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## Phrases of Submission in the Texts of Neo-assyrian Period (911-612 B.c)

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*Expressions of submission in various Assyrian texts from the Neo-Assyrian period (911-612 BC) were diverse. Assyrian texts, despite their varied content, constituted important evidence that provided us with valuable information about these expressions. Religious texts served as a significant source for elucidating religious submission to the gods, while administrative messages and annals included economic submission through tributes. Administrative submission to the gods or the king, as well as political submission of cities under the control of the Assyrian Empire, were also evident. Expressions of submission in Neo-Assyrian texts took two forms: genuine submission and metaphorical submission.*

**Keywords:** *submission, prostration, bowing, trampling, kneeling, worship*

### Introduction

The politics of the Neo-Assyrian period (911-612 BC) were characterized by expansion beyond the borders of Assyria, aimed at controlling trade routes and securing essential raw materials. This expansion had a profound impact on various aspects, including the economic, political, and social dimensions. Assyrian cuneiform sources, such as royal annals and administrative letters<sup>1</sup>, played a crucial role in revealing the genuine and metaphorical expressions of submission. Additionally, the concept of submission became evident in Assyrian art, represented by reliefs and Assyrian wall panels<sup>2</sup>.

Expressions of submission, supplication, and the display of acts of obedience and worship are all terms that refer to drawing closer to the divine. The one who submits or supplicates employs verbal expressions or physical gestures in this approach, such as raising hands, bowing, kneeling, and full prostration. Often, the submissive individual combines both verbal expressions and physical gestures. This also occurs when a person falls under the authority of another responsible for determining their fate, whether it be a king or those holding power under the king. The submissive individual uses the same verbal expressions and physical gestures directed towards the deity, seeking mercy, forgiveness, and offering loyalty. At that moment, the person in authority becomes, for the submissive one, akin to a deity. Hence, there is a close connection between rituals performed before the deity and the postures adopted by the submissive individual before the authority figure.<sup>3</sup>

The term (submission) in the Arabic language is derived from the root verb Khada'a (to submit)<sup>4</sup> on the pattern of the passive participle, indicating tranquillity or submission, implying stillness and humility<sup>5</sup>. "Made somebody to submit" means someone has humbled themselves or shown submission. A man may be described as a submissive male while a woman is a

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submissive female, both connoting acceptance of humiliation and submissiveness.

In terms of terminology, submission signifies obedience and compliance. It can be said that a man submitted completely, meaning he bowed his head to the ground or approached it. Similarly, animals are described as submissive animals because they lower their heads to the ground while grazing. The term is also used for a man who is bent or inclined, and for a star that has (set), meaning it has inclined towards the horizon<sup>6</sup>. Based on the above, it can be said that submission in the Arabic language indicates obedience, compliance, tranquillity, and humbleness willingly. The mention of expressions of submission in the texts of the Neo-Assyrian period (911-612 BC) takes various forms and meanings, which we will explore in the folds of the research.

The research aims to shed light on the verbal expressions of submission used in various cuneiform texts during the modern Assyrian era. These expressions vary between explicit and metaphorical terms. There are phrases that convey political submission and others used for economic submission. Additionally, some vocabulary was exclusive to the modern Assyrian era. The study does not delve into non-verbal submission, such as physical submission, clearly depicted in Assyrian art through visual scenes executed on reliefs and wall panels adorning Assyrian palaces. However, there are existing studies addressing this aspect<sup>7</sup>, as well as those comparing cuneiform texts that resemble artistic scenes depicted on Assyrian reliefs and wall panels.<sup>8</sup>

### **Firstly, Genuine Expressions of Submission in Assyrian Cuneiform Texts**

Submission is considered one of the means that humans adopt to draw closer to the divine and supplicate to it, as it is perceived as responsible for human life and determining their fate. Cuneiform texts explicitly included expressions of submission in the royal Assyrian texts during the modern Assyrian era (911-612 BC). Whether these expressions are literal or metaphorical can be understood from the overall context of the cuneiform text, indicating the concept of submission in various aspects of a person's life, including religious submission, manifested in the fear of the divine. There is also economic, political, and administrative submission. We will first discuss genuine expressions of submission, i.e., the Akkadian terms explicitly conveying the concept of submission.

#### **1. Kanāšu**

Expressions of submission varied in the texts of the modern Assyrian era. One of the frequently used Sumerian verbal expressions is the term "GAM," which corresponds to the Akkadian term "kanāšu." It appears in several forms, including the nominal form "kanšutu," meaning submission and surrender. Additionally, various verbal forms like "u-šak-ni-ša/u-kan-aš/ik-nu-šu/i-kan-n-uš"<sup>9</sup> were used.

The term "kanāšu" appeared independently in religious texts, while "kanaš" was used in conjunction with the Sumerian term "GİR II," which is equivalent to the Akkadian "šepu," meaning foot<sup>10</sup>. When used together, "šepu" with "kanašu" suggests a metaphorical representation, as if the writer is likening placing one's foot on something to submitting to and seizing control of that thing. The term also conveys meanings of defeat or someone causing defeat. Furthermore, it conveys the concept of political and economic submission, symbolized by the payment of tribute by defeated cities or individuals to the victor.

Meanwhile, the term "kanāš" was mentioned in the annals of King Šalmānu-ašared III (858-824 BC), explaining one of its occurrences regarding the dedication of all tribute obtained from

the submission of Kate, the king of the Que kingdom<sup>11</sup>. This tribute was allocated to ensuring the preservation of Šalmānu-ašaredIII 's life, protecting his throne, and subduing his formidable and dangerous enemies.

