

# Introduction

In the mid-650s, a few years before Egypt declared itself independent under Psammetichus I with the help of Carian and Ionian mercenaries and before Šamaš-šuma-ukīn rebelled, the Assyrian Empire had reached the apex of its territorial expansion.<sup>1</sup> Ashurbanipal's vast holdings stretched from the Zagros Mountains in the east to the Mediterranean Sea and Cilicia in the west. Ruling from the capital Nineveh, he managed his extensive kingdom with the aid of his trusted officials, including at least seventy-one provincial governors.<sup>2</sup> Moreover, the Empire had close ties with no less than thirty-nine client states,<sup>3</sup> including many important Phoenician port cities in the Levant, who regularly supplied building materials for building projects in the Assyrian heartland, the so-called "Aššur-Nineveh-Arbela" triangle. Although Ashurbanipal declared victory over his older brother in late 648 (after 30-V), when Šamaš-šuma-ukīn committed suicide or was killed and when the citizens of Babylon voluntarily opened the city's eight gates after a protracted siege,<sup>4</sup> the strength of the Assyrian Empire was waning and its reputation was in tatters. The loss of Egypt as a client a few years earlier (ca. 653) did not help. The punitive military expeditions that Ashurbanipal launched in 647–644, especially against Elam in western Iran and the Qedarite tribal leaders on the Arabian peninsula, only made matters worse, especially after the Assyrian army had destroyed the Elamite religious center Susa.<sup>5</sup> The well-oiled machine that was the Assyrian Empire was visibly starting to rust and, if its collapse had not yet been written on the wall, it was at least imaginable, something that would have been unfathomable only a few years earlier, before Ashurbanipal and Šamaš-šuma-ukīn went to war. Assyria's fortunes continued to decline during Ashurbanipal's final years on the throne, as well as during the reigns of his successors, Aššur-etel-ilāni, Sîn-šuma-lišir, and Sîn-šarra-iškun. Ashurbanipal's inability or failure to closely manage the transition of power, as his father Esarhaddon and grandmother Naqī'a (Zakūtu) had carefully done, further weakened Assyria, both at home and with its contemporaries (especially in Babylonia),<sup>6</sup> as members of the royal family and influential officials vied for power. In 612, less than twenty years after Ashurbanipal's death, the once-grand and once-all-important Assyrian metropolis Nineveh was captured and destroyed by a Babylonian-Median alliance led by Nabopolassar and Cyaxares (Umakištar) and its final Aššur-appointed king, Sîn-šarra-iškun, was dead. Three years later, in 609, the Assyrian Empire ceased to exist when its last ruler, Aššur-uballiṭ II, fled the city of Ḫarrān before an advancing Babylonian army and was never heard from again. The Assyrian Empire was gone, but not forgotten.

Some aspects of Ashurbanipal's reign and his inscriptions have already been discussed in the introduction to Parts 1 and 2 and that information will not be repeated here. Therefore, interested readers should consult the introductions of RINAP 5/1 and RINAP 5/2 for surveys of Ashurbanipal's inscribed objects from Assyrian cities, an overview of previous editions, studies of his military campaigns and building activities in Assyria, information about the chronology of his long reign, and translations of relevant passages in king lists and

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<sup>1</sup> According to a Babylonian chronicle, the Šamaš-šuma-ukīn rebellion began on 19-X-652. For an overview of the so-called "Brothers' War," see Novotny and Jeffers, RINAP 5/1 pp. 22–23; and, for a chronological outline of the revolt, see Frame, *Babylonia* pp. 188–190.

<sup>2</sup> For details about the Assyrian provinces, see Radner, RLA 11/1–2 (2006) pp. 42–68.

<sup>3</sup> Lauinger, *Texts and Contexts* pp. 289–290; and Radner, SAAS 29 pp. 313–314 (with n. 25).

<sup>4</sup> Babylon fell sometime after 30-V-648; BM 40577 is the last economic document from Babylon dated by Šamaš-šuma-ukīn's regnal years. Ashurbanipal's own inscriptions state that the gods threw the king of Babylon into a raging conflagration. It is uncertain from this cryptic remark whether Šamaš-šuma-ukīn took his own life or was murdered by his once-loyal supporters. For some details, see Novotny and Jeffers, RINAP 5/1 p. 23 n. 146.

<sup>5</sup> For overviews of these campaigns, see Novotny and Jeffers, RINAP 5/1 pp. 23–26.

<sup>6</sup> Nabopolassar, a "son of a nobody," seized the throne of Babylon while Sîn-šuma-lišir and Sîn-šarra-iškun fought for control of Assyria after the death of Aššur-etel-ilāni. For further information, see the section *Aššur-etel-ilāni and His Chief Eunuch Sîn-šuma-lišir* below.

Babylonian chronicles. The introduction to the present volume includes information about the texts included in Part 3 and the texts excluded from RINAP 5; a survey of the inscribed objects included in Part 3; Ashurbanipal's building Activities in Babylonia and the East Tigris Region; the end of Ashurbanipal's reign; and Assyria under the Empire's last rulers Aššur-etel-ilāni, Sîn-šuma-lišir, Sîn-šarra-iškun, and Aššur-uballiṭ II. The introduction also includes English translations of three Babylonian Chronicles, including the so-called "Fall of Nineveh Chronicle," which documents the final years of Assyria as a political entity.

### Texts Included in Part 3

RINAP 5 was originally conceived as being split into three parts. Part 1 was to include all of the historical inscriptions on clay prisms, clay cylinders, and wall slabs and other stone objects from Nineveh, Aššur, and Kalḫu; Part 2 was to edit together the texts of Ashurbanipal preserved on clay tablets; and Part 3 was to contain all of Ashurbanipal's Babylonian inscriptions, the royal inscriptions of Aššur-etel-ilāni and Sîn-šarra-iškun, as well as the texts whose attribution is uncertain (the 1000-numbered texts) and inscriptions written in the names of other members of the royal family (the queens) and officials (including loyal supporters in Babylonia). In 2018, however, the authors had felt that RINAP 5 should be published in two parts, rather than in three parts; this is stated several times in Part 1, especially in the book's introduction. During the course of the preparation of Part 2, it became increasingly clear that the original plan to split the corpus of inscriptions of Ashurbanipal, Aššur-etel-ilāni, and Sîn-šarra-iškun into three parts was the most viable option for publishing this large group of texts. Thus, RINAP 5 once again became a three-part volume.

Part 3 contains all of the certainly-identifiable and positively-attributable inscriptions of Ashurbanipal discovered in Babylonia (mostly from Babylon), in the East Tigris Region (Dēr), and outside of the Assyrian Empire, mostly at the Persian capital Persepolis, together with some texts that have been tentatively attributed to Ashurbanipal (the 1000-number texts, as defined in the Editorial Notes), inscriptions of some members of Ashurbanipal's family — his wife Libbāli-šarrat, as well as his sons and successors Aššur-etel-ilāni and Sîn-šarra-iškun<sup>7</sup> — and loyal officials (namely Sîn-balāssu-iqbi, governor of Ur). In total, 106 inscriptions are edited in the present volume. The contents of these texts fall into three broad categories: (1) building and display inscriptions, (2) dedicatory inscriptions, and (3) proprietary labels. Other subgenres of royal compositions (for example, historical-literary texts, colophons, and land grants in the form of dedications) are excluded entirely from RINAP 5; see below for details.

Most of the inscriptions included in Part 3 are composed in the Standard Babylonian dialect of Akkadian (with Assyrianisms). A handful of inscriptions, mostly written or stamped on bricks, were composed in Sumerian. The texts from Assyria are written in Neo-Assyrian script, while those from Babylonia are usually, but not always, in contemporary or archaizing Neo-Babylonian script.

### Texts Excluded from RINAP 5/3

Numerous textual sources relating to Ashurbanipal fall outside the scope of this volume. In particular, the numerous Ashurbanipal colophons,<sup>8</sup> which one could classify as a type of royal inscription, and the texts assigned to the reign of Ashurbanipal and his successors that are edited in the SAA series are excluded from RINAP 5, as already mentioned in the introduction of Part 2.<sup>9</sup> There are numerous texts that were catalogued, copied, edited, referred to, or transliterated in Bauer, Asb. and Borger, BIWA that the authors decided not to include in Part 3, thereby excluding them entirely from RINAP 5. In the case of some of the texts, the decision was fairly easy and straightforward, whereas in the case of others, it was not since it was difficult to determine whether the text should be regarded as a royal inscription (in the strictest sense; for example, an annalistic text or a summary inscription in the style of the inscriptions written on clay prisms or a dedicatory inscription) or as a historical-literary composition (for example, the Ashurbanipal Epic or the Epical Narrative Relating to Ashurbanipal's Elamite Wars).<sup>10</sup> Texts that were regarded as royal inscriptions, but whose

<sup>7</sup> The inscriptions of Ashurbanipal's older brother Šamaš-šuma-ukīn are not edited in RINAP 5. For editions of the inscriptions of that king of Babylon, see Frame, RIMB 2 pp. 248–259 B.6.33.1–2001.

<sup>8</sup> This rich source material, however, will be soon be edited as part of the Reading the Library of Ashurbanipal Project, a collaborative, online project between the British Museum and Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München directed by Enrique Jiménez and Jonathan Taylor.

<sup>9</sup> See Jeffers and Novotny, RINAP 5/2 p. 3 for further details.

<sup>10</sup> See, for example, Livingstone, SAA 3 pp. 48–52 nos. 19–22.

attribution to Ashurbanipal is (highly) uncertain, are sometimes edited as 1000-numbers in this volume and sometimes excluded from RINAP 5 altogether, depending on those texts' current states of preservation. Texts that the authors considered to be historical-literary compositions are also not included in RINAP 5; the majority of these were edited or catalogued in Bauer, *Asb.* pp. 71–82.<sup>11</sup> As it is not yet possible to categorize the genre and assign a royal 'author' of each and every one of these fragments with a high degree of confidence, it is inevitable that not every previously published Ashurbanipal royal inscription has made it into RINAP 5. Therefore, it is very likely that the authors of the present volume excluded some texts that should have been included in Part 3, even as a 1000-number. Given the poor state of preservation of some of the texts, this was unavoidable. Through new joins and new pieces, hopefully some of the issues the present authors faced in the preparation of this volume will be eventually resolved.

YBC 2171 (Stephens, YOS 9 no. 80), an Assyrian inscription written on a clay cylinder that A.K. Grayson attributed to Sîn-šarra-iškun, is not included with the inscriptions of that Assyrian ruler since the present authors see no conclusive proof that that text was composed while Sîn-šarra-iškun was king of Assyria.<sup>12</sup> As already proposed by R. Borger and J.A. Brinkman, that inscription likely dates to the time of the much earlier Assyrian king Ninurta-tukultī-Aššur and, thus, is not edited in RINAP 5/3.<sup>13</sup>

Moreover, there are numerous still-to-be-published and still-to-be-attributed Neo-Assyrian royal inscriptions whose royal 'authors' are yet to be positively identified. The bulk of these badly-damaged texts are in the DT, K, Rm, and Sm collections of the British Museum (London). Although many of these texts have been transliterated since the 1980s by G. Frame, A.K. Grayson, E. Leichty, and other scholars associated directly or indirectly with the RIM and RINAP projects, this large group of Assyrian 'historical' texts are not edited in RINAP 5/3, despite it being the last volume of inscriptions to appear in the RIMA and RINAP series. Instead, these poorly-preserved sources will first be disseminated online, in an open-access format and, thus, the work of these scholars will be made accessible via CDLI, eBL, and Oracc, principally through RIAo and RINAPo.<sup>14</sup>

### Survey of the Inscribed Objects Included in Part 3

The corpus of firmly identifiable inscriptions of Ashurbanipal and his successors Aššur-etel-ilāni and Sîn-šarra-iškun currently comprises 295 texts; a further 30 late Neo-Assyrian inscriptions which might be attributed to Ashurbanipal, although some very arbitrarily, are also edited here (*Asb.* 1001–1030). In addition, two texts are ascribed to his wife/wives, including a round-topped stele of Libbāli-šarrat (*Asb.* 2001), and sixteen are written in the name of a loyal official of his in Babylonia, Sîn-balāssu-iqbi, the governor of Ur. Inscriptions of Assyria's last rulers, including those edited in Parts 1 and 2, are presently found on a wide variety of clay, stone, and metal objects, specifically:

<i>Object Type</i>	<i>Text No.</i>
Clay prisms	<i>Asb.</i> 1–8, 9 (exs. 1–6, 8–28, 30–31, 33–34, 37–56, 58–95, 97–145, 148–153, 155–159, 162–163, 165–171, 173–203, 205–41*), 10–20; <i>Ssi</i> 7–9
Clay vertical cylinders	<i>Asb.</i> 9 (exs. 7, 29, 32, 35–36, 57, 96, 146–147, 154, 160–161, 164, 172, 204)
Clay tablets	<i>Asb.</i> 72–240, 255, 264, 1001–1029, 2002; <i>Aei</i> 2–3, 6 (ex. 2); <i>Ssi</i> 6, 15–18
Clay cylinders	<i>Asb.</i> 21, 241–245, 252–253, 258, 262–263, 265; <i>Aei</i> 6 (exs. 1, 3); <i>Ssi</i> 1–5, 10, 19
Clay cones/nails	<i>Asb.</i> 2004–2005; <i>Ssi</i> 11
Clay bulla	<i>Ssi</i> 20
Clay disks	<i>Asb.</i> 2006
Clay drum-shaped object	<i>Asb.</i> 2007
Bricks (including glazed bricks)	<i>Asb.</i> 71, 247–251, 256–257, 259–261, 2008–2018; <i>Aei</i> 1, 4–5; <i>Ssi</i> 13–14

<sup>11</sup> Most of these texts will eventually be included in the fragmentarium of Enrique Jiménez' Electronic Babylonian Literature (eBL) Project (<https://www.ebl.lmu.de/> [last accessed January 25, 2023]).

<sup>12</sup> Grayson, *Studies Winnett* p. 168; and Grayson, *ARI* 1 p. 143 §933. The object is often referred to as a "prism" in earlier literature.

<sup>13</sup> Borger, *EAK* 1 pp. 100–102; and Brinkman, *PKB* p. 102 n. 557.

<sup>14</sup> Respectively <https://cdli.ucla.edu>, <https://www.ebl.lmu.de/>, <http://oracc.org/riao/>, and <http://oracc.org/rinap/>.

<i>Object Type</i>	<i>Text No.</i>
Stone anthropomorphic statues	Asb. 63
Stone tablets	Asb. 61–62
Stone human-headed bull colossi	Asb. 64 (ex. 1)
Wall slabs (including slabs with reliefs)	Asb. 22–58, 64 (ex. 2)
Stone blocks and paving stones	Asb. 59–60; Ssi 12
Stone door sockets	Asb. 2003
Stone vessels (various types)	Asb. 68–70, 269; Ssi 21–2001
Small stone objects (including beads)	Asb. 266–268
Stamp seals (including impressions)	Asb. 65–67
Steles	Asb. 246, 254, 2001
Rock faces	Asb. 1030
Gold beaker	Asb. 270

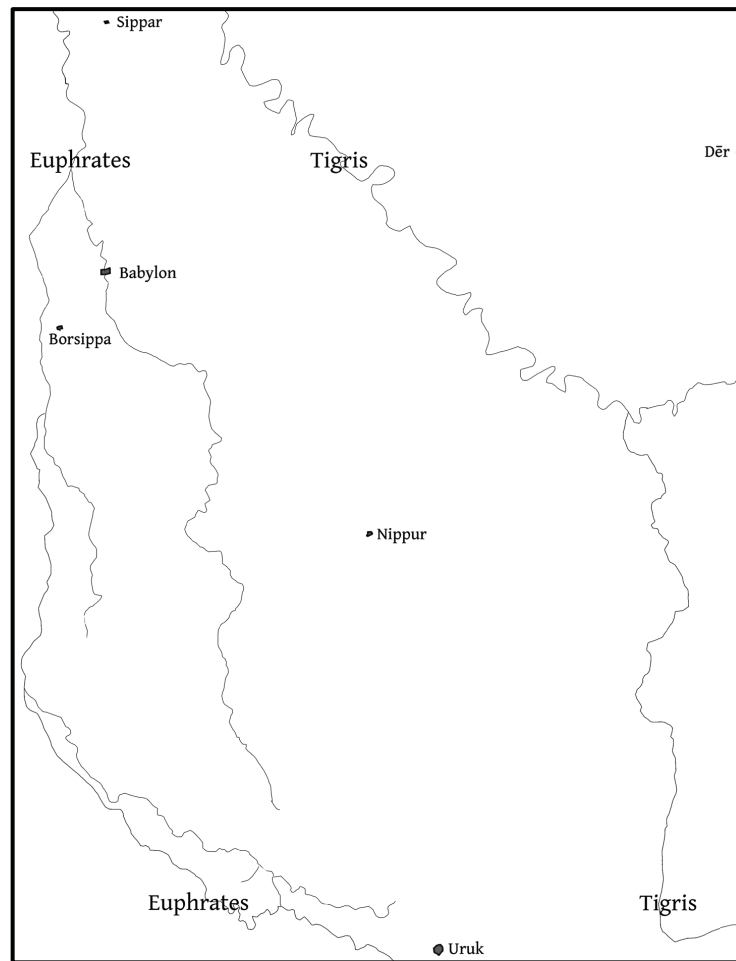


Figure 1. Map showing cities in Babylonia and the East Tigris region where clay cylinders of Ashurbanipal have been discovered.

### *Clay Cylinders*

Numerous building and display inscriptions of Ashurbanipal from Babylonia and the East Tigris region were written on clay cylinders.<sup>15</sup> These originate from Agade (modern identification unknown), Babylon, Borsippa (modern Birs Nimrud), Dēr (modern Tell Aqar), Nippur (modern Nuffar), Sippar (modern Tell Abu Habbah), and

<sup>15</sup> Asb. 241–245, 252–253, 258, 262–263, and 265.

Uruk (modern Warka). All of these texts are written in Akkadian (Standard Babylonian, with Assyrianisms), but the script in which they are written varies. The texts are generally inscribed in contemporary or archaizing Neo-Babylonian script, but a few texts are either written (on different exemplars) in both contemporary and archaizing Neo-Babylonian script and in Neo-Assyrian script.<sup>16</sup> The inscriptions, when completely preserved, vary in length from twenty-four to thirty-three lines of text and are always written in a single column. These building inscriptions and display inscriptions follow four basic patterns. The first, which is a dedicatory inscription, contains: (1) a dedication to the deity whose temple, shrine, sanctuary, or ziggurat was being renovated/rebuilt; (2) the king's name, titles, and epithets; (3) a statement about what Ashurbanipal accomplished in Babylon during his reign; (4) a short building account; and (5) a concluding formula, with advice to future rulers and blessings and curses for those who obey and disregard Ashurbanipal's instructions on how to treat his inscribed objects.<sup>17</sup> The second, which is also classified as a dedicatory inscription, comprises the following five sections: (1) a dedication to a god or goddess; (2) the king's name, titles, and epithets; (3) a brief statement on why Ashurbanipal undertook the work; (4) a short building account; and (5) a statement about what the deity for whom the construction work was undertaken should do in response to Ashurbanipal's pious deeds.<sup>18</sup> The third group of dedicatory inscriptions combines elements from both of the Ashurbanipal dedicatory inscription types described above and it includes: (1) an opening dedication; (2) the king's name, titles, and epithets; (3) a statement about what Ashurbanipal accomplished in Babylon during his reign; (4) a short building account; (5) a statement about what the deity for whom the construction work was undertaken should do in response to Ashurbanipal's pious deeds; and (6) concluding formula, with advice to future rulers with blessings and curses.<sup>19</sup> The fourth type is a building, or display, inscription, which contains: (1) the king's name, titles, and epithets; (2) a statement about what Ashurbanipal accomplished in Babylon during his reign; (3) a short building account; (4) a passage describing what the deity for whom the repair work was carried out should do on account of Ashurbanipal's pious deeds; and (5) Ashurbanipal's advice against destroying his inscribed objects, with accompanying curses for anyone who harms his foundation documents.<sup>20</sup> Regarding the contents of the building accounts included in these inscriptions, they record some of the numerous building projects completed by Ashurbanipal at Babylon, including the renovation of its walls Imgur-Enlil ("The God Enlil Has Shown Favor") and Nēmetti-Enlil ("Bulwark of the God Enlil"); the restoration of Tābi-supūršu ("Its Fold Is Pleasant"), the city wall of Borsippa; the reconstruction of Egigunû, the ziggurat temple of the god Enlil at Nippur; the rebuilding of Ebabbar ("Shining House"), the temple of the sun-god Šamaš at Sippar; the restoration of Eanna ("House of Heaven"), the temple of the goddess Ištar at Uruk; and the rebuilding of Edimgalkalama ("House, Great Bond of the Land"), the temple of the god Anu rabû ("Great Anu" = Ištarān) at Dēr.<sup>21</sup> Most of the inscriptions were written before the outbreak of hostilities with his older brother Šamaš-šuma-ukīn in 652 since those texts mention him in a favorable manner.<sup>22</sup> None of Ashurbanipal's cylinders are dated, as one expects from Babylonian cylinder inscriptions.

A twenty-line Akkadian inscription of Aššur-etel-ilāni is preserved on two clay cylinders.<sup>23</sup> The text records that that Assyrian king returned the body of the Chaldean sheikh Šamaš-ibni to its proper burial place; the bones of that ruler had been in Assyria since the time of his grandfather Esarhaddon. Since all of the copies of

<sup>16</sup> Asb. 248, 252, 253 (ex. 3), 258, 263, and 265 are written in contemporary Neo-Babylonian script. Asb. 242 and 247 are written in an archaizing script. Copies of Asb. 241 and 262 are written in both contemporary and archaizing Neo-Babylonian scripts. Asb. 243–245 and 253 (exs. 1–2 and 4) are written in Neo-Assyrian script.

<sup>17</sup> Asb. 241 and 253. Section 1 begins with *ana DN* "to DN"; section 2 starts with *anāku Aššur-bāni-apli* "I, Ashurbanipal"; section 3 opens with *ina palēya* "during my reign"; section 4 commences with *ina ūmēšūma* "at that time"; and section 5 begins with *rubū arkū* "O future ruler." In Asb. 253, the opening two words of section 3 are completely restored and the first words of sections 4–5 are partially preserved.

<sup>18</sup> Asb. 258. Section 1 begins with *ana DN* "to DN"; section 2 starts with *Aššur-bāni-apli* "Ashurbanipal"; section 3 opens with *ana balātīšu* "in order to ensure his good health"; section 4 commences with the name of the building being renovated; and section 5 begins with *ana šatti* "on account of this."

<sup>19</sup> Asb. 263. Section 1 begins *ana DN* "to DN"; section 2 starts with *Aššur-bāni-apli* "Ashurbanipal"; section 3 opens with *ina palēya* "during my reign"; section 4 commences with *ina ūmēšūma* "at that time"; section 5 begins with *ana šatti* "on account of this"; and section 6 starts with *ayyumma rubū arkū* "any future ruler."

