A Study of the Composition of Nebuchadnezzar II's Royal Inscriptions

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DECLARATION

This dissertation is the result of my own work and includes nothing which is the outcome of work done in collaboration except as declared in the Preface and specified in the text. I further state that no substantial part of my dissertation has already been submitted, or, is being concurrently submitted for any such degree, diploma or other qualification at the

University of Cambridge or any other University or similar institution except as declared in the Preface and specified in the text. It does not exceed the prescribed word limit for the relevant Degree Committee.

ABSTRACT

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This dissertation is an analysis of the composition of the royal inscriptions of Nebuchadnezzar II (604–562 BCE). It is divided into seven chapters. The first two chapters are devoted to the identification of the compositional principles. In the first chapter, we begin with the composition of the extant twenty-nine multi-sectional inscriptions of Nebuchadnezzar. In the second chapter, we narrow down to the composition of the ten longest inscriptions in the corpus. The length of these inscriptions ranges from around 2,000 to 400 words. In chapters 3 to 7, we explore different issues that analysing the composition of the inscriptions can illuminate, using the ten longest inscriptions as research sample.

Chapter 3 contains our attempt to identify the diachronic profile of some inscriptions in the sample group, in order to create a model that will help establish the dating for the corpus that lacks explicit historical information.

In chapter 4, we identify a structuring principle in the building lists, which are a major component among the longer inscriptions in the extant corpus. This principle is characterised by the arrangement of the temples according to their location along the Euphrates.

In chapter 5, we look at how the inscriptions associated with the same building type share a common composition. In particular, we will see that the five inscriptions in the sample group, which are dedicated to the temples, all share a very similar basic composition.

In chapter 6, we explore the characterisation of Nebuchadnezzar in the epithet lists and the prayer. We will demonstrate that the portrayals of NBK correspond to each subgroup of inscriptions that we identify in chapter 5. We will also see that NBK's different self-portrayals in these inscriptions mirror the political divisions in his empire.

In chapter 7, we look at NBK's interaction with the Babylonian inscriptional tradition. We will compare his inscriptions with the Babylonian inscriptions of Ashurbanipal and Esarhaddon, as well as the inscriptions of Hammurabi. As we shall see, NBK's inscriptions are much closer to the inscriptions around his period in terms of structural formulation. This conclusion offers another side to the argument, which purports that

the Neo-Babylonian inscriptions contain elements that are similar to the inscriptions from the Old-Babylonian or Old Akkadian period.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Table of Contents

Introduction

Nebuchadnezzar II (604–562 BCE) (Henceforth NBK II or NBK) became the king of the Neo-Babylonian empire following the death of his father, Nabopolassar (626–605 BCE), a military general who founded a new dynasty in Babylon after the war that left the Neo-Assyrian empire in ruins[1].

During his 43-year reign, the longest amongst the Neo-Babylonian kings, the empire enjoyed a period of prosperity, with an exponential economic growth that would continue until the time of the Persians conquest[2]. Following his father's footstep, NBK led military expeditions throughout the region to achieve overlordship over the vast extent of land that was once held together by the Assyrian power. His consolidation of power has left a mark in the memory of many cultures that are still living today.

The royal inscriptions are one of a few limited sources of historical documents attributed to NBK. They characteristically lack the information that is historically significant in the modern sense. In other words, they do not explicitly refer to the important historical events, which can facilitate our creation of a grand narrative[3]. The absence of the military affairs in NBK's inscriptions in comparison to those of the Assyrian kings, has propelled Von Soden to remark that NBK was the king whose priority was the constant restoration of the empire and the building of temples (1954:140–145). This is so, even though it is clear that NBK was an active militant whose decisive military pursuit has led to him to be remembered in the biblical sources in such a negative portrayal[4].

Despite the initial challenge as remarked by Von Soden, we want to prove that the inscriptions of NBK are worthy of scholarly pursuit. After all, his extant inscriptions amount to the greatest number in the Neo-Babylonian corpus and his reign the longest in the dynasty.

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[1] I would like to express my gratitude to Prof. Rocío Da Riva and Dr. Jamie Novotny. With their permission, I was able to access the Nebuchadnezzar texts in the RIBo database before its official release.

[2] For the introduction to the economic climate in Babylonia after the fall of the Neo-Assyrian empire, see: Jursa 2014a:30–39.

[3] For the source of historical information that serves such a purpose, one may refer to the Babylonian Chronicles. Unfortunately, the extant corpus of manuscripts is missing the part after the tenth year of NBK's reign, see: Grayson 1975a:19–20. Amongst what is included in the available texts is the siege of Jerusalem in the seventh year (ibid:99–102).

[4] The destructions of the cities along the eastern Mediterranean coast, some of which were caused by NBK's army is also a specific field of research in Biblical archaeology and archaeology of the Levant. For some examples of the research in this area, see: Ben-Dov 2018 and Fantalkin 2017.

As our analysis will demonstrate, the composition of these texts was governed by principles at many levels, from their superstructure to the sub-components within each section. Moreover, the choice of principle and the selection of the pieces of information to be incorporated will be observed to be under the influence of the external factors, such as the type and location of the building that each inscription commemorates.

By way of analysing the composition of the NBK inscriptions, we will also uncover solutions for issues that have always been a challenge for scholars of the Neo-Babylonian royal inscriptions. These issues include the question as to how the inscriptions could be dated and whether we can extract information that has significance in terms of political history, especially from a corpus of inscriptions that does not contain historical information in the conventional sense.

In the first chapter of this dissertation, we will investigate the superstructural components of the twenty-nine multi-sectional inscriptions of NBK. We use the term, "multi-sectional" to distinguish the inscriptions that contain long narrative from the short banners attested on everyday life or votive objects. As we shall see, the NBK inscriptions generally share the same superstructural formulation, which is characterised by the same selection of basic components.

In Chapter 2, we will investigate each of the four superstructural components of the ten sample inscriptions. We will identify the basic compositional principles that all sample inscriptions share.

The principles are foundational to our discussion of the factors that influence the creation of the texts in Chapters 3 to 7. As we shall see, the principles are subjected to adaptation once they are applied to the inscriptions created for a certain type of building, located at a certain part of the empire.

In Chapter 3, we will propose the dating of four inscriptions in the sample group whose commemorated projects are documented in the administrative letters. These inscriptions are the Stone Tablet, Summer-Palace-cylinder (C35), South-Palace-cylinder, and Brisa A+C.

Chapter 4 is an investigation of a principle that determines the arrangement of the construction projects in the *inum* section. We will see that the sequence of the projects in Babylon follows the course of the Euphrates from up- to downstream, beginning in the eastern part of the city before crossing to the west. A similar concept applies to the

sequence of the projects in the provincial centres, which can be plotted along the course of the Euphrates, beginning from the northern-most city in each sequence.

In Chapter 5, we will explore the adjustment of the compositional principle, which corresponds to the building type of the commemorated project. In this process, we will distinguish two subgroups of inscriptions, namely the "temple" inscriptions and the "palace" inscriptions from the sample group, which also includes the "border" and "Ziqqurrat" inscriptions.

Chapter 6 is an examination of NBK's relations with the gods, as portrayed in the epithet lists and the prayers. We will see that the characterisation of NBK as Marduk and Nabû's viceroy, depicted in the palace inscriptions and Brisa A+C, exists in parallel to another characterisation in the temple inscriptions. Here, NBK is presented both as the representative of Marduk and Nabû, as well as a close associate of the local deities. This observation indicates that the creation of NBK's inscriptions could have been influenced by their exposure to different groups of "audience": those associated with different social institutions on the one hand (palace vs temple), and place of origin on the other (capital vs provinces vs foreign). Moreover, it is also likely that these different characterisations of NBK correspond to the political structure of the Neo-Babylonian empire.

In Chapter 7, we will compare the components of the NBK inscriptions with the inscriptions of Hammurabi on the one hand, and the Babylonian inscriptions of Ashurbanipal and Esarhaddon on the other, in an attempt to identify the place of NBK's inscriptions in the Babylonian inscriptional tradition. As we shall see, although the NBK inscriptions were built on the components attestable in the Hammurabi inscriptions, their superstructural formulation is almost identical to the Babylonian inscriptions of Ashurbanipal and Esarhaddon. This conclusion indicates that, while there could have been a conscious attempt on NBK's part to imitate ancient texts, his inscriptions still belong to the inscriptional style that was contemporary to his time.

Inscriptional objects attributed to Nebuchadnezzar II

Situated on the more recent stratigraphical layer below ground, archaeological findings attributed to NBK were not as much disturbed by the underground water table as those

of the older rulers such as Hammurabi[5]. Since the 19th Century, an abundant wealth of objects in various sizes and forms have been identified and studied to various degrees of scholarly depth. The archaeological material associated with NBK ranges from the ruins of the massive building complexes such as temples, Ziqqurrats, and palaces to small everyday life objects such as cuneiform tablets, stone weights, and bronze utensils.

Primarily, the inscriptions share a close relation with the tradition of temple construction, which is depicted as the main idea in their content. This tradition can be understood as a ritualistic act that connects the royal figures with their ancient past[6]. Apart from the fact that the Babylonian temples were prone to rapid deterioration from salt in the groundwater because their structure consisted mainly of the sun-dried bricks, the royal attention to the physical well-being of these buildings as well as the institution they hosted was also driven by an ideological motivation (Schaudig 2010:142–144). The amount of care required from the monarch is partly reflected through their serious concern in restoring these buildings to the exact dimension as before.

Our investigation in the chapters to follow is based on the analysis of the ten longest inscriptions in the extant corpus. They belong to a group of twenty-nine inscriptions whose content is "multi-sectional", meaning that the text consists of a collection of passages that is longer than the dedicatory statement (Royal Name + title/epithet) found in the votive objects. The ten inscriptions are attested on around sixty individual manuscripts, distributed over three types of material supports: clay cylinders, a stone tablet, and the surface of two rock cliffs at a mountain pass in modern Lebanon.

As per the on-going development of the Royal Inscriptions of Babylonia Online project (RIBo) led by Frauke Weiershäuser and Jamie Novotny of the Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität (LMU), the latest edition of the inscriptional materials attributed to NBK amounts to 109 individual texts. The edition will be published as two individual volumes as part of the RINBE (Royal Inscriptions of the Neo-Babylonian Empire) series. It will begin with the Babylonian inscriptions of NBK, to be followed by the rest of the corpus from other cities. The transliteration of the cuneiform and the English translation in this research is based on the version that appears in the online database, which remains

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[5] For the archaeological treatment of the city of Babylon, including the history of its rediscovery, see: Chapter 1 "Rediscovery and perplexity" in Liverani 2016. At the time of submission, Olof Pedersén has also released a new book, *Babylon: The Great City* (Münster: Zaphon).

[6] For a treatise on the religious significance of temple building and the careful process it entails, see: Ambos 2010.

provisional until they appear in the book form[7]. The online database of the RIBo project is accessible under the URL: http://oracc.museum.upenn.edu/ribo/babylon7/corpus/. Some of the Akkadian texts are also quoted in normalisation, particularly in our discussion of the epithets in Chapters 2.3 and 6.3. In these cases, attempts are made to produce the "grammatically correct" Akkadian in order to facilitate our interpretation. As such, the normalisation may diverge from the individual manuscripts, whose cuneiform texts were not always made to reflect the syntax.

For clarity, we have created a code system for the ten inscriptions in the sample group. The concordance between our coding and the current numbering in the RIBo database can be found in Page 7.

Among the 109 cuneiform texts attributed to NBK are an estimated 740 individual inscriptional manuscripts. The inscriptions appear in both Akkadian as well as Sumerian. They are attested on 19 types of objects listed below[8].

1. Brick
2. Cylinder
3. Vase
4. Eye stone
5. Pearl
6. Bronze fish sculpture
7. Prism
8. Limestone block
9. Paving stone
10. Stone block
11. Limestone ashlar
12. Breccia flagstone
13. Stone tablet
14. Clay flagstone
15. Rock façade
16. Stelae
17. Bronze doorstep
18. Clay tablet
19. Door socket

In describing what was created to commemorate a royal building project, the Babylonian composers used one of the three Akkadian terms, namely *šiṭir šumi*, literally 'the writing of the name', *mušarû* or *musarû*, which refers to the object bearing the text, and *narû*, used specifically for stele inscription (Radner 2005:161–165).

In the study of the Neo-Babylonian inscriptions, there has been a few ways to categorise the inscriptional objects attributed to NBK, which consists essentially of a large diversity of objects made for different purposes. Paul-Richard Berger prefers the categorisation according to the supposed purpose of each material support, such as "Votiv-Inschriften"

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[7] The translation of two inscriptions, namely the Eulla-cylinder (C37) and Edubba-cylinder (C38), is drawn from similar parts in other NBK inscriptions in the corpus as it has not been made available.

[8] The numbers are based on the latest published compilation by Rocío Da Riva, which is a revision of an earlier catalogue published by Paul-Richard Berger in 1973 (2008:117–124).

(Votive inscriptions), "Inschriften an Baumaterialien" (inscriptions on building materials), and "Monumentalia" (monumental inscriptions) (1973:10–72). Berger's intention to combine all these objects into one printed catalogue is part of the reason why today we refer to eye stones and rock façades as royal inscriptions even though they may have nothing to do with one another in real life.

By approaching the inscriptions from the textual point of view, Hanspeter Schaudig refers to groups of inscriptions according to their composition. Using the inscriptions of Nabonidus and Cyrus the Great as basis, he created the following four categories of the Neo-Babylonian inscriptions (2001:49).

(1) The building report formular
(2) The "thematic inscriptions"
(3) The "classical" principle that begins with the "*ana* DN (Divine Name)" passage
(4) The "*inu-inūšu*"

As an examination of the composition of the NBK texts, this research approaches the inscriptions from the perspective similar to Schaudig's treatment of the inscriptions of Nabonidus and Cyrus the Great. Our categorisation of the NBK inscriptions will also build on the categorises and definition that he established.

The research corpus: the 10 longest inscriptions of Nebuchadnezzar II

The sample group in this research is formed of the ten longest inscriptions in the extant NBK corpus. As noted above, they form part of a larger collection of twenty-nine multi-sectional inscriptions that makes up one fourth of the 109 extant inscriptions. The ten inscriptions have been chosen because they are long narrative that is available in the near-complete edition. This condition makes them suitable for the study of how the inscriptions were created, as the lengthy texts would provide enough written material for the comparative analysis of substantial depth. As we shall see, these ten inscriptions also include components unattested in the shorter inscriptions, such as the building list and a set of epithets that we will refer to as the "standard" epithets of NBK.

Because the new numbering system in the RIBo database is still under revision as of the time of submission, we will refer to the inscriptions in our sample group using the codes that we have created based on Berger's catalogue. For NBK's inscriptions in the extant corpus and those attributed to the other Neo-Babylonian kings, we will use the RIBo codes

along with Berger's number in the brackets. For the inscriptions of Hammurabi, we will follow the numbers in RIME 4. We will refer to the numbers in RINAP 4 for the Babylonian inscriptions of Esarhaddon. The numbering of Ashurbanipal's Babylonian inscriptions is based on the online database of the RINAP project. They remain provisional until the inscriptions are published as RINAP 5/2.

Nearly all of the ten inscriptions were created to commemorate a specific project. The building to which each inscription was dedicated to is also the basis of our numbering. The only inscription whose subject of commemoration remains unidentified is Brisa A+C because the cuneiform text in the section that details the project in both manuscripts is no longer legible.

RIBo	Berger 1973	building	In the dissertation
C32		Eigikalamma	Lugal-Marad-cylinder (C32)
031	C33	Eḫursagsikilla	Eḫursagsikilla-cylinder (C33)
019	C34	South Palace	South-Palace-cylinder (C34)
023	C35	Summer Palace	Summer-Palace-cylinder (C35)
032	C36	A temple of Nabû (?)	Nabû(?)-cylinder (C36)
C37		Eulla	Eulla-cylinder (C37)
C38		Edubba / Etemeursag	Edubba-cylinder (C38)
027	C41	Etemenanki Ziqqurrat	Ziqqurrat-cylinder (C41)
002	Stein-Tafel X	North Palace	Stone Tablet
WBA/WBC		?	Brisa A+C

Table 1 The concordance between the RIBo numbers and the code in this dissertation

It should be noted that not all the buildings known to have been built by NBK were commemorated by or included in the content of his inscriptions. As indicated by the administrative documents, NBK's construction activities have been attested in the Sealand and likely in Tyros on the Mediterranean coast (Kleber 2008:195–196). Although some projects may not have been included in the text simply because the extant corpus ended before they were commissioned, as we shall see, it is also likely that there was a guiding principle, which influenced the inclusion of the royal initiatives in the inscriptions.

In the dissertation	building	city
Lugal-Marad-cylinder (C32)	Eigikalamma	Marad
Eḫursagsikilla-cylinder (C33)	Eḫursagsikilla	Babylon

South-Palace-cylinder (C34)	South Palace	Babylon
Summer-Palace-cylinder (C35)	Summer Palace	Babylon
Nabû(?)-cylinder (C36)	A temple of Nabû (?)	Babylon
Eulla-cylinder (C37)	Eulla	Sippar
Edubba-cylinder (C38)	Edubba / Etemeursag	Kish
Ziqqurrat-cylinder (C41)	Etemenanki Ziqqurrat	Babylon
Stone Tablet	North Palace	Babylon
Brisa A+C	?	?

Table 2 The inscriptions in the sample and their subject of commemoration

The terms "subject of commemoration" and "commemorated building/project" are used in this dissertation to distinguish the building for which the inscription was created *as written* in the text from the archaeological provenance of its manuscripts. Such difference has to be spelled out because not every manuscript of the same inscription was found in the building it commemorates. For example, a manuscript of the Eulla-cylinder (C37) is reported to have been found at the South Palace of Babylon instead of the Eulla temple in Sippar, its subject of commemoration as written in the text (Berger 1973:292). Similarly, a manuscript of the Ziqqurrat-cylinder (C41), created for the Etemenanki Ziqqurrat, was found in Susa while one was unearthed from beneath the eastern wall of the South Palace of Babylon (ibid:295–296). It should also be noted that many inscriptional manuscripts were excavated at pace for the collector's market when the interest in the Ancient Mesopotamian culture surged during the 19th century. Hence, the archaeological context of many objects is missing.

The sections below introduce the inscriptions that have been selected as part of this research.

Cylinders

With eight texts included, the clay cylinders make up the majority of the exemplars in the sample group. Cylinders made of clay and shaped like a barrel are a typical material support for the royal inscriptions in Babylonia. The use of this object can be traced as far back as the time of Samsuiluna (1749 – 1712 BCE) (Ellis 1968:114). Cylinders that are hollow and feature a hole that pierced through both ends may have been placed on a stick so that they could be rotated and read (Da Riva 2008:38). However, there has yet to be an archaeological proof for this proposition.

According to the latest revision of the available material, there are forty-eight NBK cylinder inscriptions preserved on 220 extant manuscripts, making them the largest group of NBK inscriptions that contains a written record that is beyond the royal name and title[9]. The eight cylinders chosen for this research are those that offer the longest texts in the extant corpus. They are attested on at least one intact manuscript.

Lugal-Marad-cylinder (C32)

Formed of about 520 words distributed across three columns, each containing almost the same number of lines: 45, 47, and 47 in the master manuscript, the Lugal-Marad-cylinder (C32) is the shortest text in the sample group. It commemorates the construction work at the Eigikalamma, the temple of Lugal-Marad in Marad (modern Tell es-Sadum), a strategic city on the Euphrates, some forty kilometres west of Nippur. In the sample group, this inscription yields the greatest number of manuscripts, amounting to thirty-four according to Da Riva's catalogue in 2008. We refer to this cylinder as the Lugal-Marad-cylinder so that it is consistent with how this inscription refers to its commemorated project.

Eḫursagsikilla-cylinder (C33)

The Eḫursagsikilla-cylinder (C33) is known from only one manuscript (BM 91137) of unidentified provenance. It is written in the Neo-Babylonian script. This inscription commemorates NBK's project at the Eḫursagsikilla, the temple of the goddess Ninkarrak in Babylon. It is the second shortest inscription in the sample group. It contains around 600 words arranged into 164 lines in three columns of about 56, 55, and 53 lines respectively.

South-Palace-cylinder (C34)

The South-Palace-cylinder (C34), also known as the "Middle Hill cylinder". This inscription is known from one intact cylinder manuscript written in the Neo-Babylonian script. Part of this inscription was published as a copy by G. F. Grotefend in 1818, making it one of the earliest NBK texts to appear in an accessible printed format. The South-Palace-cylinder (C34) contains about 630 words organised into three columns, each of about 50 to 60 lines long.

Summer-Palace-cylinder (C35)

The Summer-Palace-cylinder (C35) is extant on five manuscripts, all of which use the Neo-Babylonian script. The text is about 845 words long and is arranged into three

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[9] For the catalogue of the manuscripts, see: Appendix 1 in Da Riva 2008.

columns, each containing about 50 to 60 lines. This inscription commemorates the construction of the Summer Palace in Babylon, a large building complex which occupies the area at the northern edge of the city, outside the Imgur-Enlil and Nēmetti-Enlil walls.

Nabû(?)-cylinder (C36)

The Nabû(?)-cylinder (C36) is also known from one manuscript (BM 85975) that has been reconstruct from three fragments. The construction project that this inscription commemorates is uncertain because the text that contains the name of the god, the temple, and its location is broken. The missing part in the first line of the passage has been restored as the "Temple of Nabû of the forecourt" (iii.35: É [ᵈAG?] ⌜ša?⌝ ki-sa-al-lam), based on another divine name: Muṣibasâ, a Sumerian epithet of Nabû, which appears later in the prayer. Based on the final line of the main section, it is likely that the 'forecourt' refers to the forecourt of the Esagil Temple precinct, hinting that this could be the Egidrukalamma-summu[10]. The location of the temple is also suggested by NBK's statement declaring that he renovated the temple so that he could enter the Esagil and Ezida with joy:

> iii 48   *i-na qé-re-eb é-sag-íl ù é-zi-⌜da⌝*
>
> iii 49   *lu-ut-ta-al-la-ak i-na dam-qa-a-*[*tim*?]

"May I walk about in Esagil and Ezida in fav[or]!"

However, because this inscription also includes the Egidrukalamma-summu in its *inum* building list, it seems unreasonable to identify this temple as the subject of the Nabû(?)-cylinder (C36). The place for the commemorated project is reserved in the main section.

The Nabû(?)-cylinder (C36) contains about 1,400 words inscribed on three columns. In the master manuscript, each column contains about 55, 70, and 63 lines respectively. It is the longest cylinder inscriptions in the sample group. Its only manuscript is written in the Neo-Babylonian script.

Eulla-cylinder (C37)

The Eulla-cylinder (C37) is known from three extant manuscripts, all of which were written in the Neo-Babylonian script. This inscription commemorates the project at the Eulla Temple in Sippar. It contains about 765 words organised into three columns (Master

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[10] See Andrew George's commentary of this temple as appeared in *Tintir IV* in George 1992:310–312.

MS: 64 + 78 + 58). Similar to the case of the Ziqqurrat-cylinder (C41), one of the manuscripts of this inscription was reported to have been discovered in a provenance that is unrelated to the inscription's subject of commemoration. According to Berger, the second manuscript was supposedly discovered by Koldewey at the North Palace during his 1889 expedition (1973:292). However, the current status of this manuscript remains unidentified.

Edubba-cylinder (C38)

Containing around 1,370 words, the inscription the Ebudda-cylinder (C38) is the second longest cylinder inscription in the research corpus after the Nabû(?)-cylinder (C36). The two manuscripts of this inscription were written in the Neo-Babylonian script. The intact MS 1 indicates that the text is divided into three columns, each containing an even number of 96 lines. It commemorates the construction project at the Edubba, the temple of Zababa in Kish. In the cuneiform documents, the name Edubba was used interchangeably with Emeteursag, the shrine in its inner sanctuary (McEwan 1983:119–120).

Ziqqurrat-cylinder (C41)

The Ziqqurrat-cylinder (C41) is a four-column cylinder that has been collated from twelve fragmented manuscripts, all of which were written in the archaised script. This inscription commemorates the construction work at the Etemenanki Ziqqurrat in Babylon. The readable text amounts to about 410 words.

MS 2 of the Ziqqurrat-cylinder (C41) was discovered in Susa during the excavation project known as the Morgan Expedition (George 2010:472–474). It is possible that this cylinder was taken as booty after the Persian conquest of Babylon in 539 BC (ibid). MS 3, 4, and 7 came from many places in Babylon e.g., the North Palace and the Egidriduntilla Temple of Ninurta. Only MS 6 was discovered at the Etemenanki Ziqqurrat itself, at the north-east corner of the precinct (Berger 1973:295).

Stone Tablet

The Stone Tablet is perhaps one of the most famous NBK inscriptions because one of its three known manuscripts has been part of the permanent exhibition at the British Museum since 1938. Inscribed on a single limestone block, this particular manuscript (BM 129397) is known as the "East India House Inscription" – a name which refers to its previous London home, the headquarter of the East India Company.

Another manuscript is part of the collection of The Arthur M. Sackler Collections Trust in Washington D.C. Although it is partially broken, this manuscript resembles BM 129397 in terms of shape and size[11]. The third manuscript of the Stone Tablet is a stone fragment registered in the collection of the British Museum as BM 122119[12]. It was identified in the publication by Rocío Da Riva in 2013. All three inscriptions were written in the archaised Old Babylonian script. Apart from the three manuscripts, two clay cylinder fragments have recently been identified as potential individual copies of the Stone Tablet[13].

The Stone Tablet contains about 1,590 words. The BM 129397 and Arthur M. Sackler manuscripts both divide the text into ten columns. This inscription commemorates the construction of the North Palace in Babylon.

The rock-cut inscription: Brisa A+C

The longest known inscription in the NBK corpus is the inscription carved on the face of two mountain cliffs that enclose a pass near the village of Brisa in Biqaʿ Valley in modern Lebanon. The inscription on the eastern flank of the pass (Brisa A) is written in the Old Babylonian cuneiform. It is accompanied by a relief featuring the figure of Nebuchadnezzar in the Babylonian crown fighting a lion. The inscription on the western flank (Brisa C) is written in the Neo-Babylonian cuneiform and includes a rock-cut relief featuring the king standing by a tree. The legible text in Brisa A consists of about 1,420 words that were divided into fourteen columns. In Brisa C, more text has survived with at least 2,100 legible words organised into ten columns.

This inscription is the most legible amongst the three rock-cut inscriptions attributed to NBK in modern Lebanon, the others being the inscriptions at Nahr el-Kalb and Shir es-Shanam. Apart from the inscriptions, two reliefs attributed to Nebuchadnezzar have also been identified at Wadi es-Saba.

In contrary to the majority of the available NBK inscriptions, Brisa A+C does not commemorate a specific construction project. Instead, it celebrates NBK's subjugation of Lebanon – an achievement that earns him access to the cedar forest from which the highly-valued construction material originated. In so doing, this inscription becomes one

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[11] For the edition of this manuscript, see: Wallenfels 2008
[12] For the edition of this manuscript, see: Da Riva 2013a
[13] This piece of information was kindly shared by Jamie Novotny in November 2020.

of a few inscriptions from the extant corpus that makes explicit statements about NBK's military activities.

The research question

This dissertation is a study of the composition of NBK's inscriptions. In this pursuit, we will first and foremost identify the basic compositional principles that the ten inscriptions in the sample group share. We will attempt to answer the question as to how the inscriptions were created, by investigating the factors that influence the structural formulation of the texts.

Moreover, we will also explore issues that analysing the composition of the inscriptions can tell us.

How?

Without the explicit documentation of how the royal inscriptions were produced, Assyriologists have resorted to textual analysis as a solution. As suggested by Paul-Richard Berger, there are theoretically five stages in the creation of an inscription. First, an "Ausgangskonzept" is initiated and subsequently turned into "Entwurf(e)". From these, one acquires the "Urschrift", on which multiple "Vorlage" are based. At the end of this process, the manuscripts, which came to our possession, are copied and distributed (1973:7).

Scholars of the Neo-Assyrian inscriptions argued that the creation of an inscription relied largely on the reproduction of the stock textual elements. In the study of Sargon II's annals, Johannes Renger used the term "versatzstücke" to refer to the set phrases or chains of terminologies, whose core component remains the same even though they were reproduced for each individual inscription (1986:113–128). In the study of the annals and summary inscriptions of Tiglath-Pileser I, Marco de Odorico referred to similar elements as "units" of text, which were subjected to redaction under the specific contexts in which the inscriptions were created (1994:103).

In the case of the NBK inscriptions, Paul-Richard Berger has noted the textual similarity amongst a selection of inscriptions, namely between the Lugal-Marad-cylinder (C32) and Eḫursagsikilla-cylinder (C33) on the one hand, and between the Eulla-cylinder (C37) and Edubba-cylinder (C38) on the other (1973:40–45). A large part of the content in these inscriptions shares among themselves identical or near-identical collections of passages,

such as in the introduction (*anāku* section), and the *inūma* section. However, these observations did not lead to the identification of the significance of these similarities.

Some of the stock elements in the royal inscriptions may have existed in the broader literary tradition. For example, Caroline Waerzeggers indicated that the motifs in the royal inscriptions of NBK draw closely to those in Enūma Eliš, which help to construct a parallel image between Marduk, who was regarded as the providers of the sanctuaries in heaven, and NBK who had the same role on earth (2011:730–731). Christopher Metcalf noted that the Old Babylonian inscriptions, such as those attributed to Hammurabi share some terms with the Akkadian and Sumerian hymns (2015:57–59). Rocío Da Riva has identified passages in Brisa A+C that are possible paraphrases from the Codex Hammurabi (2012:24–26). In this manner, new inscriptions could be created based on the study of the old inscriptions, which were kept in the archive for such a purpose. As indicated by Kirsten Kleber, a cuneiform text (BM 113249) from the Eanna Archive is an enquiry of a royal messenger, who was acting under Cambyses II's request, to see all ancient royal inscriptions kept at the Eanna Temple (2008:270–271).

Although the reproduction of the stock elements could be the fundamental process in the creation of a new inscription, a question remains as to how these "raw materials" were put together. In asking this question, we attempt to explore the principles, frameworks, rules, concepts, or factors that govern the combination of these literary elements to form a single coherent text.

Who?

The cuneiform documents provide very little information that contains evidence of the actual composers of the royal inscriptions. Three Neo-Assyrian letters attributed to the reigns of Esarhaddon and Sargon II indicate that there was a distinction between the composer of the text, namely the person who creates the text, and the distributor who was responsible only for the making of individual copies. In the case of the Neo-Babylonian period, Nabû-zēr-līšir of Babylon is the only scribe attested by name who may have been within the royal circle (Schaudig 2001:69). However, there is no further evidence whether he was involved in the creation of the inscriptions.

The evidence from the Neo-Assyrian period provides limited information regarding the personnel involved. Although the letters were addressed to the king, it was very likely to have been the conventional way the official letters submitted to the higher authority were

written. Nevertheless, these letters seem to suggest that the creation of the inscriptions had been done under the permission or knowledge of the authority of a certain administrative power.

In SAA 16: no. 125, concerning a building project in Adia, an unnamed author inquired if Esarhaddon wished to have an inscription written on a foundation stone. If so, he should order the *rab ṭupšarrī* to do it.

Obverse

8	*an-nu-rig* NA₄.*pu-u-lu šá-ni-u*
9	*qu-ru-ub šum-ma* MAN *i-qab-bi*
10	*šu-mu šá* MAN *ina* UGU-*ḫi liš-ṭu-ru*
11	*ni-ir-ṣi-ip ú-la-a*
12'	MAN *i-qab-bi ma-a la-bi-ru*
13'	*ri-iṣ-pa mi-nu šá ina* IGI LUGAL
14'	*ma-ḫir-u-ni a-na* ARAD-*šú*
15'	*liš-pu-ra*

"Now, there is another foundation stone at hand. If the king so orders, let the name of the king be written on that and we shall build it in. Alternatively, the king may command: "Build in the old one!" May the king write to his servant what the king finds acceptable."

Similarly, in SAA 16: no. 143 Nabû-rāʾim-nišēšu wrote to Esarhaddon requesting an inscription model.

Obverse

6	NA₄.*pu-u-lu ša ina* ŠÀ *uš-še ša* BÀD
7	*ša* URU.*tar-bi-ṣi ni-ik-ru-ru-u-ni*
8	*šu-mu ša* LUGAL *be-lí-ia ina* UGU-*hi ni-iš-ṭur*
9	*ki-i ša ni-šaṭ-ṭa-ru-u-ni*
10	LUGAL *be-lí liš-pu-ra*
11	*i-na pi-it-te ni-iš-ṭur*

"We shall write the name of the king, my lord, on the foundation stone which we laid in the foundations of the city wall of Tarbiṣu. Let the king, my lord, write me what we should write (on it) and we shall write accordingly."

In SAA 15, 004, a request was submitted by a man called Issar-dūrī of Arrapha to Sargon II on behalf of Šamaš-bēlu-uṣur, who was overseeing the construction of the Temple in Dēr. In the letter, Issar-dūrī requested that the king sent him an inscription, so that copies could be made and interred into the temple wall.

Obverse

17	ᵐᵈUTU-EN-PAB
18	TAᵛ URU.*de-ri i-sap-ra*
19	*ma-a muš-šá-ra-ni-i*
20	*la-áš-šú ina* ŠÀ É.SIG₄.MEŠ
21⁽ᵉᵈᵍᵉ⁾	*ša* É-DINGIR *la niš-kun*

Reverse

1	*ú-ma-a a-na* LUGAL *be-lí-iá*
2	*a-sap-ra* 1-en *muš-šá-ru-u*
3	*liš-ṭu-ru lu-še-bíl-u-ni*
4	*ina pi-it-ti re-ḫu-ti*
5	*liš-ṭu-ru ina* ŠÀ-*bi* É.SIG₄.MEŠ
6	*ša* É-DINGIR *liš-ku-nu*

"Šamaš-bēlu-uṣur wrote to me from Dēr: "Should we really not put any inscriptions in the walls of the temple?" I am now writing to the king, my lord: let one inscription be written and sent to me (as a model), and let them write the rest according to it and put them in the walls of the temple."

The creation "factors"

In recent scholarship, the factors that influenced the creation of the inscriptions have already started to be explored at the level of individual inscriptions. For example, in her

discussion of NBK's monuments in Lebanon, Rocío Da Riva suggested that the setting of the inscriptions partly determined their composition. At Nahr el-Kalb, a river pass located half-way on the coastal route between Syria and Palestine, an inscription of NBK was carved on the cliff along the northern side of the pass, perhaps as a statement to the older Egyptian and Assyrian inscriptions on the opposite, southern side (Da Riva 2010a:171–172).

With a similar motivation, NBK's reliefs at Wadi es-Sabaʿ and Brisa, which depict himself in combat with a lion – an artistic motif that was associated with the Assyrian monarchy, could have a connection with NBK successfully reaching the area that was once under the Neo-Assyrian control (2010a:178–180). Similarly, Ann Shafer noted that Esarhaddon may have consciously placed inscriptions at Nahr el-Kalb to mark his successful campaign against the Egyptian army (2015:493). Interestingly, there could also be a significance in the fact that, because all extant Assyrian reliefs were carved with the image of the kings facing north, Relief XIII faces away from the adjacent Egyptian relief (ibid:495–496 fn.22).

In general, inscriptions created for certain places under specific contexts do contain features "unique" to themselves. However, in many cases these features are already very apparent that we do not need to conduct a study of their composition to identify how similar or different they are from the rest of the corpus.

The NBK inscriptions are special in this regard. We will see that at the surface these inscriptions are very similar in terms of their composition. However, once we start analysing each component of the inscriptions in detail, their differences are brought into light. Apart from identifying the compositional principles in the corpus, in an attempt not dissimilar to Da Riva and Shafer's, this dissertation will also explore the factors that influence the creation of the NBK inscriptions.

Chapter 1   The superstructure of the NBK inscriptions

We begin our investigation of the NBK inscriptions with the exploration of their superstructural components. As we shall see, the ten inscriptions in the sample group as well as the nineteen shorter multi-sectional inscriptions in the NBK corpus were composed according to one of the four compositional principles, which we will refer to as the (1) "*ana* DN", (2) "*inu-inūšu*", (3) "*aššum*", and (4) the report-only principles.

All four compositional principles fundamentally build on the same selection of components, namely the introductory section (*anāku* section), the building report of the commemorated project ("main" section), and the prayer. The *inu-inūšu* principle appears to be the preferred framework for the longer inscriptions in the extant corpus, as the ten longest inscriptions were composed according to this principle. Moreover, we will observe that a building list is added to the *inu(m)* section in nine of the ten sample inscriptions. This is a component which contributes substantially to the total length of these inscriptions.

1.1 The components of the Neo-Babylonian royal inscriptions

The components of the content in the inscriptions from the Neo-Babylonian period became a subject of scholarly interest as early as the decipherment of cuneiform. An early attempt by Johannes Latrille in 1885 to study the characteristic of the available Babylonian royal inscriptions, amongst them the inscriptions of NBK, Neriglissar and Nabonidus, led to one of the earliest observations that the inscriptions consist of thematically different topics (1885:232–233). Latrille identified three distinctive components, namely the section for the royal titles at the start of the text, the building report, and the prayer. This understanding of the textual organisation remains the basis of how we treat the structure of the Neo-Babylonian inscriptions today.

The critical discussion of the structure of the NBK texts, in which the components were given a definition, did not begin until the 20th Century, when more inscriptional materials became available to scholars. In the first major edition of the NBK corpus published in 1912, Stephen Langdon began referring to the superstructural components with terms that would later become common in the study of the Neo-Babylonian inscriptions, such as *inūma* and *inūmīšu*. Apart from Latrille and Langdon, a few other Assyriologists in their

generation have made general remarks about the compositional division of the inscription content, but they did not identify any corpus-wide significance from their observation[14].

More recently, the most comprehensive study of the structure of the Neo-Babylonian inscriptions can be found in Hanspeter Schaudig's edition of Nabonidus' and Cyrus the Great's inscriptions published in 2001. The compositional principles of these inscriptions were categorised into four groups based on the main idea of the text and how the content is divided (Schaudig 2001:49). It is Schaudig's categorisation that serves as the model in our study of the NBK texts.

The four categories of inscriptions according to Schaudig are:

(1) The building report formular
(2) The "thematic inscriptions"
(3) The 'classical' principle that begins with the "*ana* DN (Divine Name)" passage
(4) The "*inu-inūšu*"

The first compositional principle, the "building report formular", refers to the short formulaic passages found on the stamped bricks, votive or everyday objects in which the name and title of the king is immediately succeeded by a one or two sentences long building report (2001:50–51). In NBK's case, this principle applies to all brick inscriptions except NBK II B26 and B27, whose content is a long multi-sectional text similar to that attested on the cylinders.

The "thematic inscriptions", or in German "Themen-inschriften", are attested only in the Nabonidus corpus (2001:53–54). This compositional principle is found on the multi-sectional inscriptions whose content start with the proclamation of the location where the royal initiative as documented in the inscription was to be dedicated to, particularly a specific temple. As observed by Schaudig, this compositional principle is only used exclusively in Nabonidus' stelae (ibid). It is also likely that what appears as another compositional format is in fact a scribal compilation of multiple inscriptions, given that the "stelae" in this case only exist in the colophon of the tablet copy[15].

The third and the fourth principle, the "*ana* DN" (Akk: to [Divine Name]) and "*inu-inūšu*" (Akk: *inu(m)* = when; *inūšu* = at that time) are attested in the long, multi-sectional inscriptions in which the construction report covers a lot of topics and details, such as the

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[14] See for example: Weber 1907, Olmstead 1916, Mowinckel 1923, Baumgartner 1924

[15] For the description of "Themen-inschriften", see: Schaudig 2001:445–466.

inspiration for the project and the construction procedures. The only major feature that distinguishes the two principles from one another is the devotional passage "*ana* DN" which is placed at the beginning of the text.

Except for the use of the "*ana* DN" passage, the inscriptions composed according to the *ana* DN and *inu-inūšu* principles share a very similar selection of basic components, each having a thematic focus of its own. In order of their appearance, these components are the:

(1) *anāku* section
(2) *inu(m)*/*inūma* section, or more broadly, the "legitimacy narrative"
(3) *inūšu*/*inūmīšu* section (the construction report of the commemorated building)
(4) the prayer

As we shall see, in the case of the NBK corpus the sections 1, 3, and 4 form the core of nearly all twenty-nine extant multi-sectional inscriptions. It is likely that section 2, the "legitimacy narrative", serves the purpose of increasing the total length of the text, especially for the variant that includes the building list. As our observation will demonstrate, the building list appears in the legitimacy narrative in the inscriptions that are longer than 500 words or only in nine out of twenty-nine multi-sectional inscriptions.

To maintain consistency with NBK's choice of terminology, we will refer to the *inu* and *inūšu* clauses as the "*inum*" and "*inūmīšu*", which appear to be the preferred terminology in the NBK corpus. In terms of the rhetorical function within the text, the sections introduced by the *inu*, *inum*, and *inūma* clause (latter used by Da Riva 2008) are identical.

1.2 The superstructural components of the NBK inscriptions

Our investigation of the twenty-nine multi-sectional inscriptions of NBK reveals that the *inum-inūmīšu* principle is adopted by the largest number of inscriptions. At least nineteen inscriptions follow this principle or its variants, in comparison to only one inscription, which applies the *ana* DN principle.

In general, the content in all twenty-nine inscriptions is characterised by the consistent inclusion of the same selection of components, namely the introduction, building report of the commemorated project, and the prayer, all of which appear at the same position in the narrative sequence.

As shown in Table 4, the *inum-inūmīšu* principle is the preferred framework for the creation of the long texts, as it is adopted by all ten longest inscriptions in the extant corpus, chosen as the sample for the research. Out of these ten, two inscriptions, namely the Summer-Palace-cylinder (C35) and the Stone Tablet follow a variant of the *inum-inūmīšu* principle, which is characterised by the absence of the *inūmīšu* clause. This results in the continuation of the narrative in the *inum* (legitimacy narrative + building list) into the *inūmīšu* section (building report of the commemorated project) (see: Chapter 5.2).

In the extant corpus, the *inum-inūmīšu* principle is also used in at least six inscriptions, all of which are still relatively long with the wordcount ranging from around 150 to 490 words.

inscription	obj.	building	city
Lugal-Marad (C32)	cylinder	Eigikalamma	Marad
Eḫursagsikilla (C33)	cylinder	Eḫursagsikilla	Sippar
South-Palace (C34)	cylinder	South Palace	Babylon
Summer-Palace (C35)	cylinder	Summer Palace	Babylon
Nabû(?) (C36)	cylinder	Temple of Nabû(?)	Babylon
Eulla (C37)	cylinder	Eulla	Sippar
Edubba (C38)	cylinder	Edubba/Emeteursag	Kish
Ziqqurrat (C41)	cylinder	Etemenanki Ziqqurrat	Babylon
Stone Tablet	stone	North Palace	Babylon
Brisa A+C	rock façade	-	border
NBK II B26	brick	Ebabbar	Larsa
NBK II B27	brick	Ebabbar	Sippar
NBK II 017 (C11)	cylinder	Embankment of a Euphrates – Tigris canal?	-
NBK II 029 (C21)	cylinder	Emaḫ	Babylon
NBK II 035 (C22)	cylinder	Lībil-ḫegalla canal	Babylon
NBK II C23	cylinder	Ebabbar	Sippar
NBK II C24	cylinder	Ebabbar	Larsa
NBK II 021 (C025+013+016)	cylinder	Nēmetti-Enlil embankment	Babylon
NBK II 016 (C25)	cylinder	East Wall	Babylon
NBK II 015 (C26)	cylinder	Euphrates-Tigris canal	-

NBK II 012 (C27)	cylinder	Fortification wall + Ištar Gate	Babylon
NBK II 013 (C28)	cylinder	East Wall	Babylon
NBK II 018 (C29)	cylinder	South Palace	Babylon
NBK II C210	cylinder	Eigikalamma	Marad
NBK II C211	cylinder	Eulla	Sippar
NBK II 014 (C213-200)	cylinder	Fortification wall (Imgur-Enlil?)	Babylon
NBK II 034 (C214)	cylinder	Ištar-lamassi-ummānīša street	Babylon
NBK II C31	cylinder	Ebabbar	Sippar
NBK II 030 (C39)	cylinder	Emaḫ	Babylon

Table 3 The extant multi-sectional inscriptions of NBK identified as of January 2021

inscription	line	word	principle	components	wordcount
Lugal-Marad (C32)	140	527	*inum-inūmīšu*	(1) *anāku* (2) *inum* (3) *inūmīšu* (4) prayer	(1) 41 (2) 390 (3) 37 (4) 59
Eḫursagsikilla (C33)	160	583	*inum-inūmīšu*	(1) *anāku* (2) *inum* (3) *inūmīšu* (4) prayer	(1) 41 (2) 386 (3) 108 (4) 48
South-Palace (C34)	170	635	*inum-inūmīšu*	(1) *anāku* (2) *inum* (3) *inūmīšu* (4) prayer	(1) 30 (2) 504 (3) 65 (4) 36
Summer-Palace (C35)	165	845	*inum-inūmīšu*	(1) *anāku* (2) *inum*+main (3) prayer	(1) 50 (2) 699 (4) 96
Nabû(?) (C36)	190	1,443+	*inum-inūmīšu*	(1) *anāku* (2) *inum* (3) *inūmīšu* (4) prayer	(1) 93+ (2) 1,153+ (3) 109+ (4) 78+

Eulla (C37)	200	759	*inum-inūmīšu*	(1) *anāku* (2) *inum* (3) *inūmīšu* (4) prayer	(1) 95 (2) 520 (3) 113 (4) 31
Edubba (C38)	288	1,345	*inum-inūmīšu*	(1) *anāku* (2) *inum* (3) *inūmīšu* (4) prayer	(1) 96 (2) 1,147 (3) 62 (4) 40
Ziqqurrat (C41)	175	415	*inum-inūmīšu*	(1) *anāku* (2) *inum* (3) *inūmīšu* (4) prayer	(1) 37 (2) 31 (3) 301 (4) 77
Stone Tablet	617	1,594	*inum-inūmīšu*	(1) *anāku* (2) *ištu* (3) *inum*+main (4) prayer	(1) 50 (2) 50 (3) 1,390 (4) 104
Brisa A+C	A = 414 C = 536	A = 1,390+ C = 2,138+	*inum-inūmīšu*	(1) *anāku* (2) *inum* (3) *inūmīšu* (4) prayer	see: Table 5
NBK II B26	47	150	*inum-compact*	(1) *anāku* (2) *inum* (3) prayer	(1) 20 (2) 92 (3) 38
NBK II B27	24	105	report-only	(1) *anāku* (2) report (3) prayer	(1) 12 (2) 13 (3) 80
NBK II 017 (C11)	14	50+	report-only	(1) *anāku* (2) report (3) prayer	(1) 14 (2) 20+ (3) 16+
NBK II 029 (C21)	34	50	report-only	(1) *anāku* (2) report (3) prayer	(1) 8 (2) 25 (3) 17
NBK II 035 (C22)	41	77	report-only	(1) *anāku* (2) report	(1) 19 (2) 41

				(3) prayer	(3) 17
NBK II C23	36	103	report-only	(1) *anāku* (2) report (3) prayer	(1) 12 (2) 13 (3) 78
NBK II C24	51	150	*inum-inūmīšu*	(1) *anāku* (2) *inum* (3) prayer	(1) 20 (2) 92 (3) 38
NBK II 021 (C025+013+016)	85	490+	*inum-inūmīšu*	(1) *anāku* (2) *inum* (3) *inūmīšu* (4) prayer	(1) 45 (2) 315+ (3) 86 (4) 44
NBK II 016 (C25)	56	127	*aššum*	(1) *anāku* (2) *aššum* (3) *aššum* (4) prayer	(1) 12 (2) 53 (3) 31 (4) 31
NBK II 015 (C26)	59	225	*aššum*	(1) *anāku* (2) "from Upper sea to Lower sea" (3) *aššum* (4) *aššum* (5) *aššum* (6) prayer	(1) 16 (2) 28 (3) 34 (4) 43 (5) 42 (6) 62
NBK II 012 (C27)	60	215	*inum-compact*	(1) *anāku* (2) *inum* (3) prayer	(1) 45 (2) 135 (3) 35
NBK II 013 (C28)	62	153	*aššum*	(1) *anāku* (2) *aššum* (3) prayer	(1) 12 (2) 97 (3) 44
NBK II 018 (C29)	63	223	*inum-inūmīšu*	(1) *anāku* (2) *"for Esagil"* (3) *inūmīšu* (4) prayer	(1) 12 (2) 16 (3) 138 (4) 57

NBK II C210	58	203	*inum-compact*	(1) *anāku* (2) *inum* (3) prayer	(1) 30 (2) 121 (3) 52
NBK II C211	66	305	*inum-inūmīšu*	(1) *anāku* (2) *inum* (3) *inūmīšu* (4) prayer	(1) 55 (2) 107 (3) 112 (4) 31
NBK II 014 (C213-200)	61	148	'enūma'	(1) *anāku* (2) e*nūma* (3) prayer	(1) 29 (2) 75 (3) 44
NBK II 034 (C214)	51	126	*inum-inūmīšu*	(1) *anāku* (2) *"for Esagil"* (3) *inūmīšu* (4) prayer	(1) 12 (2) 10 (3) 64 (4) 40
NBK II C31	108	241	*inum-inūmīšu*	(1) *anāku* (2) *inum* (3) *inūmīšu* (4) prayer	(1) 36 (2) 17 (3) 109 (4) 79
NBK II 030 (C39)	89	122	*ana* DN	(1) *ana* DN (2) *anāku* (3) *inum* (4) *inūmīšu* (5) prayer	(1) 23 (2) 37 (3) 17 (4) 13 (5) 32

Table 4 The compositional principles attested in the extant corpus[16]

insc.	line	word	*anāku*	*inum*[17]	main	prayer
Brisa A+C	A = 414 C = 536	A = 1,390+ C = 2,138+	A = 63+ C = 62+	A = 1,327+ C = 1,823+	A = – C = 212	A = – C = 41

Table 5 The approximate word- and linecount of Brisa A+C

The other less often attested principles include the "*aššum*" and the "report-only" principles. The *aššum* principle is characterised by the use of the term *aššum* (Akk: in order to) to introduce the construction report in the content. The *aššum* inscriptions do

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[16] The word count of the ten inscriptions in the sample group (marked in bolded border) was kindly shared by Jamie Novotny as they may not be published in the up-coming RINBE volume.

[17] Including the epithet sub-section dividers (ESDs). For the discussion of this minor component, see: Chapter 2.5.2.

not contain the legitimacy narrative that is common in the *inum-inūmīšu* and *ana* DN inscriptions. It is attested in three of NBK's twenty-nine multi-sectional inscriptions.

The report-only principle is attested in the shortest five of the twenty-nine multi-sectional inscriptions. The three sections observed in these inscriptions appear only as a short collection of sentences that renders three different ideas. With the inclusion of the prayer, it is simply an extension of the building report formular, which has already consisted of what could be counted as a short version of the *anāku* section and the building report.

The description of the four superstructural components to be given below is based on our examination of the ten inscriptions in the sample group, all of which follow the *inum-inūmīšu* principle.

(1) The *anāku* section: this section is essentially one long sentence that serves as the introduction to the whole inscription. Rocío Da Riva refers to this section as the 'presentation' (2008:93). The basic components of this section are the royal name, the title(s) and epithet(s), the filiation, and the term *anāku* – the Akkadian first person singular nominative pronoun. In other words, this section translates to "I am …, king of…".

As we shall see in Chapter 2.3, the epithets in the *anāku* section in many of the long NBK texts were arranged into pairs, in each of which an epithet is paired with another epithet that contains divine terminology, such as the name of the gods, temples, or simply the term god itself. In the long epithet lists, such as the one attested in the *anāku* of the Nabû(?)-cylinder (036), there can be as many as eight epithet pairs.

(2) The legitimacy narrative or the *inum* section: this section is associated with the portrayal of the king's divine-approved legitimacy to rule. In the words of Hanspeter Schaudig, this section serves the purpose of documenting "die logische Wechselbeziehung von göttlichem Willen und Taten des Königs (2001:51)." It could be understood as the preface to the main section of the inscription, which is the construction report of the commemorated building.

Although we refer to this section after the first term in the clause that introduces the content of the section: *inum* (Akk: when), it should be noted that the story of the king receiving legitimacy is the main topos of this section when these clauses were used. The examples of the exception are the legitimacy narrative in the inscriptions NBK II 034 (C214) and 018 (C29) where the *inum* clause does not appear. As demonstrated in Table 4, there is a variant of the *inu-inūšu* principle attested in two inscriptions, which we refer

to as the *inu*-compact. In these inscriptions, the *inūmīšu* clause is absent from the text, leaving the construction report to directly succeed the *inum* clause.

In the nine longest inscriptions in the extant NBK corpus, the *inum* section also contains the list of the previously initiated royal building projects. The *inum* building lists in these inscriptions can be so long that they take up the largest share of the total wordcount, much more than the construction report of the commemorated building (the main section).

As to be discussed in Chapter 5.1, there is a correlation between the compositional principle in the *inum* building list and the building type of the commemorated project. Primarily, we can observe that the inscriptions made for temples do not include the palace projects in their building list whereas the palace inscriptions include temples. This conclusion will lead to the categorisation of the inscriptions based on their commemorated building. In the sample group, we can distinguish the "temple inscriptions" from the "palace inscriptions".

(3) <u>The main section</u> or <u>the *inūmīšu* section</u>: this is the construction report of the building commemorated by the inscription. Similar to the *inum* section, it is named after the *inūmīšu* clause, which appears the beginning of the section.

In general, the building report is the basic component of the multi-sectional inscriptions of NBK, regardless of the compositional principle they follow, whether it begins with the *inūmīšu* clause. For this reason, we will refer to this section as the "main section" to avoid confusion with the building list in the *inum* section. A similar designation, "main topic" was proposed by Rocío Da Riva (2008:97).

Among the *inum-inūmīšu* inscriptions, the *inūmīšu* clause is used to indicate the diachronic continuity between the legitimacy narrative and the building list in the preceding *inum* section on the one hand, and the project commemorated in the main section on the other. The chronological connection between these two sections is emphasised by a variant found in an inscription of Nabonidus where the building report is introduced with the term *innani* (Akk: now) (Berger 1973:85).

(4) <u>The prayer section</u>: the final superstructural component takes the form of a divine invocation. Along with the *anāku* section and the main section, the prayer section is the basic component of the multi-sectional inscriptions of any compositional principle in the extant NBK corpus. The prayer consists of an appeal to the god or to the building built by the king to help guarantee that he would achieve long life, eternal recognition, and victory over his enemies. As our discussion in Chapter 7 will demonstrate, the consistent

inclusion of the prayer section is one of the features that distinguishes the NBK corpus from the Hammurabi inscriptions, which is often seen as NBK's literary model.

1.3 Summary

Our examination of the superstructural formulation of the extant twenty-nine multi-sectional inscriptions of NBK has revealed four compositional principles.

Among them, the *inum-inūmīšu* principle appears as the one preferred by the longest inscriptions in the extant corpus. This principle is characterised by the incorporation of the *inum* section into the position between the *anāku* and main (*inūmīšu*) sections. This section contains the legitimacy narrative of NBK receiving the approval of leadership from Marduk and Nabû. In the nine longest inscriptions of NBK, the *inum* sections also include the list of the royal initiatives apart from the one commemorated in the main section. The list contributes to the extensive length in some inscriptions, such as the Stone Tablet, Brisa A+C, and the Edubba-cylinder (C38).

In general, the consistent selection of the same set of superstructural components among the twenty-nine multi-sectional inscriptions of NBK is evidence that his corpus belongs to the Babylonian inscriptional tradition that was current to his period. As our discussion in Chapter 7 will demonstrate, the *anāku*, main, and prayer sections are also the basic components of the Babylonian inscriptions of Ashurbanipal and Esarhaddon. Although the similarities between some details in NBK's and Hammurabi's inscriptions are the origin of the arguments that NBK drew his inspiration from the Old Babylonian monarch, we will observe that the superstructural formulations of their inscriptions are completely different from one another.

Moreover, it is highly likely that the choice of the compositional principle for an inscription is determined by the building it commemorates. Although the extant corpus is overwhelmingly dominated by the inscriptions dedicated to temples, at the superstructural level there are a few inscriptions whose compositional principle has been observed to be specific to a building type.

For example, as pointed out by Rocío Da Riva, the *aššum* principle is attested in three inscriptions, all of which commemorate the defensive buildings (2008:96). Apart from the *aššum* principle, the variant of the *inu-inūšu* principle, as noted above, is used by the Summer-Palace-cylinder (C35) and the Stone Tablet, both of which were dedicated to the palaces in Babylon. The connection between the choice of compositional principle and the

building type will become more apparent in Chapter 5, when we examine the corelations between the compositional principles and the building type of the commemorated project.

As we continue our discussion to Chapter 2, we will start to identify the compositional principles that are applied within each of the four superstructural components.

Chapter 2　　The subcomponents of the NBK inscriptions

In this chapter, we will explore the subcomponents within the four main sections of NBK's multi-sectional inscriptions. As we shall see, apart from the principles at the superstructural level, which we have identified at the end of the previous chapter, the composition of NBK's inscription is also governed by frameworks at the level of the subcomponents.

Our investigation in this chapter is an overview of the principles and patterns shared by the ten sample inscriptions, which are the longest in the extant NBK corpus. It is intended to serve as an introduction to our analysis of the factors that influence the formulation of the text, which will be identified as we proceed through each section of the inscriptions. These factors include the chronology, geography, relation between NBK and the divine figures mentioned, the building type of the commemorated project, and NBK's relation with his predecessors. Readers interested in these analyses may find links to the relevant chapters with the cross-references provided throughout the discussion.

2.1　The prayer section

The prayer section is the summary of the inscription which declares the act of building construction as an offer committed by the king for the well-being of the gods. This declaration appears at the beginning of the section ("divine attention" in Table 6) and is succeeded by a series of prayers. Throughout this section, the king addresses the gods directly as the communication partner, using pronouns in the 2nd person.

Topic:	temple					ziq.	palace			bor.
	C32	C33	C36	C37	C38	C41	C34	C35	ST	WB
divine attention	1	1		1	1	1	1	1	1	1
long life	2	2	1	2	2	3	3	3	3	
Marduk's approval	5	3	2[18]	3[19]	4	2				2
longevity of dynasty	3	4				4	5	6	6	3
destruction of enemy	4	5			3			5	5	
joyful life (in palace)							2	2	2	
receipt of tribute							4	4	4	

Table 6 The topics in NBK's prayer in the sample group

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[18] including Muṣibbasâ and Erua
[19] including Šamaš

We can observe that NBK's most common wish concerns his own well-being that is granted to him as a favour from the gods. His desire for a long life appears in nine out of ten inscriptions in the samples, in the inscriptions dedicated to temples, Ziqqurrat, and palaces.

As our discussion in Chapter 6.4 will demonstrate, the relations between NBK and the divine figures that appear in this section could be seen as different characterisations of NBK, which vary according to the building type and its location. In the inscriptions dedicated to the palaces, NBK is portrayed as communicating directly to Marduk. In the inscriptions dedicated to temples of the minor deities, both in Babylon and the provincial centres, NBK asked the deities at these temples to act on his behalf before Marduk. In some cases, the relations between NBK and the gods may reflect each city's significance in the imperial administration. In the Sippar and Larsa inscriptions Šamaš also appears as the ratifier of NBK's wish.

Moreover, at the level of the superstructure, the consistent inclusion of the prayer section in the multi-sectional inscriptions of NBK could be seen as evidence of the NBK corpus sharing a close relationship with the inscriptions of his immediate Assyrian predecessors. The discussion of the superstructure in the historical context can be found in Part 7.1.

2.2   The main section (the *inūmīšu* section)

Appearing in all extant twenty-nine multi-sectional inscriptions, the construction report of the commemorated building is another essential superstructural component of the NBK text. This section is known in the scholarly literature as the *inūšu* or *inūmīšu* section (Akk: at that time), after the first Akkadian term in the clause placed at the start of the section.

The main section presents the construction report of one specific project, namely the project commemorated by each inscription. Within the sample group, this style of presentation is adopted by eight inscriptions.

As our discussion in Chapter 5.2 will demonstrate, the *inūmīšu* clause is absent from two inscriptions, namely the Stone Tablet and Summer-Palace-cylinder (C35). As such, the narrative in the *inum* sections in these inscriptions continues into the main sections without a formal division.