GIŠ.GUŠUR. MEŠ GIŠ e-re-ni ak-kis ina 20(\*) BALA.MEŠ-ia 20-šú (\*) ÍD.A.RAD e-bir KUR ħa-ma-nu at-ta-bal-kát a-na URU.MEŠ-ni šá mka-ti KUR qu-a-ia at-ta-rad URU. MEŠ-ni a-na la ma-ni a-púl ina IZI. MEŠ GIBÍL-up GAZ.MEŠ-šú-nu ĤI.A. MEŠ a-duk šal-la-su-nu a-na la ma-ni a-sa-la ma-da-ta-šú am-ħur -šú ana TIZI.MEŠ-a GiŠ.GU.ZA ŠID -ti-ia za-i-ri-ia qa-me-e áš-ṭu-te-ia ana ZÁĤ mal-ki KÚR. MEŠ-ia ana ĠÍR.II-ia šuk-nu-še<sup>12</sup>

In my twentieth regnal year I crossed the Euphrates for the twenty-first time, crossed over the Amanus range, (and) went down to the cities of Kate, the Quean. I razed, destroyed, (and) burned the cities without number. I massacred many of them (and) took countless plunder from them. I received his tribute (and) gave it to the god Adad, my lord, for my life, that my days might be long, my years many, (for) the safekeeping of my vice-regal throne, for the scorching of my enemies, for the destruction of my dangerous foes, (and) to subdue at my feet rulers who oppose me.

Also, the term "kanāš" appeared in royal letters that documented the submission of cities belonging to the Assyrian lands, expressing administrative submission by the rulers and officials of the king. One such letter is from the era of King Aššur-aĥu-iddinā (680-669 BC)<sup>13</sup> and is addressed to the official named itti-šamaš-balatu, regarding the theft from the port of Quray in Arwad<sup>14</sup>. The sender of the letter emphasizes the necessity of holding accountable the thieves, bringing them, and submitting them before the king, his lord.

TA\* bé-et dUTU i-nap-pa-ha-an-nu a-du-ú i-rab-bu-ú-nu ina sa-pal ĠÍR.II ša LUGAL EN-ia ú-šak-niš<sup>15</sup>

From where the sun rises to where it sets, he (= Šamaš) has brought (all lands) to submission before the feet of the king, my lord.

In a message dating back to one of the officials of the provinces in the era of King Aššur-aĥu-iddinā, known as adad-dan, the message indicates the readiness of the gods for battle. In the letter, it is mentioned:

[a - na LUGAL EN-ia ARAD ] - ka m10 - KALAG -an [ LU DI -mu a-]na LUGAL EN -ia [daš - šur ] dšá - maš d30 dNIN.GAL a- na LUGAL EN-ia lik -ru - bu [DINGER.MEŠ ša A]N-e Ka - lí - šú- nu MURUB<sub>4</sub> ra - a[k - su -t]e .MEŠ ina pa-na-at LUGAL EN-ia [lil-li-k]u LÚ.KÚR .MEŠ-te ša LUGAL EN-ia [ár -ħ]iš? ina KI.TA ĠÍR .2. MEŠ ša LUGAL. E[N] i[a lu- š]a[k<sup>l</sup>- ni-šú] šu -um -mu -rat ša LUGAL EN-[ia lu-šak-š]i-du kal-bu qa -ni kal-bu - r<sup>a</sup>1- [ni a -na]ku<sup>l</sup> LUGAL be-lí na-mu-a-ru [xxxxx]<sup>16</sup>

[To the king, my lord]: your [servant] Adad-dan. [Good health t]o the king, my lord! May [Aššur], šamaš, Sin and Nikkal bless the king, my lord. All the [gods of hea]ven are ready (for battle). [May they march] in the presence of the king, my lord, and [bring] the enemies of the king, my lord, [quick]ly to submission before the feet of the king, m[y] lo [rd! May they let] the wishes of the king, [my] lord, [be fulfilled I am (only) a dog among (other) dogs. The king, my lord, [..] brightness[]

In another letter addressed from <sup>17</sup> urad\_gula to the king, it shows the extent of administrative submission of the individuals working in the palace to the king. The sender describes the extent of his suffering in the palace, even though he fulfilled all his duties, submitted to the king and

his orders, and received nothing in return for it.

MU<sup>r</sup> la <sup>1</sup> SIG<sub>5</sub> '1 [i] i-ih-šú ù še-eš-šu-ú ša a-bi-ti iz-zi-a-ár ik - [ki]- bi ša LUGAL EN - ia at - ta - aš - šar LÚ.EN.MEŠ .MUN la - a aš -ba-ta dib- 'bi' [xxx] - u - tu as - sa - ad -da - ad ma - az -za - as - su nu-bat - tu x [x] [xxx] ka - na - a - šu ku - da - a - ru ù pu - laḥ - tu ša É.GAL LÚ . ARAD. MEŠ ša - 'ziq-ni' ù LÚ.SAG. MEŠ uš-sa -am-mid mi-i - nu ina Š[A - bi ]<sup>18</sup>

Improper conduct, whispering about and revealing a secret are detestable things; I guarded the privileges of the king my lord, but I did not find benefactors. I endured [ . . . ] words, [I made] (my) office (my) night 's resting place, I taught the servants, the non-eunuchs and eunuchs alike, submission, toil and fear of the palace, and what did I get for it?

The term "kanāšu" has been employed in the sacred religious hymns that date back to the reign of King Aššur-bāni-apli (669 -627BC)<sup>19</sup>. These hymns illustrate submission to the goddesses Ishtar of Nineveh and Arbela.

In one of its passages, the hymn emphasizes the importance of worshipping these same goddesses in the restoration of the countries under Ashurbanipal's control. It specifically addresses the lands that did not submit to these deities and did not bring offerings and gifts before them. We find in the text "Assurbanipal's Hymn to the Instars of Nineveh and Arbela" an explanation of these concepts.

ul [ina da-na]-ni-ia ul ina da-na-ni GIŠ.BAN-ia ina e-muq [xxxx ú] da-na-ni <sup>d</sup> U.DAR.MEŠ-ia KUR. MEŠ la ma-gi-ri-ia ú-šak-ni-šá ana ni-ir <sup>d</sup>aš-šur <sup>20</sup>

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.