<sup>20</sup> Asb. 242–245 and 262. There are two subtypes. As for the first subtype (Asb. 243–245), section 1 begins with *Aššur-bāni-apli* "Ashurbanipal"; section 2 starts with *šipir Esagil ša abu bānū'a la uqattū* "the work on Esagil that the father who engendered me had not finished"; section 3 commences with *ina ūmēšūma* "at that time"; section 4 begins with the name of the deity for whom the work was undertaken or *ana šatti* "on account of this"; and section 5 starts with *ša šumī šaṭru* "(but as for) the one who ... my inscribed name." As for the second subtype (Asb. 242 and 262), section 1 begins with *Aššur-bāni-apli* "Ashurbanipal"; section 2 opens with *ina palēya* "during my reign"; section 3 starts with *ina ūmēšūma* "at that time"; section 4 begins with *ana šatti* "on account of this"; section 5 begins with *matīma ina ahrāt ūmē* "at any time in the future"; and section 6 commences with *ša šumī šaṭru* "(but as for) the one who ... my inscribed name."

<sup>21</sup> See the section *Ashurbanipal's Building Activities in Babylonia and the East Tigris Region* below for further information.

<sup>22</sup> For details, see the section *Dates of Ashurbanipal's Babylonian Inscriptions* below.

<sup>23</sup> Ae1 6 exs. 1 and 3.



this inscription were purchased, including one written on a clay tablet (see below), the original find spots of this text are not known.

Seven extant inscriptions of Sîn-šarra-iškun are written on clay cylinders.<sup>24</sup> These were discovered at Aššur (modern Qal'at Širqāt), Kalḫu (modern Nimrud), and Nineveh (modern Kuyunjik). These building (or display) inscriptions are always written in (Standard Babylonian) Akkadian, in Neo-Assyrian script, and in a single column of text. Some of the cylinders have ruling lines between each line of text, or every second line of text, while others have no ruling lines at all, apart from before and after the line containing the date when the cylinder was inscribed.<sup>25</sup> These inscriptions record some of Sîn-šarra-iškun's building activities, especially his rebuilding of the Nabû temples Egidrukalamasumu ("House Which Bestows the Scepter of the Land") and Ezida ("True House"), as well as repairs that he had made to his great-grandfather Sennacherib's palace (Egalzagdinutukua, The "Palace Without a Rival"; = the South-West Palace).<sup>26</sup> The inscriptions, as far as they are preserved, can all be classified as building (or display) inscriptions. These begin with Sîn-šarra-iškun's name, a (detailed) statement about how the gods actively support him — which ultimately resulted in him becoming the king of Assyria — and his genealogy (which he traces back four generations to his great-great-grandfather Sargon II).<sup>27</sup> This is followed by a passage about his piety and devotion towards supporting Assyria's temples and cults<sup>28</sup> and the main topic of the text: the building account.<sup>29</sup> The inscriptions conclude with advice to future rulers, together with applicable blessings and curses.<sup>30</sup> The cylinders, at least the ones that are presently-known, are always dated. The preserved dates record that Sîn-šarra-iškun's cylinders were inscribed in the eponymies of Bēl-aḫu-ušur (palace overseer; Ssi 10), Dādī (chief treasurer; Ssi 19), Nabû-tappūtī-alik (chief eunuch; Ssi 1), and Sîn-šarru-ušur, (governor of Ḫindānu; Ssi 3).<sup>31</sup>

### Clay Prisms

Seven fragmentarily-preserved, multi-faceted clay prisms of Sîn-šarra-iškun survive today.<sup>32</sup> They all come from Aššur and are inscribed with texts recording Sîn-šarra-iškun's construction of the Nabû temple at Aššur. One text (Ssi 7) duplicates verbatim an inscription that is also written on clay cylinders (Ssi 10; see the previous section) and one text (Ssi 9) is an earlier version of that inscription (Ssi 7 and 10).<sup>33</sup> Interestingly, Sîn-šarra-iškun's scribes first wrote out building inscriptions for Nabû's temple at Aššur on clay prisms before changing the medium of those texts to clay cylinders. This is the opposite of what Esarhaddon did for inscriptions of his recording his rebuilding of Ešarra ("House of the Universe"), the Aššur temple at Aššur.<sup>34</sup>

### Clay Tablets

Numerous clay tablets and tablet fragments with inscriptions of late Neo-Assyrian rulers are known, especially from the reigns of Sennacherib, Esarhaddon, and Ashurbanipal. These objects principally come from Nineveh, but also from other important cities in the Assyrian heartland, namely Aššur, Dūr-Šarrukīn (modern Khorsabad), Kalḫu, and Uruk.<sup>35</sup> In addition to the 140 inscriptions of Ashurbanipal written on tablets edited in

<sup>24</sup> Ssi 1–5, 10, and 19. YBC 2171 (Stephens, YOS 9 no. 80), as mentioned above, is not included here. See the section *Texts Excluded from RINAP* 5/3 above.

<sup>25</sup> Ssi 1–5 and 19 have horizontal rulings between each line of text. Ssi 10 exs. 1 and 3 have rulings after every second line of text. Ssi 10 ex. 2 is not ruled, except for before and after its date line.

<sup>26</sup> See the section *Sîn-šarra-iškun, Aššur-uballiṭ II, and the End of the Assyrian Empire* below for details on this king's building activities.

<sup>27</sup> These inscriptions always start with *anāku Sîn-šarra-iškun* "I, Sîn-šarra-iškun" and end with the name of his great-great-grandfather Sargon II. Sîn-šarra-iškun is unusual in that he traces his genealogy back four generations. For example, Esarhaddon and Ashurbanipal give only the names of their fathers and grandfathers.

<sup>28</sup> This section begins with *ina rēš šarrūtiya*, "at the beginning of my reign," or *ultu Aššur ... qātū'a umallū*, "after the god Aššur placed ... into my hands."

<sup>29</sup> The building report usually commences with *ina ūmēšū(ma)* "at that time," but it can also start with *ina rēš šarrūtiya*, "at the beginning of my reign."

<sup>30</sup> This section begins with *rubū arkū* "(May) a future ruler." Ssi 1 includes only blessings, while Ssi 10 and 19 have both blessings and curses.

<sup>31</sup> The names of the eponym-officials are presented in alphabetical order. For a discussion of their chronological sequence, see the section *Eponym Dates* below.

<sup>32</sup> Ssi 7–9. All of Ashurbanipal's inscriptions written on clay prisms are discussed and edited in Novotny and Jeffers, RINAP 5/1 pp. 2–4 and 37–290 Asb. 1–20.

<sup>33</sup> Ssi 8 is not sufficiently preserved to be able to determine whether it is earlier or later than Ssi 7, 9, and 10. VA 7506 (+) VA 7518 (Ssi 9) was inscribed in the eponymy of Aššur-mātu-taqin, governor of (U)pummu, and VA 5060 (+) LB 1323 (Ssi 10 ex. 1) was inscribed in the eponymate of the palace overseer Bēl-aḫu-ušur. On the sequence of these two *limmu*-officials, see the *Eponym Dates* section below (p. 41).

<sup>34</sup> Esarhaddon 59 (Aššur B) was written before Esarhaddon 57 (Aššur A) and, presumably, Esarhaddon 58 (Aššur B). For editions of these texts, see Leichty, RINAP 4 pp. 119–134.

<sup>35</sup> For discussions of these, see Tadmor and Yamada, RINAP 1 pp. 9–10; Frame, RINAP 2 p. 7; Grayson and Novotny, RINAP 3/2 pp. 5–8; Leichty, RINAP 4 pp. 3–4; and Jeffers and Novotny, RINAP 5/2 pp. 3–9.

Part 2, 3 additional Akkadian texts known only from tablets date with certainty to Ashurbanipal's reign.<sup>36</sup> The first is an archival copy of an inscription of a wife of Ashurbanipal (possibly Libbāli-šarrat) that she had written on the reddish gold plating of an object that she had had made and dedicated to the goddess Tašmētu, the wife of the god Nabû.<sup>37</sup> The second is an archival copy of an inscription that had been written on the metal plating of a ceremonial cart (*attaru*) dedicated to a deity at Uruk, possibly that city's tutelary goddess Ištar.<sup>38</sup> The third might record the dedication of a lamp to the god Marduk at Babylon or the god Nabû at Borsippa, but, since virtually nothing of that inscription survives, that interpretation is far from certain.<sup>39</sup>

Six tablets bearing three Akkadian inscriptions of Aššur-etel-ilāni and five Akkadian inscriptions of Sîn-šarra-iškun are known.<sup>40</sup> These texts of the former ruler come from Babylonia and, thus, are generally written in contemporary Neo-Babylonian script,<sup>41</sup> while those of the latter king originate from Aššur and Nineveh and are written in Neo-Assyrian script. Six of the eight texts are archival copies or drafts of short dedicatory inscriptions that had been written on the metal plating of an object dedicated to one of the king's patron deities. Aššur-etel-ilāni's dedicatory texts record the creation of a *musukkannu*-wood offering table (*paššuru*) and a gold scepter (*haṭtu*) for Marduk at Babylon and Sippar-Aruru (Dūr-Šarrukku).<sup>42</sup> The dedicatory inscriptions of Sîn-šarra-iškun from Aššur record the fashioning of a *kallu*-bowl and a *šulpu*-bowl for the god Nabû, a silver spoon (*itqūru*) for the goddess Tašmētu, and *musukkannu*-wood offering tables (*paššuru*) for the goddesses Antu and Šala.<sup>43</sup> As for the other two inscriptions on tablets, one records that Aššur-etel-ilāni returned the body of the Chaldean sheikh Šamaš-ibni to its proper burial place, while the other gives an account of Sîn-šarra-iškun's work on the city wall of Nineveh.<sup>44</sup> The latter tablet is an archival copy of an inscription that was written on clay cylinders deposited in the mud-brick structure of Nineveh's wall Badnigalbilukurašūšu ("Wall Whose Brilliance Overwhelms Enemies").<sup>45</sup> Unusually, the tablet is dated. It was inscribed in the month Ulūlu (VI), in the eponymy of the palace overseer Bēl-aḥu-ušur.<sup>46</sup>

A number of fragmentarily-preserved clay tablets bearing Akkadian inscriptions are arbitrarily edited in this volume.<sup>47</sup> Given their heavily-damaged state of preservation, their attribution to Ashurbanipal or to another late Neo-Assyrian king (for example, Sennacherib or Esarhaddon) is uncertain. These fragments merit no further comment, especially since it is not possible to determine these texts' subgenre (for example, dedicatory inscription or annalistic text).

### Clay Cones

It has been remarked that clay cones "are certainly the most unusual of the variety of objects upon which Assyrian royal inscriptions were inscribed. Unlike bricks, statues, reliefs, steles, and even clay tablets, the form and function of which are immediately recognizable, the clay cones do not fit any pattern familiar to our modern minds."<sup>48</sup> Moreover, "cone" — or "knob," "boss," "peg," or "nail" as used in other scholarly literature — is not really an adequate translation of the Akkadian word *sikkatu*, the term for these objects that appears regularly in the corpus of Assyrian royal inscriptions. Although there is quite a diversity in the shape of these *sikkatu*, the cones all have a tapered shaft that comes almost to a point and a large, hollow, semi-spherical head; the shaft was sometimes inserted into the center of a decorated clay plate and the combined cone and

<sup>36</sup> Asb. 255, 264, and 2002.

<sup>37</sup> Libbāli-šarrat is the only known-by-name wife of Ashurbanipal and, therefore, it is possible that this inscription was also written in her name.

<sup>38</sup> The text is not sufficiently preserved to be certain to whom the ceremonial cart had been dedicated. The attribution of the inscription to Ashurbanipal is based solely on the fact that the tablet (W 22669/3) was discovered at Uruk.

<sup>39</sup> CBS 733 + CBS 1757 contains a second, longer inscription, very likely written in the name of Ashurbanipal's older brother, Šamaš-šum-ukīn, the king of Babylon. See Frame, RIMB 2 pp. 256–257 B.6.33.5 for an edition of and further information about that text.

<sup>40</sup> Aei 2–3 and 6 (ex. 2); and Ssi 6 and 15–18.

<sup>41</sup> Aei 3 (VAT 13142), which was found at Babylon, is written in Neo-Assyrian script.

<sup>42</sup> Aei 2–3. PTS 2253 (Aei 2) includes a private two-line note at the end which mentions food offerings of a certain Nādin, son of Bēl-aḥḥē-īqīša, that were delivered in the 3rd year of the reign of the Achaemenid king Cambyses II (527). Thus, PTS 2253 is a much later copy of that Akkadian inscription of Aššur-etel-ilāni. The tablet might originate from Uruk, rather than Babylon, since Nādin, son of Bēl-aḥḥē-īqīša (line 22), is probably to be identified with a scribe by that name who is known at Uruk from the reign of Neriglissar into the reign of Cambyses. See the commentary of Aei 2 for further details.

<sup>43</sup> Ssi 15–18.

<sup>44</sup> Aei 6 (ex. 2) and Ssi 6.

<sup>45</sup> The Sumerian ceremonial name of Nineveh's wall (*dūru*) is known from Sennacherib's inscriptions. See Grayson and Novotny, RINAP 3/1 pp. 17–19. No clay cylinders bearing this inscription have yet been positively identified.

<sup>46</sup> On the date, see the section *Eponym Dates* below.

<sup>47</sup> Asb. 1001–1029.

<sup>48</sup> Donbaz and Grayson, RICCA p. 1.

plate were placed in the interior room of a building with the plate flat against the wall and the head of the cone protruding.<sup>49</sup> The cones themselves, like their companion plates, could be enameled with a variety of colors (black, white, yellow, brown, red, green, and blue).

At present, the only known Akkadian inscription written on clay cones from the 668–612 period dates to the reign of Sîn-šarra-iškun.<sup>50</sup> That Akkadian text, which is known from at least fifteen cones inscribed in the eponymy of the chief cook Sa'ilu (see the section *Eponym Dates* below), records in a very cursory fashion Sîn-šarra-iškun's construction of the god Nabû's temple at Aššur.<sup>51</sup>

In addition, at least two Sumerian inscriptions of Sîn-balāssu-iqbi, one of the governors of Ur while Ashurbanipal was king, were written on clay cones (which are more in the shape of a nail), all of which originate from Ur (modern Tell Muqayyar).<sup>52</sup> The first text, which is known from a single exemplar, states that that governor restored Etemnigurru ("House, Foundation Clad in Awe-Inspiring Radiance"), the ziggurat terrace of Ekišnugal, the temple complex of the moon-god at Ur.<sup>53</sup> The second inscription, which is attested from thirteen different exemplars, states that Sîn-balāssu-iqbi rebuilt Gipāru(ku) and constructed a statue for the goddess Ningal, the consort of Sîn (Nanna).<sup>54</sup>

### *Miscellaneous Clay Objects*

Less than a handful of inscriptions are written on other types of clay objects. These are: (1) a bulla with a clay sealing discovered in the Review Palace at Kalḫu bearing a two-word proprietary label of Sîn-šarra-iškun; (2) eight clay disks from Ur inscribed with a sixteen-line Akkadian inscription of Sîn-balāssu-iqbi, the governor of Ur, recording that that official rebuilt a well named Puḫilituma ("Well That Brings Luxuriance") in the Sîn temple at Ur "in order to ensure the good health of Ashurbanipal, king of Assyria"; and (3) a clay drum-shaped object with a copy of a Sumerian inscription of the Ur III king Amar-Suena (2046–2038) and a colophon of Sîn-balāssu-iqbi stating that he had found an inscribed brick of that king while looking for the ground plan of Ekišnugal.<sup>55</sup> The texts on the drum-shaped object, which might have been a model for an altar or dais, were prepared on behalf of Sîn-balāssu-iqbi by Nabû-šuma-iddin, a lamentation-priest of the god Sîn.<sup>56</sup>

### *Bricks*

Given the numerous building activities that Ashurbanipal, Aššur-etel-ilāni, and Sîn-šarra-iškun, as well as Sîn-balāssu-iqbi of Ur (on behalf of Ashurbanipal), sponsored in the Assyrian heartland and in Babylonia, it is no surprise that over 150 inscribed/stamped bricks of these men are now found in museum collections all over the world, especially in the British Museum (London) and the Vorderasiatisches Museum (Berlin), or were copied or photographed by archaeologists shortly after their discovery in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.<sup>57</sup> At present, twenty-three different brick inscriptions are known from Aššur and Kalḫu in Assyria, and Babylon, Dilbat (modern Deilam), Dūr-Kurigalzu (modern Aqar Quf), Mê-Turān (modern Tell Ḥaddād), Nippur, and Ur in Babylonia. The bricks vary in size and shape (usually square or rectangular, but occasionally well-head, that is, bricks used in the construction of round wells and conduits). The text is sometimes stamped and sometimes inscribed by hand on the face and/or the edge of the brick.<sup>58</sup> The inscriptions from Assyria (reigns of Aššur-etel-ilāni and Sîn-šarra-iškun)<sup>59</sup> are always in Akkadian, using Neo-Assyrian script. The texts from Babylonia (reigns of Ashurbanipal and Aššur-etel-ilāni), however, are sometimes in Akkadian and sometimes in Sumerian,<sup>60</sup> and the script is either contemporary Neo-Babylonian, archaizing Neo-Babylonian (which is modelled on Old Babylonian monumental script), or a mixture of contemporary and archaizing Neo-

<sup>49</sup> For further details on cones and plates (with references to earlier studies, photographs, and drawings), see Donbaz and Grayson, *RICCA* pp. 1–4; and Nunn, *Knaufplatten passim*. The majority of the known Assyrian clay cones come from Aššur.

<sup>50</sup> Ssi 11.

<sup>51</sup> George, *House Most High* p. 94 no. 397.

<sup>52</sup> Asb. 2004–2005.

<sup>53</sup> George, *House Most High* p. 114 no. 653 and p. 149 no. 1090.

<sup>54</sup> George, *House Most High* p. 93 no. 385.

<sup>55</sup> Respectively, Ssi 20, Asb. 2006, and Asb. 2007. For an edition of the Amar-Suena inscription, see Frayne, *RIME* 3/2 pp. 256–257 E3/2.1.3.11.

<sup>56</sup> On the poor quality of the copy of the Sumerian text, see the commentary of Asb. 2007.

<sup>57</sup> Asb. 247–251, 256–257, 259–261, and 2008–2018; Aei 1, 4–5; and Ssi 13–14. The exact number of extant bricks is unknown since the actual number of bricks bearing Asb. 257 has never been published/recorded in scholarly publications.

<sup>58</sup> At times, the text might be inscribed within an area that has been impressed, thus, providing a border for the text. In some scholarly literature these inscriptions are usually described as stamped, rather than, more accurately, as inscribed.

<sup>59</sup> No inscribed bricks of Ashurbanipal from Assyria are presently known. All of that king's brick inscriptions come from Babylonia.

<sup>60</sup> Asb. 247–250 and 256–257 (Babylon, Dūr-Kurigalzu, and Mê-Turān) and Aei 4 (Dilbat) are in Akkadian. Asb. 251, 259–261, and 2008–2018 (Babylon, Nippur, and Ur) and Aei 5 (Nippur) are in Sumerian.



Babylonian sign forms.<sup>61</sup> The inscriptions vary in length, from three to sixteen lines of text. All of the Babylonian brick inscriptions are dedicatory in nature, that is, they are addressed to the deity whose temple, shrine, sanctuary, or ziggurat was being restored.<sup>62</sup> For example, Asb. 248 reads:

For the god Marduk, his lord: Ashurbanipal, king of the world (and) king of Assyria, son of Esarhaddon, king of the world, king of Assyria, (and) king of Babylon, had baked bricks made anew for Etemenanki.

The brick inscriptions from Assyria, on the other hand, are commemorative labels.<sup>63</sup> The short texts denote ownership, but also add a brief statement about the building in whose structure the bricks are incorporated. For example, Ssi 13 reads:

I, Sîn-šarra-iškun, great king, strong king, king of the world, king of Assyria; son of Ashurbanipal, great king, strong king, king of the world, king of Assyria, king of the land of Sumer and Akkad, king of the four quarters (of the world); son of Esarhaddon, great king, strong king, king of the world, king of Assyria, (5) governor of Babylon, king of the land of Sumer and Akkad; son of Sennacherib, great king, strong king, king of the world, king of Assyria, ruler who has no rival; descendant of Sargon (II), great king, strong king, king of the world, king of Assyria, governor of Babylon, king of the land of Sumer and Akkad; (10) the one who renovates the chapels of the temple of the god Nabû, my lord, that is inside Baltil (Aššur): I repaired its (lit. “that”) enclosed courtyard with baked bricks, the craft of the god Nunurra.

### Steles

Only four round-topped steles are currently known from the reign of Ashurbanipal, but more of these monuments certainly existed in antiquity.<sup>64</sup> Three of the monuments come from Babylonia (Babylon and Borsippa) and these are inscribed with building inscriptions of Ashurbanipal, specifically recording the restoration of Ekarzagina (“House, Quay of Lapis Lazuli” or “House, Pure Quay”), the temple of the god Ea in the Esagil complex at Babylon,<sup>65</sup> and the rebuilding of the enclosure wall of Ezida (“True House”), the temple of Nabû at Borsippa.<sup>66</sup> The fronts of the steles, which are made from pink marble, have frontal depictions of Ashurbanipal holding a work-basket on his head, indicating his (symbolic) role in the restorations. The inscriptions are generally written in contemporary Neo-Babylonian script<sup>67</sup> and were commissioned by Ashurbanipal before 652 since they all mention Šamaš-šuma-ukîn in a favorable manner. The other monument comes from Aššur, from the so-called “row of steles,” and it is inscribed with a five-line (proprietary) Akkadian inscription of Ashurbanipal’s wife Libbāli-šarrat.<sup>68</sup> The Assyrian queen, shown with a mural crown representing a city wall and its towers, is depicted on the face of the monument and her inscription is engraved on the back.

### Stone Blocks

A stone block discovered at Aššur with a sixteen-line Akkadian inscription of Sîn-šarra-iškun written on it is the only presently-attested inscribed stone block from the last sixty years of the Assyrian Empire.<sup>69</sup> The text records that Sîn-šarra-iškun constructed the Nabû temple at Aššur anew on an empty plot of land. Interestingly, this account contradicts the one presented in inscriptions written on clay cylinders and prisms, which state that the temple had been rebuilt on its earlier Middle and Neo-Assyrian plans.<sup>70</sup> The findspot of the

<sup>61</sup> Asb. 247–250, 256–257, and 2008–2018 (Babylon, Dūr-Kurigalzu, Mê-Turān, and Ur) and Aei 4 (Dilbat) are in contemporary Babylonian script. Asb. 259–261 (Nippur) are in archaizing Babylonian script. Asb. 251 (Babylon) and Aei 5 (Nippur) have mixed sign forms.

