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Who Was King? Who Was Not King?
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Chapter 1

"The Poor Are the Silent Ones in the Country". On the Loss of Legitimacy; Challenging Power in Early Mesopotamia *(Gebhard J. Selz)* **1**

Modern historians of ancient Mesopotamia are chiefly concerned with the deeds of the kings and mainly use sources which reflect conditions at the apex of Mesopotamian society. This paper attempts to investigate possible traces of discontent and opposition as well as the criteria involving the loss of the legitimacy of power in Early Mesopotamia. We will deal with two major types of sources: the early curse formulas in "royal" inscriptions, and the school-based tradition of Sumerian proverbs. Especially the latter allow for a more socially-balanced understanding of history.

Chapter 2

The Earliest History of the Kingdom of Kiš *(Petr Charvát)* **16**

A black-stone bas-relief from Kiš, dating probably to the Uruk IV–III period, shows a scene interpreted, with recourse to an earlier image documented on one of the sealings from Susa B (= Susa Acropole 27–23) as depicting a symbolic transfer of political power. The possibility of a legitimization of the earliest kingdom of Kish from a source other than the Uruk-age Uruk polity is considered, and the possible consequences of such an act are weighed against the testimony of written sources of the ED I–III period.

Chapter 3

Représentation et légitimation du pouvoir royal aux époques néo-sumérienne et amorrite *(Bertrand Lafont)* **23**

Dans la haute histoire du Proche-Orient ancien, l'image qu'offre l'institution royale est complexe et variée. Le titre même de LUGAL, « roi », est susceptible d'avoir été interprété de diverses façons. Cet article vise à montrer que, entre les deux périodes d'Ur néo-sumérienne et de Mari amorrite (fin du III^{e} millénaire – début du II^{e} millénaire avant notre ère), le fil de certaines traditions touchant à l'institution royale et à la conception qu'on en avait ne fut jamais complètement interrompu, malgré la différence des contextes géographique et socio-historique. Plusieurs exemples sont pris dans les documentations de l'époque d'Ur III et de celle du temps des rois amorrites de Mari : persistance de l'héritage culturel sumérien, sacralisation de la personne du roi, élection divine du souverain, attributs royaux, rôle symbolique des équidés.

Chapter 4

History and Ideology in the Old Babylonian Year Names *(Lukáš Pecha)* **38**

The year names of Old Babylonian kings represent a very useful source of information not only on the contemporary royal ideology, but also on some historical events that were mentioned in those texts. In this contribution, the year names issued by the kings of Isin, Larsa and Babylon are compared. There are marked distinctions among the year names of the three dynasties with regard to the nature of events mentioned in them. In the year names of Isin dynasty, there are virtually no allusions to wars, whereas both the dynasties of Larsa and Babylon relatively frequently mention military successes. The year names of Babylon, unlike those of Isin and Larsa, contain no mentions of appointment of cultic personnel by the king. Further, in the year names of the Larsa dynasty, legal activity of the kings is completely omitted, while in the year names of Isin and Babylon such deeds occasionally figure. Besides, an interesting development can be observed during the reign of the 1st Dynasty of Babylon. In the late Old Babylonian period, the number of dedications of votive objects constantly rises whereas large building projects and military events are mentioned less frequently. This can perhaps be understood as a reflection of the gradual decline of the Old Babylonian state.

Chapter 5

König Ḫammurapi und die Babylonier: Wem übertrug der Kodex Ḫammurapi die Rechtspflege? *(Walther Sallaberger)* **46**

Ḫammurapi von Babylon schuf seine Gesetze für die Menschen seines Landes, vertreten durch ihre Götter, anlässlich der Neuordnung des Reichs. Es stellt sich die Frage, wie das im Kodex Ḫammurapi festgelegte Recht weiterhin gepflegt und erhalten werden sollte. Der Epilog scheint diese Aufgabe dem Nachfolger zuzuweisen, doch lassen sich in den rechtlichen Regelungen selbst drei zentrale Prinzipien erkennen: 1.) das Schriftlichkeitsprinzip bei Rechtsgeschäften, 2.) die Verpflichtung des Einzelnen zur gesellschaftlichen Verantwortung und 3.) die Fürsorgepflicht der städtischen Institutionen gegenüber dem Individuum. Das Rechtswesen erfordert und fördert also eine autarke Ordnung in der Zivilgesellschaft, im Prinzip zunächst unabhängig vom jeweiligen Königtum. Dem Palast werden dabei juristische Grenzen seines Handelns gezogen, so dass die Gesetze Ḫammurapis auch nicht zu einer Stärkung von Eliten aus dem Umfeld des Palastes führen.

Chapter 6

The Daughters of the Kings of Babylon and their Role in the Old Babylonian Economy and Society *(Witold Tyborowski)* **59**

A very interesting fact connected with the *nadītum* priestesses of Šamaš in Sippar is that one can find daughters of the kings of Babylon among them. Formally they were ordinary priestesses and surely they performed the same duties as the other women of that profession. Apart from that as many other *nadītum*, the king's daughters possessed land and other commodities which were necessary for their living and like the other priestesses they did business to make profit with it. One might expect also, that the presence and activity of the Babylonian princesses in the Sippar cloister might be significant somehow and it might be an informal link between the palace and the clergy and the city. However, the analysis of documents concerning the activity of the princesses shows that this did not happen and especially Iltani, daughter of Abī-ešuḫ might have separated herself from the other *nadītum* and from the clergy of the Šamaš temple and cloister. Thus her life in Sippar did not have any major significance for the social life of the local community.