Similarly, expressions of submission are found in Assyrian omen texts, which connected specific events, natural phenomena, and the movement of celestial bodies with occurrences in the country. In the reports of Assyrian astronomical texts, the real meaning of submission, using the term "kanāšu," was identified. An astrological omen text, for instance, indicates that the movement of the moon and the positions of the seven daughters of Atlas signify that the king will impose control over the world and its inhabitants, who will submit under his rule. The text reads: [I 30 ina IGI. LAL-šú ina A -šú SI.MEŠ- šú ud-du-d]a -ma SA<sub>5</sub>. MEŠ [NUN]<sup>r</sup>xxx-ma<sup>1</sup> KUR -su GAM-su<sup>21</sup>

[If the moon's horns at its appearance are very poin]ted and are red :[the ruler] ....his land will submit to him .

## 2. Kamāsu

One of the explicit expressions of submission in Mesopotamian texts is conveyed through the Sumerian term "GAM"<sup>22</sup>, which corresponds to the Akkadian terms "kamāsu" and "kamāšu." These terms carry the meaning of bowing down in prayer, submitting, or causing someone to kneel or bow<sup>23</sup>.

It came in one of the royal reports directed from Aadad-šumu-ušur<sup>24</sup>, the exorcist, to King Aššur-bāni-apli regarding the governance of the throne in the form of a letter titled 'The King May Not Remain in Darkness.' The content is as follows:

ana DUMU.MEŠ-šu [X X X] a-šu ú EN <sup>d1</sup>[5] be-lit MURUB<sub>4</sub> u ME<sup>è</sup>] šá zi-ka-ru u si-'in' <sup>1</sup>-[niš]

ina MURUB<sub>4</sub> tu-šak-ma-su-nu-te<sup>(25)</sup>

for his son s [ . . . ]; the incantation "Iš [tar, lady of war], who makes man and wom[an] submit in battle.

The term "Kamāšu" appears at the beginning of a letter from the period of the reign of Aššur-aḫu-iddinā, dated between (672-669 BC), from the city of Akkad. The letter is about the cultivation of the field of Lady Akkad<sup>26</sup>. This term is used to express the concept of submission and bowing to the king.

[xxxx]ḫ LUGAL EN<sup>1</sup> -ia<sup>1</sup> [xxxx] [xxx]x-ma LUGAL.MEŠ-ni KUR DÙ. 'A'. [BI] x[0][xxx]x  
ina IGI LUGAL LUGAL.MEŠ EN-ia li-šak-ḫmi-is<sup>1</sup> 1<sup>27</sup>

[...]the king, my lord, [...] [...], and may she make the kings of al[] the lands [...] bow down before the king of kings, my lord.

### 3. Ḫanāšu

The term that signifies the concept of submission in the texts of the Neo-Assyrian era is the Akkadian word "ḫanāšu," meaning to submit. If it appears in the adjectival form "ḫanšu," it conveys the meaning of humility<sup>28</sup>. When the letter ḫ is replaced with s, the word becomes similar to the Arabic term "khanasa" in colloquial language, indicating submission and fear<sup>29</sup>. The verb "ḫanāšu" was mentioned in one of the letters sent by the Assyrian province governor Khulzīādābar<sup>30</sup> to Aššur-belu-da'in<sup>31</sup> regarding the imposition of the treaty by the Assyrian king Šarru-ukin II (721-705 BC) with the land of Uruatu<sup>32</sup>, in the following manner:

a-na LUGAL EN-ia ARAD-ka maš-šur-EN. KALAG-in lu-u DI-mu a-na LUGAL-ia URU.LÚ-uš-ḫa-a-a URU.LÚ-qa-da-a-a ša LUGAL EN-li ina UGU-

ḫa-šú-nu iš-pur-an-ni ina UGU pe-e ša LUGAL EN-ia iḫ-ta-na-šú URU.MEŠ-ni ša UD. MEŠ  
ša m.d UTU.DINGIR-a-a la ḫa-an-šu-ni<sup>33</sup>

To the king, my lord: your servant Aššur-belu- da'in. Good health to the king. my lord! The Ušhaeans<sup>(34)</sup> and Qudaeans<sup>(35)</sup> about whom the king. my lord. wrote to me. have submitted to the king my lord' commend:(These) towns which were not submissive in the days of Šamaš- ilā'i.

### 4. Qadādu

The Akkadian term "qadādu," which signifies genuine submission, was used in Assyrian cuneiform texts whose Sumerian equivalent is "GAM," meaning "to bow" or "to bend." When paired with the emphatic prefix "appu", it takes on the meaning of causing submission or compliance<sup>36</sup>.

We read in a letter addressed by Issar-šumu-ereš, the head of the scribes and astrologers in the Assyrian court in Nineveh, regarding the alternative king<sup>37</sup>:

[xxxx GIŠ]KIM-MEŠ [ša be-li iš]-pur-an-ni [ina É] n[ú-š]e<sup>l</sup>-ši-bu-šú-ni [ina] ma-ḫar dU[TU  
n]u!-sa-áš-me-šú ù it-ti-ma-li us-sa-áš-me-šú-ma aq-ṭa-da-ad ina qa-an-ni-šú ar-ta-kas ú-ma-  
a tu-ra ki-i ša be-li iš-pur-an-ni ep-pa-[áš]<sup>38</sup>

[Concerning the s] igns [about which my lord w] rote to me, [after] we had enthroned him, we had him hear them in front of Šamaš. Furthermore, yesterday I had him hear them again, and I bent down and bound them in his hem. Now I shall again do as my lord wrote to me.

## 5. Šukênu

The term "ukênuš," which is equivalent to the Sumerian "KI.ZA.ZA," was used in Assyrian cuneiform texts to convey the concept of true submission. It signifies yielding to, humbling oneself, showing respect (obedience), and causing submission. It was typically used in verbal forms<sup>39</sup>. The verb, in the context of submission and obedient prostration, appeared in the annals of the Assyrian king Adad-nerari II (911-891 BC)<sup>40</sup>:

MAN a-na LÚ.GAL.MEŠ-šu šu-ku-ni-iš iq-bi ʿeṭ-tu<sup>1</sup> šá aš-šur ta-na-ti qar-du-ti-šú šu-ta-ru-ḫu ep-ši-su šá ʿda-gan<sup>41</sup>

Humbly the king said to his princes, "As for the warrior whose victorious reputation Aššur made glorious, his achievement belongs to Dagan.