<sup>62</sup> Grayson, *Orientalia* NS 49 (1980) pp. 156–157.

<sup>63</sup> Grayson, *Orientalia* NS 49 (1980) pp. 155–156.

<sup>64</sup> Asb. 246, 254, and 2001. It is certain from the concluding formula of K 2694 + K 3050 (Asb. 220 [L<sup>4</sup>] iv 1’–5’); Jeffers and Novotny, *RINAP* 5/2 pp. 319–328) that the text written on that multi-column clay tablet was a draft of an inscription that was to be engraved on a stele erected in Babylon, presumably in Marduk’s temple Esagil. That monument is not presently known.

<sup>65</sup> Asb. 246 ex. 1 (lines 65b–67a). The building report of Asb. 246 ex. 2 is not preserved and, thus, it is quite possible that that stele did not describe the restoration of Ea’s shrine Ekarzagina.

<sup>66</sup> Asb. 254 (lines 33–36). A similar stele of Šamaš-šuma-ukîn (BM 90866) was found at Borsippa in 1880, in the room southwest of Room C2 of Ezida, together with this stele of Ashurbanipal (BM 90865). For an edition of that text, see Frame, *RIMB* 2 pp. 252–253 B.6.33.3.

<sup>67</sup> Asb. 254 has some Neo-Assyrian sign forms.

<sup>68</sup> Asb. 2001.

<sup>69</sup> Ssi 12. Inscriptions on this material support are well attested from the reigns of Sennacherib and Esarhaddon. See Grayson and Novotny, *RINAP* 3/2 pp. 13–14 and pp. 249–270 Sennacherib 169–189 and pp. 317–327 Sennacherib 224–229; and Leichty, *RINAP* 4 pp. 137–144 Esarhaddon 61–67, pp. 164–165 Esarhaddon 81–82, and p. 314 Esarhaddon 2002.

<sup>70</sup> For details on that building project, see the section *Sîn-šarra-iškun’s Building Activities* below.

stone block at Aššur is not known so it is unclear whether or not it was actually incorporated into the physical structure of that holy building.<sup>71</sup>

#### *Stone Door Sockets*

The only inscribed door socket attested from the reigns of the last kings of Assyria comes from Ur. The object, which was recycled from the upper part of an older *kudurru* (boundary stone) and which is in the shape of a coiled snake, was found in situ in Edubalmaḥ (“House, Exalted Door Socket”), an especially holy part the moon-god temple Ekišnugal at Ur.<sup>72</sup> The bottom is inscribed with a thirty-eight-line Sumerian inscription of Sîn-balāssu-iqbi of Ur. This dedicatory inscription, which is written in two equal-length columns, records that the governor of Ur, a son of the previous governor Ningal-iddin, commissioned a new door for Etemennigurru, which he had placed on its former position and over a foundation deposit; the door was made from boxwood (Sumerian *taškarin*) and outfitted with silver and copper fixtures. The text concludes with a curse against anyone who erases Sîn-balāssu-iqbi’s inscription or alters the door socket’s location.

#### *Stone and Metal Vessels*

Numerous stone vessels are inscribed with a one-line proprietary inscription stating that the objects belonged to Ashurbanipal.<sup>73</sup> Most come from Nineveh, one was discovered at Aššur, and one was found at Persepolis. Some of the stone vessels bearing an Ashurbanipal proprietary label have images of a table and a lion incised to the left of the inscription. In the repertoire of Assyrian ‘hieroglyphs,’ the lion represents the king and, thus, these vessels were probably used to serve Ashurbanipal’s meals, that is, these are the objects that were used specifically for “the king’s table” (TABLE + LION).<sup>74</sup> In addition, several stone vessels have a single-line proprietary inscription of Sîn-šarra-iškun written on them, as well as that of a late Neo-Assyrian queen Ana-Tašmētu-taklāk.<sup>75</sup>

An ornately-decorated and gold-leafed silver goblet with a proprietary inscription of Ashurbanipal is also known.<sup>76</sup> Although the text appears to be a genuine inscription, the authenticity of the object itself cannot be verified since its provenance is uncertain and since such a highly-decorated metal vessel is presently not otherwise attested for the late Neo-Assyrian period.<sup>77</sup>

#### *Small Stone Objects, Including Stone Beads*

Three beads inscribed with short texts of Ashurbanipal were found in the Treasury of the Persian capital Persepolis.<sup>78</sup> Two of these small inscribed stones — a polished banded white, grey, and pink chalcedony cylinder and a grey scorched onyx eyestone — bear dedication inscriptions to the goddess Sutiṭu.

#### *Rock Reliefs*

Very few monuments (round-topped steles and rock reliefs) of Ashurbanipal are known to have been set up outside of the Assyrian heartland and Babylonia. A poorly-preserved Assyrian relief, with a thirty-six-line Akkadian inscription, carved into a rock face at Shakaft-i Gulgul — which is located in the Zagros Mountains, on the southwestern slopes of the Kabir Kuh, a mountainous ridge that separates western and eastern Luristan — might be the only-presently-attested rock relief of Assyria’s last great king, although the attribution to him is not entirely certain.<sup>79</sup> The prologue of the weathered monument, which could have also been carved during the reign of his father Esarhaddon,<sup>80</sup> states that (1) the god Aššur determined the king’s royal destiny while he

<sup>71</sup> K. Kessler (ISIMU 14–15 [2011–12] pp. 39–43) notes only that the stone block was in the Aššur Site Museum until at least 1987.

<sup>72</sup> Asb. 2003. See George, *House Most High* p. 79 no. 203 for further details on Edubalmaḥ.

<sup>73</sup> Novotny and Jeffers, RINAP 5/1 pp. 362–366 Asb. 68–70; and, in this volume, Asb. 269. PT4 368 + PT5 156 + PT5 244 (Asb. 269), which was found in Hall 41 and Corridor 31 of the Treasury at Persepolis, is an impressive sculptured bowl with four lion handles.

<sup>74</sup> For further details and bibliography on Assyrian hieroglyphs, see Leichty, RINAP 4 pp. 238–243 Esarhaddon 115; Nadali, *Iraq* 70 (2008) pp. 87–104; and Niederreiter, *Iraq* 70 (2008) pp. 51–86.

<sup>75</sup> Ssi 21–2001. For other possible vessels of this king (or his brother Aššur-etel-ilāni), see Novotny and Jeffers, RINAP 5/1 pp. 362–365 Asb. 68 (exs. 1\*–19\*) and Asb. 69 (exs. 1\*–3\*). On the identity of Ana-Tašmētu-taklāk, see the commentary of Ssi 2001.

<sup>76</sup> Asb. 270.

<sup>77</sup> The only other metal vessel known from the late Neo-Assyrian period is a silver bucket that is inscribed with a two-line dedicatory inscription of Esarhaddon (Leichty, RINAP 4 pp. 281–282 Esarhaddon 140). That object was discovered in 1992 by the Iranian Department of Antiquities in a hoard of silver vessels found in a cave in the Luristan region.

<sup>78</sup> Asb. 266–268.

<sup>79</sup> Asb. 1030. For an earlier edition and study of this monument, see Grayson and Levine, *IrAnt* 11 (1975) pp. 29–38.

<sup>80</sup> The king’s name and the name of his father in Asb. 1030 lines 4–5 are completely missing. For further information about the royal

was still in his mother's womb, (2) the god Enlil called the king by name to rule over the land and people, (3) the gods Sîn and Šamaš gave auspicious signs about the establishment of the author's reign, (4) the gods Nabû and Marduk bestowed the king with intelligence and wisdom, and (5) the great gods placed the king safely on the throne of his father. The passage recording the principal reason(s) the monument was commissioned, which might have given us further clues about identity of the Assyrian king in whose name the inscription was written, is almost completely destroyed; only a few signs remain.<sup>81</sup> The text concludes with a short building report recording the creation of the monument, advice to a future ruler to respect the carved image and accompanying texts, and curses against anyone who alters or destroys the king's record of his (pious) deeds, which was created "for the admiration of the kings, [my] descendants."<sup>82</sup>

## Military Campaigns

Numerous inscriptions edited in RINAP 5 include accounts of Ashurbanipal's victories on the battlefield. Since all of these campaigns were briefly discussed in Part 1 (pp. 14–26), there is no reason to include that information here. However, the authors feel that it is necessary to provide a few tables for easy reference. Only texts preserving military narration are included. Details on the military campaigns narrated in the texts edited in RINAP 5/1 and RINAP 5/2 are presented in Tables 1–2 below.

Table 1: "Incidents" Arranged by Campaign Report<sup>83</sup>

Incident(s)	Source(s)
Egypt 1	2 iii 6–iv 1'; 3 i 48–i 90; 4 i 38–75; 6 ii 4'–2'; 7 ii 1'–18'; 8 ii 1'–12'; 11 i 52–117; 72 ii 1'–21'; 73 i 1–8; 117 1–12; 118 1'–3'; 119 1'–3'; 196 10–21; 197 1'–4'; 207 6'–36'
Egypt 2	2 iv 2'–v 12; 3 i 91–ii 37; 4 i 76–ii 11'; 6 ii 3'–iii 57; 7 ii 19'–iii 15; 8 ii 13'–33; 9 i 34–54; 11 i 118–ii 48; 12 ii 7'–14'a; 73 rev. i' 1'–4'; 93 1'–3'; 118 4'–14'; 119 4'–5'; 121 5'–6'; 122 1'–9'; 197 5'–6'', 10'–24'; 207 37'–rev. 11; 233 1'–2'
Tyre, Arwad 1–2, Ḫilakku, Tabal, Lydia 1–2	1 vi 11–31'; 2 vi 14–vii 3'; 3 ii 38–iii 4; 4 ii 12'–72'; 6 iii 58'–iv 7'; 7 iii 16'–30'; 8 iii 1'–45'; 9 i 55–ii 20; 11 ii 49–125; 12 ii 14'b–24'; 13 iii 1'–13'; 74 ii 1'–11'; 91 i 1'–16'; 92 ii 1'–8'; 93 4'–12'; 124 1'–7'; 125 Side A 1'–7'; 207 rev. 19–37
Qirbit	1 vi 1–10; 2 v 1'–vi 13; 3 iii 5–15; 4 ii 73'–iii 8; 6 iv 8'–19'; 7 iii 31'–35'; 207 rev. 12–18; 238 1'–rev. 11
Mannea, Media, Urartu 1	3 iii 16–iv 14; 4 iii 9–iv 8; 6 iv 1'–v 23; 7 iv 1'–74'; 8 iv 1'–22'; 9 ii 21–52; 11 ii 126–iii 26; 12 iii 1'–9'; 13 iii 1'–9'; 74 iii 1'–iv 16; 75 1'–9'; 76 ii 1'–9'; 77 i 1'–7'; 78 1'–rev. 3; 91 ii 1'–11'; 92 iii 1'; 171 1'–11'; 195 rev. 10–14
Elam 1–2	3 iv 15–79; 4 iv 9–49; 6 v 24–107; 7 iv 75'–v 47; 12 iii 10'–iv 12'; 79 i 1–16; ii 1–18; 80 i 1'–22'; 81 1'–7'; 82 1'–13'; 119 rev. 4–14; 120 1'–12'; 121 1'–4'; 135 3'–5'; 186 15–23; 197 7'–9''; 240 1'–8'
Elam 3	3 iv 80–vi 9; 4 iv 50'–vi 12; 6 v 1'–vii 10; 7 v 48–vi 22; 8 v 1'–vii 10; 9 ii 53–71; 11 iii 27–49; 12 v 1–5; 79 ii 19–iv 13; 83 i 1–13; 84 i 1'–10'; 85 i 1'–10'; 86 i 1'–9'; 92 iii 2'–15'; 126 rev. 1–4; 128 1'–9'; 135 rev. 1; 155 6'–8'; 161 i 1–ii 14; iii 9'–27'; 162 3'–l.e. 3; 163 1'–rev. 5; 164 1'–12'; 165 1–13, rev. 7'–8'; 166 1'–7'; 168 1'–8'; 169 1'–10'; 170 1'–11'; 171 rev. 1'–10'; 195 rev. 1–9; 200 7–rev. 14; 201 1'–12'; 202 1'–20'; 228 13'–14'; 233 6'–11'; 234 i 1'–4'
Gambulu	3 vi 10–85; 4 vi 13–95; 6 vii 11–47; 7 vi 23'–vii 35; 8 vii 11'–17'; 9 ii 72–iii 5; 11 iii 50–69; 12 v 6–13; 79 iv 14'; 86 i 10'–ii 15'; 89 i 1–ii 12'; 92 iii 16'–26'; 125 Side A 8'–9'; 127 1–9; 161 ii 15–iii 8', 28'–iv 16; 162 1'–2'; 163 rev. 6–8; 165 rev. 1'–6', 9'–15'; 167 1'–13'; 169 11'–17'; 170 12'–15'; 195 10–28
Elam 4, Šamaš-šuma-ukin rebellion	3 vi 86–vii 76; 4 vi 96–vii 79; 6 vii 48'–ix 52''; 7 vii 36–ix 9; 8 viii 1'–ix 37'; 9 iii 6–32; 11 iii 70–iv 109; 85 rev. i' 1–6; 86 iii 1'; 87 ii 1–6; 88 ii 1'–21'; 89 ii 13'–vi 14; 92 iii 27'–iv 4; 94 i 1'–12'; 95 i 1–11; 105 rev. 1' 1'–12'a; 106 1'–10'; 107 ii 1'–13'; 112 ii 1–18; 126 rev. 5–11; 127 rev. 1'–15'; 130 5'–rev. 9, l.e. 1–4; 131 1'–7'; 132 1'–12'; 133 rev. 1–5; 134 1'–21'; 135 rev. 2–3; 137 1'–9'a; 147 1'–9'; 150 1'–16'; 151 6'–14'; 155 9'–rev. 6; 172 1–22; 173 i 1'–ii 11', iv 1'–9'; 174 1'–4', rev. 2'–9'; 175 i 1'–14', ii 1'–iii 14'; 176 1–17; 177 2'–10'; 178 1'–rev. 22; 179 1'–14'; 180 2'–7', rev. 7–15; 181 1'–5', rev. 2'–9'; 182 1'–rev. 8'; 183 3'–7'; 184 8'–9'; 188 1–6; 197 1'–rev. 12; 203 13'–rev. 8; 204 1'–rev. 6; 205 1'–11'; 228 15'–25', rev. 23–26; 229 ii 1'–16'
Elam 5	7 ix 10–63''; 8 ix 29'–x 16'; 9 iii 33–iv 16; 11 iv 110–v 62; 91 iv 1–8'; 112 iii 1'–8'; 133 rev. 6–16; 136 rev. 1–18; 137 9'b–16'; 197 rev. 13–23; 228 26'–29'; 229 iii 1'–4'; 234 ii 1'–17'
Elam 6–7	9 iv 17–vi 21; 10 iv 12–v 32; 11 v 63–vii 81; 91 v 1–vi 17; 92 v 1–4; 94 ii 1'–iii 23; 95 rev. i' 1'–6'; 96 rev. i'

'author' of the Shakaft-i Gulgul inscription, see the commentary of Asb. 1030.

<sup>81</sup> Asb. 1030 lines 17b–25a.

<sup>82</sup> Asb. 1030 lines 24b–25a.

<sup>83</sup> Tables 1–2 combine information provided in Parts 1 and 2. All of the text numbers mentioned in these two tables refer to inscriptions of Ashurbanipal, despite the absence of the "Asb." prefix. The abbreviations for the "incidents" follow the designation of Grayson, ZA 70 (1980) pp. 240–244 (with minor changes); Gambulu is treated separately from Elam 3 here. See Novotny and Jeffers, RINAP 5/1 pp. 14–26 for more details about Ashurbanipal's campaigns and Grayson's classifications of them. There are a few incidents that are not included in Tables 1–2. These are Jeffers and Novotny, RINAP 5/2 p. 101 Asb. 110 lines 10'–13' (mentions Bīt-Ḫumbê); p. 256 Asb. 197 lines 25'–27'' and p. 365 Asb. 233 lines 3'–5' (tribute from kings in the Levant); and p. 337 Asb. 224 line 25 (Sandak-šatru incident), which is subsumed under the Tugdammi incident.

	1'-13'; 97 rev. 1' 1'-4'; 100 ii' 1'-10'; 101 rev. ii' 1'-7'; 102 i' 1'-rev. 12; 103 ii' 1'-8'; 108 rev. <sup>2</sup> i' 1'-19'; 112 iii 9'-16'; 133 rev. 17-20; 134 22'-30'; 135 rev. 4-8; 138 1'-9'; 139 1'-11'; 140 1'-rev. 4; 141 1'-14'; 142 rev. 1'-7'; 143 1'-3'; 152 1'-6'; 154 1'-10'; 155 rev. 7-14; 188 7-rev. 2; 194 v 24-vi 23; 197 rev. 24-41; 198 rev. 1'-11'; 199 rev. 1'-7'; 215 iii 2'-iv 35; 217 1'-rev. 19'; 224 18-19; 227 rev. 1-17; 228 rev. 1-22; 229 iii 1'-v 12; 234 rev. i 1'-9'; 235 1'-7'
Arabs 1	3 vii 77-viii 55; 4 vii 80-viii 57; 6 x 1'-18''; 7 ix 64''-x 52'; 8 ix 38'-28''; 11 vii 82-viii 64; 86 iii 2'-iv 18'; 90 i 1'-13', ii 1'-9'; 129 1'-rev. 7; 172 rev. 1'-9'; 180 8'-rev. <sup>2</sup> 5; 194 i 1-iii 11
Arabs 2	11 viii 65-x 5; 109 i' 1'-10'; 156 20-rev. 12; 194 iii 12-v 2; 215 v 1-13
Elam 8	11 x 6-39; 110 1'-5'; 143 4'-11'; 144 1'-9'; 145 rev. 1'-9'a; 157 6-14; 158 4'-5'; 194 vi 27-43
Urartu 2	11 x 40-50; 110 6'-9'
Cyrus	12 vi 7'-13'
Hudimiri	12 vi 14'-25'
Tugdammî	13 viii 6-11'; 224 20-25

Table 2: Proposed Chronology of "Incidents"<sup>84</sup>

Date	Incident(s)	Source(s)
668	Qirbit	1 vi 1-10; 2 v 1'-vi 13; 3 iii 5-15; 4 ii 73'-iii 8; 6 iv 8'-19'; 7 iii 31''-35''; 207 rev. 12-18; 238 1'-rev. 11
667	Arwad 1	3 ii 63-72; 4 ii 34'-46'; 6 iii 89-103; 7 iii 44'-4''; 8 iii 15'-29'; 9 i 69-74; 11 ii 63-67; 13 iii 9'-13'; 91 i 9'-16'; 207 rev. 33-37
667	Egypt 1	2 iii 6-iv 1; 3 i 48-90; 4 i 38-75; 6 ii 4'-2''; 7 ii 1'-18''; 8 ii 1'-12'; 11 i 52-117; 72 ii 1'-21'; 73 i 1-8; 117 1-12; 118 1'-3'; 119 1'-3'; 196 10-21; 197 1'-4''; 207 6'-36'
ca. 666-665	Lydia 1	1 vi 11-31'; 2 vi 14-vii 3; 3 ii 86b-iii 4; 4 ii 61'-72'; 6 iv 1'-7'; 7 iii 17''-30''; 9 ii 10-20; 11 ii 95-110; 74 ii 1'-11'; 92 ii 2'-8'; 125 Side A 1'-7'; 207 rev. 19-27
ca. 666-664	Egypt 2	2 iv 2'-v 12; 3 i 91-ii 37; 4 i 76-ii 11'; 6 ii 3''-iii 57; 7 ii 19''-iii 15'; 8 ii 13'-33'; 9 i 34-54; 11 i 118-ii 48; 12 ii 7'-14'a; 73 rev. i' 1'-4'; 93 1'-3'; 118 4'-14'; 119 4'-5'; 121 5'-6'; 122 1'-9'; 197 5''-6'', 10''-24''; 207 37'-rev. 11; 233 1'-2'
ca. 664	Elam 1	3 iv 15-48; 4 iv 9-17'; 6 v 24-72; 7 iv 75''-v 16; 12 iii 10''-iv 10'; 79 i 1-16; 80 i' 1'-22'; 119 rev. 4-8; 186 15-16; 197 7''
664	Elam 2	3 iv 49-79; 4 iv 18'-49'; 6 v 73-107; 7 v 17-47; 12 iv 11'-12'; 79 ii 1-18; 81 1'-7'; 82 1'-13'; 119 rev. 9-14; 120 1'-12'; 121 1'-4'; 135 3'-5'; 186 17-23; 197 8''-9''; 240 1'-8'
ca. 662	Tyre	3 ii 38-62; 4 ii 12'-33'; 6 iii 58'-88'; 7 iii 16'-43'; 8 iii 1'-14'; 9 i 55-68; 11 ii 49-62; 12 ii 14'b-24'; 13 iii 1'-8'; 91 i 1'-8'; 93 4'-12'; 124 1'-7'
ca. 662	Hilakku, Tabal	3 ii 63-74; 4 ii 34'-48'; 6 iii 89'-105'; 7 iii 44'-6''; 8 iii 15'-31'; 9 i 69-76; 11 ii 68-80; 207 rev. 28-32
ca. 662	Arwad 2	3 ii 75-86a; 4 ii 49'-60'; 6 iii 106'-iv 1; 7 iii 7'-16''; 8 iii 32'-45'; 9 i 77-ii 9; 11 ii 81-94; 92 ii 1'
ca. 660	Mannea	3 iii 16-92a; 4 iii 9-15'; 6 iv 1'-v 5; 7 iv 1'-58''; 8 iv 1'-21''; 9 ii 21-52; 11 ii 126-iii 26; 12 iii 1'-9''; 13 iii 1'-9''; 74 iii 1'-iv 11; 75 1'-9'; 76 ii' 1'-9'; 77 i' 1'-7'; 78 1'-3'; 91 ii 1'-11'; 92 iii 1'; 171 1'-11'; 195 rev. 10-14
ca. 658	Media	3 iii 92b-iv 5; 4 iii 16'-22'; 6 v 6-12; 7 iv 59''-65''; 8 iv 22'; 74 iv 12-16; 78 4'-6'
ca. 657	Urartu 1	3 iv 6-14; 4 iv 1-8; 6 v 13-23; 7 iv 66''-74''; 78 rev. 1-3
653	Elam 3	3 iv 80-vi 9; 4 iv 50'-vi 12; 6 v 1'-vii 10; 7 v 48-vi 22'; 8 v 1'-vii 10; 9 ii 53-71; 11 iii 27-49; 12 v 1-5; 79 ii 19-iv 13; 83 i' 1-13; 84 i' 1'-10'; 85 i' 1'-10'; 86 i' 1'-9'; 92 iii 2'-15'; 126 rev. 1-4; 128 1'-9'; 135 rev. 1; 155 6'-8'; 161 i 1-ii 14, iii 9'-27'; 162 3'-l.e. 3; 163 1'-rev. 5; 164 1'-12'; 165 1-13, rev. 7'-8'; 166 1'-7'; 168 1'-8'; 169 1'-10'; 170 1'-11'; 171 rev. <sup>2</sup> 1'-10'; 195 rev. 1-9; 200 7-rev. 14; 201 1'-12'; 202 1'-20'; 228 13'-14'; 233 6'-11'; 234 i' 1'-4'
653	Gambulu	3 vi 10-85; 4 vi 13-95; 6 vii 11-47'; 7 vi 23'-vii 35; 8 vii 11'-17''; 9 ii 72-iii 5; 11 iii 50-69; 12 v 6-13; 79 iv 14'; 86 i 10'-ii 15'; 89 i 1-ii 12; 92 iii 16'-26'; 125 Side A 8'-9'; 127 1-9; 161 ii 15-iii 8, 28'-iv 16; 162 1'-2'; 163 rev. 6-8; 165 rev. 1'-6', 9'-15'; 167 1'-13'; 169 11'-17'; 170 12'-15'; 195 10-28
before 652 and ca. 650	Arabs 1	3 vii 77-viii 55; 4 vii 80-viii 57; 6 x 1'-18''; 7 ix 64''-x 52'; 8 ix 38'-28''; 11 vii 82-viii 64; 86 iii 2'-iv 18'; 90 i 1'-13', ii 1'-9'; 129 1'-rev. 7; 172 rev. 1'-9'; 180 8'-rev. <sup>2</sup> 5; 194 i 1-iii 11
652-648	Šamaš-šuma-ukin rebellion	6 viii 9''b-ix 10''; 7 viii 1'-79'; 8 viii 1'''-36''''; 11 iii 70-135, iv 41b-109; 89 iv 2'b-v 18'; 94 i 1'-12'; 105 rev. <sup>2</sup> i 1'-12'a; 130 5'-rev. 9, l.e. 1-4; 134 1'-21'; 172 9-22; 173 ii 9'-11'; 174 1'-4'; 175 i 1'-7', ii 1'-25'; 176 1-8; 180 2'-7'; 181 rev. <sup>2</sup> 2'-9'; 183 3'-7'; 228 rev. 23-26
ca. 651-650	Elam 4	3 vi 86-vii 76; 4 vi 96-vii 79; 6 vii 48'-viii 9''a and ix 11''-52''; 7 vii 36-viii 12 and viii 80'-ix 9; 8 viii 1'-34'' and viii 37''''-ix 37'; 9 iii 6-32; 11 iii 136-iv 41a; 85 rev. i' 1-6; 86 iii 1'; 87 ii 1-6; 88 ii' 1'-21'; 89 ii 13'-iv 2'a, v 19''-vi 14; 92 iii 27'-iv 4; 95 i 1-11; 106 1'-10'; 107 ii' 1'-13'; 112 ii 1-18; 126 rev. 5-11; 127 rev. 1'-15'; 131 1'-7'; 132 1'-12'; 133 rev. 1-5; 135 rev. 2-3; 137 1'-9'a; 147 1'-9'; 150 1'-16'; 151 1'-14'; 155 9'-rev. 6; 172 1-8; 173 i 1'-ii 8, iv 1'-9'; 174 rev. 2'-9'; 175 i 8'-14', ii 26-iii 14'; 176 9-17; 177 2'-10'; 178 1'-rev. 22; 179 1'-14'; 180 rev. <sup>2</sup> 7-15; 181 1'-5'; 182 1'-rev. <sup>2</sup> 8'; 184 8'-9'; 188 1-6; 197 1'''-rev. 12; 203 13-rev. 8; 204 1'-rev. 6; 205 1'-11'; 228 15'-25'; 229 ii 1'-16'
647	Elam 5	7 ix 10-63''; 8 ix 29''-x 16'; 9 iii 33-iv 16; 11 iv 110-v 62; 91 iv 1-8'; 112 iii 1'-8'; 133 rev. 6-16; 136 rev. 1-18; 137 9'b-16'; 197 rev. 13-23; 228 26'-29'; 229 iii 1'-4'; 234 ii' 1'-17'