Moreover, instead of reporting one project, the main sections in the Stone Tablet and Summer-Palace-cylinder (C35) combine the construction report of the commemorated palace with the reports of other palaces. In so doing, the main sections in both inscriptions appear in the form of a list, not dissimilar to the building list in their *inum* sections. In Chapter 3, we will propose that this palace list is likely to be the chronological sequence of the palace construction in Babylon.

In general, the fact that this variant of the main section is attested in two inscriptions associated with the palaces, also highlights the relation between the building type and the compositional principle. For the discussion of this relation, see: Chapter 5.

2.2.1 The common set-pieces and topics in the main section

Our comparison of the main section in the samples reveals that the main section is fundamentally composed of two core thematic components. They are the details involving the construction work at the part of the building (1) beneath and (2) above the ground, both of which can be attested in all ten samples. Each of the component is formulated by the recurring set-pieces and tropes related to construction work that can also be found in the construction reports in the building list of the *inum* section.

However, despite having been created by the reproduction of the set elements, the construction report in the main section is unique to each particular building project because of the specific pieces of information that are sometimes added. Unlike the *anāku* and *inum* sections where cases of exact textual reproduction across multiple texts can be observed[20], the main section appears to have been "specifically" composed for each inscription. As attested in the ten samples, the added details include the supposed duration of the construction, the source of the recruited workforce, the religious ceremonies conducted as part of the construction, and the dimension of the building.

In the component that depicts the work done beneath the ground, we can observe two subtopics: (1) the search for the foundational structure and (2) the renovation of the foundation. These topics are part of the main section in the Lugal-Marad-cylinder (C32), Eḫursagsikilla-cylinder (C33), Eulla-cylinder (C37), and Ziqqurrat-cylinder (C41) (see: Table 7).

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[20] For example, the *anāku* section in the Lugal-Marad-cylinder (C32) is identical to the Eḫursagsikilla-cylinder (C33). The same section in the Stone Tablet is identical to one in the Summer-Palace-cylinder (C35). For the comparative analysis of the *anāku* section, see: Part 2.3

For example, in the Lugal-Marad-cylinder (C32), NBK declares that he has found a Narām-Sîn era foundation (*temmēnu*)[21] of the temple of Lugal-Marad in Marad which he subsequently studies and renovated.

iii 17   *te-me-en-šu la-bí-ri*

iii 18   *a-ḫi-iṭ*

iii 19   *ab-re-e-ma*

iii 20   *e-li te-me-en-na*

iii 21   *ša na-ra-am-*dEN.ZU LUGAL

iii 22   *a-ba-a-am la-bí-ri ú-ki-in uš-šu-šu*

"Its old platform I looked for and found, and on the platform of Narām-Sîn, the King, my ancestor, I firmly fixed its foundation."

The inscriptions for the buildings that probably had no predecessor also include components depicting the work beneath the ground, in this case, the laying of the new foundation. These are the inscriptions from the North and Summer Palaces, whose extra details also clarify that the building was built on a fresh plot of land.

line	C32	line	C33
iii.12	*inūmīšu*-clause	iii.5	*inūmīšu*-clause
iii.12-iii.19	Search for old foundation	iii.5-iii.11	The dilapidated state of the building
	Renovation of foundation	iii.12-iii.17	Search for and discovery of old foundation
iii.20-iii.24	Installation of inscription	iii.18-iii.21	Below ground structure
		iii.22-iii.30	Performing divination to confirm the plan
		iii.31-iii.37	Above ground structure
	C36* section broken		C37

---

[21] The meaning of this term remains uncertain given its association with a number of objects. One of the meanings of the Sumerian *temen* refers to the area marked by pegs and cord (George 2005:82).

iii.35	*inūmīšu*-clause	iii.13	*inūmīšu*-clause
iii.35-iii.42a	Current state of the building	iii.13-iii.24	The (dilapidated) state of the building
iii.42b-iii.49	Creation of inscription	iii.25-iii.36	Divine legitimacy and order[22]
		iii.37-iii.41	Search and discovery of old foundation
		iii.42-iii.43	Below ground structure
		iii.44-iii.49	Above ground structure
		iii.50-iii.51	Provision of offering
	C38		Brisa C (*A illegible)
iii.70	*inūmīšu*-clause		*inūmīšu*-clause
iii.70-iii.79	History of the temple	ix.13-ix.22	Reason for the need of cedar wood
iii.80-84	Above ground structure	ix.23-ix.38	Conquering Lebanon for cedar forest
iii.85	Placing inscription	ix.39-ix.46	Transportation of the woods
		ix.47-ix.56+	Administration of Lebanon as a vassal state
		x.1-x.24	Creation of inscription + message to future rulers
	C41		C34
i.30	*inūmīšu*-clause	iii.27	*inūmīšu*-clause
i.30-i.42	Piety	iii.27-iii.31	name and description of the palace
ii.1-ii.18	History of the project	iii.32-iii.35	Below ground structure
ii.19-iii.35	Gathering the workforce	iii.36-iii.40	Above ground structure

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[22] See: Eulla-cylinder (C37), line iii.32-33: it is Marduk and Šamaš that approves of NBK's project that is the Eulla of Ninkarrak in Sippar. The appearance of Šamaš in the main section could have a connection with his exaltation to the same position as Marduk in the prayer section in the inscriptions originated from Sippar, see: Chapter 6.4.

iii.36-iv.6	Below ground structure	iii.41-iii.44	Devotional passage (leading to the Prayer)
iv.7-iv.9	Above ground structure		
	C35		Stone Tablet
i.44-i.53	conclusion of *inūma*	vii.9-vii.33	conclusion of *inūma*
ii.1-ii.24	The construction of the South Palace	vii.34-viii.26	The construction of the South Palace
ii.25-ii.57	The construction of the North Palace		
ii.58-iii.10	The construction of Babylon's outer wall		
iii.11-iii.15	The inspiration for the construction and the location of the palace	viii.27-viii.39	The inspiration for the construction
iii.16-iii.23	Below ground structure + claiming land on the river	viii.40-viii.51	Search for location + preparation for the site
iii.24	Above ground structure	viii.52-ix.2	Foundation + above ground structure + construction time
iii.25-iii.27	Decoration	ix.3-ix.18	Decoration
iii.28-iii.29	Naming the palace	ix.19-ix.44	Summary
iii.30-iii.34	Summary		

Table 7 The distribution of the topics in the main section

The second of the two thematic components which concerns the construction of the building above the ground is included in the Eḫursagsikilla-cylinder (C33), Eulla-cylinder (C37), Edubba-cylinder (C38), Ziqqurrat-cylinder (C41), Summer-Palace-cylinder (C35), South-Palace cylinder (C34), and the Stone Tablet. In these inscriptions, the commemorated building is stereotypically depicted as having been completed to its full height. This is so, despite the infinite possibility to mention all kinds of architectural and decorative features.

In some inscriptions, the description of the construction takes the form of a metaphorical comparison between the building and the mountain, whereby the building's summit is

described as being raised as high as the mountain. This metaphor is applied to multiple kinds of building even though their actual height could have been dramatically different.

For example, the North Palace and the Eḫursagsikilla temple in Babylon are presented by their corresponding inscriptions: the Stone Tablet and the Eḫursagsikilla-cylinder (C33), as having been built as high "as the mountain". This is so, even though the Eḫursagsikilla, as the temple of a minor goddess, may have actually been a lot shorter and smaller than the North Palace[23]. The mountain metaphor can further be found in the Summer-Palace-cylinder (C35) as well as in the *inūma* building list of the Eulla-cylinder (C37), Edubba-cylinder (C38), and South-Palace-cylinder (C34).

Another variant of the height motif could be seen as an elaboration of the mountain metaphor to depict more appropriately the actual scale of the project. For example, while maintaining the use of the verb *elû* (Akk: in D stem = to raise), the height motif in the Ziqqurrat-cylinder (C41) compares the Etemenanki with the heaven:

> ii 15   *é-temen-an-ki a-na ú-ul-li-im*
>
> ii 16   *re-e-ši-ša ša-ma-mi*
>
> ii 17   *a-na ši-it-nu-nim*
>
> ii 18   *qá-ta-ʳamʰ aš-ku-un-ma*

"I set to work with my own hands on Etemenanki for the raising of its summit to rival the heavens."

As the supposedly tallest man-made structure in Babylon and its environs, this version of the height motif is likely to be specific to the Ziqqurrat-cylinder (C41). We can observe that the other Ziqqurrat inscription in the extant NBK corpus, NBK II 061 (C212), presents the construction work at the Eurmeiminanki Ziqqurrat in Borsippa, as the restauration of an incomplete project without elaborating on its scale[24].

Within the ten samples, the main section in two inscriptions include only either of the two thematic components. These inscriptions are the Lugal-Marad-cylinder (subterranean only) and the Edubba-cylinder (aboveground only). In case of the former, the choice may

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[23] See: Stone Tablet: ix.27-28 *kīma šadîm ullâ rēšāša* (Akk: I raised its top like a mountain) and Ehursagsikilla-cylinder (C33): iii.36-37.
[24] See: NBK II 061 (C212): i.26-ii.15, particularly ii.14-ii.15:
    ii 14 *a-na e-pé-ši-ša*
    ii 15 *ù ú-ul-lu-ú re-e-ši-ša qá-ta aš-ku-un-ma*
"For its construction and the raising of its summit, I set to work with my own hands."

have been determined by the limited size of the material support, given that it is the shortest inscription in the sample group that is also inscribed on the small cylinder[25].

In contrast, the composition of the main section in the Edubba-cylinder (C38) is rather complicated because it is the shortest main section among the samples (15 lines/62 words), while the inscription itself is one of the longest (288 lines/1,345 words). The main section in this inscription neither presents the story about the search of the old foundation nor the construction of the new foundation. This is so, even though archaeological excavations have proven that NBK did lay foundation to the Edubba in Kish, the subject of the Edubba-cylinder (C38) (Gibson 1972:92). A possible explanation for the proportionately short main section is that the priority was given to the epithets in the *anāku* section and the building list in the *inum* section, both of which receive an overwhelmingly larger share of total wordcount in this inscription.

2.3   The *anāku* section and its epithet list

The *anāku* section is a label that Assyriologists prescribe to the introductory section of the Neo-Babylonian inscriptions in which the king is glorified with a list of titles. The section conventionally ends with the term *anāku*, the first person singular independent pronoun in Akkadian, thus turning the entire chain into a nominal sentence, "I am [royal name], [title]".

Our examination of the titulary list uncovers a wide range of interesting aspects in the creation of this introductory section. We argue that an inscription's association with a certain building, built at a certain time in a certain place, had an impact on the choice of the textual pattern and details in its own *anāku* section.

In general, the examination of the royal titulary of the Ancient Mesopotamian kings through the archaeological and historical lens has proven to be an illuminating method for the identification of the socio-political context behind the composition of this section.

Recently, a study has identified another Assyrian royal figure as having an exceptional interest in his role as the ruler of Babylonia, so much more than his ancestors ever did. According to Shana Zaia, Ashurbanipal's brother, the Babylonian king Šamaš-šuma-ukīn

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[25] Because of the paucity in the archaeological data, it is still difficult to conclude whether the material supports were created to accommodate the content or if the creation of the content was limited by the physical factors of the installation space. For the examples of how the installation space might influence the textual creation, see: Excursus.

had a particular choice of epithets which includes an ancient Babylonian title "king of Amnānu" (2019:8). The extent to which Šamaš-šuma-ukīn went into assuming a Babylonian persona also involves omitting Aššur from his inscriptions – an act that no other Assyrian rulers did, as well as naming Zarpanītu (under the byname Erua) as the divine figure who conceived him in the womb of his mother (ibid:10–12). To compare, even though Ashurbanipal did 'babylonianise' his Babylonian inscriptions, he still recognised Aššur's primacy in his inscriptions (ibid:13). There is very little overlapping in their choice of epithets (ibid:8).

In a similar direction, we propose that the formulation of the titulary in the NBK inscriptions was influenced by many contexts and the investigation of which will highlight the nuances in the creation of the inscriptions. Evidence from the sample suggests that the choice of epithets and the principles in arranging them are related to the type of building and the location that the inscriptions were intended to be placed.

On the one hand, we will observe that there are sample-wide rules that dictate the formulation of the titulary sequence, whose individual epithets may have been drawn from a common repertory. On the other hand, it is likely that some of the finer details, such as the mentioning of a certain deity may have been influenced by the location of the building that each inscription commemorates.

Our comparison of the epithet lists also reveals a likelihood of the "standard" set of NBK epithets shared amongst the longer inscriptions in the corpus as nearly all of the *anāku* in the ten samples start with the same sequence of epithets. Out of the ten inscriptions, seven share the first four epithets in their *anāku*. They are the Stone Tablet, Ziqqurrat-cylinder (C41), Lugal-Marad-cylinder (C32), Eḫursagsikilla-cylinder (C33), Summer-Palace-cylinder (C35), Eulla-cylinder (C37), and Edubba-cylinder (C38). Two other inscriptions, namely Brisa A+C and Nabû(?)-cylinder (C36) share the first five epithets, in whose sequence the four epithets from the seven inscriptions also appear.

A further examination of each epithet sequence indicates that the epithets were sometimes arranged according to a common principle. Starting from the first entry after the royal title, the list alternates between an epithet without divine terminology and an epithet that contains at least one piece of divine terminology. This principle is strictly maintained by three titulary sequences in the sample group and more loosely in five others. Although the list in the other two inscriptions does not follow this arrangement,

our examination will show that it might be following parallel principles rather than having been created by the composer who had no knowledge of the compositional rules.

Apart from the aforementioned corpus-wide governing frameworks, small details such as the inclusion of certain deities may reflect the purpose of drawing each inscription (and NBK himself) closer to its place of dedication. For example, the epithet list in the Stone Tablet, which commemorates the North Palace of Babylon, only mentions Marduk and Nabû whereas the list in the Eulla-cylinder (C37) and Edubba-cylinder (C38) from Sippar and Kish includes Šamaš (city-god of Sippar), Zababa (city-god of Kish) and three other deities who are also associated with the regional centres in the Babylonian heartland. This observation is one of the premises for our investigation of the formulation of NBK's "persona" in Chapter 6. As we shall see, each area around the empire was targeted with different portrayals of the monarch.

2.3.1   The previous investigations of the epithet list

Without the understanding of the compositional framework, it could be proven difficult to interpret each individual *anāku* section. Previously, this problem has resulted in the absence of consensus in the way the NBK epithet sequences should be translated. Moreover, because the orthographic flexibility of the Late Period Akkadian has also generated the possibilities of combining and isolating each individual component, scholars who have worked with the corpus usually have their own interpretation of the list.

One of the most demonstrable examples of this issue is the lack of academic consensus in the translation of the cluster: *muštālu āḫiz nēmeqi ša alakti ilūtīšunu ištene"û pitluḫu bēlūssun*, particularly as appeared in the *anāku* section of the Stone Tablet (i.7-10). This cluster, which in this dissertation is treated as an epithet pair consisting of two components, has earlier been interpreted in three different ways by three scholars. In the first complete edition of the NBK inscriptions (as available to scholars in the late 19th Century), this cluster appears in Stephen Langdon's German translation as:

> "der Vorbedachte, der nach Weisheit trachtet, der auf den Weg ihrer Gottheit merkt, der in Ehrfurcht verharrt vor ihrer Herrlichkeit (1912:121–123)"

Prior to his German edition, Langdon also published the same corpus in English where this cluster was translated into:

"the contented, who seeks for wisdom, who is regardful of the way of their divinity, who fears their lordship (1905:119)"

Langdon's translation in both German and English which renders what follows *muštālu* as three relative clauses suggests that he took the participle *āḫiz*, the *ša*-particle with *ištene"û*, and the Gt stative 3rd masc. sing. subjunctive *pitluḫu* as modifiers of the 'main' epithet that is *muštālu*.

In the edition of a duplicate of the Stone Tablet held by the Arthur M. Sackler Collections Trust, Ronald Wallenfels understood the same cluster as one, lengthy, continuum of a clause which qualifies the epithet *muštālu*. Unlike Langdon's version, Wallenfels's translation clearly isolates the two clauses that depend on the same *ša*-particle, i.e. (1) *alakti ilūtīšunu ištene"û* and (2) *pitluḫu bēlūssun*:

"The judicious one, full of wisdom, who gives heed to the ways of their godship, (and who) is in awe of their dominion. (2008:289)"

In Rocío Da Riva's recent publication of a fragment of another duplicate of the Stone Tablet (BM 122119) in the collection of the British Museum, the translation of the *ša*-clause appears to have been intentionally formulated to reflect its functional ambiguity as the qualifier of either or both of the preceding two elements caused by their arrangement in the text. However, *alakti ilūtīšunu* appears not to have been translated.

"The adviser, the possessor of wisdom, who reverences their lordship. (2013a:189)"

The four examples cited on the above clearly illustrate the fact that no certainty has been made regarding the way the epithets relate to each other, in particular if one should be considered a "sub-epithet" of another or not. However, as to be discussed in the following section, the thematic principle and the functional relationship identified during the course of our research will illustrate that each component in the epithet sequence relates to one another in a specific way.

2.3.2   The basic components of the *anāku* section

The content of the *anāku* section consists of five components: (1) the regnal name, (2+3) the title and epithets, (4) filiation, and (5) the term *anāku* (Da Riva 2008:93). As attested in the ten samples, the length of the *anāku* sections is determined by the number of epithets that follow the royal title.

As illustrated above, distinguishing an epithet from one another in the sequence could be a difficult task because the orthographic flexibility of the Late Period Akkadian does not always clearly illustrate the syntactic connection between the terms or whether they are related at all.

In the clear scenarios, an epithet consists of two nouns connected to each other in the form of a genitival pair. An example of the *status constructus* epithet is *ikkar Bābili* (Akk: the farmer of Babylon) attested in the Eulla-cylinder (C37) and Edubba-cylinder (C38).

In the less apparent cases, individual nouns or substantivised adjectives appear next to one another, prompting a suspicion that they may be related appositionally. For example, two individual substantivised adjectives *emqu* (Akk: the wise) and *mutnennû* (Akk: the pious) are next to each other in the *anāku* section of the Stone Tablet, Summer-Palace-cylinder (C35), and Ziqqurrat-cylinder (C41). In a few cases, a noun or substantivised adjective is placed before the chain of *status constructus*, leading to more than one way to interpret their relationship. For example, *muštālu* (Akk: the wise) appears before *āḫiz nēmeqi* (Akk: the possessor of wisdom) in the South-Palace-cylinder (C34) and Ziqqurrat-cylinder (C41). In this scenario, one may assume that *muštālu* is qualified by the succeeding *status constructus* in an appositional relationship. However, being two individual semantic units on their own, *muštālu* and *āḫiz nēmeqi* could simply be understood as two independent epithets.

Another widely attested form of epithet is the *ša*-epithet, which appears as a clause that starts with the relative pronoun *ša* (Akk: "the one who"), such as in Brisa A+C, i.17-18 *ša ana zikrīšunu kabtu pitluḫu ili u ištar* (Akk: "the one who reveres god and goddess at the invocation of their mighty name"). As to be observed in the discussion below, the *ša*-epithet in the samples always takes the secondary position in the epithet pairs.

As our discussion below will demonstrate, we argue that the individual terms in the cases cited above should be seen as appositionally related because their epithet list follows a pairing principle. In this principle, the "main" epithet is combined with a "sub-epithet" that contains divine terminology.

2.3.3 The "standard" epithets of NBK

Our comparison of the epithet sequences in the *anāku* section from the sample group reveals that nine sequences out of ten use the same epithets at the beginning. Seven of

which share an identical sequence of four epithets, while the further two combine the same four with an addition epithet to form a sequence of five epithets.

The fact that the same set of epithets is used at the beginning of the list regardless of the number of epithets that follow, even though they are attested on different media, attributed to different provenances, and very likely associated with different times of composition, points to the likelihood of a set of "standard epithet", or at least a repertoire of the more important ones.

In the sample group, the same sequence of four epithets can be attested in seven inscriptions: The Stone Tablet, Ziqqurrat-cylinder (C41), Lugal-Marad-cylinder (C32), Eḫursagsikilla-cylinder (C33), Summer-Palace-cylinder (C35), Eulla-cylinder (C37), and Edubba-cylinder (C38). The sequence succeeds the title of NBK: *šar Bābili* (Akk: King of Babylon), and refers to him as a 'prince' and an '*iššakku*' – an ancient title which refers to a form of city-governor[26].

Apart from the seven inscriptions, Brisa A+C and Nabû(?)-cylinder (C36) employ a slightly adapted set in which the first epithet in the sequence, *rubû na'du* (Akk: pious prince), is relocated to the fifth position, giving its original position to another epithet: *rē'û kīnu* (Akk: 'strong shepherd'). The rest of the epithets remain at the same position without any of their details changed, resulting in a five-epithet version of the standard epithet set (see: Table 8).

	Variant 1: four epithets		Variant 2: five epithets
1.	*rubû na'du*	1.	*rē'û kīnu*
	'Pious prince'		'Strong shepherd'
2.	*migir Marduk*	2.	*migir Marduk*
	'The favourite of Marduk'		'The favourite of Marduk'
3.	*iššakku ṣīru*	3.	*iššakku ṣīru*
	'The exalted ruler'		'the exalted ruler'
4.	*narām Nabû*	4.	*narām Nabû*
	'The beloved of Nabû'		'the beloved of Nabû'
		5.	*rubû na'du*
			'Pious prince'

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[26] The title '*iššakku*' is understood to have derived from the Sumerian term: ensi, which was also used as a royal epithet in combination with a divine name, i.e., ensi DN. This title is widely used at the beginning of the 2nd Millennium in Assyria (Seux 1967:110–116).

incs.	Stone Tablet		Brisa A+C
	Ziqqurrat-cylinder (C41)		Nabû(?)-cylinder (C36)
	Lugal-Marad-cylinder (C32)		
	Eḫursagsikilla-cylinder (C33)		
	Summer-Palace-cylinder (C35)		
	Eulla-cylinder (C37)		
	Edubba-cylinder (C38)		

Table 8 The two variants of the standard epithet set.

In the Nabû(?)-cylinder (C36), the adjective *na'du* (Akk: pious) gave way to a *ša*-clause that more or less illustrates its meaning in the more elaborate manner: *ša ana ṭēm Šamši u Adad pituqqūma illaka uruḫ šulmi* (Akk: who is very attentive to the will of the gods Šamaš and Adad and who travels the road to well-being).

The only inscription in the sample group to not feature the "standard" set of epithets is the South-Palace-cylinder (C34), attributed to the South Palace in Babylon. This inscription appears to have its own way of putting together its *anāku* section as it neither adopts the title *šar Bābili* nor the thematic pattern that other inscriptions in the sample group apply. For the detailed discussion of the *anāku* section in the South-Palace-cylinder (C34), see Chapter 5.3.

It is likely that the inclusion of either of the two epithet sets correspond to the total length of the inscriptions. Only the longer inscriptions in the extant NBK corpus incorporate the standard-four or -five epithets. This applies to nine inscriptions in the sample group, which are also the longest amongst the twenty-nine multi-sectional inscriptions of NBK.

The idea that a sequence of epithets was treated as the 'standard' or 'official' set of royal titles has been an established fact in the case of the Assyrian monarchs. Perhaps the most often cited case of what is understood to be the standard royal titulary is the chain: "*šarru dannu, šar kiššati, šar māt Aššur*" (Akk: 'strong king, king of the world, king of the land of Aššur'), first attested in the administrative texts of Tiglath-Pileser I (1114-1076 BCE) and remained in use by many Middle- and Neo-Assyrian kings (Cifola 1995:67). In the later periods, this sequence of three epithets either appears altogether as a set-piece or is modified to include a variety of additional elements.

In the Neo-Assyrian period, the same chain as appeared with a preceding epithet: *šarru rabû* (Akk: 'great king') was used in the inscription on the famous bronze panels of the Balawat gate, attributed to the reign of Shalmaneser III. The 'abbreviated' version of the

chain, consisting of *šarru rabû* and *šarru dannu* also accompanied the name of Shalmaneser each time it appears in this inscription (Cifola 1995:113–114).

In the Neo-Assyrian period, the chain: *šarru rabû šarru dannu, šar kiššati, šar māt Aššur* is amongst a few of Sennacherib's most often used sets of epithets (Liverani 1981:248–249). Sennacherib's father, Sargon II, also use the same set of epithets, with and without *šarru rabû*, in his building inscriptions (Renger 1990:427).

In contrast, the matter of the standard titulary in the case of the Neo-Babylonian kings is less conclusive. So far, it has been observed that some epithets do occur more often than others but whether they do so consistently at the same position in the inscription remains a subject of research. For example, the epithet *tiriṣ qāt Nabû u Marduk* (Akk: the protégé of the gods Nabû and Marduk) is recognised as a staple epithet in Nabopolassar's inscriptions (Setness 1984:99). According to the compilation conducted by Rocío Da Riva, it is the most often used epithet in the extant Nabopolassar corpus after the royal title *šar Bābili*, appearing in nine inscriptions (2008:99).

In our sample group, the fact that the same epithet sequence appears at the start of the titulary regardless of what follows indicates that it could have been treated as a standard of sort. Beyond the inscriptions in the sample group, the sequence of the first four epithets in the Nabû(?)-cylinder (C36) and Brisa A+C: *rē'û kīnu, migir Marduk, iššakku ṣīru,* and *narām Nabû* also appears in a few other NBK inscriptions from various parts of the Babylonian heartland.

The sequence is placed at the beginning of the *anāku* section in NBK II C210, attributed to the Temple of Lugal-Marad in Marad. Interestingly, despite commemorating the same temple as one of the sample group, the Lugal-Marad-cylinder (C32), both inscriptions do not use the same set of titularies. Instead, the epithet list in the Lugal-Marad-cylinder (C32) is identical to the one in the Eḫursagsikilla-cylinder (C33), which is dedicated to the temple of Ninkarrak in Babylon (see: Appendix).

Lugal-Marad-cylinder (C32)	NBK II C210
ru-ba-a-am na-a-dam	*re-é-a-um ki-i-nim*
mi-gi-ir₄ ᵈAMAR.UTU	*mi-gi-ir* ᵈAMAR.UTU
iš-ša-ak-ku ṣi-i-ri	*iš-ša-ak-ku ṣi-i-ri*
na-ra-am ᵈ*na-bi-um*	*na-ra-am* ᵈ*na-bi-um*
ša-ak-ka-na-ku la a-ne-ḫa	*e-em-qá mu-ut-né-en-nu-ù*

za-ni-in É.SAG.ÍL ù É.ZI.DA	za-ni-in é-sag-íl ù é-zi-da
ša a-na ᵈna-bi-um ù ᵈAMAR.UTU EN.MEŠ-šu ki-it-nu-šu-ma ip-pu-šu re-e-šu-su-un	i-da-an za-na-a-tim
na-a-dam mu-uš-te-mi-qu	mu-ud-di-iš e-eš-re-e-ti DINGIR GAL.GAL
i-tu-ti ku-un lìb-bi DINGIR GAL.GAL	

Table 9 The epithet list in the inscriptions dedicated to the Temple of Lugal Marad

In contrast to the scenario involving the inscriptions of the Temple of Lugal-Marad, the epithet list in NBK II C212 and C041, both attributed to the Eurmeiminanki Ziqqurrat in Borsippa, is thoroughly identical. Their epithet sequence also begins with a variant of the epithet set in the NBK II C210 in which the *migir* in *migir Marduk* has been replaced with *itût kūn libbi*, forming a longer epithet whose meaning is still synonymous to its shorter counterpart: *itût kūn libbi Marduk* (Akk: the firm selection of the heart of Marduk).

One way to explain the different selection of epithets in the two inscriptions that commemorate the same temple is the fact that both inscriptions are of different total length, attested on the material supports of different sizes. The Lugal-Marad-cylinder (C32) consists of around 520 words, distributed across 140 lines arranged into three columns. Meanwhile, NBK II C210 is about half the length of the Lugal-Marad-cylinder, with around 200 words in 58 lines, arranged into two columns. Of the identified nineteen manuscripts of Lugal-Marad, the physical dimension of ten is recorded. They are around 20 – 22 cm in height (Berger 1973:277–278). To compare, eight of the twenty-two manuscripts of NBK II C210 is only around 8 – 10 cm in height (ibid:228–229).

However, it is unlikely that the total length of the inscription was the single, primary factor in the selection of different epithet sets in the case of the Lugal-Marad-cylinder (C32) and NBK II C210. Among the samples, there are inscriptions whose epithet list is identical despite being drastically different in terms of total length. For example, the Summer-Palace-cylinder (C35) and the Stone Tablet share an identical set of epithets even though the latter is around seven-hundred words longer in total.

The other possible factor may be the different time of composition i.e., the construction work at the Temple of Lugal Marad took place in more than one occasion, thus initiating two individual accounts of commemoration. However, without a clear chronological reference, it is impossible to identify the diachronic relationship between the inscriptions.

For our attempt to create the internal chronology of some sample inscriptions, see: Part Chapter 3.

2.3.4 The epithet pair and the thematic pattern

Our close examination of the *anāku* section in each individual inscription reveals a common thematic principle in the arrangement of the epithets in eight out of ten inscriptions in the sample group. The sequence of epithets in these inscriptions alternates between the epithet without divine terminology, and the one that contains at least an explicit reference to the gods. This principle starts with the very first epithet after the royal title, meaning that it also applies to the "standard" set of epithets introduced in the previous section. In so doing, the alternating pattern in the epithet sequence gives a sense of structure to the *anāku* section and reveals the relationship between epithets and sub-epithets.

A piece of divine terminology as understood in this discussion is a term that is explicitly associated with the gods. In the sample group, they include the divine names, the names of temples, the term "temple", and the term "god" itself. It is unlikely that the titulary sequence is strictly defined by the epithets that are conceptually "religious" and those that are "secular". Rather, the identified pattern appears to be based on the lexical choices that directly refer to a certain divine figure or abode, as opposed to those that simply do not. As is apparent, some epithets that do not contain divine terminology can still have a "religious" connotation. For example, the epithet *rubû na'du* (Akk: pious prince) implies that NBK is attentive to the divine order through the adjective *na'du* (Akk: pious), which is widely used in the religious context[27].

As we shall see, the relation between the main and sub-epithet in the following cases is hard to establish without the pattern: it can be unclear whether we always have two independent epithets or a main epithet with a sub-epithet. The following analysis in which the cited texts are highlighted in the yellow and blue colours leads towards the standpoint that the yellow line contains one idea, which is qualified by the sub-epithet in the blue line. If this be accepted, the simplest way to understand the yellow lines is a noun

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[27] See: *na'du* A in CAD 11.1:65–66. This term has been attested in connection to the royal figures as well as common individuals. Also: *na'du(m)*, *nādu* I in AHW 2:704. The term was used to describe a horse in Gilgamesh VI 53.

(sometimes a substantivised adjective) + adjective (sometimes a participle acting as an adjective).

As illustrated below, the second epithet in the first two pairs of epithets presented earlier as the "standard" epithets of NBK both contain a piece of divine terminology, namely the name of the god Marduk, and Nabû.

rubû na'du	*no divine element*
migir Marduk	*with a divine element*
iššakku ṣīru	
narām Nabû	

Further down the sequence, it is apparent that this pairing pattern continues. We can also observe that the 'blue' epithets are to some extent the explanatory complement of the preceding 'yellow' epithets[28]. For example, in the titulary sequence from the Stone Tablet quoted in Table 10, the first epithet pair after the "standard" epithet is led by an epithet formed of a noun, which is placed in apposition to a chain of nouns in *status constructus*: *muštālu āḫiz nēmeqi* (Akk: the wise possessor of wisdom) in i.7. This epithet is succeeded by a *ša*-epithet that contains a piece of divine terminology: *alakti ilūtīšunu* (Akk: the ways of their divinity).

In a similar concept, the second epithet pair begins with an epithet formed of a noun and a participle, standing in an appositional relationship. It is succeeded by a *ša*-epithet that mentions the names of two temples, the Esagil and Ezida.

line	epithets	
i.3	*rubû na'du*	
	"pious prince"	
i.4	*migir Marduk*	
	"The favourite of Marduk"	
i.5	*iššakku ṣīru*	*standard set*
	"the exalted ruler"	
i.6	*narām Nabû*	

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[28] Metcalf 2015:59–60 noted that the 'couplet' is a feature in the invocatio (the introductory part) of the Sumerian hymns, which he believed to have originated from the Sumerian inscriptions. The epithet of the invoked god in the first line in the first couplet is replaced by the divine name in the first line of the second couplet.

	"the beloved of Nabû"	
i.7	*muštālu āḫiz nēmeqi*	*no divine element*
	"the wise possessor of wisdom"	
i.8-10	*ša alakti ilūtīšunu ištene"û pitluḫu bēlūssun*	*divine element*
	"who is assiduous towards the ways of their divinity (and) reveres their dominion"	
i.11	*šakkanakku lā āniḫu*	
	"the indefatigable governor"	
i.12-17	*ša ana zinnāti Esagil u Ezida ūmišam tiṣmurūma damqāti Bābili u Barsipa ištene"û kayyāna*	
	"who is mindful of provisioning Esagil and Ezida daily and (who) constantly seeks out good things for Babylon and Borsippa"	
i.18	*emqu mutnennû*	
	"the wise (and) pious"	
i.19	*zānin Esagil u Ezida*	
	"the provider of Esagil and Ezida"	

Table 10 The epithet sequence in the Stone Tablet

The divine terminology principle has also been applied to the other titulary lists in the samples to arrange the entirety of the epithet sequence or at least its substantial portion. For example, as illustrated in Table 11, the epithet list in the Nabû(?)-cylinder (C36) follows this principle until its final quarter where the list switches to a series of irrigational/agricultural epithets before ending with a military epithet.

line	epithets	
i.2	*rē'û kīnu*	
	"righteous shepherd"	
	migir Marduk	
	"the favourite of Marduk"	
i.3	*iššaku ṣīru*	*standard set*
	"exalted ruler"	
	narām Nabû	
	"the beloved of Nabû"	
i.4	*rubû*	
	"the prince"	

	ša ana ṭēm Šamši u Adad pituqqūma illaka uruḫ šulmi	
	"who is very attentive to the will of the gods Šamaš and Adad and who travels the road to well-being"	
i.5	*massû ṣīru*	*no divine element*
	"the exalted leader"	
	ša ana Erra šagapūru kitnušūma ušamqatu gārîša	*divine element*
	"who is always submissive to the majestic god Erra, and (thereby) cuts down his (text: "her") adversaries"	
i.6	*mūdê tašīmti*	
	"the gifted (and) intelligent"	
	mušte"û ašrāt Zababa u Ištar	
	"the constant seeker of shrines of Zababa and Ištar"	
i.7	*na'du muštēmiqu*	
	"The pious (and) devout"	
	itût kūn libbi ilāni rabûti	*also appear in*
	"the firm selection of the heart(s) of the great gods"	090 (C37)
i.8	*šakkanakku lā āniḫu*	079 (C38)
	"the indefatigable governor"	
	zānin Esagil u Ezida	
	"the provider of Esagil and Ezida"	
i.9	*idān zānināti*	
	"the provisioning arms"	
	bābil igisê rabûti ana Esagil	
	"the deliverer of great contributions to the Esagil"	
i.10	*gugallu qardu*	
	"the valiant irrigation controller"	
	mumakkir qarbāti	
	"the irrigator of the meadowland"	
i.11	*ikkaru kīnu*	
	"righteous farmer"	
	mugarrin karê bitrûti	*irrigation*
	"who heaps up enormous piles of grain"	
i.12	*lē'û itpēšu*	
	"the powerful (and) capable"	

	muṭaḫḫid ešrēti ilāni	*agriculture*
	"who brings abundance to the shrines of the gods"	
	mukīn sattukkī	
	"the establisher of the *sattukku* offerings"	
i.13	*šarru ša ina milki šadli ītellû šadî bērūti ittabalakkatu ḫuršānī zaqrūti*	*military?*
	"the king who regularly ascends distant mountains and crosses high mountainous terrain with broad counsel"	

Table 11 The epithets in the Nabû(?)-cylinder (C36)

In general, the selection of epithets in the Nabû(?)-cylinder (C36) is very similar to the Eulla-cylinder (C37) and Edubba-cylinder (C38) even though the sequences in these inscriptions are not identical. Highlighted in yellow in the left column in Table 11, thirteen epithets that appear in the Eulla-cylinder (C37) and Edubba-cylinder (C38) also appear in the Nabû(?)-cylinder (C36).

Apart from following the divine terminology pattern (see: Appendix), the Eulla-cylinder (C37) and Edubba-cylinder (C38) also include five epithets that refer to NBK's role in the agricultural affairs, similar to the Nabû(?)-cylinder (C36). For our discussion of the relation between these inscriptions as evidence of NBK's attempt to present himself for the "local" audience, see: Chapter 5.

Nabû(?)-cylinder (C36)	Eulla (C37) + Edubba (C38)	
idān zānināti	*idān zannāti*	*non-divine*
bābil igisê rabûti ana Esagil	*bābil igisê rabûti ana Esagil*	*divine*
	na'du muštēmiqu	
	itût kūn libbi ilāni rabûti	
gugallu qardu	*gugallu qardu*	
mumakkir qarbāti	*mumakkir qarbāti*	
ikkaru kīnu	*ikkar Bābili*	
mugarrin karê bitrûti		
lē'û itpēšu		
muṭaḫḫid ešrēti ilāni	C37: *muṭaḫḫid ešrēti* C38: *muṭaḫḫid ešrēt ilāni*	
mukīn sattukkī	*mukīn sattukkī*	

		war?
šarru ša ina milki šadli ītellû šadî bērūti ittabalakkatu ḫuršānī zaqrūti		

Table 12 The epithets at the end of the sequence in NBK II 013 (C36), 090 (C37), and 079 (C38)

As illustrated in Table 13, the divine terminology pattern is the framework of the epithet list in eight inscriptions in the samples. The pattern can be attested in the inscriptions of all three types of material support, dedicated to the buildings in Babylon, as well as in the regional centres. For the identification of all epithet pairs in these inscriptions, see: Appendix.

Two inscriptions in the samples that do not adopt the divine terminology pattern, namely the South-Palace-cylinder (C34) and Ziqqurrat-cylinder (C41), seem to have each of their own compositional principle, not only in their *anāku* section but also in the other subcomponents. For the role of the building type in the structural formation of the inscription, see: Chapter 5.

Inscription	provenance	medium	follows the pattern
Eḫursagsikilla-cylinder (C33)	Babylon	cylinder	✓
Nabû(?)-cylinder (C36)	Babylon		✓
South-Palace-cylinder (C34)	Babylon		x
Summer-Palace-cylinder (C35)	Babylon		✓
Ziqqurrat-cylinder (C41)	Babylon		x
Edubba-cylinder (C38)	Kish		✓
Lugal-Marad-cylinder (C32)	Marad		✓
Eulla-cylinder (C37)	Sippar		✓
Brisa A+C	Wadi Brisa	rock face	✓
Stone Tablet	Babylon	stone tablet	✓

Table 13 The inscriptions from the sample group and the pattern in its anāku section

Outside of the sample group, our further investigation has indicated that the choice of the arrangement principle for the epithets could be related to the choice of the superstructural principle. The divine terminology pattern is attested in eight out of ten inscriptions in the sample group, all of which are *inum-inūmīšu* inscriptions. Among the other nineteen multi-sectional inscriptions of NBK, the same pattern can also be attested in at least nine inscriptions.

As illustrated in Table 14, except for NBK II 035 (C22) which is a report-only inscription, the other eight inscriptions follow the *inum-inūmīšu* superstructure or its *enūma* variant.

inscription	approx. line	approx. word	superstructure	*anāku* pattern
NBK II B26	47	150	*inu-inūšu*	1 pair
NBK II B27	24	105	report-only	-
NBK II 017 (C11)	14	50+	report-only	-
NBK II 029 (C21)	34	50	report-only	-
NBK II 035 (C22)	41	77	report-only	1 pair
NBK II C23	36	103	report-only	-
NBK II C24	51	150	*inu-inūšu*	1 pair
NBK II 021 (C025+013+016)	85	490+	*inu-inūšu*	4 pairs
NBK II 016 (C25)	56	127	*aššum*	-
NBK II 015 (C26)	59	225	*aššum*	-
NBK II 012 (C27)	60	216	*inu-compact*	4 pairs
NBK II 013 (C28)	62	153	*aššum*	-
NBK II 018 (C29)	63	223	*inu-inūšu*	-
NBK II C210	58	203	*inu-compact*	4 pairs
NBK II C211	66	305	*inu-inūšu*	4 pairs
NBK II 014 (C213-200)	61	148	'*enūma*'	2 pairs
NBK II 034 (C214)			report-only	-
NBK II C31	108	241	*inu-inūšu*	3 pairs
NBK II 030 (C39)	89	122	*ana* DN	-

Table 14 The alternating pattern in the epithet list of the NBK inscriptions outside the sample group

External to the NBK corpus, the divine terminology principle may find its counterpart in a number of titulary sequence in the inscriptions from many periods. In general, it has been observed that the royal epithets of many Ancient Mesopotamian kings broadly refers to either the king's religious or political role (Cifola 1995:3–5). As demonstrated by Barbara Cifola, the inscription Tiglath-Pileser III 01 (after RINAP 1) of Tiglath-Pileser III (744-727 BCE) contains a titulary that appears to clearly distinguish the 'religious' epithets from the 'secular' by way of grouping those considered the same type together, resulting in a titulary that is divided thematically into two halves (Cifola 1995:142).

However, whether the thematic aspect of the epithets was treated as a compositional framework is a question that has not so well been explored[29].

cat.	titulary
religious	*per'i baltil šū⌈quru⌉*
	"precious scion of Baltil"
religious	*narām* ᵈ[(…) *Šē*]*rūa*
	"beloved of the god(dess) [(DN and) Šē]rūa"
religious	*pitiq Nin⌈menna⌉*
	"creation of the goddess Ninmena"
religious	*ša ana bēlūt mātāti* [(…)] … *irbû ana šarrūti šakkanakku* … [(…)] …
	"who [(...)] ... for the dominion of the lands, (...) who grew up to be king, ... [(...)] governor [(…)] …"
religious[30]	⌈*muṣṣib šagigurê ana*⌉ x x x x x [x] x [(...)] *šurinnī?*
	"the one who increases voluntary offerings for ..., ... [(...)] of emblems"
military	*zikaru dannu*
	"powerful male"
pastoral[31]	*nūr kiššat nišīšu* ⌈*etel?*⌉ [(...) *kal?*] *mal*⌈*kī*⌉ …
	"light of all of his people, lord of [(...) all] rulers ..."
military	*dā'ipu gārêšu*
	"who overwhelms his foes"
military	*eṭlu qardu*
	"valiant man"
military[32]	*sā*⌈*pinu*⌉ [(...)] *nakiri ša ḥurs*⌈*ānī?*⌉ *etgarūti kīma qê usallitūma* … […] …
	"the one who destroys [(...)] enemies, who cuts (straight) through interlocking mountains like a (taut) string and ... [...] ...

Table 15 The titulary of Tigalth-Pileser III as categorised by Cifola (1995)

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[29] The transliteration and translation were taken from RINAP 1 (2011), which is from an edition more recent than the source studied by Cifola, which was Boissier PSBA 18 (1896) 158-160.

[30] This clause had not yet been incorporated into the master manuscript at the time Cifola published her book. However, it appears to correspond to the thematic structure of the text as identified by Cifola.

[31] In Cifola's words, this kind of epithet refers to "the king in his quasi-religious function of benevolent shepherd who takes care of his people by granting prosperity and ruling in justice" (1995:4).

[32] Similar to an earlier clause, part of this clause was not in Cifola's research. The incorporation of the latter half of the text, i.e. ⌈*etel?*⌉ [(...) *kal?*] *mal*⌈*kī*⌉ suggests that the clause depicts a "military" undertone instead of Cifola's original designation as "pastoral".

To return to our NBK corpus, the identification of the functional relationship between the epithets facilitates the understanding of the *anāku* section as a whole because it reveals how the individual elements connect with one another.

Apart from the identification of the divine terminology pattern, we can also observe that, in the sample group, the epithets of the *ša*-clause type are always in the secondary position within an epithet pair. This observation indicates that the *ša*-epithet was created as a subordinate clause and has a complementary role to the epithet it succeeds.

Moreover, the *ša*-epithets only appear in the sample inscriptions that follow the divine terminology pattern, where they strictly function only as sub-epithets. These inscriptions are the eight inscriptions apart from the South-Palace-cylinder (C34) and Ziqqurrat-cylinder (C41). In contrast, the epithets belonging to the *status constructus* and appositional types are more flexible. Some of them appear as sub-epithets in every sequence whether it follows an identifiable principle. The most obvious examples are the ones that appear in the secondary position in the standard epithet set.

Before we move on to discuss the patterns in the legitimacy narrative/*inum* section, let us return to the cluster: *muštālu āḫiz nēmeqi ša alakti ilūtīšunu ištene"û pitluḫu bēlūssun* which has caused a confusion introduced in Chapter 2.3.1.

Our identification of the divine terminology pattern and the relations between each type of epithets has led to the following interpretation:

First, the *ša*-clause is identified as the sub-epithet, which assumes the second position within the epithet pair. It is composed of two clauses that depend on the same *ša* particle, both of which also carries one piece of divine terminology each, namely *ilūtīšunu* (Akk: their divinity) and *bēlūssun* (Akk: their lordship).

These two clauses in the position of the sub-epithet suggest that the structural composition of the main epithet could likely have been made up of two components, namely the participle: *muštālu* (Akk: the wise) and the *status constructus*: *āḫiz nēmeqi* (Akk: the possessor of wisdom).

As such, in order to reflect the relationship between these epithets, we should produce a translation that highlights each individual component in this epithet pair:

<u>main epithet</u>:   *muštālu āḫiz nēmeqi*

= "the wise possessor of wisdom"

<u>sub-epithet</u>:   *ša alakti ilūtīšunu ištene"û pitluḫu bēlūssun*

= "who is assiduous towards the ways of their divinity (and) reveres their lordship."

2.4   The legitimacy narrative – the *inum* section

The legitimacy narrative is an important component that appears between the *anāku* and the main section in the extant twenty-nine multi-sectional inscriptions of NBK. In the ten longest inscriptions chosen as the research sample, it forms one of the three main components of a larger section which is referred to after the first Akkadian term in the clause that appears at the beginning of the section: *inu(m)* or *inūma* (Akk: when). In nine of these inscriptions, the legitimacy narrative is succeeded by the building list and summary passage. In the six shortest multi-sectional inscriptions, the legitimacy narrative on its own serves as a superstructural component for it is the only element that appears between the *anāku* and the main section.

The legitimacy narrative, or the whole *inum* section in the longer inscriptions, presents the background context that initiates the royal construction project in the main section of the inscription. In the nine longest inscriptions in the corpus in which the building list is also included, the legitimacy narrative also acts as the introduction to these projects.

We will conduct two individual investigations of the legitimacy narrative in the NBK corpus. In the first investigation, we will compare the content of the legitimacy narrative in the NBK inscriptions with its counterpart from the Babylonian inscriptions of Esarhaddon and Ashurbanipal as well as the inscriptions of Hammurabi.

As we shall see, the legitimacy narrative in the inscriptions of all four kings has retained its function as the textual illustration of the monarch's justification to rule. However, in Esarhaddon's and Ashurbanipal's Babylonian inscriptions, the content of this section was intensively appropriated to suit their claim to the Babylonian throne. In other words, the literary motifs that are part of the same section in Hammurabi's inscriptions were replaced by another set of narratives that emphasise Esarhaddon's and Ashurbanipal's role in the Babylonian politics.

The underlying political purpose behind the Assyrian kings' adaptation of the content is even more apparent when it is observed that the legitimacy narrative of the NBK inscriptions returned to the literary motifs employed by the Hammurabi texts. For the detailed analysis of this investigation, see: Chapter 6.

In the second investigation, we will compare the building list in the nine inscriptions with one another to identify the common framework behind their formulation.

As to be discussed in this chapter, the building list is subjected to the compositional principles at two levels. Primarily, the list is composed on the basis of "project blocks", each containing buildings that share the same geographical identity. The basic project blocks in the ten samples are:

(1) The Esagil and Ezida, the main temples of the Empire and the important landmarks within their precinct
(2) The fortification walls of Babylon

We will see that the inscriptions that were created for the same type of building tend to share a similar combination of the project blocks. For example, apart from the two basic blocks, the building list in the five inscriptions in the sample group that commemorate temples all share two more blocks, one for the temples in Babylon (the "Babylon block") and the other for the temples in the regional centres ("The Babylonia Block"). However, these inscriptions do not mention NBK's palaces even though it is possible that the construction of some temples may have been commissioned after at least one palace. Similarly, two Palace inscriptions, namely the Stone Tablet and Summer-Palace-cylinder (C35) do not contain any project blocks apart from those located in Babylon and Borsippa. For our discussion of the compositional frameworks that are related to the building type, see: Chapter 5.

Further, particularly in the Babylon and Babylonia Blocks, the building list follows an arrangement based on each project's location along the Euphrates, beginning with the temple located at the northern-most location amongst those included in each inscription. The identification of this arrangement pattern will also lead us to the identification of the location of Baṣ, whose modern site has not been confirmed by the archaeological excavation. This discussion can be found in Chapter 4 of this dissertation.

Although the geographical arrangement of the items in the inscription maybe a reminiscence of the same practice used for the arrangement of the military campaigns in many Assyrian inscriptions, our examination of the history of the temples included in NBK's building list and those renovated by NBK will reveal that these temples had historical connection with the ancient Babylonian kings, such as Hammurabi and Narām-Sîn. In other words, it seems to be the case that NBK only mentioned temples in his

inscriptions, which had been worked on by illustrious predecessors. Although this rationale is not explicitly stated, it would appear that he implicitly wanted to identify himself with them. For our discussion of NBK's attempt to reconnect with his ancient past, see: Chapter 6.

2.4.1 The recurring themes in the legitimacy narrative

The story of NBK receiving the divine approval to rule and the expression of his righteous loyalty to the gods form the core topoi of the legitimacy narrative. As indicated in Table 16, NBK's divine-warranted legitimacy to rule and the expression of his righteous loyalty to the gods through actions such as making prayers and offering can be attested in all ten inscriptions.

	inscription	legitimacy		piety	prayer	offering
		approval	lead rope			
tem.	Lugal-Marad (C32)	✓		✓		
	Eḫursagsikilla (C33)	✓		✓		
	Nabû(?) (C36)	✓	✓			✓
	Eulla (C37)	✓		✓		✓
	Edubba (C38)	✓				✓
zig.	Ziqqurrat (C41)	✓		✓		
pal.	South-Palace (C34)	✓		✓		
	Summer-Palace (C35)	✓	✓	✓		✓
	Stone Tablet	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
bor.	Brisa A+C	✓	✓	✓		✓

Table 16 The distribution of topoi in the introduction to the inum section

A variety of detail depicts NBK assuming the legitimacy to the Babylonian throne through a number of different divine acts, including Marduk and Nabû 'naming' (*nabû*) or 'lifting' (*našû*) NBK to his throne, and 'entrusting' (*qâpu*) to him the people.

It should also be noted that, within our sample group, only two gods have been portrayed as NBK's approver, namely Marduk and Nabû. Of the two gods, Marduk appears as the dominant one for in five inscriptions he turns up alone without Nabû (or any other deity). In contrast, in the cases where they are mentioned together, Nabû cannot stand alone (see: Table 17). The other gods that are included in the narrative in the sample group are

the consorts of Marduk and Nabû, namely Zarpanitu and Nanaya. However, they do not have any active role in granting NBK the legitimacy.

	inscription	legitimacy granted by		piety expressed towards
		Marduk	Nabû	
tem.	Lugal-Marad	*nabû*		*waqû*
	Eḫursagsikilla	*nabû*		*waqû*
	Nabû(?)	*nabû*	*alāku*	-
	Eulla	*nabû*		*waqû*
	Edubba	*nabû*	*malû*	
ziq.	Ziqqurrat	*elû* (D) + *nadānu*		*awû*
pal.	South-Palace	*našû* + *nadānu*		*waqû*
	Summer-Palace	*elû* (D) + *qâpu*	*tamāhu*	*bâlu*
	Stone Tablet	*elû* (D)	*tamāhu*	*palāhu*
bor.	Brisa A+C	(text broken)	*tamāhu*?	*našû*

Table 17 The appearance of Marduk and Nabû in the introduction of the inum section, including the verbs that illustrate their action

The depiction of NBK's piety is presented as the outcome of the divine approval and serves as context to the construction projects in the building list and the main section, which could be understood as the extension of NBK's act of tribute. Along the same direction as the depiction of gods granting NBK the legitimacy, the royal piety is illustrated in a straightforward manner, using declarative statements that show NBK pronouncing his reverence to the gods. For example, in the Lugal-Marad-cylinder (C32) and Eḫursagsikilla-cylinder (C33), NBK declares he 'wait reverently' to serve the benefit of the gods:

> i.14 (C32) + i.15 (C33) *anāku ana Marduk bēliya palḫiš utaqqu*

'I, on the god Marduk, my lord, reverently wait.'

Apart from stating that NBK is a reverent believer, the piety topos in some inscriptions are extensively illustrative, covering a large variety of activities, such as making or increasing offering, praying, attending to the god's sanctuaries. These 'figurative' depictions of NBK's piety appear in six inscriptions in the sample group. They appear alongside the 'verbal' declaration of piety except in the Nabû(?)-cylinder (C36) and Edubba-cylinder (C38) where NBK is portrayed as making offering without pronouncing

his reverence. All of these activities are the illustrations of the NBK's gratitude of the divine approval.

In the extant NBK corpus, the most extreme form of the gratitude topos is the inclusion of a prayer in the Stone Tablet. As noted by Paul-Richard Berger, the prayer occupies 23 lines, from i.51 to ii.1, making up a third of the space given to introduction of the *inum* section in this inscription (1973:60). This additional element is consistent with our observation that the palace inscriptions are generally more individual in terms of their selection of content. For our discussion of the compositional frameworks specific to each building type, see Chapter 5.

Another important topos in the legitimacy narrative is the portrayal of NBK receiving the lead rope over the people. This topos may have been introduced later in NBK's reign as it only appears in the Summer-Palace-cylinder (C35), Nabû(?)-cylinder (C36), Stone Tablet, and Brisa A+C, all of which were likely to have been created in the latter half of his reign (see: Chapter 3). Outside the sample group, this topos does not feature in the six shorter inscriptions which also include the legitimacy narrative.

Generally, even though the introduction of the *inum* does not explicitly depict NBK as a warrior king, it does allude to his expedition to far away regions to subdue his enemy and bring back tributes. These stories explicitly provide an elaborated background to the construction projects because some precious items brought back from the expedition were used as building materials. In the Summer-Palace-cylinder (C35), with the support of Marduk and Nabû, NBK went from the Upper Sea to the Lower Sea to exterminate his enemy and restore order:

i 21   *iš-tu ti-a-am-tim e-li-tim a-di ti-a-am-tim ša-ap-li-tim*

i 22   *ur-ḫu áš-ṭu-tim pa-da-ni₇ pe-ḫu-tim*

i 23   *a-ša-ar ki-ib-su šu-up-ru-su še-e-pi la i-ba-áš-šu-ú*

i 24   *ḫa-ra-ni₇ na-am-ra-ṣi ú-ru-uḫ ṣu-ma-mu er-te-ed-de-e-ma*

i 25   *la ma-gi-ri a-na-ar ak-mi za-ʾi-i-ri*

i 26   MA.DA *uš-te-ši-ir-ma ni-šim uš-ta-am-mi-iḫ*

"I repeatedly travelled (through) far-off lands, remote mountains, from the Upper Sea to the Lower Sea, difficult paths, obstructed roads, where access was blocked (and) approach

was not possible, difficult road(s), (and) empty (lit. thirst) path(s), and killed the insubmissive, bound enemies, put the land in order, and made the people prosper."

Interestingly, the motifs of the expedition to far away regions, destruction of the enemy, and transfer of precious tributes also appear in the *anāku* section of the Nabû(?)-cylinder (C36) where the final epithet in its *anāku* section portrays NBK as a conqueror. It is the only example of the epithets with an allusion to the military affairs in the sample group.

It is likely that the legitimacy narrative is an essential element in the inscriptions that follow the *inum-inūmīšu* principle. Apart from the ten samples, six other inscriptions in the extant NBK corpus also contain the legitimacy narrative (see: Table 18). Five of them follow the *inu-inūšu* principle while one was composed under the *ana* DN principle, which also contains the *inu* and *inūšu* sections. Except for NBK II 021 and C211, these inscriptions do not include the building list.

inscription	word	structure	component in *inūma*	line
NBK II B26	150	*inu-inūšu*	(1) legitimacy narrative	i.8 – i.10
NBK II C24	150	*inu-inūšu*	(1) legitimacy narrative	i.7 – i.10
NBK II 021 (C025+013+016)	490+	*inu-inūšu*	(1) legitimacy narrative	i.9 – i.12
			(2) building list: defensive walls	i.13 – i.26
NBK II C211	305	*inu-inūšu*	(1) legitimacy narrative	i.14 – i.18
			(2) building list: Ebabbar in Sippar	i.19 – i.32
NBK II C31	241	*inu-inūšu*	(1) legitimacy narrative	i.17 – i.24
NBK II 030 (C39)	122	*ana* DN	(1) legitimacy narrative	ii.17 – ii.29

Table 18 The six inscriptions external to the sample group that include the legitimacy narrative

As the relatively short inscriptions in comparison to the ten chosen as research sample, the inclusion of a (short) building list in NBK II 021 and C211 is significant to our understanding of how the *inum* section was put together. Our examination of the building list in these two inscriptions indicates that, if the building list is to be included, composers may prioritise the construction projects that are more related to the one commemorated by each text.

For example, as indicated in its main section, NBK II 021 commemorates the construction of the embankment of the Nēmetti-Enlil wall. The celebrated project corresponds to the building list in its *inūma* section which only includes the construction of the defensive walls in Babylon. Similarly, the building list in NBK II C211 – an inscription created to

commemorate the Eulla in Sippar, only includes the construction of the Ebabbar temple in the same city.

The relationship between the buildings included in the building list and the one commemorated by each inscription as observed in these short inscriptions (same building *type*: NBK II 021 or same *city*: NBK II C211) primarily explains why the longer building lists in the temple inscriptions in the sample group do not include palaces. The same explanation may also resolve the question as to why the Stone Tablet (North Palace, Babylon) does not mention anything outside Babylon and Borsippa.

2.5 The *inūma* section in the sample group

We refer to the legitimacy narrative in the ten samples as the *inum* section to indicate that this is a longer section that also includes other components beyond the legitimacy narrative. These components are the building list and a concluding passage as well as a minor structural component: the epithet sub-section dividers (ESDs).

The most prominent feature of the *inum* section is the building list, which is likely to be a feature exclusive to the longer inscriptions in the corpus, as it could only be found in our sample group. The building list contains the list of construction projects commissioned by NBK apart from the one commemorated in the main section.

Another feature that is exclusive to the *inum* section in the sample group is the epithet sub-section divider (ESD), which is used to create sub-sections within the *inum*. The ESD takes the form of a self-glorification statement not different from the *anāku* section. It consists of the royal name and small selection of epithets, arranged in the nominal sentence that ends with the first-person singular pronoun, *anāku*.

The significance of the selection of projects in the building list is threefold. Firstly, the selection of projects may have a political purpose in highlighting the connection between NBK and the Ancient Babylonian kings. As our analysis in Chapter 6 will demonstrate, many temples included in NBK's building list appear to have a historical connection to figures, such as Hammurabi and Narām-Sîn.

Secondly, the comparative analysis of the projects included in the building list will reveal the influence of the city and building type in the creation of the text at the level of the sub-component. Generally, an inscription created for a building of a certain building type may choose not to include projects that are not of the same type. This concept applies to

the five Temple inscriptions whose building list does not include the palaces. Similarly, an inscription created for a building in a certain city may choose not to include projects from elsewhere. This trend is observed in the three Palace inscriptions from Babylon whose selection of projects in the building list is only restricted to a certain group of cities. For more of this discussion, see: Chapter 5.

Thirdly, the inclusion of some buildings in the building list may have a chronological significance. In other words, their appearance in the list helps us identify the diachronic connection between some inscriptions. As we shall see in Chapter 3, the particular building that may enable the formulation of the internal chronology is the Eurmeiminanki Ziqqurrat of Borsippa, whose construction was recorded in the dated administrative documents.