While in the royal inscriptions attributed to the Assyrian king Šarru-ukin II (721-705 BC), a description of the construction of his capital, Dur-Sharrukin (Khorsabad)<sup>42</sup>, is provided. It illustrates how he employed the inhabitants as laborers in the construction of his city. The text mentions the utilization of the displaced in building the city, and it likely elaborates on the strategic use of labor in the construction process.

ʿi-šu-ṭu<sup>1</sup> ab-šá-a-ni i-na ʿu<sub>4</sub>-me<sup>1</sup>-šu-ma i-na te-ʿne<sup>1</sup>-še-e-ʿti na<sup>1</sup>-[ki]-ri ʿkil-šit<sup>2</sup>-ti<sup>2</sup> šu<sup>2</sup>. [II-ia] ša ʿaš-šur ʿ[AG]ʿ ú<sup>1</sup> ʿAMARʿ.UTU<sup>1</sup> ú-ʿšak<sup>1</sup>-[ni-šu] ʿa-na GÌR.II-ia<sup>43</sup>

At that time, (using as laborers) en[em]y people whom [I] had ca[ptur]ed (and)[wh]om the gods Aššur, [Nabû], and Marduk had [made bow down] at my feet.

Likewise, this expression appeared in letters from Nabû-ahḫe-eriba to the king, discussing the times of the princes' visits:

ina ITI.BARAG UD-4. KáM a-na ʿAMARA.UTU liš-ken GISKIM.BI li-še-di [it-ta-šu] [M]U<sup>1</sup> ù<sup>1</sup> iš-di-ḫu<sup>1</sup> iš-šak-kan-šú<sup>44</sup>

on the 4<sup>th</sup> of Nisan(I) he should prostrate himself before Marduk and make his sign known; he will(then) be granted fame and prosperity.

### Second: Submissive Expressions in Assyrian Cuneiform Texts.

The Assyrian cuneiform texts were characterized throughout extended periods by sophisticated linguistic styles that reflected the elevation and literary eloquence achieved by those writings in expressing the thoughts of the Assyrian kings. This was done through various forms that differ from what was mentioned earlier. Expressions in figurative language were used, based on the principle that a thing resembles another, at times in its form and appearance, at times in its movement and action, and at times in its nature and character<sup>45</sup>. Akkadian vocabulary was employed in the cuneiform texts, not explicitly indicating submission, but rather conveying secondary meanings metaphorically associated with religious, political, and economic submission such as:

#### 1. Šabātu

One of the key metaphorical expressions mentioned in Assyrian cuneiform texts for indicating the concept of submission is the Akkadian term šabātu, and one of the semantic meanings of the verb šabātu is "to hold, to seize, to grasp, to defeat."<sup>46</sup> This is typically preceded by the Akkadian term šepi, meaning "to present," giving a metaphorical meaning to submission or surrender. When a person seizes the foot of another, especially when the latter is defeated, it

signifies the idea of the defeated person submitting to the victorious one. The expression indicates economic submission to the king. The Assyrian kings followed a policy of expansion, imposing tributes on conquered peoples. When hostile cities surrendered without a fight or under the threat of siege, their treatment differed from those captured through force. These cities were compelled to submit to Assyrian control to preserve their lives and to comply with tributes, including a tribute to the place. This tribute referred to what the inhabitants of the Assyrian-conquered lands would deliver by force. The local ruler presented the tribute as a symbol of submission immediately after a military or political confrontation, known as the "surrender tribute," or through gifts (zomua)<sup>47</sup> indicating submission, which could include horses, metals, and various other materials<sup>48</sup>.

One of the inscriptions on a stele dating back to the reign of King Aššur-nāsir-apli II <sup>49</sup>(883-859 BC) indicates the submission of the conquered lands under the king's control. It highlights the imposition of tributes on these regions and the collection of payments from them:

ana si-ḥir-ti-šú-nu púl-ḥi me-lam-me šá aš-šur EN-a is-ḥup-šú-nu GÌR.II.MEŠ-ia iṣ-bu-tú ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ KÙ.BABBAR KÚ.GI am-ḥur KUR-tu gab-be -rša<sup>1</sup> pa-a 1-en -ú- šá-áš- kin ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ KÙ.BABBAR KÚ.GI ŠE.AM.MEŠ<sup>50</sup>

At that time awe of the radiance of Aššur, my lord, overwhelmed all of the kings of the land Zamua (and) they submitted to me. I received horses, silver, (and) gold. I put all of the land under one authority (and) imposed upon them (tribute of) horses, silver, gold, barley, straw, (and) corvée.

After the Assyrian king Šalmānu-ašared III (858-824 BC), subsequent kings boasted about their strength, the brilliance of their military weapons, and instilled fear in the kings of neighboring lands, particularly in the region of Ḫatti<sup>51</sup>. The Assyrian kings emphasized the power of their formidable weapons, the submission of these neighboring kings, and the imposition of tributes on them.

šal-la-su-nu áš-lu-la URU.MEŠ-ni šá li-me-tu-šú ap-púl aq-qur ina IZI.MEŠ áš-ru-up MAN.MEŠ-ni ša KUR ḥ[at-ti a]-na si-ḥir-ti-šú-nu TA IGI na-mur-rat GIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ-ia dan-nu-ti u MÈ-ia šit-mu-ri ip-laḥ-ú-ma GÌR.II.MEŠ-ia iṣ-ba-tu<sup>m</sup> qal-pa-ru-un-da<sup>52</sup>

I razed, destroyed, (and) burned cities in its environs. All of the kings of the land Ḫ[at-ti] became afraid in the face of the flash of my strong weapons and my stormy onslaught (and) submitted to me. I received it from Qalparunda.