<sup>84</sup> Information on the dates can be found in Novotny and Jeffers, RINAP 5/1 pp. 16-26.

Date	Incident(s)	Source(s)
646	Elam 6	9 iv 17–vi 21; 10 iv 12–v 32; 11 v 63–vii 8; 91 v 1–vi 17; 92 v 1–4; 94 ii 1'–iii 23'; 95 rev. i' 1'–6'; 96 rev. i' 1'–13'; 97 rev. i' 1'–4'; 100 ii' 1'–10'; 101 rev. ii' 1'–7'; 102 i' 1'–rev. 12; 103 ii' 1'–8'; 108 rev. <sup>85</sup> i' 1'–19'; 112 iii 9'–16'; 133 rev. 17–20; 134 22'–30'; 135 rev. 4–6; 138 1'–9'; 139 1'–11'; 140 1'–rev. 4; 141 1'–14'; 152 1'–6'; 154 1'–10'; 155 rev. 7–14; 188 7–rev. 2; 197 rev. 24–41; 198 rev. 1'–11'; 199 rev. 1'–7'; 215 iii 2'–iv 35; 217 1'–rev. 19'; 224 18–19; 227 rev. 1–17; 228 rev. 1–22; 229 iii 1'–iv 13; 234 rev. i 1'–9'; 235 1'–7'
ca. 645	Elam 7	11 vii 9–81; 135 rev. 7–8; 142 rev. 1'–7'; 143 1'–3'; 194 v 24–vi 23; 229 v 1–12
ca. 645–643	Arabs 2	11 viii 65–x 5; 109 i' 1'–10'; 156 20–rev. 12; 194 iii 12–v 2; 215 v 1–13
ca. 645–643	Elam 8	11 x 6–39; 110 1'–5'; 143 4'–11'; 144 1'–9'; 145 rev. 1'–9'a; 157 6–14; 158 4'–5'; 194 vi 27–43
ca. 645–643	Lydia 2	11 ii 111–125
ca. 645–643	Urartu 2	11 x 40–50; 110 6'–9'
ca. 642–640	Cyrus	12 vi 7'–13'
ca. 642–640	Hudimiri	12 vi 14'–25'
ca. 640–639	Tugdammi	13 viii 6–11'; 224 20–25

### Ashurbanipal's Building Activities in Babylonia and the East Tigris Region

Numerous texts describe Ashurbanipal's many building activities in Babylonia. In the prologues of some of his annalistic texts and building inscriptions written on multi-faceted clay prisms, the king provides a vague overview of his (temple) building activities, stating:

(As for) the sanctua[ries of A]ssyria (and) the land Akkad whose foundation(s) Esarh[addon], king of Assyria, the father who had engendered me, had laid, but whose construction he had not finished, I myself now completed their work by the command of the great gods, my lords.<sup>85</sup>

I built (and) completed the sanctuaries of Assyria (and) the land Akkad in their en[ti]rety. I made every type of temple appurtenance there is from silver (and) gold, (and) I a[d]ded (them) to those of the kings, my ancestors. I made the great gods who support me reside in their exalted inner sanctums. I offered sumptuous offerings before them (and) presented (them) with my gif[ts]. I made regular offerings (and) contributions more plenti[ful] than those of distant [day]s.<sup>86</sup>

From the textual and archaeological records, it is known that Ashurbanipal had sponsored building programs in at least ten Babylonian cities: Agade, Babylon, Borsippa, Cutha, Dūr-Kurigalzu, Mê-Turān, Nippur, Sippar, Ur, and Uruk. He also carried out construction in the East Tigris region, at Dēr. Full details about Ashurbanipal's building activities in Assyria are given in the introduction of Jeffers and Novotny, RINAP 5/2 (pp. 11–25). For general studies, see in particular Frame, RIMB 2 pp. 194–195 and 261; and Grayson, CAH<sup>2</sup> 3/2 pp. 155–158. Ashurbanipal's Babylonian and East-Tigridian building projects will be discussed alphabetically by city.

#### Agade

According to the Neo-Babylonian king Nabonidus (555–539), Babylon's last native king, Ashurbanipal was one of two Assyrian kings who had rebuilt Eulmaš, the temple of the goddess Ištar at Agade, the capital of the third-millennium ruler Sargon whose location is still unknown.<sup>87</sup> Nabonidus stated that both Ashurbanipal and his father Esarhaddon had failed to properly rebuild Eulmaš since neither of them had been able to find the temple's original, divinely-sanctioned foundations, which had been laid by Sargon of Agade.<sup>88</sup> That king claimed:

Esarhaddon, king of Assyria, and Ashurbanipal, his son, to whom the god Sîn, king of the gods, granted the totality of (all) lands, sought out the (original) foundation(s) of Eulmaš, but did not reach (them). They put down in writing, saying: "I sought out the (original) foundation(s) of that Eulmaš, but I did

<sup>85</sup> Novotny and Jeffers, RINAP 5/1 p. 111 Asb. 6 (Prism C) i 5'–10'.

<sup>86</sup> Novotny and Jeffers, RINAP 5/1 p. 218 Asb. 10 (Prism T) iii 35b–49a.

<sup>87</sup> Weiershäuser and Novotny, RINBE 2 p. 87 Nabonidus 10 ii 1'–4' and p. 137 Nabonidus 27 ii 37–45a. Asb. 252 is probably an inscription recording work on Eulmaš at Agade, but its building account is completely missing. For the attribution of the text written on clay cylinder fragment 81-2-4,174 to Ashurbanipal, see the commentary of Asb. 252. For information on Eulmaš, see Frame, *Mesopotamia* 28 (1993) pp. 21–50; George, *House Most High* p. 155 no. 1168; Bartelmus and Taylor, *JCS* 66 (2014) pp. 113–128; and Weiershäuser and Novotny, *RINBE* 2 p. 8.

<sup>88</sup> Nabonidus makes the same claim for one of the Kassite kings named Kurigalzu (probably the first king of this name) and for Nebuchadnezzar II. For a discussion of Nabonidus criticizing Nebuchadnezzar, see Schaudig, *Studies Ellis* pp. 155–161.



not reach (them). I cut down poplar(s) and *maštû*-tree(s) and (then) built a replacement Eulmaš and gave (it) to the goddess Ištar of Agade, great lady, my lady.”<sup>89</sup>

Since such admissions would not have been included in Assyrian royal inscriptions, it can be confidently assumed that Nabonidus’ scribes drafted Ashurbanipal’s “confession” of not constructing Eulmaš precisely on its ancient, Sargonic-period foundations and with durable, high-quality materials. Presumably, Esarhaddon and Ashurbanipal gave the temple of Ištar at Agade the care it deserved when rebuilding that sacred structure. Unfortunately, no contemporary witness presently survives to give those Assyrian kings’ testimonies about their work on Eulmaš.<sup>90</sup>

### Babylon

In 689, Sennacherib captured, looted, and destroyed Babylon,<sup>91</sup> as he described in his so-called “Bavian Inscription”:

I destroyed, devastated, (and) burned with fire the city, and (its) buildings, from its foundations to its crenellations. I removed the brick(s) and earth, as much as there was, from the (inner) wall and outer wall, the temples, (and) the ziggurat, (and) I threw (it) into the Arahtu river. I dug canals into the center of that city and (thus) leveled their site with water. I destroyed the outline of its foundations and (thereby) made its destruction surpass that of the Deluge. So that in the future, the site of that city and (its) temples will be unrecognizable, I dissolved it (Babylon) in water and annihilated (it), (making it) like a meadow.<sup>92</sup>

Although the actual destruction was probably not as bad as described in royal inscriptions, Babylon, with the god Marduk’s temple Esagil (“House Whose Head Is High”) at its heart, ceased to be the bond that linked heaven and earth. That connection was severed when Esagil, the most sacred building in the city’s Eridu district, had been destroyed and when Marduk’s statue and its paraphernalia (including an ornately-decorated bed) had been carried off to Assyria and placed in Ešarra (“House of the Universe”), the temple of the Assyrian national god Aššur, located in the Baltil quarter of Aššur.<sup>93</sup>

Soon after becoming king in late 681, in the wake of Sennacherib’s murder,<sup>94</sup> probably during his 2nd regnal year (679), Esarhaddon, Ashurbanipal’s and Šamaš-šuma-ukīn’s father, initiated construction in Babylon so that that important Babylonian city would once again be a bond between heaven and earth.<sup>95</sup> From that time

<sup>89</sup> Weiershäuser and Novotny, RINBE p. 137 Nabonidus 27 ii 37–45a.

<sup>90</sup> According to two Babylonian chronicles (Leichty, RINAP 4 pp. 7–8), the statue of the goddess Ištar of Agade, together with the statues of other gods of that city, that had been in Elam (presumably in its religious capital Susa) were returned to Agade on 10-XII-674, at the very end of Esarhaddon’s seventh regnal year, presumably as part of a treaty agreement between Assyria and Elam. The return of that cult image was very likely the principal reason that Esarhaddon undertook work on Eulmaš. Given that this project began late in Esarhaddon’s reign, this work was probably unfinished in late 669 and, therefore, the task of completing it fell to his successors. Based on Nabonidus’ inscriptions, it was Ashurbanipal, not Šamaš-šuma-ukīn, who took responsibility for ensuring the completion of this temple of Ištar of Agade.

<sup>91</sup> Four books on this important Mesopotamian city have recently been published. These are Beaulieu, *History of Babylon*; Radner, *A Short History of Babylon*; Pedersén, *Babylon*; and Dalley, *City of Babylon*.

<sup>92</sup> Grayson and Novotny, RINAP 3/2 pp. 316–317 Sennacherib 223 lines 50b–54a. The event and the period following the second conquest of Babylon are also recorded in the Chronicle Concerning the Period from Nabû-nāšir to Šamaš-šuma-ukīn, the Esarhaddon Chronicle, the Akitu Chronicle, Babylonian Kinglist A, the Ptolemaic Canon, and the Synchronistic King List. For translations, see Grayson and Novotny, RINAP 3/1 pp. 23–27. Inscriptions of Esarhaddon record the destruction of the city, but those accounts remove all human agency from the events. See, for example, Leichty, RINAP 4 p. 196 Esarhaddon 104 i 34–ii 1a: “The Enlil of the gods, the god Marduk, became angry and plotted evilly to level the land (and) to destroy its people. The river Arahtu, (normally) a river of abundance, turned into an angry wave, a raging tide, a huge flood like the deluge. It swept (its) waters destructively across the city (and) its dwellings and turned (them) into ruins. The gods dwelling in it flew up to the heavens like birds; the people living in it were hidden in another place and took refuge in an [unknown] land.”

<sup>93</sup> Babylon, according to the 1,092-line Babylonian Epic of Creation *Enūma eliš* (“When on high”), had been created to not only be the center of the universe but also the eternal link between humans and gods. For recent editions and studies of *Enūma eliš*, see Kämmerer and Metzler, *Das babylonische Welterschöpfungsepos*; and Lambert, *Babylonian Creation Myths* pp. 3–277 and 439–492. Babylon and Esagil are regularly described as being the bond of heaven and earth in cuneiform sources. See, for example, George BTT pp. 38–39 no. 1 (Tintir = Babylon) Tablet I line 6 and pp. 80–81 no. 5 (Esagil commentary) lines 25–26. For a recent study of Marduk’s Babylon linking heaven and earth, see Radner, *A Short History of Babylon* pp. 75–87.

<sup>94</sup> For a brief study of the murder of Sennacherib, see Grayson and Novotny, RINAP 3/2 pp. 28–29 (with references to earlier studies). For the opinion that Esarhaddon, rather than Urdu-Mullissu, was the son who murdered his father, see also Knapp, *JAOS* 140 (2020) pp. 165–181. For the most recent discussion on the matter, see Dalley and Siddall, *Iraq* 83 (2021) pp. 45–56.

<sup>95</sup> Esarhaddon’s work on Babylon might have started during his 2nd year (679), after the 28th/29th of Simānu (III). On the date, see Novotny, *JCS* 67 (2015) pp. 151–152. With regard to work on Esagil, it is possible that that project had not progressed very far by 672 or 671. For this opinion, see Frame, *Babylonia* pp. 77–78; and George, *Iraq* 57 (1995) p. 178 n. 38.

onwards, until his death on 10-VIII-669, Esarhaddon made a concerted effort to restore Babylon, its city walls Imgur-Enlil (“The God Enlil Has Shown Favor”) and Nēmetti-Enlil (“Bulwark of the God Enlil”), and its temples, especially its most sacred buildings Esagil and Etemenanki (“House, Foundation Platform of Heaven and Netherworld”).<sup>96</sup> This Assyrian king described the rebuilding of Babylon’s most important structures as follows:

[In] a favorable month, on a propitious day, I laid its foundation platform over its previous foundations (and) in (exact) accordance with its earlier plan I did not diminish (it) by one cubit nor increase (it) by half a cubit. I built (and) completed Esagil, the palace of the gods, an image of the *apsû*, a replica of Ešarra, a likeness of the abode of the god Ea, (and) a replica of (the square of) Pegasus (*ikû*); I had (Esagil) ingeni[ously] built (and) I laid out (its) square. For its roof, I stretched out magnificent cedar beams, grown on Mount Amanus, the pure mountain, (and) fastened bands of gold (and) silver on doors of cypress, whose fragrance is sweet, and installed (them) in its gates.<sup>97</sup>

I built anew Etemenanki, the ziggurat, on the site where it previously stood — its length is one *ašlu* (and) one *šuppān*, (and) its width is one *ašlu* (and) one *šuppān*.<sup>98</sup>

With the large *ašlu*-cubit, I measured the dimensions of Imgur-Enlil, its great wall — each length (and) width was thirty *ašlus*. I had (it) built as it was before and raised (its top) up like a mountain. I built (and) [completed] Nēmetti-Enlil, its outer wall, (and) filled (it) with [splend]or (making it) [an object of wonder] for [all of] the people.<sup>99</sup>

<sup>96</sup> For Esarhaddon’s “Babylon Inscriptions,” see Leichty, RINAP 4 pp. 193–258 Esarhaddon 104–126; and Novotny, JCS 67 (2015) pp. 145–168. See also the “Aššur-Babylon Inscriptions”: Leichty, RINAP 4 pp. 103–115 Esarhaddon 48–49 and 51–53 and pp. 134–137 Esarhaddon 60. For Esagil and Etemenanki, see George, *House Most High* pp. 139–140 no. 967 and p. 149 no. 1088. For Imgur-Enlil and Nēmetti-Enlil, with their eight gates, see George, BTT pp. 336–351 (commentary to Tintir V lines 49–58, which are edited on pp. 66–67).

<sup>97</sup> Leichty, RINAP 4 p. 198 Esarhaddon 104 iii 41b–iv 8. The square-shaped (or diamond-shaped) “Sublime Court” (also known as the “Court of Bel”) of Esagil was the earthly replica of the “Field” (*ikû*), its heavenly counterpart. The Field, which we now refer to as the “Square of Pegasus,” was a large diamond shape that was formed by four near-equally-bright stars: Markab (“saddle”; α Pegasi), Scheat (“shoulder”; β Pegasi), Algenib (“the flank”; γ Pegasi) and Alpheratz (“the mare”; α Andromedae); see Radner, *A Short History of Babylon* pp. 79–81. After 689, Sennacherib built a new square courtyard onto Ešarra, the so-called “Ostanbau” (see Grayson and Novotny, RINAP 3/2 pp. 20–21 [with references to previous studies]); that part of Aššur’s temple at Aššur was modelled on Esagil’s Sublime Court/Court of Bēl. The statement in Esarhaddon’s inscriptions that Marduk’s temple was “a replica of Ešarra” refers to the *ikû*-shaped eastern annex building constructed by Sennacherib. This addition was to make Aššur’s temple the new bond between heaven and earth; Leichty, RINAP 4 p. 109 Esarhaddon 48 (Aššur-Babylon A) lines 98b–99a refer to that sacred building as the “bond of heaven and earth” (*markas šamē u eršetim*).

<sup>98</sup> Leichty, RINAP 4 p. 207 Esarhaddon 105 vi 27b–32. The base of Etemenanki measured 91.5 × 91.5 m (8400 m<sup>2</sup>). The core of unbaked mud bricks was surrounded with a 15.75-meter-thick baked-brick outer mantle. Information about Etemenanki prior to the Assyrian domination of Babylonia (728–626) is very sparse and comes entirely from narrative poems (*Enūma Eliš* and the Poem of Erra) and scholarly compilations (Tintir = Babylon) and, thus, it is not entirely certain when Marduk’s ziggurat at Babylon was founded. It has often been suggested that Nebuchadnezzar I (1125–1104), the fourth ruler of the Second Dynasty of Isin, was its founder; this would coincide with the period during which *Enūma eliš* is generally thought to have been composed. Given the lack of textual and archaeological evidence, this assumption cannot be confirmed with any degree of certainty and one cannot rule out the possibility that the Etemenanki was founded much earlier, perhaps even in Old Babylonian times. Esarhaddon is the first known builder of Marduk’s ziggurat. In the reign of the Neo-Babylonian king Nebuchadnezzar II (604–562), Etemenanki is sometimes thought to have had seven stages, six lower tiers with a blue-glazed-brick temple construction on top; for a discussion and digital reconstructions, see Pedersén, *Babylon* pp. 153–165. This view has gained support over the last decade because Babylon’s ziggurat is depicted on the now-famous “Tower of Babel” Stele (George, CUSAS 17 pp. 153–169 no. 76), however, this understanding is now less certain as that monument might be a modern fake (Dalley, *BiOr* 72 [2016] col. 754; Lunde, *Morgenbladet* 2022/29 pp. 26–33; and Dalley, *BiOr* 79 [2022] forthcoming). Given the current textual and archaeological evidence, it is uncertain how many stages Marduk’s ziggurat had during Esarhaddon’s reign. For further details about the textual sources and the archaeological remains, see Wetzel and Weissbach, *Hauptheiligtum*; George, BTT pp. 298–300 (the commentary to Tintir IV line 2, which is edited on pp. 58–58) and 430–433 (commentary to the E-sagil Tablet lines 41–42, which are edited on pp. 116–117); and Pedersén, *Babylon* pp. 142–165.