2.5.1 The components of the *inum* section

Our examination reveals that the content of the *inum* section is formed of a selection of standard components. As illustrated in Table 19, the three main ones are the introduction (the legitimacy narrative), the building list, and the concluding passage, each highlighted with three different colours.

The building list, which takes up the most space of the three set components, is composed of content blocks in which the construction projects are grouped together based on their location. For example, every building list in the inscription that is associated with the temples is composed of four basic project blocks, namely:

- Projects in Esagil and Ezida ("Main Temples block")
- Building temples and fortification in Babylon ("Babylon block")
- Building temples and fortification in Borsippa ("Borsippa block")
- Building temples in the other cities outside Babylon ("Babylonia Block")

The longer temple inscriptions, namely the Nabû(?)-cylinder (C36), Eulla-cylinder (C37), and Edubba-cylinder (C38) also include a separate, fifth block for the projects in Cutha.

	temple					ziq.	bor.	palace		
Topic	C32	C33	C36	C37	C38	C41	WB	C34	C35	ST

Introduction (legitimacy narrative)	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Esagil Temple complex	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓
Šukudakkūtu prebend							✓			
Ezida Temple complex	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓
Streets in Babylon							✓			✓
Fortifications of Babylon	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓
Temples in Babylon	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓			✓
Restauration of the Cult of Ištar in Uruk								✓		
Fortification of Borsippa	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓			✓
Temples in Borsippa	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓			✓
Cross-country Wall							✓			
Projects in Cutha			✓	✓	✓		✓	✓[33]		
Temples in Empire	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓		
South Palace (?)							✓			
North Palace	(not mentioned in any *inūma* section)									
Summer Palace	(not mentioned in any *inūma* section)									
Unification of the empire							✓			

[33] The content that concerns the Emeslam in Cutha as reported in South-Palace-cylinder (C34) only mentions the presentation of offerings to the temple, not its construction.

Provision of Esagil and Ezida	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓			✓		
Creation of the inscription	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓					
Message to future rulers	✓		✓	✓	✓		✓[34]			

Table 19 The three main components of the inūma section highlighted in three colours

Within the sample group, the only *inum* section to not include the building list is the *inum* of the Ziqqurrat-cylinder (C41). As such, this inscription appears closer to the shorter inscriptions in the extant corpus where the legitimacy narrative is the only component that separates the *anāku* section from the construction report of the commemorated building. With only around 415 words, the Ziqqarrat-cylinder (C41) is also the shortest inscriptions among the ten samples.

Before we take our discussion of the building list to a deeper level with the arrangement pattern of the projects, we will first look at another important component of the *inum* section, namely the epithet sub-section dividers (ESD).

2.5.2   The Epithet Sub-section Divider (ESD)

The epithet sub-section divider (ESD) generally appears between the construction reports in the *inum* section in some of the longer inscriptions in the sample group. It is an important component to examine because it is also attested in the inscription corpus of Nabopolassar as well as Hammurabi (mainly in the Prologue and Epilogue of the Codex). On the other hand, the ESD is not part of the Babylonian inscriptions of Esarhaddon and Ashurbanipal. As such, it serves as another important piece of evidence that indicates the position of the NBK inscriptions in the Babylonian inscriptional tradition.

The epithet sub-section divider (ESD) is a declarative sentence composed of a chain of the royal name and one or more epithets that ends with the Akkadian first-person singular nominative pronoun *anāku*. By this definition, it could be said that the ESD is the short version of the *anāku* section, the '*mini-anāku*'. The ESD appears in the *inum* section in

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[34] In the Brisa A+C, this topic appears, but not as part of the *inūm* section. The message to future rulers is inserted between the end of the main section and the prayer.

five inscriptions in the sample group: Brisa A+C, Stone Tablet, Nabû(?)-cylinder (C36), South-Palace-cylinder (C34), and Edubba-cylinder (C38).

The punctuation of the text by the royal name and epithets in the NBK inscriptions has previously been observed in the scholarly commentaries of the inscriptions, but its compositional significance has yet to be recognised. The most comprehensive of these is Paul-Richard Berger's catalogue of the Neo-Babylonian royal inscriptions published in 1973[35]. Rocío Da Riva also referred to the ESD as the "presentation clause" in her critical edition of the Brisa A+C (2012:22–23).

At the surface, the appearance of the ESD seems out of place as it does not enhance the coherence of the *inum* section. As a royal self-introductory statement, it appears to disrupt the narrative of the construction report by separating two report entries with the king presenting himself. For example, in the Edubba-cylinder (C38), the ESD quoted below is inserted between the report for the construction of the Ezida Temple in Borsipa and the Imgur-Enlil and Nēmetti-Enlil Walls in Babylon.

(the Ezida report ends in line i.94)

    i 94   *ki-ma la-bi-ri-im-ma e-eš-šiš e-pú-uš*

'…like the former one I built anew'.[36]

(thus, begins the ESD and successively thereafter the report about the walls)

    i 95   ᵈAG-*ku-du-*⌜*ur-ú*⌝*-ṣur* LUGAL TIN.TIR.KI *muš-te-eʾ-ú*

    i 96   *aš-ra-a-at* ᵈAG *u* ᵈAMAR.UTU *be-lé-e-a a-na-ku* TIN.TIR.KI[37]

'Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, the one who repeatedly searches for the shrines of Nabû and Marduk, my lords – I am. Babylon..'

In case of Brisa A+C where the most frequent use of these ESDs can be attested, the text is punctuated seven times, each by a different epithet. Our close reading of the Brisa

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[35] See for example Berger's commentary of the Stone Tablet (1973:60).

[36] This translation has been made by the author as the RIBo has not made its translation available.

[37] The name of the city, 'Babylon' spelled with the logograms TIN.TIR.KI at the end of line i.96 belongs to another sentence which is the beginning of the narrative slot about the construction of the Imgur-Enlil and Nemetti-Enlil Walls. Manuscript 1 which serves as the master copy of the Edubba-cylinder (C38) features so many of these formatting 'sloppiness' that it is highly suggestive the manuscript could have been a draft or scribal exercise of sort (Jursa 2018:personal communication).

Inscriptions indicates that instead of being arbitrarily inserted into the text, the ESDs in this inscription serve a structural as well as thematic device (see below: Chapter 5.4).

Nabû(?) (C36)	line	South-Palace (C34)	line
anāku	i 1-14	*anāku*	i 1-7
inūma[38]	i 14-ii 19	*inūma*	i 8-ii 59
ESD	ii 20-21	ESD	ii 60-iii 6
inūma (cont.)	ii 22-iii 14	conclusion	iii 7-26
conclusion	iii 15-34	*inūmīšu*	iii 27-44
inūmīšu	iii 34-45	Prayer	iii 45-59
Prayer	iii 46-63		
Edubba (C38)	line	Stone Tablet	line
anāku	i 1-16	*anāku*	i 1-22
inūma	i 16-94	*ištu*	i 23-39
ESD 1	i 95-96	*inūma*	i 40-vi 62
inūma (cont.)	i 96-iii 22	ESD	vi 63-vii 4
ESD 2	iii 26-30	conclusion	vii 5-25
conclusion	iii 31-70	main	vii 26-ix 44
inūmīšu	iii 70-85	Prayer	ix 45-x 19
Prayer	iii 85-96		
Brisa A + C	line (A / C)		
anāku	i 1-22 / i 1-22		
inūma (?)	i 23-(?) / i 23-ix 12		
7 ESDs in the *inūma*	(see: Chapter 5.4)		
inūmīšu	(?) / ix 13-x 12		
prayer	(?) / x 13-40		

Table 20 The position of the ESDs within the inūma section of the inscriptions in the sample group.

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[38] The bolded line indicates the *inūma* section within the text.

In the five inscriptions from the sample group in which it appears, the ESD is used to (1) separate the construction reports from the concluding passage of the *inum* section or (2) *thematically* separate the content blocks in the construction reports.

Moreover, because four out of five inscriptions that contain the ESDs are also the longest extant inscriptions of NBK, it is very likely that its appearance corresponds to length of the text. That is, the longer an inscription is, the better chance an ESD could be included. As such, the ESD as a component could be also understood to have functioned as an ornament that simplifies the complexity of the text.

In the Nabû(?)-cylinder (C36), Edubba-cylinder (C38), Stone Tablet, and Brisa A+C, the ESDs are used to separate the building list and the concluding passage. In so doing, the ESD acts as an intermezzo between the long list of projects and the summary, which highlights the purpose and significance of the aforementioned activities.

For example, following the final narrative block that lists out the construction projects of eight temples in the major Babylonian cities (iii 4-25), the Edubba-cylinder (C38) introduces a five-line ESD before proceeding to the conclusion.

> iii 26 ᵈAG-*ku-du-*⸢*úr*⸣*-ri-ú-ṣu-ur*
>
> iii 27 LUGAL KÁ.DINGIR.RA.KI *mu-ṭi-ib*
>
> iii 28 *lìb-bi* ᵈAMAR.UTU *be-lí-ia muš-*⸢*te*⸣*-eʾ-ú*
>
> iii 29 *aš-ra-a-at* ᵈ*na-bi-um*
>
> iii 30 *na-ra-am šar-ru-ti-ia a-na-ku-ma*[39]

"Nebuchadnezzar, King of Babylon, the one who pleases the heart of Marduk, my lord, who is constantly in search for the shrines of Nabû, the beloved of my kingship – I am."

Immediately the votive cluster picks up in iii 31:

> iii 31 *é-sag-íl ù é-zi-da*
>
> iii 32 *at-ma-ni₇ be-lu-ti-šu-un*

"Esagil and Ezida, the cellas of their lordship…"

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[39] The -*ma* particle marking the predicate is a scribal variant of the ESD clause. Within the sample group, this is the less common form of the ESD, occurring again only in the Stone Tablet.

In the Nabû(?)-cylinder (C36), the ESD separates the construction reports of the Esagil and Ezida temples from the rest of the list (see: Table 21)[40]. The report ends in ii.19 with the return of Nabû and Nanaya to their newly renovated dwelling and resumes with the construction of the Imgur-Enlil and Nēmetti-Enlil walls in ii.22.

ii 20 ^{d}na-bi-um-ku-du-úr-ri-ú-ṣu-úr šar ba-bi-i-li.KI

ii 21   mu-uš-te-eʾ-ù áš-ra-a-tì ^{d}na-bi-um ù ^{d}AMAR.UTU be-le-e-a a-na-ku

"Nebuchadnezzar (II), king of Babylon, the one who is assiduous towards the sanctuaries of the gods Nabû and Marduk, my lords – I am."

In the Edubba-cylinder (C38), apart from the ESD that separates the building list from the concluding passage in the example above, another ESD also appears between the Esagil-Ezida report and the construction report of the defensive walls in Babylon, identical to case of the Nabû(?)-cylinder (C36).

Edubba (C38)	line	Nabû(?) (C36)	line
Introduction	i 16-29	Introduction	i 15-29
Esagil Temple complex	i 30-35	Esagil Temple complex	i 30-35
Ezida Temple complex	i 36-94	Ezida Temple complex	i 36–ii 19
ESD	i 95-96	ESD	ii 20–21
Imgur-Enlil + Nēmetti Enlil	i 96-ii 2	Imgur-Enlil + Nēmetti Enlil	ii 22–29

Table 21 The early part of the inūma section in the Edubba-cylinder (C38) and Nabû(?)-cylinder (C36)

Amongst the five inscriptions that feature the use of the ESD, Brisa A+C presents the most uncommon exemplar. Although the function of the ESD in this inscription is identical to other texts, its seven appearances deserve a special treatment. The individual analysis is presented separately in Chapter 5.4.

The use of the ESD as a content divider is not unique amongst the NBK inscriptions. The ESD is also attested as a compositional feature for the inscriptions in the Neo-Babylonian corpus as well as those from other periods. In fact, if the lack of the military account

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[40] Given the similarity of the superstructure of the Nabû(?)-cylinder (C36) and Edubba-cylinder (C38), one wonders if the former actually forgets to include the second ESD. Amongst the inscriptions that feature the ESD, none of them except the Nabû(?)-cylinder (C36) uses the ESD solely to separate narrative slots within the construction report.

thematically distinguishes the Babylonian inscriptions from the Assyrian ones, the ESD could be a compositional component that marks the Babylonian texts from those of its northern neighbour. For our discussion of the ESD in the Babylonian inscriptions before NBK's reign, see: Chapter 7.3.

2.5.3 The building list

The main portion of the *inum* section in the sample group is the list of buildings that NBK had commissioned apart from the commemorated project in the main section. Following the legitimacy narrative at the beginning of the *inum* section, these construction projects are portrayed as NBK's offerings to the gods for granting him the ruling legitimacy.

The building list starts to turn up in the *inum* section of the longer inscriptions in the NBK corpus, namely in nine inscriptions included in the sample group. As our observation will demonstrate, the selection of projects in the building list may have something to do with NBK trying to demonstrate that he followed the footprints of the ancient kings, especially Narām-Sîn and Hammurabi as many of them have a history traceable to either or both kings.

Moreover, we will also identify minor compositional principle in the sub-components of the building list. In the list of buildings in the city of Babylon (in this dissertation, the 'Babylon block' or Block 2), the temples were arranged according to their location based on each temple's geographic relationship with the course of the river Euphrates. This principle applies to the building list in all nine samples whether it was intended for the temple, palace, or the imperial border (Brisa A+C). The same principle is also attested in the Babylonia Block (Block 4) where the temples are arranged based on their city's location along the Euphrates, from upstream to downstream.

It is also possible that the building list is NBK's contribution to the Babylonian inscriptional tradition as this component can neither be attested in the Babylonian inscriptions of the Assyrian kings nor in the fifteen extant inscriptions of Nabopolassar. Although the legitimacy narrative and the *inum* section in general is also part of NBP's inscriptions, it is dominated by the story of NBP's military victory over the Neo-Assyrian power[41].

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[41] For the detailed discussion of the content in Nabopolassar's inscriptions, see: Da Riva 2013b:2–12.

2.5.3.1 An overview of the content in the building list

The content in the building list can render an illusion of grandeur especially in the longer inscriptions where the list includes many projects. As a summary account of the royal initiatives, many construction reports use verbs whose meaning is straightforward but broad enough that, when occur constantly, they can illustrate NBK as a prolific monarch. For example, the verb *epēšu* (Akk: to do, to build) and *edēšu* (Akk: *in D stem* to make anew) were often used in combination without further depiction of what precisely was done. This narrative approach is attested in the Babylon and the Babylonia Block where temples, shrines, and sanctuaries of various sizes are grouped together.

The vagueness in the meaning of the text that is caused by the choice of vocabulary is generally observed in the building inscriptions of all periods in both the Sumerian and Akkadian languages. As indicated by Andrew George, the inscriptions in this typology tend to favour terms that carry broad meaning, such as *dù* in Sumerian and *epēšu* in Akkadian (1993:62). As results, it is very difficult to determine the scale of the project from the text alone.

The NBK construction report does sometimes switch to another group of terms that convey a very specific action. However, this attempt to tell story with precision ended up prompting a question about the scale of some projects instead. For example, according to the Stone Tablet the only construction initiative that took place at the Eumuša, the cella of Marduk in the Esagil, is the decoration of the interior with *ḫurāṣu ruššû* (Akk: "red gold").

Along the same line, although archaeological discoveries have confirmed that some of NBK's projects, such as the palaces and the Ziqqurrats, were indeed 'megaprojects', some of his other projects may have been very small. For example, the Ekitušgarza of the goddess Nin.eanna in Babylon has been identified as a shrine that was built into the space between the two towers of the city fortification (George 1992:330). Naturally, this project would have required less investment than the South Palace, whose 200-metre façade borders one side of the processional street on the way from the Ištar Gate to the Esagil and whose throne room was roughly the size of the Galerie des Glaces in Versailles (van de Mieroop 2003:268–269). As such, it is important to keep in mind that the projects included in the same list could actually have been very different from one another in terms of the construction scale.

Moreover, similar to the case of the main section, even though the construction accounts were told in the past simple, some projects may not have actually been completed within NBK's lifetime. It is usual for a king to say in his inscription that he has completed an unfinished building left by a former king whose inscription of the same building has already rendered the project as complete. For example, NBK's account of the construction of the Etemenanki Ziqqurrat in the *inum* of the Brisa Inscriptions and the main section of the Ziqqurrat-cylinder (C41) presents the project as the continuation of Nabopolassar's incomplete effort while NBP's own account of his initiation presents the Ziqqurrat as complete[42].

2.5.3.2   The construction projects in the building list

The building list in the sample group covers over forty individual construction projects, which broadly fall into four building types: religious buildings, defensive structures, civic buildings, and palaces.

(1) Religious buildings: this type of projects includes temples, Ziqqurrats, shrines, and daises, the residences of the gods. With at least thirty items included, the number of projects identified as religious buildings is significantly greater than those falling into other types. The majority of these projects are located in the city of Babylon (12 buildings). The rest are located in the major cities in the imperial heartland, such as Borsippa, Cutha, and Sippar.

(2) Defensive structures: these buildings are the city fortification including walls, gates, and embankments. In the sample group, the buildings in this category come from only three cities, namely Babylon, Borsippa, and Cutha. The only defensive structure that is not associated with any city is the Median Wall. It is only attested in Brisa A+C.

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[42] Two of Nabopolassar's inscriptions commemorate the construction of the Etemenanki Ziqqurrat, i.e. Nabopolassar 06 (C31) and Nabopolassar 13 (B6). NBP 06 (C31) gives a detailed description of the project including the statement that claims NBP had completed the structure:
iii 25   É GABA.RI *é-šár-ra*
iii 26   *i-na ul-ṣi-im ù ri-si-a-te*
iii 27   *lu e-pú-uš-ma ki-ma* SA.TU-*im*
iii 28   *re-e-si-šu*
iii 29   *lu ú-ul-li-im*
"In joy and happiness, I built the temple as a replica of Ešarra and I raised its superstructure up like a mountain."

(3) Civic buildings: this group of buildings includes the logistic and agricultural infrastructures, such as streets and canals.

(4) Palaces: out of the three palaces attributed to NBK, the only one that we are certain to have been included in the *inum* is the South Palace of Babylon. This palace is featured at the end of the *inum* in Brisa A+C. There is a divide in the sample group where the *inum* building list in the Temple inscriptions does not mention the palaces while the list in the Palace inscriptions is limited to temples only from certain places (see: Chapter 5.1.2).

Apart from the buildings in the four categories, the building lists in some inscriptions also includes the account of the royal initiatives that are not related to building projects, such as the creation of the religious dedicatory objects as well as the creation of the administrative post and religious cult. These items are mentioned in connection to the construction of a specific building that is also featured in the list. For example, the creation of the Maumuša, the processional boat of Marduk is associated to the renovation of the Esagil.

City	Religious building	Defensive structures
Babylon	Esagil (incl. Ezida and the shrines)	Imgur-Enlil Wall
	Etemenanki Ziqqurrat	Nēmetti-Enlil Wall
	Esiskur	Ištar Gate
	Emaḫ	Eastern Wall
	Egidrukalamma-summu	Embankment
	Egišnugal	
	Edikukalamma	
	Enamḫe	
	Esabad	
	Eḫursagsikilla	
	Ekitušgarza	
Borsippa	Ezida	Ṭābi-supurša Wall
	Eurmeiminanki Ziqqurrat	Embankment
	Temple of Dumu.é	
	Etila	
	Egula	
	Ezibatila	
	Edimana	

Cutha	Emeslam	City wall
	Ešurugal	Embankment
Sippar	Ebabbar	
	Eulla	
Baṣ	Edurgina	
Dilbat	E-ibbi-Anum	
Marad	Eigikalamma	
Uruk	Eanna	
Agade?	Eulmaš?	
Larsa	Ebabbar	
Ur	Ekišnugal	
frontier		'The Median Wall'
		Canal and embakment

Table 22 The religious and defensive building in the inūma from the sample group

City	Civic building	Palace	appurtenances
Babylon	Ištar-lamassi-ummānīša / Ayyi-bur-šabû street	South Palace (Old Palace)	Marduk's processional boat
	Nabû-dayyān-nišīšu street		
	Lībil-ḫegalla Canal		
Borsippa			Nabû's processional boat

Table 23 The civic buildings, palaces, and divine appurtenances in the inūma from the sample group

As demonstrated in Table 22 and Table 23, the construction report concentrates on the projects in three cities, namely Babylon – which takes up the overwhelmingly larger number of projects, Borsippa, and Cutha. This finding corresponds to an earlier observation by Rocío Da Riva who indicated that Marduk, Nabû, and Nergal are the three most important deity in the Neo-Babylonian period as illustrated by the order in which their respective temples, the Esagil, Ezida, and Emeslam appear in the royal inscriptions (Da Riva 2010b:46–48). Our illustration of the items in the building list has further

pointed out that the importance of these gods is not only reflected through their position in the text, but also how much 'airtime' they receive. The cities of Babylon, Borsippa, and Cutha are the three cities with the most items included. Indicatively, they are also the only three cities where NBK claimed he had their city walls built.

Apart from the evidence from the inscriptional material, a prosopographical study has shown that Marduk, Nabû, and Nergal as a triad also had a central role in the Babylonian everyday culture in the sixth century BC. According to Heather Baker, a naming custom was practised by some families whose oldest of the male children would be given a name that contains the divine name Marduk (Baker 2002:10–11). Accordingly, the second and third male children would be named with the divine name Nabû and Nergal respectively (ibid). The three deities were also treated as a unit (as Bēl, Nabû, and Nergal) in a letter (MM 504) from the Eanna Archive dated to the reign of Cyrus the Great (Stolper:272–276).

The special attention given to Babylon, Borsippa, and Cutha as results of their socio-political significance also extended to the Hellenistic period as evident in another importance historical source, namely the administrative texts. For example, a Hellenistic document from the Esagil Archive known in the academic literature as the Lehmann-text details Laodice's, wife of Antiochus II, direction of tithes gathered in the land on the Euphrates around Babylon and Borsippa to the Esagil, Ezida, and Emeslam (Jursa 1998:73–74).

The royal initiatives that are included in the building list of the *inūma* section are not all initiatives that NBK had ever commissioned. The inscriptional and administrative evidence indicate that many more construction activities attributed to NBK took place throughout the empire. As attested in the brick inscription NBK II B28, NBK commissioned the construction of the Egalmaḫ, the temple of the goddess Gula. According to the cuneiform documents from the Eanna archive, projects also took place in Tyros (Ṣūru) on the Phoenician coast, Jādaqu on the Tigris near Uruk, and in the Sealand (Kleber 2008:141–161). In Aššur, scholars have been debating whether Temple A and Temple N, which stood on the ruins of the Temple of Aššur, were built by NBK[43]. More

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[43] See: Radner 2017
Temple A was built on top of the ruin that was the great Temple of Aššur, the centre of belief in the Neo-Assyrian empire. The Temple of Aššur was destroyed during the civil way that had led to the formulation of the Neo-Babylonian empire, centred in Babylon. The attribution of the Temple A to the Neo-Babylonian period was first proposed by the excavator of the site, Walter Andrae, who

importantly, the Edubba in Kish, which is commemorated by the Edubba-cylinder (C38) studied in this dissertation, does not appear in any building list in the extant corpus.

In the broader perspective, the Neo-Babylonian monarchs' role in the prosperity or demise of certain cities is an issue that scholars interested in the Babylonian urban development have been exploring. Paul-Alain Beaulieu suggested that the city of Larsa was revived by NBK partly to fulfil the imperial ideology (2006:199–200). On the opposite, Heather Baker believed that Nippur may have been purposely subjected to negligence since there is no building attributed to the Neo-Babylonian period even though the city has been well excavated (2011:546–547). The only mentioning of Nippur in the extant NBK inscriptions is in the main section of the Ziqqurrat-cylinder (C41)[44]. In this text, Nippur is depicted as one of the sources of corvée labour in the construction of the Etemenanki Ziqqurrat and notably not the city where NBK initiated a building project.

2.5.3.3 *The compositional principles of the building list*
A number of scholarly discussions of the NBK inscriptions have already identified the components of the building list, but never addressed them in terms of their compositional function the same way that the four superstructural components have been perceived.

In the inscription catalogue published in 1973, Paul-Richard Berger noted that the textual relationship between some individual inscriptions can be observed in the passages in the *inum* section but did not raise an argument about its significance (1973:34–46). More recently, the topic blocks have been identified as the components of the *inum* section by Rocío Da Riva in a comparative analysis that explores the originality of Brisa A+C but the question of how the blocks were put together at the larger scale had a minor role (2012:22–24). The following tables of topics in the building list also build on Da Riva's analysis.

Our investigation indicates that despite the varying number of project reports included, the building list in the *inum* section was composed according to a selection of blueprints

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cite the similarities between the layout of Temple A and the Babylonian sanctuaries (1938:164–170).

Karen Radner argues that Temple A was built when the Assyrians in exile returned to Aššur after Cyrus the Great conquered Babylon and allowed 'foreigners' to return to their homeland. In her opinion, the decision to build a new temple on top of the site that was the main temple of Aššur was a deliberate choice to restore the cult of Aššur which had thrived as in the Assyrian communities in Babylonia.

[44] See: line ii.45-iii.35 in http://oracc.org/ribo/Q005498/.

that are associated with the type of building each inscription commemorates. Each building list consists of "project blocks", within each are the projects originating from the same city, such as Babylon and Borsippa, or sharing the same function, such as defensive walls and public infrastructure.

As illustrated in Table 24, the five temple inscriptions share the same framework for their selection of building projects. All of them include at least the same four project blocks, namely Block 1 (Main temples), Block 2 ("Babylon block"), Block 3 ("Borsippa block"), and Block 4 ("Babylonia Block").

In contrast, the building list in the three inscriptions associated with the palaces: the Stone Tablet, Summer-Palace-cylinder (C35), and South-Palace-cylinder (C34) each appears to have its own way of combining the blocks. Particularly in the Stone Tablet and Summer-Palace-cylinder (C35), the combination is characterised by the inclusion of the projects only from within the cities of Babylon and Borsippa.

block	Topics	temple					ziq.	palace			bor.
		32	33	36	37	38	41	34	35	ST	WB
	Introduction (legitimacy)	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
1	Esagil Temple complex	3	3	2	2	2		2	2	2	2
	Šukudakkūtu prebend										3
	Marduk's boat			5		5					4
	Ezida Temple complex	4	4	3	3	3		4	3	3	5
	Nabû's boat			6		6					6
	Infrastructures in Babylon									6.1	7
	Fortification wall of Babylon (Double Wall)	2	2	4	5	4		3		6.2	8
2	Temples in Babylon	5	5	7	4	7				4	9
	Fortification wall of Babylon (East Wall)	6	6	8		8			6	6.3	12
3	Fortification of Borsippa	7	7	9	6	9				7	10
	Temples in Borsippa	8	8	10	7	10				5	11
	Cross-country Wall										13
5	Projects in Cutha			11	8	11					14
4	Temples in Empire	9	9	12	9	12		5			15

	South Palace (?)										16

Table 24 The topic-blocks in the inum and their order of appearance in each inscription in the sample group

Finally, Brisa A+C exhibits an individual style that seems to be a combination of the Temple and Palace inscriptions. Although its building list is founded on the same four project blocks as attested in the Temple inscriptions, the structure of the content in Block Two (Babylon) and Four (Empire) is identical to how the Palace inscriptions present their projects. The special feature in Brisa A+C could have been a result of a number of factors taken altogether, such as the larger availability of the writing space, the location of the inscription at the frontier of the empire (hence the eagerness to advertise "everything"), and the likelihood of it being created later in the reign[45].

More of our discussion concerning the compositional principle of the building list in the inscriptions dedicated to each building type can be found in Chapter 5.1.

Apart from pointing out the significant role of the intended location of each inscription in its own creation process, our comparative analysis of the building lists has also identified the arrangement pattern of the projects within the Babylon and Babylonia Blocks (Block 2 and 4). In both project blocks, the construction reports were arranged according to each project's geographic location relative to the course of the Euphrates.

The list begins with the project located at the most upstream location amongst those included and proceeds to the ones downstream. In the Babylon block (Block 2), the list starts with the temple situated at the northern-most location on the eastern bank of the Euphrates and ends with the southern-most temple on the western bank.

In the Babylonia Block (Block 4), the list starts with the temple in the city located in the northern-most location along the Euphrates and continues down the river towards the marshes. This principle applies to the Babylon and Babylonia Blocks in both the Temple and the Palace inscriptions even though the inscriptions in these two sub-groups do not share the same basic selection of topic blocks.

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[45] For the chronology of the Brisa Inscriptions, see: Da Riva 2012:19–20. Rocío Da Riva suggested that the inclusion of the construction report of the Cross-country Wall is the evidence of the inscription's later creation because of the time the construction would have taken. Although we agree with Da Riva's proposition, we also believe that there is another project whose construction in the later part of NBK's reign is supported by the administrative documents, namely the Eurmeiminanki Ziqqurrat, see: Chapter 3.

In general, it is likely that the geography-based arrangement concept in the Babylon and Babylonia Blocks was understood and consciously applied by the people who composed the inscriptions because all lists 'correctly' reproduce the pattern regardless of the number of projects they include. In other words, the composers of the texts knew where to place a project in the sequence whether the given pool of projects is big or small.

As for the Borsippa and Cutha blocks which also contain, albeit shorter, a list of projects, it is possible that the arrangement also follows a similar principle. However, because of the limited archaeological excavations and the small amount of historical data regarding the plan of the cities, a precise conclusion remains difficult to formulate.

For our discussion of the geographic pattern in the Babylon and Babylonia Block in details, see: Chapter 4.

2.5.3.4 Block One: The Main Temple Complexes

We treat the construction report of the temple complexes of Esagil and Ezida as the same topic block because together they are the first building projects that appear in the building list throughout the sample group. Apart from the overview account of the construction work at the two temples, the content in this topic block also lists out a number of specific parts of the temple, some of which are also given elaborate description.

As the most important religious complexes in the Neo-Babylonian empire, the Esagil and Ezida appear as the first projects in the building list in all ten sample inscriptions except the Ziqqurrat-cylinder (C41) which does not include the building list at all.

Our comparative analysis of the construction reports included within Block 1 in the nine inscriptions has pointed to a predominantly homogenous selection of projects. The more important buildings in the temple precincts, such as the Eumuša shrine, Emaḫtila shrine, and the Etemenanki Ziqqurrat of Babylon are included in all nine inscriptions whereas the less important parts such as the entrances and corridors only appear in the longer texts.

The Esagil section within Block 1 is based on the report of four parts of the temple: the E.umuš.a shrine, the Ka.ḫi.li.su, the Ezida Shrine in the Esagil (*Ezida ša Esagil*; not to be confused with the Ezida Temple in Borsippa), and the Etemenanki Ziqqurrat.

Instead of mentioning the *Ezida ša Esagil*, the Stone Tablet refers to a specific spot within that shrine known by its Sumerian name: Dukukinamtartarede, "Pure Mound, where

Destinies are decreed". Apart from the Ziqqurrat-cylinder (C41) which simply does not include the building list, the only inscription in the sample group that does not include all four parts of the Esagil is the Summer-Palace-cylinder (C35).

	temple insc.						palace insc.		
	C32	C33	C36	C37	C38	WB	C34	C35	ST
E.umuš.a	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Ka.ḫi.li.su	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓
Ezida ša Esagil	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		
Dukukinamtartarede									✓
Marduk's boat			✓*		✓*	✓			✓
Etemenanki Ziqqurrat	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
E.umuš.a's roof									✓
Šukudakkūtu prebend						✓			

Table 25 The list of projects in the Esagil Temple

	temple insc.						palace insc.		
	C32	C33	C36	C37	C38	WB	C34	C35	ST
Emaḫtila	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	-		
Eurmeiminanki								✓	✓
Nabû's boat[46]			✓*		✓*	✓			✓
Kaumuša			✓		✓				✓
Dais of Destinies			✓		✓				
Cella corridor			✓		✓	✓			
Entrance to shrines			✓		✓	✓			
Edimanna of Sîn[47]					✓				**
Storehouse at the eastern gate						✓			

Table 26 The distribution of content in the Ezida section

The Ezida section in Block 1 is the construction report of the Ezida Temple in Borsippa, the main cult centre of Nabû, which is not to be confused with the shrine of the same name in the Esagil Temple in Babylon where Nabû resides during the Akītu Festival.

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[46] *Nabû's boat in C36 and C38 mentioned but not in the Ezida block unlike in WB and ST where the Nabû's boat is part of the block.

[47] **Edimanna in ST is in the Borsippa block.

The selection of sites included in the Ezida section in each inscription is generally limited to the Emaḫtila shrine, Nabû's main cella in the temple, with the Nabû(?)-cylinder (C36), Eulla-cylinder (C37), and Edubba-cylinder (C38) including other minor parts of the complex, namely the Kaumuša, the corridors, and the entrance.

Given the generally homogenous selection of projects with the Esagil and Ezida, the inclusion of the Eurmeiminanki Ziqqurrat, which is exclusive to two Palace inscriptions: the Stone Tablet and Summer-Palace-cylinder (C35), is the point of departure for our identification of the internal chronology using the Eurmeiminanki Ziqqurrat as a diachronic reference. As we shall see, many pieces of evidence will demonstrate that the Stone Tablet and the Summer-Palace-cylinder (C35), the two inscriptions that include the Borsippa Ziqqurrat, were likely to have been created in the latter half of NBK's reign. (see: Chapter 3).

2.5.3.5 Block Two: The temples in Babylon and the fortification walls

The Babylon block includes the royal initiatives in Babylon except those relating to Esagil (which are assigned to Block One), and therefore consists entirely of the temple and fortification wall constructions.

Our comparative analysis of the building list in the nine samples will reveal that the construction reports in Block Two were compiled as a list under a geography-based principle whereby the arrangement of the project follows the course of the river Euphrates from up to downstream. This principle is observed in every building list that includes the Babylon block regardless of how many temples are selected. The discovery of the principle also serves as evidence that the inscriptions were composed by people who were not ad-libbing, but rather drew on accepted conventions. For the detailed analysis of the application of this principle, see: Chapter 4.1.

The basic element of the Babylon block is the construction report of the temples in the city of Babylon. In the ten samples, a total of nine temples appears regularly, some more often than the others.

Data gathered from the topographical texts, such as *Tintir = Babylon* indicates that nearly all of the temples are in the inner city i.e., within the area surrounded by the Imgur-Enlil and Nēmetti-Enlil walls on both sides of the river. On the eastern bank, the temples are in the five central districts of the city, surrounded by the Imgur-Enlil and Nēmetti-Enlil Walls. On the western bank, they are also within the three walled districts of the city.

The only temple that is located outside of these areas is the Esiskur, the temple of the Akītu festival, whose location is proposed to be north of the Double-wall, somewhere between the Ištar Gate and the Summer Palace[48].

Temple names	deities	temples					pal.[49]	bor.
		C32	C33	C36	C37	C38	ST	WB
E.siskur	Akītu						1	
Emaḫ	Ninḫursag	1	1	1	1	1	2	1
Egidrukalamma-summu	Nabû	2	2	2	2	2	3	2
Egišnugal	Sîn			4	3	3	4	
Edikukalamma	Šamaš			6	6	6	5	5
Enamḫe	Adad	3	3	5	5	5	6	4
Esabad	Gula						7	7
Eḫursagsikilla	Gula			3	4	4	8	3
Ekitušgarza	Nin.Eanna	4	4	7	7	7	9	6

Table 27 The distribution of temples in the Babylon block

In the sample group, the construction reports in the Babylon block are presented in two formats, each applied by two different subgroups of inscriptions: the temple and the palace inscriptions.

In the first format, the projects were combined in one sentence. This compositional style is attested in the building list of the inscriptions that were dedicated to temples, namely the Lugal-Marad-cylinder (C32), Eḫursagsikilla-cylinder (C33), Nabû(?)-cylinder (C36), Eulla-cylinder (C37), and Edubba-cylinder (C38). For example, the Babylon block in the Lugal-Marad-cylinder (C32) which contains four temples in Babylon is essentially one sentence that ends with the verbs *edēšu* (Akk: to be(come) new), *banû* (to build), and *elû* (*in D stem*: to raise).

    ii 10   *é-maḫ* É *ᵈnin-ḫur-sag-gá lìb-ba* KÁ.DINGIR.RA.KI

    ii 11   *é-*GIŠ.*níg-gidru-kalam-ma-sum-ma* É *ᵈna-bi-um ša ḫa-re-e*

    ii 12   *é-nam-ḫé* É *ᵈ*IŠKUR *lib-ba ku-ma-ri*.KI

[48] For a full description of the location of each temple and other landmarks in Babylon, see (George 1992:13–29)

[49] Note: The South-Palace-cylinder (C34), Summer-Palace (C35) do not contain this project block.

ii 13   *é-ki-tuš-garza* É ᵈ*nin-é-an-na ša tu-ub-qá-at* BÀD

ii 14   *i-na ba-bi-lam*.KI *e-eš-še-eš₁₅ ab-ni-ma*

ii 15   *ú-ul-la-a re-e-ša-ši-in*

"(As for) Emaḫ, the temple of the goddess Ninḫursag, (which is) inside Kadingirra, Eniggidrukalamasuma, the temple of the god Nabû of the ḫarû, Enamḫe, the temple of the god Adad, (which is) inside Kumari, Ekitušgarza, the temple of the goddess Nineanna, (which is) at the corner of the wall: I built (them) anew in Babylon and raised up their superstructure(s)."

In the second format, each report on an individual temple forms a sentence on its own using a broadly similar set of terminology. In so doing, the Babylon block that was composed in this structure appears as a repetition of the same compositional formula as opposed to a long sentence. The inscriptions whose Babylon block was composed in this format are the Stone Tablet and Brisa A+C. For example, in the Stone Tablet the construction reports of the Ekišnugal of Sîn and Edikukalama of Šamaš form each of their own self-contained narrative. However, the basic elements of the two reports refer to a conceptually similar idea that NBK built temples for the gods whose favour he sought to maintain. Notably, the reports also use the same verb: *epēšu* (Akk: to build).

iv 25   *a-na* ᵈEN.ZU *mu-da-am-mi-iq*

iv 26   *i-da-ti-ia*

iv 27   *é-giš-nu₁₁-gal* É-*su*

iv 28   *i-na ba-bi-ìl*.KI *e-pú-uš*

"For the god Sîn, who makes my omens auspicious, I built in Babylon Ekišnugal (Egišnugal), his temple."

iv 29   *a-na* ᵈUTU *da-a-a-nim ṣi-i-ri*

iv 30   *ša-kin* UZU SIG₅ *i-na te-er-ti-ia*

iv 31   *é-di-ku₅-kalam-ma* É-*su*

iv 32   *i-na* KÁ.DINGIR.DINGIR.KI

iv 33   *i-na ku-up-ri ù a-gur-ri*

iv 34   *ša-qí-iš e-pú-uš*

"For the god Šamaš, the exalted judge who put a propitious omen in my extispicy, I built in Babylon Edikukalama, his temple, to a great height with bitumen and baked brick."

The distinction between two major subgroups of inscriptions i.e., the Temple and Palace inscriptions as identified by the format of the construction reports in the building list can also be observed in the Babylonia Block (Block 4) towards the end of the *inum* section. The Babylonia Block contains the construction reports of the temples outside the city of Babylon and Borsippa. Similar to the Babylon block, the reports in the Babylonia Block were composed either as one long sentence or multiple individual sentences (see: Part 2.5.3.7).

2.5.3.6 *Block Three: The Borsippa projects*

As the second most important city in the empire after Babylon, the construction projects in the city of Borsippa also form their own topic block that is separate from the projects located within the Ezida temple. The Borsippa block includes the royal initiatives in Borsippa except those relating to Ezida (which are assigned to Block One), and therefore consists entirely of the constructions of temples and fortification walls.

As illustrated earlier in Table 24, the Borsippa block assumes the third position in the *inūma* building sequence in the seven inscriptions in the sample group. Similar to the longer Babylonian temple list discussed on the above, the text of the Borsippa block is either a long sentence that successively lists out individual projects or formed of multiple short sentences placed consecutively.

Our close investigation of the Borsippa block in the seven inscriptions does not reveal any specific arrangement pattern apart from the fact that the Ṭābi-supūršu Wall (Akk: 'Its Fold is Pleasant') and the Temple of Mār-bīti are the two 'core' items of the block as they are the only two included in all seven inscriptions[50]. Unfortunately, all the major excavations at Borsippa led by Rassam from 1879 to 1882, Koldewey during his decade-long Babylonian expedition, and the Austro-Iraqi project in the 1980s do not provide enough evidence to prove that the projects included in the Borsippa block also follows a

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[50] In case of the Stone Tablet, the wall is treated as part of another topic block devoted to the defensive structures, see: Chapter 4.1.7.

geographic pattern as do the Babylonian ones because the excavations only concentrated around the Ezida temple and the Ziqqurrat[51].

	palace			border	temple				
	ST	C35	C34	Brisa	C38	C37	C36	C33	C32
Ṭābi-supūršu Wall	✓			1	1	1	1	1	1
Temple of Mār-bīti	1			2	2	2	2	2	2
Etila	3			3	3	3	3		
Egula	2	x	x	4	4	4	4		
Ezibatila	4			5	5	5	5		
Adad's Temple	5								
Edimana in the Ezida	6				✓✓[52]				

Table 28 The projects in the Borsippa block

As illustrated in Table 28, the ordering of the construction reports in the Borsippa block indicates that there is a strong relation among the inscriptions dedicated to the projects of the same building type, especially those associated with the temple projects. The Borsippa block in three temple inscriptions, namely the Nabû(?)-cylinder (C36), Eulla-cylinder (C37), and Edubba-cylinder (C38) as well as Brisa A+C contains the same selection of projects arranged in the same order. Similarly, in the Lugal-Marad-cylinder (C32) and Eḫursagsikilla-cylinder (C33), although not as many projects are included, the Ṭābi-supūršu Wall still assumes the first position in the list and is succeeded by the Temple of Mār-bīti.

In contrast, the Stone Tablet is the only palace inscription that includes the Borsippa block in its building. Even so, the sequence in the Stone Tablet follows a different arrangement from the Borsippa block in the temple inscriptions and Brisa A+C. Significantly, although the Stone Tablet also contains the construction report of the Ṭābi-supūršu Wall, it was placed at another position in the building list outside the Borsippa block.

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[51] Both projects were targeting at the standing core of the Eurmeiminanki. The Koldewey expedition also explored the Ezida temple, but only covered the main temple. For Robert Koldewey's project at Borsippa, see: Koldewey 1911. For the Austro-Iraqi expedition, see: Allinger-Csollich 1991.

[52] In C38, the Edimma is in the Ezida block

The role of the building type of the commemorated project is further emphasised especially when it is observed that the inscriptions of similar length do not always include the Borsippa block. The Eulla-cylinder (C37), a temple inscription which contains roughly 760 words includes the Borsippa block whereas the Summer-Palace-cylinder (C35), containing 845 words, does not. The same could be said for the shorter inscriptions whereby the Lugal-Marad-cylinder (C32) and Eḫursagsikilla-cylinder (C33), both temple inscriptions, include the Borsippa projects whereas the South-Palace-cylinder (C34) does not.

These observations serve as our premises for the examination of the impact of the building type of the commemorated project in the creation of the inscriptions which will be discussed in Chapter 5.

2.5.3.7   Block Four: The Babylonia Block

The Babylonia Block contains the collection of the royal initiatives that are not located in Babylon, Borsippa, and Cutha. A total of eight temples from seven cities are attested in the Babylonia Block in the sample group. Some are associated with the major gods known throughout the Ancient Babylonian history while some are rooted to the important regional centres that became important during this period. These temples cluster around the centre of the Empire and the area to the south of this region, north of the marshland, covering the distance of about 250 km.

Similar to construction reports in the Babylon block, those in the Babylonia Block are either combined as a list that is part of an extensively long sentence, which concludes with one set of verbs, or form each of their own complete narrative in a set of sentences. Each of these two formats is adopted by two different subgroups of sample inscriptions, the temple and the palace inscriptions. In the South-Palace-cylinder (C34), the only palace inscription in the sample group that contains the Babylonia Block, the construction report of each individual project forms its own self-contained sentence or sentence group. Conversely, the "all-in-one-sentence" format was used in the five temple inscriptions, namely the Nabû(?)-cylinder (C36), Eulla-cylinder (C37), Edubba-cylinder (C38), Lugal-Marad-cylinder (C32), and Eḫursagsikilla-cylinder (C33).

		bor.	temple					pal.
Temple	City	WB	C38	C37	C36	C33	C32	C34
Ebabbar	Sippar	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Eulla	Sippar		2		2			

Edurgina	Baṣ	2	3	2	3	2	2	5
Eibbi-Anum	Dilbat	3	4	3	4	3	3	4
Eigikalamma	Marad	4	5	4	5			
Eanna	Uruk	5	6	5	6	4	4	6
Eulmaš (?)	Agade	6						
Ebabbar	Larsa	7	7	6	7	5	5	2
Egišnugal	Ur	8	8	7	8	6	6	3

Table 29 The distribution of topics in the Babylonia Block

Moreover, as illustrated in Table 29, all five temple inscriptions including Brisa A+C place the construction reports in the same order starting with the projects in Sippar. By contrast, even though the list in the South-Palace-cylinder (C34) also begins with the project in Sippar, all reports that follow seems to have been arranged in the opposite order.

The similar features among the inscriptions dedicated to the temples primarily suggest that at the level of the subcomponent each subgroup of inscriptions that is associated with a type of building follows its own compositional principle, which can be different from the inscriptions in other subgroups. The distinction between each subgroup of inscriptions is the subject of our discussion in Chapter 5.

Apart from indicating the difference between the subgroups of inscriptions, the selection and arrangement of the construction reports in the Babylonia Block are also significance in two aspects. As to be discussed in Chapter 4, the sequence of the reports corresponds to the location of each city along the Euphrates. As such, the two different arrangements, one in the temple inscriptions and Brisa A+C and another in the South-Palace-cylinder (C34), can be used to identify the location of Baṣ, the only city among those included whose location has not yet been confirmed by the archaeological evidence. The intersection between the two sequences suggests that the city is located somewhere between Sippar and Dilbat (see: Chapter 4.2.2.1).

Moreover, as our analysis in Chapter 6 will reveal, it is likely that the selection of temples in the building has an ideological purpose. Our study of the history of each construction project will reveal that, instead of having been incorporated arbitrarily, the projects may have been placed in the text because of their connection to two particular ancient kings, namely Narām-Sîn and Hammurabi. Nearly all temples in the Babylonia Block had a construction history traceable to either or both kings.

2.5.3.8 The optional block: the projects in Cutha

The Cutha block is the shortest project block in the *inum* building list that is devoted to a group of projects sharing the same location. At the surface, it could be misunderstood as part of the succeeding Babylonia Block because it contains only two to three items. However, a close examination of the text has revealed that the projects in Cutha are presented with more details as opposed those in the Babylonia Block which are simply arranged to form a list.

The Cutha block is dominated by the construction account of the Emeslam (Sum: Warrior-of-the-Netherworld House) and the embankment of the city. This temple is the main cult centre of Nergal and his consort, Laṣ. It appears to have an exceptionally long life span with evidence of it actively serving as a religious centre since the time of Šulgi (A. Kirk Grayson 1975:117).

Exclusively in the Edubba-cylinder (C38), a temple of Ereškigal, the Ešurugal (Sum: 'House, Great City or House, Netherworld') is also included[53]. In the South-Palace-inscription (C34), the Emeslam appears by name but its content only refers to NBK's making offering to the temple instead of commissioning construction works.

	border	temple			palace
	WB	C38	C37	C36	C34
Emeslam	✓	✓	✓	✓	offering
Embankment	✓	✓	✓	✓	
Ešurugal		✓			

Table 30 The distribution of topics in the Cutha block

It is also possible that the Cutha block was a device reserved for the creation of the longer texts. Only four inscriptions in the extant NBK corpus incorporate the Cutha block i.e., the Nabû(?)-cylinder (C36), Eulla-cylinder (C37), Eḫursagsikilla-cylinder (C38), and Brisa A+C. All of these inscriptions are among the longest extant inscriptions in the NBK corpus. However, this principle does not apply to all cases because, whereas the building list in the Eulla-cylinder (37) includes the Cutha projects, the one in the Summer-Palace-cylinder (C35) does not, even though both inscriptions are roughly of the same length.

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[53] For history and attestation of this temple in historical sources, see: George 1993:85

2.5.4   The concluding paragraph

Apart from the legitimacy narrative and the building list, a cluster of passages has been observed to consistently appears at the end of the *inum* section, serving as a buffer to the succeeding main section. This cluster is attestable in every inscription in the sample group except in the Ziqqurrat-cylinder (C41). It consistently appears at the same position in the *inum* and maintains a self-contained content involving the declaration of the royal initiatives as offerings to the gods. In three inscriptions from the sample group, namely the Edubba-cylinder (C38), South-Palace-cylinder (C34), and the Stone Tablet, this cluster of passages is separated from the building list by the epithet sub-section divider.

The common topoi of the concluding paragraph in the sample group are: (1) the dedication of the construction project to the corresponding god and the increase of the offering for the Esagil and Ezida, (2) the creation of the royal inscriptions, (3) the 'decree' which the future rulers must follow, and (4) the receipt of tribute from the regions around the empire.

As our analysis in Chapter 5.1.3 will demonstrate, the concluding paragraph in the inscriptions dedicated to the projects of the same building type (temple inscriptions, palace inscriptions) share among themselves a strong textual similarity. Some of these inscriptions use a near-identical set of passages for this section while some produce a different text but still maintain all the topoi. The identification of this feature highlights the role of the building type as a factor in the creation of the text.

2.6   Summary

In our investigation of each component in the superstructure of the ten inscriptions in the sample group, we have identified the basic components and the formulation principles that each component follows.

In the shorter sections of the inscription, namely the prayer and main section, the composition is based on the reproduction of the same set of topoi. The content in the main section is characterised by the depiction of the two fundamental parts of the process, namely the building of the foundation and the completion of the building.

In the *anāku* section, we can see that some of the inscriptions in the sample group share the same set of the first few epithets, which we refer to as the "standard" epithets. The epithet lists are subjected to a compositional principle, which is strictly maintained by some inscriptions and not so by others. This compositional principle is characterised by

the pairing of two epithets, one acting as the main epithet and the other as the sub-epithet. We can also observe that the sub-epithets contain divine terminology, including the name of the god, temple, or the word god itself. In long epithet sequences, this compositional principle creates a pattern, in which an epithet without divine terminology appears in alternation with the one that contain divine terminology.

Within the sample group, we can observe that one inscription, namely the South-Palace-cylinder (C34) does not adopt the concept of epithet pairing. This observation is the basis of our investigation in Chapter 5, of the relation between the building type of the commemorated project and their structural formulation.

In this chapter, we have also investigated the subcomponents of the *inum* section. In the sample group, the most prominent subcomponent of this section is the building list. The building list could be understood as the component that was used to extend the length of the inscriptions. It appears in the nine longest inscriptions in the extant corpus, which is part of our sample group.

We can observe that each building list is made up of "project blocks", each of which contains the reports of the projects from the same geographical category. The similarity in the selection of the project blocks shared by some inscriptions in the sample group will also lead to our discussion of the relation between the building type of the commemorated project and their structural formulation in Chapter 5.

In general, our observation that NBK's inscriptions consistently select the same combination of superstructural components and arrange them in the same order, will also lead to our discussion in Chapter 7. There, we will investigate the similarities between NBK's inscriptions and the Babylonian inscriptions of Ashurbanipal and Esarhaddon on the one hand, and Hammurabi on the other.

Chapter 3   Chronology

In this chapter, we will attempt to establish the diachronic relations between a group of inscriptions in the samples using a synthesis of their content and the historical information gathered from the administrative documents.

As we shall see, the mentioning of the Eurmeiminanki Ziqqurrat of Borsippa in the building list only in two palace inscriptions, namely the Stone Tablet and Summer-Palace-cylinder, can be used as a diachronic reference that connects these two inscriptions with the South-Palace-cylinder (C34) and Brisa A+C, as well as another inscription outside the sample group, namely NBK II C212.

Due to the absence of the explicit dating in the text and the inadequate archaeological context of the inscriptional manuscripts, scholars of the Neo-Babylonian inscriptions have often had trouble approaching these materials from a historical perspective. Within the Neo-Babylonian corpus, Assyriologists have been more successful in establishing the diachronic relations among the inscriptions of Nabonidus. So far, there have been at least three individual attempts to date his entire collection, including works done by Paul Alain Beaulieu in 1989, Hans Peter Schaudig in 2001, and most recently Frauke Weiershäuser and Jamie Novotny in 2020.

As for the NBK inscriptions, scholars have been sceptical about the diachronic significance of its content. Jeremy Black was not convinced that the building lists can be useful for internal chronology because the projects are listed in a 'recurrent' order (Black et al. 1987:25). A Similar opinion has been expressed by Berger (1973:100).

The only large-scale attempt to arrange the inscriptions chronologically was conducted by Stephen Langdon in 1912 as part of his edition of the extant inscriptions at that time. Langdon believed that each of the three compositional principles which he had identified during the course of his undertaking represents a period of the political ideology during NBK's reign (1912:6–14). While Langdon was correct in pointing out the compositional principles, his belief that they are chronologically significant was based on pure conviction.

More recently, scholars have tried to use sources external to NBK's own corpus to establish when a construction project took place. For example, Elena Arcari referred to the Babylonian Chronicles for the dating of Brisa A+C, proposing that the inscription was created around the sixth to eighth year of NBK's reign because of his military presence in Lebanon (1989:159–171). Using the available archaeological data, Olof Pedersen's project

is currently attempting to establish a chronology in the form of the construction stages of some buildings in Babylon, such as the palaces and fortification walls (2011:12–17).

In the neighbouring field of Babylonian epistolography, scholars have developed another method of dating known as "museum archaeology"[54]. According to this technique, archival documents with uncertain historical data are identified with their museum registration and the corresponding excavation campaign. In so doing, their achaeological and historical context can be established using information surrounding the circumstance of the excavation. However, it remains difficult to apply this method to date the NBK royal inscriptions because many of their manuscripts entered museum collections through donation, after having been found by means of illicit excavation.

3.1   The Eurmeiminanki Ziqqurrat as a diachronic reference?

Within the sample group, the Eurmeiminanki Ziqqurrat of Borsippa only appears in the building list of two inscriptions, namely the Summer-Palace-cylinder (C35) and the Stone Tablet.

The peculiarity in the appearance of the Eurmeiminanki in the building list leads to a very important question: why wasn't such an important building included especially in the long inscriptions, such as the Nabû(?)-cylinder (C36), Edubba-cylinder (C38), and Brisa A+C whose building list tends to include more items?

We argue that the Ziqqurrat of Borsippa is not included in the six inscriptions in the sample group because its construction had not been commissioned at the time when these inscriptions were created. The later dating for the Ziqqurrat is supported by the administrative documents from the Eanna Archive concerning its construction, which indicate that the project was active at a later point during NBK's reign.

The significance of the Eurmeiminanki Ziqqurrat as a diachronic reference stems from the observation that, as the Ziqqurrat of the Ezida Temple, its appearance in the extant corpus is noticeably less fequent than the Etemenanki of the Esagil. This scenario is emphasised by the fact that the Ezida Temple is included in virtually every inscription,

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[54] see for example: Levavi 2018:72–74.

but almost always without its Ziqqurrat[55]. On the contrary, in the sample group, the Esagil *always* appears with its Ziqqurrat, the Etemenanki.

For this reason, it seems appropriate to question the disappearance of the Eurmeiminanki from the building list, especially since it is an important part of an important building in NBK's discourse. NBK himself and many Babylonian kings identify with the title, "the Provider of the Esagil and Ezida".

In the extant NBK corpus, the Borsippa Ziqqurrat is commemorated by three inscriptions: NBK II C212, C028, and C041. However, these inscriptions do not include the building list hence the opportunity to establish internal chronology diminished. The name Eurmeiminanki also appear on NBK's Stele along with the Etemenanki, but this inscription is missing too many parts for its commemorated building (if it exists) to be identified with certainty.

3.2 What is the Eurmeiminanki?

The Eurmeiminanki is the Ziqqurrat in the Ezida Temple, the cult centre of Nabû in the city of Borsippa. The remains of this Ziqqurrat are one of a few sites which have attracted archaeologists since the early days of Assyriology because it was mistaken for the Tower of Babel. The fifty-meter high baked-brick core was the site where Rawlinson excavated three cylinder inscriptions from the niches around the structure[56]. Koldewey also did some works at the Ziqqurrat and the temple while he was based in Babylon. His undertaking resulted in a series of archaeological maps of the Ezida and the Ziqqurrat[57].

The latest extensive excavation at the site was conducted in the 1980s by the Institut für Sprachen und Kulturen des Alten Orients, University of Innsbruck in partnership with the Department of Antiquities and Heritage, Baghdad. The team identified the original structure of the Ziqqurrat as having dated from the UR III period (Allinger-Csollich et al. 2010:30). Some of the finds include an *in-situ* cylinder inscription of NBK interred in a niche near the centre of the structural core in the upper stage of the Ziqqurrat (Allinger-

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[55] Da Riva 2012:68 made a similar remark in her commentary of Brisa A+C, suggesting that the Ziqqurrat's absence from Brisa A+C could be significant for the chronology. However, she did not consider this factor in her discussion about the dating of this inscription.

[56] These cylinders are now known as MS 1, 2, and 3 of the inscription NBK II C212

[57] See: Koldewey 1911 , Tafel XI to XVI.

Csollich 1991:481). This inscription remains unpublished to date, but it could be similar to the cylinders that were found in the same area when Rawlinson excavated the site.

3.3   The construction documents from the Eanna Temple

Our attempt to establish the diachronic relationship of the sample inscriptions benefit from Kristin Kleber's studies of the cuneiform documents from the Eanna Archive at the Eanna Temple in Uruk. The Eanna Temple was involved in many of the construction projects initiated by the Neo-Babylonian kings both in Uruk and other places around the Empire. The correspondences that are dated, such as the order of food supplies, human labour and payment for the officers, give us a rough idea when a certain building project was taking place.

Table 31 is the summary of data provided by Kleber in AOAT 358 (2008:135–175). The Eanna timeline of NBK building projects covers the period between the first year of NBK's reign until roughly the 35th. Throughout this time, the Eanna had provided support for at least 11 projects situated around Uruk as well as the cities in the central and northern part of the core region.

Regnal years	Building projects	Locations
1 – 20++	Etemenanki Ziqqurat	Babylon
2	Esagil	Babylon
14 – 32	miscellaneous	Opis and Sippar
14/35 – 42	unidentified	Tyros/Ṣuru
15 – at least 20	unidentified	Jādaqu
19 – 29	North Palace	Babylon
23 – 1st year of Cyrus	unidentified	Raqqat-Šamaš
27	Nebuchadnezzar Canal (Nār-Šarri)	North of Sippar
31	A dam	Sealand region
33	Eurmeiminanki Ziqqurrat	Borsippa
35	City wall	Babylon

Table 31 The construction of the royal initiatives attested in the published Eanna Archive

A number of administrative texts from the reign of NBK indicate that the construction of the Eurmeiminanki was active during the latter part of his reign. Two letters, one from

the Eanna Archive, reveal that the 33rd regnal year was one of the years during which the Ziqqurrat was under construction (Kleber 2008:161).

The Eanna Temple was one of the institutions that participated in NBK's construction projects by supplying human and material resources. The administrative letters recovered from the Temple's archive give us an insight into the personnel and activities involved. The letter PTS 2834 currently held in the collection of the Princeton University contains an explicit date[58]. It reports the delivery of 21,400 baked bricks to be used as the construction materials for the Eurmeiminanki Ziqqurrat that were gathered from a number of producers in Uruk. The letter ends with:

mu.33.kam ᵈnà.níg.du.urù lugal eᵏⁱ "Year 33 (of) Nebuchadnezzar, King of Babylon"

Another letter, BIN 1, 32, was issued by Nabû-šarru-uṣur to give order for an immediate purchase of brushwood for the Borsippa Ziqqurrat (ibid:162). The fact that the content of the letter indicates how urgent the tasks had to be carried out is all the more proof that the project was active during the time it was written. The letter ends with: *kī naqutti altaprakkunūšu* "I write to you all (to tell you) how urgent it is." (ibid.). Although this letter does not provide any explicit date, there is evidence that Nabû-šarru-uṣur, the author of the letter, was NBK's *ša rēš šarri* during the final third of the reign (Frame 1991:66–80).

The proposed dating of the Eurmeiminanki construction has established the dating of the extant inscriptions that commemorate this Ziqqurrat. This includes the inscription excavated by Rawlinson, now known as NBK II C212, an unpublished cylinder from the Austro-Iraqi project, C028, and C041. Unfortunately, apart from the unpublished text of which we have no data, the three other inscriptions do not incorporate a building list that would facilitate internal chronology.