## 2. Kašādu

Another metaphorical expression conveying the concept of submission is the term "kašādu," which means "to dominate a country or city, to attack, to defeat an enemy, to seize<sup>53</sup>." This term is often paired with the cuneiform sign II GÌR and is corresponded to in Akkadian by "šēpu" meaning "foot"<sup>54</sup>. Thus, metaphorically, it signifies the submission of a person when they hold the feet of the king, symbolizing metaphorical submission. In this context, the writer likens the act of seizing a person's feet to the subjugation of a city, indicating that the person is analogous to the city submitting to the ruler.

[<sup>d</sup>U.GUR ina IGI <sup>d</sup> aš-šur iq-ṭi-bi ma]-a an- zu-ú <sup>d</sup>qi-in-gu <sup>d</sup> a-sak-ku] ka-áš-[du] [ma-a a-lik a-na DINGIR.MEŠ-ni gab-bu]pa-si-ir ú-pa-sa-ar šu-nu ina UGU[i-ḥa-di-u] il-lu-[ku]<sup>55</sup>

When Aššur] s [ent Ninurta to vanquish] Anzfi, Qingu and Asakku, [Nergal announced before

Aššur]: "Anzfi, Qingu and Asakku are vanquished." [(Aššur) said:] "Go and] give the goodnews [to all the gods] I" He gives the news, and they [rejoice] about it and go. [ ..... ] is [... the god] Lahmu ..... cult.

While the terms "kanāš" and "kašādu" are used both literally and metaphorically, in royal inscriptions and astronomical reports sent from Marduk-šumu-ušur to King Aššur-bani-apli regarding the appearance of the moon, it is mentioned that the king will conquer the remaining regions that have not yet submitted to both the gods Ashur and Sin. This includes the conquest of the land of Egypt<sup>56</sup>. We read in it:

[ib-ta-l]ak KUR.mu-šur ik-ta-šad re-eḥ-ti ma-ta-a-ti [ša a-na] AN.ŠÁR 430 la kan-šá-a-ni LUGAL EN LUGAL . MEŠ i-kaš-šad <sup>57</sup>

[So, he we] nt and conquered Egypt; the king, lord of kings, will conquer the rest of the countries [which] have not submitted to Aššur and Sin.

### 3. Šapālu

Among the metaphorical expressions of submission is the verb 'Šapālu,' which means 'to lower, become lowly, bow, become humble, humiliate, kneel,' used metaphorically to convey submission or a state of humility and degradation. In some instances, it appears in the form of the Assyrian phrase 'šapalu rešu,' meaning 'lowering the head,' used to express humility and submissiveness<sup>58</sup>. In a letter addressed from Bel-ušezib to the king, predicting the fall of the Kingdom of Mannea<sup>59</sup> and alluding to conspiracies against the king we read:

ul-ta-az-zi-zu ina UGU LUGAL-ú-tú i-dab-bu-ub DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ a-na<sup>d</sup> EN iq-ta-bu-ú um-ma šu-uš-qu-ú u šu-uš-pu-lu [ši-i]lu\* qa-tuk-ka dAMAR.UTU šá UN.ME at-ta<sup>d</sup> EN A-ME.GAL.ME [xxxx ta]-ši-la-ti-ka il-te-em a-ki-I šá d EN maḥ-ru [LUGAL be-li-a li-pu-uš šá-qu-ú šu-up-pil u šap-li [šu-uš-qi]<sup>(60)</sup>

The great gods said to Bel: "May it be in your power to exalt and to a base." You are Marduk of the people; Bel destined your glori[ous ... s] (to be) like destinies. [Let the king, my lord], act in a way corresponding to Bel: abase the high and [exalt] the low.

### 4. Laban Appi

One of the figurative expressions in religious texts that conveys the concept of submission is "Laban<sup>61</sup>," which occurs with the term "appi," meaning nose<sup>62</sup>. It signifies praying with remorse, as well as other meanings such as humility<sup>63</sup> and demonstrating the utmost humility through physical gestures. The royal inscriptions of King Šarru-ukin II suggest that war captives approached the king in a submissive position, touching their noses (laban appi) or having their hands near their noses as a sign of submission or even nose-touching. We read:

ina meḥarūtiya mašišūti usappā šebāku ina kal ilāni pita upnāya [ina] lipin appi[y]a [tagtam]ru napišti<sup>64</sup>

in my youth I prayed. Growing old I supplicated all gods. Despite my entreaty my life has ended.

### 5. Naqāšu

One of the metaphorical expressions of submission is "našāqu," meaning "to kiss, to kiss each other<sup>65</sup>." A kiss symbolizes friendship<sup>66</sup>. In the context of religious submission, if followed by a hand or a foot, it represents the person's submission to authority, whether it be a deity or a



king. This submission is voluntary. In political submission to the king, it was customary for provincial rulers to present gifts to the Assyrian kings and seek their favour to help govern the province. This is exemplified by the stance of the sons of the king of Arwad, Yakin-lû, who came from the middle of the sea to Nineveh before King Aššur-bani-apli, bearing gifts. After their father's death, they appealed to him to appoint one of them to their father's throne. The king explained this event in the following text:

ul-tu<sup>r</sup> mia-ki<sup>1</sup>-in-lu-u LUGAL KUR.a-ru-ad-da il-li-ku ana šim-ti ma-zi-ba-al ma-bi-ba-al ma-du-ni-ba-al DUMU.MEŠ<sup>r</sup> mia-ki-in-lu-u a-šib MURUB<sub>4</sub> tam-tim ul-tu MURUB<sub>4</sub> tam-tim e-lu-nim-ma it-ti ta-mar-ti šú nu ka-bit-ti il-lik-u-nim-ma ú-na-áš-ši-qu GÍR.II-ia ma-zi-ba-a'-al ḥa –diš ap-pa-lis-ma a-na LUGAL-ti KUR.a -ru-ad-da áš-kun<sup>67</sup>

After Yakin-Lû the king of the land Arwad, had gone to (his) fate, Azi-Baal, Abi-Baal,(and)Adûni-Baal , the sons of Yakin-Lû who reside in the middle of the sea, came up from the middle of the sae, came with their substantial audience gift(s), and kissed my feet. I looked upon Azi-Baal with pleasure and installed (him) as king of the land Arwad. I clothed Abi-Baal (and) Adûni-Baal in garment(s) with multicolored trim (and)placed.