<sup>99</sup> Leichty, RINAP 4 p. 207 Esarhaddon 105 vi 33–vii 4. According to Esarhaddon’s inscriptions, Babylon’s city walls formed a perfect square; however, the northern and southern stretches of the wall are 2,700 m in length, while the eastern and western sides are significantly shorter, being each 1,700 m in length. According to an inscription of the Neo-Babylonian king Nabonidus (Weiershäuser and Novotny, RINBE 2 p. 54 Nabonidus 1 [Imgur-Enlil Cylinder] i 22), Imgur-Enlil measured “20 UŠ.” An UŠ is a unit for measuring length, but its precise interpretation is uncertain since the sections of the lexical series Ea (Tablet VI) and Aa dealing with UŠ are missing. According to M. Powell (RLA 7/5–6 [1989] pp. 459 and 465–467 §1.2k), 1 UŠ equals 6 ropes, 12 *šuppu*, 60 *nindan*-rods, 120 reeds, and 720 cubits, that is, approximately 360 m; for UŠ = *šuššān*, see Ossendrijver, NABU 2022/2 pp. 156–157 no. 68. According to the aforementioned inscription of Nabonidus, Imgur-Enlil measured 20 UŠ (UŠ.20.TA.A), which would be approximately 7,200 m (= 360 m × 20). A.R. George (BTT pp. 135–136) has demonstrated that the actual length of Imgur-Enlil in the Neo-Babylonian period was 8,015 m, while O. Pedersén (*Babylon* p. 42 and 280) gives the length of the walls as 7,200 m, with the assumption that the stretches of walls within the area of palace are disregarded. In the time of Nabopolassar and his son Nebuchadnezzar II, Imgur-Enlil and Nēmetti-Enlil were respectively 6.5 m and 3.7 m thick, with reconstructed heights of 15 m and 8 m. These impressive structures would have been made from an estimated 96,800,000 (Imgur-Enlil) and 28,500,000 (Nēmeti-Enlil) unbaked bricks. For a recent study of Imgur-Enlil and Nēmetti-Enlil from the textual sources and the archaeological remains, see Pedersén, *Babylon* pp. 39–88.

From sometime after 28/29-III-679 until 10-VIII-669, Esarhaddon rebuilt Imgur-Enlil, Nēmetti-Enlil, Esagil, Etemenanki, the processional way, and Eniggidrukalamasuma (“House Which Bestows the Scepter of the Land”), the temple of the god Nabû of the *ḥarû*.<sup>100</sup> To promote urban renewal, the Assyrian king, as the *de facto* ruler of Babylon, strongly encouraged Babylon’s citizens to resettle the city, build houses, plant orchards, and dig canals.<sup>101</sup> At home, in an appropriate workshop in the religious capital Aššur, in the Aššur temple Ešarra, Esarhaddon had skilled craftsmen restore the divine statues of Marduk and his entourage (Bēltiya [Zarpanītu], Bēlet-Bābili [Ištar], Ea, and Mandānu) and had several cult objects fashioned.<sup>102</sup> Despite Esarhaddon’s best efforts, and contrary to what his inscriptions record, work on Esagil (and Etemenanki) remained unfinished and the refurbished statue of Marduk remained in Assyria when he died in late 669.<sup>103</sup> The completion of that work fell to Ashurbanipal and Šamaš-šuma-ukīn, whom Esarhaddon had officially designated to replace him in II-672.<sup>104</sup>

Shortly after his official coronation as king of Assyria in I-668, in the month Ayyāru (II), Ashurbanipal traveled south to Babylon with his older brother Šamaš-šuma-ukīn, the statues of Marduk and his entourage, and numerous priests and temple personnel.<sup>105</sup> The Assyrian king describes the trip from Baltil (Aššur) to Šuanna (Babylon) as follows:

<sup>100</sup> For Eniggidrukalamasuma, see George, *House Most High* pp. 132–133; and Pedersén, *Babylon* pp. 167–174. Moreover, Esarhaddon (and Ashurbanipal) built a baked-brick pedestal or altar in front of the larger, eastern gate to the ziggurat area, ca. 190 m from the precinct wall. For the baked-brick pillar, see Reuther, *Merkles* pp. 70–71; and Pedersén, *Babylon* pp. 154–155 and p. 213 fig. 5.14. Furthermore, it has been suggested that Esarhaddon was the king responsible for the “lion of Babylon”; for this proposal, see Dalley, *City of Babylon* pp. 201 and p. 202 fig. 7.9; and Dalley, *BiOr* 79 (2022) forthcoming.

Because Esarhaddon states that he refurbished the statues of Bēlet-Bābili (Ištar), Ea, and Mandānu, together with those of Marduk and Bēltiya (Zarpanītu), he presumably also undertook work on the temples of those three deities: respectively Eturkalama (“House, Cattle-Pen of the Land”), Ekarzagina (“House, Quay of Lapis Lazuli” or “House, Pure Quay”), and Erabiriri (“House of the Shackle Which Holds in Check”). This proposal is supported by the fact that Ashurbanipal is known to have sponsored construction on Eturkalama and Ekarzagina; see below. All three temples were located inside the Esagil complex.

<sup>101</sup> Esarhaddon never took the hand of Marduk during an *akītu*-festival (New Year’s festival) and, therefore, he was never officially regarded as Marduk’s divinely-appointed earthly representative. This was because Marduk’s statue was damaged and in Baltil (Aššur), probably in the Aššur temple. For these reasons, all of his “Babylon Inscriptions” written on clay prisms are dated to his “accession year” (*rēš šarrūti*). For details, see Novotny, *JCS* 67 (2015) pp. 149–151.

<sup>102</sup> Leichty, *RINAP* 4 pp. 107–108 Esarhaddon 48 (Aššur-Babylon A) lines 61b–93; compare p. 198 Esarhaddon 104 (Babylon A) iv 9–20. The statues of the deities Amurru, Abšušu, and Abtagigi were also renovated/repared at that time. A seat (*šubtu*) and footstool (*gišzappu*) for the goddess Tašmētu were chief among the items that Esarhaddon had made or restored for Babylon.

<sup>103</sup> Several inscriptions of Esarhaddon prematurely record Marduk’s triumphant return to Esagil and the installation of Šamaš-šuma-ukīn as king of Babylon. See Leichty, *RINAP* 4 p. 113 Esarhaddon 52 (Aššur-Babylon H) and pp. 114–115 Esarhaddon 53 (Aššur-Babylon G). Esarhaddon likely planned to return Marduk and his entourage in time for the fall *akītu*-festival at Babylon, the one held in the month Tašritu (VII), in 670 (his 11th regnal year as the king of Assyria). Those plans, however, were derailed when the king ordered an intercalary Ulūlu (VI<sub>2</sub>) to be added, thus postponing the New Year’s festival in Babylon by one entire month; this is recorded in K 930, a letter attributed to the chief exorcist Marduk-šakin-šumi addressed to the king (Parpola, *SAA* 10 p. 200 no. 253). S. Parpola (*LAS* 2 pp. 185–188 no. 190) dates this piece of correspondence to 1-VI-670 (= August 7th 670), an interpretation that was perhaps (at least partially) influenced by the contents of 81-1-18.54 (Cole and Machinst, *SAA* 13 pp. 54–55 no. 60), a letter attributed to Urdu-Nabû, a priest of the Nabû temple at Kalḫu, who pressed the king about whether or not the *akītu*-festival would take place since nobles from Babylon and Borsippa had come to him asking about the matter. The decision to intercalate Ulūlu (VI<sub>2</sub>), rather than Addaru (XII<sub>2</sub>), seems to have taken place at the outset of Ulūlu, despite the fact that Esarhaddon’s advisors were aware that 670 would be a “leap year” from the beginning of the year, although it was unclear at that time whether the intercalation would take after Ulūlu or Addaru; see K 185 (Parpola, *SAA* 10 pp. 32–33 no. 42), a letter written by the astrologer Balasī, probably in Nisannu (I) of that year. The slight shift in the calendar meant that the Tašritu (VII) 670 *akītu*-festival did not take place and, thus, Esarhaddon did not escort Marduk and his entourage to Babylon, take the hand of Babylon’s tutelary deity during the New Year’s festival, and officially become the king of Babylon as he had intended. The inscriptions written on tablet fragments Sm 1079 (Aššur-Babylon H) and K 5382b (Aššur-Babylon G) were likely written shortly before Esarhaddon ordered an intercalary Ulūlu, resulting in him not returning Marduk to Esagil and not placing Šamaš-šuma-ukīn on the throne of Babylon as those texts recorded.

Of course, other factors might have also contributed to Esarhaddon not returning Marduk to Esagil. One postponement might have been due to an inauspicious event that occurred in the fortified city Labbanat, which prompted Esarhaddon to order that the statues be returned to Assyria rather than continuing the journey to Babylon; for some details on K 527 (Parpola *SAA* 10 p. 19 no. 24) — a letter written by Ištar-šumu-ēreš, Adad-šumu-ušur, and Marduk-šakin-šumi, possibly on 18-II-669 — see Frame, *Babylonia* pp. 77–78. Moreover, the restoration of Esagil might not have been sufficiently completed to have warranted the return of the cult statues. This might have been due in part to the fact that Esarhaddon’s architects had not sufficiently raised the temple above the water table and that Esagil’s inadequately waterproofed floor needed to be fixed. This problem with the temple’s flooring is suggested by the fact that Ashurbanipal raised the level of the pavement in Esagil’s main courtyard by nearly a half meter; see the comments in George, *Iraq* 57 (1995) p. 178 n. 48. Moreover, Esarhaddon’s decision to campaign against Egypt for a third time in 669 might have also delayed the return of Marduk’s statue.

<sup>104</sup> For a brief overview, see Novotny and Jeffers, *RINAP* 5/1 pp. 13–14.

<sup>105</sup> Late in Nisannu (I) 668, Ashurbanipal instructed his diviners to determine whether Šamaš-šuma-ukīn should take the hand of Marduk during that year and take that god’s statue back to Babylon; see Starr, *SAA* 4 pp. 236–237 no. 262. On 28-I-668, the king’s haruspices returned with a ‘firm yes’ from the gods Šamaš and Marduk and the journey to Babylon set out shortly thereafter. According to three Babylonian Chronicles, Šamaš-šuma-ukīn and Marduk entered Babylon in the month Ayyāru (II). The Chronicle Concerning the Period from Nabû-nāšir to Šamaš-šuma-ukīn (iv 34–36) records that the entry into Babylon took place on either the 14th or 24th day of the month,

[... m]e, [Ashurbanipal, ..., he blessed ...]. Šamaš-šuma-ukīn, (my) favorite brother whom I presen[t]ed to the god Marduk, took the hands of his great divinity and was marching be[fore him]. Āšipu-priest(s) ... [...], lamentation priests with *manz[û]-drums* (and) *halḥallatu-drums* [...], (and) singers with lyre(s) [were singing] the praise of [his] lordshi[p. Maumuša ...]. From the quay of Baltil (Aššur) to the quay of Babylon, wherever they stopped for the n[ight], sheep were butchered, bulls were slaughtered, (and) *armannu*-aromatics were scattered o[n] the ...s. They brought befo[re him] everything there was for morning (and) evening meals. Piles of brushwood were lit (and) torches ignited (so that) [th]ere was lig[ht] for one league. All of my troops were arranged in a circle (around him) like a rainbow (and) there were joyous celebrations day and night. The deities the Lady of Akkad, Nanāya, Ušur-amāssa, Ḥanibiya, (and) Ada... had taken up residence on the banks of the river, waiting for the king of the gods, the lord of lords. The god Nergal, mightiest of the gods, came out of Emeslam, his princely residence, (and) approached the quay of Babylon amidst a joyous celebration, arriving safely. The god Nabû, the triumphant heir, took the direct ro[ad] from Borsippa. The god Šamaš rushed from Sippar, emitting radiance onto Babylon. The gods of the land of Sumer and Akkad (in their hurry) *looked exhausted* like tired foals. With the craft of the sage — “the wa[shing] of the mouth,” [“the opening of the mouth,” bathing, (and) purification] — he (Marduk) entered the fruit orchards of the luxuriant gardens of Karzagina (“Pure Quay” or “Quay of Lapis Lazuli”), a pur[e] place, before the stars of heaven — the deities Ea, Šamaš, Asalluḫi, Bēlet-ilī, Kusu, (and) Nin[igirima] — an[d ... inside] it (Esagil) he took up residence on (his) [eternal] d[ais].<sup>106</sup>

Marduk, Bēltiya (Zarpanītu), Bēlet-Bābili (Ištar), Ea, and Mandānu were returned to their temples and Šamaš-šuma-ukīn was placed on the throne, just as Esarhaddon had intended to do while he was still alive.<sup>107</sup>

As work in Babylon was still incomplete in II-668, Ashurbanipal — despite the fact that Šamaš-šuma-ukīn was the king of Babylon, although not yet officially since he still had to take the hand of Marduk during an *akītu*-festival — took it upon himself to finish what his father had started.<sup>108</sup> First and foremost was the completion of Babylon’s two most important structures: Marduk’s temple and ziggurat Esagil and Etemenanki, together with their shrines, platforms, and daises.<sup>109</sup> As for Esagil, Ashurbanipal finished its structure;<sup>110</sup> adorned its interior, especially Eumuša (“House of Command”),<sup>111</sup> Marduk’s cella, which he “made glisten like the stars (lit. ‘writing’) of the firmament”; roofed it with beams of cedar (*erēnu*) and cypress (*šurmēnu*) imported from Mount Amanus and Mount Lebanon in the Levant;<sup>112</sup> hung doors of boxwood (*taskarinnu*), *musukkannu*-

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while the Esarhaddon Chronicle (lines 35’–37’) states that that event occurred on the 24th or 25th of Ayyāru, and the Akītu Chronicle (lines 5–8) mentions that Šamaš-šuma-ukīn and Marduk came into Babylon on the 24th. See Novotny and Jeffers, RINAP 5/1 pp. 34–35 for translations of these passages.

<sup>106</sup> Jeffers and Novotny, RINAP 5/2 p. 326 Asb. 220 (L<sup>4</sup>) iii 1’–22’ (with restorations from iv 8’–20’ on p. 328). Note that iii 1’–6’ are presented here as they would have appeared on the now-lost stele that Ashurbanipal had set up in Esagil after Marduk’s return to his temple in II-668, rather than as how these lines of texts were inscribed in the draft version preserved on clay tablet K 2694+. For details, see Jeffers and Novotny, RINAP 5/2 pp. 5–6, 320–321, 326, and 328.

<sup>107</sup> Perhaps already in VII-670; see n. 103 above. As pointed out by G. Frame (Babylonia p. 78), the promotion of Šamaš-šuma-ukīn to heir designate of Babylon in II-672 might have prompted the return of Marduk’s statue.

<sup>108</sup> This work is recorded in Novotny and Jeffers, RINAP 5/1 pp. 103–104 Asb. 5 (Prism I) i 8’–ii 5; pp. 111 and 114 Asb. 6 (Prism C) i 18’–43; p. 139 Asb. 7 (Prism Kh) i 1’–13’; pp. 212 and 216 Asb. 10 (Prism T) i 21–54; pp. 266–267 Asb. 12 (Prism H) i 1’–3’; pp. 275 and 278 Asb. 13 (Prism J) ii 1’–14’ and viii 12’–17’; p. 282 Asb. 15 ii 10–21; p. 285 Asb. 17 i’ 6’–9’; p. 293 Asb. 22 i 1’–4’; pp. 302–303 Asb. 23 (IIT) lines 41–53; and p. 355 Asb. 61 lines 13–33; Jeffers and Novotny, RINAP 5/2 p. 84 Asb. 98 i 1’–6’; p. 85 Asb. 99 i 1’–11’; p. 111 Asb. 116 i 2’–9’a; p. 238 Asb. 191 rev.<sup>2</sup> 1–15; pp. 307–308 Asb. 215 (Edition L) i 1’–25’; p. 318 Asb. 219 obv. 1’–12’; p. 331 Asb. 222 lines 7–14a; pp. 333–334 Asb. 223 iii 36’–40’ and iv 11’–19’; pp. 337–338 Asb. 224 lines 26–32; p. 342 Asb. 225 rev. 24’; p. 343 Asb. 226 rev. 3–7; and 354 Asb. 229 i 1’–9’; and, in the present volume, Asb. 241 lines 3–22; Asb. 242 lines 7b–20a; Asb. 243 lines 7b–11; Asb. 244 lines 8–14a; Asb. 245 lines 8–14a; Asb. 246 lines 36b–67a; Asb. 247–251; Asb. 253 lines 7–18; Asb. 254 lines 1–32; Asb. 262 lines 1–15; and Asb. 263 lines 7–22a. For the archaeological evidence, see Pedersén, Babylon *passim*. A.R. George (Iraq 57 [1995] p. 178 n. 38) has proposed the following about the state of Esagil’s completion at the very beginning of Ashurbanipal’s reign: “[M]ost, if not all, of the basic work must have been completed by the time that the cult-statues eventually returned to Babylon, at the accession of Šamaš-šuma-ukīn in 668 B.C., although some furnishings, notably Marduk’s bed and chariot, were not installed until much later (654 and 653 B.C. respectively). Though six months elapsed between the death of Esarhaddon and Šamaš-šuma-ukīn’s arrival in Babylon with the cult-statue of Marduk, it remains unlikely that the walls of the central courtyard and other structural parts of the main building had yet to be built at the time of Aššurbanipal’s accession. What is probable, however, is that some, if not all, of the secondary brickwork known to have been the work of Aššurbanipal, rather than his father — the raising and repaving of the floors, and maybe the addition of the *kisū* on the exterior walls — dated to this time.”

<sup>109</sup> Esagil and Etemenanki were located in the Eridu quarter of Babylon, not in Šuanna as Ashurbanipal’s inscriptions record.

<sup>110</sup> This work is attested from numerous bricks with a nine-line Akkadian inscription (Asb. 247) stamped into them. They come from Floor k (3<sup>rd</sup> pavement) and Floor l (4<sup>th</sup> pavement); see Pedersén, Babylon p. 143; and the catalogue of Asb. 247 in the present volume.

<sup>111</sup> George, House Most High p. 156 no. 1176.

<sup>112</sup> The wood was probably supplied by one or more of Assyria’s vassals in the Levant. It is possible that Ba’alu of Tyre, Milki-ašapa of Byblos, Iakīn-Lû (Ikkiilû) of Arwad, and Abī-Ba’al of Samsimurruna aided in the transport of the timber.



wood,<sup>113</sup> juniper (*burāšu*), and cedar in its (principal) gateways; and donated metal, wooden, and stone vessels for the cult. With regard to Etemenanki, he had its massive brick structure completed. In addition, Ashurbanipal claims to have built anew Ekarzagina (“House, Quay of Lapis Lazuli” or “House, Pure Quay”), the temple of the god Ea; Eturkalama (“House, Cattle-Pen of the Land”), the temple of Ištar of Babylon (Bēlet-Bābili), and Emaḥ (“Exalted House”), the temple of the goddess Ninmaḥ.<sup>114</sup> The arduous task of finishing the construction of Imgur-Enlil and Nēmetti-Enlil, the (inner) wall (*dūru*) and outer wall (*šalḫū*), was also accomplished;<sup>115</sup> this included hanging new doors in the (eight) city gates.<sup>116</sup>

At various times between 668 and 652, Ashurbanipal made significant donations to Marduk in Esagil. After the Egyptian metropolis Thebes was captured and plundered (ca. 664), the Assyrian army brought an abundance of gold, silver, and *zaḥalū*-metal back to the Assyrian capital Nineveh.<sup>117</sup> Two obelisks that were reported to have been “cast with shiny *zaḥalū*-metal” and to have weighed 2,500 talents (*biltu*) each, provided Ashurbanipal with a massive amount of metal for making the temples of his patron deities shine like daylight.<sup>118</sup> Esagil was one of the beneficiaries of Assyria’s successes in Egypt. Ashurbanipal created an entirely new throne-dais (*paramāḫū*) for Marduk, one more resplendent than Aššur’s Dais of Destinies in Ešarra at Aššur.<sup>119</sup> This new seat, which might have gone by the name “Ti’āmat,”<sup>120</sup> was constructed from bricks cast from 50 talents (1,500 kg/3307 lbs) of *zaḥalū*-metal.<sup>121</sup> Around the same time, or in conjunction with the creation of the cast-brick throne-dais, Ashurbanipal had his craftsmen build a canopy (*ermi Anu*) from *musukkannu*-wood

<sup>113</sup> On the identification of *musukkannu*-wood as *Dalbergia sissoo*, see, for example, Postgate, BSA 6 (1992) p. 183.

<sup>114</sup> George, House Most High p. 108 no. 569, p. 119 no. 715 and p. 151 no. 1117. For Emaḥ, see also Pedersén, Babylon pp. 181–189. Ekarzagina and Eturkalama were located in the Esagil temple complex, whereas Emaḥ was in the Ka-dingirra district, which was north of the Eridu district. Although Ashurbanipal states that he built Ekarzagina and Eturkalama anew (Asb. 244 and 246), it is possible that Esarhaddon had already taken some steps to renovate those two temples. This is suggested by the fact that Ashurbanipal’s father states that he refurbished the statues of Bēlet-Bābili (Ištar) and Ea, together with those of Marduk, Bēltiya (Zarpanītu), and Mandānu. Because Ashurbanipal reports that these two religious structures were “built anew” (*ešiš ušēpiš*), it is quite possible that little had been accomplished on Ekarzagina’s and Eturkalama’s rebuilding during Esarhaddon’s reign and, therefore, Ashurbanipal felt that he could take full credit for these two temple’s reconstructions; note also that he does not refer to his father’s work on Babylon’s city walls. Because the passage recording Marduk’s return in the so-called “School Days Inscription” refers to the area of Ea’s temple as Karzagina (“Quay of Lapis Lazuli”), instead of Ekarzagina (“House, Quay of Lapis Lazuli”), like his father Esarhaddon does, one could tentatively suggest that the brick structure of Ekarzagina had not been built by II-668 and, therefore, Ashurbanipal’s statement about him constructing Ea’s temple anew was not unfounded; compare Jeffers and Novotny, RINAP 5/2 p. 327 Asb. 220 [L<sup>4</sup>] iii 19’ to Leichty, RINAP 4 Esarhaddon 60 (Aššur-Babylon E) line 46’. In addition, it is likely that Ashurbanipal also worked on Erabirri (“House of the Shackle Which Holds in Check”), the temple of the god Mandānu, which was inside the Esagil temple complex, since that deity’s statue was returned to Babylon in II-668; see George, House Most High p. 137 no. 936.

<sup>115</sup> Asb. 241 (lines 16b–22) does not refer at all to his father’s work on Imgur-Enlil and Nēmetti-Enlil. That text records that Ashurbanipal rebuilt (that section of) Babylon’s inner and outer walls because they had become old and had buckled or collapsed. This might imply that Esarhaddon had not yet started work on that stretch of Imgur-Enlil and Nēmetti-Enlil or that the work was still in the early stages of construction. Cyrus II, in his so-called “Cyrus Cylinder Inscription” (Schaudig, Inschriften Nabonids pp. 550–556), mentions that he discovered foundation documents of Ashurbanipal in the mudbrick structure of Babylon’s walls when he was rebuilding them.

<sup>116</sup> None of Babylon’s eight city gates are mentioned by name in Ashurbanipal’s inscriptions. These gates, starting with the southwesternmost gate of east Babylon, and moving counterclockwise, are the Uraš Gate (Ikkibšu-nakari), the Zababa Gate (Izēr-āršu), the Marduk Gate (Šu’āšu-rē’i), the Ištar Gate (Ištar-sākipat-tēbišu), the Enlil Gate (Enlil-munabbiršu), the King’s Gate (Libūr-nādūšu), the Adad Gate (Adad-napišti-ummāni-ušur), and the Šamaš Gate (Šamaš-išid-ummāni-kin).

