal he built only two sets of state apartments, one in the local Assyrian style and a second after the 'Hittite', that is north Syrian manner. Esarhaddon also refers to the latter but, in his later inscription, together with six other suites. The fact that these are not mentioned in his earlier text may indicate that they were built in the intervening three years. In both versions he also describes an eighth wing, the enigmatic *bītānu/bīt šarri*, which he specifically notes had not existed before. Sennacherib, therefore, treated this building purely as an *ekal māšarti*, including in it only the basic minimum of state apartments, howbeit one on novel lines which possibly replaced the standard Late Assyrian throneroom suite. It is to be remembered that his main palace on Kūyūnjik, the *ekal šāmīna la iṣū* 'Palace Without Rival', lay close-by and thus there was little necessity for extensive accommodation in his *ekal kutalli/māšarti*.

Esarhaddon, on the other hand, appears to have extended the inner, residential sector of the Nebi Yūnus arsenal on almost the same scale as found in the residential palaces, adorning it with rich decorations. Of his other building activities we know little. From his inscriptions it is learnt that he rebuilt the palace at Tarbiṣu, but this was for the use of his heir, Ashurbanipal,¹²³ and at Nimrud he restored and added to Fort Shalmaneser,¹²⁴ and also started work on the Southwest Palace on the citadel there, but this he never completed.¹²⁵ His principal residence, however, was probably at Nineveh, but no evidence has yet been found that he built himself a new palace there. It is possible that he continued to use that of Sennacherib on Kūyūnjik, as we know his son Ashurbanipal did.¹²⁶ Alternatively if he did in fact enlarge the Nebi Yūnus *ekal māšarti* to the extent his inscriptions purport, it is possible that he adopted this building as his main residence. He would thus have lived with the army who had helped him secure his rightful throne from a jealous brother, his father's assassin, and with whom he spent so much of his time on foreign campaigns.

¹²³ Borger, op. cit., 71-73 §43-45.

¹²⁴ Mallowan, op. cit., 376 and 387, et passim.

¹²⁵ Layard, op. cit. I, 375-381, et passim, Gadd, op.

cit., appendix 9, *Iraq* 14 (1952), 5, and Barnett and Falkner, op. cit., 20-30.

¹²⁶ *Iraq* 29 (1967), 42-45, W. Nagel, *Die neuassyrischen Reliefstile unter Sanberib und Assurbanaplū*.