## 6. Upni Petû

One of the metaphorical expressions used in the texts of the Neo-Assyrian period is "upni petû<sup>68</sup>," meaning "opening the fists, pleading, seeking, imploring, praying<sup>69</sup>." This phrase is mentioned in prayers and royal inscriptions. The concept of opening fists (hands) in non-verbal gestures seems to indicate an intensified plea, emphasizing the need to raise the fists (hands) urgently in supplication<sup>70</sup>.

In a letter of the astrologer Balasi to Aššur-aḥu-iddinâ, the writer refers to the king's apprehension about an impending earthquake, which has been predicted by omens. Balasi reminds the king that Ea is the author of both earthquakes and the appropriate apotropaic ritual. Thus, Balasi concludes his letter<sup>71</sup>:

ina ŠÀ AD. MEŠ –Šu AD-AD. MEŠ-šu ša LUGAL ri- i-bu-u la-aš-šú a-na-ku ki-i qa-al-la-ku-ni ri-i-ba-né-e Ia a-mur DINGIR šu-u uz-ni šá LUGAL up-ta-at-ti ma-a up-ni-šú a-na DINGIR lip-ti ma-a NAM.BÚR.BI le-pu-uš ma-a lu e-ti-ik <sup>72</sup>

Was there no earthquake in the times of the king 's fathers and grandfathers? Did I not see earthquakes when I was small? The god has (only) wanted to open the king's ears: "He should pray (literally 'open his fists') to the god, perform the apotropaic ritual and be on his guard."

The section of the annals of Aššur-bani-apli he which he referred demonstrates that upni petû "open the fists" was a gesture of supplication and that this expression. The text to which we refer describes the events which followed immediately upon Aššur-bani-apli placing Ualli upon the throne of Manaens<sup>73</sup>:

[EGIR-nu m<sup>u</sup>-la-li-I DUMU-šú] [ú-šib ina GIŠ.GU.ZA-šú][da-na]-<sup>r</sup> an AN<sup>1</sup>.[ŠÁR d 30 dUTU dEN u dAG][d<sup>1</sup>15<sup>1</sup> šá <sup>r</sup>NINA<sup>1</sup>.KI][d<sup>1</sup>15<sup>1</sup> šá LÍMMU.DINGIR.KI][d<sup>1</sup>MAŠ d<sup>r</sup>nusku<sup>1</sup>[dU.GUR DINGIR.MEŠ GAL MEŠ] EN.MEŠ-ia e-mur-[ma ik-nu-šá a-na GIŠ.ŠUD UN-ia] áš-šú ba-laṭ ZI-<sup>r</sup>ti<sup>1</sup>-šú up-na-a-šú ip-ta-a] ú-šal-la-a [EN-ú-ti]<sup>74</sup>

[Afterwards, Uallî, his son, sat on his throne]. He saw [the mig]ht of the deities Aš[šur, Sin, Šamaš, Bēl, (Marduk) and Nabû, I]štar of Ninev[eh, Ištar of Arbeia], Ninurta, Nus[ku,(and) Nergal,the great gods], my lords, [and bowed down to my yoke]. For the preservation of

[his](own) life, [he opened up his hand to me] (and)made an appeal to my lordly majesty].

## Conclusions

1. The expansion of the Assyrian state during the Neo-Assyrian period (911-612 BC) had an impact on the use of rhetorical techniques in royal inscriptions to convey verbal submission and diverse artistic representations to express both physical and psychological submission.
2. Various Assyrian cuneiform texts included explicit expressions of submission. Akkadian vocabulary was employed explicitly to convey submission, while other texts included metaphorical expressions to convey the concept of submission, whether to deities or kings. Thus, it is evident that the writers used multiple Akkadian terms in royal proclamations to convey submission.
3. The vocabulary used to express submission in Assyrian cuneiform texts varied depending on the type of submission, whether religious, political, economic, or administrative.
4. Many Akkadian terms included the meaning of the Sumerian term "GAM," each providing a nuanced understanding of submission and employed in various forms according to the nature of the cuneiform text, whether the submission was to a deity or a king.
5. Distinctive words signifying submission were employed during the Neo-Assyrian period, distinguishing it from earlier eras.

<sup>1</sup> The Assyrian royal annals are considered one of the most important sources for studying the history of the Assyrians. In these annals, kings documented their military and architectural achievements. The official responsible for the position, known as the "Limmu," was the designated individual. The Limmu List provides a chronological sequence of years. For further information, refer to: Al-Abbadi, Muaz Habash Khudair. "The Annals in the Neo-Assyrian Period: An Analytical Study." Unpublished Master's Thesis, University of Mosul, 2006, p. 7.

<sup>2</sup> For more on Assyrian art, refer to: Mohammed Ali, Yasmin Abdul Kareem, "The Relationship between the Artistic Scene and Cuneiform Text in the Light of Assyrian Sculptures," Amman, 2019.

<sup>3</sup> Mohammed Hiba Dahy, "The Conditions of Supplication and Submission to Royal Authority in the Neo-Assyrian Period (911-612 BCE)," Journal of the General Union of Arab Archaeologists, Volume 18, Cairo, 2022, p. 698.

<sup>4</sup> In the root "خضع" (kha-dha-'ain), the letters Khaa (خ), Dhad (ض), and 'Ain (ع) are the core. One of them refers to reassurance in something, while the other indicates a type of sound. The first, "خضوع" (khudo) denotes submission. Al-Khalil said, "He submitted with complete humility, which is degradation and abasement." And "اختضع فلان" means he humbled himself and became submissive. For more details, refer to Zakariya, Abu al-Husayn Ahmad ibn Fares, "Ma'jam Maqayis al-Lughah," Volume 2, edited by Abdul Salam Muhammad Haroun, Dar al-Fikr, 1979, ps 189 and beyond.