<sup>117</sup> In Asb. 3 (Prism B) ii 26–34a (Novotny and Jeffers, RINAP 5/1 p. 61), for example, Ashurbanipal states: “[S]ilver, gold, precious stones, as much property of his palace as there was, garment(s) with multi-colored trim, linen garments, large horses, people — male and female — two tall obelisks cast with shiny *zaḥalū*-metal, whose weight was 2,500 talents (and which) stood at a temple gate, I ripped (them) from where they were erected and took (them) to Assyria. I carried off substantial booty, (which was) without number, from inside the city Thebes.”

<sup>118</sup> The two obelisks were removed from a temple at Thebes (possibly the Amun temple at Karnak). Some scholars have suggested that the (seven-meter-tall) obelisks were solid metal and date to the reign of Tuthmosis III (1504–1450). For this opinion, see, for example, Desroches-Noblecourt, Revue d’Égyptologie 8 (1951) pp. 47–61; Aynard, Prisme pp. 23–25; Kitchen, Third Intermediate Period<sup>4</sup> p. 394 (with n. 891); and Onasch, ÄAT 27/1 p. 158. Note that A.L. Oppenheim (ANET<sup>3</sup> p. 295 n. 13) has proposed that the obelisks were only metal plated.

According to M.A. Powell (RLA 7/7–8 [1990] p. 510 ŠV.6), one talent was approximately thirty kilograms (= sixty minas). Thus, each obelisk might have weighed about 75,000 kg (165,346 lbs) and, therefore, the pair might have yielded around 150,000 kg (330,693 lbs) of *zaḥalū*-metal. At least seventy talents (2,100 kg/4630 lbs) of that silver alloy was used to decorate the cella of the moon-god Šin’s temple Eḫulḫul; see Novotny, Studia Chaburensia 8 pp. 78–80; and Jeffers and Novotny, RINAP 5/2 p. 25 (with n. 109).

<sup>119</sup> As for the Dais of Destinies (*parak šimāte*), Esarhaddon (Leichty, RINAP 4 p. 136 Esarhaddon 60 lines 26’–29’a) records that he had it entirely rebuilt from *ešmarū*-metal and had images of both him and his son Ashurbanipal (then heir designate) depicted on its outer facing. For further details, see Grayson and Novotny, RINAP 3/2 pp. 21–22 (esp. n. 56).

<sup>120</sup> George, BTT pp. 44–45 no. 1 (Tintir) Tablet II line 1. According to A.R. George (ibid. pp. 268–269), “Ti’āmat” was the seat of Marduk (Bēl) in Eumuša, the cella of Marduk in Esagil. According to Asb. 15 ii 19–21 (Novotny and Jeffers, RINAP 5/1 p. 282), the throne-dais was “[placed over the massive body of the ro]jiling [sea (Tiāmat)].”

<sup>121</sup> For the opinion that the *zaḥalū*-metal came from the obelisks plundered from Thebes, see Onasch, ÄAT 27/1 p. 80 n. 386 and pp. 156–158 and 161; and Novotny, Orientalia NS 72 (2003) pp. 211–215.



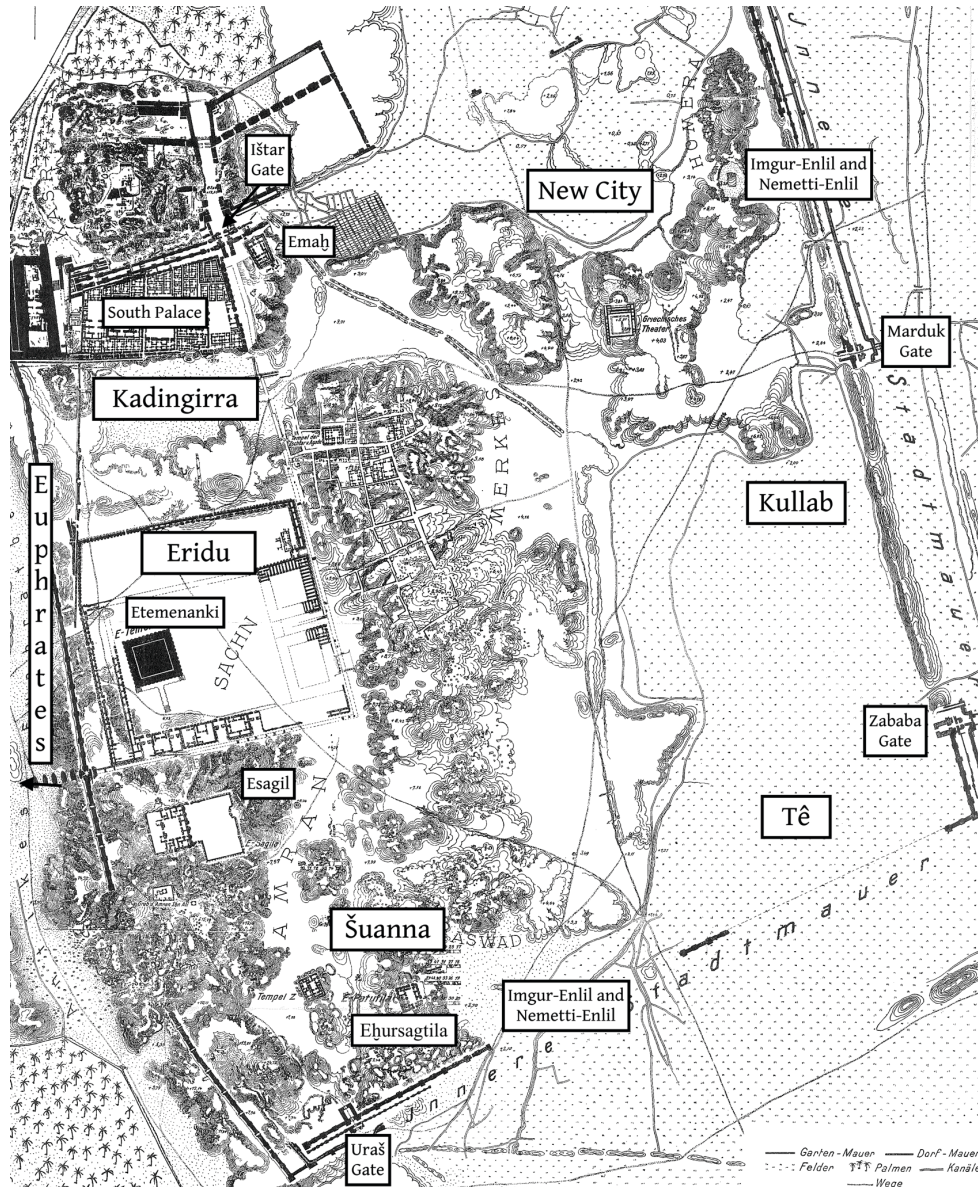


Figure 2. Annotated plan of the ruins of the eastern half of the inner city of Babylon. Adapted from Koldewey, WEB<sup>5</sup> fig. 256.

and clad with thirty-four talents and twenty minas (1020.8 kg/2250 lbs) of reddish gold. That covering was stretched out over Marduk's statue, which sat atop the throne-dais.

In 656, or at the very beginning of 655 at the latest, Ashurbanipal was made aware of the fact that several objects of Marduk and his wife Zarpanītu that had been taken to Assyria by his grandfather Sennacherib in 689 in the wake of the destruction and plundering of Babylon and Esagil were still in the Aššur temple at Aššur. Sennacherib had given Babylon's tutelary deity's bed (*eršu*) and throne (*kussû*) to the Assyrian national god as part of his religious reforms that made the Aššur cult more like that of Marduk's at Babylon.<sup>122</sup> Before

<sup>122</sup> During his final years on the throne (late 689–681), Sennacherib instituted numerous religious reforms, the foremost being the remodeling of the temple, cult, and New Year's festival of the god Aššur at Aššur on those of Babylon, and having Assyrian scribes (re)write *Enūma eliš* so that the Assyrian Empire's national god, rather than the Babylon's tutelary deity Marduk, was the chief protagonist and the city of Aššur, instead of Babylon, was the bond that held the universe together. For Sennacherib's religious reforms, see in particular Machinist, *Wissenschaftskollegs zu Berlin Jahrbuch* (1984–85) pp. 353–364; Frahm, *Sanherib* pp. 20 and 282–288; and Vera Chamaza, *Omnipotenz* pp. 111–167.

dedicating those objects to Aššur, Sennacherib had his scribes place inscriptions written in his name on them.<sup>123</sup> When Ashurbanipal learned of this appropriation of cultic objects, he reclaimed the bed and throne for Marduk. First, he had his scribes make copies of his grandfather's inscription(s) and record detailed descriptions of the objects.<sup>124</sup> Next, he had the metal-plating with Sennacherib's inscriptions removed, had the bed and throne refurbished, and had those objects clad anew with metal platings bearing Ashurbanipal's own dedicatory inscription.<sup>125</sup> At the same time, Ashurbanipal had a new chariot (*narkabtu*) made for Babylon's patron god. That exquisite gift was adorned with trappings of gold, silver, and precious stones; the metal plating probably bore (an) Akkadian inscription(s). The bed, throne, and chariot entered Esagil on 27-III-655.<sup>126</sup> The bed was placed in Kaḥlisu ("Gate Sprinkled with Luxuriance"), the bed chamber (*maštaku*) of Zarpanītu.<sup>127</sup> The dedication of these items by Ashurbanipal might have caused a bit of friction with Šamaš-šuma-ukīn, who was losing patience with his brother's constant interference in internal religious and political affairs of Babylonia. These actions might have widened the rift between the two brothers.

Ashurbanipal also had an ornately-decorated writing board (*lē'u*) dedicated to Marduk. Unfortunately, the clay tablet upon which this copy of the text is written is not sufficiently preserved to be able to determine when the text was composed or when the writing board, which bore an image of the Assyrian king, was placed in Esagil.<sup>128</sup>

<sup>123</sup> These texts were dedicatory inscriptions, with Aššur as the divine recipient. For the inscription(s) written on the appropriated bed and throne of Marduk, see Grayson and Novotny, RINAP 3/2 p. 227 Sennacherib 161 lines 1–20 and pp. 229–231 Sennacherib 162 ii 1–iii 16'. According to the subscript of Sennacherib 161 (Grayson and Novotny, RINAP 3/2 p. 228 rev. 9'–11'), the same inscription was written on the throne. That scribal note also states that the text written on a chest (*pitnu*) was not copied. The two tablets bearing these texts were inscribed by Ashurbanipal's scribes in 656 or in early 655, sometime before 27-III-655. For details, see Grayson and Novotny, RINAP 3/2 p. 8 and 225–229; and Jeffers and Novotny, RINAP 5/2 pp. 8–9.

<sup>124</sup> For the texts, see the note immediately above. For the description of the bed, see Grayson and Novotny, RINAP 3/2 p. 228 Sennacherib 161 rev. 1'–2' and p. 231 Sennacherib 162 iii 17'–29'. For that of Marduk's throne, see *ibid* p. 228 Sennacherib 161 rev. 3'–8' and p. 231 Sennacherib 162 iii 30'–35'.

<sup>125</sup> For a copy of that text, see Jeffers and Novotny, RINAP 5/2 pp. 333–334 Asb. 223 iv 1'–29'. K 2411, the tablet inscribed with that text, was composed shortly after 27-III-655.

<sup>126</sup> For the date, see Jeffers and Novotny, RINAP 5/2 p. 333 Asb. 223 iii 36'–40': "Wording (of the inscription) that was erased from the bed (and) the throne of the god Bēl (Marduk), which were deposited in the temple of (the god) Aššur, (and that of the inscription) written upon (them) in the name of Ashurbanipal. Šimānu (III), the twenty-seventh day, eponymy of Awiānu (655), th[ey were returned t]o Ba[byl]on [...]." Marduk's throne is not specifically mentioned or referred to in Ashurbanipal's own inscriptions. This is in contrast to the bed and the chariot, which are regularly mentioned in the prologues of that king's inscriptions. See, for example, Novotny and Jeffers, RINAP 5/1 p. 216 Asb. 10 (Prism T) i 39–54.

The Šamaš-šuma-ukīn Chronicle (Novotny and Jeffers, RINAP 5/1 pp. 34–35) line 4 records that the "former bed of the god Bēl" returned to Babylon in the 14th year. The text, at least according to the entry for the 4th year (lines 2–3), should be dated by the regnal years of Šamaš-šuma-ukīn, and, therefore, the return of Marduk's bed occurred in 654 (Šamaš-šuma-ukīn 14th year = Ashurbanipal's 15th year), which is a year later than is recorded by contemporary inscriptions (Novotny and Jeffers, RINAP 5/1 pp. 354–256 Asb. 61; and Jeffers and Novotny, RINAP 5/2 p. 333 Asb. 223 iii 36'–40'), which state that the bed (and throne) of Marduk were returned early in the eponymy of Awiānu, governor of Que. That official, at least according to the so-called "Eponym Lists" (Millard, SAAS 2 p. 53 sub 655 A3 v 5'), was *limmu* in Ashurbanipal's 14th regnal year (655). It is not impossible that the author/compiler of the Šamaš-šuma-ukīn Chronicle confused Šamaš-šuma-ukīn's and Ashurbanipal's regnal years, and wrote down 14th year (which would be correct for the Assyrian king, but not for the king of Babylon) rather than 13th year (which would be correct for the king of Babylon, but not for the king of Assyria). The same confusion seems to have taken place for the 15th year in line 5 (of the Šamaš-šuma-ukīn Chronicle). The scribe dates the entry of the "new chariot of the god Bēl" to the 15th year, which surely must be to Ashurbanipal's 15th year as king (654 = Year 14 of the king of Babylon), rather than Šamaš-šuma-ukīn's 15th regnal year (653).

The date for the entry of Marduk's new chariot into Babylon seems to conflict with two inscriptions of Ashurbanipal, which imply that the chariot was already given to Marduk in 655, probably before 27-III of that year. The inscriptions in question are Novotny and Jeffers, RINAP 5/1 pp. 354–256 Asb. 61; and Jeffers and Novotny, RINAP 5/2 pp. 331–334 Asb. 223, which were written in VII-655 and shortly after 27-III-655 respectively. Assuming that Ashurbanipal dedicated the chariot at the same time as Marduk's bed, as that king's inscriptions suggest, then the compiler of the Šamaš-šuma-ukīn Chronicle, for reasons unknown, recorded the receipt of the Assyrian king's donations to Marduk in two separate and sequential years, rather than in one and the same year. This (arbitrary) splitting of events over two years also happens for entries in the Babylonian Chronicle for Esarhaddon's 4th and 5th regnal years (677 and 676). In the Chronicle Concerning the Period from Nabû-nāšir to Šamaš-šuma-ukīn and the Esarhaddon Chronicle (Leichty, RINAP 4 pp. 7–8), the decapitations of Abdi-Milkūti of Sidon and Sanda-uarri of Kundu and Sissû are erroneously recorded as taking place at the end of the 5th year (676), rather than at the end of the 4th year (677), after the capture of the Phoenician city Sidon. It is clear from Esarhaddon's own inscriptions, in particular, "Nineveh B" (Leichty, RINAP 4 pp. 27–35 Esarhaddon 2), that Abdi-Milkūti and Sanda-uarri were beheaded in late 677. It is certain since the earliest known copy of that text (ex. 1 [IM 59046]) is dated to 22-II-676, which is over four months before VII-676 and XII-676, when those rulers lost their heads according to the chronicles. That error in dating in the Babylonian Chronicle has been long known; see, for example, Tadmor, *Studies* Grayson p. 272. The entries for the return of Marduk's bed and entry of his new chariot into Babylon might contain a similarly erroneous account of events.

<sup>127</sup> George, *House Most High* p. 107 no. 555. Kaḥlisu is a byname of Eḫalanki ("House of the Secrets of Heaven and Netherworld") and named in Ashurbanipal's inscriptions instead of Edara'ana ("House of the Ibex of Heaven"), the actual name of the cella of Zarpanītu in Esagil. The destinations of the throne and chariot are not recorded in Ashurbanipal's inscriptions.

<sup>128</sup> Clay tablet 81-7-27,70 = Jeffers and Novotny, RINAP 5/2 pp. 342–343 Asb. 226.

After the suppression of the Šamaš-šuma-ukīn rebellion (sometime after V-648) and while Kandalānu (647–627) was king of Babylon, Ashurbanipal continued to undertake building projects in Babylon. Probably in 647, he made repairs to Duku (“Pure Mound”), the seat of Marduk as Lugaldimmeranki in Ubšukkina (“Court of Assembly”) in Esagil.<sup>129</sup> This part of Babylon’s most sacred building might have sustained damage during the Brothers’ War. Much later in his reign, around his 30th regnal year (639), Ashurbanipal is known to have sponsored construction at Babylon. Sometime before II-639, he dedicated an (inscribed) and reddish-gold-plated ebony bed to Marduk, renovated a sanctuary of Marduk, and began rebuilding Esabad (“House of the Open Ear”), the temple of the goddess Gula in the Tuba quarter in west Babylon.<sup>130</sup> In 638 (or slightly later, perhaps in 637), construction on Esabad was completed.<sup>131</sup> After finishing Gula’s temple, or shortly before completing its construction, Ashurbanipal renovated Marduk’s *akītu*-house, which was located outside of the city, north of the Ištar Gate.<sup>132</sup> In and after 639 and 638, the Assyrian king had utensils of metal and stone, including two gold baskets (*masabbu*), made for Esagil.<sup>133</sup>

It is possible that Ashurbanipal worked on other temples around this same time, perhaps the Ninurta temple Eḫursagtila (“House Which Exterminates the Mountains”),<sup>134</sup> a sacred building located in Šuanna quarter of east Babylon. Ashurbanipal, or possibly Esarhaddon, might be the unnamed former king who the founder of the Neo-Babylonian Empire, Nabopolassar (625–605), claims had started building the temple but had not completed its construction.<sup>135</sup> If Ashurbanipal was in fact a previous builder of Eḫursagtila, then it is probable that work began on the temple (shortly) before his death in 631, which might explain why it was never finished.<sup>136</sup>

### Borsippa

Sometime between 668 and 652, Ashurbanipal set up four silver-plated (and inscribed) statues of wild bulls (*rīmu*) in two prominent gateways of Ezida (“True House”), the temple of the god Nabû at Borsippa: in the Gate of the Rising Sun and the Gate of Lamma-RA.BI.<sup>137</sup> Later in his reign, sometime after V-648 and before 6-II-639, although Kandalānu was the king of Babylon, Ashurbanipal stationed an additional pair of wild bulls in the Luguduene Gate, as well as outfitting the god of scribes’ temple with lavish appurtenances and architectural features, including (re)casting Kizalaga (“Bright Place”), the seat of the god Nūru, from a large amount of

<sup>129</sup> George, *House Most High* p. 77 no. 180 and p. 154 no. 1160. The full names of Duku and Ubšukkina are Dukukinamtartarrede (“Pure Mound Where Destinies are Determined”) and Ubšukkinamezuhalhala (“Court of the Assembly Which Allots the Known Mes”). The byname of Duku is *parak šīmāti* (“Dais of Destinies”).

<sup>130</sup> The ebony bed and the sanctuary (*ayyaku*) are both mentioned in Asb. 22 (i 1’–4’; Novotny and Jeffers, RINAP 5/1 pp. 293), an inscription whose approximate date of composition is ca. 642–640. Work on Gula’s temple was presumably underway when Asb. 12 (Prism H; *ibid.* pp. 265–271) was composed. The principal copy of that text (Eš 7832), whose now-lost building account would have recorded the rebuilding of Esabad, was inscribed on 6-II-639.

<sup>131</sup> Esabad was completed before Asb. 13 (Prism J: Novotny and Jeffers, RINAP 5/1 pp. 271–278) and Asb. 23 (IIT; *ibid.* pp. 296–311) were composed. Those two texts were written no earlier than Ashurbanipal’s 31st regnal year (638). The date of Prism J is not preserved on any of the known exemplars of that text and the limestone slab engraved with the IIT text is not dated.

<sup>132</sup> The Sumerian ceremonial name of the *akītu*-house at Babylon is Esiskur (“House of the Sacrifice”); see George, *House Most High* p. 142 no. 993. Work on the temple was in progress when Asb. 13 (Prism J; Novotny and Jeffers, RINAP 5/1 pp. 271–278) was composed and, thus, it might have been completed in 638 (or in 637), perhaps before the fall New Year’s festival in the month Tašritu (VII).

<sup>133</sup> One of the baskets was inscribed with a fifty-line inscription, while the other had a fifty-five-line text written on it. These Akkadian inscriptions are Asb. 224 and 225 respectively, which were composed sometime after 638 since they mention the Cimmerian ruler Tugdammi’s successor Sandak-šatru; see Jeffers and Novotny, RINAP 5/2 pp. 334–342.

<sup>134</sup> George, *House Most High* p. 102 no. 489; and Pedersén, *Babylon* pp. 190–193.

<sup>135</sup> Weisershäuser and Novotny, RINBE 1/1 Nabopolassar 7 (Eḫursagtila Cylinder) lines 22–24; see also Da Riva, SANER 3 pp. 54 §2.2.2 (É-PA-GÌN-ti-la Inscription [C12]).

<sup>136</sup> No remains of this stage of the temple’s history (“Level 0”) have been excavated. The earliest phase of construction (“Level 1”) dates to the time of Nabopolassar. See Pedersén, *Babylon* pp. 190–193 for details. Note that a single brick inscribed with a Sumerian inscription of Esarhaddon (BE 15316; Leichty, RINAP 4 pp. 256–258 Esarhaddon 126 ex. 1) was discovered in the Ninurta temple, in the South gate, courtyard door, which might point to Esarhaddon having worked on Eḫursagtila. Despite Aššur-etel-ilāni’s short reign (see below), one cannot entirely exclude the possibility that he, rather than his father or grandfather, undertook construction on Ninurta’s temple at Babylon. Given the current textual record, it seems more likely that the unnamed previous building of that sacred structure was Ashurbanipal.