3.4   The dating of the Stone Tablet and the Summer-Palace-cylinder

The proposed dating for the construction of the Eurmeiminanki to around NBK's 33rd regnal year has helped us establish the diachronic profile of the Stone Tablet and

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[58] It is unclear whether this letter was excavated at the Eanna Temple. However, since most of the late period cuneiform text in the Princeton University collection originated from Uruk, it is likely that the text could have come from the Eanna Archive (Kleber 2008:163).

Summer-Palace-cylinder, the two inscriptions in the sample group that report the construction of this Ziqqurrat.

Primarily, the dating of the Eurmeiminanki to around Year 33 has created a sort of diachronic range for the Stone Tablet, whose subject of commemoration, the North Palace of Babylon can be dated to at least the decade between the 19th to 29th regnal year by another group of administrative documents from the Eanna Archive (Beaulieu 2005:49).

As a result, even without reference to a specific date, the identification of the construction period of the Ziqqurrat and the North Palace has benefited our argument two-fold.

First, the creation of the Stone Tablet, which is connected to the construction of the North Palace and the Eurmeiminanki, could be understood as having taken place towards the latter half of the reign, from around the 19th to 33rd Year of NBK's reign.

Second, the Summer-Palace-cylinder, whose main section reports the construction of the two other palaces in Babylon (South and North Palaces) before the construction of its own subject of commemoration, could be understood as at least a contemporary of the Stone Tablet or possibly newer[59].

3.5 The dating of the South-Palace-cylinder (C34)

The dating of the Stone Tablet and the Summer-Palace-cylinder (C35) to the latter half of NBK's reign or from around/after Year 19 has also secured the dating of another inscription in the sample group, namely the South-Palace-cylinder (C34).

So far, a number of available pieces of evidence have already pointed to the possible dating of the construction of the South Palace to the early half of NBK's reign. A line from NBK's Prism refers to an event that took place at the Esagil and what is possibly the South Palace of Babylon in the seventh regnal year.

iv 25'   *in se-bu-tim ša-at-ti-ia* 1 LIM 1 LIM ŠE.IM

iv 26'   1 ⌈ME⌉ 10+[x]+10 ⌈LIM⌉ ZÚ.LUM.MA 20 LIM *sa-ap-pa-a-ti ka-ra-⌈nam⌉*

iv 27'   *in qé-[re]-⌈eb⌉ é-sag-íl aq-qú-ru-⌈un⌉*

iv 28'   2 LIM LIM ⌈ŠE⌉.IM 1 ME LIM ZÚ.LUM.MA

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[59] For our discussion of the compositional principle of the main section in the palace inscriptions, see: Chapter 5.2.

iv 29'   ⌜70⌝+[x?] ⌜LIM TU? x⌝ [x (x)] ⌜sa⌝-ap-pa-ti ka-⌜ra-nam⌝

iv 30'   [x x x ina qé]-⌜re⌝-eb É.GAL-ia

iv 31'   [x x x x] ⌜aq⌝-qú-ru-<un>

"During my seventh year, I stored in[si]de Esagil 1,000,000 (measures of) grain, 120,000 (measures of) dates, (and) 20,000 sappatu-vessels of wine. I stored [in]side my palace, [(...)], 2,000,000 (measures of) grain, 100,000 (measures of) dates, (and) 70,... sappatu-vessels of wine."

In v 29', the Prism also mentions the palace by what is likely to be its name, "the House of the Astonishment of the People" (bīt tabrât nišī). It is also likely that the long list of courtiers, governors, magnates, and the kings of the vassal states who appear in the neighbouring passages were those who had contributed to the renovation of this building[60].

In a letter (YOS 3, 5) from the Eanna Archive addressed to Ninurta-šar-uṣur who held the qīpu position at the Eanna Temple from the end of NBP's reign to the 20th year of NBK, the king requested that the offerings and the materials for the laying of the foundation of the Eanna be prepared. As argued by Paul Alain Beaulieu, the construction activity described in this letter could be the renovation of the foundation of the Eanna as part of NBK's campaign to re-establish the Cult of Ištar in Uruk that is reported in the building list of the South-Palace-cylinder (C34) (2003a:129–130). If Beaulieu's proposition is correct, then the construction of the South Palace could be dated to before NBK's 20th regnal year.

The evidence from the Prism and the administrative letter, which points to the construction of the South Palace having taken place early in NBK's reign or at least within the first twenty years, corresponds well to our identification of the diachronic relationship between the three Palace inscriptions, which also sees the South-Palace-cylinder (C34) as the oldest text amongst them. As to be further discussed in Chapter 5.1, we will observe that the main section in two Palace inscriptions, namely the Stone Tablet and the Summer-Palace-cylinder (C35), was composed following a variant principle, which drops the inūmīšu clause, in favour of the narrative continuity between the inum and main sections. This compositional principle depicts the construction of the commemorated

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[60] For the edition of the Prism with a critical commentary, see: Da Riva 2013c.

building at the end of what is likely a chronological sequence consisting of the reports of the buildings of the same type as the one commemorated, in this case, the palaces.

The main section in the Stone Tablet begins with the report of the South Palace – a project which is commemorated by the South-Palace-cylinder (C34). The main section in the Summer-Palace-cylinder (C35), starts with the construction report of the South and the North Palaces before proceeding to describe the construction of its subject of commemoration.

In so doing, the sequence presented by the main section of the Summer-Palace-cylinder (C35), which placed the construction report of the South Palace at the beginning of what is possibly a chronological arrangement of the reports, conforms with the historical evidence that also identified the South Palace as the oldest of the three NBK palaces.

In summary, despite a rather homogenous selection of construction reports across the sample group, our analysis of the content in Block One (Main Temple) has led to the identification of the diachronic relationship amongst the three inscriptions associated with the palaces of NBK, namely South-Palace-cylinder (C34), North-Palace-cylinder (C35), and the Stone Tablet.

The diachronic relationship can be established using the construction of the Eurmeiminanki Ziqqurrat of Borsippa, which is identified as active in the 33rd regnal year, as the chronological reference. The Summer-Palace-cylinder (C35), and the Stone Tablet are the two inscriptions in the samples that include the construction report of this Ziqqurrat in their building list. A further investigation of the administrative documents relating to the North Palace construction has led to the identification of these two inscriptions to the latter half of NBK's reign.

In contrast, the South-Palace-cylinder (C34), whose building list does not include the report of the Borsippa Ziqqurrat, is unlikely to be a contemporary of the two other Palace inscriptions. Further evidence from within the extant corpus and the administrative texts also demonstrates that the construction of the South Palace took place in the early years of NBK's reign.

3.6   The dating of Brisa A+C

The identification of the construction timeline of the Eurmeiminanki to the later part of NBK's reign has a direct effect over the dating of the Brisa Inscriptions because its

creation has also been thought to date to around the same period, but its building list notably lacks Eurmeiminanki Ziqqurrat.

In the edition of Brisa A+C published in 2012, Rocío Da Riva argued that this inscription was created near the end of the reign, "not before the middle of the fourth decade of NBK's reign, probably towards the end of his life" (2012:19–21). Generally, the identification of Brisa A+C's place in the timeline is significant to the internal chronology of the extant corpus because its *inum* building list includes the greatest number of royal initiatives. For this reason, Brisa A+C is the perfect *terminus ante quem* at least for the dating of the commissioning of the projects.

We argue that, even though Brisa A+C could be newer than some inscriptions from the sample group and in the extant corpus, the proposition that this inscription originated from the fourth decade of NBK's reign seems to clash with some evidence. Particularly, it is unlikely that Brisa A+C is newer than the Summer-Palace-cylinder (C35) and the Stone Tablet because the Eurmeiminanki Ziqqurrat is missing from its building list. The examination of the available data suggests that Brisa A+C is more likely to have been created around or slightly after the middle of NBK's reign.

3.6.1 The Cross-Country walls question

Rocío Da Riva's argument is based on a very similar premise to our theory: why would an important building be omitted from an inscription of a considerable length if not because its construction work was initiated after the inscriptions had been made?

The building that initiated Da Riva's question is the two defensive structures known collectively in the Assyriological literature of today as the "Cross-Country walls". In the building list in the extant NBK texts, this project is only attested in Brisa A+C and the rock inscription at Nahr el-Kalb, the latter of which is too fragmentary for an intensive textual analysis.

The longer of the two walls is a large defensive structure that was built along the embankment of the Nār-šarri, a man-made canal that connects the Euphrates with the Tigris at an isthmus a few kilometres north of Sippar. Closer to Babylon, the second wall stretched from the Euphrates north of the city to the city of Kish.

Da Riva argued that the inclusion of Cross-country walls, especially the Sippar Wall, is the evidence of the later dating of the Brisa Inscriptions because it was a large project

that depended on the construction of an equally extensive project, the Nār-šarri canal (2012:19–21). According to the documents from the Eanna Archive, the letters that deal with the activities concerning the canal were dated to the 27th regnal year (Kleber 2008:140). This dating of the canal convinced Da Riva to propose that the walls and the inscription can be dated to after the 27th regnal year. Her idea seems even more solid also because the only other two inscriptions in the extant corpus that mention the Cross-Country walls are NBK II C26 and the rock inscriptions at Nahr el-Kalb.

However, our re-examination of the textual evidence has resulted in a slightly different proposition of the dating of the Brisa Inscriptions. Generally, the same premise which is based on the identification of the items exclusive to a certain text could also be used to question the 'missing' Ziqqurrat of Borsippa. Indeed, the problem with the dating of Brisa A+C to the very end of NBK's reign lies in the fact the *inum* building list in this inscription does not include the Eurmeiminanki. As introduced earlier, the construction of the Borsippa Ziqqurrat can be identified as having been active in Year 33, possibly contemporary to the Nār-šarri. If Brisa A+C was one of the final inscriptions created in NBK's time, why had it not included such an important building, especially considering the fact that it had an 'unlimited' access to the writing space in comparison to other media?

Da Riva has also raised a suggestion that the construction of the wall may have started early in the reign if the invasion of the Elamite in the ninth regnal year as recorded in the Babylonian Chronicles was the trigger (2012:20)[61]. However, if the construction of one of the Cross-Country walls was commissioned at the beginning of the reign, how do we explain its near disappearance from other inscriptions?

To answer from the textual point of view based on the data from the sample group, it is likely that the Cross-Country walls are included in Brisa A+C simply as an item exclusive to the *inum* in this text. There are two reasons to consider this scenario:

(1) The Cross-Country walls do not really belong to any conventional project blocks of the building list. Unlike every other project included in the building list, the Cross-Country walls cannot be identified with any specific geographical reference, the basic categorising determinant of the *inum* project blocks. In other words, the walls do not appear in the other inscriptions because they were not considered relevant to those inscriptions' specific

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[61] For the surviving part of the annals of the reign of NBK in the Babylonian Chronicles which mentions this event, see: Glassner 2005:231.

interests. By contrast, Brisa A+C is, albeit tangentially, interested in the military matters and is partly aimed at a foreign audience.

As such, it comes as no surprise that Brisa A+C put the construction account of the Cross-Country walls after the Eastern Wall, both creating a small 'fortification' block that succeeds the Borsippa block (see: Table 24 in Chapter 2.5.3.3). Within the section of the content formed by the second and third ESDs, this mini fortification block appears to form a nice framing with the construction account of the Imgur-Enlil and Nēmetti-Enlil in Babylon, the first item after the second ESD. This style of content framing is unique to Brisa A+C and perhaps indicates that composers succeeded in finding a way to incorporate the unconventional items into the text. For a further discussion of the ESDs in Brisa A+C, see: Chapter 5.4.

In the sample group, we have also seen other items that were introduced to a text but had to be placed in an odd position because they do not belong to the conventional components. For example, the report of the re-establishment of the cult of Ištar in Uruk was placed at the end of the building list in the *inum* of the South-Palace-cylinder (C34), very likely because it is not a construction report. The same principle might have been applied to the final epithet in the *anāku* section of the Nabû(?)-cylinder (C36). As a military-themed epithet, there is no place for it apart from the end of the section.

(2) Using the Nār-šarri canal as the reference to the construction of the Sippar Wall may also prove difficult when it is evident that the canal was built in sections. A number of administrative texts uncovered at the Eanna Archive indicate that the construction of the Nār-šarri covers a period of many years. A letter from the Eanna Archive dated from the 27th regnal year serves as evidence of the payment of silver for the construction of the canal. The canal is known in this letter as the Nār-Nabû-kudurrī-ušur and the transaction was made on the 9th of Kislīmu (Kleber 2008:140–141). Another group of letters covering the period from the 14th to 32nd regnal year from the Eanna Archive concern the activities that were likely related to an extensive construction project that was put in the hands of a *šatammu* Nabû-aḫḫē-iddin and Marduk-bēlšunu or Marduk-šāpik-zēri (ibid:154–159). These letters suggest that Cross-Country walls could have a construction timeline that began from mid-reign onwards if they were built simultaneously with the canal. Therefore, being the only inscription that includes the Cross-Country walls in its *inum* section does not make it newer than the inscriptions that do not.

3.6.2 The North Palace question

Another factor that significantly affects the way we argue about the time of creation of Brisa A+C is whether we think its building list includes the North Palace of Babylon. In theory, if Brisa A+C does not mention the North Palace, it is very likely to have been created before the inscriptions that mention or came from the palace, such as the Stone Tablet and Summer-Palace-cylinder (C35). As the inscription that contains the most royal initiatives of any kind, it seems unreasonable for Brisa A+C to not include a building of great importance such as the North Palace.

Unfortunately, the existence of the North Palace in the Brisa Inscriptions is a matter of debate because the section of the text that mentions NBK's palace in both manuscripts is broken. The available text from WBC only contains a portion of the report from the South Palace which has been identified by its Akkadian name, *ēkalli bīt tabrât nišim* (Akk: 'House of the Astonishment of the People').

> viii 50   É.GAL É ⌈*tab*⌉-[*ra-at ni*]-⌈*šim*⌉
>
> viii 51   ⌈*mar-ka*⌉-[*às* MA.DA *kum-mu el-lu at-man* LUGAL-*ti-ia*]
>
> viii 52   ⌈*i*⌉-[*na er-ṣe*]-⌈*et* KÁ⌉.DINGIR.⌈RA.KI⌉
>
> viii 53   ⌈*ša qé*⌉-*re*-⌈*eb ba-bi-lu*.KI *e-pú-uš*⌉
>
> viii 54   *šá ma-na-ma* LUGAL ⌈*maḫ*⌉-*ri* ⌈*la*⌉ *i-pu-šu*
>
> viii 55   *i-na ki-gal-lum re-e-eš-ti-i*
>
> viii 56   *i-na i-*⌈*ra-at*⌉ KI-*tim ra-pa-áš-ti*
>
> viii 57   *mé-ḫe-ra-at me-e i-ši-*⌈*id-su*⌉
>
> viii 58   *ú-*⌈*ša-ar-ši*⌉-*id-ma*
>
> viii 59   *ki-ma ša-di-im*
>
> viii 60   *i-na ku-up-ru* [*ù a-gur-ru*]
>
> viii 61   *ú-za-*[*aq-qi-ir*]
>
> viii 62   GIŠ.⌈EREN⌉ [*dan-nu-tim* (*ul-tu* KUR.*la-ab-na-nim*)]
>
> viii 63   *a-na* ⌈*su*⌉-[*ul-li-ša ú-ša-at-ri-iṣ*]
>
> viii 64   ⌈BÀD?⌉ dan?-[nu? ...]

"A palace, a house for the amazement of the people, link of the [land, pure chapel, my royal sanctum], I built in the district of Kadingirra which is in Babylon. (I did) what no former king had done: I fixed its foundations firmly at (as deep as) the primordial nether world, at the edges of the broad earth, level with the (underground) waters. I built it high as a mountain with bitumen [and baked brick. I stretched] for its roofing [strong] cedars [from Lebanon]. Strong wall [...]."

Despite the fragmented information, a number of scholars have argued in favour of the idea that this passage also refers to the North Palace. Andrew George believed that this construction report depicts the construction of a combination of the South and North Palaces because the latter was built as an extension of the complex whose main site is located in the Ká.dingir.ra district, between the Lībil-ḫegalla canal and the Imgur-Enlil and Nēmetti-Enlil Walls (Da Riva 2012:79–80). In other words, 'House of the Astonishment of the People' in Brisa A+C means the South and North Palaces. Rocío Da Riva also endorsed this argument which has led to her proposition that the Brisa Inscriptions originated from the fourth decade of NBK's reign (2012:79–80).

However, the idea that the passage refers to both palaces under the same nomenclature could be problematic because the North Palace was likely to have been associated with another name. In the letter YBC 9314 from the Eanna Archive, the term: *ekallu ša pāni abul Ištar* (Akk: the Palace at Ishtar Gate), was used to identify the construction site that was taking place next to the Ishtar gate in Babylon (Beaulieu 2005:48).

It is also possible that the broken space after line viii.64 is large enough for a separate report of another palace. It is estimated that there are still ten lines of cuneiform text in WBC before its eighth column ends. The report has to fit the ten lines because the ninth column begins with an ESD and continues with a different topic. However, even if Brisa A+C does include the North Palace, the fact that the Eurmeiminanki Ziqqurrat is missing from this text is still questionable.

With the available data, even though Brisa A+C could be newer than many inscriptions in the sample group, judging from how many royal initiatives it includes and the ability to place the Cross-Country walls to a form of dating, it is more likely to be either a predecessor or contemporary of the Stone Tablet and Summer-Palace (C35) because of the Eurmeiminanki Ziqqurrat.

The Ziqqurrat of Borsippa could also be an important *terminus ante quem* for the internal chronology when the other inscriptions that contain a long *inum* section are taken into

consideration, such as the Nabû(?)-cylinder (C36) and Edubba-cylinder (C38). These inscriptions also contain a long building list, but both do not include the Eurmeiminanki.

3.7 Inscriptions whose content contains "historical" data

Even though it is not the convention for the inscriptions in the NBK corpus to refer to the date of a construction project, the two inscriptions do render the chronological aspect of the construction of its commemorated project. However, because one of them does not mention other buildings, while the other appears to be a fictitious construction narrative, it is not possible to use both inscriptions as reference for internal chronology.

The cylinder inscription NBK II 034 (C214) is a two-column inscription that commemorates the third renovation of the Ay-ibūr-šābû street, conventionally known as the Processional Street. This inscription is the only text in the extant corpus that documents NBK's own previous construction of the same building. The text applies the term *šanû* (Akk: to repeat or to do twice) and *šalāšu* (Akk: to do for the third time) to indicate the second and third time that NBK raised the height of the street.

> i 23   *a-ša-ni-ma e-li ma-aḫ-ra-a*
>
> i 24   18 KÙŠ *ta-am-la-a ú-ma-al-li-ma*

"For a second time, more than before, I filled (them) in with eighteen cubits of infill..."

> ii 1   *ú-ša-al-li-iš-ma*
>
> ii 2   ᵈ*iš-tar-*ᵈLAMA*-um-ma-ni-ša*
>
> ii 3   17 KÙŠ *ta-am-la-a ra-ba-a*
>
> ii 4   *ú-ma-al-lu*

"For a third time, I filled in Ištar-lamassi-ummānīša with a large seventeen cubits infill…"

However, it is not possible to use this inscription as a chronological reference because it does not mention any other building project in any part of its content.

Another inscription that contains a form of chronological data is the Stone Tablet. In the main section of this inscription, NBK claims that he completed the construction of the North Palace in fifteen days:

> viii 62   *re-e-ši-ša ú-za-aq-qí-ir*

viii 63	*ḫu-úr-sa-ni-iš*
viii 64	*i-na* 15 *u₄-um ši-pí-ir-ša*
ix 1	*ú-ša-ak-li-il-ma*
ix 2	*ú-ša-pa-a šu-bat be-lu-ti*

"I raised its top as high as a mountain. In fifteen days, I completed its (the palace) work. I made the residence of (my) lordship visible."

It is difficult to imagine that in reality the construction of a palace could be completed within a fortnight. In theory, NBK could be referring to a specific part or process that symbolically represents the whole project. This passage may also have been part of NBK's propagandic programme, which appears to be quite successful, since it found its way into Berossus's Babyloniaca a few centuries later[62].

3.8 Summary

In our examination of the selection of the building projects in the *inum* section of the sample inscriptions, we propose that it is possible to establish the diachronic relationship between some of the inscriptions in the sample group by using the Eurmeiminanki Ziqqurrat as the chronological reference. Administrative letters from the Eanna Archive indicate that the construction of Ziqqurrat was active at least toward the end of NBK's reign, in his 33rd year. This suggests that the inscriptions that include the Ziqqurrat, namely the Stone Tablet and Summer-Palace-cylinder (C35) could be dated to around that time.

As a result, the previously suggested dating of Brisa A+C to the final decade of NBK has been revised because of the absence of the Eurmeiminanki Ziqqurrat from its building list. Although it is possible that Brisa A+C could be one of the newer inscriptions in the extant corpus, the missing Borsippa Ziqqurrat indicates that this inscription is unlikely to be newer than the Stone Tablet and Summer-Palace-cylinder (C35).

Due to the paucity in the available data, it is also possible that the reason why the Eurmeiminanki Ziqqurrat is included in the Stone Tablet and Summer-Palace-cylinder (C35) has nothing to do with the time of the Ziqqurrat construction. As we shall see in Chapter 5, each of the three palace inscriptions applies a compositional feature that does

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[62] For the reference to the construction of the North Palace in Babyloniaca, see: Burstein 1978:27.

not seem to be common, as far as evident in the available corpus. Moreover, because the building list appears to be a component only of the longer inscriptions in the extant corpus, we are inevitably left with many inscriptions that we cannot date with internal chronology.

Chapter 4   Geography as a structuring principle

In this chapter, we will investigate the compositional principles that dictate the textual formulation at the level of the subcomponent within the superstructural component of the NBK texts, namely within the components of the building list in the *inum* section. As we shall see, the arrangement of the construction reports particularly in the Babylon and Babylonia Block in the building list follows a geographical principle.

In the Babylon block, the list begins with the temple located at the northern-most location on the eastern side of Babylon before continuing down the Ay-ibūr-šābû street and crossing to the western side of the city. In the Babylonia Block, the arrangement is based on each temple's location along the course of the Euphrates.

The fact that building lists maintain the same arrangement despite containing different numbers of temples suggests that they were created by the people who had a commanding knowledge of the principle. This also raises the question of whether the principle is specific to the inscriptional texts or existed more widely.

In general, the arrangement of items in the content using the geography as a framework has already been identified in the other sections in the NBK inscriptions. However, the component in which this framework was applied seems to be specific to the inscription such that it does not enable the identification of the pattern at the corpus level.

For example, as observed by Rocío Da Riva, the list of magnates, governors, and the kings of the vassal states who took part in the construction of the South Palace as presented in NBK's Prism was created with the geography of the empire in mind. The list starts with the high courtiers from Babylon and the cities in the Babylonian heartland before extending further to the kings of the vassal states (2013c:199–201). However, since only one prism inscription has so far been attributed to NBK, the extent to which this pattern was used remains uncertain. So far, only the arrangement of the participants in the construction of the Etemenanki Ziqqurrat as depicted in the main section of the Ziqqurrat-cylinder (C41) seems to follow the same idea (Wall-Romana 1990:229).

In contrast, the patterns that we will demonstrate have been applied to a larger selection of inscriptions, namely the seven sample inscriptions that include the Babylon and Babylonia Block in their *inum* building list.

The geography-based framework in our discussion may resemble a similar framework that was attested in the arrangement of the military campaigns in the Neo-Assyrian

inscriptions. The examples of this application can be observed in the inscriptions of Shalmaneser III (858–824 BCE), Sargon II (721–705 BCE), Esarhaddon (680–669 BCE), and Ashurbanipal (668–631 BCE)[63]. However, in the case of the Neo-Assyrian texts, this pattern has often been described by generic terms, such as "counter-clockwise" or "clockwise", which invoke the modern concept of space rather than illustrating the actual geographic reference apart from the Assyrian heartland, which seems to be circumscribed by all the foreign lands mentioned.

4.1   The geographic pattern in the "Babylon block"

The temples that appear in the Babylon block were organised according to the same compositional principle regardless of the choice and number. They were placed in an order according to their geographical location relative to the direction of the Euphrates from upstream (north) to downstream (south). This pattern is also attested in the arrangement of the temples in the 'Empire' block (see: Chapter 4.2).

The application of this principle in all seven inscriptions that incorporate the Babylon block is evidence that it was recognised by the composers who were also able to make adaptation when given different selections of temples. For example, apart from sharing four temples with the Lugal-Marad-cylinder (C32) and Eḫursagsikilla-cylinder (C33) (whose building list contains four temples), the Stone Tablet (nine temples) also incorporates five more temples into its list "correctly".

Three sources of evidence help us identify the location of the temples, which in turn is the basis for the geographical pattern in the Babylon block. First, it is the details given in the inscriptions themselves that explain the location of some temples. The second source of evidence is an ancient text called '*Tintir = Babylon*'. Also known as the one of the Babylonian topographical texts, *Tintir = Babylon* explains the layout of the city and the

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[63] The geographic pattern is attested in at least four summary inscriptions of Shalmaneser III, including:
-   Summary Inscription 6 (Grayson RIMA 3, A.0.102.28 and .59-62)
-   Summary Inscription 7a + 7b ("Tigris Tunnel inscription"; Grayson RIMA 3, A.0.102.23 and 24)
-   Summary Inscription 10a + 10b + 10c (Grayson RIMA 3, A.0.102.31, 32 and 33)
-   Summary Inscription 12 (Grayson RIMA 3, A.0.102.29)

For the summary and commentary of these inscriptions, see: Yamada 2000:32–40.

The pattern was also applied to at least thirteen inscriptions of Sargon at his palace in Khorsabad (Fuchs 1993:383–398). Esarhaddon also seems to prefer the arrangement of his military reports using the geographic over the chronological principle (Porter 1993:159). The same preference is also the case with Ashurbanipal (Grayson 1980b:240–244).

location of important religious sites around it. For this analysis, we will refer to Andrew George's edition published in 1992.

Apart from the primary sources in cuneiform, the reconstruction of Babylon's topography also made use of the third source: the archaeological reports of the excavations in the city. These consist mainly of Koldewey's 1912 volume, the fruit of his decade-long project which started in 1899. With identification of the major landmarks as the main priority, it was during Koldewey's expedition that many of the sites had been located even though the city had already been excavated throughout the 19th century, for example in the expeditions led by Austen Layard and Hormuzd Rassam.

4.1.1 The location of temples in Babylon according to the description provided by the inscriptions

Some inscriptions in the samples have already given a brief description of the location of the temples that they include. The inscription that comes with the most comprehensive set of information regarding the site of the temples in Babylon is the Nabû(?)-cylinder (C36). It is the only inscription that specifically indicates the location of all the temples in its building list.

Very similar to *Tintir*, the Babylon block in the Nabû(?)-cylinder (C36) places geographical indicators after the final item in the group located at the same part of the city. The phrase *eberti šīt šamši* written in Sumerogram: BAL.RI ᵈUTU.È.A (Akk: the bank of the east) is used to indicate the list of temples on the eastern bank. Conversely, the phrase *eberti ereb šamši*, also in Sumerogram: BAL.RI ᵈUTU.ŠÚ.A (Akk: the bank of the west) indicates those on the western bank.

> ii 41 *é-maḫ* É ᵈ*nin-maḫ é*-GIŠ.*níg-gidru-kalam-ma-sum-mu* É ᵈ*na-bi-um ša ḫa-re-⌈e⌉*
>
> ii 42 *é-ḫur-sag-sikil-la* É ᵈ*nin-kar-ra-ak-a é-giš-nu₁₁-gal* É ᵈ30 BAL.RI ᵈUTU.È.A
>
> ii 43 *é-nam-ḫé* É ᵈIŠKUR *é-di-kus-kalam-ma* É ᵈUTU *é-ki-tuš-garza* É ᵈ*nin-é-an-na* BAL.RI ᵈUTU.ŠÚ.A

"Emaḫ, the temple of the goddess Ninmaḫ, Eniggidrukalamasuma, the temple of the god Nabû of the ḫarû, Eḫursagsikilla, the temple of the goddess Ninkarrak, Egišnugal, the temple of the god Sîn on the eastern bank, Enamḫe, the temple of the god Adad,

Edikukalama, the temple of the god Šamaš, Ekitušgarza, the temple of the goddess Nineanna on the western bank."

As quoted in the excerpt above from the Nabû(?)-cylinder (C36), four temples are said to be on the eastern bank and three on the west, assuming that the two phrases apply to all four temples which precede each of them.

West	East
(1) Enamḫe	(1) Emaḫ
(2) Edikukalamma	(2) Eniggidrukalamasuma
(3) Ekitušgarza	(3) Eḫursagsikilla
	(4) Egišnugal

Apart from the Nabû(?)-cylinder (C36), the Babylon block in the Lugal-Marad-cylinder (C32), Eḫursagsikilla-cylinder (C33), Eulla-cylinder (C37), Edubba-cylinder (C38), Stone Tablet, and Brisa A+C also contain a geographical description but only for one temple: the Ekitušgarza. As written in the Stone Tablet, the temple is said to be in the "*tubqu*" of the city fortification:

iv 46   *é-ki-tuš-garza* É-*sa*

iv 47   *i-na tu-ub-qá* BÀD KÁ.DINGIR.KI

The "*tubqu*" refers to a specific architectural feature whose meaning has not yet been settled. The latest edition of the text in the RIBO corpus translates the term to "(outer) corner" – a choice which probably has been taken directly from the CAD[64]. In Andrew George's opinion, the *tubqu* could indicate the recess between two defensive towers of the wall (George 1993:330).

Another temple whose location can be deduced from the inscription is the E.siskur, the temple of the Akītu festival. This temple has not been identified by an excavation and it is not recorded in *Tintir = Babylon*, possibly because *Tintir* only includes the landmarks that are within the double walls (George 1992:25). However, a number of inscriptions contains a geographical reference to the E.siskur, all of which point to the same location on the eastern bank to the north of the Ištar Gate. We will now review this evidence.

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[64] See: CAD T:447 *tubqu* meaning 1.

In the Stone Tablet and the Ištar Gate Inscription, the E.siskur is described as the Akītu temple that is 'in the outskirts of Babylon':

iv 7   *é-sískur a-ki-ti ṣi-ir-ti*

iv 8   *ša* ᵈEN.LÍL DINGIR.DINGIR ᵈAMAR.UTU

iv 9   *ši-kin ḫi-da-a-ti ù ri-ša-a-ti*

iv 10   *ša i-gi₄-gi₄ ù* ᵈ*a-nun-na-ki*

iv 11   *i-na ka-ma-a-ti* KÁ.DINGIR.RA.KI

"Esiskur, the exalted *akītu*-house of the Enlil of the gods – the god Marduk – (which was) established for joyful celebrations of the Igīgū and Anunnakū gods, in the outskirts of Babylon…"

More information is given in Brisa A+C, which mentions the E.siskur as one of the landmarks in the procession of the Akītu festival.

iii 23   ⌜*iš*⌝-*tu ma-ka-al-*⌜*le*⌝-[*e*] GIŠ.*má-u₅-umuš*

iii 24   *a-di* ⌜*é*⌝-*sískur ma-áš-*⌜*da*⌝-[*ḫi* EN] ⌜GAL⌝-*i* ᵈAMAR.UTU

"From the anchorage of the Maumuš(a) to Esiskur, (of) the processional street of the great lord Marduk."

4.1.2 The location of temples according to Tintir = Babylon

'*Tintir = Babylon*' is a compilation of the city of Babylon's epithets along with its temples, shrines, altars, and the city gates. It belongs to a typology of the scholarly cuneiform texts which explain the names and epithets of the temples and shrines in the important cities for the purpose of glorifying them as important cult centres (George 1993:1). In *Tintir*, these buildings were organised according to the district at which each of them was located, thus illustrating how the layout of the city would have looked like with the key landmarks specified.

The entire *Tintir = Babylon* consists of five Tablets[65]. The topographic description of Babylon which facilitates our discussion is found in Tablet Four and Five. Tablet Four contains the list of temples grouped according to the city quarter where it belongs. Tablet

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[65] *Tintir = Babylon* is believed to have been first compiled by the Middle Babylonian scholars and later became a reference text whose manuscripts were found in the scholarly context, such as the Ashurbanipal's library or as exercise tablets in scribal schools (George 1993:7–8).

Five is a compilation of the daises, gates, walls, waterways, and streets. It also provides a description of the city layout by explaining how districts connect to each other[66].
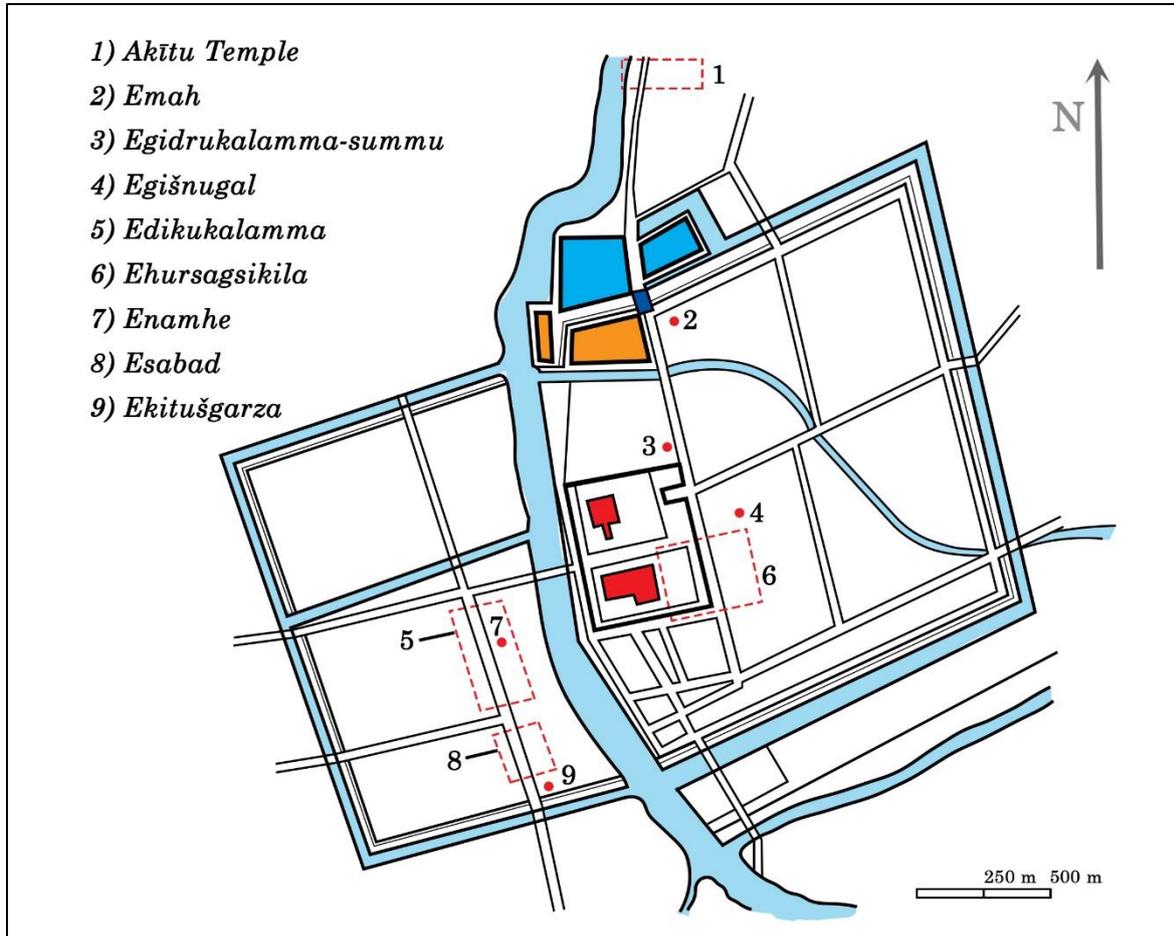
Map 1 Temples in Babylon as attested in the inūma from the sample group

According to Tintir V, the inner city of Babylon consists of nine districts. Six of them, namely Eridu, Kadingirra, Šuanna, Newtown, Kullab, and TE.E[KI] are situated on the eastern bank. Out of the six, Eridu, Kadingirra[67], Šuanna are the main administrative and religious quarters of the empire. The three other districts, namely Lugalirra, Kumar, and Tuba are on the western bank. The two parts of the city are connected by a bridge at the city centre, close to the Esagil and the Etemenanki Ziqqurrat[68].

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[66] Apart from the final two tablets, the first tablet of *Tintir* is an index of the 51 names of Babylon. Tablet two remains incomplete but is likely to contain the list of shrines in the city. Tablet three is the least complete of the five Tablets. Its fragments suggest that it could be the continuation of the content in Tablet two.

[67] Besides referring to the city of Babylon as a whole, the term Kadingirra is also used as the name of a district within the inner city of Babylon, probably the oldest, original part of the city. Other buildings being referred to as located in Kadingirra is the South Palace, known as the Palace at Kadingirra.

[68] The maps of Babylon in this chapter are my drawings based on Oates 1986:148.

A total of nine temples have been attested in the Babylon block in the *inum* from the sample group. As the information given in the Nabû(?)-cylinder (C36) has indicated, they are situated on both sides of the Euphrates. Out of the nine temples included in the sample group, the location of seven temples can be identified using the information in Tintir IV.

In Tintir IV, the name of the district is inserted into the list after the final item from the corresponding district, thus breaking the list of the landmarks into sections according to the city quarters to which they belong. For example, there are (at least) fourteen temples in the Eridu district because at the end of item fourteen, the E-sagga-šarra (Sumerian: the Foremost House in the Universe), temple of Anūnîtum, the label '*lìb-ba* eri.du₁₀ᵏⁱ' (Akk: 'in' the centre of Eridu) is added.

The seven temples whose location appears in Tintir IV are:

West	East
(1) Enamḫe	(1) Emaḫ
(2) Edikukalamma	(2) Eniggidrukalamasuma
(3) Ekitušgarza	(3) Egišnugal
(4) Esabad	

(1) Emaḫ (Sum: Exalted House), the temple of the mother goddess Ninmaḫ (Bēlet-ili). This temple is listed as the eighteenth item in Tintir IV and concludes the list of temples from the district of Kadingirra. The temple is located on the Ay-ibūr-šābû street opposite the South Palace. This temple was one of the archaeological sites excavated by Koldewey during his decade-long expedition[69]. It is one of a very limited selection of buildings attributed to NBK that has been identified by multiple sources of evidence.

(2) Eniggidrukalamasuma (Sum: House which Bestows the Sceptre of the Land), the temple of Nabû ša ḫarê ("Nabû at the forecourt), no. 15 in Tintir IV. This temple is located on the Ay-ibūr-šābû street, south of the South Palace on the way to the Etemenanki Ziqqurrat.

(3) Egišnugal (Sum: House of the Great Light), the temple of Sîn, no. 14 in Tintir IV. The temple is listed in the section labelled as located in the Kullab district on the eastern bank, east of the Eridu district. The location of the Egišnugal has not yet

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[69] See: Koldewey and Johns 1914:55–65. This temple was relatively well-excavated by the expedition team as it is one of a few sites whose complete floorplan has been published.

been confirmed archaeologically because the expeditions have always been more interested in the three main districts i.e., Kadingirra, Eridu, and Šuanna.

In contrast to the temples in the eastern districts, the location of those on the western bank of the city cannot be verified archaeologically because the Euphrates has moved its course westward, leaving the western districts destroyed. However, the description of the city topography in *Tintir = Babylon* remains useful as it also corresponds to the topographical information of the temples recorded in the Nabû(?)-cylinder (C36).

(4) Enamḫe (Sum: House of Plenty), the temple of Adad, no. 40 in Tintir IV. The name of the temple refers to the role of Adad as the divine *gugallu*, an administrative officer who was responsible for water management. The term is usually translated to 'irrigation controller' and is also used in the epithet of NBK (see: Chapter 2.3). The Enamḫe is located in the district of Kumar and is one of the three temples that are introduced as located on the western bank in the Nabû(?)-cylinder (C36).

(5) Edikukalamma (Sum: House of the Judge of the Land), the temple of Šamaš, no. 38 in Tintir IV. This temple is also located in Kumar and probably lends its name to the street that runs from its site in the southward direction to the southern gate of the western city, also known as the Šamaš Gate. The Edikukalamma is one of the three temples that are said to be in the western bank in the Nabû(?)-cylinder (C36).

(6) Ekitušgarza (House, Abode of Regulations), the temple of Bēlet-Eanna, no. 41 in Tintir IV. This temple is in the Tuba district, the southern-most of the three western districts of Babylon. As already introduced earlier, the inscriptions in the sample group describe the Ekitušgarza as a shrine that is situated in the recess of the city wall. This temple is also one of the three to have been described as located in the west according to the Nabû(?)-cylinder (C36).

(7) Esabad (House whose Ear(?) is Open), the temple of Gula, no. 42 in Tintir IV. This temple is in the Tuba district. It is not included in the Babylon block in the Nabû(?)-cylinder (C36). Given that the E.ki.tuš.garza is likely to be located in the southern-most position because it was built at the city wall, the Esabad could have located on the Šamaš street to its north. Interestingly, the Esabad may have been one of the longest-operating temples in Babylon as the final mention of the temple comes from the documents in the archive of an Arsacid banker Ragimesu, which demonstrates the continuing use of the sanctuary into the last century B.C. (George 1993:332).

4.1.3 Temples of uncertain location

The location of one particular temple out of the nine that appear in the Babylon block in the sample group remains unidentified because neither the available textual sources mention its location, nor the archaeological excavation has confirmed its site. The temple in question is the Eḫursagsikilla, another home of the goddess Gula in Babylon. According to the information in the Nabû(?)-cylinder (C36), this temple is located on the eastern bank of the city. Even though the temple of Gula by this name does not appear in Tintir IV, Andrew George proposed that it may have been known as the Egalmaḫ whose location in Eridu according to Tintir IV seems to fit the description of the Eḫursagsikilla in the Nabû(?)-cylinder (C36) (1992:305–306).

There seems to be a 'confusion' across the samples concerning where to put the Eḫursagsikilla in the building list. Although our close examination indicates that the temple may have been located on the eastern bank as suggested by the arrangement principle, the Eḫursagsikilla sometimes appears adjacent to the Esabad (on the western bank) in the list to form a duo of temples associated with the goddess Gula, inadvertent of the rule (see: Chapter 4.1.7).

In any case, the discrepancy in the positioning of the Eḫursagsikilla is a clear illustration of the various ways in which the composers had approached the compositional principle. On the one hand, the 'incorrect' position of this temple could be evidence of the scribe making a mistake. On the other hand, it could simply serve as evidence that there was a flexibility in the way the principle was received and reproduced whereby the order was altered for the sake of having Gula's two temples next to each other.

4.1.4 The Babylon block in the Lugal-Marad-cylinder (C32) and Eḫursagsikilla-cylinder (C33)

The Lugal-Marad-cylinder (C32) and Eḫursagsikilla-cylinder (C33) share the same set of four temples in Babylon (see: Table 32). They were arranged according to the geographic pattern that follows the course of the Euphrates (see: Map 2). The sequence starts from (1) the Emaḫ temple in Kadingirra, north of the old city's eastern part and continues down the Ay-ibūr-šābû street to (2) the Eniggidrukalamasuma, also in Kadingirra. Then, it crosses to the western bank to (3) the Enamḫe and ends with (4) the Ekitušgarza. With four temples, two on each bank, the two inscriptions have the shortest Babylon block in the sample group.

The table below lists all the temples in Babylon (as distinct from Esagil) mentioned by the sample inscriptions. As the table shows, the Lugal-Marad-cylinder (C32) and Eḫursagsikilla-cylinder (C33) list the same temples in the same order.

Temple	God	location	C32	C33
Esiskur	Akītu Festival	North of Ištar Gate		
Emaḫ	Ninḫursag	Kadingirra	1	1
Eniggidrukalamasuma	Nabû	Kadingirra	2	2
Egišnugal	Sîn	Kullab		
Edikukalamma	Šamaš	Kumar		
Enamḫe	Adad	Kumar	3	3
Esabad	Gula	Tuba		
Eḫursagsikilla	Gula	Eridu (?)		
Ekitušgarza	Nin.Eanna	Tuba	4	4

Table 32 The Babylonian temples in the Lugal-Marad-cylinder (C32) and Eḫursagsikilla-cylinder (C33)
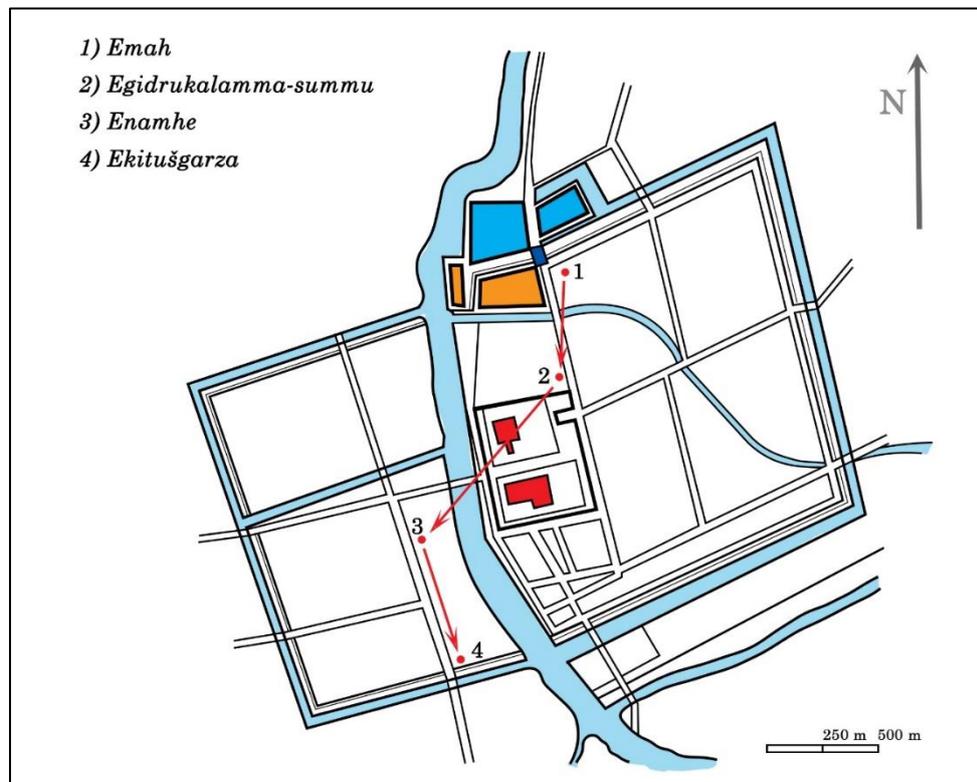
Map 2 The Babylon sequence in the Lugal-Marad-cylinder (C32) and Eḫursagsikilla-cylinder (C33)

4.1.5 The Babylon block in the Eulla-cylinder (C37) and Edubba-cylinder (C38)

The Eulla-cylinder (C37) and Edubba-cylinder (C38) share the same seven Babylonian temples arranged in the same sequence. Apart from the four temples included in the Lugal-Marad-cylinder (C32) and Eḫursagsikilla-cylinder (C33), the list in these two inscriptions contains three more temples.

On the eastern bank of the city, additional to the Emaḫ and the Eniggidrukalamasuma, the Eulla-cylinder (C37) and Edubbad-cylinder (C38) also introduce the Egišnugal in the Kullab district to the list. On the western bank, the sequence starts at the Kumar district with the Enamḫe of Adad in the fifth position and continues southward down the Šamaš street, passing the Edikukalamma of Šamaš in the sixth position and ends in the Tuba district with the Ekitušgarza (see: Map 3).

The elusive Eḫursagsikilla Temple of Gula takes the fourth position, succeeding the Egišnugal in Kullab. This suggests that its location might have been in the eastern bank, probably in the central or the southern part of the city, either in Eridu or Šuanna. This assumption corresponds to Andrew George's argument that the Eḫursagsikilla could have been the Egalmaḫ in Tintir IV (1992:305–306).

Temple	God	location	C37	C38
Esiskur	Akītu Festival	North of Ištar Gate		
Emaḫ	Ninḫursag	Kadingirra	1	1
Eniggidrukalamasuma	Nabû	Kadingirra	2	2
Egišnugal	Sîn	Kullab	3	3
Edikukalamma	Šamaš	Kumar	6	6
Enamḫe	Adad	Kumar	5	5
Esabad	Gula	Tuba		
Eḫursagsikilla	Gula	Eridu (?)	4	4
Ekitušgarza	Nin.Eanna	Tuba	7	7

Table 33 The Babylonian temples in the Eulla-cylinder (C37) and Edubba-cylinder (C38)
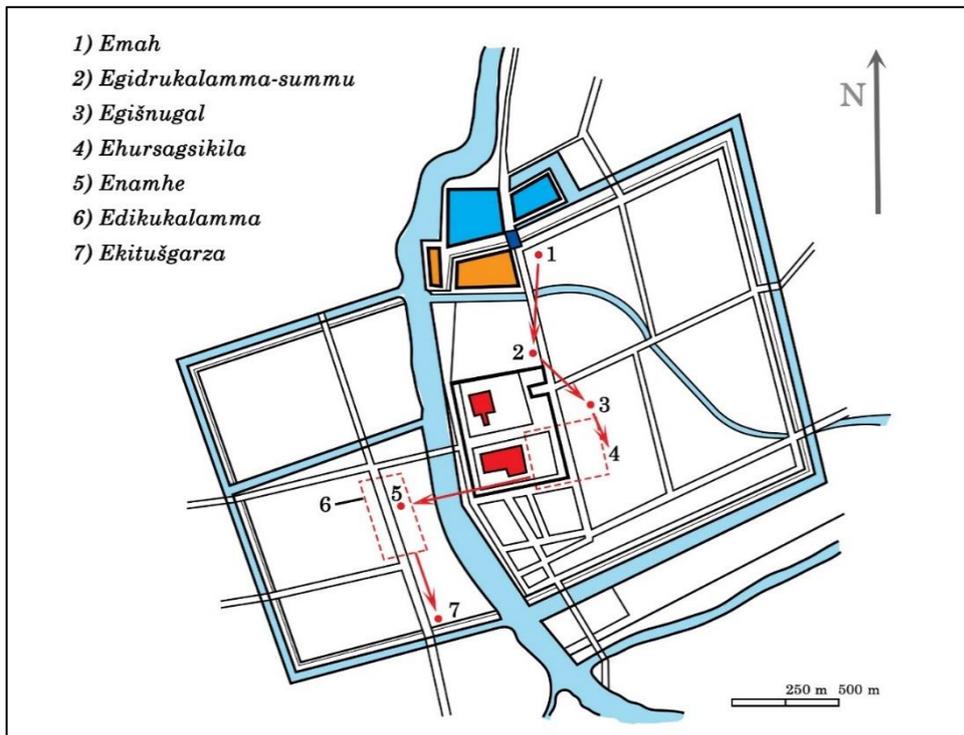
Map 3 The Babylon sequence in The Eulla-cylinder (C37) and Edubba-cylinder (C38)

4.1.6 The Babylon block in the Nabû(?)-cylinder (C36) and Brisa A+C

The Nabû(?)-cylinder (C36) and Brisa A+C contain almost the same selection of seven temples. While the lists are not exactly identical, they are nonetheless organised according to the same principle that is used across the sample group. However, a few variants in the positioning of some temples indicate that the principle has been received and reproduced differently.

In the Nabû(?)-cylinder (C36), the Eḫursagsikilla assumes the third position, preceding the Egišnugal, which here takes the fourth position. This arrangement is slightly different from the list in the Eulla-cylinder (C37) and Edubba-cylinder (C38) where the Egišnugal precedes the Eḫursagsikilla.

Assuming that George's proposition that the Eḫursagsikilla is in the eastern part of Babylon (Eridu district) is correct, it would follow that the scribes of the Nabû(?)-cylinder (C36) may have wanted to list all the temples in the main districts of the eastern bank (Kadingirra, Eridu and Šuanna) before covering the minor districts on the same side, in this case the Kullab district where the Egišnugal is. Conversely, the scribes put the Egišnugal before the Eḫursagsikilla in the Eulla-cylinder (C37) and Edubba-cylinder

(C38) possibly because they may have simply followed the general geographical alignment of the temples along the south-bound route of the Ay-ibūr-šābû street.

In any case, the confusion about the location of the Eḫursagsikilla and the Egišnugal could also have been a normal scenario because the two temples were likely not to have been far away from each other. After the Egišnugal, the list in the Nabû(?)-cylinder (C36) continues to the west bank using the same selection of temples as the Eulla-cylinder (C37) and Edubba-cylinder (C38), starting with the Enamḫe and continues down the Šamaš street to the Edikukalamma and the Ekitušgarza at the city wall.

The positioning of the Eḫursagsikilla in Brisa A+C further confirms our proposition that the temple was in the eastern part of the city. The Babylon block in this inscription begins with the same two temples as included in the Nabû(?)-cylinder (C36). However, the sequence in Brisa A+C skips the Egišnugal and puts the Eḫursagsikilla in the third position before crossing over to the western bank, beginning with the Enamḫe.

Interestingly, there also seems to be a confusion in the arrangement of the temples in the western part of Babylon in the Brisa A+C. As illustrated in Map 5, this inscription puts the Esabad at the final position (seventh position) in the list while the Ekitušgarza, which was very likely at the furthest southern having been built in the recess of the wall, takes the sixth position. However, given that both temples were located probably not far from each other, the mistake is likely to have no particular significance.

Temple	god	location	C36	WB
E.siskur	Akītu Festival	North of Ištar Gate		
Emaḫ	Ninḫursag	Kadingirra	1	1
Eniggidrukalamasuma	Nabû	Kadingirra	2	2
Egišnugal	Sîn	Kullab	4	
Edikukalamma	Šamaš	Kumar	6	5
Enamḫe	Adad	Kumar	5	4
Esabad	Gula	Tuba		7
Eḫursagsikilla	Gula	Eridu (?)	3	3
Ekitušgarza	Nin.Eanna	Tuba	7	6

Table 34 The Babylonian temples in the Nabû(?)-cylinder (C36) and Brisa A+C
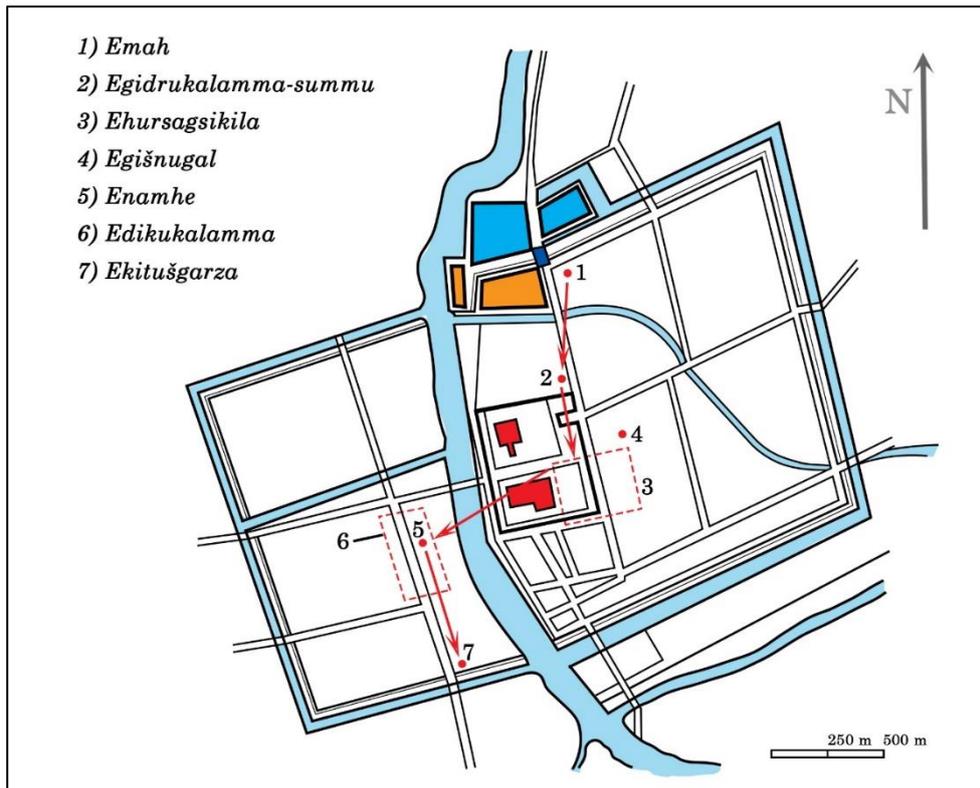
Map 4 The Babylon sequence in the Nabû(?)-cylinder (C36)

1) Emah
2) Egidrukalamma-summu
3) Ehursagsikila
4) Egišnugal
5) Enamhe
6) Edikukalamma
7) Ekitušgarza
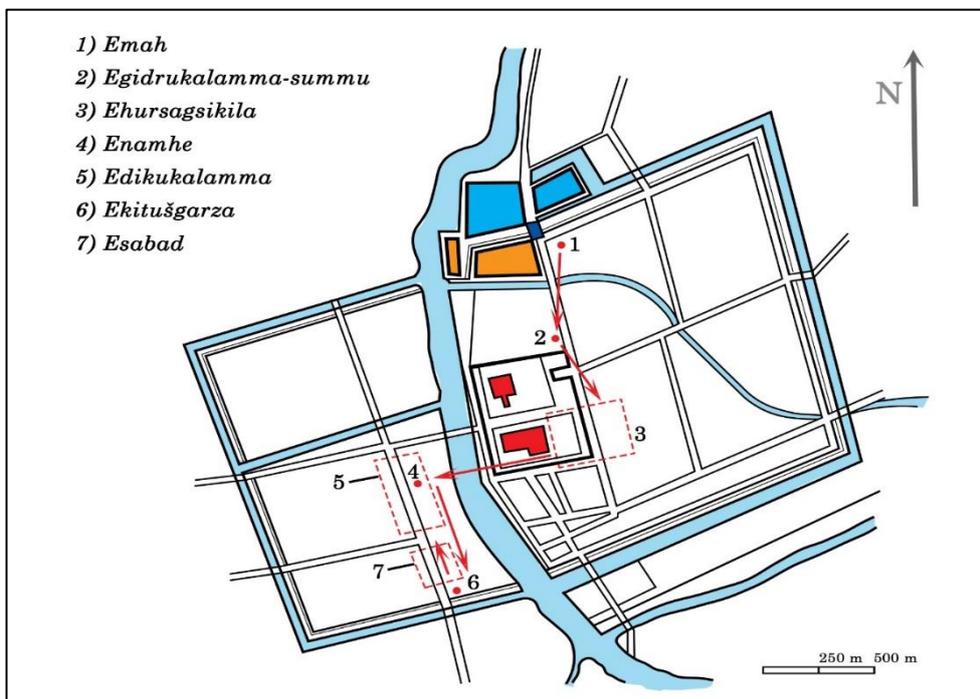
Map 5 The Babylon sequence in Brisa A+C

1) Emah
2) Egidrukalamma-summu
3) Ehursagsikila
4) Enamhe
5) Edikukalamma
6) Ekitušgarza
7) Esabad

4.1.7   The Babylon block in the Stone Tablet

The Stone Tablet is a very special inscription when it comes to the Babylon block because it has the longest list in the sample group, containing a total of nine temples. Our close examination of the sequence reveals a slightly different detail in the ordering of the temples, particularly of the Eḫursagsikilla, even though the general arrangement concept remains in line with what is practiced by the other sample inscriptions. The slight difference could have been a result of the Stone Tablet having been composed according to the principle that was applied to the inscriptions associated with the palaces, which existed in parallel to the principle adopted by the temple inscriptions (see: Chapter 5).

The list in the Stone Tablet starts with the Esiskur, the temple which is located at the northern-most location amongst those included in the list. As introduced earlier, the Esiskur is located on the Processional Street outside the Ištar Gate, making it the only temple in the selection to have originated from outside the Imgur-Enlil and Nēmetti-Enlil. The list continues down the Ay-ibūr-šābû street, passing the Emaḫ, the Eniggidrukalamasuma, and the Egišnugal (see: Map 6). This arrangement is so far similar to the previously discussed lists, such as in the Nabû(?)-cylinder (C36), Eulla-cylinder (C37), and Edubba-cylinder (C38) where the Emaḫ, the Eniggidrukalamasuma, and the Egišnugal, in this order, take over the first positions in the list.