<sup>5</sup> The root "طمئن" (ta-mi-ma with an added hamza) means to bring reassurance or to calm. It is said, "طمئنت منه" (tāmintu minhu), meaning I became reassured or calm because of him. This is explained in Zakariya, Abu al-Husayn Ahmad ibn Fares's "Ma'jam Maqayis al-Lughah," Volume 3, edited by Abdul Salam Muhammad Haroun, Dar al-Fikr, no publication date available, p 422.

<sup>6</sup> Zakaria, Abby Al Hussein, Ahmed Ben Faris. Op. cit., p. 190.

<sup>7</sup> For more on non-verbal physical gestures of submission see:

Gruber, M, aspects of nonverbal communication in the east, ROMA, 1980.

<sup>8</sup> For more information on the relationship between the cuneiform text and the art scene see: Mohammad Ali. Yasamin Abdulkarim, op.cit.

<sup>9</sup> CAD, Vol.8, K,P,144ff; Juburi, Ali Yassin, Arabic Academy dictionary, Abu Dhabi, 2010, p. 247:a

<sup>10</sup> CAD, Vol.17, S-2, p.294f.

<sup>11</sup> The Kingdom of Que Kilika is currently located all over Turkish territory, preparing the link between Syria and Anatolia, looking at: Neger, A, Cillica, OFA, VOL, 3, O

<sup>12</sup> Grayson, A.K, The Royal Inscription of Mesopotamia Assyrian Periods, Assyrian Rulers of the Early First Millennium BC, II, (858-745 BC), RIMA, Vol.3, Toronto London, 1996, P.60-61: 32-36.

<sup>13</sup> Aššur-ahu-idina, (Ešarhaddon) is the King of the Sargonid Dynasty (721-612. BC) He took office (680-669 BC) After the death of his father, Sinaharib. His age was marked by cultural and economic prosperity and his military activities. For more see reference: Fatlawi, Ahmad Habib Sneed. 680-669 BC. Unpublished Master's message. Wasit University, 2006.

<sup>14</sup> The land of Arwad is located north of Phoenicia on one of the islands. It is bordered by the inland Arwad on the coast, and presently, it is an island in the Mediterranean Sea in Syria called Tartus. Its mention is found in the Assyrian military campaigns due to its strategic importance on maritime trade routes. For more information, refer to: Mihran, Muhammad Bayumi, "Bilad al-Sham" (The Levant), Alexandria, 1990, p. 94.

<sup>15</sup> Parpola, S, The Political Correspondence of Ešarhaddon, SAA, vol.16, Helsinki, 2002, No.127, 10-12. P.113

<sup>16</sup> SAA, vol.16, No.132, Obv, 1-11, P.117.

<sup>17</sup> Baker, H. The prosopography of the Neo-Assyrian Empire, PNA, vol.3/II, Š-Z, Helsinki, 2001, p.1402: b

<sup>18</sup> Parpola, S, Letters from Assyria and Babylonia Scholars, SAA, vol.10, Finland, 1993, No.294, Rev.26-30, P.232.

<sup>19</sup> King Aššu-rbani-apil is one of the kings of the Assyrian dynasty. He succeeded to the throne after his father, Aššur-ahu-idina, (Ešarhaddon). He was a prominent and strong personality, and the country prospered during his reign as the empire reached its maximum extent. He achieved numerous military and architectural successes, as well as notable artistic and intellectual accomplishments. One of his significant achievements was the establishment of a library that housed thousands of clay tablets covering various sciences and knowledge. For further information, you may refer to: Al-Doori, Riyad Abdul Rahman, "Ashur-bani-pal: His Life and Achievements," Baghdad, 2001.

<sup>20</sup> Livingstone, A, Gourt Poetry and LITERARY miscellanea, SAA, vol.3, Finland, 1989, No. 3, Rev.4-6, p.12.

<sup>21</sup> Huuger, H, A Strological Reports to Assyrian, SAA, Vol.8, Finland, 1992, No.257:4-5, p.143.