<sup>137</sup> Novotny and Jeffers, RINAP 5/1 p. 104 Asb. 5 (Prism I) ii 6–8; p. 114 Asb. 6 (Prism C) i 44’–47’; p. 139 Asb. 7 (Prism Kh) i 14’–17’; p. 216 Asb. 10 (Prism T) ii 1–6; and Jeffers and Novotny, RINAP 5/2 p. 308 Asb. 215 (Edition L) i 26’–29’: and p. 354 Asb. 229 i 10’–13’. Ashurbanipal’s father Esarhaddon and the Neo-Babylonian king Nabonidus also set up statues of wild bulls in gateways of Ezida. See Leichty, RINAP 4 p. 117 Esarhaddon 54 (Smlt.) rev. 10b–16a; and Weisershäuser and Novotny, RINBE 2 p. 76 Nabonidus 4 Frgm. 7 ii’ 1’–11’. Tablet fragment K 6806 (Asb. 1028) preserves parts of the last two lines of an inscription that was written on the metal plating of wild bulls erected in Ezida at Borsippa, which is evident from the subscript (rev. 3’), which reads “That which (is written) upon the wild bulls of Borsippa [(...)].” It is uncertain if this inscription was composed in the name of Esarhaddon or Ashurbanipal. For information on this Ezida temple, see George, *House Most High* pp. 159–160 no. 1236.



zaḫalû-metal (a silver alloy); setting up silver(-plated) *pirkus* (meaning uncertain) in the gates Kamaḫ and Kanamtila; and fashioning a reddish gold threshold (*askuppu*).<sup>138</sup>

In addition, prior to the outbreak of the Brothers' War in 652, Ashurbanipal restored Borsippa's city wall, Ṭābi-supūršu ("Its Fold Is Pleasant").<sup>139</sup>

### Cutha

During his third decade as king, while Kandalānu sat on the throne of Babylon, Ashurbanipal had Emeslam ("House, Warrior of the Netherworld"), the temple of the god Nergal at Cutha, built anew "from its foundations to its crenellations."<sup>140</sup> That sacred building, according to preserved inscriptions, was in a woeful state of repair. Not only was its brick superstructure old, its foundations were out of alignment. In an auspicious month and on a propitious day, Ashurbanipal's workmen relaid Emeslam's foundations on their correct (divinely-sanctioned) positions, together with the appropriate accompanying foundation deposits. The new temple was built in accordance with the craft of the brick-god Kulla and with crushed pieces of aromatics ceremoniously mixed into (some of) the bricks.<sup>141</sup> The structure was adorned with a variety of woods (*musukkannu*-wood, KA-wood, ebony, boxwood, *ḫilēpu*-wood, and UMBIN-wood); its roof was made from long beams of cedar that had been imported from Mount Sirāra and Mount Lebanon in the Levant; and its doors were made from white cedar (*liāru*). In a gateway near Nergal's cella, Ashurbanipal stationed (metal-plated and inscribed) statues of lion-headed eagles (*anzū*).<sup>142</sup> As for when this work was carried out, it appears to have begun after Susa was looted and destroyed in 646, when the Assyrians brought back from the Elamite religious capital a statue of the goddess Nanāya, along with numerous other royal and divine objects looted from Babylonia (including Cutha) or sent there as bribes by former kings of Babylon, including his own brother Šamaš-šuma-ukīn. The project was probably completed sometime between 642 and 640.<sup>143</sup>

### Dēr

After the Šamaš-šuma-ukīn rebellion was suppressed in 648, Ashurbanipal renovated, rebuilt, or repaired Edimgalkalama ("House, Great Bond of the Land"), the temple of the god Anu rabû, perhaps since it had sustained damage during that bloody, four-year war.<sup>144</sup> After the construction of its brick superstructure, which was said to have been "raised as high as a mountain," was completed, sometime before Abu (V) 645,<sup>145</sup> Ashurbanipal had its interior decorated and adorned with metal-plated objects and had its divine occupants (Anu rabû, Šarrat-Dēr, and Mār-bīti) placed once again on their daises.<sup>146</sup>

<sup>138</sup> Novotny and Jeffers, RINAP 5/1 p. 267 Asb. 12 (Prism H) i 4'-13'a; pp. 275-276 Asb. 13 (Prism J) ii 15'-30'; pp. 293-294 Asb. 22 i 5'-12'; and p. 303 Asb. 23 (IIT) lines 54-59.

<sup>139</sup> Asb. 253.

<sup>140</sup> Novotny and Jeffers, RINAP 5/1 p. 267 Asb. 12 (Prism H) i 13'b-25'; p. 291 Asb. 21 line 10'b-12'a; p. 294 Asb. 22 i 14'b-21'; and p. 303 Asb. 23 (IIT) lines 61b-63; and Jeffers and Novotny, RINAP 5/2 pp. 347-348 Asb. 227 (Nergal-Laš Inscription) rev. 18-29; p. 352 Asb. 228 (Nergal-Laš Inscription) rev. 27-28; p. 356 Asb. 229 v 1'-3'; and p. 357 Asb. 230 rev. i' 2'-6'. For a brief study of Emeslam, see George, House Most High pp. 126-127 no. 802.

<sup>141</sup> Ashurbanipal claims that the bricks were fashioned in molds made from ebony and *musukkannu*-wood.

<sup>142</sup> There were statues of lion-headed eagles stationed in a gateway of Emeslam's cella (*papāḫu*) since the reign of the Ur III king Šulgi (2094-2047). See Frayne, RIME 3/2 p. 135 E3/2.1.2.26 rev. i 13'-14'.

<sup>143</sup> Susa was destroyed during Ashurbanipal's second war with Ummanaldašu (Ḫumban-ḫaltaš III), sometime before 1-IX-646 since the Assyrian king claims to have made the statue of Nanāya that he had found in that city enter its "rightful" place in Uruk on the first of Kislimu (IX); see the section *Uruk* below for more details, as well as Novotny and Jeffers, RINAP 5/1 pp. 23-25 (for the Assyrian campaigns against the Elamite king Ummanaldašu). When items from Emeslam were returned to Cutha from Susa, probably on Ashurbanipal's return march home in 646 from Susa via Uruk, the Assyrian king might have seen the condition that Nergal's temple was in and decided to have it rebuilt and refurbished.

The date of completion is based on the proposed date of composition for Asb. 22, which is likely the earliest presently-attested inscription of Ashurbanipal recording work on Nergal's temple at Cutha; for details, see Novotny and Jeffers, RINAP 5/1 p. 293.

<sup>144</sup> Novotny and Jeffers, RINAP 5/1 p. 217 Asb. 10 (Prism T) iii 15-17; and p. 304 Asb. 23 (IIT) lines 73-75; and in the present volume Asb. 265 lines 1'-3'a. Work on the temple is also recorded in the historical-literary text written on K 2632 (Bauer, Asb. p. 76 and pls. 23-24 iii 17-20). For information about Edimgalkalama, see George, House Most High p. 76 no. 166; and Frahm, Studies Parpola pp. 51-64.

<sup>145</sup> The inclusion of the completion of Edimgalkalama in the prologue of Asb. 10 (Prism T: Novotny and Jeffers, RINAP 5/1 pp. 209-221, specifically p. 217 iii 15-17) seems to indicate that construction on that sacred building had come to an end. K 1729 (ex. 2) is the earliest dated copy of that inscription and it was inscribed on 6-V-645 (eponymy of Nabû-šar-aḫḫēšu). On the date of that post-canonical eponym, see Novotny and Jeffers, RINAP 5/1 p. 32.

<sup>146</sup> Asb. 23 (IIT) lines 74-75 (Novotny and Jeffers, RINAP 5/1 p. 304) record that Ashurbanipal had Great Anu's (Ištarān's) *musukkannu*-wood seat (*šubtu*) clad with silver (*kaspu*) and that he had had another item made from silver and reddish gold (*ḫurāšu ruššū*). The inscription is not sufficiently preserved to be able to determine what that item might have been.

### *Dūr-Kurigalzu*

Ashurbanipal repaired Enlil's ziggurat at Dūr-Kurigalzu.<sup>147</sup> This work is attested from a single inscribed brick built into the southwest façade of the temple-tower.<sup>148</sup>

### *Mê-Turān*

A large number of bricks discovered at Tell Ḥaddād attest to Ashurbanipal's building activities at Mê-Turān.<sup>149</sup> The Akkadian inscription written on those square bricks, which were found in situ, state that the Assyrian king enlarged the courtyard of Ešāhula ("House of the Happy Heart"), the temple of the god Nergal in that city<sup>150</sup> and made its processional way "shine like daylight." The inscribed bricks, which are said to have been baked in a "(ritually) pure kiln" (*utūnu elletu*), were used to pave the temple's courtyard and processional way.

### *Nippur*

Just like his father Esarhaddon, Ashurbanipal rebuilt Ekur ("House, Mountain"), the temple of the god Enlil at Nippur.<sup>151</sup> Moreover, he restored the Egigunū, the temple on top of Enlil's ziggurat, together with some part of its cella Eḫursaggalama ("House, Skillfully-Built Mountain" or "House Stepped Mountain").<sup>152</sup> Numerous stamped and inscribed bricks attest to the renovations. Work on the ziggurat temple was carried out since its enclosure wall (*iḡāru*) had become old and eroded, perhaps due to water damage.<sup>153</sup> Since Ashurbanipal refers to himself as "the king of the land of Sumer and Akkad" in an Akkadian inscription written on a clay cylinder recording the renovation of that sacred building, the work at Nippur was probably carried out at a time when there was no separate king of Babylon, or at least not one acknowledged by the text's composer(s).<sup>154</sup> Thus, Ashurbanipal probably sponsored the work sometime after the suppression of the Šamaš-šuma-ukīn rebellion (652–648). The pro-Assyrian governor (*šandabakku*) of Nippur, Enlil-bāni, assuming he was still in office at the time, might have overseen the work on Ashurbanipal's behalf.<sup>155</sup>

It is possible that Ashurbanipal might have also worked on Nippur's city wall, but that project is not attested in the extant textual record.<sup>156</sup>

### *Sippar*

While Šamaš-šuma-ukīn was king of Babylon and certainly before his older brother incited a rebellion against him in 652, Ashurbanipal sponsored work on the most important Babylonian temple of the sun-god: Ebabbar ("Shining House"), the temple of Šamaš at Sippar.<sup>157</sup> Few details about the project itself are recorded in contemporary sources, but the construction, as is usually the case, was undertaken because the temple's

<sup>147</sup> Asb. 256. According to the Kuyunjik Ziggurat List (George, *House Most High* p. 46 no. 4: 7), the Sumerian ceremonial name of the ziggurat was Egirir ("Pure House"). On the reading of KUR.TI.KI as Dūr-Kurigalzu (or its older name Parsā), see George, *House Most High* p. 45, commentary to no. 3 line 42'.

<sup>148</sup> The brick is reported to have been reused, that is, it was not found in its original position.

<sup>149</sup> Asb. 257.

<sup>150</sup> George, *House Most High* p. 144 no. 1020. Ešāhula was located in Sirara, the temple district of Mê-Turān.

<sup>151</sup> Asb. 258–261. For Esarhaddon's Nippur inscriptions, see Leichty, *RINAP* 4 pp. 260–270 Esarhaddon 128–132. For Ekur's building history, see George, *House Most High* p. 116 no. 677.

<sup>152</sup> George, *House Most High* p. 92 no. 373 and pp. 100–101 no. 480; and Sjöberg, *Temple Hymns* p. 50. For a study of Ashurbanipal's work on the ziggurat, see Clayden and Schneider, *Kaskal* 12 (2015) pp. 349–382. Asb. 258 (lines 15–19) gives the impression that Egigunū was the ziggurat, but it is more likely only the temple on top of it, as A.R. George (*House Most High* p. 92 no. 373) has already suggested. Moreover, Egigunū might be a noun (with É as a preceding determinative for a building), rather than a ceremonial name; see, for example, CAD G pp. 67–70 sub *gigunū*. Thus, one might read Asb. 258 line 15 as É.gi-gu-nu-ú ziq-qur-rat NIBRU.KI, "the sacred building of the ziggurat of Nippur," instead of É-gi-gu-nu-ú ziq-qur-rat NIBRU.KI, "Egigunū, the ziggurat of Nippur." It is unclear what part of Eḫursaggalama Ashurbanipal had repaired since the reading of the relevant passage in Asb. 261 (line 10) is uncertain and differs in the known copies of the text.

<sup>153</sup> The known exemplars of Asb. 261 are both well-head bricks, which means that they were intended to be used in a round well or conduit. This might support the notion that the ziggurat and its sacred temple had sustained damage from water. On the conduit built by Ashurbanipal on the northeast façade of the ziggurat, see Clayden and Schneider, *Kaskal* 12 (2015) pp. 364–365 and 367.

<sup>154</sup> Asb. 258 (line 10). On the date, see the commentary to that text, as well as Clayden and Schneider, *Kaskal* 12 (2015) p. 354. As noted by G. Frame (*RIMB* 2 p. 220), the work could have been carried out during the rebellion, but that would be highly unusual since Babylonia was in turmoil.

<sup>155</sup> For details on this important man, see Frame, *Babylonia* p. 121; Cole, *SAAS* 4 pp. 54–55; Weszeli, *PNA* 2/1 p. 519 sub Illil-bāni no. 2; and Reynolds, *SAA* 18 p. XXXII.

<sup>156</sup> This wall was built on top of the Ur III city wall. Only one or two courses of this five-meter-thick wall have survived. For details, including its attribution to Ashurbanipal, see Gibson, Zettler, and Armstrong, *Sumer* 39 (1983) pp. 177 and 184–189.

<sup>157</sup> Jeffers and Novotny, *RINAP* 5/2 pp. 358–359 Asb. 231; and in the present volume Asb. 262. For details about Ebabbar, see, for example, George, *House Most High* p. 70 no. 97 and Weiershäuser and Novotny, *RINBE* 2 pp. 9–10.



brickwork was old and needed to be replaced. We do know, however, that Ashurbanipal roofed Šamaš' earthly abode with cedar beams transported all the way from Mount Sirāra and Mount Lebanon in the Levant and had doors of cedar installed in its (principal) gateways.

Since one inscription states that Sippar was in an abysmal state before the work on Ebabbar had started, it is likely that Ashurbanipal, either on his own or in collaboration with Šamaš-šuma-ukīn, undertook other construction projects in that city.<sup>158</sup> For example, Ashurbanipal might have assisted his older brother when the latter had Sippar's city wall Badullisâ ("Wall Named in Ancient Times") rebuilt.<sup>159</sup>

## Ur

At Ur, the most important cult center of the moon-god in Babylonia,<sup>160</sup> Sîn-balāssu-iqbi, the governor of that city, undertook construction on Sîn's temple Ekišnugal on behalf of the Assyrian king (Ashurbanipal), rather than on that of the king of Babylon (Šamaš-šuma-ukīn).<sup>161</sup> That important official, as far as his inscriptions are preserved, rebuilt and restored Eadgigi ("House of the Counsellor"), the abode of the god Nusku; Eankikuga ("House of Pure Heaven and Netherworld"), the station of the god Kusu; Eanšar, a "royal abode" (of Sîn?); É.AŠ.AN.AMAR (exact reading uncertain), the abode of the god Enlil; Eešbanda ("House Little Chamber"), the abode of the goddess Šuzianna; É.DUB.galekura (exact reading uncertain), the abode of the god Ninimma; Elugalgalgasisa ("House of the King who Lets Counsel Flourish"), the ziggurat; Ešaduga ("House Which Pleases the Heart"), the "abode of Enlilship" (of Sîn?); Etemennigurru ("House, Foundation Clad in Awe-Inspiring Radiance"), the ziggurat terrace; Eušumgalana ("House of the Dragon of Heaven"), the station of the goddess Ninkasi; É...gukuga (name not fully preserved), an abode or seat of the god Ennugi; Gipāru(ku), a sanctuary of the goddess Ningal; and Puḫilituma ("Well That Brings Luxuriance"), a well located in the temple complex. While carrying out the work, Sîn-balāssu-iqbi's workmen found an inscribed brick of the Ur III king Amar-Suena (2046–2038). Sîn-balāssu-iqbi had Nabû-šuma-iddin, a lamentation-priest of Sîn, make a copy of that text and had the new inscribed object, a clay drum-shaped object, deposited inside the structure of the moon-god's temple.<sup>162</sup> In addition, Sîn-balāssu-iqbi constructed a statue for Ningal and had it placed inside Gipāru. He also commissioned a new door for Etemennigurru, which he had placed on its former position and over a foundation deposit; the door was made from boxwood (Sumerian *taškarin*) and outfitted with silver and copper fixtures.

## Uruk

While Šamaš-šuma-ukīn was king of Babylon and after Ba'alū of Tyre had reaffirmed his loyalty to Assyria (ca. 662)<sup>163</sup> and Ḫundāru of Dilmun became a tribute-paying client (or reconfirmed his status as such),<sup>164</sup>

<sup>158</sup> Jeffers and Novotny, RINAP 5/2 p. 358 Asb. 231 lines 3'b–5'a: "The city of privileged-status, which is depicted as the 'Crab' in the heavens and ... [its] foundations were tottering. The abode of his city was torn out and one could not examine [its] structu[re ...] its [plain]s were full of lions instead of oxen and sheep."

<sup>159</sup> Frame, RIMB 2 pp. 249–251 B.6.33.1. The name of Sippar's city wall is called Baduldua ("Wall Built in Ancient Times") in the Kuyunjik Ziggurat List (George House Most High p. 47 no. 4 line 33).

<sup>160</sup> Ḫarrān, with its principal temple Eḫulḫul, located in the northwestern part of the Empire, near the Balīḫ River, was the most important cult center of Sîn in Assyria. See Novotny, Eḫulḫul; Groß, Kulturelle Schnittstelle pp. 139–154; Novotny, Studia Chaburensia 8 pp. 73–94; Weiershäuser and Novotny, RINBE 2 pp. 10–11; Härtinen, dubsar 20 *passim*, but particularly pp. 384–416; and Jeffers and Novotny, RINAP 5/2 pp. 23–25.

<sup>161</sup> Asb. 2003–2018; note that only Asb. 2006 and 2008–2009 specifically state that the work was carried out on Ashurbanipal's behalf. These inscriptions, nearly all of which were composed in Sumerian (rather than Akkadian), were written on a wide variety of objects: clay cones, clay disks, and clay drum-shaped objects, bricks, and a stone door socket (made from a reused boundary stone). For details on the Ekišnugal temple complex and its various temples, shrines, and sanctuaries, see George House Most High p. 65 no. 42 (Eadgigi), p. 67 no. 71 (Eankikuga), p. 68 no. 81 (Eanšar), p. 69 no. 91 (É.AŠ.AN.AMAR), p. 79 no. 202 (É.DUB.galekura) and no. 203 (Edublalmah), p. 83 no. 265 (Eešbanda), p. 93 no. 385 (Egipgar), p. 114 no. 653 (Ekišnugal), p. 119 no. 706 (Elugalgalgasisa), p. 149 no. 1090 (Etemennigurru), p. 158 no. 1214 (Eušumgalana), and p. 161 no. 1255 (É...gukuga); and Zettler and Hafford RLA 14/5–6 (2015) pp. 370–375 §3.1. For information about Sîn-balāssu-iqbi, a son of Ningal-iddin, see Brinkman, *Orientalia* NS 34 (1965) pp. 248–253; Frame, *Babylonia* pp. 98–101 and 278; Baker, *PNA* 3/1 pp. 1129–1130 sub Sîn-balāssu-iqbi no. 3; Brinkman, *RLA* 12/7–8 (2011) p. 514; and the general introduction to Asb. 2003–2018 in the present volume (p. 135).

<sup>162</sup> Asb. 2007. For the Amar-Suena inscription, see Frayne, *RIME* 3/2 pp. 256–257 E3/2.1.3.11.

<sup>163</sup> See Novotny and Jeffers, RINAP 5/1 pp. 17–18 for details and textual references.

<sup>164</sup> Dilmun is mentioned twice as a vassal of Assyria in extant inscriptions: once in Asb. 23 (Novotny and Jeffers, RINAP 5/1 p. 308 IIT lines 131b–132, as well as line 137) and once in Asb. 263 (line 9). It is clear from Asb. 263 that its ruler (Ḫundāru) was already sending regular payments to Assyria prior to the outbreak of the Šamaš-šuma-ukīn rebellion in 652 since the king of Babylon is mentioned favorably in that text. This is interesting since the only other inscription mentioning that king of Dilmun dates to ca. 638. For details about this ruler of Dilmun, who is also mentioned in royal correspondence, see Brinkman, *PNA* 2/1 p. 479 sub Ḫundāru 2.

Ashurbanipal repaired the enclosure wall of Eanna (“House of Heaven”), the temple of the goddess Ištar, at Uruk.<sup>165</sup>

During the second war with the Elamite king Ummanaldašu (Humban-ḫaltaš III) in 646, the Assyrian army thoroughly looted and destroyed the important religious center Susa, together with its principal temples and ziggurat.<sup>166</sup> At least two inscriptions record the countless wonders that Ashurbanipal had discovered in that city’s palaces and sacred buildings, which included royal and divine objects that had been looted from Babylonia by Elamite kings (on seven different occasions) or that had been sent there as bribes by former kings of Babylon, including his own brother Šamaš-šuma-ukīn.<sup>167</sup> Of the numerous items kept in Susa’s treasuries, the most important, at least according to the textual record, was a statue of the goddess Nanāya, which Ashurbanipal believed had been carried off to Elam “1635 years” earlier (during the Old Babylonian Period).<sup>168</sup> That statue, together with those of the goddesses Ušur-amassa and Urkayītu, which were apparently also discovered at Susa, was ceremoniously returned on 1-XI-646 to its “rightful” place in Eḫiliana (“House of the Luxuriance of Heaven”), which was located in the Eanna temple complex.<sup>169</sup> After this time, Ashurbanipal appears to have sponsored some work on Eḫiliana, but since none of the texts of this king (thought to be) written for objects deposited or displayed are sufficiently preserved, it is unclear what he did for Nanāya’s cella

<sup>165</sup> Asb. 263 (lines 22b–24a). For a brief history of Eanna, see George, *House Most High* pp. 67–68 no. 75.

<sup>166</sup> For information about the Assyrian campaigns against the Elamite king Ummanaldašu, see Novotny and Jeffers, *RINAP 5/1* pp. 23–25.

<sup>167</sup> Novotny and Jeffers, *RINAP 5/1* p. 202 Asb. 9 (Prism F) v 3–18 and p. 249 Asb. 11 (Prism A) vi 7–26.