However, after the Egišnugal the list in the Stone Tablet appears to follow its own arrangement scheme. First, the Eḫursagsikilla, which is placed either before or after the Egišnugal if both are part of the same selection, is placed in the position after the Esabad in Tuba. Second, the Edikukalamma, which as far as we have seen only appears after the Enamḫe, is placed as the first temple on the western bank, before the Enamḫe.

Our examination of the text as quoted below has revealed that the Eḫursagsikilla is adjacent to Esabad in the Stone Tablet because the two temples are in the same sentence which reports the construction of the Babylonian temples belonging to the same deity, the goddess Gula.

> iv 38   *a-na* ᵈ*gu-la e-ṭi-ra-at*
>
> iv 39   *ga-mi-la-at na-pí-iš-ti-ia*
>
> iv 40   *é-sa-bad é-ḫur-sag-sikil-la*
>
> iv 41   É.É-*ša i-na* KÁ.DINGIR.RA.KI
>
> iv 42   *i-na ku-up-ri ù a-gur-ri*

     iv 43   *as-mi-iš ab-ni₇*

"For the goddess Gula, who saves (and) spares my life, I suitably built in Babylon Esabad (and) Eḫursagsikila, her temples, with bitumen and baked brick."

However, it remains unclear as to why the scribes had moved the Eḫursagsikilla down the list when it is the first of the two temples of Gula on the way downstream, especially since moving the Esabad up the list would still yield the same result.

In the case of the Edikukalamma and the Enamḫe, these two temples form each of their own report. Given that both temples are from the Kumar district, their unusual appearance in the Stone Tablet is likely to have no significance.

Temple	god	location	ST
E.siskur	Akītu Festival	North of Ištar Gate	1
Emaḫ	Ninḫursag	Kadingirra	2
Egidrukalamma-summu	Nabû	Kadingirra	3
Egišnugal	Sîn	Kullab	4
Edikukalamma	Šamaš	Kumar	5
Enamḫe	Adad	Kumar	6
Esabad	Gula	Tuba	7
Eḫursagsikilla	Gula	Eridu (?)	8
Ekitušgarza	Nin.Eanna	Tuba	9

Table 35 The Babylonian temples in the Stone Tablet
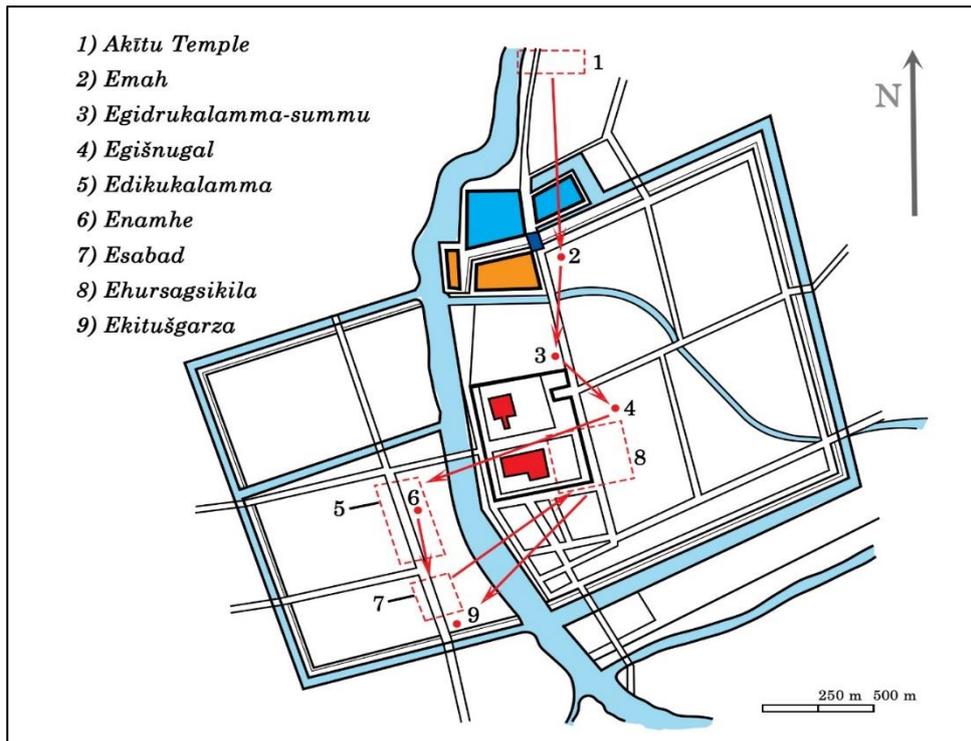
Map 6 The Babylon sequence in the Stone Tablet

4.2 The geographic patterns in the "Babylonia Block"

Our further examination of the Babylonia Block in the *inum* building list also reveals a similar compositional pattern that is attested in the Babylon block: the temples in the list were arranged according to where they are located along the River Euphrates[70].

The Babylonia Block is one of the main components of the building list in the *inum* section. It contains the royal initiatives in the major cities around the Babylonian heartland except those in Babylon, Borsippa, and Cutha which are allocated to their own corresponding project blocks.

Similar to the composition of the Babylon block, the application of the geography-based principle in the Babylonia Block in every inscription regardless of how many projects it includes, suggests that the composers of the text were aware of the framework. However, the variation in the positioning of the temples in the list is evidence that the principle was approached differently in each composition.

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[70] The maps in Chapter 4.2 were created based on a map of Babylonia published in AOAT 377 (Fig. 1, p 62).

In this section of the dissertation, we will explore the geographical principle in the Babylonia Block and its application in the temple inscriptions, Brisa A+C, and the South-Palace-cylinder (C34), which is the only palace inscription in the samples that includes this project block.

As we shall see, although all inscriptions that contain the Babylonia Block maintain the arrangement principle that is based on each temple's location along the course of the Euphrates, the temples in the Babylonia Block of the South-Palace-cylinder (C34) were arranged 'upstream' in opposite to the 'downstream' sequence used in the temple inscriptions and Brisa A+C.

Map 7 The Babylonian cities in the 1st millennium BC

In her edition of NBK II Prism, Rocío Da Riva refers to a similar arrangement of the list of participants in the construction of the South Palace. According to Da Riva, the groups of participants were arranged based on their origin from south to north, and east to west (2013c:199). This principle results in the sequence starting with the participants from the Sealand, Akkad, and Assyria, which are the core of the Neo-Babylonian empire (ibid). Our investigation in this section is inspired by Da Riva's idea.

It is our intention that the following discussion of the different application of the compositional principles will serve as an introduction to our discussion Chapter 5 where more features that are shared among the inscriptions associated with the same building type will be identified.

4.2.1 The Babylonia Block in the temple inscriptions and Brisa A+C

Among the temple inscriptions, the sequence in the Babylonia Block follows the geographical location of the cities in central and southern Mesopotamia, starting from the

northern-most city on the Euphrates: Sippar. The list then continues downstream passing the cluster of cities around the Babylon region e.g., Dilbat, and Marad. It ends in the southern region with the cities associated with the Ancient Sumerians i.e., Uruk, Larsa, and Ur (see: **Error! Reference source not found.**).

Temple	City	bor.	temple					
		WB	C38	C37	C36	C33	C32
Ebabbar	Sippar	1	1	1	1	1	1
Eulla	Sippar		2		2		
Edurgina	Baş	2	3	2	3	2	2
Eibbi-Anum	Dilbat	3	4	3	4	3	3
Eigikalamma	Marad	4	5	4	5		
Eanna	Uruk	5	6	5	6	4	4
Eulmaš (?)	Agade	6					
Ebabbar	Larsa	7	7	6	7	5	5
Egišnugal	Ur	8	8	7	8	6	6

Table 36 The topics in the Babylonia Block in the temple inscriptions in order of appearance

As illustrated in Table 36, the project lists in all five temple inscriptions in the samples as well as Brisa A+C use the same arrangement pattern that starts with the city of Sippar and proceeds down the Euphrates.

Among these five inscriptions, two sub-groups can be further distinguished according to their textual similarities.

The project list in the Babylonia Block in the Nabû(?)-cylinder (C36), Eulla-cylinder (C37), and Edubba-cylinder (C38) is generally the same list city-wise. In the Eulla-cylinder (C37), the Eulla temple of Ninkarrak in Sippar is not included because it is the temple commemorated by the inscription.

The Lugal-Marad-cylinder (C32) and Eḫursagsikilla-cylinder (C33) share the same passages in the Babylonia Block. The list in the Lugal-Marad-cylinder (C32) does not include Marad because this inscription commemorates the temple, which is likely to be the Eigikalamma, the temple of Lugal-Marad in Marad. Based on the text alone, it is difficult to conclude that the description actually refers to the Eigikalamma because its

main section does not mention the commemorated temple by name but simply went for the generic description[71].
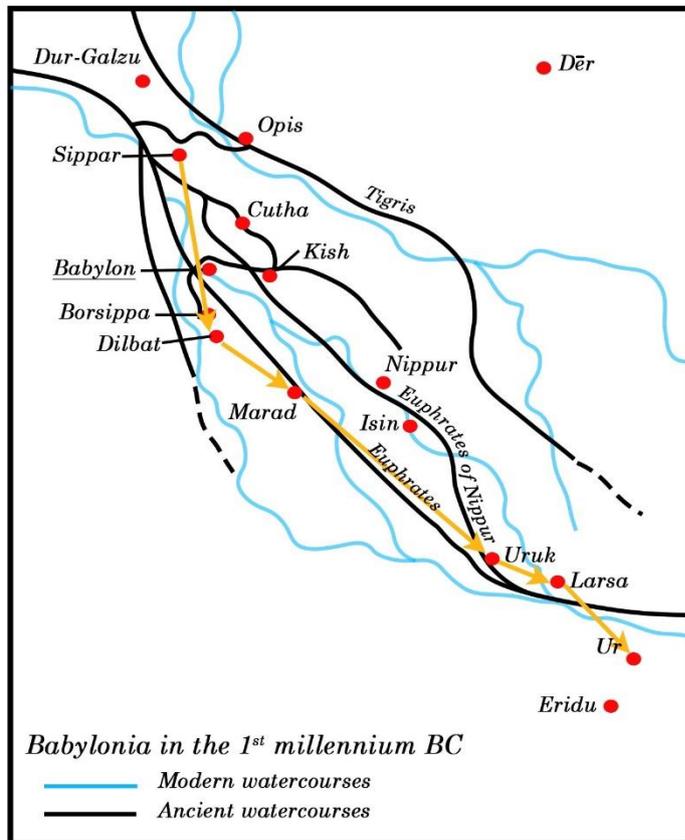
Map 8 The identified cities in the Babylonia block of the temple inscriptions and Brisa A+C

It is possible that the use of the Euphrates as an arrangement reference is a reminiscence of the temple list in the Prologue of Codex Hammurabi, which also uses the river-based geographical principle to arrange a part of the sequence. As indicated by Christophe Wall-Romana, apart from the five cities at the beginning of the list which follows the order of their corresponding god's position in the Old Babylonian pantheon: Nippur (1=Enlil), Eridu (2=Ea), Babylon (3=Marduk), Ur (4=Sîn), and Sippar (5=Šamaš), the twenty-two other cities were listed according to their location along the river courses (1990:213–215).

Succeeding the five cities is a cohort of six cities which were arranged according to their location along the Euphrates, from down to upstream: Larsa (6), Uruk (7), Isin (8), Kiš (9), Kutha (10), then down a tributary branch of the same river from Babylon: Borsippa (11), and Dilbat (12) (ibid). The location of the city of Keš in position 13 remains unidentified.

For the next eight cities, the sequence switches to the course of the Tigris, starting from down to upstream: Lagaš-Girsu (14), Lagaš (15), Zabala (16), Karkar (17), Adab (18), Maškan-Šapir (19), and Malgium (20) (ibid.). Then from the Upper Euphrates towards

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[71] See: Lugal-Marad-cylinder (C32): iii.12 – iii.13

iii 12   *ì-nu-mi-šu a-na* ᵈlugal-*már-da* EN-*ia*

iii 13   É-*su ša qé-re-eb már-da*.KI

"On those days, to my lord, the god Lugal-Marad, his temple, inside (the city) Marad…"

Babylon: Mari (21), and Tutul (22), before turning north-east up the Tigris: Ešnunna (23), Babylon (for the second time), Agade (24), Aššur (25), and Nineveh (26) (ibid)[72].

However, whether this similarity is evidence of NBK's scribes consciously choosing the Codex as a literary model remains a speculation. Given that the Euphrates was a major transportation route in the region, this river could have been part of the Babylonian mental landscape. Thus, the use of the Euphrates as a geographical reference may have been an intuitive choice that is natural for any Babylonian individual.

4.2.1.1   A possible reference to the Eulmaš in Agade

In Brisa A+C, the construction report of the Eanna Temple is succeeded by the account of NBK commissioning the construction of a canopy for Ištar of Agade's cult statue. This particular item has been a subject of scholarly debate because the location of the cult statue is not explicitly mentioned. The text that contains this construction report is only available from a very fragmentary part of WBC:

viii 5   *a-na* ᵈINANNA *a-ga-⌈dè⌉*.KI *ru-⌈ba-ti⌉* [*ṣi-ir-ti*]

viii 6   *mu-uš-te-ti-na-at na-*[*ki-ri-ia*]

viii 7   *um-⌈ma⌉ mu-ra-*<<bi>>*-bi-it-⌈ta⌉* [*ša-me-e?*]

viii 8   [*me*]*-lam-mu be-lu-ti-šu ag-*[*gu-ti* (x x)]

viii 9   *ú-še-piš-ma ú-ša-⌈at-ri-ṣú e⌉-*[*li*]*-⌈šu⌉*

"For Ištar of Agade, the [august] princess, who confounds my enemies, the mother who reared me, I had made [a canopy] for the radiance of her terrible sovereignly, and I stretched (it) over her."

A number of Assyriologists have cast their opinion regarding the elusive site of the cult statue. G. J. P. McEwan argues that the canopy for the cult statue of Ištar of Agade refers to one at the Emašdari Temple, the temple of Ištar of Agade in the Merkes district of Babylon because the name of temple could fit the broken space in Brisa A+C (1982:8–15). However, as pointed out by Grant Frame, it is questionable to place the report of a project in Babylon in the Babylonia Block when the same inscription has already allocated a

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[72] Babylon appears for the second time in position 24 and causes some confusion. Christophe Wall-Romana argued that it may have been deliberately placed there so that it would appear just before Agade, an ancient capital which was still holding high prestige at the time of Hammurabi (1990:215).

separate section for the projects in that city (1993:48–49). Frame's opinion has been endorsed by Rocío Da Riva who argues that the epithet of the goddess is already the key to the project's location because there was a temple of Ištar in Agade known as the Eulmaš where NBK's activities were reported in an inscription of Nabonidus (2012:78).

Although the identification of the site of Ištar's cult statue in Brisa A+C as the Eulmaš will upset the arrangement pattern since Agade is thought to have located on the Tigris, placing two individual projects of the same deity in succession without respecting the principle is not entirely uncommon[73]. A similar arrangement is attested in the Babylon block of the Stone Tablet where the two temples of Gula were positioned in succession even though they are not located next to each other in reality (see: Chapter 4.1.7).

4.2.2 The Babylonia Block in the South-Palace-cylinder (C34)

Our examination of the building list in the Babylonia Block of the South-Palace-cylinder (C34) reveals that, even though the list was created with the same geography-based principle as the Babylonia Block in the other inscriptions, the principle was applied differently. Instead of listing the temples *downstream* based on their location along the Euphrates, the list in 014 (C34) uses the *upstream* arrangement.

As to be discussed in Chapter 4.2.2.1, this variation of the same principle will help us identify the location of Baş, the only city in the Babylonia Block whose location remains elusive. More generally, such an application of the principle is evidence that the inscriptions associated with the palaces follow another set of frameworks that is parallel to the one adopted by the temple inscriptions.

The building list in the Babylonia Block of the South-Palace-cylinder (C34) includes five temples: (1) the Ebabbar in Sippar, (2) the Ebabbar in Larsa, (3) the Egišnugal in Ur, (4) the Eibbi-Anum in Dilbat, and (5) the Edurgina in Baş. As illustrated in Map 9, after the

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[73] As argued by Christophe Wall-Romana, the location of the city of Agade can be inferred from the references to the city attested in the historical and literary sources, such as the Curse of Agade and the Codex Hammurabi, in which Agade is often mentioned in connection to the river Tigris (Wall-Romana 1990).

In the prologue of the Codex Hammurabi, the city of Agade is in a section of a list of cities that is arranged according to where they are located along the course of the Tigris upstream starting from Babylon, namely Babylon, Agade, Aššur, and Nineveh (ibid:213–215).

In the Curse of Agade, a Sumerian composition that depicts the rise of Agade and its defeat by the Gutians, because the Tigris is the only river mentioned in the text, it is likely to be the one alluded to when the location of Agade is described (ibid:211–212). The matching information gathered from the Prologue and the Curse seems to indicate that the city of Agade lies in the northern Babylonian region on the course of the Tigris.

Ebabbar in Sippar, the first item in the list, the sequence jumps to the two southern-most locations in the list, the other Ebabbar temple in Larsa, then further south to Ur before returning northward to Dilbat and Baṣ.

Apart from the building reports, the *inum* section in the South-Palace-cylinder (C34) also includes a royal initiative that is not a construction project. The topic in question is the re-establishment of a cult of the goddess Ištar at Eanna temple in Uruk. This topic covers to space between ii.50 to ii.59, after the construction report of the Edugina in Baṣ and before the conclusion of the *inum* section.
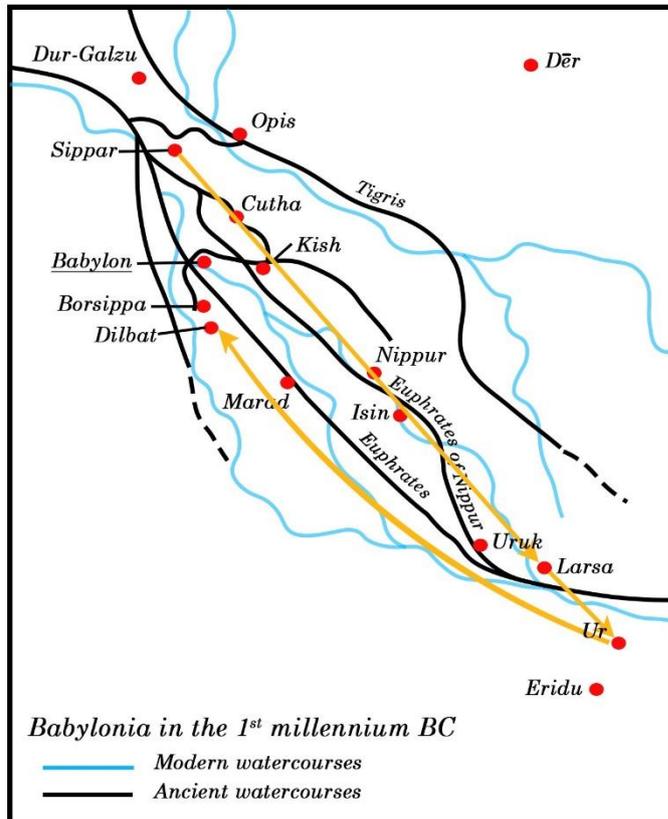
At the surface, it may seem surprising for a building list to include a topic that does not concern a construction project, notably when it breaks the compositional pattern: the Eanna in Uruk should have been placed after the Egišnugal in Ur.

Map 9 The arrangement of the temples in the Babylonia block of the South-Palace-cylinder (C34)

However, as our discussion of the pattern in the epithet list has demonstrated, the introduction of new items that are not relevant to the framework especially at the end of a sequence is not uncommon. The mentioning of the Ištar cult before the conclusion of the *inum* is perhaps a reminiscence of the epithet list in the Nabû(?)-cylinder (C36), Eulla-cylinder (C37), and Edubba-cylinder (C38) whose ending sees additional epithets that do not 'fit' the common pattern (see: Chapter 2.3.4). As a separate story that does not concern a construction, the re-establishment of the Ištar cult may have been placed there simply because there was no space for this kind of story in the standard components.

4.2.2.1   The location of Baṣ

Apart from the elusive description of Ištar of Agade, the other issue that has to be illuminated concerns the site of the Edurgina temple in Baṣ. This temple is the only temple in the Babylonia Block from the sample group whose location has not yet been identified by the archaeologists. The Edurgina (Sum. "Established-Abode House") is the temple of Bēl-ṣarbi – a syncretism of Nergal in the city of Baṣ. This temple is attested in all inscriptions that contain the Babylonia Block including the South-Palace-cylinder (C34), which follows the 'upstream' variant of the Euphrates-based compositional principle.

The current scholarship about the location of Baṣ has only relied on the available historical sources for evidence. The entry in the Reallexikon der Assyriologie places the city in 'Southern Babylonia' based on the information gathered from the inscriptions of Maništušu[74]. Ran Zadok suggested that the city known as Šapazzu in the Neo-Assyrian period, which was also the cult-centre of Bēl-ṣarbi, could have been a 'vulgar' topographical reference of the Babylonian Baṣ (1985:71). In the edition of a Neo-Assyrian temple list, K 1354, Andrew George also endorsed Zadok's proposition (1987:35 fn. 8). He also refers to a psalm attributed to Tiglath-Pileser III edited by D.J. Wiseman, which contains a list of cult-centres in Babylonia (ibid:37 fn. 2). The list appears to have grouped the cities into two categories: the cities in Babylonia proper, namely Sippar, Nippur, Babylon, Borsippa, Cutha, Kis, Dilbat and Uruk, and the cities that are likely to have been outside of that area, namely Dēr on the Tigris and Šapazzu, which is "probably somewhere north of Sippar" (ibid).

Our comparison of the Babylonia Block in the five temple inscriptions and the South-Palace-cylinder (C34) leads to a new theory regarding the location of Baṣ. Primarily, because the temple inscriptions and the South-Palace-cylinder (C34) use two variants of the same compositional principle which is based on the geographical relation between the cities and the Euphrates, the comparison has revealed the area in which the two variants intersect.

In the temple inscriptions, the city of Baṣ is the second city in the list regardless of the Edurgina's position. Baṣ always follows the city of Sippar whether the Sippar entry includes one (Ebabbar) or two (Ebabbar and Eulla) temples. Then, the list continues *down* the Euphrates to the Eibbi-Anum, the temple of Uraš in the city of Dilbat, whose location

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[74] See: Baz in RlA 1. Band, A - Bepašte pp 439.

has been identified as situated on a subsidiary of the Euphrates, a few kilometres south of Borsippa[75].

In the South-Palace-cylinder (C34), the Edurgina is placed in the last position, notably *upstream* after the Eibbi-Anum in Dilbat. As already discussed on the above, even though the Babylonia Block in this inscription (C34) is organised based on the cities' location on the Euphrates, the list is arranged *upstream* from Larsa as opposed to *downstream* from Sippar. In so doing, the two arrangements intersect at Baṣ, which appears after Sippar in the Temple inscriptions, but before it in the South-Palace-cylinder (C34).
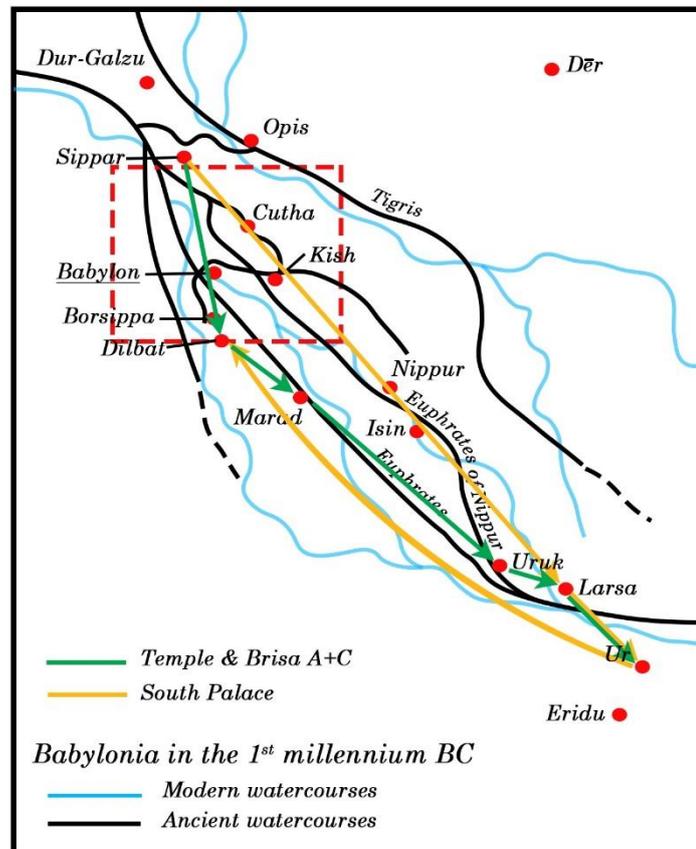
Map 10 The possible location of Baṣ

Based on the evidence from the royal inscriptions alone, we propose that the location of the city of Baṣ is somewhere between Sippar and Dilbat, very likely within the 'metropolitan' cluster which includes all the important cities around Babylon for example, Borsippa, Cutha, and Kiš, all of which also feature in the NBK inscriptions. This theory remains speculative as the identification of the city requires a study of the archival documents, which contain reference to both Baṣ and Šapazzu. Such an endeavour is beyond the scope of this dissertation.

4.3 Summary

In summary, our examination of the Babylon and Babylonia Block has revealed the principle that determined how the construction report temples were arranged. In the Babylon block the sequence is based on the direction of the course of the River Euphrates that flows north-south through the heart of the city, cutting it into two halves. Similarly,

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[75] See: Dilbat in RlA 2. Band, Ber - Ezur und Nachträge, pp. 218-225.

the arrangement of the construction projects in the Babylonia Block also follows each city's location on the course of the Euphrates.

As attested in the sample inscriptions, these patterns are the standard that was maintained regardless of how many and what projects are included in each list. Moreover, we have observed that some variations of the principle are connected to certain groups of inscriptions, each of which is related to a specific building type.

Of a particular interest is a variation attested in the Stone Tablet (palace inscription), whose Babylon block altered the principle for the sake of placing the two temples of the goddess Gula together. In another palace inscription i.e., the South-Palace-cylinder (C34), the temple sequence in the Babylonia Block follows the course of the Euphrates upstream in contrast to those in the five temple inscriptions and Brisa A+C, whose sequence follows the Euphrates in the opposite direction. The two variants in the arrangement of the temple in the Babylonia Block has also helped us identify the potential site of the city of Baṣ, whose location has yet to be confirmed.

Chapter 5   The building type of the commemorated project

In this chapter, we will explore the cases in the sample group in which the creation of text may have been influenced by the building type of the project that each inscription commemorates. Primarily, it could be difficult to think of the "particular incidents" to be observed as evidence of the impact caused by the building type. Splitting the sample group into subgroups will leave us with a smaller number of specimens per category.

However, these incidents are significant when we take into account the fact that the structural formulation of the five temple inscriptions (and Brisa A+C) is homogenous on many levels, particularly within their *inum* section. As we shall see, in contrast to the homogenous composition of the temple inscriptions and Brisa A+C, the three inscriptions associated with the palaces appear to be more variable in their compositional principle.

The other case studies that we will examine include the main section in the Stone Tablet and Summer-Palace-cylinder (C35), the *anāku* section in the South-Palace-cylinder (C34), and the ESDs in Brisa A+C. The main section in the Stone Tablet and Summer-Palace-cylinder (C35) is structurally more complex than the same section in the other inscriptions in the sample group.

Whilst the limited number of case studies may not provide strong evidence that the building type has direct influence over the composition, our investigation will demonstrate that the creation of each inscription was planned. If so, there is a likelihood that the observed individual features are indicative of the compositional principles that we have no record of.

Based on the type of building they were dedicated to, the ten inscriptions in the sample group can be categorised into four subgroups:

(1) Five temple inscriptions:
   a. Lugal-Marad-cylinder (C32)
   b. Eḫursagsikilla-cylinder (C33)
   c. Nabû(?)-cylinder (C36)
   d. Eulla-cylinder (C37)
   e. Edubbad-cylinder (C38)
(2) Three palace inscriptions:
   a. South-Palace-cylinder (C34)
   b. Summer-Palace-cylinder (C35)

      c.   Stone Tablet (dedicated to the North Palace)

(3) One Ziqqurrat inscription (C41, cylinder – dedicated to the Etemenanki)

(4) One rock inscription in Lebanon: Brisa A+C

Similar investigations conducted by scholars of the Neo-Assyrian inscriptions have demonstrated that "provenance" – in the general sense of the word – influences the composition of the inscriptions. However, the degree of impact it imposes in comparison to other factors is difficult to define due to gaps in the record.

Primarily, the extant inscriptions of Sennacherib that are associated with his palace begin with the term *ekal* (Akk: *construct state* palace), followed by his name (Frahm 1997:248). The same corpus of inscriptions has also become a subject of debate, concerning whether Sennacherib had different sets of epithets for the inscriptions in Nineveh and Aššur. Mario Liverani argued that the epithets in the Nineveh inscriptions emphasise Sennacherib's role as a successful military leader and a benevolent ruler – a portrayal which is consistent with the fact that Nineveh was a political centre of the empire (1981:248–251). In contrast, the epithets for Aššur are not interested in the "political" issues and, instead, present Sennacherib as the restorer of temples, reflecting Aššur's status as the religious capital (ibid). In contrast, John Malcolm Russell suggested that the titulary should depend more directly on the main content of the inscription, which in turns can still depend on the provenance (1985:241–251).

However, as pointed out by Eckart Frahm, the seemingly different selection of epithets could have been caused by gaps in the record, since Sennacherib's inscriptions from Aššur are only known later in his reign (1997:249–250).

In the case of the NBK inscriptions, Paul-Richard Berger has identified the textual similarities between some inscriptions but did not make further argument regarding their potential significance. According to Berger, the NBK inscriptions that share portions of identical passages among themselves include the Stone Tablet and Summer-Palace-cylinder (C35), Eulla-cylinder (C37) and Edubba-cylinder (C38), Lugal-Marad-cylinder (C32) and Eḫursagsikilla-cylinder (C33) (1973:34–46). Particularly, the Lugal-Marad-cylinder (C32) and Eḫursagsikilla-cylinder (C33) reproduce the same text from the beginning of the *inum* section all the way to the end of the building list (ibid:40). Our analysis in this chapter will demonstrate that what Berger previously observed is evidence of the relation between the compositional principle and the building type of the commemorated project.

5.1   The building list

The building list is a prominent part of the *inum* section. It only appears in the nine longest inscriptions in the extant NBK corpus, all of which are part of our sample group. As introduced in Chapter 2.5.3, the content of the building list is composed of the construction reports, which are grouped into subsections ("project blocks") according to their location.

Our examination of the building lists indicates that there is a consistency in the choice of components in all five temple inscriptions as well as Brisa A+C. The building lists in these inscriptions include the same selection of four project blocks as foundational components of their text. These project blocks are the Main Temple block (Block 1), Babylon (Block 2), Borsippa (Block 3), and Empire (Block 4). Moreover, the five temple inscriptions do not mention the palaces in their building lists.

project block	temple					ziq.	palace			bor.
	32	33	36	37	38	41	34	35	ST	WB
legitimacy narrative	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
1) Esagil and Ezida (Main Temple)	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓
2) Babylon	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓				✓	✓
3) Borsippa	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓				✓	✓
4) Empire	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓			✓
5) Cutha			✓	✓	✓					✓

Table 37 The selection of the project blocks in inscriptions in the sample

The three palace inscriptions form a subgroup that is distinct from the temple inscriptions because their building lists are more variable in their selection of components. The building list in the Stone Tablet does not include any project from outside Babylon and Borsippa (Blocks 2 and 3) whereas the one in the South-Palace-cylinder (C34) skips both of them in favour of the Babylonia Block (Block 4). In contrast to the temple inscriptions, the three palace inscriptions mention temple projects despite their variable choice of project blocks.

5.1.1 The building list in the Temple and Brisa inscriptions

Four project blocks, namely the Main Temples (Block 1), Babylon (2), Borsippa (3), and Babylonia Block (4) are fundamental to the building list in the *inum* section of the five temple inscriptions and Brisa A+C. They appear in the same order in the building list of these inscriptions, even though each list would incorporate further topics on its own for a flair of 'individualisation'.

In the longer inscriptions among the five, namely the Eulla-cylinder (C37), Edubba-cylinder (C38), and Nabû(?)-cylinder (C36), an additional project block, which is devoted to the Emeslam temple and the projects located in the city of Cutha can also be observed.

We believe that the Cutha block can be treated as a component in itself because it disappears altogether in the shorter inscriptions, even though the Emeslam is supposedly the third most important temple in the Neo-Babylonian empire (see: Chapter 2.5.3.2). In the Lugal-Marad-cylinder (C32) and Eḫursagsikilla-cylinder (C33), the Emeslam is also not present in the Babylonia Block. This is significant because the Babylonia Block was created for projects outside Babylon and Borsippa, which means, in theory, that the Emeslam could have been placed there.

The appearance of the Cutha block only in the longer inscriptions also suggests that it is a component reserved for enhancing long texts (or included for the purpose of lengthening a text). This is similar to the ESDs, which only appear in the longer inscriptions in the extant corpus. The Cutha block also appears in Brisa A+C but not in any of the three palace inscriptions. In the South-Palace-cylinder (C34), a reference to the Emeslam in Cutha was made but not as a construction report.

line	Eulla (C37)	line	Edubba (C38)
i.22-i.25	Introduction	i.16-i.29	Introduction
i.26-i.35	Esagil Temple complex	i.30-i.35	Esagil Temple complex
i.36-i.42	Ezida Temple complex	i.36-i.94	Ezida Temple complex
		i.95-i.96	ESD
		i.96-ii.19	Fortification of Babylon (Double Wall)
		ii.20-ii.31	Processional Boats
i.43-i.53	Temples in Babylon (7)	ii.32-ii.39	Temples in Babylon (7)
i.54-ii.35	Fortification of Babylon (Double Wall+East Wall)	ii.39-ii.53	Fortification of Babylon (East Wall)

ii.35-ii.38	Fortification of Borsippa	ii.53-ii.55	Fortification of Borsippa
ii.39-ii.51	Temples in Borsippa (4)	ii.56-ii.74	Temples in Borsippa (4)
ii.52-ii.58	Projects in Cutha	ii.75-iii.3	Projects in Cutha
ii.59-ii.71	Temples in Empire (7)	iii.4-iii.22	Temples in Empire (8)

Table 38 The project blocks in the Eulla-cylinder (C37) and Edubba-cylinder (C38)

line	Nabû(?) (C36)	line	Brisa A+C
i.15-i.29	Introduction	See: *Table 49*	Introduction
i.30-i.46	Esagil Temple complex		Esagil Temple complex
i.47-ii.19	Ezida Temple complex		Šukudakkūtu prebend
ii.20-ii.21	ESD		Marduk's processional boat
ii.22-ii.33	Fortification of Babylon (Double Wall)		ESD
ii.34-ii.40	Processional Boats		Ezida Temple complex
ii.41-ii.44	Temples in Babylon (7)		Nabû's processional boat
ii.45-ii.54	Fortification of Babylon (East Wall)		Infrastructures in Babylon (streets only)
ii.55-ii.60	Fortification of Borsippa		ESD
ii.61-ii.68	Temples in Borsippa (4)		Fortification of Babylon (Double Wall)
ii.69-iii.4	Projects in Cutha		Temples in Babylon (7)
iii.5-iii.14	Temples in Empire (8)		Fortification of Borsippa
			Temples in Borsippa (4)
			Fortification of Babylon (East Wall)
			Cross-country Wall
			ESD
			Offering to Marduk and Nabû
			ESD
			Declaration of piety
			Projects in Cutha
			Temples in Empire (8)

		ESD
		Royal duties
		ESD
		South? Palace
		ESD
		Unification of the empire

Table 39 The project blocks in the Nabû(?)-cylinder (C36) and Brisa A+C

line	Lugal-Marad (C32)	line	Eḫursagsikilla (C33)
i.10-i.15	Introduction	i.11-i.15	Introduction
i.16-i.44	Fortification of Babylon (Double Wall)	i.16-i.45	Fortification of Babylon (Double Wall)
i.45-ii.2	Esagil Temple complex	i.46-i.53	Esagil Temple complex
ii.3-ii.9	Ezida Temple complex	i.55-ii.5	Ezida Temple complex
ii.10-ii.15	Temples in Babylon (4)	ii.6-ii.11	Temples in Babylon (4)
ii.16-ii.26	Fortification of Babylon (East Wall)	ii.12-ii.21	Fortification of Babylon (East Wall)
ii.27-ii.30	Fortification of Borsippa	ii.22-ii.25	Fortification of Borsippa
ii.31-ii.32	Temple in Borsippa (1)	ii.26-ii.27	Temple in Borsippa (1)
ii.33-ii.46	Temples in Empire (6)	ii.28-ii.38	Temples in Empire (6)

Table 40 The project blocks in NBK II 086 (C32) and 012 (C33)

Some of the project blocks in the building list of the temple inscriptions and Brisa A+C also appear in the palace inscriptions. However, apart from Block 1 (Main Temples), other project blocks common among the temple inscriptions, such as Block 2 (Babylon), and Block 4 (Empire) do not always appear together in the same list in the palace inscriptions.

In the cases of Brisa A+C, Nabû(?)-cylinder (C36), and Edubba-cylinder (C38), the building list is also divided by the epithet sub-section dividers (ESDs). These additional elements do not cause any alteration to the compositional principle of the building list. In the case of Brisa A+C, they also seem to enhance the content (see: Chapter 5.4).

5.1.2 The building list in the Palace inscriptions

The building lists in the *inum* section from the three palace inscriptions are different from those in the temple inscriptions. As illustrated in Table 41 and Table 42, the building lists in this subgroup do not adopt the same selection of four project blocks that are fundamental in the temple inscriptions and Brisa A+C. Particularly in the Stone Tablet and Summer-Palace-cylinder (C35), the lists do not include any projects beyond those in the city of Babylon and Borsippa. In other words, it does not include Block 4 (Empire) and the additional block that contains the Cutha projects.

Although the building list in the South-Palace-cylinder (C34) includes Block 4 (Empire), it skips the temples in Babylon and Borsippa (Blocks 2 and 3) and only mentions Cutha in passing. The South-Palace-cylinder (C34) also seems to be the only inscription in the sample group whose building list reports an event that does not concern temple construction. In this inscription, NBK is reported to have conducted an offering in Cutha instead of commissioning the temple construction. Between ii.50 and ii.59 he also initiated the restoration of the Cult of Ištar at the Eanna Temple in Uruk.

NBK's keen attention to the Eanna, suggested by the "introduction" of this unconventional item into the building list may not be of much surprise if we consider that NBK had close connections to Uruk. As argued by Michael Jursa, it is very likely that the family of NBP was an elite family in Uruk, serving under the Assyrian kings[76].

line	Summer-Palace-cylinder (C35)	line	Stone Tablet
i.13-i.32	Introduction	i.23-ii.42	Introduction
i.33-i.37	Esagil Temple	ii.43-iii.35	Esagil Temple
	Ezida Temple	iii.36-iv.6	Ezida Temple
i.38-i.43	The Ziqqurrats	iv.7-iv.48	Temples of Babylon (9)
i.44-i.49	conclusion	iv.49-iv.65	Temples of Borsippa (6)
		iv.66-vi.56	Infrastructures in Babylon - streets - fortification walls

[76] On this treatise, see: Jursa 2007. The genealogy of the family has been proposed based on a series of letters, primarily ABL 469, which involve the Urukian personnel connected to a former governor of Uruk by the name of Kudurru. In ABL 469, we learn that the remains of Kudurru had been exhumed, perhaps as a mechanism to counteract the uprising in Babylonia against the Assyrians. This Kudurru is identified as the father of Nabopolassar, whose portrayal in the royal inscriptions as "the son of nobody" appears to be consistent with events surrounding the treatment of Kudurru's remains.

		vi.57-vi.62	Fortification of Borsippa
		vi.63-vii.8	ESD
		vii.9-vii.25	conclusion

Table 41 The distribution of topics in the inum section of the Summer-Palace-cylinder (C35) and the Stone Tablet

line	South-Palace-cylinder (C34)
i.8-i.28	Introduction
i.29-i.39	Esagil Temple
i.40-ii.17	Fortification of Babylon
ii.18-ii.35	Ezida Temple
ii.36-ii.39	Offering to Emeslam
ii.40-ii.49	Temples in Empire (5)
ii.50-ii.59	Restauration of the cult of Ištar in Uruk
ii.60-iii.6	ESD
iii.7-iii.26	conclusion

Table 42 The distribution of topics in the inum section of the South-Palace-cylinder (C34)

Apart from the selection of the project blocks, another feature in the building list of the palace inscriptions that distinguishes them from the temple inscriptions and Brisa A+C is the order of the blocks. As opposed to the five temple inscriptions and Brisa A+C whose project blocks maintain the same position in the list sequence, the order of the project blocks in the three Palace inscriptions is not consistent.

As illustrated in Table 41, the building list in the Summer-Palace-cylinder (C35) removes the construction reports of the Etemenanki and Eurmeiminanki Ziqqurrats from the report cluster of the Esagil and Ezida temples and places them together. In contrast, within the Stone Tablet, both Ziqqurrats are part of the report of their corresponding temple.

Moreover, there is also no consensus among the palace inscriptions concerning where the construction reports of the fortification walls of Babylon should be placed. In the South-Palace-cylinder (C34), the construction reports of the Imgur-Enlil and Nēmetti-Enlil appear between the report of the Esagil and the Ezida. In the Stone Tablet, the report of the same projects is sent to the end of the building list. Here, they form a cluster with the construction reports of other "public infrastructures", including the East Wall of Babylon,

the processional streets, and the fortification wall of Borsippa. In the Summer-Palace-cylinder (C35), the Imgur-Enlil and Nēmetti-Enlil walls are not included at all while the East Wall instead appears as part of the main section (see: Chapter 5.2).

Topic[77]	temple					bor.
	C32	C33	C36	C37	C38	WB
Introduction	1	1	1	1	1	1
Esagil Temple complex	3	3	2	2	2	2
Šukudakkūtu prebend						3
Marduk's boat			5		5	4
Ezida Temple complex	4	4	3	3	3	5
Nabû's boat			6		6	6
Infrastructures in Babylon						7
Fortification of Babylon (Double Wall)	2	2	4	5	4	8
Temples in Babylon	5	5	7	4	7	9
Fortification of Babylon (East Wall)	6	6	8		8	12
Fortification of Borsippa	7	7				10
Temples in Borsippa	8	8				11

Table 43 The reports of the royal initiatives in Babylon in the temple inscriptions and Brisa A+C

To compare, the temple inscriptions and Brisa A+C place the walls of Babylon at the same position in the sequence. The two sets of walls, one being the Double Wall that surrounds the inner city and the other being the one around the eastern outer districts, form a "frame" around the Babylon block (Block 2).

As illustrated in Table 43, in the Nabû(?)-cylinder (C36) and Edubba-cylinder (C38), the construction report of the Imgur-Enlil and Nēmetti-Enlil (in the 4th position in the sequence) is placed before the Babylon block (in the 7th position), which is then succeeded by the Eastern Wall (in the 8th position). In the Lugal-Marad-cylinder (C32) and Eḫursagsikilla-cylinder (C33), the "frame" expands to cover the Main Temples block (Block 1) as the report of the Double Wall assumes the first position in the building list. However, the Eastern Wall maintains its usual position as the final item that concerns the project in the city of Babylon.

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[77] The numbers indicate each report's order of appearance within the building list. For the complete list, see Table 24.

In Brisa A+C, the "frame" also includes the construction reports of the fortification and temples in Borsippa. However, the composition of the *inum* section in this inscription is slightly more complicated than the rest of the sample group. Seven ESDs were placed throughout the section, resulting in a structural formulation of a different kind (see: Chapter 5.4).

The Eulla-cylinder (C37) is the only temple inscription in the sample group where the reports of the fortification walls do not form the "frame". However, as the final items in the sequence that concern the construction works in Babylon, the reports of the walls serve as a separation device between the projects in this city and rest of the building list.

5.1.3 The topoi in the concluding paragraph

The distinction of the temple inscriptions from the rest of the inscriptions in the sample group can also be observed in the conclusion of the *inum* section, where the same topoi were used across the subgroup. As illustrated in Table 44, three topoi that appear in the concluding paragraph in the *inum* section of the five temple inscriptions are (1) the the increase of offering for the Esagil and Ezida, (2) the creation of the royal inscriptions, and (3) the 'decree' which the future rulers are expected to follow.

	Temple					ziq.	bor.	palace		
Topic	C32	C33	C36	C37	C38	C41	WB	C34	C35	ST
Receipt of tribute						-	✓	✓	Akītu festival	
Increase of Provision of Esagil and Ezida	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓			✓		
Creation of the inscription	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓					
Message to future rulers	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓[78]			

Table 44 The topoi in the concluding paragraphs

Our close examination of the text also reveals that two cohorts of temple inscriptions, one consisting of three texts and other of two, share among them a redactional relation. The

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[78] This topos in the Brisa Inscriptions is place after the main section.

first cohort consists of the Eulla-cylinder (C37), Edubba-cylinder (C38), and Nabû(?)-cylinder (C36) whose concluding paragraph is founded on the same collection of passages.

In the Eulla-cylinder (C37), the concluding paragraph covers the space between ii.72-iii.12. The passage that concerns NBK proclaiming the increase of the offering for the Esagil and Ezida, is the first to appear in the narrative sequence. It is succeeded by the creation of the inscription and ends with a message for the future kings.

This collection of passages is essentially the same one that appear between iii.31-iii.70 in the Edubba-cylinder (C38), with the only difference being the arrangement of the sentences. In the Nabû(?)-cylinder (C36), the same topoi appears between iii.15-iii.34, albeit in a different rendition.

Similarly, in another cohort which consists of the Lugal-Marad-cylinder (C32) and Eḫursagsikilla-cylinder (C33), an identical passage was used in their concluding paragraph, namely in C33 ii.39-iii.4 and C32 ii.47-iii.11. The redactional relationship between the concluding paragraph in these two inscriptions also corresponds to their strong connection in the building list, which consists of an identical set of construction reports.

The concluding paragraphs are entirely different among the three palace inscriptions, where they appear in two versions. The version attested in the South-Palace-cylinder (C34) is of a close resemblance to the concluding paragraph in the temple inscriptions in terms of the selection of topoi, as it includes a passage about the increase of the offering for the Esagil and Ezida (between iii.7-iii.26). In contrast, the other version that is attested in the *inum* section of the Stone Tablet and Summer-Palace-cylinder (C35) takes the form of a description of the Akītu festival. The passages, which appear between vii.9-vii.25 in the Stone Tablet and i.44-i.49 in the Summer-Palace-cylinder (C35), consist of the historical narrative that recounts how the kings of the past built palaces and accumulated wealth for the purpose of celebration. These topics are virtually non-existent in the Temple inscriptions in the sample group.

5.2   The absence of the "inūmīšu" clause in the Stone Tablet and Summer-Palace-cylinder (C35)

As introduced in Chapter 2.2, the *inūmīšu* clause is missing from the Stone Tablet and Summer-Palace-cylinder (C35). This scenario results in a significant continuity of

narrative which seemingly covers the *inum* section and the construction report of the commemorated project: The North Palace in the Stone Tablet and the Summer Palace in C35.

The absence of the *inūmīšu* clause is important when we consider that the eight other inscriptions in the sample group. Some of these inscriptions are longer than the Stone Tablet and Summer-Palace-cylinder (C35). They all apply the *inūmīšu* clause to mark the beginning of another set of passages (the main section), which specifically focuses on the commemorated project.

For example, the *inūmīšu* clause appears in ix.13 in Brisa C to introduce a set of passages that details the transportation of the cedar woods from Lebanon, for what is likely a construction project of a palace in Babylon[79]. Brisa A+C is roughly 2,100 words long in comparison to the Stone Tablet which is around 1,500 words long. Similar comparison applies to the Summer-Palace-cylinder (C35; 845 words long) and the Eulla-cylinder (C37; 759 words long), the latter of which uses the *inūmīšu* clause to introduce the construction of the Eulla temple in Sippar.

Although, these are the only two examples in the extant corpus where a component does not appear as expected. It is tempting to think that there is a correlation between the absence of the *inūmīšu* clause in the Stone Tablet and Summer-Palace-cylinder (C35), and the fact that they are palace inscriptions. This scenario is also more apparent when we observe that all five temple inscriptions as well as Brisa A+C and the Ziqqurrat-inscriptions (C41) all apply the *inūmīšu* clause. In the extant NBK corpus, there are inscriptions in which the *inūmīšu* clause is not part of their main section. However, these inscriptions are shorter than 500 words and are, thus, compositionally more "concise" than the long inscriptions in the sample group (see: Chapter 1.2).

The result of our observation is consistent with our earlier observation that palace inscriptions are more variable in their selection of components.

As to be discussed below, although the *inūmīšu* clause is missing from the Stone Tablet and Summer-Palace-cylinder (C35), our examination of the main section in these two inscriptions reveals that the construction report of the commemorated project was

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[79] For the commentary of this section of Brisa A+C, see: Da Riva 2012:79–80. The identification of the palace under construction in this passage is also critical to our identification of the diachronic profile of Brisa A+C, see: Chapter 3.6.2.

formulated into a passage more complex than the same section in the other sample inscriptions.

In the Stone Tablet, the space between the conclusion of the *inūma* building list and the construction report of the North Palace of Babylon – the subject of commemoration of this inscription – is occupied by a construction report of a building that is closely related to the North Palace, namely the South Palace of Babylon. As illustrated in Table 45, the construction report of the South Palace appears between vii.34-viii.26 in the Stone Tablet.

line	Summer-Palace (C35)	line	Stone Tablet
i.44-i.53	conclusion of *inūma*	vii.9-vii.33	conclusion of *inūma*
ii.1-ii.24	The construction of the South Palace	vii.34-viii.26	The construction of the South Palace
ii.25-ii.57	The construction of the North Palace	viii.27-ix.44	The construction of the North Palace
ii.58-iii.10	The construction of Babylon's East Wall		
iii.11-iii.34	The construction of the Summer Palace		

Table 45 The main section in the Summer-Palace-cylinder (C35) and the Stone Tablet

In the Summer-Palace-cylinder (C35), three construction reports precede the account of the Summer Palace. They are the reports of the South Palace (ii.1-ii.24), North Palace (ii.25-ii.57), and the East Wall of Babylon (ii.58-iii.10).

To compare, the five temple inscriptions in the sample group, all of which introduce their main section with the *inūmīšu* clause, only present one construction report – namely that of the commemorated project. Whilst the main section in the Ziqqurrat-cylinder (C41) is noticeably longer than other inscriptions – the ratio of its total word count to main section is 415:301 – it only describes the construction of one project, namely the Etemenanki Ziqqurrat of Babylon.

It is also likely that the inclusion of more than one construction report in the main section of the Stone Tablet and Summer-Palace-cylinder (C35) has a chronological significance, especially when we consider that the included projects belong to the same building type (palace) as the one commemorated. As discussed in Chapter 3, data from the administrative documents which concern the construction of the North Palace and the Eurmeiminanki Ziqqurrat of Borsippa (the latter only included in the *inum* of the North

Palace and Summer-Palace-cylinder (C35)), suggest that the construction of these buildings took place late in the reign of NBK. In other words, the sequence of reports in the main section of the Stone Tablet: South Palace → North Palace, and the Summer-Palace-cylinder (C35): South Palace → North Palace (+East Wall) → Summer Palace, is a chronological order of the palace construction in Babylon.

This conclusion also explains why the South-Palace-cylinder (C34) is the only one of the three palace inscriptions that introduces its main section with the *inūmīšu* clause. As discussed in Chapter 3.5, the South Palace of Babylon was likely to be the first palace in Babylon that NBK worked on, partly because it was also the only palace that we know predated his reign. As such, the use of the *inūmīšu* clause in the South-Palace-cylinder (C34) accommodates the fact that, at that point in NBK's reign, only one palace existed. The inscriptions of the palaces that were built later (Stone Tablet and Summer-Palace-cylinder (C35)) dropped the *inūmīšu* clause in favour of a more complex description, which includes the account of the other palace projects apart from the one commemorated.

5.3   The *anāku* section in the South-Palace-cylinder (C34)

As introduced in Chapter 2.3.4, the titulary list in the *anāku* section of the South-Palace-cylinder (C34) does not follow the pairing pattern that is characterised by the incorporation of the divine terminology in each sub-epithet. Instead, as illustrated in Table 46, the epithets were seemingly arranged in succession without an observable guiding principle, apart from the fact that all except the sixth epithet begin with a participle.

The epithet sequence in the South-Palace-cylinder (C34) seems to be the only example of this principle (if it can be considered one at all). However, it still requires highlighting because this is yet another example that reveals the absence of consistency in the choice of the compositional principle, at the level of the subcomponents among the palace inscriptions. Indeed, the epithet sequences in the Stone Tablet and Summer-Palace-cylinder (C35) both strictly follow the pairing principle, as our discussion in Chapter 2.3.4 has already shown.

i.1	*šar mīšari*	Royal title
	"King of justice"	
i.2	*rē'û kīnu*	Participle

	"righteous shepherd"	
	muttarrû tenēšēti	Participle
	"the leader of the people"	
i.3	*muštēšir ba'ūlāt Enlil Šamaš u Marduk*	Participle
	"the provider of justice of the people of Enlil, Šamaš, and Marduk"	
i.4	*muštālu āḫiz nēmeqi*	Participle
	"the wise, the possessor of wisdom"	
	mušte"û balāṭi	Participle
	"the constant seeker of life"	
i.5	*na'du lā mupparkû*	Substantivised adj.
	"the pious (and) unceasing"	
i.6	*zānin Esagil u Ezida*	Participle
	"provider of Esagil and Ezida"	
i.7	*aplu ašarēdu ša Nabû-apla-uṣur šar Bābili*	Filiation
	"the foremost heir of Nabopolassar, King of Babylon"	

Table 46 The epithets in the anāku section of the South-Palace-cylinder (C34)

In theory, the epithet sequence in the South-Palace-cylinder (C34) could also be following another principle of which we have no record, given that all extant multi-sectional inscriptions of NBK longer than 500 words (i.e., all ten inscriptions in the sample) apply some principles in the creation of their epithet list. This includes two inscriptions that are shorter than the South-Palace-cylinder (C34), namely the Lugal-Marad-cylinder (C32) and Eḫursagsikilla-cylinder (C33) (see: Table 47).

Inscriptions	approx. line count	approx. word count
Lugul-Marad-cylinder (C33)	160	600
Eḫursagsikilla-cylinder (C32)	140	520
South-Palace-cylinder (C34)	170	630

Table 47 The line- and wordcount in the Lugal-Marad-cylinder (C32), Eḫursagsikilla-cylinder (C33), and South-Palace-cylinder (C34)

Another indication of the South-Palace-cylinder (C34) following a different compositional principle in its *anāku* section is evident in the use of *šar mīšari* (Akk: King of Justice) as

the royal title, instead of the more commonly attested *šar Bābili* (Akk: King of Babylon)[80]. Although within the extant NBK corpus this title only appears again in Brisa A+C as an ESD, it was used as the royal title in the epithet list in an inscription of Nabopolassar dedicated to the Imgur-Enlil Wall, namely NBP 03. Unfortunately, as quoted below, the epithets in this inscription were not arranged in the same principle as those in the South-Palace-cylinder (C34). In NBP 03, the epithet list is characterised by the consistent portrayal of Nabopolassar as a close associate of the gods:

i 1   ᵈAG-IBILA-ÙRU LUGAL *mi-ša-ri*

i 2   RE.É.UM *ni-bi-it* ᵈAMAR.UTU

i 3   *bi-nu-ut* ᵈnin-men-na

i 4   *ru-ba-ti ṣi-ir-tim šar-rat šar-ra-a-tim*

i 5   *ti-ri-iṣ qá-ti* ᵈAG *ù* ᵈtaš-me-tum

i 6   NUN *na-ra-am* ᵈnin-ši-kù

"Nabopolassar, king of justice, shepherd chosen by the god Marduk, creation of the goddess Ninmenna – the exalted princess, the queen of queens – protégé of the god Nabû and the goddess Tašmētu, beloved prince of the god Ninšiku."

The composition of the *anāku* section in the South-Palace-cylinder (C34) is interesting when we consider that the same section in the Ziqqurrat-cylinder (C41), very similar in terms of length, applies many features similar to the rest of the sample group.

The *anāku* sections in the South-Palace-cylinder (C34) and Ziqqurrat-cylinder (C41) are comparable in terms of total length. This section in the South-Palace-cylinder (C34) is 30 words long in comparison to 37 in the Ziqqurrat-cylinder (C41). In terms of ratio to the total length, the *anāku* in the Ziqqurrat-cylinder (C41) is proportionately larger at 37:415. In the South-Palace-cylinder (C34), the ratio is 30:635.

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[80] A Late Babylonian literary text now widely known in the Assyriological literature as "Nebuchadnezzar King of Justice" was identified with Nebuchadnezzar II by Lambert. The text celebrates an unnamed king as the restorer of justice and contains a list of states he conquered, which, in Lambert's opinion, resembles NBK's actual political extent (1965:2–4). Although the term *šar mīšari* as attested in the South-Palace-cylinder (C34) does not appear in this text, the appearance of the justice motif is evidence of the fact that the royal persona that was celebrated in the inscriptions seems to have also been depicted in other forms of media.

As depicted in Table 48, although the titulary in the Ziqqurrat-cylinder (C41) does not follow the divine terminology pattern, it does maintain the "standard epithets". This cluster of titularies is noticeably missing from the South-Palace-cylinder.

line	Ziqqurrat-cylinder (C41)	
i.3	*rubû na'du*	
	"pious prince"	
i.4	*migir Marduk*	standard epithets
	"the favourite of Marduk"	
i.5	*iššakku ṣīru*	
	"the exalted ruler"	
i.6	*narām Nabû*	
	"the beloved of Nabû"	
i.7	*muštālu āḫiz nēmeqi*	
	"the wise, the possessor of wisdom"	
i.8	*mušte"û balāṭi*	
	"the constant seeker of life"	
i.9	*na'du lā mupparkû*	misc.
	"the pious (and) unceasing"	
i.10-11	*bābil igisê rabûti ana Esagil*	
	"the deliverer of great contributions to the Esagil"	
i.12	*emqu mutnennû*	
	"the wise (and) pious"	
i.13	*zānin Esagil u Ezida*	
	"the provider of Esagil and Ezida"	

Table 48 The distribution of the titulary in the Ziqqurrat-cylinder (C41)

It is also possible that the epithet sequence in the *anāku* section of the South-Palace-cylinder (C34) may have been similar to the same component in Nabopolassar's inscriptions, that were made for the South Palace of Babylon. It is possible that the inscriptions from different reigns that were dedicated to the same building could share a specific feature. As to be discussed in Chapter 6.4, the prayer section the Ziqqurrat-cylinder (C41) depicts the Etemenanki Ziqqurrat as the intermediary between NBK and Marduk. This is similar to how Nabopolassar's NBP 06, an older inscription that was also dedicated to the Ziqqurrat, portrays the relationship between NBP's father and the same

god. Unfortunately, no inscriptions by NBP, attributed to the South Palace of Babylon, have been identified to prove this claim.

5.4 The epithet sub-section dividers of the Brisa Inscriptions

The inscription Brisa A+C, also known as the Twin Inscriptions at Brisa, applies seven epithet dividers to separate the content in its *inum* section. While the use of more than one ESD to separate topics within the *inum* section is also observable in the Nabû(?)-cylinder (C36) and Edubba-cylinder (C38), the fact that seven of them appear in Brisa A+C alone makes it an interesting case study, to observe the function of this structural component.

The existence of the Brisa inscription came to the knowledge of the European scholars as early as the year 1861, but the text had not been published until 1884 by Henri Pognon, the French consul in Aleppo[81]. The conventional name of Brisa A+C is in reference to the two rock-cut inscriptions that share the same geographical setting and feature a nearly identical cuneiform text. Each of the inscriptions was carved on both sides of the rock faces that flank a mountain pass near the village of Brisa in modern Lebanon. In Assyriology, the inscription on the western side of the pass is known as "WBA" – the 'A' referring to the use of the archaised cuneiform script, while the eastern inscription is known as "WBC" – the C stands for the contemporary cuneiform (Da Riva 2012:31–39).

Although the special features in Brisa A+C could be a truly unique example that has neither corelation with its provenance (imperial border) nor material support (rock façade), it is tempting to think that both were factors that facilitated their creation. This is exceptional when we consider the extant corpus altogether. At over 2,000 words long, Brisa A+C is the longest inscription in the extant NBK corpus. It is around 1,000 words longer than the second-longest inscription, namely the Stone Tablet.