Chapter 7

To Be King, or Not to Be King, or Much Ado About Nothing? The Concept of Royalty in the Amarna Correspondence *(Jana Mynářová)* **71**

It has already been confirmed by a series of studies that the corpus of the Amarna letters, dated to the middle of the fourteenth century BCE, can be considered a set of diplomatic documents in all aspects entailed in this expression. This corpus of letters is hence closely related to the stage

of international politics. But who was (a) king in the Amarna correspondence? Based on the textual analysis it is obvious that the political and social dependency of the local kinglets of Syria-Palestine upon the king of Egypt is evident not only from their frequent pleas for help but unambiguously also from the manner in which the Pharaoh is identified. It is the aim of this study to discuss several aspects of the king's address attested in the respective bodies of the Amarna letters.

Chapter 8

Wer war der (erste ugaritische) König? *(Pavel Čech)* **85**

Antike Königslisten werden in der Altorientalistik – mit der Ausnahme der Angaben, die sich solcher Deutung durch entstellte Namen oder gekünstelte Lebensdauerangaben vom Haus aus widerstreben – hauptsächlich als historische Quellen angesehen und gewertet. Aber manchmal dienen die Königslisten primär keinen historiographischen oder chronographischen Zwecken, sondern sind eher Ausdruck politischer Theologie und deshalb Objekt der Soziolinguistik. Auf dem Beispiel der ugaritischen Königsliste wird dargestellt, dass ihre ersten Namen sog. Charaktonyme sind, welche die ugaritische Gründungslegende widergeben, somit die Stellung des Stadtstaates in der Region definieren und zugleich Mittel zur Lösung potenzieller Probleme entwerfen. Die in diesen Charaktonymen verschlüsselte Nachricht kann unter Umständen auf der geographischen, historiographischen, mythologischen oder anderen Ebene gelesen werden, was durch strukturelle Ähnlichkeiten zur alttestamentlichen und anderen Gründungserzählungen veranschaunlicht wird.

Chapter 9

Jehu, the King of Israel who Repaid and Paid. 'Last' King of Omride Dynasty according to Neo-Assyrian, Aramaean and Biblical Historiography *(Filip Čapek)* **95**

King Jehu (842–815 BCE), the ruler of the Northern Israel, is according to 2 Kings 9–11 responsible for a *coup d'état* and for the slaughter of two kings, namely the Israelite Jehoram and Judean Ahaziah. Moreover, the killing of Jehoram entails the very end of the influential Omride dynasty. This contribution tries to settle problems related to the image of Jehu provided by external, non-biblical evidence, which makes king's image far from unambiguous. Neo-Assyrian documents (COS 2.113D, COS 2.113E, and COS 2.113F) depict Jehu as a weak ruler at the margin of the expanding Assyrian empire, whose existence is determined by Šalmaneser III (858–824 BCE) and the Aramaic Tel Dan inscription (COS 2.39) ascribes the responsibility for the termination of the two kings mentioned above to the Aramaean king Hazael (842–805 BCE) and not to Jehu. Who was then Jehu in reality, what was his relation to the Omrides, and what forces stood behind the literary construction of his biblical portrayal?

Chapter 10

Adad-šumu-uṣur and his Family in the Service of Assyrian Kings *(Kateřina Šašková)* **113**

From Neo-Assyrian period, there is preserved a number of texts dealing with different aspects of Assyrian scholarship. A huge amount of these texts related to scholars at the Assyrian royal court date back to the relatively short period of time, from the reign of kings Esarhaddon and Aššurbanipal, however, it is highly probable that even the other Neo-Assyrian kings regularly received reports and letters from their scholars. Assyrian royal scholars were very respectable and well-educated persons. Besides obvious knowledge of reading and writing, these people mastered one of the important disciplines of Mesopotamian learning, nevertheless, their education was much broader and contained knowledge of many other fields. It is evident that scholars were indispensable persons at the royal court. They used to look after the ruler within their discipline in which they were educated. However, they also used to fulfil tasks which were related to their field only very little or not at all. From the preserved texts it is apparent that the important offices

in the king's vicinity were shared only by some privileged families and family relations inside the group of king's closest scholars are documented very frequently. The family of Adad-šumu-uṣur is likely to be the most significant example, because members of this family evidently used to work in the service of Assyrian kings for nearly 250 years.

Chapter 11

The Rulers and the Ruled in Achaemenid Art *(Michael Roaf)* **131**

The royal monuments of the Achaemenid Persian dynasty illustrate the ruler and the ruled, i.e. the king and his subjects, who are depicted as representatives or delegations of distinct peoples. Current scholarship considers that these illustrations indicate an ideology of Persian kingship radically different from that of earlier and later empires, namely one in which there existed a mutually beneficial, harmonious relationship between the ruler and the ruled. A recently published article has suggested that in the delegations of subject peoples it is possible to identify and, in some cases, name both satraps and kings, who might be thought of as rulers among the ruled. This chapter discusses these proposals and reaches the conclusion that neither of them is supported by the available evidence.

Chapter 12

The Portrait of Nabonidus and Cyrus in Their (?) Chronicle. When and Why the Present Version Was Composed *(Stefan Zawadzki)* **142**

Scholars regard the Nabonidus Chronicle as one of the most important sources for the reconstruction of the reign of Nabonidus, but there has been a lack of the requisite contemplation concerning the message it contains, and of discussion regarding the circumstances under which the present version, with its message, was composed. The argument put forward in the article suggests that fundamental changes were made to the original text of the Chronicle soon after the fall of Babylon in 539 BC, as a result of which the most positive figure in the Chronicle is not Nabonidus but Cyrus.

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