- <sup>22</sup> CAD, K, p.117: b.
- <sup>23</sup> Al-Jubouri, Ali Yassin. op. cit. P, 245: a
- <sup>24</sup> Radner, K, The prosopography of the Neo-Assyrian Empire, PNA, Vol.1/1, A, Hilsinki, 1998, p.38a.
- <sup>25</sup> SAA, Vol.10, No.194, Rev:1-4, p.158.
- <sup>26</sup> Reynolds, F, The Babylonian Correspondence of Eserhaddon and Letter of Assurbanpal and Sin-Šarru-Iskum, SAA, Vol.18, Finland, 3003, p. xx1.
- <sup>27</sup> SAA, Vol.18, No.8: 1-3, p.12.
- <sup>28</sup> CAD, Vol.6, H, p.78: b, p.81: b
- <sup>29</sup> Suleiman, Amir. The Akkadian Dictionary. Part1. Baghdad 1999. P 211
- <sup>30</sup> "Khalziadbar is one of the provinces from the modern Assyrian era, dating back to the reign of Sargon II. It is located northeast of the Nineveh province, and its probable site is the surrounding area of the current city of Akra. For more information, refer to: Hanun, Nael, Ancient Cities and Archaeological Sites: A Study in the Historical Geography of Northern Iraq during the Assyrian Periods, Syria, 2009, p. 203."
- <sup>31</sup> PNA, Vol.1/1, A, p.172a
- <sup>32</sup> "Urartu was a powerful kingdom situated in the region east of Lake Van in Turkey. Assyrian sources indicate intense Assyrian-Urartian relations in the early 1st millennium BCE. It served as a rival to the Assyrian Kingdom and was eventually brought under the rule of King Sargon II. For further information, refer to: Aqravi, Imad Shakir Ahmed, The Kingdom of Urartu (880-714 BC): A Historical and Civilizational Study, Damascus, 2010."
- <sup>33</sup> Lanfranchi, G.B, and PARPOLA, S, The Correspondence of Sargon2, Part.2, Letters from the Northern and Northeastern Provinces, SAA, Vol.5, Finland, no.78, Obv1-12, p.63.
- <sup>34</sup> A city in Iraqi Kurdistan at the foot of Mount Judi Dagh. See: SAA, Vol. 5, p. 248."
- <sup>35</sup> A city in Iraqi Kurdistan on the slopes of Mount Judi Dagh. See: SAA, Vol. 5, p. 248
- <sup>36</sup> CAD, Vol.13, Q, p.44ff. Al-Jubouri, Ali Yassin. The op. cit. P 212: b
- <sup>37</sup> Baker, H, The prosopography of the Neo-Assyrian Empire, PNA, vol.2/1, H-K, Hilsinki, 2000, p.577: b.
- <sup>38</sup> SAA, Vol.10, No. 12, Rev1-9, p.12.
- <sup>39</sup> CAD, Vol.17, Š, 3, p.214ff. Al-Jubouri, Ali Yassin. The op. cit. P 617: b
- <sup>40</sup> Gruber, M, op.cit, p.253.
- <sup>41</sup> Grayson, A. K, The Royal Inscription of Mesopotamia Assyrian Periods, Assyrian Rulers of the Early First Millennium BC, I, (1114-859BC), RIMA, Vol.2, Toronto London, 1991, No.2, P.151:76-77.
- <sup>42</sup> "DUR-ŠARKIN means 'Sargon's Fortress,' named after its founder, King Šaru-ukin II. It is situated east of the Khosr River, approximately 20 km northeast of the Nineveh province. For more details, refer to: Hanun, Nael, op. cit., p. 170."
- <sup>43</sup> Frame, G, The Royal Inscriptions of Sargon II, King of Assyria (721-705BC) RINAP, Vol.2, Pennsylvania, 2021, No.2, Rev.467 P, 111.
- <sup>44</sup> SAA, Vol.10, No.74, 19-23, p.56.
- <sup>45</sup> Saeed, Safwan Sami, 'Al-Tashbih fi Al-Hawla'at Al-Malakiya Al-Ashuriya' (Similes in Assyrian Royal Rituals), Al-Qadisiya Journal of Humanities, Volume 12, Number 2, 2009, p. 63.
- <sup>46</sup> CAD, Vol.16, Š, p.15ff. Al-Jubouri, Ali Yassin. op. cit. P 538-539
- <sup>47</sup> "Zomua" is located in the northeastern region of Iraq, in the Kurdistan area, specifically in the Shahrizor Plain in the current Sulaymaniyah Governorate. For more information, refer to: Cameron, G., 'The Annals of Shalmaneser III, King of Assyria, A New Text,' Vol. VI, 1950, p. 24."
- <sup>48</sup> The Badrani, Ibrahim Mahmoud Khalaf. War Booty in the Assyrian Era. Unpublished Master's Thesis: University of Mosul, 2011, p. 22.
- <sup>49</sup> RIMA, Vol. 2, P, 237.
- <sup>50</sup> RIMA, Vol. 2, P, 245.
- <sup>51</sup> "Khatti land transitioned geographically, at the beginning of the first millennium BCE, from its original location on the Anatolian Plateau to northern Syria, Cilicia, and the central part of southern Anatolia after 1200 BCE. Ahmed Zidan Khalaf Al-Hadidi, Assyria's Relations with the Hittite Kingdoms in Northern Syria 911-612 BCE: Master's Thesis, College of Arts, University of Mosul, 2001, p. 16."
- <sup>52</sup> RIMA, Vol.3, p.18:20-21.
- <sup>53</sup> Al-Jubouri, Ali Yassin. op. cit. P 256-257
- <sup>54</sup> Al-Jubouri, Ali Yassin. op. cit. P 595: b
- <sup>55</sup> SAA, Vol.3, No.35:53-55
- <sup>56</sup> "For more information about the conquest of Egypt by Ashurbanipal, refer to: Al-Doori, Riyadh, op.cit, pp. 77-84."
- <sup>57</sup> SAA, Vol.10, No.174, Rev: 15-16, P.137.
- <sup>58</sup> CAD, Vol.19, Š-p.1, p.422ff. Al-Jubouri, Ali Yassin. op. cit. P 580: b
- <sup>59</sup> "Mannea is situated to the northeast of the Lower Zab and to the south of Lake Urmia. See: Sacks, Harry, 'Akkad, the First World Empire,' translated by Amer Suleiman, Baghdad, 1979, pp. 56-57."
- <sup>60</sup> SAA, Vol.10, No.112, Rev:29-33, p.93.
- <sup>61</sup> CAD, Vol.9, L, p.10ff. Al-Jubouri, Ali Yassin. op. cit. P 291: a
- <sup>62</sup> Al-Jubouri, Ali Yassin. op. cit. P 54: b
- <sup>63</sup> CAD, Vol.9, L, p.10ff. Al-Jubouri, Ali Yassin. op. cit. P 291: a
- <sup>64</sup> Gruber, M, I, op.cit, P. 55
- <sup>65</sup> Al-Jubouri, Ali Yassin. op. cit. P 405: a
- <sup>66</sup> Gruber, M, I, op. cit, p.336.
- <sup>67</sup> Novotny, J, and Jerffers, J, The Royal Inscription of Ashurbanipal (668-631BC) Aššur-Etel-alāni (630-627 BC) and Sin-Šarru-iškun (626-612 BC) King of Assyria, part.1, RINAP, vol.5/1, Eisenbranus, No.3, p.63, col.ii 75-83.
- <sup>68</sup> Gruber, M, I, op.cit, p.52.
- <sup>69</sup> CAD, Vol.12, P, p.340. Al-Jubouri, Ali Yassin. op. cit. p. 446: b
- <sup>70</sup> Mohammad, Hiba Dhahi. Op. cit. p. 701
- <sup>71</sup> Gruber, M, I, op.cit, p.53
- <sup>72</sup> SAA, Vol.10, No.56, REV, 13-20; S, 1-2, p.41.
- <sup>73</sup> Gruber, M, I, op.cit, p.54
- <sup>74</sup> RINP, 5/1, no.7, col. iv:41-48, p.147-148.