Moreover, the rock façade could, in theory, serve as a limitless writing canvas in comparison to the clay cylinders and limestone tablet, whose creation may have to consider the limit imposed by the place of their installation (see: Excursus). As observed by Rocío Da Riva, WBC – one of the two manuscripts of Brisa A+C – extended outside of its originally prepared frame due to miscalculation (2012:29). However, the scribes seem

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[81] For the academic history of the Brisa Inscriptions, see: Da Riva 2012, Chapter 1 (11–12).

to have been able to find a solution, since plenty of rock surface was available in its vicinity.

In general, the content in the *inum* section in Brisa A+C is fundamentally composed of four project blocks, namely the Main Temples (Block 1), Babylon (Block 2), Borsippa (Block 3), and Empire (Block 4). This is similar to the *inum* section in the temple inscriptions, as demonstrated earlier in Chapter 5.1.1. However, these project blocks are not what the ESDs in Brisa A+C enclose.

	Section	Topic	114A	114C
	Ištu (?)	Divine birth (?)	i.23-i.24+[82]	i.24-i.25+
	Inūma (?)	Legitimacy and piety	ii.1-iii.34	i.1*-i.4*
1	'*Marduk*'	Esagil, Temple of Marduk in Babylon	iii.35-iv.22	i.5*-ii.24+
		Offering to Marduk and Ṣarpanitu	iv.23-iv.44	ii.1'-ii.2*
		The šukudakkūtu-prebend	iv.45-v.18	ii.3*-ii.21*
		Marduk's processional boat	v.19-v.58+	iii.1-iii.34+
		Epithet-subsection divider 1	vi.1-vi.3	-
2	'*Nabû*'	Ezida, Temple of Nabû in Borsippa	vi.3-vi.50	iii.1'*-iii.33'*
		Offering to Nabû and Nanāya	vi.51-vii.20	iv.1-iv.25
		Nabû's processional boat	vii.21-vii.42	iv.26-iv.33+
		Streets of Babylon	vii.43-ii.54	iv.1'*-iv.11'*
		Lībil-ḫegalla canal	vii.54-viii.6	iv.12'*-iv.27'*
		Epithet-subsection divider 2	viii.7-viii.10	v.1-3
3	'*Metro-Babylon*'	Imgur-Enlil and Nēmetti-Enlil Walls + embankment	viii.11-viii.50+	v.4-v.14'+
		Temples in Babylon	ix.3-ix.48+	v.1"-vi.24
		Fortification in Borsippa	-	vi.25-vi.28
		Temples in Borsippa	x.1-x.9+	vi.29-vi.44+
		Eastern Wall in Babylon	x.14-x.7'+	vi.46-vi.59
		Cross-country Wall	xi.1'-xi.3'+	vi.60-vi.81
		Epithet-subsection divider 3	-	vii.1-3
4		Offering to Marduk and Nabû	xii.1'-xii.5'+	vii.4-vii.31

[82] The (+) sign indicates that the story is likely to continue, but the cuneiform text has worn-off.

		Epithet-subsection divider 4	-	vii.32-34
5	*'Empire'*	Declaration of commitment to pay more tribute to Nabû and Marduk	-	vii.35-vii.40
		Tribute to Nergal and projects in Cutha	xiii.1'-xiii.4'	vii.41-vii.61
		Other temples in Babylonia	xiv.1'+	vii.62-viii.19
		Prayer to the gods	-	viii.20-viii.25
		Epithet-subsection divider 5	-	viii.26
6		Self-glorification	-	viii.27-viii.37
		Epithet-subsection divider 6	-	viii.38-40
7		Palace in Babylon	-	viii.41-viii.64+
		Epithet-subsection divider 7	-	ix.1-2
8		Glorification of Babylon	-	ix.3-ix.12

Table 49 The distribution of content within the inūma of the Brisa Inscriptions

As demonstrated in Table 49, the *inum* section in Brisa A+C is divided by the seven ESDs into eight thematically distinctive subsections of varying length. Although this division has already been identified in the edition of this inscription by Rocío Da Riva in 2012, we would like to emphasise that the use of the ESDs for the purpose of dividing the content has thematic significance. They also enhance the thematic coherence among the passages that they enclose[83].

The function of the ESDs in Brisa A+C as a sectioning device that also possesses a thematic quality, is what distinguishes them from the ESDs in the other inscriptions whose function is simply structural.

As to be observed in the following paragraphs, each of the ESDs emphasises the content within the subsection that it borders. Some ESDs also form a "frame" with another ESD, which together enhance the focus of the subsection that they enclose.

ESD 1: *Nabû-kudurrī-uṣur šar Bābili zānin Esagil u Ezida anāku* (Akk: "Nebuchadnezzar, King of Babylon, the provider of Esagil and Ezida – I am")[84].

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[83] For Da Riva's discussion of the ESDs in Brisa A+C which she referred to as the "presentation clause", see: Da Riva 2012:22–24.
[84] The translation of the ESDs is taken from Da Riva 2012

This ESD succeeds the first subsection, which is devoted entirely to the reports of the royal initiatives related to Marduk. The content of this subsection starts with the account of Marduk's endowment of NBK's legitimacy to rule, and proceeds to describe the construction work in each part of the Esagil Temple: the Eumuša, Kaḫilisu, the Ezida shrine of the Esagil, and the Etemenanki Ziqqurrat. It concludes with NBK describing the presentation of offerings to Marduk and his wife, Ṣarpanītu. Certain types of these offerings are specifically mentioned in the text, including the re-establishment of the šukudakkūtu-prebend, a temple official specifically in charge of providing fish offerings to the Esagil, and the construction of Marduk's processional boat.

As an epithet that is most often attested in the extant inscriptions, it is reasonable for *zānin Esagil u Ezida* (Akk: the provider of Esagil and Ezida) to appear as the first ESD. This epithet is attested on fifty-one individual inscriptions in the extant corpus[85]. It is also an appropriate connector between the preceding subsection about Marduk and the succeeding subsection about Nabû.

ESD 2: *Nabû-kudurrī-uṣur šar Bābili mušte"û ašrāt Nabû u Marduk bēlīšu anāku* (Akk: "Nebuchadnezzar, King of Babylon, the seeker of the shrines of Nabû and Marduk, his lords – I am').

This ESD succeeds a subsection which contains the projects related to Nabû. The Nabû subsection roughly follows a similar structure as observed in the Marduk subsection earlier. The construction account begins with the description of the main cult centre of Nabû: the Ezida Temple in Borsippa. The text specifically singles out the Emaḫtila shrine as the first building in the list, resembling how the Marduk subsection places the Eumuša at the start of the passage. The account then proceeds to describe the smaller buildings within temple grounds and the presentation of offerings to Nabû and Nanāya, including the construction of Nabû's processional boat. Apart from the construction projects at the Ezida Temple in Borsippa, the Nabû subsection also includes three other projects located in the city of Babylon: the Ištar-lamassi-ummānīša and the Nabû-dayyān-nišīšu streets and the Lībil-ḫegalla canal.

It is tempting to think that the god Nabû consciously replaces Marduk's first position in ESD 2, so that it would work as a sound conclusion to the Nabû-related initiatives. However, we can observe that similar epithets appear elsewhere in the extant corpus. For example, in the *anāku* sections of the Lugal-Marad-cylinder (C32) and Eḫursagsikilla-

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[85] Rocío Da Riva counted the attestations of NBK's epithets in 2008:100–103.

cylinder (C33), NBK is depicted as *zānin Esagil u Ezida ša ana Nabû u Marduk bēlēšu kitnušūma ippušu rēšussun* (Akk: "The provider of Esagil and Ezida who is always submissive to the gods Nabû and Marduk and acts as their servant"). As such, ESD 2 could have been a "set-piece" that has been chosen from a pre-existing repertoire, rather than a conscious adaptation on the composer's part, for this specific case.

ESD 3: *Nabû-kudurrī-uṣur šar Bābili iššakku ṣīru zānin māḫāz ilī rabûti anāku* (Akk: "Nebuchadnezzar, King of Babylon, the august vice-regent, the provider for the cult-centres of the great gods – I am").

The term *māḫāzu* (Akk: cult centre) in this ESD may refer to the long list of temples in Babylon and Borsippa in the third subsection, which ESD 3 succeeds. The early part of the third subsection in both WBA and WBC is in a very bad state of preservation, especially in the case of WBA, where much of the text has to be restored using other inscriptions (Da Riva 2012:69). Based on the available text, it is likely that this block includes the reports concerning, in order of appearance, the construction of the fortification walls and temples in Babylon and Borsippa as well as the fortification of the "Babylonian heartland", namely the Cross-Country Wall.

The term *māḫāzu* in ESD 3 may also mirror the theme in the succeeding fourth section, which contains the passage about NBK making offerings to the Esagil and Ezida. It also seems to provide the first half of the "frame" for the fourth subsection, with the second half being ESD 4.

ESD 4: *Nabû-kudurrī-uṣur šar Bābili rē'û kīnu mušte"û māḫāzī ša gimir ēkurrāti anāku* (Akk: "Nebuchadnezzar, King of Babylon, true shepherd, who strives constantly for the sanctuaries of all the temples").

This ESD also contains the term *māḫāzu*, making it appear as the second half of the "frame", which encloses the fourth subsection with the ESD 3. Both ESDs highlight the role of NBK as the carer of the god's sanctuaries with the epithets *zānin māḫāz ilī* and *mušte"û māḫāzī ša gimir ēkurrāti*. ESD 4 also enhances the 5th subsection, since it contains the list of the building projects around the empire.

ESD 5: *Nabû-kudurrī-uṣur šar mīšari anāku* (Akk: "Nebuchadnezzar, King of justice – I am").

The title *šar mīšari* (Akk: King of Justice) in this ESD was used as the royal title in the South-Palace-cylinder (C34) (see: Chapter 5.3). ESD 5 forms the first half of another

"frame", which encloses a subsection that illustrates NBK's achievements in performing his role as the king. It details NBK having "shepherded the widespread of people handed to him by Marduk", suppressed his enemy, and brought the region under the Babylonian rule.

ESD 6: *Nabû-kudurrī-uṣur šar Bābili mušte"û damqāti ša Šamši kīnāti iddinuš anāku* (Akk: "Nebuchadnezzar, the king of Babylon, who constantly strives for the welfare, whom Šamaš gave the truth – I am").

This ESD is the second half of the "frame" that encloses the subsection about NBK's success. The description *mušte"û damqāti* (Akk: the one who constantly strives for the welfare) could be seen as the summary of the subsection it encloses. Moreover, the mention of Šamaš, the god of justice, seems to mirror the title *šar mīšari* in ESD 5.

ESD 7: *Nabû-kudurrī-uṣur šar Bābili mukīn išid māti* (Akk: "Nebuchadnezzar, King of Babylon, who consolidates the country").

This ESD succeeds a subsection that details the construction of at least one identifiable palace of NBK, namely the South Palace of Babylon. Because the text in both WBA and WBC is in a bad state of preservation, it is very difficult to identify which other palaces are also the subject of this passage. The missing cuneiform text poses a challenge for the identification of the diachronic profile of this inscription, which is the subject of our discussion in Chapter 3.6.

The reference to NBK as the one who unified the empire in ESD 7 is consistent with the depiction of the palaces as the central seat of power where NBK receives tributes from various regions. This portrayal of the palaces can be observed in the prayer sections of the palace inscriptions (see: Chapter 2.1). The sense of unification can also be seen in the use of the term *māti* (nom. *mātu*; Akk: land) in the singular form.

The relationship between the ESDs and their adjacent subsections can be summarised in the diagram below:

ESD 1	Subsection 1
ESD 2	Subsection 2
ESD 3	Subsection 3
	Subsection 4
ESD 4	Subsection 5
ESD 5	Subsection 6
ESD 6	Subsection 7
ESD 7	Subsection 8
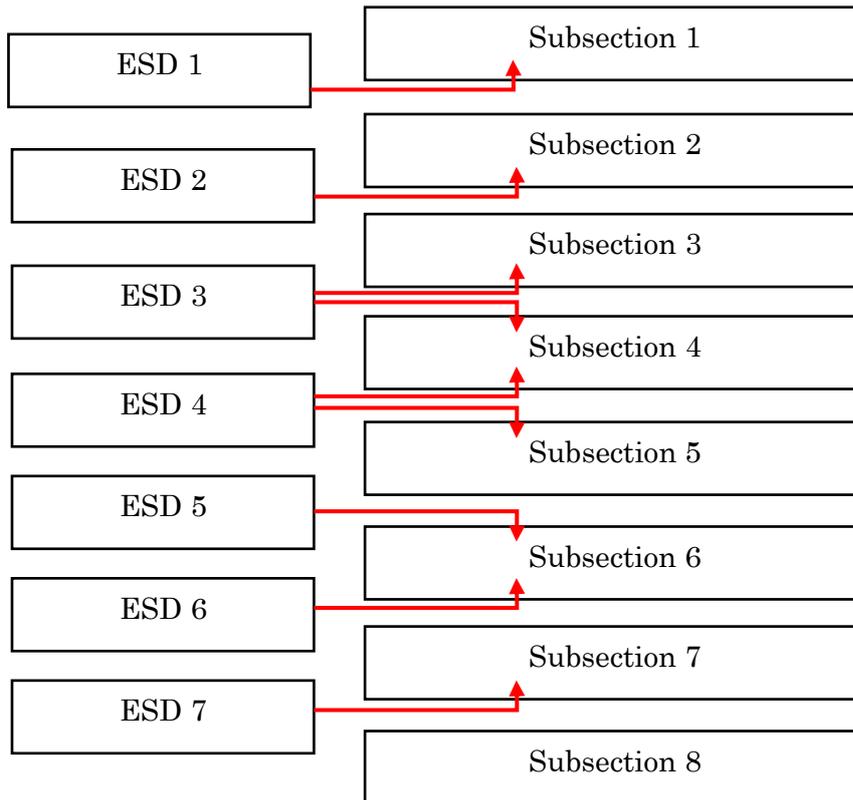
5.5 Summary

In this chapter, we explore the subgroups of inscriptions in the sample group, whose similar structural formulation is consistent with them commemorating the same type of building. In general, we observe that the five "temple inscriptions" were created based on the same compositional principles. In contrast to their homogeneity in terms of the superstructural formulation, are the three palace inscriptions. We can observe that each of these inscriptions applies the principles that are not always identical among themselves.

In our discussion of the project blocks in the building lists, we can see that the lists in the five temple inscriptions were founded on the same selection of project blocks. This selection is also adopted by Brisa A+C – an inscription situated outside the core region of the empire.

In contrast, the three inscriptions associated with the palaces do not maintain the same selection. Moreover, the Ziqqurrat-cylinder (C41) skips the building list entirely in favour of the extensively long construction account of the Etemenanki Ziqqurrat in its main section.

The particular composition of the palace inscriptions is further emphasised by the absence of the *inūmīšu* clause in the Stone Tablet and Summer-Palace-cylinder (C35). The *inūmīšu*, which formally marks the beginning of the main section, is not part of the main section in these two inscriptions. This results in the "seamless" connection between the content in the *inum* and main sections.

Moreover, we can see that the main section in the Stone Tablet and Summer-Palace-cylinder (C35) is a sequence of more than one construction report. This is different from the other main sections in the sample group, which contain only one project. In the Stone Tablet, the main section does not only contain the construction report of the North Palace, its subject of commemoration, but also the report of the reconstruction of the South Palace of Babylon. In the Summer-Palace-cylinder (C35), the main section begins with the report of the South Palace, which is in turns succeeded by the details of the North Palace, before eventually presenting the construction details at the Summer Palace. The sequence of the palace construction in these main sections also appears to be consistent with our proposal of the dating of the palaces and their corresponding inscriptions.

In this chapter, we also look at the composition of the epithet sequence in the *anāku* section of the South-Palace-cylinder (C34). While it remains difficult to conclude that this epithet list was created according to a principle that we have no record of, this epithet list still incorporates elements that are attestable in the NBK, as well as NBP corpus.

We also investigate the use of the epithet sub-section dividers (ESDs) in Brisa A+C, which applies seven ESDs to subdivide its *inum* section. Primarily, the ESD functions as a device that simplifies the complexity of the long inscriptions by creating sections out of what would otherwise have been an endless body of cuneiform text. As attested in the sample group, the ESDs are placed between the two main subcomponents of the *inum* section, namely the building list and the concluding passage.

However, in Brisa A+C – the longest extant inscription of NBK – the ESDs also function as a thematic device that enhances the thematic coherence within each sub-section created by their enclosure.

Chapter 6   The importance of different gods varying with location

In this chapter, we will investigate the mention of the gods in the *anāku* section and the prayer in the ten sample inscriptions. Despite the limit in the number of case studies, we will see that there is a distinction between the choice of the divine figures in the inscriptions associated with the palaces and imperial periphery on the one hand, and those dedicated to the temples, both in the capital and provincial centres, on the other.

Such a distinction creates an impression that NBK's inscriptions were created for different groups of "audience" – in the broadest sense of the word – in different parts (and institutions) of the empire.

NBK is consistently presented as the viceroy of Marduk and Nabû in the epithet lists of the palace inscriptions and Brisa A+C. This version of NBK's "persona" is different from the other version presented by the epithet lists of the three longest temple inscriptions in the sample group: the Nabû(?)-cylinder (C36), Eulla-cylinder (C37), and Edubba-cylinder (C38). Whilst NBK is still depicted here as the representative of Marduk and Nabû, the epithets also portray him as a close associate of the local gods, particularly with an allusion to the storm god, Adad.

The same distinction can also be attested in the prayer. In the three palace inscriptions and Brisa A+C, it is Marduk who appears in the prayer as the god invoked by NBK. In contrast, the prayers in the temple inscriptions include other divine figures, particularly the god or goddess whose temple is commemorated by each individual inscription.

The reference to divine figures, which, in one group of inscriptions only concentrates on Marduk and Nabû, while incorporates a broader selection of gods in the other, illustrates the categories of NBK's audience in two ways. In terms of the geography, we can see that the inscriptions appeal to the audience in the "capital (Babylon)" versus those in the "provinces". In terms of the social institution, they appeal to the audience associated with the "palace" versus the "temples". Brisa A+C, whose portrayal of NBK is similar to the palace inscriptions but is situated outside the Babylonian heartland, could be seen as a special case of NBK presenting a "singular ideology" to foreign audience.

As we shall see, it is likely that the dichotomy in the characterisation of NBK – between the "palace" and the "temple" on the one hand, and between "Babylon" and the "provinces" on the other – is also a reflection of the political division in the Neo-Babylonian empire.

6.1 Who was the "audience" of the inscriptions?

The issue of audience for the royal inscriptions is difficult to tackle because we do not possess full records, which allow us to understand the function of the inscription and the objects that bear them. One aspect of this issue concerns the "accessibility" to the texts or the objects. Who had access to the inscriptions and in which occasion?

Commenting on the fact that some inscriptions were buried into parts of the building, Leo Oppenheim disagrees with the idea that inscriptions were created for the contemporary audience (1964:146–148). This view is also shared by Richard Ellis in his examination of the foundation deposits (1968:166–167). On the other hand, as indicated by Grayson, inscriptions that were carved on rock surfaces, or placed in prominent parts of the palaces and temples are visible, and thus could be seen and read (1980a:151). Citing the many uses of the rhetorical devices in Sargon's Letter to Ištar, which resemble public speech, Grayson also suggested that some inscriptions may have been read out loud (Grayson 1981:43). Similarly, Barbara Nevling Porter argues that, even though access to some inscriptions was limited, there were mechanisms that facilitate their visibility (1993:112). These mechanisms may include reading the inscriptions as a speech or proclamation in ceremonies, such as the building rituals performed at the beginning of the construction projects (ibid).

Porter also argues that the content of some inscriptions contains text that suggests they were created for the contemporary audience (ibid:106). For this, Porter refers to a part of Esarhaddon's Nineveh A prism, which describes his struggles at the time he first ascended the throne (ibid). Hayim Tadmor refers to this composition as the "royal apology", which was created to present the monarch's account of himself overcoming the obstacles in the rise to power (1983:36–57). Because the apology often appears in the texts dated to later in the Assyrian kings' reign, close to the time they would name the successor, it is understood that purpose of the apology was to justify the legitimacy of the successor and limit the challenges that may occur (ibid). As such, the apology addresses the contemporary audience, notably those from whom the king sought to acquire support (ibid).

In general, royal inscriptions are meaningful objects in themselves. Some copies of inscriptions were not buried and kept at temple archives (Porter 1993:112). There is also evidence of the king asking for access to the ancient inscriptions as part of the creation of

new one[86]. Some copies of an inscription were found in unexpected provenance, suggesting that they were taken as booty, including a copy of the Codex Hammurabi (the Louvre Stele). Objects bearing NBK's names were also uncovered in Persepolis[87].

For our investigation in this chapter, it is not our intention to identify whether NBK's inscriptions were seen by any individual. Rather, we are interested in the way the producer of the inscriptions interacted with the pool of objects, each of which is associated with different buildings and situated at different places. In this pursuit, our categorisation of the inscription according to building type, as proposed in Chapter 5, will help us explore the matter to a greater detail. As we shall see, the many characterisations of NBK in the sample group point to a possibility that the inscriptions were created to interact with different groups of people from different parts of the empire, who were also associated with different social institutions.

6.2 Creating inscriptions for different audience group

In general, there has been many attempts to interpret certain choices of epithets or frequent mentions of some deities in a corpus of inscriptions as meaningful. However, the extent to which such an undertaking is successful could be challenged by the gaps in the record. For example, the mention of Sîn and the absence of Marduk from a number of Nabonidus' inscriptions, especially those attributed to late in his reign, has often been interpreted as Nabonidus' attempt to promote an exaltation of the moon god[88]. However, as point out by Rocío Da Riva, this interpretation could have been a result of the fact that there is a proportionately larger number of inscriptions from Harrān in the extant Nabonidus corpus. Hence, the understanding that Nabonidus enthusiastically paid more attention to Sîn could be overestimated (Da Riva 2010b:45–46).

More recently, there has been an attempt to interpret Ashurbanipal's and Šamaš-šuma-ukīn's choices of epithets in their Babylonian inscriptions as illustrative of the Assyrio-Babylonian political relations during their rulership. As argued by Shana Zaia, Šamaš-šuma-ukīn's selection of epithets that are ancient Babylonian (such as "king of the Amnānu") indicates his assimilation into the Babylonian inscriptional tradition (2019:8).

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[86] See: BM 113249 in Kleber 2008:270–271. This document from the Eanna Archive is identified as an enquiry by a royal messenger of Cambyses II, who requested to see an ancient royal inscription kept at the Eanna Temple.
[87] See for example: RIBo Nebuchadnezzar II ES8 and ES9.
[88] For the treatise of this debate, see the chapter on the exaltation of Sîn in Beaulieu 1989:43–65 and Tadmor 1965:351–364.

Ashurbanipal also seems to recognise his brother's status as he did not adopt the title "king of Babylon" in his Babylonian inscriptions. However, his choice of general titles, such as "king of the world", may suggest that he saw himself as the superior party (ibid). Other attempts to interpret the choice of epithets (or the lack thereof) as meaningful to political ideology include Grant Frame's indication that Sennacherib did not adopt any Babylonian epithets even though he ended up assuming full control of the region (1995:163).

The idea that NBK's inscriptions were made for distinguishable audience groups has been expressed by David Vanderhooft in his discussion of NBK's many characterisations in the biblical sources. According to Vanderhooft, the reproduction of NBK's portrayal in the Ziqqurrat inscriptions as the facilitator of Marduk's hegemony, in his inscriptions in Lebanon, reinforces the reality of NBK's role by addressing it to the group of audience who were brought into Marduk's dominion (2018:95–97). Similarly, Rocío Da Riva argued that Šamaš's assumption of the position in the Sippar and Larsa inscriptions of Nabopolassar, NBK, and Nabonidus, that would otherwise be taken by Marduk or Nabû in inscriptions from other cities, is indicative of attempts to elevate Šamaš, specifically in these two cities (2010b:50–59).

In her study of the composition of Esarhaddon's inscriptions, Barbara Nevling Porter observes that the prisms Babylon A and Aššur A, despite being superstructurally very similar, contain details which highlight their different provenance (1993:95–99). Both inscriptions can be divided into four sections: the introduction, inspiration, building account, and prayer (ibid). However, in Babylon A, Esarhaddon's role as the king of Babylon is the emphasis of the text. He adopts the titles and epithets, which portray him in connection to the Babylonian gods i.e., Ṣaparnītu and Marduk (implied through the name "lord of lords") (ibid). In the prayer of Babylon A, Esarhaddon also calls upon the same two gods. In contrast, the prism Aššur A – an inscription dedicated to the Ešarra – depicts Esarhaddon as the Assyrian king. His epithets are presented in the style of the Assyrian inscriptions, namely in a long list that also contains another epithet list of his father, Sennacherib. The prayer in this inscription is also addressed to Aššur (ibid).

Porter further argues that the intention of Esarhaddon's scribe to create inscriptions for two different audience groups, could also be attested within the same collection of inscriptions, dedicated to construction projects in Babylon (1993:99–103). This collection

of inscriptions consists of the Prisms Babylon A, B, C, E, G[89]. According to Porter, the story of Babylon's demise, which in reality was caused by Sennacherib's attack, appears in two versions. This is likely because the inscriptions in this collection were intended for two different places (ibid). In Prisms A, C, and E, the narratives concerning this event are brief. Babylon E does not provide many details apart from the fact that Marduk was "angry" while Babylon A and C explain that the cause of the city's downfall was caused of its population neglecting their gods. In contrast, Prisms B and G depict the situation in Babylon with brutal images, which include murder and destruction of social order. According to Porter, the fact that a manuscript of Babylon G was uncovered in Nineveh is indicative of it having been created for the Assyrian audience (ibid).

In response to these views, our analysis will demonstrate that there appears to be different portrayals of NBK among the inscriptions created for different cities and dedicated to different buildings. Similar to how Barbara Nevling Porter sees Esarhaddon's different portrayals as indicative of his political agenda, we also see NBK's different portrayal as a reflection of his attempt to address the audience from different parts of the empire.

6.3 The divine figures in the *anāku* epithet lists

Our examination of the choice of epithets and the selection divine figures in the *anāku* section in the ten sample inscriptions indicates that there are two characterisations of NBK.

On the one hand, the epithet lists in the palace inscriptions and Brisa A+C portray NBK as Marduk and Nabû's viceroy and do not mention other deities apart from them. Among these inscriptions, the South-Palace-cylinder (C34) appears as a special case because it presents NBK in connection with Enlil, Šamaš, and Marduk. However, as we shall see, this connection implies NBK's total leadership rather than represents an attempt to appeal to wider audience.

On the other hand, another group of inscriptions from the temples of the minor deities, in Babylon and around Babylonia, include epithets that present NBK as an associate of Šamaš, Ištar, Zababa, Erra, and Adad. These inscriptions are the Nabû(?)-cylinder (C36), Eulla-cylinder (C37), and Edubba-cylinder (C38). Whilst also presenting NBK as the

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[89] Borger's codes are now replaced by the new numberings from RINAP. In the RINAP volumes, Babylon A = Esarhaddon 104; B = 116; C = 105; E = 106; G = 109.

viceroy of Marduk and Nabû, the larger selection of epithets and deities in these inscriptions appears to portray NBK with another "persona", in parallel to his role with regards to Marduk and Nabû.

Among the five temple inscriptions, the two shortest, namely the Lugal-Marad-cylinder (C32; from Marad) and Eḫursagsikilla-cylinder (C33; from Babylon), limit their epithet lists to the mentioning of Marduk and Nabû. However, because they are short in comparison to inscriptions such as Brisa A+C and Edubba-cylinder (C38), it is possible that their smaller (and more concentrated) selection is a result of the limit in the writing space. In any case, their prayers still depict NBK with the local deities, which differs from the palace inscriptions and Brisa A+C, whose prayers only depict NBK invoking Marduk.

6.3.1 The epithet lists in the palace inscriptions and Brisa A+C

The epithet lists in the palace inscriptions and Brisa A+C portray NBK with the same, singular characterisation: as the representative of Marduk and Nabû.

In epithet lists the Stone Tablet and Summer-Palace-cylinder (C35) and Brisa A+C are the three titularies in sample group that 'correctly' maintains the epithet pairing pattern, which is characterised by the alternating appearance of sub-epithets containing divine terminology (see: Chapter 2.3.4).

As illustrated in Table 50, the Stone Tablet and Summer-Palace-cylinder (C35) use an identical set of epithet list. After mentioning Marduk and Nabû in the "standard epithets", no other deities are included[90]. The list continues with allusions to the same pair of deities, such as the mention of the temples, Esagil and Ezida, and the cities of Babylon and Borsippa.

ST	C35	Titulary	
i.2	i.1	*šar Bābili*	Royal title

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[90] The same epithet list is also used in the *anāku* section of the glazed brick inscription at Ištar Gate, Babylon. While the similarity could have resulted from the use of the Stone Tablet as the reconstruction model, it should be noted that the collection of epithets arranged in this order cannot be attested elsewhere in the extant corpus, apart from these three inscriptions.

There is also a possibility that the version of the Ištar Gate inscription on display at the Pergamon Museum is not the entirely of the original inscription. In its current form, this inscription only consists of a long list of epithets and a brief construction report of the Esiskur, the temple of the Akītu festival in Babylon. The combination of only these two components makes for an unusual superstructural formulation because the other inscriptions in the extant corpus that either contain the same epithet list or different lists of similar length are generally long inscriptions composed of three to four superstructural components.

i.3	i.2	*rubû na'du*	non-divine
i.4		*migir Marduk*	divine
i.5	i.3	*iššakku ṣīru*	
i.6		*narām Nabû*	
i.7	i.4	*muštālu āḫiz nēmeqi*	
i.8-10	i.5-6	*ša alakti ilūtīšunu ištene"û pitluhu bēlūssun*	
i.11	i.7	*šakkanakku lā āniḫu*	
i.12-17	i.8-10	*ša ana zinnāti Esagil u Ezida ūmišam tiṣmurūma damqāti Bābili u Barsipa ištene"û kayyāna*	
i.18	i.11	*emqu mutnennû*	
i.19		*zānin Esagil u Ezida*	
i.20-22	i.12	*aplu ašarēdu ša Nabû-apla-uṣur šar Bābili*	filiation

Table 50 The comparison of the titulary in the Stone Tablet and Summer-Palace-cylinder (C35)

A similar principle applies to the epithet lists Brisa A+C, whose depiction of NBK's relation with the divine figure only concentrates on Marduk and Nabû. After the "standard epithets", the idea that NBK was rightfully chosen by the two gods is reinforced again in the *ša*-epithet: *ša alkakāt Marduk bēli rabî ili bānîšu u Nabû aplīšu kīni narām šarrūtīšu ištene"û kayyāna* (Akk: "who regularly follows the ways of Marduk, the great lord, the god his creator, and of Nabû his loyal heir who loves his kingship").

Although the list in Brisa A+C (WBA i.17-i.18; WBC i.16-i.17) includes an epithet that contains a logogram for the goddess Ištar (in WBA: [d]INANNA), it is used in this context as a general reference to all the female goddesses, as opposed to another logogram in the same clause, which refers to the male gods (in WBA: DINGIR).

	WBA	WBC	titulary	
	i.2	i.2	*šar Bābili*	*royal title*
			"King of Babylon"	
1	i.3	i.3	*rē'û kīnu*	
			"strong shepherd"	
			migir Marduk	
			"the favourite of Marduk"	
2	i.4	i.4	*iššaku ṣīru*	*standard*
			"the exalted ruler"	*epithets*
			narām Nabû	

			"the beloved of Nabû"	
3	i.5	i.5	*rubû na'du*	
			"pious prince"	
	i.6-10	i.6-i.10	*ša alkakāt Marduk bēli rabî ili bānîšu u Nabû aplīšu kīni narām šarrūtīšu ištene"û kayyāna*	*divine*
			"who regularly follows the ways of Marduk, the great lord, the god his creator, and of Nabû his loyal heir who loves his kingship"	
4	i.11	i.11	*mūdû tele'û*	*non-divine*
			"the learned (and) able one"	
	i.12-15	i.12-14	*ša irammu puluḫti ilūtīšunu ana ṭēm ilūtīšunu bašâ uznāšu*	
			"who loves their divine majesty (and) pays attention to their divine command"	
5	i.16	i.15	*eršu itpēšu*	
			"the wise (and) expert"	
	i.17-i.18	i.16-17	*ša ana zikrīšunu kabtu pitluḫu ili u ištar*	
			"who reveres god and goddess at the invocation of their mighty name"	
6	i.19	i.18	*emqu mutnennû*	
			"the wise (and) pious"	
	i.20	i.19	*zānin Esagil u Ezida*	
			"the provider of Esagil and Ezida"	
	i.21-22	i.20-22	*aplu ašarēdu ša Nabû-apla-uṣur šar Bābili*	*filiation*
			"the foremost heir of Nabopolassar, King of Babylon"	

Table 51 The distribution of the titulary in Brisa A+C [91]

The epithet list in the South-Palace-cylinder (C34) is notably different from the rest of the
sample group. As discussed in Chapter 5.3, the sequence in this inscription neither follows

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[91] This thematic distribution of the epithets suggests that the inscribers of both duplicates seem to
be aware of each individual epithet. While not exactly identical in terms of formatting, they both
start the new line 'correctly', as is apparent in the fourth and fifth epithet pair. Interestingly, this
coordination only applies to the *anāku* section only. See: edition in Da Riva 2012. The rest of the
text after the *anāku* in both duplicates does not coordinate.

the epithet pairing pattern nor adopts the "standard epithets". In comparison to the other two inscriptions dedicated to the palaces of NBK, the South-Palace-cylinder (C34) is the only inscription whose epithet sequence refers to the gods Enlil, Šamaš, and Marduk, notably ignoring Nabû. The epithet in question is: *muštēšir ba'ulāt Enlil Šamaš u Marduk* (Akk: "the provider of justice of the people of Enlil, Šamaš, and Marduk").

Although the epithet list in the South-Palace-cylinder (C34) does not portray NBK as the representative of Marduk and Nabû, it could still be seen as depicting NBK as the supreme ruler of "one" Babylonia, if we consider that the "people of Enlil, Šamaš, and Marduk" refers to Nippur, Sippar, and Babylon.

The same triad appears in NBP cylinder C32 (Imgur-Enlil Wall) in a passage, which explicitly indicates that NBP gathered the corvee workers of Enlil, Šamaš, and Marduk for the wall construction:

ii 31   *ad-kam-ma um-ma-na-at* ᵈEN.LÍL ᵈUTU ù ᵈAMAR.UTU

ii 32   *ú-šá-áš-<ši>* GIŠ.AL *e-mid tup-šik-ku*

"I mustered the workmen of the gods Enlil, Šamaš, and Marduk and (then) I made (them) carry hoe(s and) imposed (on them the carrying of) basket(s)[92]."

In Al-Rawi's opinion, the workers of the three gods refers to the people of Nippar, Sippar, and Babylon, which in turns helps date this inscription to after 622 BCE when NBP had gained the control of Nippur for the Neo-Assyrian force (1985:1–2). The same idea has previously been proposed by Weissbach in his edition of this inscription (1903:22).

Therefore, the reference to Enlil, Šamaš, and Marduk in the South-Palace-cylinder (C34) still reinforces a singular portrayal of NBK – the one that places him at the centre of his empire. This portrayal is apparent, especially when we consider that it does not link NBK to other divine figures.

Elsewhere in other *anāku* sequences in the sample group, the name Enlil is only used as part of the epithet of Marduk, such as in the Eulla-cylinder (C37) and Edubba-cylinder (C38): *Marduk bēli rabî Enlil ilāni mušarbû šarrūtīšu* (Akk: "Marduk, great lord, the Enlil of the gods, the extoller of his kingship)[93].

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[92] This passage is quoted from RIBo Nabopolassar 03 http://oracc.org/ribo/Q005362/

[93] This epithet has been identified as an innovation of Šamaš-šuma-ukīn, the Assyrian king of Babylon, brother of Ashurbanipal (Frame 2007:107). See: RIMB 2 B.6.33.1: 4–5.

It is also possible that the "unusual" principle of the epithet list in the South-Palace-cylinder (C34) and its reference to Enlil and Šamaš is evidence of the royal ideology from the early period during NBK's reign, which was later dropped in favour of Marduk and Nabû, as illustrated in the epithet lists of the two other palace inscriptions. As our investigation in Chapter 3 has demonstrated, a group of administrative documents from the Eanna Archive suggests that the South Palace was the oldest of the three NBK palaces in Babylon.

6.3.2 The epithet lists in the Ziqqurrat inscriptions

Apart from the epithet lists in the palace inscriptions and Brisa A+C, we can also observe that the epithet lists in the Ziqqurrat inscriptions maintains the singular portrayal of NBK, as the representative of Marduk and Nabû. This principle applies to the Ziqqurrat-cylinder (C41) in the sample group, as well as NBK II C212, another Ziqqurrat-cylinder in the extant corpus.

As illustrated in Table 52, although the epithet in the Ziqqurrat-cylinder (C41) does not adopt the epithet pairing principle, it still applies the "standard" epithets.

line	Ziqqurrat-cylinder (C41)	
i.3	*rubû na'du*	
	"pious prince"	
i.4	*migir Marduk*	
	"the favourite of Marduk"	standard epithets
i.5	*iššakku ṣīru*	
	"the exalted ruler"	
i.6	*narām Nabû*	
	"the beloved of Nabû"	
i.7	*muštālu āḫiz nēmeqi*	
	"the wise, the possessor of wisdom"	
i.8	*mušte''û balāṭi*	
	"the constant seeker of life"	
i.9	*na'du lā mupparkû*	
	"the pious (and) unceasing"	
i.10-11	*bābil igisê rabûti ana Esagil*	
	"the deliverer of great contributions to the Esagil"	

i.12	*emqu mutnennû*
	"the wise (and) pious"
i.13	*zānin Esagil u Ezida*
	"the provider of Esagil and Ezida"

Table 52 The distribution of the titulary in the Ziqqurrat-cylinder (C41)

The same principle can be attested in NBK II C212, whose epithet list applies the pairing principle and the singular portrayal of Marduk and Nabû. This inscription is attributed to the Eurmeiminanki Ziqqurrat in Borsippa. Even though the titulary in this inscription does not adopt the set of "standard" epithets this is identical to the inscriptions in the sample group, we can still observe that its first four epithets are comparable to the "standard" epithets. The epithet *rē'û kīnu* (Akk: "righteous shepherd") is also the first epithet is Brisa A+C and Nabû(?)-cylinder (C36). The second epithet *itût kūn libbi Marduk* (Akk: "the steadfast choice of Marduk") could be understood an elaboration of the epithet *migir Marduk* that attested in the same position in the epithet list from the sample group.

line	NBK II C212 (Eurmeiminanki)	
i 2	*rē'û kīnu*	
	"righteous shepherd"	
	itût kūn libbi Marduk	
	"the steadfast choice of Marduk"	standard epithets?
i 3	*iššakku ṣīru*	
	"the exalted ruler"	
	narām Nabû	
	"the beloved of Nabû"	
i 4-5	*mūdû emqu*	non-divine
	"the wise one (and) clever one"	
	ša ana alkakāt ilī rabûti bašâ uzunāšû	divine
	"who pays attention to the ways of the great gods"	
i 6	*šakkanakku lā āniḫu*	
	"the indefatigable *šakkanakku*"	
	zānin Esagil u Ezida	
	"the provider of Esagil and Ezida"	

Table 53 The distribution of the titulary in NBK II C212

One way to account for the difference between the Ziqqurrat-cylinder (C41) and NBK II C212 is to suppose that the two inscriptions were composed at two different points in the reign of NBK. As discussed in Chapter 3, a group of administrative documents from the Eanna Archive dated to reign of NBK, suggest that the construction of the Eurmeiminanki Ziqqurrat in Borsippa was active late in the reign of NBK. Therefore, it is possible that the inscriptions, which directly commemorate this Ziqqurrat or at least mention it in the building list, are the newer inscriptions in the corpus.

In contrast, the documents from the same archive suggest that the construction of the Etemenanki began early in the reign[94].

If the inscription NBK II C212 was indeed created to commemorate the Eurmeiminanki later in NBK's reign, its "correct" epithet pairing pattern would also be consistent with the titularies in the Stone Tablet, Summer-Palace-cylinder (C35), and Brisa A+C. These three inscriptions, which we identify as the newer inscriptions in the corpus in Chapter 3, also "correctly" apply the epithet pairing pattern. As such, the fact that the composition of the titulary in the Ziqqurrat-cylinder (C41) is different from the sample group could be evidence of its early creation.

6.3.3 The epithet lists in the Nabû(?)-cylinder (C36), Eulla-cylinder (C37), and Edubba-cylinder (C38)

A feature that sets the titulary sequence in the Eulla-cylinder (C37), Edubba-cylinder (C38), and Nabû(?)-cylinder (C36) apart from the rest of the sample group is their many references to the gods. Apart from Marduk and Nabû, which are the two integral elements of the epithets in the standard epithet set, five other gods are also mentioned in the epithet list in all of these three inscriptions, namely Zababa, Ištar, Erra, Adad, and Šamaš. Particularly, the apparently larger selection of gods in the *anāku* section of the Nabû(?)-cylinder (C36) has previously been observed by Paul-Richard Berger, but the significance of this incident has not been raised (1973:44–45).

An explanation for a larger selection of deities is the possibility that the Nabû(?)-cylinder (C36), Eulla-cylinder (C37), and Edubba-cylinder (C38) were meant for another group of audience – in the broadest sense of the word – which is associated with the local temples and temples outside the capital. The idea that these inscriptions were created with the

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[94] For the cuneiform documents from the Eanna temple that record the construction of the Etemenanki Ziqqurrat, see Kleber 2008:194–196.

"local" audience in mind is apparent when we consider that the deities mentioned in their epithet lists are also consistent with deities of the commemorated temples.

The five gods that appear in the titulary of the Eulla-cylinder (C37), Edubba-cylinder (C38), and Nabû(?)-cylinder (C36), namely Šamaš, Zababa, Adad, Ištar, and Erra are all associated with the local temples from the cities in central and southern Babylonia. Two of them, namely Šamaš (Sippar) and Zababa (Kish) are also directly associated with the Eulla-cylinder (C37) and Edubba-cylinder (C38) because Sippar and Kish are the location of the temples commemorated in these two inscriptions.

The warrior god Zababa mentioned in the sequence from all three inscriptions is worshipped at the Edubba Temple in the city of Kish, the subject of commemoration in the Edubba-cylinder (C38). Zababa appears alongside Ištar in an epithet pair that is used in all three tutulary sequences: *mūdê tašīmti mušte"û ašrāt Zababa u Ištar* (Akk: the gifted (and) intelligent, the constant seeker of shrines of Zababa and Ištar).

Similarly, the god Šamaš, also mentioned in all three titulary sequences, is associated with the city of Sippar, the location of the temple of Ninkarrak, the subject of commemoration in the Eulla-cylinder (C37). Even though it was not created to celebrate the Ebabbar temple of Šamaš in Sippar, the prayer section in this inscription places Šamaš at an equal position as Marduk. The elevation of Šamaš as an equal of Marduk is a common principle in the inscriptions from Sippar, which may have similarly been drawn by the same attempt to appeal to the local audience (see above: Chapter 6.4).

The other gods that appear in the epithet lists of the Eulla-cylinder (C37) and Edubba-cylinder (C38) also have a direction connection with the important cities. The goddess Ištar, mentioned in the same epithet pair as Zababa, is associated with the city of Uruk where NBK also re-established an Ištar-related cult during the early years of his reign[95]. The warrior god Erra is associated with the temple of Lugal-Marad in the city of Marad, which is commemorated by the Lugal-Marad-cylinder (C32).

The four epithets that occupy the lines i.4 and i.5 in the Nabû(?)-cylinder (C36) refers to the gods Šamaš, Adad, and Erra in the same order of appearance and meaning as they do

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[95] The relationship between NBK and Ištar seems to be a topic that NBK was keen to emphasised as the restauration of the cult of Ištar at the Eanna was specifically mentioned in the *inūm* section in the South-Palace-cylinder (C34) and Brisa A+C. The inclusion of this initiative is significant given the fact that the overwhelming majority of the royal initiatives in the *inūm* section is the building project. For more discussion concerning NBK's attitude towards Ištar, see: Beaulieu 2003:129–138. For the detailed discussion of the *inūm* in the South-Palace-cylinder (C34), see: Chapter 5.1.2.

in both the Eulla-cylinder (C37) and Edubba-cylinder (C38) even though the texts are not identical.

In the Nabû(?)-cylinder (C36), the epithet *rubû ša ana ṭēm Šamši u Adad pituqqūma illaka uruḫ šulmi* (Akk: the prince, who is very attentive to the will of the gods Šamaš and Adad and who travels the road to well-being) is the reminiscence of another epithet which appears in the Eulla-cylinder (C37) and Edubba-cylinder (C38) as: *rē'û kīnu ṣābit uruḫ šulmi ša Šamaš u Adad* (Akk: strong shepherd, the seizer of the path of peace of Šamaš and Adad), especially with the use of the terms *uruh šulmi* (Akk: the path of well-being)[96].

The same could be said for *massû ṣīru ša ana Erra šagapūru kitnušūma ušamqatu gārîša* (Akk: the exalted leader, who is always submissive to the majestic god Erra, and (thereby) cuts down his (text: "her") adversaries) in the Nabû(?)-cylinder (C36) which is similar to *eršu itpēšu ša ana emūqi Erra šagapūri bašâ uznāšu* (Akk: the wise (and) expert, whose wisdom stands for the strength of Erra the mighty one) in the Eulla-cylinder (C37) and Edubba-cylinder (C38).

C37	C38	Titulary	
i.1	i.1-2	*šar Bābili*	royal title
		"King of Babylon"	
i.2		*rubû na'du*	standard epithet
		"Pious prince"	
		migir Marduk	
		"The favourite of Marduk"	
i.3		*iššaku ṣīru*	
		"exalted ruler"	
	i.3-6	*narām Nabû*	
		"the beloved of Nabû"	
i.4		*rē'û kīnu*	divine
		"righteous shepherd"	
		ṣābit uruḫ šulmi ša Šamaš u Adad	non-divine

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[96] See: RIMA A.0.101.2 line 10-11 (Grayson 1991:224–225): in Ashurnasirpal's inscription known as the 'Throne-Base Text', Šamaš and Adad, placed in the same clause, are credited as the gods that enabled Ashurnasirpal II to conquer Nairi, Habhu, the Subaru, and Nirbu. This suggests that the pairing could have been a sort of set-piece in the inscriptional writing.
See also: RINAP 4.105 line iii.38-41: in Esarhaddon's Babylon C prism, Šamaš and Adad appear together in the same sentence followed by Marduk in which Esarhaddon is portrayed as praying to the three gods for their support in the reconstruction of Babylon.

		"the seizer of the path of peace of Šamaš and Adad"
i.5		*eršu itpēšu*
		"the wise (and) expert"
i.6		*ša ana emūqi Erra šagapūri bašâ uznāšu*
		"whose wisdom stands for the strength of Erra the mighty one"
i.7		*mūdê tašīmti*
		"the gifted (and) intelligent"
i.8		*mušte"û ašrāt Zababa u Ištar*
		"the constant seeker of shrines of Zababa and Ištar"
i.9	i.7-14	*ašru sanqu*
		"the submissive (and) disciplined"
i.10-13		*ša ana Marduk bēli rabî Enlil ilāni mušarbû šarrūtīšu u Nabû sukalli ṣīri mušārik ūm balāṭīšu kitnušūma ippušu rēšūssun*
		"who submits to Marduk, great lord, the Enlil of the gods, the extoller of his kingship and Nabû the exalted vizier, who extends the days of his life, and does their services"
i.14		*šakkanakku lā āniḫu*
		"the indefatigable governor"
		zānin Esagil u Ezida
		"the provider of Esagil and Ezida"
i.15		*idān zannāti*
		"the arms of provisioning"
i.16		*bābil igisê rabûti ana Esagil*
		"the deliverer of great contributions to the Esagil"
i.17		*na'du muštēmiqu*
		"The pious (and) devout"
		itût kūn libbi ilāni rabûti
		"the chosen one of the steadfast heart(s) of the great gods"
i.18		*gugallu qardu*
		"the valiant irrigation controller"

		mumakkir qarbāti	irrigation?
		"who irrigates the meadowland"	
i.19	i.14-15	*ikkar Bābili*	
		"the farmer of Babylon"	
		muṭaḫḫid ešrētī [C38: - *ešrēt ilāni*]	
		"who brings abundance to the shrines [- of the gods]"	
i.20		*mukīn sattukki*	
		"the establisher of the *sattukku* offering"	
i.21		*aplu ašarēdu ša Nabû-apla-uṣur šar Bābili*	filiation
		"the foremost heir of Nabopolassar, King of Babylon"	

Table 54 The comparison of the epithet list in the Eulla-cylinder (C37) and Edubba-cylinder (C38)

6.3.3.1   A possible reference to Adad?

Apart from mentioning a larger selection of deities, another feature among the epithet lists of the Nabû(?)-cylinder (C36), Eulla-cylinder (C37), and Edubba-cylinder (C38) that is evidence of them targeting a different group of audience, from the palace inscriptions and Brisa A+C, is the characterisation of NBK with the epithets alluding to Adad. In so doing, these three inscriptions created a NBK of another "persona" that is not entirely consistent with the palace inscriptions and Brisa A+C, where he is strictly portrayed as the representative of Marduk and Nabû on earth.

As introduced in Chapter 2.3.4, the epithet lists in the Nabû(?)-cylinder (C36), Eulla-cylinder (C37), and Edubba-cylinder (C38) incorporate at the end of each list what we term as the "irrigation" epithets. These epithets portray NBK as the administrator of the irrigational infrastructure, who facilitates abundance in the region. They appear to be identical to the epithets of Adad, who is also known for the same quality.

Although the portrayal of NBK as a specialist in irrigation is not said explicitly in his inscriptions, in comparison to his interest in temple buildings, it is consistent with the evidence that he commissioned the construction of many canals around the region.

In general, references to Adad in the NBK inscriptions are not as apparent as those associated with Marduk or Nabû, partly because his main cult-centre during the Neo-Babylonian period has not been identified. As observed by Daniel Schwemer, the temples of Adad existed in the major central and southern Babylonian cities, namely Babylon,

Borsippa, Sippar, Uruk, and Nippur. However, none of these cities were known as the main cult-centre of Adad (2001:637–638). The closest place to a cult-centre of Adad seems to be Aššur where he has his own temple with a Ziqqurrat (ibid). In any case, there is a temple of Adad in Babylon (the Enamḫe), after which the city gate and the street near its site on the western bank of the city were also named (George 1992:27). The Enamḫe is also one of the temples in the *inūma* building lists of the five temple inscriptions in the sample group, Stone Tablet, and Brisa A+C. Moreover, NBK also built a temple of Adad in Borsippa as indicated by the Stone Tablet (see: Chapter 2.5.3.6).

As demonstrated in Table 54, the "irrigation" epithets occupy lines i.18-i.20 in the Eulla-cylinder (C37) and i.13-i.15 in the Edubba-cylinder (C38). They are the same except for a little detail in the second epithet from the end of the sequence. In the epithet that starts with the term *muṭaḫḫid* (Akk: who brings abundance) an additional term appears in the list in the Edubba-cylinder (C38) as the third unit within the chain of *status constructus*. Whereas the chain in the Eulla-cylinder (C37) has *muṭaḫḫid ešrētī* (Akk: "who brings abundance to the shrines"), the version in the Edubba-cylinder (C38) is *muṭaḫḫid ešrēt ilāni* (Akk: "who brings abundance to the shrines *of the gods*)". The shared passage has previously been identified by Berger, but he did not discuss how this similarity is significant in terms of composition (1973:42–44). The five "irrigation" epithets also appear at the end of the epithet list in the Nabû(?)-cylinder (C36), which includes another "irrigation" epithet *muqarrin karê bitrûti* (Akk: who heaps up enormous piles of grain).

We can observe that some of these "irrigation" epithets of NBK are also the epithets of Adad, attested in a variety of primary sources. The term *gugallu* in *gugallu qardu* appears as Adad's epithet in the Epic of Anzû as well as in the personal name *Adad-gugal*, attested in the cuneiform documents dated to the Early Dynastic, Old Babylonian, Middle Babylonian, and Middle Assyrian period[97].

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[97] In the Epic of Anzû, the term *gugallu* was used in Tablet 1 to refer to Adad when Anu began to summon the gods to help retrieving the Tablet of Destinies, which had been stolen by the Anzû bird at the beginning of the story. He is portrayed as the son of Anu:
  i.92 ᵈGÚ.GAL *is-su-u* DUMU ᵈ*a-nim*
  "They called Gugallu, the son of Anum."
  i.94 ᵈIŠKUR GÚ.GAL *is-su-ú* DUMU ᵈ*a-nim*
  "They called Adad, the canal inspector, the son of Anum."
For the complete edition of the Anzû Epic with score, see: Annus 2001. The translation is taken from the digitisation of Annus's edition in the Corpus of Ancient Mesopotamian Scholarship database on ORACC. http://oracc.museum.upenn.edu/cams/anzu/corpus.
For the personal names that contain the name of the god Adad, see index in Schwemer 2001.

The same term also appears in combination with other terms to form epithet chains, including *gugal nārāti* (Akk: "the irrigation controller of the rivers"), *gugal šamê* (Akk: "the irrigation controller of heaven"), *gugal šamê u erṣeti* (Akk: "the irrigation controller of heaven and earth"), *gugal šamê rapšūti* (Akk: "the irrigation controller of the vast heaven)[98].

Similarly, the term *ikkaru* in *ikkar Bābili* appears in the personal name *Adad-ikkar*, attested in a document dated to the Middle Assyrian period[99].

The term *muṭaḫḫidu* in *muṭaḫḫid ešrēti* appears as Adad's epithet *muṭaḫḫidu nuḫši* (Akk: "the one who provides plenty") in the rock inscription of Tigalth-Pileser III at Mila Mergi and in a fragment of a literary text from Hellenistic Uruk[100]. The same term also appears in a fragment of a Hymn to Adad, also from Hellenistic Uruk, likely in combination with another term in the broken part of the clay[101].

Perhaps due to how the primary sources were conceived or the gaps in the record, the portrayal of NBK as canal builder is not as apparent as his depiction as temple builder. However, there is evidence of a number of canal projects that were initiated by NBK.

The dredging of the Lībil-ḫegalla canal in Babylon is specifically commemorated by the cylinder inscription NBK II C22. This event also appears in the building list of Brisa A+C. Also recorded in Brisa A+C is the construction of the Cross-Country wall, which is accompanied by a canal that connects the Euphrates to the Tigris. This canal project is likely to be the one documented in a letter from the Eanna Archive dated to NBK's 27th year (Kleber 2008:140–141). Documents from the Eanna Archive also indicate that canal building or dredging took place near Jādaqu, at least between Year 15 to 20 (ibid:137–140). Another irrigation-related project, most likely a dam, took place in the Sealand around Year 31 (ibid:159).

6.3.3.2 A "military" epithet of Nebuchadnezzar
On its own, the titulary in the Nabû(?)-cylinder (C36) is also very interesting because it includes an epithet that alludes to NBK's military campaign. At the end of the list before the filiation is the epithet: *šarru ša ina milki šadli ītellû šadî bērūti ittabalakkatu ḫuršānī zaqrūti* (Akk: the king who regularly ascends distant mountains and crosses high

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[98] For the list of attestations collected Schwemer, see 2001:708. The epithet *gugal šamê* is the most often attested among those appearing with the term *gugallu*.
[99] see footnote 97
[100] For the primary publication of the Mila Mergi inscription, see Postgate 1973. The fragment of the literary text is CDLI P348663, first published as SpTU III 60 in Weiher 1988.
[101] see: CDLI P342257 or OIM A03673, first published as BiMes 24, 51 in Weisberg 1991.

mountainous terrain with broad counsel). Epithets that make a similar allusion are nowhere to be found in the extant NBK corpus. However, it is difficult to identify the connection between Muṣibasâ and military matters. This name of Nabû is only attested once in the extant Neo-Babylonian inscriptional corpus. It likely derives from the Sumerian epithet of Nabû in Old Babylonian litanies: ᵈMu-zé-eb-ba-sa₄-a (Pomponio 1978:6–8).

Beyond the NBK corpus, epithets with war allusion can be found amongst the Nabopolassar inscriptions, such as in NBP 14 (C22), attributed to the E-edinna in Sippar. In i.11-13, there are two war-related epithets: (1) *qarrād qarrādī* (Akk: warrior of warriors) and (2) *ša Erra rašubbu ušakšidūšu nizmassu* (Akk: the one (to) whom awe-inspiring Erra allowed to obtain his desire). However, the attestation of the war-related epithets amongst the NBP titulary is not much of a surprise given that some of his inscriptions explicitly tell the story of the Assyrian defeat. Out of the fifteen extant inscriptions of NBP, five of them mention his war against the Assyrians, namely NBP 3, 5, 6, 7, and 15.

In the case of the extant NBK texts, the only inscription that presents the story of NBK's conquest is Brisa A+C, where the expedition to Lebanon is part of its main section. However, the account placed more emphasis on the acquisition of the cedar woods than the military actions.

6.3.4   The epithet lists in the Lugal-Marad-cylinder (C32) and Eḫursagsikilla-cylinder (C33)

The epithet sequence identically reproduced in the Lugal-Marad-cylinder (C32) and Eḫursagsikilla-cylinder (C33) is the shortest titularly in the sample group. As demonstrated in Table 55, a *ša*-clause containing a divine element succeeds the third epithet pair and disrupts the alternating pattern defined by the divine terminology.

Interestingly, the epithet lists in these two inscriptions do not mention other gods apart from Marduk and Nabû, even though they were dedicated to the "local" gods at "local" temples. In order to explain this discrepancy, we compare these two epithet lists with the others in the sample group. Although this analysis is based on small number of specimens, our result suggests that the restricted choice of deities in the Lugal-Marad-cylinder (C32) and Eḫursagsikilla-cylinder (C33) may have been caused by the limit in the writing space, which derives from the small size of the material support.

C32	C33	titulary	
i.1	i.1	*šar Bābili*	*royal title*
		"King of Babylon"	
i.2	i.2	*rubû na'du*	
		"Pious prince"	
		migir Marduk	
		"The favourite of Marduk"	
i.3	i.3	*iššakku ṣīru*	*standard epithet*
		"The exalted ruler"	
		narām Nabû	
		"The beloved of Nabû"	
i.4	i.4	*šakkanakku lā āniḫu*	*non-divine*
		"the indefatigable governor"	
i.5	i.5	*zānin Esagil u Ezida*	*divine*
		"The provider of Esagil and Ezida"	
i.6-7	i.6-7	*ša ana Nabû u Marduk bēlēšu kitnušūma ippušu rēšūssun*	*divine*
		"who is always submissive to the gods Nabû and Marduk and acts as their servant"	
i.8	i.8	*na'du muštēmiqu*	
		"The pious (and) devout"	
		itût kūn libbi ilāni rabûti	
		"the chosen one of the steadfast heart(s) of the great gods"	
i.9	i.9-10	*aplu ašarēdu ša Nabû-apla-uṣur šar Bābili*	*filiation*
		"the foremost heir of Nabopolassar, King of Babylon"	

Table 55 The distribution of the titulary in NBK II 086 (C32) and 012 (C33)

As the two inscriptions are associated with the local temples, the speculation created by our earlier discussion may have led to an assumption that the titulary in the Lugal-Marad-cylinder (C32) and Eḫursagsikilla-cylinder (C33) would also mention other gods apart from Marduk and Nabû. However, our investigation reveals the opposite: no other gods are included in the titulary of these two inscriptions.

An explanation for this scenario from the archaeological perspective is that the absence of the expected references to other gods is the result of the text having been created for the smaller material supports. Overall, the Lugal-Marad-cylinder (C32) and Eḫursagsikilla-cylinder (C33) not only contain the shortest *anāku* section, but they are also the two shortest inscriptions in the sample group. Both inscriptions were inscribed on the cylinder manuscripts that are smaller than other inscriptions that contain longer texts. According to the compilation by Paul-Richard Berger, the average height of the nineteen extant manuscripts of the Lugal-Marad-cylinder (C32) and one manuscript of the Eḫursagsikilla-cylinder (C33) is between twenty to twenty-one centimetres (1973:277–286). To compare, the manuscript of the Nabû(?)-cylinder (C36), the longest cylinder inscription in the sample group, stands at the height of thirty centimetres (1973:291).

Moreover, the likelihood that the composition was influenced by the available surface area of the material support can also be indicated by the comparison of each individual epithet in the titulary in these two inscriptions with the other sequences in the sample group.

Epithets in 086 (C32) and 012 (C33)	attestation in other texts
rubû na'du	*standard epithet set*
migir Marduk	
iššakku ṣīru	
narām Nabû	
šakkanakku lā āniḫu	C35, ST, C36, C37, C38
zānin Esagil u Ezida	C35, ST, C36, C37, C38, C41, C34, Brisa A+C
ša ana Nabû u Marduk bēlēšu kitnušūma ippušu rēšūssun	-
na'du muštēmiqu	C36, C37, C38
itût kūn libbi ilāni rabûti	C36, C37, C38

Table 56 The epithets in the Lugal-Marad-cylinder (C32) and Eḫursagsikilla-cylinder (C33) as attested in the titulary of other inscriptions

As demonstrated in Table 56, nearly all epithets in the titulary of the Lugal-Marad-cylinder (C32) and Eḫursagsikilla-cylinder (C33) are the more 'commonly attested' epithets, some of which appear in more than one titulary sequence in the sample group. On the other hand, some epithets in the longer titulary in the longer inscriptions do not reappear anywhere else, including the extant corpus. The most demonstrable examples

are the "war" epithet and the epithets related to the irrigational activities in the Nabû(?)-cylinder (C36), Eulla-cylinder (C37), and Edubba-cylinder (C38).

In the rest of the extant corpus, we can also observe that shorter inscriptions or inscriptions attested on small objects tend to concentrate on the more common textual elements. The most apparent of these are the brick inscriptions, which only use one epithet after the royal title, the most popular of which is *zānin Esagil u Ezida* (Akk: the provider of Esagil and Ezida)[102]. This principle also applies to the very short cylinders, such as NBK II C21 (Euphrates embankment in Babylon) and NBK II C23 (Ebabbar in Sippar). As such, there is reason to think that the absence of the other gods in the epithet lists of the Lugal-Marad-cylinder (C32) and Eḫursagsikilla-cylinder (C33) was partly caused by the same factor.

6.4   The relations between NBK and the gods in the prayer section

Our identification that the selection of divine figures in the *anāku* section varies depending on the significance of the commemorated project also appears to be consistent with the prayer section.

In the prayer section, NBK communicates his wishes to the highest god in the Neo-Babylonian pantheon, Marduk, either by speaking directly to him or through a medium, generally a god of the lesser rank. It is in this process that we see interesting corelations between the location and building type of the commemorated projects, and the divine figure each of them commemorates.

The emphasis given to a smaller selection of divine figures in the *anāku* section of the palace inscriptions and Brisa A+C, as our discussion in Chapter 6.2 has shown, is consistent with their prayers. As illustrated in Table 57, in the prayer sections of the three palace inscriptions from Babylon, the only divine figure that appears is Marduk. In these inscriptions, NBK also speaks to him directly, without requiring any medium.

One of the reasons that explains why no other gods were mentioned in the prayer in these inscriptions is because the palaces seem to be the instrument that enhances the glory of Babylon, the city of Marduk. As depicted in the Stone Tablet, NBK made it clear that no other cities were as celebrated as Babylon.

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[102] See: footnote 85

> ix 54   *e-li* URU-*ka* KÁ.DINGIR.RA.KI
>
> ix 55   *i-na ka-la da-ad-mi*
>
> ix 56   *ul ú-ša-pa* URU.KI

"I have made no city in all the inhabited world more resplendent than your city, Babylon."

A similar passage also appears in i.53 in the Summer-Palace-cylinder (C35). The declaration that NBK did not invest in other cities more than Babylon may also explain why the building list in these two inscriptions do not include building projects outside Babylon and Borsippa, especially since the Stone Tablet is one of the longest inscriptions in the extant corpus (see: Chapter 5.1.2).

The careful approach to the construction of a large project, which could tamper with the topography of Babylon, is also reflected in NBK's claim that he did not alter the plan of the city for the construction of the North Palace. This claim is illustrated in a passage in the main section of the Stone Tablet:

> viii 27   *i-na* KÁ.DINGIR.RA.KI
>
> viii 28   *ku-um-mu mu-ša-bi-ia*
>
> viii 29   *a-na si-ma-at šar-ru-ti-ia*
>
> viii 30   *la šu-um-ṣa*
>
> viii 31   *aš-šum pu-lu-úḫ-ti* ᵈAMAR.UTU EN-*ia*
>
> viii 32   *ba-šu-ù li-ib-bu-ú-a*
>
> viii 33   *i-na* KÁ.DINGIR.RA.KI
>
> viii 34   URU *ni-ṣi-ir-ti-šu*
>
> viii 35   *a-na šu-un-du-lam*
>
> viii 36   *šu-ba-at šar-ru-ti-ia*
>
> viii 37   *su-uq-šu la e-nim*
>
> viii 38   BÁRA-*šu la ú-ni-iš*
>
> viii 39   *pa-la-ga-šu la e-es-ki-ir*

"In Babylon, the private chambers of my residence were not decorous enough for my status as king. Because worshiping the god Marduk, my lord, was present in my heart, in order to widen the residence of my royal majesty, in Babylon, the city (under) his (Marduk's) protection, I did not change its street(s), displace its dais(es), nor block up its canal(s)."

	temple		palace		
	C32	C33	C35	ST	C34
city	Marad	Babylon	Babylon	Babylon	Babylon
via	Lugal-Marad	Ninkarrak	-	-	-
to	Marduk	Marduk	Marduk	Marduk	Marduk
	ziqqurrat	temple			border
	C41	C36	C37	C38	Brisa A+C
	Babylon	Babylon(?)	Sippar	Kiš	-
via	Ziqqurrat	Muṣibbasâ (Nabû)	Ninkarrak	Zababa	-
to	Marduk	Marduk and Erua	Šamaš and Marduk	Marduk	Marduk

Table 57 Figures invoked by NBK in the prayer section

Another inscription in the sample group that does not mention any other gods in its prayer section apart from Marduk is Brisa A+C. The absence of other gods in the prayer of this inscription is also consistent with its *anāku* section, where also no gods apart from Marduk and Nabû can be observed. Moreover, the only god apart from these two that appears among the seven ESDs that divide the *inum* section in Brisa A+C is Šamaš (see: Chapter 5.4).

It is tempting to think of the limited selection of divine figures in Brisa A+C as an attempt to present a "singular" ideology of the empire to "foreign" audience, especially if we consider that this inscription is situated in the territory that was not traditionally part of Babylonia proper. However, due to the paucity of the available data, it is difficult to propose a strong argument for such a case. At present, three inscriptions in Lebanon have been attributed to NBK apart from Brisa A+C. They are the rock inscriptions at Nahr el-

Kalb, Wadi es-Saba, and Shir es-Sanam. Only the inscription at Nahr el-Kalb has yielded fragments of legible cuneiform texts[103].

Recent scholarly undertakings have indicated that the area around Nahr el-Kalb is a site of competing ideology as it also hosts other inscriptions that predate NBK i.e., the Ancient Egyptian inscription of Ramesses II and the Assyrian inscriptions of at least five kings.

As indicated by Ann Shafer, there are at least six Assyrian carvings, one of the five remaining can be attributed to Esarhaddon (2015:493). The Assyrian king stands within an arched frame with his hand raised to the gods – a posture typical to the Assyrian royal iconography. Based on the remaining inscriptions, this relief was created as a monument, which commemorates Esarhaddon's victory over the Egyptian army (ibid). Esarhaddon's choice of setting seems to be appropriate for his purpose, since an Eyptian monument had already been created on the same rock face. Other reliefs, all of which are in bad state of preservation, have been attributed to Tiglath-Pileser I, Shalmaneser III, Sennacherib, and Ashurbanipal (ibid).

In Rocío Da Riva's opinion, NBK's creation of the inscription at Nahr el-Kalb can be seen as a direct interaction with these pre-existing texts, especially when we observe that NBK's inscription has been placed at the northern side of the mountain pass, facing the two older inscriptions on the opposite bank (2010a:172).

Apart from commissioning inscriptions at strategic locations, it has also been observed that the relief attested in Brisa A and Wadi es-Saba, which depicts NBK in combat with a lion, is very "Assyrian" (Frahm and Braun-Holzinger 1999:141). This iconography appears to be identical to an artistic motif attested in the Neo-Assyrian royal seal of the "first type" (Da Riva 2010a:179)[104].

In general, because NBK's military activities in the historical documents concentrated around the Levantine region, it should be possible to think of the creation of the NBK inscriptions in area as existing in a context that is not identical to the those in Babylonia.

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[103] For a commentary of the inscriptions at Nahr el-Kalb, see: Da Riva 2012:83–93. Despite its current fragmentary state, one important feature suggests that this inscription could be very similar to Brisa A+C. The inscription was carved separately into two texts, one using the Old Babylonian cuneiform script and the other the Neo-Babylonian. Unfortunately, the version in the Neo-Babylonian script has nearly disappeared. The editions of this inscription after its modern discovery have to rely on the photos and tracings produced by Julius Loytved in 1881, see: Weissbach 1906:35–37.

[104] For the discussion of the lion motifs in the Neo-Assyrian royal art, see: Watanabe 2002:42–56.

NBK was active in the military affairs before he ascended to the Babylonian throne. As recorded in Babylonian Chronicle 5, in the final year of his father's reign, NBK led a battle against the Egyptians in Carchemish (Glassner 2004:226–231). His conquest of Jerusalem took place within the first decade of his reign, in Year 7 (ibid).

It also makes sense for NBK to create an inscription that faces the Egyptian monument at Nahr el-Kalb since he also appears to be interested in expanding the Babylonian power into Egypt. However, the extent to which he was successful is debatable. Apart from his successful battle at Carchemish, it has been suggested that NBK attempted to make advances into Egypt proper later in his reign[105]. Successful or not, he at least was able to exert the Babylonian influence over the kingdoms in the Levant, some of which were Egypt's agents prior to NBK's arrival (Kahn 2018:72–78).

The dichotomy between the "imperial" and the "local" gods is more apparent when we observe that the prayers in two sample inscriptions dedicated to the temples in Babylon present the god of that temple as NBK's medium. In the Eḫursagsikilla-cylinder (C33), NBK pleaded to Ninkarrak to persuade Marduk for his approval. In the Nabû(?)-cylinder (C36), it is Muṣibbasâ, who acted as NBK's medium. The same idea applies to the temples in the cities outside Babylon. It is the local god that carries NBK's prayer to Marduk, namely Lugal-Marad in Marad (C32) and Zababa in Kiš (C38), as well as C210, another inscription from Marad in the extant corpus.

However, two exceptions to this principle can be observed. As shown in Table 57, an inscription in the sample group from Sippar, the Eulla-cylinder (C37) places Šamaš alongside Marduk as the god who grants NBK approval. The same scenario is also attested in the other Sippar inscriptions in the extant corpus, namely NBK II C23 and C31, both commemorating the Ebabbar temple in Sippar. In these inscriptions, NBK pleaded for approval directly to both Šamaš and Marduk without a medium because the Ebabbar is already the temple of Šamaš. In the two inscriptions from Larsa, namely B26 and C24, Marduk is completely replaced by Šamaš.

As indicated by Rocío Da Riva, NBK (as well as Nabopolassar and Nabonidus) paid a specific attention to Šamaš, the main deity of Sippar, who resides in the Ebabbar temple

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[105] The evidence for this claim is unreliable given that it came from a broken cuneiform document: BM 33041. Apart from containing a reference to NBK's 37th regnal year and the term Egypt, it is difficult to extract any data from this text. There has been an attempt to interpret the information concerning a battle against the advancing Babylonian soldiers, which is dated to 567-566 BCE in the inscription of Pharaoh Amasis II, as evidence of NBK's expedition. For the discussion of NBK's presence in the Eastern Mediterranean region, see: Ephʿal 2003.

(2010b:50–59). This adaptation of the compositional principle is understood to be a reflection of how Sippar, as a large urban centre located at the northern border, held a special political and religious position during the Neo-Babylonian period (ibid). The city was also home to a local palace whose earliest appearance in the cuneiform texts is dated to the 21st regnal year of NBK (MacGinnis 1994:212).

It should also be noted that, in the main section of the Eulla-cylinder (C37; iii.32-36), it is Marduk and Šamaš to whom NBK referred to as the source of inspiration, for the project that is the Eulla of Ninkarrak in Sippar. The appearance of Šamaš in the main section could have a connection with his exaltation to the same position as Marduk in the prayer section in the inscriptions originated from Sippar.

iii 31 *i-na pa-le-e-a ki-i-nim a-na* É *šu-a-ti*

iii 32 *re-mé-nu-ù* ᵈAMAR.UTU *ir-ta-ši sa-li-*⸢*mi*⸣

iii 33 *ù* ᵈUTU *da-a-a-nam ṣi-i-ri*

iii 34 *e-de-eš-sa it-ta-bi*

iii 35 *a-na ia-ti re-é-a-um pa-li-ḫi-šu-nu*

iii 36 *e-pé-e-šu iq-bí-ù*

"During my firm reign, the merciful Marduk had compassion towards that temple, (and) Šamaš, the exalted judge, called for its renovation. To me, the shepherd, the one who reveres them, they announced the work.[106]"

Two other inscriptions in the extant corpus from Sippar also contain a similar passage, namely NBK II C211 (ii.13-ii.17) and C31 (ii.7-ii.19). NBK II C211 is dedicated to the Eulla of Ninkarrak and C31 to the Ebabbar in Sippar. No inscription from Larsa contains a similar feature.

Another exception of a different form can be observed in the use of the Ziqqurrat as NBK's medium instead of the deity in the Ziqqurrat-cylinder (C41), which is dedicated to the Etemenanki Ziqqurrat. In the prayer of this inscription, NBK invoked the Etemenanki to plead for Marduk's approval on his behalf.

iv 30 *é-temen-an-ki a-na ia-ti*

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[106] The English translation of this inscription in the RIBo database is still in preparation. This passage is my translation based on a similar passage in RIBo Nebuchadnezzar II B26.

iv 31	ᵈ*na-bi-um-ku-du-úr-ri-ú-ṣu-úr*
iv 32	LUGAL *mu-ud-di-ši-ka ku-úr-ba*
iv 33	⌜*e*⌝-*nu-ma i-na qí-bí-a-*⌜*ti*⌝ ᵈAMAR.UTU
iv 34	*ú-ša-ak-li-lu*
iv 35	*ši-pí-ir-*⌜*ka*⌝
iv 36	[É] *a-na* ᵈAMAR.UTU *be-lí-ia*
iv 37	[*da*]-*mi-iq-tim ti-iz-ka-ar*

"O Etemenanki, pray for me, Nebuchadnezzar, the king who renovated you. When I completed your construction by the commands of the god Marduk, [O house], speak favourably about (me) to the god Marduk, my lord."

In the extant corpus, the Etemenanki Ziqqurrat also acts as NBK's medium in two other inscriptions, namely NBK II B21 and B22, both of which are brick inscriptions dedicated to this Ziqqurrat. It is likely that this particular choice of medium is specific to the Etemenanki because the same feature is not part of the prayer in NBK II C212, which commemorates the Eurmeiminanki Ziqqurrat at the Ezida temple of Nabû in Borsippa. In this inscription, Nabû takes the role of the medium, similar to the other local deities whose temple was built by NBK.

The choice of the divine figures invoked by NBK which changes according to the city of the commemorated building may be seen as a reminiscence of a similar feature which appears in the legitimacy narrative in some of Hammurabi's inscriptions. Particularly, in the inscriptions created for the temples in Sippar, Larsa, and Zabala, the divine figure who granted Hammurabi the rulership is the main god of those cities instead of Anu and Enlil who were the highest gods in the Babylonian pantheon at that time. Two inscriptions, namely E.4.3.6.2 (Sippar) and .14 (Larsa) elevated Šamaš to that role while E.4.3.6.16 (Zabala) gave that position to Ištar.

6.5   The multiple portrayals of NBK as evidence of the empire's political structure?

It is tempting to think that the dichotomy between the "singular" and "dual" portrayal of NBK, which is consistent to our classification of the inscriptions, according to their

location on the one hand, and to the building type on the other, is indicative of the political structure in the Neo-Babylonian empire.

Although this argument is based on a limited number of examples, the fact that NBK is consistently portrayed *only* as the viceroy of Marduk and Nabû in the palace and Ziqqurrat inscriptions, and Brisa A+C is striking. Among the temple inscriptions, the portrayal of NBK, both as the viceroy of Marduk and Nabû, and as a close associate of the local gods, can be best attested in the three longer inscriptions. These inscriptions are the Nabû(?)-cylinder (C36), Eulla-cylinder (C37), and Edubba-cylinder (C38). In these inscriptions, the portrayal of NBK in their epithet lists and prayers present the same picture. Particularly, the Eulla-cylinder (C37) also names Šamaš alongside Marduk in its main section as NBK's inspiration, in the construction of the Eulla temple in Sippar.

	Babylon						province			border
	palace			Ziq	temple					
	ST	C35	C34	C41	C36	C33	C32	C37	C38	Brisa
sin.	✓	✓	✓	✓						✓
dual					✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	

Table 58 The portrayals of NBK according to the epithets and prayer

In the shorter temple inscriptions, namely the Lugal-Marad-cylinder (C32) and Eḫursagsikilla-cylinder (C33), we only see NBK's dual portrayal in the prayer. However, as our discussion in Chapter 6.3.4 has shown, the choice of information may have been limited by the writing space. These two inscriptions are attested on smaller cylinders in comparison to the three longer temple inscriptions.

Except for the Nabû(?)-cylinder (C36) and Eḫursagsikilla (C33), the temple inscriptions were dedicated to temple projects in the major urban centres outside Babylon, namely Sippar, Marad, and Kish. In contrast, the palace inscriptions and Ziqqurrat-cylinder (C41) were made for projects in Babylon.

This dichotomy in the self-presentation of NBK, one between the palace and temple inscriptions, and another between the inscriptions in Babylon and the provinces, is significant, especially when we consider that power politics in Neo-Babylonian empire concentrated on similar divisions.

As noted by Michael Jursa, the political structure of the Neo-Babylonian Empire is a "tripartite" system, which consists of three fractions (2014b:126). In this framework, which appears to have been the norm throughout the first millennium, the monarchy is

in a constant power negotiation with two other fractions i.e., the Babylonian urban areas around two rivers, and the Chaldean and Aramean tribes, particularly those resident east of the Tigris (ibid:127).

Although the tribes are not well documented in the historical records, there is evidence of their active political roles in the documents they appear. As pointed out by Jursa, the tribes and their significant role in politics are illustrated in NBK's Prism (ibid:127–128). Although largely broken, this inscription commemorates what is likely to be the construction of the South Palace of Babylon. At the end of the text, there is a list of people who participated in the process. After the officers in the close circles around the king, there is a list of the tribal leaders, including Nergal-šarru-uṣur (Neriglissar), the governor of the Sealand at the time, who later became king of the empire. The other tribal leaders and officers who were in close contact with them include the governors the provinces east of the Tigris, and the heads of the tribes, such as the Dakkūru and the Amukkānu (Chaldean), and the Gambulu and Puqūdu (Aramean) (ibid).

In particular, the Chaldeans had assimilated into the Babylonian culture and actively participated in the Babylonian politics well before NBK's period. As pointed out by Grant Frame, before the reign of Sennacherib there had been more than one king of Babylon who were members of the Chaldean tribes, such as Mušēzib-Marduk of Bīt-Dakkūri, and Merodach-Baladan II of Bit-Yakin (2007:36–38). There is also evidence that members of the Aramean tribes of Gambūlu and Puqūdu, both of which were likely to have been the largest Aramean tribes, supported Šamaš-šuma-ukīn's rebellion against his brother, Ashurbanipal (ibid:44–45).

Moreover, we can also see that the interaction (or the lack thereof) between the members of each fraction of the Babylonian society was politically and socially significant. According to Ran Zadok, this is evidence that the Babylonians who lived in the urban centres mainly kept their familial and economic ties to themselves (2003:483–489). Notably, the scribal sector appears to have been dominated by the Babylonians (ibid:487–488).

The significance of this social interaction also can be seen through the fact that the tribes competed for power throughout the Neo-Babylonian period. For example, as noted earlier Neriglissar came from a tribal background. His father may have been the leader of the Aramean tribe of Puqūdu (Beaulieu 1989:68). During the reign of NBK, Neriglissar was an active and successful militant. He was one of the generals who participated in NBK's

campaign to Jerusalem (Jursa 2010:85). According to Berossus, Neriglissar also married one of NBK's daughters. During the reign of NBK's son, Amēl-Marduk, it was also Neriglissar who staged a coup and seized the throne[107].

It should also be noted that Neriglissar married one of his daughters into an important priest family in Borsippa. As pointed out by Caroline Waerzeggers, this union was clearly driven by political motivation because, as far as evident in the cuneiform documents, marrying a member of the royal family was not a common practice for the priestly family, who maintained close familial ties through inter-marriage (2010:72). As indicated by Jursa, this is a good piece of evidence of how a Babylonian political fraction sought to form an ally with one another (2014b:132). Neriglissar, an Aramean who became king from usurpation, now wanted to create ties with the urban elite, who was associated with the temple institution.

Apart from Neriglissar, another important political figure that may have a tribal background is Nabonidus, who was likely to have been a member of an Aramaic tribe. His mother, Adad-guppi, was of an Aramaic origin, and a number of royal inscriptions are attributed to her[108].

Apart from negotiating the balance of power with the tribes, the monarchy, which was centred in Babylon, also had to mediate benefits with the Babylonian cities, whose administrative power concentrated around the temple institutions (Jursa 2014b:130). In these cities, power balance was traditionally maintained between the chief-priest and the governor, both of whom came from local elite families. In the Neo-Babylonian empire, this power balance at the local scale was superimposed by another layer of power at the imperial scale, namely that of the monarchy who resided in Babylon (ibid). The central government kept the local powers in check by appointing royal officials (*qīpu* or *bēl piqitti*) to key positions within the administrative system in cities. These royal officials were directly associated with the monarchy, as they were extended members of the royal household, or people who had no ties with the place they were posted to (ibid).

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[107] For this episode in Berossus' Babyloniaca, see: Burstein 1978:28.

[108] The issue regarding the father of Nabonidus remains unresolve. The name of his father appears in his inscriptions but the way the title is presented causes ambiguity in interpreting the status of the person. See: Nabû-balāssu-iqbi 14, in Radner 2001:807.

According to Michael Jursa, this Nabû-balāssu-iqbi was a military officer who wrote to an Assyrian king regarding the unjustified loss of his property. The story is a reminiscence of a similar story regarding the maltreatment of the remains of Kudurru, a former governor of Uruk, who is identified as the father of Nabopolassar (2014b:132) .

As noted by Jursa, since the temples in the Babylonian cities were dominated by the local elites, the interaction between the monarchy and the temple institution represents the power negotiation between the palace and the local elites, rather than what has traditionally been viewed in Assyriology as the struggle between the "palace" and "priesthood" (2014b:131). The temple institution was the space where elites in the Babylonian cities exercised their influence (ibid).

On this note, we return to the portrayals of NBK in his inscriptions. With the politics divided between the palace and the temple institution on the one hand, and between Babylon and the provinces on the other, NBK's dual portrayal could be evidence of the power balance that he was trying to achieve[109]. As the monarch of the Neo-Babylonian empire, NBK is the viceroy of Marduk and Nabû. As the mediator between the power of the palace and the local elites who control the temple institution, he is also an associate of the local gods.

6.6 Summary

In this chapter, we analyse the appearance of the divine figures in the *anāku* section and the prayer in the light of their significance, concerning the "audience" of the NBK inscriptions. Using the categorisation of the inscriptions according to the building type introduced in Chapter 5, we can observe that NBK's characterisation operates on two axes. On one axis is the portrayal of NBK for two different "institutions" i.e., the palaces and the temples. On the other axis is the portrayal of NBK for two different "areas" i.e., the capital/Babylon and the provinces.

We can see that, in the three palace inscriptions, no other gods apart from Marduk and Nabû appear in the epithet lists. This selection of the gods is also attested in the Ziqqurrat-cylinder (C41). This contributes to the singular portrayal of NBK as the viceroy of Marduk and Nabû. In contrast, a few other gods also appear in the temple inscriptions,

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[109] It is also tempting to think that the absence of the reference to other gods apart from Marduk and Nabû in the epithet list of the Lugal-Marad-cylinder (C32) and Ehursagsikilla-cylinder (C33) had political implication. If we think that the selection of information in these inscriptions is limited by the fact that they were composed for smaller cylinder manuscripts, then the preference for the epithets that refer to Marduk and Nabû, over the epithets that refer to the local gods, may indicates NBK's priority. In other words, when exposed to the space limit, NBK would choose the "imperial" portrayal of himself over the "local" one. However, because of the paucity in the archaeological data, it is difficult to estimate the impact of the object in the creation of the text. For a further discussion on this issue, see: Excursus.

both in Babylon and the provincial centres. They are Šamaš, Zabala, Ištar, Adad, and Erra – all of which are the patron deities of the major cities in Babylonia. The presence of these gods appears to create a parallel persona for NBK, in which he is also a close associate of the local gods.

We also particularly look at the "irrigation" epithets in the three inscriptions, namely the Nabû(?)-cylinder (C36), Eulla-cylinder (C37), and Edubba-cylinder (C38). Because some of these epithets were also known as the epithets of Adad, there is a reason to think of them having been used to create another characterisation for NBK. Here, the characterisation is specifically modelled on the qualities of Adad as the irrigation controller.

In the case of Brisa A+C, the fact that its titulary list concentrates on Marduk and Nabû may have connection with them being set in an area where powerful states competed for control. Apart from being a source of the highly-sought-after cedar woods, the mountains of Lebanon also serve as the passages between the trans-Euphratic region and the Mediterranean coast. Therefore, it may not be unexpected for Brisa A+C to present the figure of NBK in the same way as the palace inscriptions.

The fact that the titularies in the Lugal-Marad-cylinder (C32) and Eḫursagsikilla-cylinder (C33) do not refer to other gods apart from Marduk and Nabû, even though the inscriptions are associated with the local temples could also be explained by the material aspect. The analysis from both textual and material perspectives suggests that the restrict choice of the divine figures is a result of the smaller manuscript intended for the inscriptions.

The four "audience groups" of NBK are also reflected through NBK's portrayal in the prayer. In the temple inscriptions, we can observe that NBK invokes the local gods, whose temple he built, so that they will communicate to Marduk on his behalf. In contrast, in the prayers of the palace inscriptions, he speaks to Marduk directly. In this section of Brisa A+C, NBK remains identical to how he is portrayed in the prayer of the palace inscriptions. However, in the inscriptions originating from Sippar and Larsa, we can observe that NBK's wishes are addressed to Šamaš, who is here elevated to the same rank as Marduk.

The singular portrayal of NBK as the representative of Marduk and Nabû on the one hand, and his additional characterisation as a close associate of many gods on the other, is indicative of two personas the NBK was trying to achieve. As the representative of

Marduk and Nabû in the palace inscriptions and Brisa A+C, NBK promotes the singular "imperial" ideology. As a close associate of many local gods in the temple inscriptions, he also promotes harmony among the powerful cities in the Babylonian heartland.

The characterisation of NBK is also consistent with how the Neo-Babylonian empire was made up in terms of political divisions. The monarchy in Babylon is one of the three political players. They negotiated for power with the elites in the cities of the alluvial plain, as well as the tribal communities in the region. As such, the characterisation of NBK as both the viceroy of Marduk and Nabû and a close associate of the local gods, could be indicative of his appeal to the local elites who dominated the temple institution in the major Babylonian cities.

Chapter 7   Relations with the predecessor monarchs

In this chapter, we will identify the similarities between the NBK inscriptions and Babylonian inscriptions of Ashurbanipal and Esarhaddon, and the extant inscriptions of Hammurabi. We argue that the inscriptions in the NBK corpus represent a hybrid between the inscriptional tradition of the Old Babylonian period, as represented by the inscriptions of Hammurabi and that of the more recent period, evident in the Babylonian inscriptions of Ashurbanipal and Esarhaddon. The link to Esarhaddon and Ashurbanipal has not been observed before.

Our examination of the structural formulation of the NBK inscriptions will demonstrate that, at the superstructural level, the texts are characterised by a highly standardised selection of the superstructural components. These components are very similar to the Babylonian inscriptions of Ashurbanipal and Esarhaddon. By contrast, the same cannot be said of the superstructure of the extant Hammurabi inscriptions, whose selection of components is noticeably variable.

Although the superstructural formulation of the NBK inscriptions may resemble the Babylonian inscriptions of Ashurbanipal and Esarhaddon more than that of the Hammurabi corpus, our investigation of the minor components and details in the NBK texts will demonstrate the opposite picture. As we shall see, the minor components of the NBK inscriptions incorporate details that are seemingly "revivals" of similar elements in the extant Hammurabi inscriptions.

These elements, which we will discuss in detail in the sections below, include the application of the "shepherd" and "lead rope" motifs in the legitimacy narrative and the incorporation of the ESDs as a minor component. We will observe that the legitimacy narrative in the style attested in Hammurabi's inscriptions was appropriated to accommodate Esarhaddon's and Ashurbanipal's political intervention in Babylonia. In contrast, the ESDs, which appear in the Hammurabi and NBK corpuses, are completely absent from the Babylonian inscriptions of the two Assyrian kings.

Moreover, we will also see that the choice of the construction projects in NBK's *inum* building list consists mainly of the projects whose history can be traced back to the time of Hammurabi or older kings. The consistent selection of buildings that are ancient is significant, especially when it has been observed that not all initiatives of NBK were included in the building lists. As our discussion in Chapter 2.5.3.1 has shown, there are construction projects attributed to NBK around the empire that do not appear in the

building list. As such, there is a reason to think about the underlying purposes in the incorporation of these construction reports in NBK's inscriptions.

7.1 The *nature* of links between NBK and previous king

In addressing the similarities between the inscriptions of NBK and some of his predecessors as rulers of Babylonia – in our case Ashurbanipal and Esarhaddon on the one hand, and Hammurabi on the other – a complex tradition in which NBK's inscriptions existed is revealed.

However, once the similarities have been identified, we need to determine where they originate from. In one scenario, it is possible that NBK was consciously imitating the inscriptions attributed to both groups of kings. This situation would constitute a "direct link" between him and his predecessors. However, this scenario is difficult to prove because we do not have many inscriptions from the rulers of Babylonia preceding or following Hammurabi and Ashurbanipal. These "gaps" in the record make it difficult to identify a continuity in inscriptional tradition.

Generally, there is evidence that producers of the inscriptions were aware of the sources that pre-dated their own period and the existence of which needed to at least be addressed. Attested as far back as the reign of Samsi-Addu (18th C BC), Ancient Mesopotamian rulers made claims that they had excavated inscriptions of a former ruler, studied the text, and performed the written wishes of former rulers (Charpin 2008:238). In the Neo-Babylonian dynasty, the figure who is most often associated with this activity is Nabonidus, who claimed to have identified the legacy of at least twelve ancient kings (Berger 1973:93).

In our case study, it is possible that Hammurabi and Ashurbanipal were maintaining a tradition of which we have no record, and that NBK was simply participating in that tradition. Equally, it is theoretically possible, although unlikely, that NBK was consciously and rigorously copying one of Ashurbanipal's successors who in turn was copying Ashurbanipal's inscriptions. Similar considerations apply to Hammurabi and kings from the older periods. Was NBK consciously imitating previous rulers or was he following an ancient tradition of which Hammurabi is a representative?

Setting aside the question of style and superstructure, we will see a possible or perhaps a direct link of an alternative type between NBK and the late third and early second

millennium kings (particularly Hammurabi and Narām-Sîn) in the form of projects which are mentioned in the *inum* building list.

As a celebrated ruler of Babylonia, it would make perfect sense for NBK to imitate Hammurabi directly, which is also a scenario that our conclusion regarding the temples in the building list is consistent with. However, in theory there could have been a tradition of mentioning a selection of temples in the inscriptions. Alternatively, there could have been intermediate kings who copied Hammurabi and whom NBK copied in turn. While these are unlikely scenarios, it is also impossible to disprove absolutely.

7.1.1 The historical context in the creation of NBK's royal inscription

In Assyriology, the Neo-Babylonian inscriptions are generally treated as a cousin of the Neo-Assyrian inscriptions, minus all the meticulous accounts of the king's military activities. For this reason, it is often seen as being closer to the "traditional" Babylonian inscriptions represented by the texts of the Old Babylonian kings. For example, in the view of Daniel Setness, the Neo-Babylonian inscriptions are a continuation of the tradition of the Middle and Old Babylonian inscriptions because they confines to the reports of building activities (1984:15).

In general, it could be difficult to identify a clear cut between what we think of in the inscriptions as the "Babylonian" and the "Assyrian" features, since we do not have many records from the Babylonian side. The lack of data may have been caused partly by the Assyrians' constant intervention into the Babylonian politics in the early half of the 1st millennium.

As indicated by Grant Frame, although Sennacherib had taken a full control of the Babylonian throne, there was no consistency in the way Babylonia should be ruled in later reigns (2007:214). Both Sennacherib and Esarhaddon were kings of Babylon, but very likely in absence since they were based in Assyria. Šamaš-šuma-ukīn ruled as the king of Babylon, but there is little evidence to prove whether he held military power (ibid:215). When Ashurbanipal put Kandalānu on throne, no evidence indicates that he had such power. Frame also noted that prior to the Sargonids only Nabonassar and his son, Nabû-nādin-zēri, who succeeded him in 743 BCE, were the only two Babylonians to rule after one another (ibid).

However, perhaps due the perception in the Assyriological community, that the transition of political power to Babylonia under the Neo-Babylonian empire, was a great moment of

historical and cultural shift, many scholars are attracted to the idea that the Neo-Babylonian kings participated in the cultural "revival" of Babylon, in one form of another.

Such a venture has often been associated with the empire's final monarch, namely Nabonidus, but the activities of other prominent kings, such as Nabopolassar and NBK, have also been interpreted in a similar direction.

A lot of scholarly works have illustrated that Nabonidus was particularly vocal about his interest in the Ancient Babylonian past and how successful he had been in his pursuit. As identified by Paul-Richard Berger, while renovating the temples in Babylonia, Nabonidus claimed to have discovered traces (e.g. foundational deposits and inscriptions) of at least twelve kings who ruled before him, including Sargon, Narām-Sîn, Ur-Nammu, Šulgi, Hammurabi, and Kurigalzu I (1973:93)[110].

Commenting on an inscription of Nabopolassar, which commemorates the construction of the Imgur-Enlil wall (now: Nabopolassar 03 (C32)), Beaulieu indicates that many allusions to the Old Akkadian kings can be observed (2003b:2–3). These allusions include statements that can be attested in Old Akkadian inscriptions of Rīmuš, Maništūšu, and Narām-Sîn. Moreover, Beaulieu noted that the ending of the inscription, which calls upon future ruler to give up violence and participate in the cult of the gods, is an allusion to the Cuthean Legend of Narām-Sîn (ibid:5). As argued by Beaulieu, these literary devices are significant, when we consider that they appear alongside Nabopolassar's portrayal as the "avenger of Akkad" (ibid:2). In the same inscription, Nabopolassar also claims to have found a statue of an ancient king, next to which he has placed his inscription. All this constitutes to an idea that Nabopolassar was justifying legitimacy by claiming association with antiquity.

Similarly, the NBK inscriptions have been noted to have drawn elements from the Codex Hammurabi, which by the Neo-Babylonian period had become a scholarly and school text (Gesche 2001:217–218). As observed by Rocío Da Riva, many passages from the Brisa Inscriptions and Prism are reproductions of the content in Prologue and Epilogue of the Codex Hammurabi (2012:24–26).

Interestingly, an ancient figure that appears in the NBK corpus is Narām-Sîn. The Old Akkadian monarch is the only king that is mentioned by name in the attested NBK corpus

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[110] For the detailed discussion of what Nabonidus claimed to have found during the course of his construction projects, see: Schaudig 2003. On his attempt to legitimise his ascend to the throne after staging a coup through associations with ancient figures, see: Frame 1993.

apart from his father, Nabopolassar (Berger 1973:92–93). The inscriptions are NBK II C210 and NBK II 086 (C32), both attributed to the Eigikalamma, the temple of Lugal-Marad in Marad. The main section of these inscriptions contains a report that NBK had explored the foundation of the temple, found the inscription of Narām-Sîn, and placed his own inscription by its side. To quote an excerpt from C210:

ii 3   *te-me-en-na ša na-ra-am-*dEN.ZU LUGAL E.KI

ii 4   *a-ba-am la-bí-ri a-mu-úr-ma*

ii 5   *ši-ṭè-er šu-mi-šu la ú-na-ak-ki-ir*

ii 6   *ši-ṭè-er šu-mi-ia it-ti ši-ṭè-er šu-mi-šu aš-ták-ka-an-ma*

"I saw the foundation of Narām-Sîn, King of Babylon, my forefather. I did not alter his inscription. I placed my own inscription next to his."

Although the inscription of Narām-Sîn has never been unearthed in Marad, there is a stone door socket of unknown provenance (YBC 02164; RIME 2.01.04.09, ex. 01) which bears his name and commemorates the construction of the Temple of Lugal-Marad under the commission of Lipit-ilī, his son and governor of Marad. Interestingly, NBK II C210 and NBK II 086 (C32) and Narām-Sîn's door socket also similarly refers to the Lugal-Marad's temple as "the Temple of Lugal-Marad", not by its proper name, the Eigikalamma.

Despite all these references to the kings from the ancient past made in the Neo-Babylonian inscriptions, our review of the secondary sources presents a different argument from another group of scholars, who noted that many aspects of the Neo-Babylonian society were a continuation of what had been in place since the times of the Neo-Assyrians[111]. In this light, the Neo-Babylonian empire is seen as a society which strove to maintain its tradition on the one hand, while living under the legacy of the Assyrians on the other.

As identified by Michael Jursa, many court officials in the Neo-Babylonian period retained the titles that were of an Assyrian origin, such as the *mašennu, rab nuḫatimmī, rab kāṣirī, rab nikkassī* and *rab šāqê* (2010:97–99). Amongst the seventeen court officials that were mentioned in NBK's Prism, fourteen of them bore Assyrian titles (ibid.). Outside of the

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[111] For an overview, see Da Riva 2014. The scattered legacies of the Assyrians in the Neo-Babylonian period can be observed in some aspects of royal ideology, administrative system, language and writing, and religion.

inscriptional corpus, another title of the court official which was Assyrian in origin appeared in the Nabopolassar Epic, namely the *ša ḫuṭāri* (Albert Kirk Grayson 1975:84–85).

Moreover, it is also likely that the Neo-Babylonian empire maintained a strong administration in the regions west of the Euphrates, close to how they were formerly controlled by the Assyrians. As indicated by Jursa and Wagensonner, the major temples in the Babylonian heartland, such as the Ebabbar in Sippar and the Esagil in Babylon held estates in the Habur region, whose upkeep was attentively monitored by the temple officials[112]. The permanent presence of these institutions points to an active role of the central government in maintaining its peripheral territories as opposed what was thought to be occasional raids in demand of tribute.

In terms of the scribal practices, it is also likely that the Neo-Assyrian script was still in use for some time in the administration alongside the local Neo-Babylonian script in Babylon. In the study of a small cuneiform archive excavated by Robert Koldewey at the South Palace, Olof Pedersén has identified a number of cuneiform documents that were written in the Neo-Assyrian script dated to the first decade of NBK's reign (2009:194).

In the religious sphere, the cult of Aššur was practiced in the city of Uruk, which in the seventh and sixth century seemed to have maintained a strong connection with the Assyrian authority (Beaulieu 1997:61–63). There is also evidence that the worship of the Assyrian god and the scholarly tradition that was attached to the cult survived well into the Seleucid period (ibid:65–71).

In the light of the socio-political context in which the traces of the Assyrian legacy were still apparent, NBK's incorporation of the literary elements of the Ancient Babylonian inscriptions into his own texts may reflect part of his attempt to reconnect the Babylonian world to its own past.

Taken more generally, the similarities between the inscriptions that we will observe may indicate the different degrees of effort on Ashurbanipal and Esarhaddon's part on the one hand, and NBK on the other, in their attempt to assimilate to Babylonian inscriptional tradition.

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[112] The evidence of these activities appears in the form of the correspondences between the officials at the temples and their representatives who were in charge of tending the estates. The extant documents came from the reign of Nabonidus, suggesting that such a of form of administration may have been a gradual process, see further: Jursa and Wagensonner 2014.

7.2 Superstructure: the standardisation of the superstructural components

Our close examination of the superstructure of the NBK inscriptions reveals that a specific selection of the components is consistently maintained among the inscriptions that follow the same principle. The longer inscriptions in the corpus which follows the *inum-inūmīšu* principle, such as the ten texts chosen as the research sample, all include the *anāku*, *inu/inūma*, *inūšu/inūmīšu*, and the prayer sections. Similarly, we have observed that the remaining multi-sectional texts in the extant corpus retain at least three items: the epithet list in the *anāku* section, building report, and the prayer.

This rather strict adherence to the selection of components is an interesting feature of the NBK corpus in comparison to Hammurabi's, whose selection of components appears variable despite being identified as the literary source for the composers of the Neo-Babylonian inscriptions[113].

As discussed in Chapter 1.2, all the extant twenty-nine inscriptions of NBK contain at least three components created following the *inum-inūmīšu*, the *inu*-compact, the *aššum*, the report-only or the *ana* DN principle. These components are the *anāku* section, the construction report of the commemorated building, and the prayer section, all of which also consistently retain their position within the sequence regardless of the total number of superstructural components in each text.

Apart from the choice of the components, we can observe that the allocation of space given to each of them is generally consistent among the inscriptions of the similar length, especially in the case of the prayer section. In the inscriptions that are between one- to five-hundred words long, the prayer section tends to occupy about 25 per cent of the total word count. For example: the ratio of total word count to the prayer section in NBK II 030 (C39) is 122 to 32. In NBK II C31, it is 241 to 79; in NBK II 034 (C214), 126 to 40; and in NBK II 018 (C29), 223 to 57.

In the inscriptions that are longer than 500 words, the length of the prayer section is kept at a very similar word count to those below 500 words, while the word count of the *inum* and *anāku* sections increases in parallel to the total word count. In the South-Palace-cylinder (C34), the ratio between the total word count, the main section, and the prayer

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[113] For scholarly comments on this issue, see for example: Da Riva 2012:24–26.

is 635:504:36. In the Eulla-cylinder (C37), it is 759:520:31; and in the Nabû(?)-cylinder (C36), 1140+:109+:70+.

Whilst the consistent inclusion of the same selection of superstructural components is the defining feature of the NBK corpus, the same cannot be said of the extant Hammurabi texts. Our close examination of his eleven inscriptions indicates that the selection of components among his inscriptions is variable.

As illustrated in Table 59, while the four compositional principles (*anāku*, *inum*, *inūmīšu*, and prayer) attested in the NBK corpus can also be attested in the inscriptions of Hammurabi, not all inscriptions of the same principle include the same selection of components.

In some cases, it is difficult to identify sections of Hammurabi's Sumerian inscriptions from the formal point of view because of how they were grammatically formulated. Some of these inscriptions appear as one sentence long that contains "rhetorically" different clauses. Nevertheless, we can still observe that they tell the same story as those whose sections can be identified. For the Sumerian inscriptions, whose sections cannot be formally divided, we will indicate their rhetorically different components with the inverted commas.

For example, the five *ana* DN inscriptions: E4.3.6.3, .11, .14, .16, and .17, were not built on the same set of components. Only E.4.3.6.11 includes the prayer section while E4.3.6.3 is the only text that introduces the building report with the *inūšu* clause.

Insc.	language	medium	principle	component	word
E4.3.6.1	Sum.	Brick	*inu-compact*	(1) "*anāku*" (2) "*inūšu*" (3) "prayer"	
E4.3.6.2	Sum. and Akk.	Clay cone	*inu-inūšu*	(1) *inu* (2) *inūšu* (+*anāku*) (3) prayer	(1) 43/53 (2) 77/103 (3) 21/31
E4.3.6.7	Akk.	Limestone tablet	*inu-inūšu*	(1) *anāku* (2) *inu* (3) *inūšu* (+ESD)	(1) 16 (2) 68 (3) 46
E4.3.6.8	Sum.	Brick	report-only	(1) "*anāku*" (2) "building report"	

E4.3.6.9	Sum.	Brick	report-only	(1) "*anāku*" (2) "building report"	
E.4.3.6.10	Sum.	Clay tablet (NB copy)	report-only	(1) "*anāku*" (2) "building report"	
E4.3.6.3	Akk.	Clay tablet (NB copy)	*ana* DN	(1) *ana* DN (2) *anāku* (3) *inu* (4) *inūšu*	(1) 11 (2) 20 (3) 12 (4) 9
E.4.3.6.11	Sum.	Clay tablet (NB copy)	*ana* DN	(1) "*ana* DN" (2) "*anāku*" (3) "*inu*" (4) "prayer"	
E.4.3.6.12	Sum. and Akk.	Clay cone	*three *anāku*s	(1) *anāku* (2) report (3) *anāku* (4) report (5) *anāku* (6) report	(1) 16/20 (2) 15/23 (3) 9/13 (4) 6/9 (5) 6/6 (6) 9/15
E.4.3.6.14	Sum. and Akk.	Limestone tablet	*ana* DN	(1) "*ana* DN" (2) "*inu*" (3) "building report"	
E.4.3.6.16	Sum.	Limestone tablet	*ana* DN	(1) "*ana* DN" (2) "*anāku*" (3) "*inu*" (4) "building report"	
E.4.3.6.17	Akk.	Limestone tablet	*ana* DN	(1) ana DN (2) *anāku* (3) *inu* (4) building report	(1) 13 (2) 20 (3) 12 (4) 12

Table 59 The superstructural components of the extant Hammurabi inscriptions

While the apparent inconsistency on Hammurabi's part may have been a result of the smaller selection of the surviving texts, it should be noted that in NBK's case *all* multi-sectional inscriptions share an identical set of basic components arranged in the same sequence, regardless of the compositional principles.

The prayer section, which is attested in all multi-sectional NBK texts, is not part of many of Hammurabi's. Only three out of the extant eleven inscriptions include a form of prayer namely, E4.3.6.1, E4.3.6.2, and E.4.3.6.11 – the third is only known from a copy made in the reign of Samsu-iluna[114].

Some superstructural components in Hammurabi's texts also take up a position in the sequence that is not an observed convention in the NBK corpus. For example, Hammurabi's E4.3.6.2 places its *anāku* section after the *inūšu* clause instead of at the beginning of the text, whereas in NBK's it is always in the first position or preceded only by the *ana* DN clause. E.4.3.6.12 inserts two extra *anāku* sections between the construction report, replacing the *inu* and *inūšu* clauses.

In contrast, we can observe that among the extant inscriptions of Esarhaddon and Ashurbanipal, which were created for the Babylonian cities, there is very little variation in how the texts were assembled. The inscriptions that follow the same compositional principle consist of the same selection of components.

insc.	prov.	medium	principle	components	word
ASBPL BBL 01	Babylon	Cylinder	*ana* DN	(1) *ana* DN (2) *anāku* (3) "during my reign" (4) *inūmīšu* (5) prayer	(1) 20 (2) 68 (3) 51 (4) 37 (5) 56
ASBPL BBL 03	Babylon	Cylinder	*inu-inūšu*	(1) *anāku* (2) "providing for Esagil" (3) *inūmīšu* (4) prayer	(1) 59 (2) 31 (3) 8 (4) 65
ASBPL BBL 04	Babylon	Cylinder	*inu-inūšu*	Same as BBL 03	(1) 59 (2) 31 (3) 10 (4) 64
ASBPL BBL 05	Babylon	Cylinder	*inu-inūšu*	Same as BBL 03	(1) 49 (2) 55 (3) 15

[114] For the commentary of this inscription, see: Frayne 1990:345.

					(4) 82
ASBPL BBL 06	Babylon	Stele	*inu-inūšu*	Same as BBL 03	(1) 125 (2) 87 (3) 10 (4) 113
ASBPL BBL 13	Babylon	Stele	*inu-inūšu*	Same as BBL 03	(1) 116 (2) 46 (3) 15 (4) 111
ASBPL BBL 14	Sippar	Cylinder	*inu-inūšu*	(1) *anāku* (2) "during my reign" (3) *inūmīšu* (4) prayer	(1) 82 (2) 67 (3) 27 (4) 107
ASBPL BBL 15	Uruk	Cylinder	*ana* DN	(1) *ana* DN (2) *anāku* (3) "during my reign" (4) *inūmīšu* (5) prayer	(1) 49 (2) 123 (3) 62 (4) 21 (5) 101
ASBPL BBL 16	Nippur	Cylinder	*ana* DN	(1) *ana* DN (2) *anāku* (3) "in order to" (4) prayer	(1) 40+ (2) 60+ (3) 63 (4) 45

Table 60 The superstructural components of Ashurbanipal's Babylonian inscriptions

The nine inscriptions of Ashurbanipal present a uniform composition, characterised by the near-identical selection of the superstructural components. The inscriptions either follow the *ana* DN or *inu-inūšu* principles, which are very similar in terms of the division of the content and narrative sequence. The only major difference between them is the *ana* DN principle introducing the '*ana* DN' clause at the beginning of the text.

Eight out of nine inscriptions are founded on four sections, very similar to the blueprint of the ten NBK inscriptions in the sample group. Both kings arrange the content in the same way with the *ana* DN clause or the *anāku* section at the beginning and the prayer section at the end. Although the Ashurbanipal corpus does not include the *inu* clause in the section that succeeds the *anāku*, the depiction of legitimacy remains the thematic focus of the section, albeit with some Assyrian "appropriation". In three inscriptions, BBL

01, 14, and 15, the legitimacy narrative begins with the clause *ina palêya* (Akk: "during my reign") followed by the description of how Ashurbanipal became the legitimate ruler of Babylonia. In shorter five inscriptions, BBL 03, 04, 05, 06, and 13 the legitimacy narrative appears in a form more concise as a statement that depicts Ashurbanipal making offers to Esagil and Ezida.

This legitimacy section, which is introduced by the *inu/inūma* clause in the NBK corpus, appears to be the site of competing propaganda where the story of the Babylonian king being bestowed with the divine right to rule is replaced by that of the Assyrian king trying to justify his attempt to exercise power over the neighbouring state. The attempt to appropriate the legitimacy story appears more evident when it is observed that the other parts of the inscription remain thematically the same in NBK's, Ashurbanipal's, and Esarhaddon's texts (see: Chapter 7.3).

Apart from the selection of components and their arrangement in the texts, another similarity between the Ashurbanipal and NBK corpus is the ratio of the total word count to the prayer section. In the nine inscriptions of Ashurbanipal, the prayer section takes up the majority of the text. Among his cylinder inscriptions from Babylon, each amounting to around 200 to 300 words, the prayer section occupies around one third or one fourth of the total wordcount, ranging between around sixty to eighty words. Similarly, the multi-sectional inscriptions of NBK that are below 500 words long keep their prayer section at around 25 per cent of the total word count while those longer than 500 words maintain their prayer section at around forty to seventy words.

That being said, the only difference between the Ashurbanipal Babylonian corpus and NBK appears to be the length of the prayer section, which is longer overall in Ashurbanipal's inscriptions.

The consistently long prayer section also appears to be the defining feature of Esarhaddon's Babylonian inscriptions, all of which have an even higher degree of compositional regularity than the texts of Ashurbanipal and NBK. As demonstrated in Table 61, Esarhaddon's ten extant inscriptions that commemorate the building projects in Babylonia are very homogenous in terms of their superstructural components. Although two compositional principles were used, both were built on a very similar selection of components arranged in the same sequence. In the style observable in the Ashurbanipal and NBK corpus, all ten inscriptions of Esarhaddon include the *anāku* section, which is consistently placed early in the text, either at the beginning or after the

ana DN clause. The prayer section is also part of Esarhaddon's Babylonian inscriptions except in ESR 114, which is attested on a rather obscure object, the cuboid.

insc.	prov.	medium	principle	components	word
ESR 105	Babylon	prism	*inu-inūšu*	(1) *anāku*[115]	(1) 45
				(2) *inūšu*	(2) 160
				(3) "at the beginning of my kingship"	(3) 275
				(4) *inūmīšu*	(4) 268
				(5) prayer	(5) 253
ESR 106	Babylon	prism + tablet	*inu-inūšu*[116]	(1) *anāku**	(1) 19
				(2) "before my time"	(2) 45
				(3) "at the beginning of my kingship"	(3) 31
				(4) building report	(4) 165
				(5) prayer	(5) 189
ESR 113	Babylon	cylinder	*inu-inūšu*	(1) *anāku**	(1) 75
				(2) "before my time"	(2) 53
				(3) "at the beginning of my kingship"	(3) 44
				(4) *inūmīšu*	(4) 80
				(5) prayer	(5) 96
ESR 114	Babylon	cuboid	*inu-inūšu*	(1) *anāku**	(1) 18
				(2) "before my time"	(2) 133
				(3) "at the beginning of my kingship"	(3) 48
				(4) building report	(4) 95
ESR 128	Nippur	Cylinder	*ana* DN	(1) *ana* DN	(1) 34
				(2) *anāku*	(2) 180
				(3) *inūšu*+building report	(3) 33
				(4) prayer	(4) 82

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[115] The *anāku* section in this inscription consists of the royal name and epithets but not the word *anāku* itself. The same scenario is attested also in ESR 106, 113, 114.

[116] The content of this inscription is thematically divided similarly to the other *inū-inūšu* inscriptions but it does not use the *inū-* and *inūšu*-clauses.

ESR 129	Nippur	Cylinder	*ana* DN	(1) *ana* DN (2) *anāku* (3) *inūšu*+building report (4) prayer	(1) 18+ (2) 182 (3) 32 (4) 75
ESR 133	Uruk	Cylinder	*ana* DN	(1) *ana* DN (2) *anāku* (3) *inūma*+building report (4) prayer	(1) 49 (2) 194 (3) 33 (4) 73
ESR 134	Uruk	Cylinder	*ana* DN	(1) *ana* DN (2) *anāku* (3) building report (4) prayer	(1) 50 (2) 60 (3) 41 (4) 102
ESR 135	Uruk	Cylinder	*ana* DN	(1) *ana* DN (2) *anāku* (3) building report (4) prayer	(1) 45 (2) 60 (3) 40 (4) 105
ESR 136	Uruk	Cylinder	*ana* DN	(1) *ana* DN (2) *anāku* (3) building report (4) prayer	(1) 7 (2) 62 (3) 36 (4) 38

Table 61 The superstructural components of Esarhaddon's Babylonian inscriptions

In a similar style to Ashurbanipal's, and NBK's inscriptions, the prayer section in the Esarhaddon Babylonian inscriptions is long and takes up proportionately the same amount of space across the corpus (one third/fourth of the wordcount). Also similar to the case of Ashurbanipal's inscriptions, some inscriptions of the *inum-inūmīšu* principle in Esarhaddon's corpus introduce the legitimacy narrative with "*ullânūʾa*" (Akk: before me) instead of *inum*. In four inscriptions: ESR 105, 106, 113, and 114, another section is inserted between the *inum* and the building report. This section begins with the clause "*ina rēš šarrūtiya*" (Akk: at the beginning of my kingship) and mainly illustrates Esarhaddon's inspiration to initiate the project commemorated by the inscription.

In general, the consistent selection of the same set of superstructural components also appears to be a common practice in the extant corpus of the other Neo-Assyrian kings, although the combination of components is variable.

The content in the inscriptions of Sargon II from Dur-Šarrukīn consists of six components: the introduction, war report, building report, the building in Dur-Šarru-ukīn, the prayer, and the conclusion (Fuchs 1993:373). Moreover, the long inscriptions of Sennacherib, such as those found on prisms, cylinders, tablets, colossal statues, and a rock façade are based on the same four components: the titulary, Sennacherib's military reports, the building account, and the closing dedicatory paragraph (Frahm 1997:248).

The inscription on the front surface of the wall panels at Ashurnasirpal II's Northwest Palace of Kalhu consists of the same three components, i.e. the titulary, the report of the military conquests, and the construction account of Kalhu and the palace itself (Russell 1999:24–28). Apart from this visible text, the content of other inscriptions from the same palace that are not "in the public view" is also divided according to the same concept. The Slab Back Text and the Palace Wall foundation Text are divided into the same three parts: the titulary, the king's conquests (geographically arranged), and the account of the establishment of Kalhu as the imperial capital (Russell 1999:23).

7.3 Minor component and details: the legitimacy narrative in the historical context

Throughout our examination of the inscriptions of NBK, Hammurabi, Esarhaddon, and Ashurbanipal, the one superstructural component that appears consistently and almost at the same position in the content in all four corpuses is the *inum* section.

Although the function of the *inum* section as the textual illustration of the king's divine-sanctioned legitimacy remained the same across the inscriptions of NBK, Hammurabi, Esarhaddon, and Ashurbanipal, our analysis will demonstrate that the details in this section had been appropriated to accommodate each monarch's claim of legitimacy.

Despite the observed similarity between the Babylonian inscriptions of Ashurbanipal and Esarhaddon and the inscriptions of NBK, in terms of the regularity of the choice of superstructural components, the details in the legitimacy narrative in NBK are more similar to those in Hammurabi's inscriptions.

The legitimacy narrative and the *inum* section appear in the position between the *anāku* and the main section. In the NBK corpus, this pattern applies to all the extant multi-sectional inscriptions that follow the *inum-inūmīšu* and *ana* DN principle; namely all ten inscriptions in the sample group and six shorter inscriptions from the wider corpus.

Similarly, in the Ashurbanipal and Esarhaddon Babylonian corpus, the position of the legitimacy narrative is identical to its appearance in the NBK texts, although not all texts use the *inum*-clause to introduce the section. By contrast, the selection of components in the Hammurabi corpus is more variable. Although sections known in the texts from later periods, such as the *anāku*, *inum*, and *inūmīšu* sections are also part of Hammurabi's texts, they were not consistently combined to form the same sequence as demonstrated in the texts of Esarhaddon, Ashurbanipal, and NBK.

However, despite being superstructurally different, the Hammurabi and NBK inscriptions employ an almost identical set of motifs in their legitimacy narrative, with only small details adjusted to suit the ideology of NBK's reign.

In the inscriptions of Hammurabi, the gods who granted legitimacy to the king – as presented in the *inum* section – are Anu and Enlil. In contrast, this role was given to Marduk during the reign of NBK. For example, in the inscription E4.3.6.7 which commemorates the construction of the fortress, Dūr-Sîn-muballiṭ-abim-wālidīya, Anu and Enlil are depicted as giving Hammurabi the "nose-rope" of leadership over Sumer and Akkad.

i 10	*ì-nu* AN *ù* ᵈ*en-líl*
i 11	KALAM *šu-me-rí-im*
i 12	*ù ak-ka-di-im*
i 13	*a-na be-li-im id-di-nu-nim*
i 14	*ṣe-er-ra-sí-na*
i 15	*a-na qá-ti-ia*
i 16	*u-ma-al-lu-ú*

"when the gods Anum and Enlil gave to me the land of Sumer and Akkad to rule, (and) entrusted their nose-rope into my hands…"

In the same section in NBK's inscriptions, the divine figure who granted approval of leadership is Marduk. For example, in NBK II 030 (C39) the same motif that appears in E4.3.6.7 was also used to illustrate NBK's legitimacy to rule:

ii 17   *ì-nu* ᵈAMAR.UTU

ii 18   *be-lí ra-bí-ù*

ii 19   *re-e-ši-ia*

ii 20   *ú-ul-lu-ù*

ii 21   ᵈ*na-bi-um*

ii 22   *pa-qí-id*

ii 23   *ki-iš-ša-at*

ii 24   *ša-me₈-e*

ii 25   *ù er-ṣé-tim*

ii 26   *ṣe-er-re-et*

ii 27   *ni-šì ra-bí-a-tim*

ii 28   *ú-ma-al-lu-ù*

ii 29   *qá-tu-ú-a*

"When the god Marduk, the great lord, raised up my head (and) the god Nabû, overseer of the totality of heaven and earth, placed in my hands the lead-rope of a great (number of) people."

Within the extant NBK corpus, the nose rope (*ṣerretu*) motif also features in the *inum* and *anāku* sections in NBK II 001, 027, C041, and the Edubba-cylinder (C38). Among the eight (out of twelve) extant inscriptions of Hammurabi which include the legitimacy narrative, five inscriptions incorporate the nose rope motif in their legitimacy narrative. Apart from E4.3.6.7 quoted above, the four other inscriptions are E4.3.6.3, .14, .16, and .17.

Another popular motif in the legitimacy narrative in the NBK corpus is the portrayal of the king as a shepherd. In the legitimacy narrative of the NBK corpus, the motif appears in the form of Marduk granting NBK the shepherdship (*rē'ûtu*) over the people, as seen in the South-Palace-cylinder (C34):

i 8   *ì-nu-um* ^dAMAR.UTU EN *ra-bí-ù a-na be-lu-ut* MA.DA

i 9   *iš-ša-an-ni-ma*

i 10   *ni-šim ra-ap-ša-a-ti a-na re-é-ú-ti i-dì-nam*

"When the god Marduk, the great lord, raised me up to rule over the land and gave me a widespread people to shepherd…"

In the sample group, this motif is also part of the legitimacy narrative in the Ziqqurrat-cylinder (C41), Lugal-Marad-cylinder (C36), and Edubba-cylinder (C38). In the extant NBK corpus, it appears in NBK II B26, C210, and C24.

Although the legitimacy narratives in the twelve extant Hammurabi inscriptions do not include the shepherdship motif, it is still used as part of the royal epithets. References to Hammurabi as a shepherd can be found in E4.3.6.3, .7, .14, .16, and 17. For example, in E4.3.6.3, Hammurabi is gloried as: i.8 *re-'-ú na-ram* ^dNIN.LIL (Akk: the shepherd, beloved of Ninlil) and in E4.3.6.3.16 as: i.9–10 sipa šà du₁₀-du₁₀-^dAMAR.UTU-ke₄ (Sum: the shepherd who pleases the god Marduk).

Apart from using the same literary elements, it is likely that the composers of the Hammurabi and NBK inscriptions were following a similar compositional concept which prioritises the appeal to the local audience. We can observe that in three inscriptions of Hammurabi, the deities who granted him kingship are those associated with the city of the commemorated project, instead of the highest gods in the Old Babylonian pantheon, Anu and Enlil.

This compositional concept applies to Hammurabi's inscriptions that were made for the projects in Sippar, Larsa, and Zabala where the king received divine approval from Šamaš (for Sippar and Larsa) and Inanna (for Zabala). These inscriptions are E4.3.6.2, .14, and .16. Also, E4.3.6.12 (defensive wall of Sippar), which does not include the legitimacy narrative, puts Šamaš before Marduk in all references to both gods throughout the text. In the case of the legitimacy narrative in the extant NBK texts, no other deities apart from Marduk and Nabû assume this role. However, the replacement of the high gods by the local deities in the Hammurabi texts can still be attested in the prayer section of NBK inscriptions from Sippar and Larsa. In these inscriptions, Šamaš replaced Marduk as the deity that NBK invokes in the prayer (see: Chapter 6.4).

In a completely different scenario, the legitimacy narrative in the Babylonian inscriptions of Ashurbanipal and Esarhaddon draws more attention to justifying their intervention in

Babylonian politics, which was part of the broader process of incorporating the region into the Neo-Assyrian Empire. Instead of using the same motifs as those attested in the Hammurabi and NBK texts, the Babylonian inscriptions of the two Assyrian kings convey a new story for this purpose.

For example, in Esarhaddon's cylinder inscription 113, which commemorates the Eniggidrukalamasuma temple in Babylon, the space between the *anāku* and the main section is occupied by a twelve-line anecdote recalling how Esarhaddon waited until the moment was right to rebuild Babylon after Sennacherib destroyed the city. This story is told by citing Marduk's unfounded violence to avoid direct reference to Sennacherib's action.

8b   *ul-la-nu-ú-a* EN GAL-*ú* ᵈAMAR.UTU

9   *it-ti é-sag-gíl ù* KÁ.DINGIR.RA.KI *e-zi-iz* ŠÀ-*šú ze-nu-tu ir-ši*

"Before my time, the great lord, the god Marduk, became furious with Esagil and Babylon, (and) his heart was full of rage."

13   UGU URU A.MEŠ *uš-bi-iʾ-ma ú-še-me ki-šub-bi-iš*

"He made waters sweep destructively across the city and he turned (it) into fallow land."

15b   *i-na re-eš* LUGAL-*ú-ti-ia ina maḫ-ri* BALA-*ia*

16   *ša i-na* GIŠ.GU.ZA LUGAL-*ú-ti ra-biš ú-ši-bu re-me-nu-ú* ᵈAMAR.UTU

17   ŠÀ-*šú i-nu-uḫ-ma it-ti* URU *šá iz-nu-ú sa-li-mu ir-ši*

"At the beginning of my kingship, in my first year, when I sat in greatness on (my) royal throne, the merciful god Marduk's heart was appeased and he became reconciled with the city that had angered (him)."

This story was created in the context that the person who destroyed the embankment and caused the flood to destroy the city was his father, Sennacherib[117]. As indicated by Barbara Nevling Porter, the fact that Esarhaddon avoided mentioning his father's destruction of Babylon is evidence that his pacificist policy, during the expansion of the

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[117] The motif of Babylon destroyed in an organised flooding seems to have become a form of cultural legacy as a few generations later a stela of Nabonidus recorded his destruction of Nineveh (again after Nabopolassar's campaign some seventy years earlier) using similar imagery. The destruction of Nineveh by flood would also live on as a motif in the classical sources. For more about the destruction of Babylon and Nineveh as cultural memory, see: Van De Mieroop 2004.

Assyrian influence over Babylon, suffered from the damaging legacy of his father (1993:95–97).

Based on the extant corpus, the story of the destruction of Babylon is only attested in the inscriptions created for projects in that city, namely Esarhaddon 106, 133, and 114 while a shorter variant appears in Esarhaddon 105. In his six other inscriptions from Babylonia, two from Nippur and four from Uruk, the legitimacy narrative is not part of the text.

In the case of Ashurbanipal, eight out of nine extant inscriptions justify his supremacy over Babylonia by declaring that his brother, Šamaš-šuma-ukīn, acceded to the Babylonian throne under his appointment along with the special privilege granted for the citizens of Babylon. The story is told in two variants, both mentioning the name of Šamaš-šuma-ukīn and this privilege.

In the version attested in the Ashurbanipal Babylonian inscription 01, 14, and 15 the legitimacy narrative begins with the passage that reports the return of Marduk to the city:

10   *ina* BALA-*e-a* EN GAL ᵈAMAR.UTU *ina ri-šá-a-ti a-na* TIN.TIR.KI *i-ru-um-ma*

11   *ina é-sag-íl šá da-ra-a-ti šu-bat-su ir-me*

"During my reign, the great lord, the god Marduk, entered Babylon amidst rejoicing and took up his residence in the eternal Esagil."

In another version, the narrative begins with an account of Ashurbanipal continuing the construction of the Esagil, which was initiated by Esarhaddon but left unfinished at his death. This version is attested in the Ashurbanipal Babylonian inscriptions 03, 04, 05, 06, and 13.

8   *ši-pir é-sag-íl šá* AD *ba-nu-u-a la ú-qa-at-tu-u*

9   *a-na-ku ú-šak-lil*

"I completed the work on Esagil which (my) father who had engendered me had not finished."

The Ashurbanipal Babylonian inscription 16 is the only inscription out of the nine that does not include the legitimacy narrative.

7.4 Minor component and details: the ESD in the older Babylonian inscriptions

As discussed in Chapter 2.5.2, the epithet sub-section divider (ESD) is a short cluster of the royal name combined with one or a few epithets, all of which end with the Akkadian first-person singular nominative pronoun *anāku*. It is a minor component that appears in the longest inscriptions in the sample group, such as the Stone Tablet, Brisa A+C, Edubba-cylinder (C38), and Nabû(?)-cylinder (C36). Apart from the exceptional case in Brisa A+C where seven ESDs split the building list into eight episodes (see: Chapter 5.4), the ESDs function as a section divider between the building list and the conclusion of the *inūma* section.

The ESDs appear to be a compositional device that is closely associated with the Babylonian inscriptions, as our investigation below will demonstrate. For this reason, their absence from the Babylonian inscriptions of Ashurbanipal and Esarhaddon and their later reappearance in the NBK (and Nabopolassar) corpus may indicate that the attempt to resurrect the "traditional Babylonian" inscriptional components took place at this level of detail.

Albeit limited in attestations, the ESD can be observed in the Nabopolassar inscriptions. For example, NBP 03 (C32) – a cylinder inscription which commemorates the construction project at the Imgur-Enlil Wall in Babylon, uses ESDs in its *inūšu* section. The first ESD, attested in ii.6-7, has the function that is not attested in the extant NBK texts. It is used to introduce the entire section and immediately succeeds the term *inūšu* at the beginning. This ESD presents NBP as the favourite of Nabû and Marduk:

ii 6   *ì-nu-šu* ᵈAG-IBILA-ÙRU LUGAL *ba-bi-lu*.KI

ii 7   *mu*-ṭib ŠÀ ᵈAG *ù* ᵈAMAR.UTU *a-na-ku*

"At that time, Nabopolassar, king of Babylon, the one who pleases the heart(s) of the gods Nabû and Marduk, I am."

Another ESD in NBP 03 (C32) is attested in iii.1-10. While it has an identical function to many of the ESDs in the NBK texts, to separate the construction report from the concluding section within the *inūmīšu*, the length of this particular ESD is exceptional. Interestingly, this ESD looks like it could be the second *anāku* section in this inscription because of its long sequence of multiple epithets that span the length of ten lines. This

ESD is apparently longer than the actual *anāku* section, which occupies six lines[118]. This is the only time in the NBP corpus where the titulary that forms the ESD is longer than the main titulary in the *anāku* section.

NBP 03 (C32)	Line
anāku	i 1-6
inu	i 7-ii 5
inūšu	
- ESD	ii 6-7
- Construction of the wall	ii 8-41
- ESD/*anāku* (2?)	iii 1-10
- Oath	iii 11-21
Concluding section	iii 22-36

Table 62 The distribution of content in NBP 03 (C32)[119]

In earlier periods, it could be observed that some of the inscriptions attributed to Hammurabi and Ashurnasirpal also incorporate an element similar to NBK's ESD. In Ashurnasirpal's case the ESDs assume the forms of a "banner", which consists of the royal name and the titles, without incorporating a personal pronoun. This results in the content in his inscriptions being "punctuated" by series of Ashurnasirpal's titularies, which have no formal connection to the text.

In Codex Hammurabi, the ESD appears twice in the section known in Assyriological literature as the epilogue – one of the 'non-judicial' sections of the Codex. The shorter of the two ESDs is inserted after the eight-line concluding remark (line 3144-3151) that succeeds the final law code (§282) and before the beginning of the passage that summarises Hammurabi's accomplishments. This passage is then succeeded by the prayer. This ESD reads:

3152   *Ḫammurabi*

3153   *šarrum gitmālum anāku*

---

[118] Another noteworthy feature of this ten-line ESD is the fact that it is situated at the beginning of the third column, at least according to the master manuscript. Placing the ESDs at the beginning of a column is also attested in Brisa A+C. It is likely that the visual aspect was a concern at least in the inscribing of the cuneiform signs on the material support.
[119] This table is adapted from Da Riva 2008:58

"Hammurabi, noble king – am I."[120]

Also, in Codex Hammurabi, another ESD appears towards the very end of the epilogue, marking the transition from the blessing to the curse, both of which are the final two subcomponents of the epilogue[121]. The use of the ESD as a transitional component that divides a long list from a concluding statement is a familiar reminiscence of the ESD in NBK texts, which separates the *inūma* construction reports from its summary paragraph (see: Table 20 in Chapter 2.5.2).

> 3332   *Ḫammurabi*
>
> 3333   *šar mīšarim*[122]
>
> 3334   *ša Šamaš kīnātim*
>
> 3335   *išrukušum anāku*

"Hammurabi, king of justice, to whom Šamaš (insight into) the truth has granted – am I."

Apart from the appearance in the Babylonian inscriptions, the ESD is also a component in at least one Neo-Assyrian text from the inscriptional corpus attributed to Ashurnasirpal II at the Northwest Palace of Kalhu. The inscription is known in Assyriology as RIMA A.0.101.2 ("the Throne-Base Text"): a variant of the inscription inscribed on the wall-panels around the palace, commonly known as the Standard Inscription[123]. As observed by John Malcolm Russell, there are two chains of Ashurnasirpal's epithets. One appears between the report of the king's military conquests around the northern regions and the summary of his military prowess. The other appears after that summary and the campaign summary in the Mediterranean region (1999:42). To quote an example from the text:

> 17   *ur-du-ti ú-pu-uš* ᵐ*aš-šur*-PAP-A NUN-*ú na-a-du pa-líḫ* DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ *ú-šúm-gal-lu ek-du ka-šid* URU.DIDLI *u ḫur-šá-ni*

---

[120] See: RIME 4.03.06.add21

[121] For the compositional elements of the Codex Hammurabi, see: (Hurowitz 1994); for the epilogue, see: pp 24-44.

[122] *šar mīšarim* also appears as an epithet in the *anāku* section in the South-Palace-cylinder (C34) and as an epithet in the ESD of Brisa A+C (see: Chapter 5.4).

[123] The 'Standard Inscription' of Ashurnasirpal is in fact available in many versions and variants. Each of the specific variant may have its own designation. For example, Russell refers to the version(s) that appear on the stone panels around the palace as the 'Fronts of Wall Slabs' text (1999:24).

18   *paṭ gim-ri-šú-nu* MAN EN.MEŠ-*e mu-la-iṭ ek-ṣu-te a-pi-ir šá-lum-ma-te la-di-ru* GIŠ.LAL *ur-šá-nu la pa-du-ú*

19   *mu-rib a-nun-te* MAN *ta-na-da-a-te* LÚ.SIPA *ṣa-lu-ul* UB.MEŠ MAN *šá ina qí-bit* KA-*šú uš-ḫar-ma-ṭu* KUR.MEŠ-*e*

20   *u* A.AB.BA.MEŠ *šá ina qi-it-ru-ub* EN-*ti-šú* MAN.MEŠ-*ni ek-du-te la pa-du-te* TA *ṣi-it* ᵈ*šam-ši a-di*

21   *e-reb* ᵈ*šam-ši pa-a* 1-*en ú-šá-áš-kín*

"(from the 3ʳᵈ word into line 17) Ashurnasirpal, attentive prince, worshipper of the great gods, ferocious dragon, conqueror of cities and the entire highlands, king of lords, encircler of the obstinate, crowned with splendor, fearless in battle, merciless hero, he who stirs up strife, praiseworthy king, shepherd, protection of the (four) quarters, the king whose command disintegrates mountains and seas, the one who by his lordly conflict has brought under one authority ferocious (and) merciless kings from east to west"

As summarised in the diagram below, the first chain of epithets occupies lines 17 to 21 and the second chain from 23 to 25[124]. Consisting of multiple epithets, both ESDs perhaps better resemble the extensively long ESD in NBP 03 (C32) than any of the ESDs attested in the NBK texts in the sample group.

line	content
7-17	Ashurnasirpal's military expedition to the Urartu
17-21	RN + epithet sequence
21-23	Summary of the king's military prowess
23-25	RN + epithet sequence
25-30	expedition to the eastern Mediterranean states

Table 63 RIMA A.0.101.2

Interestingly, other Assyrian monarchs that are conventionally known to be better associated with Babylon than Ashurnasirpal II do not seem to have adopted the ESD in their inscriptions. As previously discussed at the beginning of this chapter, although the Babylonian inscriptions of Esarhaddon and Ashurbanipal were "Babylonian" in terms of

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[124] See: RIMA 1 A.0.101.2: despite its modern nickname, the Throne-Base Text is also attested on a number of winged-lion and -bull colossi in Ashurnasirpal's North-West Palace in Kalhu (Grayson 1991:223).

their superstructural components, except for the legitimacy narrative, this minor "Babylonian" element seems to be missing, at least in the extant corpus.

No ESD can be attested in the ten Babylonian inscriptions attributed to Esarhaddon. The same scenario also applies to the nine inscriptions of Ashurbanipal that are associated with his building projects in Babylon[125].

In the case of Ashurbanipal's brother, Šamaš-šuma-ukīn – a destined king of Babylon, whose inscriptions have recently been identified as exceptionally Babylonian in terms of the chosen epithets and invoked deities – no evidence of the ESD has been found[126].

All of these examples are significant pieces of evidence that suggest the ESD may have been a Neo-Babylonian "resurrection" of a practice in much older Babylonian royal inscriptions. Alternatively, this may suggest that Ashurbanipal and Esarhaddon were "failing" in their attempt to participate in the Babylonian inscriptional tradition.

7.5   Minor component and details: possible association with Hammurabi

In this section, we will investigate the history of the temples associated with NBK, after identifying that ten of them appear amongst the twenty-six cities in Hammurabi's epithets in the Prologue of the Codex. Out of the ten cities, eight of them regularly appear in the Babylonia Block within the *inum* building list.

As we shall see, our identification of the connection at this level of detail – especially between NBK and Hammurabi – further emphasises our earlier proposition that the NBK corpus represents a hybrid between the inscriptional tradition that was contemporary with NBK's reign and the tradition of the ancient inscriptions. Whereas the selection of the superstructural components in the NBK inscriptions is similar to the Babylonian inscriptions of the Assyrian kings, their choice of details appears to resemble those attested in the much older inscriptions.

	Codex Hammurabi Prologue		Association with NBK	
	City	Temple	in building list	Commemorated by an extant text

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[125] See: RIMB 2 B.6.32.1, B.6.32.4, B.6.32.5, B.6.32.6, B.6.32.12, B.6.32.13, B.6.32.15, and B.6.32.20
[126] See: RIMB 2 B.6.33.1 to B.6.33.6 and B.6.33.1.2001. Shana Zaia recently pointed out that Šamaš-šuma-ukīn avoided using the same epithets as Ashurbanipal in their Babylonian inscriptions (2019:10–13). Based on the extant texts, he also never directly invoked Aššur (ibid).

1	Nippur	Ekur		
2	Eridu	E.abzu		
3	Babylon	Esagil	✓	✓
4	Ur	Ekišnugal	✓	✓
5	Sippar	Ebabbar	✓	✓
6	Larsa	Ebabbar	✓	✓
7	Uruk	Eanna	✓	✓
8	Isin	Egalmaḫ		✓
9	Kiš	Emeteursag		✓
10	Cutha	Emešlam	✓	
11	Borsippa	Ezida	✓	✓
12	Dilbat		✓	
13	Kesh			
14	Lagaš-Girsu	Eninnu		
15	Lagaš			
16	Zabala			
17	Karkar	Eudgalgal		
18	Adab	Emaḫ		
19	Maškan-šāpir	Emeslam		
20	Malgium			
21	Mari			
22	Tutul			
23	Ešnunna			
24	Agade	Eulmaš	✓	
25	Aššur			
26	Nineveh	Emesmes		

Table 64 The temples in the Prologue of the Codex Hammurabi and their association with NBK

At least twelve temples that attracted NBK's interest are known to have previously been patronised, built, or renovated by Hammurabi (and some by Narām-Sîn) in ancient times. Select sources of evidence (depicted in Table 64) helped us identify this connection: some of these temples are the subject of commemoration in the inscriptions of Hammurabi and NBK. In some cases, the ancient history of a temple was mentioned in the inscriptions of other kings, particularly Nabonidus who often claims discovery of ancient inscriptions or building foundations in his text.

(1) The Esagil and Ezida: The Esagil in Babylon and the Ezida in Borsippa are the two most important temples in Babylonia in the time of NBK. The two temples appear in NBK's epithets and are given special attention in his inscriptions, having been placed at the beginning of the building list in the *inūma* section (see: Chapter 2.5.3.4).

Although there is no extant inscription attributed to Hammurabi that commemorates the Esagil, the temple is featured in his epithet in the Prologue of Codex Hammurabi. As for the Ezida temple of Borsippa, this temple is commemorated by Hammurabi's inscription E4.3.6.17.

(2) Ebabbar in Sippar: This temple is commemorated by the inscription NBK II B24, B25, B27, C23, and C31. Hammurabi's footprint at the Ebabbar in Sippar is only attested in a clay fragment E4.3.6.1001, written in Sumerian. The inscription has been attributed to Hammurabi because this good command of written Sumerian seems to be typical of his corpus (Frayne 1990:357–358). However, Sippar features quite often in Hammurabi's year names, including Year 23, 25, and 43 (Horsnell 1999:243–244).

The Ebabbar is also referred to as having been built by Narām-Sîn in at least seven inscriptions of Nabonidus, including NBN 19, 23, 24, 25, 26, 28, and 29. These texts report that Nabonidus commissioned an excavation of the foundation to search for the inscriptions of the ancient kings, whose instructions he subsequently claimed to have followed.

(3) Egišnugal in Ur: Another temple associated with NBK that has the footprints of Hammurabi (and Narām-Sîn) is the Egišnugal of Sîn in Ur. This temple is commemorated in NBK's B10 and B10 var. A number of inscriptional objects bearing Narām-Sîn's name have been excavated in Ur. One of them, a clay tablet, (IM 085669; RIME 2.01.04.33, ex. 1; now at the National Museum of Baghdad) contains the name of one of Narām-Sîn's daughters, the princess Enmenana, who became the *entu*-priestess of Sîn. The name of this temple was also mentioned in the name of Hammurabi's third year (Hurowitz 1994:98).

(4) Emeteursag/Edubba in Kiš: This temple is commemorated by the Edubba-cylinder (C38) in our sample group. It is also known as one of the temples under Hammurabi's patronage. The renovation of this temple, under the name Emeteursag (the cella of Zababa), is reported in Hammurabi's clay brick RIME 4.03.06.08 (eight manuscripts)[127].

In this inscription, Hammurabi is said to have renovated the Edubba, which was left in a dilapidated condition after its construction by his ancestor Sūmû-la-Il. Similar inscriptional materials that mark Hammurabi's activity at the Edubba include the clay bricks RIME 4.03.06.09 (three manuscripts). All manuscripts of RIME 4.03.06.08 and -.09 were found in Kish. The Edubba is also mentioned in the name of Hammurabi's 36th regnal year (Hurowitz 1994:98).

(5) Ebabbar in Larsa: In the clay bricks RIME 4.03.06.13, Hammurabi declares himself the builder of the Ebabbar in Larsa. The same story is also featured in the limestone inscriptions RIME 4.03.06.14, both in the Akkadian version (RIME 4.03.06.14 Akkadian, two manuscripts) and Sumerian version (RIME 4.03.06.14 Sumerian, one manuscript). Similar to all the aforementioned temples, the Ebabbar of Larsa is mentioned in an epithet of Hammurabi in the introduction of Codex Hammurabi. The epithet credits Hammurabi as the initiator of the temple's renovation[128].

Even though this temple has no proven connection to Narām-Sîn, the available historical evidence suggests that it is an older cult site of Šamaš (and his consort Aya) than its counterpart in Sippar. The earliest attestable information about the

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[127] This temple is known under two names which have been used interchangeably to refer to the same temple throughout its history. The Emeteursag is the name of the main cella of Zababa inside the temple. See further: item no. 785 E.me.te.ur.sag in the Gazetteer of the Ceremonial Names in George 1993:125

[128] See: RIME 4.03.06.add21, line 98-104 , which corresponds to column ii line 32-38 in the Louvre Stele:

98   ur-sag *ga-mi-il*
99   *larsa*ki
100   *mu-u4-di-iš é-babbar*
101   *a-na* ^d^utu
102   *re-ṣi-šu*
103   *be-lum mu-ba-lí-it*
104   unuki

"the warrior who shows mercy to Larsa, renews the Ebabbar for Šamaš, his ally, the lord who revitalizes Uruk."

temple is found in the inscription of Eannatum of Lagaš who ruled some time in the 25th century BC or about 2,000 years before NBK[129]. A door socket attributed to Narām-Sîn in the collection of the Harvard Museum of Ancient Near East is also reported to have been found in Larsa. However, the object (Museum no. SM 1946.03.001 or CDLI P408042) has little archaeological information and is reported missing from the collection of the museum according to its online catalogue[130].

(6) Eibbi-Anum in Dilbat: The Eibbi-Anum of the war-god Uraš in Dilbat is located on a minor tributary of the Euphrates, about 30 km south of Babylon. It is the only 'ancient' temple in the building list to not have an attested connection with the two kings. However, this temple still has a long history traceable to King Sārbium of Babylon (1844-1831BC), Hammurabi's great-grandfather[131]. Particularly, Sārbium's ninth year name is known as the year he restored the Eibbi-Anum: mu é i-bí-a-nu-um mu-un-gibil (Horsnell 1999:237 fn. 38).

Apart from the temples that are explicitly associated with Hammurabi and/or the kings from the more ancient periods, some temples are known to have already existed at the time of their reign and had connections with their activities.

For example, the Eanna of Uruk is portrayed in the Basetki inscription of Narām-Sîn where Ištar (Inanna in the Sumerian text) is regarded as the main goddess of the Eanna. This is the first attested occasion where the goddess is elevated to a higher position than her father, An, in the city that was traditionally associated with him (Beaulieu 2003a:106). For this reason, NBK's re-establishment of the cult of Ištar at the Eanna – as recorded in the *inūma* section of the South-Palace-cylinder (C34) – may also indicate his attempt to emulate Narām-Sîn.

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[129] Steible FAOS 5/1, Ean 1, rev. i 39

[130] SM 1946.03.001 or P408042 is listed in the catalogue of the Harvard Museum of the Ancient Near East as missing since 1962, see the description of the object in CDLI: https://cdli.ucla.edu/P408042.

[131] The city probably lends its name to the Uraš Gate, one of the gates of the eastern part of Babylon. The location of the gate at the southern side is probably associated with the street that runs in the direction towards Dilbat.

The Eulmaš temple of Ištar in Agade is the site where Nabonidus claims to have discovered the inscriptions of the earlier founder, including Sargon and Narām-Sîn[132]. This temple is likely to have been the one referred to in a year name during the reign of Narām-Sîn, who claimed to have built the temple[133]. It is an ancient temple, having been mentioned in Inanna's Descent to the Netherworld (George 1993:155). The Eulmaš is also featured in one of the epithets in the Codex Hammurabi, which refers to the installation of the cult statue of Ištar inside the temple.

The Egalmah of the goddess Gula in Isin is commemorated by the brick inscription B28 of NBK. It appears in one of the epithets in the Prologue of the Codex Hammurabi but is not attested as a commemorated building in his extant inscriptions. The history of this temple can be traced as far back as the time of Lipit-Ištar and Kurigalzu (George 1993:88).

Two temples in Babylon where NBK has claimed patronage are also featured in Hammurabi's year name. They are the Enamḫe of Adad in Babylon (Year 28) and the Emeslam of Nergal in Cutha (Year 40) (Hurowitz 1994:98). The Enamḫe is a temple in Babylon that appears consistently in the Babylon block in the *inūma* building list (see: Part 2.5.3.5). The Emeslam and the construction projects in Cutha were treated altogether as a content block which appears in the inscriptions with the highest word count in the extant corpus, such as Brisa A+C, Nabû(?)-cylinder (C36), and Edubba-cylinder (C38).

7.6 Summary

In summary, we can see that the multi-sectional inscriptions of NBK belong to the inscriptional tradition that was contemporary to his reign, even though it may incorporate elements that are similar to the inscriptions of the ancient kings, particularly Hammurabi.

Our examination in this chapter has revealed that, at the level of the superstructure, the NBK inscriptions exhibit a style of structural formulation that was close to what was also adopted by the Babylonian inscriptions of Ashurbanipal and Esarhaddon, both of whom had ruled Babylonia not long before NBK. The most striking similarity between these two

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[132] For the cuneiform text, see: Schaudig 2001 (AOAT 256), 2.14.2 II 28ff
[133] JCS 35, 136 (CDLI P214893) line 1'-3': mu é-ᵈinanna a-kà-dèᵏⁱ al-dù-a

groups of inscriptions is the consistent selection of the same set of components, which is also arranged in the same way across the extant corpus.

In contrast, our examination of the superstructural components of the eleven extant Hammurabi inscriptions has revealed a corpus that pays a lot less attention to keeping every inscription structurally consistent.

At the level of the details, we can see that Ashurbanipal and Esarhaddon specifically appropriated the *inum* section, in order to create another narrative that would legitimise their intervention into the Babylonian politics. Under NBK, this section returns to the motifs that are similar to what appears in the same section in Hammurabi's texts. Another minor element in the NBK that finds it counterpart in the Hammurabi corpus, is the epithet-subsection-dividers. This device can be attested in the Codex Hammurabi.

Moreover, there is another element in the NBK corpus that may invoke the connection between him and the past. They are the building reports in the two project blocks in the building list, namely the Babylon and Babylonia Blocks. As our analysis has shown, many temples that are included in the list are ancient temples, whose history can be traced back to Hammurabi or other, more ancient kings.

However, without enough records, it is difficult to conclude that NBK was consciously imitating and/or excluding the inscriptional features in the inscriptions of other kings, for the purpose of endorsing or censoring them. What seems to be clear from our analysis is that there is a long tradition of inscriptional writing, in which Hammurabi, Esarhaddon, Ashurbanipal, and NBK were participating from their own context.

Conclusion: so, how were the NBK inscriptions created?

In summary, it is our intention to demonstrate that, first and foremost, the inscriptions of NBK were created under an identifiable framework. As we progress through the analysis, from the twenty-nine multi-sectional inscriptions in the first chapter, and later into the ten longest inscriptions in the extant corpus in Chapter 2, it has been revealed that a number of principles and factors govern the formulation of the text, the choice of information, and how each piece of data should be incorporated into the content. We can observe that the principles apply at the levels of the superstructure, and within each section of the inscriptions.

The principles are most apparent in the two sections of the inscriptions, which together proportionately occupy the majority of the content.

In the *anāku* section, we have identified an <u>arrangement pattern of the epithets</u> which has been adopted almost universally. This pattern is characterised by the pairing of two epithets in sequence, the second of which acts as the sub-epithet within each pair and contains the divine terminology (name of a god, temple, or the term god), perhaps to emphasise the divine ratification claimed by NBK. This arrangement pattern is also likely to be a feature only of the longer inscriptions as it has been identified in nine out of ten inscriptions in the sample group, as well as in four out of nineteen shorter texts in the extant corpus.

In the *inum* section, we have identified <u>three main components</u>, namely the legitimacy narrative, the building list, and the concluding passage. The building list appears to be the component that is only included in the longer inscriptions in the corpus. In fact, it is the building list that brought about the major content input, which results in the increased the total wordcount.

We can also observe that the building lists are composed of "project blocks", each of which contains the construction reports of the projects sharing the same geographical background.

We also identified a minor component in the *inum* section, which we refer to as the epithet sub-section divider (ESD). This device is used to divide the content in the *inum* into subsections. It is formed of the royal name and a selection of epithets arranged in the first-person nominative sentence. In so doing, the ESD may be seen as a mini version of the *anāku* section. The ESDs only appears in the long inscriptions. In our sample group,

they appear in Brisa A+C, Stone Tablet, Nabû(?)-cylinder (C36), South-Palace-cylinder (C34), and Edubba-cylinder (C38).

In Chapter 3, we demonstrate that it is <u>possible to establish the diachronic profiles</u> of at least five NBK inscriptions. Four of them are the inscriptions in our sample group. They are the Stone Tablet, Summer-Palace-cylinder (C35), South-Palace-cylinder (C34), and Brisa A+C. The fifth inscription comes from the extant corpus. It is NBK II C212.

The diachronic profiles were created by the comparative analysis of the construction reports in the *inum* building list and the Eanna temple administrative documents, which contain the dating of some construction projects. In this process, we are able to date the Eumeiminanki Ziqqurrat of Borsippa to around the 33rd Year and use this building as the chronological marker.

This process also helps us conclude that the content of the main sections in the Stone Tablet and Summer-Palace-cylinder (C35) are chronological sequences of the palace construction.

Although this is not the "dating" of the inscriptions, since we cannot pin them down to a specific point in time, the diachronic profiles still help us establish the chronological relationship of these inscriptions. Similar approach should also facilitate the diachronic relationship between other inscriptions in the sample group if more chronological markers are identified. The result of this analysis will be helpful for the future undertaking to tackle the proper dating of each inscription in the extant corpus.

In Chapter 4, we have identified the <u>compositional principles within the building lists</u>, particularly in the subsection we refer to as the "Babylon" and "Babylonia Blocks". In both subsections, the construction projects were arranged according to their location along the river Euphrates. In the Babylon block, the list of temples begins with the northern-most temple in the eastern part of Babylon, which is included in each list. In most inscriptions in the sample group, this is the Emaḫ temple of Ninmaḫ. The list then continues downstream and crosses the river to the western part of Babylon.

In the Babylonia Block, the list of temples also begins with the northern-most temple in each list, before proceeding downstream. In most cases, the first temple is the Ebabbar temple of Šamaš in Sippar.

We also observe that the Babylonia Block in the South-Palace-cylinder (C34) applies a different principle in its Babylonia Block. Although geographical in concept, the list

arranges the temples in the sequence upstream. The identification of this variant of the concept also helps us identify the potential location of the city of Baṣ.

In Chapter 5, we identify the <u>relation between the compositional principle and the building type</u> of the commemorated project. We can see that the composition of the five temple inscriptions in the sample group are very similar. They are the Lugal-Marad-cylinder (C32), Eḫursagsikilla-cylinder (C33), Nabû(?)-cylinder (C36), Eulla-cylinder (C37), Edubba-cylinder (C38).

The superstructures of these inscriptions consist of four components: *anāku*, *inum*, *main*, and prayer. Moreover, they also share the same selection of project blocks in their *inum* building list i.e., Main Temples, Babylon, Borsippa, and Empire.

Brisa A+C – a rock inscription – also has a similar composition. However, their details, such as we explore in Chapter 6, make it appear as more like a hybrid between the temple and palace inscriptions.

Apart from these inscriptions, the four other inscriptions in the sample group are not as homogenous in terms of their composition.

The Ziqqurrat-cylinder (C41) contains a relatively short *inum* section for its total length (around 400 words). This is because this inscription skips the building list to make way for an extensively long construction account of the Etemenanki Ziqqurrat in its main section.

We can observe that the composition of each of the three palace inscriptions is rather particular. The Stone Tablet and Summer-Palace-cylinder (C35) do not apply the *inūmīšu* clause at the beginning of their main section. This causes their *inum* section to appear as if it dominates the entire text.

As noted above, our investigation of the diachronic relationship between some inscriptions has also led to the conclusion that the main sections in these two inscriptions are chronological sequence of the palace construction in Babylon. The newest inscription in this subgroup is the Summer-Palace-cylinder (C35), which mentions the South and North Palaces in its main section sequence.

The same conclusion also explains why the main section of the South-Palace-cylinder (C34) is similar to the temple inscriptions (*inūmīšu* + one project). As the oldest palace among the three, perhaps no other palaces existed at the time of the South Palace reconstruction.

We also observe that the composition of the *anāku* section in the South-Palace-cylinder (C34) is unlike any other inscriptions in the sample group. The epithets in its *anāku* section are not arranged in the pairing pattern. It also does not apply the "standard" epithets. Without enough data, it remains difficult to argue whether the epithet sequence in the South-Palace-cylinder (C34) can be considered a principle.

Another specific compositional feature that we observe is the use of seven ESDs in Brisa A+C. Although this creation may have no relation with the "building type" of this inscription, it could be seen a result of the inscription's exposure to a larger writing canvas. In comparison to the clay cylinders, the composer of Brisa A+C worked on the space as if it had no limit. We also observe that the seven ESDs that divide the *inum* section of Brisa A+C have thematic relations with the subsections they border.

In Chapter 6, we explore how we could categorise the <u>"audience" of NBK's inscriptions</u>, based on the portrayal of his relations with the gods, in the epithet lists and the prayer.

On the one hand, in the epithet lists of the palace inscriptions, NBK is portrayed only in connection to the Marduk and Nabû. This constitutes to the "singular" characterisation of NBK i.e., as the viceroy of Marduk and Nabû. On the other hand, in the temple inscriptions, both from Babylon and elsewhere, NBK is depicted with the epithets that connect him to many other gods, while also maintaining his association with Marduk and Nabû. This constitutes to the "dual" characterisation of NBK. While he is approved by Marduk and Nabû, he is also a close associate of Šamaš, Ištar, Zababa, Adad, and Erra.

The portrayal of NBK in the epithet lists in these inscriptions is also consistent with their prayer sections. In the three palace inscriptions and Brisa A+C, NBK casts his prayer directly to Marduk. In the five temple inscriptions, the patron god of each temple acts as the mediator between NBK and Marduk.

In the case of Brisa A+C, we can observe that the characterisation of NBK is consistent with how he appears in the three palace inscriptions. However, because Brisa A+C is located outside of the core area of the empire, it is tempting to think that the portrayal of NBK as the viceroy of Marduk and Nabû in this case, was meant for foreign audience.

Because the natural passes in the mountains of Lebanon were also seen by the Neo-Assyrian and Egyptian kings as a strategic site for their royal inscriptions. The placement of NBK's inscriptions in the same area with such a choice of self-presentation, can be understood as NBK addressing the message left by those predecessors with an "imperial" ideology.

We can also see that the different portrayals of NBK is a reflection of the political structure of the Neo-Babylonian empire. The distinction between his characterisation in the palace inscriptions on the one hand, and the temple inscriptions on the other, is consistent with the fractions who were negotiating for power. These fractions are the monarchy, the elite families in the Babylonian cities, and the tribal groups. Centred in Babylon, the monarchy mediated power especially with the elite families in the cities around the Babylonian heartland, who held power in the local temple and city administration.

In Chapter 7, we compare the composition of the NBK inscriptions with the Babylonian inscriptions of Ashurbanipal and Esarhaddon, as well as the inscriptions of Hammurabi. Although many scholars have interpreted that the similarity between certain textual features in Hammurabi and NBK's inscriptions are evidence of the latter's (conscious) imitation. The so-called "gaps" in the historical records remain a challenge for this argument.

In our analysis, we can observe that the selection of the superstructural components in the Babylonian inscriptions of Ashurbanipal and Esarhaddon is very similar to NBK's. This conclusion indicates the NBK's inscriptions exist in the Babylonian inscriptional tradition that was contemporary to his period. The only major difference between these two groups of inscriptions is the legitimacy narrative in the *inum* section. Here, the Babylonian inscriptions of Ashurbanipal and Esarhaddon create their own narrative, which justifies the Assyrian intervention in the Babylonian politics. Although the legitimacy narratives in NBK's inscriptions employ motifs that are closer to Hammurabi's, it remains difficult to conclude whether NBK was "reviving" the ancient tradition or was simply following the practice, which may still be current in his period.

However, what seems clear is the fact that the composition of Hammurabi's inscriptions is variable. His extant inscriptions do not always share the same selection of components. Their position within the narrative in each inscription is visibly variable. While this could be caused by the limited number of Hammurabi's inscriptions that we possess, it should be noted that nearly all inscriptions of NBK, Ashurbanipal, and Esarhaddon, contains the same components, which appear in the same order.

Perhaps the one component that places the NBK texts closer to the Babylonian inscriptions Ashurbanipal and Esarhaddon, than to Hammurabi's, is the prayer section. This section appears at the end of twenty-nine inscriptions of NBK or all the extant multi-

sectional inscriptions attributed to him. All extant Babylonian inscriptions of Ashurbanipal and Esarhaddon also contain the prayer. In contrast, the prayer only appears in three out of the extant eleven Hammurabi inscriptions.

In conclusion, throughout the seven chapters of this dissertation, we have demonstrated that there are principles that govern the creation of the NBK inscriptions at the superstructural level, as well as within the components and subsections. These principles are subjected to adaptation under many factors and contexts, which may be specific to each inscription.

One that note, we return to Von Soden's comment on the nature of NBK's inscriptions. Although they are indeed full of stories concerning temple building and offerings made to the gods, we have demonstrated that we can learn a lot about the Babylonian inscriptional tradition by analysing the composition of these inscriptions.

Excursus: the size of the material support as a compositional factor?

One of factors in the creation of the NBK inscriptions that we initially intended to explore is the limit imposed by the physical factors, such as the size of the material support and the installation space, that could have been partly determined by the architectural factors.

In theory, the limit posed by these physical factors has a direct influence over the available writing space, which could have an effect on the amount of information that could be incorporated into each text.

Even though there is too little archaeological data to set up an extensive argument regarding the role of the material support in the creation process of the inscriptions because most of the manuscripts of the NBK inscriptions became available during the period when the archaeological methodology and code of conduct were of a different era, we would like to take this opportunity to process what is available.

Our examination of the height of the intact cylinder manuscripts of the eight cylinder inscriptions reveals that the average height of the cylinder with three columns of text is around 20 to 25 cm regardless of how many words each text contains. Only MS 1 of the Nabû(?)-cylinder (C36) is 30 cm tall. The manuscripts of the same text generally have the same height, for example, the ten manuscripts of the Lugal-Marad-cylinder (C32) is around 20 am tall.

Inscriptions	approx. wordcount	average height (cm.)
Eḫursagsikilla (C33)	600	20
Nabû(?) (C36)	1,400	30
South-Palace (C34)	630	22
Summer-Palace (C35)	845	23-24
Ziqqurrat (C41)	At least 410	24
Edubba (C38)	1,370	26
Lugal-Marad (C32)	520	20-22
Eulla (C37)	765	N/A

Table 65 Average height of the cylinder inscriptions in the sample group (according to Berger 1973)

One way to explain the general consistency in the height of a cylinder is the fact that the construction bricks during the NBK's reign were made under a standardised dimension. In turns, the standardised bricks have also led to the general similarity in the dimension

of the other parts of the building that are important to the cylinder inscriptions, such as the niches.

The general standard in the brick size which has led to the consistent constructional dimension has long been noticed by archaeologists. During the excavation at the Borsippa Ziqqurrat, Rawlinson noticed that the niches were built into the brick structure of the wall at the distance of two bricks from the façade (1861:2). They were known among the workmen as 'kahzeneh' or 'treasure hole' since they were the findspot for objects valued by antique collectors at the time (ibid). The niches were also built at a standard position in each stage of the tower, at around 1/3 or 1/2 of the height (ibid:3–4).

According to Rawlinson, the bricks that were used to build the four stages of the Borsippa Ziqqurrat are quite standardised. Each brick is a square, around 12-14 inches in width and 3-4 inches in height (ibid:8). This observation corresponds well to the identification that the standard size of the Neo-Babylonian bricks is a 33 x 33 cm square with the thickness of 8 cm (Wullen et al. 2008:46).

For this reason, it is possible to think of the cylinders being made in a range of height difference that would accommodate the space that varies by the multiples of 8. For example, the cylinders of 25 – 30 cm height would fit well in a four-brick niche (32 cm) whereas those of 17 – 24 cm would work for a three-brick niche. While it is hard to prove because archaeological records do not always present details with great precision. The Austro-Iraqi team who excavated the Borsippa Ziqqurrat found a niche with a box of cylinder inscription in situ. The interior of the box is 28 cm high which corresponds well to the use of four brick, each 8 cm thick, which equals to 32 cm height (Allinger-Csollich 1991:493–494). The cylinder

Figure 1 The illustration of the cylinder inscription found in situ by the Austro-Iraqi expedition (after Allinger-Collich 1991 pp 493)

itself is reportedly 28 cm in height[134]. A similar scenario is noted by Rassam in the excavation of 1879. A cylinder of Antiochus I Soter was found encased in the kiln-burnt bricks covered over with bitumen (Reade 1986:109).

For this reason, the height of the cylinder inscriptions could have been partly dictated by the height of the niche, which would also have been influenced by the size of the bricks used for the construction of the building.

In contrast, the inscriptions such as the Brisa Inscriptions may have been less influenced by the size of the material support given the scale of the rock façade onto which it was carved. This 'freedom' of space seems to be emphasised by the fact that the scribes of WBA carved and smoothed the rock surface that frames the original canvas to further extend as their writing space (Da Riva 2012:29).

During the excavation at the Northwest Palace at Nimrud, Austin Layard found debris of Ashurnasirpal II's alabaster tablets at the entrance *d* of the throne room. Their original location was thought to be the enclosure behind the wall at floor level, which Layard claimed to have discovered without having recorded the exact location (1849:110–111). This suggests that NBK's Stone Tablet may have had a similar origin and would have been subjected to some sort of physical constraints. However, this proposition is far from conclusive since this inscription has no archaeological data.

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[134] According to Sandra Heinsch of the Universität Innsbruck who kindly inspected the archaeological report during our correspondence in April 2020.

Appendix

The epithet list in the anāku sections from the sample group

Temple		Border	
C32	C33	WBA	WBC
Eigikalamma	Eḫursagsikilla	-	-
Lugal-Marad	Ninkarrak	-	-
Marad	Babylon	Brisa, Lebanon	Brisa, Lebanon
šar ba-bi-lam.KI	*šar ba-bi-lam*.KI	LUGAL KÁ.DINGIR.RA.KI	LUGAL KÁ.DINGIR.RA.KI
ru-ba-a-am na-a-dam	[*ru*]-⌈*ba*⌉-*a-am na-a-dam*	SIPA *ki-nim*	[*re*]-⌈*é*⌉-*um ki-i-nim*
mi-gi-ir₄ ᵈAMAR.UTU	*mi-gi-ir₄* ᵈAMAR.UTU	*mi-gi-ir* ᵈAMAR.UTU	*mi-gi-ir* ᵈAMAR.U[TU]
iš-ša-ak-ku ṣi-i-ri	*iš-ša-ak-ku ṣi-i-ri*	ÉNSI *ṣi-ri*	⌈*énsi ṣi-i-ri*⌉
na-ra-am ᵈ*na-bi-um*	*na-ra-am* ᵈ*na-bi-um*	*na-ra-am* ᵈPA	*na-ra-am* ⌈ᵈ⌉[AG]
ša-ak-ka-na-ku la a-ne-ḫa	*ša-ak-ka-na-ku la a-ne-ḫa*	*ru-ba-*⌈*a*⌉*-am na-a-dam*	[*ru*]-*ba-a-am* [*na-a*]-*da*⌉-[*am*]
za-ni-in É.SAG.ÍL *ù* É.ZI.DA	*za-ni-in é-sag-íl ù é-zi-da*	*ša al-ka-ka-at* ᵈAMAR.UTU EN *ra-bí-um i-lu ba-ni-šu ù* ᵈAG IBILA-*šu ki-nim na-ra-am šar-ru-ti-šu iš-te-ni-ù ka-a-a-nam*	[*ša*] *al-ka-ka-at* ᵈAMAR.UTU [EN] GAL-*ú i-lu* ⌈*ba*⌉-*ni-i-šu* [*ù* ᵈAG] *a-*⌈*š*[*u o*] *ki-i-nim* [*na*]-*ra-am* [*o*] *šar-ru-ú-ti*-[*šu*] *iš-te-ni-*⌈*ù*⌉ ⌈*ka*⌉-*a-a-nam*
ša a-na ᵈ*na-bi-um ù* ᵈAMAR.UTU EN.MEŠ-*šu ki-it-nu-šu-ma ip-pu-šu re-e-šu-su-un*	*ša a-na* ᵈ*na-bi-um ù* ᵈAMAR.UTU EN.MEŠ-*šu ki-it-nu-šu-ma ip-pu-šu re-e-šu-su-un*	*mu-da-*⌈⌉-⌈*am*⌉ *te-le-e*	*mu-da-*⌈*a*⌉-*a*[*m*] *te-le-e*
na-a-dam mu-uš-te-mi-qu	*na-a-dam mu-uš-te-mi-qu*	[*ša*] ⌈*i*⌉-[*ra*]-*am-mu pu-luḫ-ti* [*o*] [*i*]-⌈*lu-ti*⌉-*šu-nu* <<x>> [*o*] *a-na ṭe-e-*⌈*mu*⌉ *i-lu-ti-šu-nu ba-*<<x>>-*ša-a uz-na-a-šu*	*ša*⌉ *i-*[*ra-am-mu pu*]-*luḫ-*[*ti i-lu-ti*]-*šu-nu a-na* [*ṭe-e-mu*] *i-l*[*u-ti-š*]*u-nu ba-š*[*a-a*] *ú-*[*uz-na-a-š*]*u*
i-tu-ti ku-un lìb-bi DINGIR GAL.GAL	*i-tu-ti ku-un* ŠÀ DINGIR GAL.GAL	*e-er-šu it-pé-šu*	*e-*[*er-šu*] [*it-pe-šu*]
IBILA *a-ša-re-du ša* ᵈ*na-bi-um*-IBILA-*ú-ṣur šar ba-bi-lam*.KI	IBILA *a-ša-re-du ša* ᵈAG-IBILA-*ú-ṣu-úr šar ba-bi-lam*.KI	*šá a-na zi-ik-ri-šu-nu kab-tu pi-it-lu-ḫu* DINGIR *ù* ᵈINNIN	*ša a-*[*na zi-ik-ri-šu*]-*nu* [*kab-tu*] *pi-it-*[*lu-ḫu*] ⌈DINGIR⌉ ⌈*ù*⌉ [ᵈINNIN]

		e-em-qá mu-te-nin-nu-ù	*e-em-q*[*á mu*]*-te-ni-*[*in-nu-ù*]
		za-nin É.SAG.ÍL *ù* É.ZI.DA	*za-ni-in* É.SAG.ÍL ⌜*ù*⌝ [É.ZI.DA]
		IBILA SAG.KAL *ša* ᵈAG-IBILA-ÙRU LUGAL *ba-bi-lu.*[KI]	[*a*]*p-lam a-ša-*[*ri-du*] *ša* [o] ᵈPA-⌜*ap*⌝-*lam-ú-ṣ*[*u-ur*] LUGAL ⌜KÁ⌝.DINGIR.[R]A.⌜KI⌝

C36	C37	C38
Temple of Nabû?	Eulla	Emeteursag
Nabû?	Ninkarrak	Zababa
Babylon?	Sippar	Kish
šar ba-bi-i-li.KI	LUGAL KÁ.DINGIR.RA.KI	LUGAL TIN.TIR.KI
RE.É.UM *ki-i-nim*	*ru-ba-a-am na-a-dam*	*ru-ba-a-am na-a-dam*
mi-gi-ir₄ ᵈAMAR.UTU	*mi-gi-ir* ᵈAMAR.UTU	*mi-gi-ir* ᵈAMAR.UTU
iš-ša-ak-ka ṣi-i-ri	ÉNSI *ṣi-i-ri*	*iš-ša-ak-ku ṣi-i-ri*
na-ra-am ᵈ*na-bi-um*	*na-ra-am* ᵈ*na-bi-um*	*na-ram* ᵈAG
ru-bu-um	SIPA *ki-i-nim*	*re-é-a-um ki-i-nim*
ša a-na ṭè-e-mu ᵈUTU *ù* ᵈIŠKUR *pi-tu-qu-ma il-la-ka ú-ru-uḫ šu-ul-mi*	*ṣa-bi-it u-ru-uḫ šu-ul-mu ša* ᵈUTU *ù* ᵈIŠKUR	*ṣa-bit ú-ru-uḫ ṣu-lum šá* ᵈUTU *u* ᵈIŠKUR
mas-su-um ṣi-i-ri	*e-er-šu it-pe-šu*	*er-ši it-pe-šu*
ša a-na dèr-ra ša-ga-pu-ru ki-it-nu-šu-ma ú-ša-am-qa-tu ga-ri-ša	*ša a-na e-mu-q* ᵈ*ìr-ra ša-ga-pu-ru ba-ša-a u-zu-na-šu*	*ša a-na e-mu-qí* ᵈÌR.RA *šag-ga-pu-ru ba-ša-a* GEŠTU.ᵐᵉˢ-*šu*
mu-du-um ta-šim-tim	*mu-de-e ta-ši-im-ti*	*mu-de-e ta-šim-ti₄*
mu-uš-te-eʾ-ù áš-ra-a-tì ᵈ*za-ba₄-ba₄ ù* ᵈ*iš-tar*	*mu-uš-te-'-ù à-aš-ra-a-ti* ᵈ*za-ba₄-ba₄ ù iš-tar*	*mu-uš-te-'-ú aš-ra-a-tú* ᵈ*za-ba₄-ba₄ u* ᵈ*iš₈-tár*
na-a-dam mu-uš-te-mi-qu	*à-aš-ru sa-[an]-qá*	*áš-ri sa-an-qa*
i-tu-ut ku-un lìb-bi ⌜DINGIR.DINGIR GAL.GAL⌝	*ša a-na* ᵈAMAR.UTU EN *ra-bí-ù* ᵈEN.LÍL D[INGIR.DINGIR *mu-šar-bu]-ú šar-ru-ti-šu ù* ᵈ*na-bi-um su-ka-al-lam ṣi-i-ri mu-ša-ri-ku u₄-um b[a]-la-t]i-šu ki-it-nu-šu-ma ip-pu-šu re-šu-su-un*	*šá a-na* ᵈAMAR.UTU EN *ra-ba-a* ᵈEN.LÍL DINGIR.DINGIR *mu-šar-bu-ú* LUGAL-*ti-šú u* ᵈAG *suk-kal-lum ṣi-i-ri mu-ša-ri-ku u₄-um ba-la-ṭi-šu ki-it-ni-šu-ma ip-pu-šu re-e-šu-su-un*
GÌR.NÍTA *la a-ne-ḫa-am*	GÌR.NÍTA *la a-ne-ḫa*	GÌR.NÍTA *la a-ne-ḫa*
za-ni-in é-sag-íl ù é-zi-da	*za-ni-in* É.SAG.ÍL *ù* É.ZI.DA	*za-ni-in* É.SAG.ÍL *u* É.ZI.DA
i-da-an za-ni-na-a-tim	*i-da-an za-na-a-ti*	*i-da-an za-na-a-tum*
ba-bi-il i-gi-se-e ra-bí-ù-tim a-na é-sag-íl	*ba-bi-il i-gi-sè-e* GAL.GAL *a-na* É.SAG.ÍL	*ba-bí-<il> i-gi-se-e* GAL.MEŠ *a-na* É.SAG.ÍL

GÚ.GAL-*lam qá-ar-dam*	*na-a-dam mu-uš-te-mi-qu*	*na-a-du muš-te-mì-qa*
mu-ma-ak-ki-ri-im qá-ar-ba-a-tim	*i-tu-ti ku-un* šà DINGIR GAL.GAL	*i-tu-ut ku-un lìb-bi* DINGIR.DINGIR GAL.GAL
ik-ka-ru ki-i-nim	*gu-gal-lu4 qá-ar-dam*	GÚ.GAL *qar-du*
mu-qá-ri-ni7 ka-re-e bi-it-ru-ù-tim	*mu-ma-ak-ki-ir qa-ar-ba-a-ti*	*mu-ma-ak-ki-ir qa-ar-ba-a-tum*
le-eʾ-um it-pe-šu	*ik-ka-ri ba-ab-bi-i-lu*	*ik-ka-ri* TIN.TIR.KI
mu-ṭa-aḫ-ḫi-da4 e-eš-re-e-ti DINGIR.DINGIR	*mu-ta4-aḫ-ḫi-id e-eš-re-e-tì*	*mu-ṭa-aḫ-ḫi-id eš-rit* DINGIR.DINGIR
mu-ki-ni7 sa-at-tu-uk-ka	*mu-ki-in sa-at-tu-ku*	*mu-kin sat-tuk-ku*
LUGAL *ša i-na mi-il-ki ša-ad-li i-te-el-lu-ù ša-di-i-im bé-ru-ù-tim it-ta-ba-la-ak-ka-tu ḫur-sa-a-ni za-aq-ru-ù-tim*	IBILA SAG.KAL *ša* [ᵈAG-IBI]LA-*ú-ṣu-úr* LUGAL TIN.TIR.KI	IBILA *a-ša-re-du ša* ᵈAG-IBILA-*ú-ṣur* LUGAL TIN.TIR.KI
IBILA *a-ša-re-du ša* ᵈ*na-bi-um*-IBILA-*ú-ṣu-úr šar ba-bi-i-li*.KI		

Palace			Ziqqurrat
C35	Stone Tablet	C34	C41
Summer Palace	North Palace	South Palace	Etemenanki Ziqqurrat
none	none	none	Marduk
Babylon	Babylon	Babylon	Babylon
LUGAL KÁ.DINGIR.RA.KI	LUGAL KÁ.DINGIR.RA.KI	LUGAL *mi-ša-ri-im*	LUGAL KÁ.DINGIR.RA.KI
ru-ba-a na-a-dam	*ru-ba-a na-a-dam*	*re-é-a-um ki-i-num*	*ru-ba-a-am na-aʾ-dam*
mi-gi-ir ᵈAMAR.UTU	*mi-gi-ir* ᵈAMAR.UTU	*mu-ut-ta-ru-ú te-ne-še-ti*	*mi-gi-ir* ᵈAMAR.UTU
iš-ša-ak-ku ṣi-i-ri	ÉNSI *ṣi-i-ri*	*mu-uš-te-ši-ir ba-ʾu-la-a-ti* ᵈEN.LÍL ᵈUTU *u* ᵈAMAR.UTU	*iš-ša-ak-kam ṣi-i-ri-im*
na-ra-am ᵈ*na-bi-um*	*na-ra-am* ᵈ*na-bi-um*	*mu-uš-ta-lam a-ḫi-iz ne-mé-qí*	*na-ra-am* ᵈ*na-bi-um*
mu-uš-ta-lam a-ḫi-iz ne-me-qí	*mu-uš-ta-lam a-ḫi-iz né-me-qí*	*mu-uš-te-eʾ-um ba-la-ṭam*	*mu-uš-ta-lam a-ḫi-iz ne-me-qí*
ša a-la-ak-ti i-lu-ti-šu-nu iš-te-né-eʾ-ú pi-it-lu-ḫu bé-e-lu-ut-su-un	*ša a-lak-ti i-lu-ti-šu-nu iš-te-né-eʾ-ù pí-it-lu-ḫu bé-e-lu-ut-su-un*	*na-a-dam la mu-up-pa-ar-ku-ù*	*mu-uš-te-eʾ-ù ba-la-ṭam*
ša-ak-ka-na-ak-ku la a-ne-ḫa	GÌR.NÍTA *la a-ne-ḫa*	*za-ni-in é-sag-íl ù é-zi-da*	*na-aʾ-dam la mu-up-pa-ar-ku-ù*
ša a-na zi-in-na-a-ti é-sag-íl ù é-zi-da u₄-mi-ša-am ti-iṣ-mu-ru-ú-ma da-am-qá-a-ti KÁ.DINGIR.RA.KI *ù bár-sipa*.KI *iš-te-né-eʾ-ú ka-a-a-nam*	*ša a-na zi-in-na-a-ti é-sag-íl ù é-zi-da u₄-mi-ša-am ti-iṣ-mu-ru-ma da-am-qá-a-ti* KÁ.DINGIR.RA.KI *ù bar-sí-pa*.KI *iš-te-né-eʾ-ú ka-a-a-nam*	DUMU ᵈ*na-bi-um*-IBILA-*ú-ṣu-úr šar ba-bi-lam*.KI	*ba-bi-il i-gi-se-e ra-bí-ù-tim* ⌜*a*⌝-*na é-sag-íl*
e-em-qá mu-ut-né-en-nu-ú	*e-em-qá mu-ut-né-en-nu-ú*		⌜*e*⌝-*em-qá mu-ut-né-en-nu-ú*
za-ni-in é-sag-íl ù é-zi-da	*za-nin é-sag-íl ù é-zi-da*		*za-ni-in é-sag-íl ù é-zi-da*
IBILA *a-ša-re-du ša* ᵈ*na-bi-um*-IBILA-*ú-ṣu-úr* LUGAL TIN.TIR.KI	IBILA *a-ša-re-du ša* ᵈAG-IBILA-*ú-ṣu-úr* LUGAL KÁ.DINGIR.RA.KI		IBILA *a-ša-re-dam ša* ᵈAG-IBILA-⌜*ú-ṣu-úr*⌝ LUGAL KÁ.⌜DINGIR.RA⌝.KI

Bibliography

Abbreviations

ABL   R. F. Harper, Assyrian and Babylonian Letters

AHW   W. von Soden, Akkadisches Handwörterbuch, 1–3

AOAT   Alter Orient und Altes Testament

CAD   A. L. Oppenheim/E. Reiner et al. (ed.), The Assyrian Dictionary of the University of Chicago

JCS   Journal of Cuneiform Studies

PSBA   Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology

RIMA   The Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia, Assyrian Periods

RIME   The Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia, Early Periods

RINAP   The Royal Inscriptions of the Neo-Assyrian Period

RINBE   The Royal Inscriptions of the Neo-Babylonian Empire

RlA   Reallexikon der Assyriologie

SAA   State Archives of Assyria

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