<sup>168</sup> Most inscriptions record the number of years that Nanāya was in Elam as 1,635, but a few texts state that she was in Susa either 1630, 1535, or 1530 years. For details, see Novotny and Jeffers, *RINAP 5/1* p. 204 on-page note to Asb. 9 (Prism F) v 72. Asb. 227 obv. 12–15 (Jeffers and Novotny, *RINAP 5/2* p. 346) states that Kudur-Nanḫundu, a king of Elam, abducted Nanāya. Scholars have identified that Elamite ruler with either (1) Kutir-Naḫḫunte I, a contemporary of the Old Babylonian kings Samsu-iluna (1749–1712) and Abi-ešuḫ (1711–1684), or (2) Kutir-Naḫḫunte III, an Elamite ruler who held authority in Babylonia after the fall of the Kassite Dynasty in the mid-12th century. For the proposal that it was the former Elamite ruler who had taken Nanāya’s statue to Susa, see, for example, Scheil, *RA 29* (1932) pp. 67–76, especially p. 76; König, *RLA 2/5* (1938) p. 330; Hinz, *RLA 6/5–6* (1983) pp. 383–384; van Koppen, *Susa and Elam* pp. 380–384 (with references to previous studies); and Janssen, *NABU 2021/3* pp. 186–188 no. 81. For the suggestion that it was the later Kutir-Naḫḫunte III who had carried off the goddess Nanāya, see, for example, Stolper in Carter and Stolper, *Elam* pp. 88–89 n. 323; and Vallat, *NABU 1993/1* pp. 25–26 no. 31 (with references to earlier studies). As pointed out by F. van Koppen (*Susa and Elam* p. 381), the Kutir-Naḫḫunte in question can only be the earlier Elamite ruler as it would be very difficult to reconcile the 1635-year span of time (*Distanzangabe*) with the later ruler; the abduction of the statue of Nanāya might have taken place while Abi-ešuḫ, Ḫammu-rāpi’s grandson, was on the throne. He also suggested that Ashurbanipal’s scholars arrived at the number 1635 using (a) source(s) comparable to the Babylonian King List A (Grayson, *RLA 6/1–2* [1980] pp. 90–96 §3.3): “We are not familiar with the sources for Babylonian history used by Ashurbanipal’s scholars, but may assume that their figures resembled those of the *Babylonian King List A*, with 368 years for the First Sealand Dynasty and 576 years and 9 months for the Kassite Dynasty” (van Koppen, *Susa and Elam* p. 381 n. 35). It is unclear, as stated already by van Koppen, precisely which Old Babylonian king’s reign was the starting point used by Ashurbanipal’s scholars to calculate the length of Nanāya’s residence in the Elamite capital Susa. Recently, however, T. Janssen (*NABU 2021/3* pp. 186–188) has suggested that the variant 1535-year span began with Abi-ešuḫ’s immediate successor Ammī-ditāna (1683–1647) — thus excluding the reigns of Ḫammu-rāpi (1792–1750), Samsu-iluna, and Abi-ešuḫ — and ended with the battle of Tīl-Tūba in 653, rather than with the sack of Susa in 646, the year when Nanāya’s statue was actually recovered and returned to its “rightful” place in Eḫiliana: 89 (Babylon I Dynasty after Abi-ešuḫ) + 368 (entire Sealand I Dynasty) + 576 (entire Kassite Dynasty) + 502 (post-Kassite period until 653) = 1535. If Janssen’s proposal proves correct, in that the 1535 years begin after the reign of Abi-ešuḫ, then the more-commonly-used span of 1635 years would have placed that Urukian goddess’ abduction during the first half of Ḫammu-rāpi’s tenure as king. For the evidence that Kutir-Naḫḫunte I might have taken the statue of Nanāya while Abi-ešuḫ, Ḫammu-rāpi’s grandson, was on the throne, see van Koppen, *Susa and Elam* pp. 380–384. As for the 1630-year span, could that number refer to the time from Ḫammu-rāpi’s first regnal year to Ashurbanipal’s first year as king? One arrives at that number as follows: 43 (Ḫammu-rāpi’s reign) + 38 (Samsu-iluna’s reign) + 28 (Abi-ešuḫ’s reign) + 89 (Babylon I Dynasty after Abi-ešuḫ) + 368 (entire Sealand I Dynasty) + 577 (= 576 years and 9 months; entire Kassite Dynasty) + 487 (post-Kassite period until 668) = 1630. Given the variants 1635, 1535, and 1530, it is less certain that Ashurbanipal’s scribes regarded the start of his reign as the end date of Nanāya’s stay in Susa, which would have been far too early and, thus, the 1630-year period ended closer to that goddess’ return to Uruk, perhaps even in 653, as Janssen has suggested. That proposal might find some contemporary textual support from Asb. 126 rev. 5–7 (Jeffers and Novotny, *RINAP 5/2* p. 123), a damaged passage that seems to record that Ummanigaš (Humban-nikaš II) — the son of Urtaku whom Ashurbanipal placed on the Elamite throne shortly after Teumman was beheaded during the battle at Tīl-Tūba in 653 — failed to send Nanāya’s statue back to Uruk. The number 1630 in reports about the fifth Elamite campaign was changed to 1635, a figure that became the most-commonly-used *Distanzangabe*; for details, see Jeffers, *ZA 108* (2018) pp. 215–216 §2.5. It is unlikely that the addition of five years was random and, therefore, there must be some logical explanation for the change. Perhaps this alteration (using exclusive counting) reflects the time between the death of Teumman in 653 — assuming that that year was the original endpoint of the 1630 (and 1530) years — and Ummanaldašu (Humban-ḫaltaš III) assuming power in 648. Apart from the five-year period between the start of the Šamaš-šuma-ukīn rebellion in 651 and the sack of Susa in 646 (also using exclusive counting), the present authors are not aware of any major events in (Babylonia and) Elam that would have necessitated the five-year change. Assuming that Ashurbanipal’s scribes’ calculations were based on source(s) comparable to the Babylonian King List A, as van Koppen has suggested, then the 1530 and 1535 time spans would have placed Nanāya’s departure at the beginning of Ammī-ditāna’s reign (around his fifth year as king); and the 1630 and 1635 time spans would have regarded that event as having taken place during the reign of the more-famous Ḫammu-rāpi, who was a contemporary of Šamši-Adad I (1813–1781), a ruler of Assyria well-known to Ashurbanipal’s scribes. Given the lack of firm information from extant sources, these issues must remain a matter of speculation.

<sup>169</sup> The date that Nanāya entered Eḫiliana is recorded in Novotny and Jeffers, *RINAP 5/1* p. 251 Asb. 11 (Prism A) vi 122: *ina* ITI.GAN UD.1.KĀM “in the month Kislimu (IX), on the first day.” For details on Eḫiliana, see George, *House Most High* pp. 98–99 no. 459.

at Uruk after XI-646.<sup>170</sup> Because a statue of Nanāya was already in Eḫiliana at the time, as is clear from at least two inscriptions of his father Esarhaddon,<sup>171</sup> it is not known if Ashurbanipal replaced the then-residing Nanāya statue with the one he had taken from Susa or if that long-absent image was placed elsewhere in the Eanna complex. How this dilemma was resolved is not recorded in presently-available sources. It is certain, however, that Nabopolassar (625–605), returned the Nanāya statue that Ashurbanipal brought into Eḫiliana in 646 BC to Susa in his accession year (626) BC.<sup>172</sup>

A clay tablet containing an archival copy of an inscription of Ashurbanipal discovered at Uruk records that the Assyrian king had a metal-plated (and inscribed) ceremonial cart (*attaru*) dedicated to one of that city's gods or goddesses.<sup>173</sup> Given the poor state of preservation of that text, it is uncertain to whom the cart was given — Ištar, Nanāya, or some other deity (Ušur-amassa or Urkayītu) — and when the inscription was composed, either before the outbreak of the Šamaš-šuma-ukīn rebellion in 652 or after the conclusion of the second war with Ummanaldašu in 646. Since Ištar was the goddess of war, it is likely that the cart had been dedicated to her, probably in connection with Ashurbanipal's restoration of Eanna's enclosure wall, sometime before 652, although this cannot be proven with certainty.

### Ashurbanipal's Death

Classical sources give an account of the final days of the Assyrian Empire, an event also documented in one cuneiform source: the so-called "Fall of Nineveh Chronicle" (see the section *Chronicles* below for a translation). According to the "History of Persia" written by Ctesias of Cnidus,<sup>174</sup> a Greek physician living at the Persian court in the late 5th century, the "last" king of Assyria, Sardanapalus — a man identified with Ashurbanipal rather than his son Sîn-šarra-iškun, the last Assyrian king to have ruled from Nineveh — committed suicide when he thought that Nineveh was about to fall to the Babylonian and Median forces laying siege to his capital. This fictional account narrates the Assyrian king's tragic death as follows:

Then the king [Sardanapalus] ... gave up hope of being saved. To avoid falling into the hands of the foes, he prepared a massive pyre in the palace and piled on it gold and silver, as well as all the royal garments; then he shut the concubines and eunuchs into a room which had been got ready in the midst of the pyre, and consigned himself together with them and the palace to the flames.<sup>175</sup>

This account, which inspired Lord Byron's tragedy *Sardanapalus* and Eugene Delacroix's *La mort de Sardanapale*,<sup>176</sup> appears to have conflated Ashurbanipal's death with that of his brother Šamaš-šuma-ukīn, who, according to Ashurbanipal's inscriptions, was burned alive in his palace in late 648,<sup>177</sup> or that of his son Sîn-šarra-iškun, who died when the Babylonians and Medes sacked Nineveh in 612.<sup>178</sup>

<sup>170</sup> Jeffers and Novotny, RINAP 5/2 pp. 359–368 Asb. 232–236. The subscript of Asb. 236 (ibid. p. 368 rev. ii' 1'–2') implies that the text written on the tablet to which fragment K 13360 belongs was inscribed on an object, possibly a foundation document (likely a clay prism), displayed or deposited in a (sacred) building at Uruk. The prominent mention of Nanāya indicates that the inscription was composed after that goddess' return to Eḫiliana in late 646. Work on Eḫiliana might have also been recorded in Novotny and Jeffers, RINAP 5/1 p. 291 Asb. 21 (line 12'), but that text is badly damaged, so it is unclear if it records Nanāya's return to Uruk or her return to Eḫiliana and Ashurbanipal's subsequent work on that sacred structure.

<sup>171</sup> Leichty, RINAP 4 p. 276 Esarhaddon 135 (Uruk C) lines 11–15 and p. 278 Esarhaddon 136 (Uruk D) lines 11–17. Esarhaddon's renovation of Eḫiliana was prompted by him returning the statue of Nanāya that his father Sennacherib had taken to Assyria in 693, after Assyrian troops had captured and looted Uruk and Eanna. For a letter recording some of the details of the repair of the statues of Uruk's deities, see Parpola SAA 10 pp. 284–285 no. 349. Esarhaddon claims that the Kassite king Nazi-Maruttaš (re)built or renovated that holy part of Eanna. If this reflects historical reality, then Nanāya's cult at Uruk, despite the abduction of its cult statue several hundreds of years earlier (see n. 168 above), had been restored in or before this time. Clearly, a new cult statue had been created and was worshipped in Eḫiliana from the Middle Babylonian Period onwards. Esarhaddon also names Eriba-Marduk, a member of the Bīt-Yakīn tribe in the Sealand who became the king of Babylon, as a previous builder of Nanāya's cella. Eriba-Marduk's work on Eanna was not favorably remembered in the Neo-Babylonian Period. For details, see Beaulieu, *Pantheon of Uruk* pp. 136–138; and Da Riva and Novotny, *IOS Annual* 22 pp. 21–22.

<sup>172</sup> This is recorded in the *Chronicle Concerning the Early Years of Nabopolassar* lines 15b–17 (see p. 43).

<sup>173</sup> Asb. 264. The opening dedication and building report are not preserved. The association of the inscription with Uruk is based solely on the provenance of the tablet (W 22669/3).

<sup>174</sup> For example, see Lenfant, *Ctésias de Cnide*; and Rollinger in Frahm, *Companion to Assyria* pp. 571–572.

<sup>175</sup> Kuhrt, *Persian Empire* p. 41 no. 16 §27.

<sup>176</sup> For images of Ashurbanipal in later tradition, see Frahm, *Studies H. and M. Tadmor* pp. 37\*–48\*. Because nothing about Ashurbanipal's death is recorded in cuneiform sources, it has been sometimes suggested that Ashurbanipal died by fire; see Frame, *Babylonia* p. 155.

<sup>177</sup> Novotny and Jeffers, RINAP 5/1 p. 158 Asb. 7 (Prism Kh) viii 55'–61' and p. 243 Asb. 11 (Prism A) iv 46–52. W. von Soden, (*ZA* 62 [1972] pp. 84–85) has suggested that an official by the name of Nabû-qātē-šabat threw Šamaš-šuma-ukīn into the fire; for evidence against that proposal, see Frame, *Babylonia* p. 154 n. 101. Ctesias' account of the death of Ashurbanipal might have mistaken the death of the Assyrian king at Nineveh with that of the king of Babylon. If that Classical description of Ashurbanipal's death was based on the death of Šamaš-šuma-ukīn, then the king of Babylon might have committed suicide. For this opinion, see Frahm, *Studies H. and M. Tadmor* p. 39\*; and

After Ashurbanipal died, he was succeeded by his son Aššur-etel-ilāni. When and how Ashurbanipal's death occurred has been a subject of debate since few sources shed light on the matter,<sup>179</sup> and, thus, scholars generally believe that he ruled over Assyria until 631, 630, or 627.<sup>180</sup> Based on contemporary (Babylonian) evidence, Ashurbanipal was king (of Assyria) until at least Simānu (III) of his 38th year (631),<sup>181</sup> but, according to an inscription of Nabonidus' mother Adad-guppī (Hadad-ḥappī), he reigned until his 42nd year (627).<sup>182</sup> At present, the "Adad-guppi Stele Inscription" is the only Akkadian source that gives a length of reign for Ashurbanipal. The relevant passages of that "pseudo-autobiographical" text, which is engraved on two round-topped monuments discovered in and near Ḥarrān, reads:

From the twentieth year of Ashurbanipal, king of Assyria, (during) which I (Adad-guppī) was born, until the forty-second year of Ashurbanipal, the third year of Aššur-etel-ilāni, his son, the twenty-first year of Nabopolassar, the forty-third year of Nebuchadnezzar (II), the second year of Amēl-Marduk, (and) the fourth year of Neriglissar, after (these) ninety-five years, ... From the time of Ashurbanipal, king of Assyria, until the ninth year of Nabonidus, king of Babylon, (my) son, my own offspring, he (Sîn) kept me alive for 104 good years on account of the reverence that the god Sîn, king of the gods, had placed in my heart.<sup>183</sup>

It is clear from this inscription — which was written by Nabonidus (555–539) on his mother's behalf a few years after her death in 547, perhaps during his 14th (542) or 15th (541) year as king<sup>184</sup> — that there is an obvious discrepancy between the age given for Adad-guppī in the text (104) and the actual number of years between Ashurbanipal's 20th year and Nabonidus' 9th year (102).<sup>185</sup> Much ink has been spilt on the matter, especially about the lengths of Ashurbanipal's and Aššur-etel-ilāni's reigns. Can the information presented in Adad-guppī's biographical account of her long life be reconciled with other Babylonian documents? Possibly, yes.

It is clear from other extant chronographic sources that the composer(s) of the Adad-guppi Stele Inscription had a firm grasp on the length of reigns for the Neo-Babylonian kings, starting with Nabopolassar, the first ruler of the "Neo-Babylonian Dynasty." The chronographer correctly assigns twenty-one years to Nabopolassar (625–605), forty-three years of Nebuchadnezzar II (604–562), two years to Amēl-Marduk (561–560), and four years to Neriglissar (559–556).<sup>186</sup> Because the short reign of Lâbâši-Marduk (556), which lasted only two

MacGinnis, *Sumer* 45 (1987–88) pp. 40–43. Note that Šamaš-šuma-ukīn's death is also recorded in the Amherst Papyrus 63.

<sup>178</sup> According to Berossos, a Hellenistic-era priest of the god Bēl (Marduk) who wrote a Greek history of Babylonia (*Babyloniaca*), Sarakos (Sîn-šarra-iškun) was afraid of being captured and thus committed suicide by burning down his palace around him; see Burstein, *SANE* 1/5 p. 26. It is possible that Berossos, who was writing long after the events of 612, confused Sîn-šarra-iškun's death with that of Ashurbanipal or more likely that of his brother Šamaš-šuma-ukīn, a king of Babylon who is known with certainty to have died in a conflagration.

<sup>179</sup> Assyrian chronographic sources are of no use since: (1) the Assyrian King list, the so-called "SDAS List," ends with the reign of Shalmaneser V (Gelb, *JNES* 13 [1954] pp. 209–230; and Grayson, *RLA* 6/1–2 [1980] pp. 101–115 §3.9); and (2) the latest preserved entries in the Assyrian Eponym Chronicle and Eponym Canon are respectively for the years 699 and 649 (Millard, *SAAS* 2 pp. 49 and 54). Babylonian chronographic texts are also of no help since Ashurbanipal is not included in Babylonian King List A (Novotny and Jeffers, *RINAP* 5/1 p. 29) or the Ptolemaic Canon (*ibid.* p. 30). The Uruk King List (*ibid.* p. 29) probably mentions Ashurbanipal, but states that he ruled over Babylonia jointly with his brother Šamaš-šuma-ukīn for twenty-one years (669–648), before Kandalānu was king for twenty-one years (647–627). Although Synchronistic King Lists (*ibid.* pp. 29–30) mention Ashurbanipal, those texts do not record the lengths of the kings' reigns. Moreover, the Babylonian Chronicles (*ibid.* pp. 34–36; and the present volume pp. 42–46) are not preserved for the years 647 (Ashurbanipal's 22nd year) to 628 (Kandalānu's 20th regnal year = Aššur-etel-ilāni's 3rd year as king); part of the entry for 627 is extant and his son Sîn-šarra-iškun is mentioned in the report for that year.

<sup>180</sup> See, for example, Na'aman, *ZA* 81 (1991) pp. 243–267, especially pp. 243–255; Zawadzki, *ZA* 85 (1995) pp. 67–73; Beaulieu, *Bagh. Mitt.* 28 (1997) pp. 367–394; Gerber, *ZA* 88 (1998) pp. 72–93; Reade, *Orientalia* NS 67 (1998) pp. 255–265; Oelsner, *Studies Renger* pp. 643–666, especially pp. 644–645; Liebig, *ZA* 90 (2000) pp. 281–284; and Fuchs, *Studies Oelsner* pp. 25–28 and 35.

<sup>181</sup> Brinkman and Kennedy, *JCS* 35 (1983) p. 24 no. J.38. N 4016 comes from Nippur. This document is dated to 20-III-631. It is possible that Ashurbanipal could have died prior to this and news of his death had not yet reached Nippur from the Assyrian capital.

<sup>182</sup> Weiershäuser and Novotny, *RINBE* 2 p. 225 Nabonidus 2001 (Adad-guppi Stele) i 30.

<sup>183</sup> Weiershäuser and Novotny, *RINBE* 2 p. 225–226 Nabonidus 2001 (Adad-guppi Stele) i 29–33a and ii 26–29a.

<sup>184</sup> According to the Nabonidus Chronicle (Weiershäuser and Novotny, *RINBE* 2 p. 26) ii 13–15a, Adad-guppi died on 5-I-547 (= April 6th 547) in the city Dūr-karašu, which was on the Euphrates River, upstream of Sippar. On the date of composition of the Adad-guppi Stele, see Beaulieu, Nabonidus p. 68 n. 1; and Schaudig, *Inschriften Nabonids* p. 501.

<sup>185</sup> The composer(s) of the text used inclusive, rather than exclusive, dating for Adad-guppi's age, that is, Nabonidus Year 9 is included in the counting of years, even though the king's mother only lived five days into her son's 9th regnal year.

<sup>186</sup> These dates are more or less confirmed by the Uruk King List and the Ptolemaic Canon (Weiershäuser and Novotny, *RINBE* 2 p. 24). Note that the Uruk King List records that Neriglissar ruled for three years and eight months and that his young son Lâbâši-Marduk was king for only three months. Berossos assigns nine months to the reign Lâbâši-Marduk. Based on economic documents, a reign of two or three months is likely for Neriglissar's young son, but not the nine stated by Berossos, since his reign is attested only for the months Nisannu (I), Ayyāru (II), and Simānu (III) of his accession year; see Beaulieu, Nabonidus pp. 86–87. Based on date formulae of business documents, the Uruk King List appears to give too long a reign to Neriglissar, who appears to have died a few days into his 4th regnal year; the latest presently-attested document dated by his reign was written at Uruk on 6-I (YBC 3433; Parker and Dubberstein, *Babylonian Chronology*



or three months, took place during the same year as the 4th and final year of his father Neriglissar, that short-reigned ruler is omitted from the list of rulers during whose reigns Adad-guppi lived. The reigns of the four aforementioned Babylonian rulers account for seventy of the ninety-five years of Adad-guppi's life before her son officially became king, which took place on 1-I-555 (during the Nisannu New Year's festival). The queen mother lived until 5-I-547, the 5th of Nisannu (I) of Nabonidus' 9th year.

The composer(s) of the Adad-guppi Stele Inscription, however, had less of a grasp on Assyrian history, in particular, the length of the reigns of Ashurbanipal, in whose country and during whose reign Adad-guppi was born, and his first successor Aššur-etel-ilāni.<sup>187</sup> Information about Assyria's last three kings — Sîn-šuma-lišir, Sîn-šarra-iškun, and Aššur-uballiṭ II — was not essential because Sîn-šuma-lišir's and Sîn-šarra-iškun's reigns began (and ended in the case of the former) in a year in which Aššur-etel-ilāni was still king<sup>188</sup> and the tenures of Sîn-šarra-iškun and Aššur-uballiṭ overlapped with Nabopolassar's reign. Because the requisite years were subsumed under Aššur-etel-ilāni or Nabopolassar there was no need to mention Sîn-šuma-lišir, Sîn-šarra-iškun, or Aššur-uballiṭ II in the list of rulers during whose reigns Adad-guppi lived.<sup>189</sup> Moreover, the same was true of Kandalānu, the king of Babylon who was placed on the throne by Ashurbanipal and ruled over Babylonia for twenty-one years,<sup>190</sup> since his tenure took place while Ashurbanipal and Aššur-etel-ilāni ruled Assyria.<sup>191</sup> The text's chronographer(s) appear not to have had concrete information about the reigns of Assyria's last kings, very likely as that information was not readily available.<sup>192</sup> They were, however, certain about two things: (1) there were twenty-two years between the end of the Šamaš-šuma-ukin rebellion in 648 — as that piece of information was recorded in several Babylonian Chronicles — and the first year of Nabopolassar in 625;<sup>193</sup> and

p. 12). Despite the fact that Neriglissar was king for only a short time after the start of his 4th regnal year, he is credited with a four-year reign by the composer(s) of the Adad-guppi Stele Inscription. That year (556) was regarded as Neriglissar Year 4, Lâbâši-Marduk Year 0, and Nabonidus Year 0. For a recent study on the date of Nabonidus' accession to the throne, see Frame, *Studies* Rochberg pp. 287–295.

<sup>187</sup> Adad-guppi was very likely born in (or at least near) Ḫarrân. W. Mayer (*Studies* Römer pp. 250–256) has suggested that Adad-guppi might have been a daughter of the Assyrian prince Aššur-etel-šamê-eṣeti-muballissu (Pempe, PNA 1/1 pp. 184–185; Novotny and Singletary, *Studies* Parpola pp. 170–171) and, therefore, a granddaughter of Esarhaddon, but there is no extant textual evidence to support this proposal.

In scholarly literature, Nabonidus' mother is sometimes referred to as a priestess of the god Sîn of Ḫarrân on account of the devotion she claims to have given to the moon-god in the stele inscription written in her name. However, this need not be the case, since it is equally as plausible that Adad-guppi was simply a pious, upper class lay-woman. The piety expressed in her pseudo-autobiographical account of her life does not necessarily have to be interpreted as cultic obligations of a priestess. See the discussions in Dhorme, RB 5 (1908) p. 131; Garelli, *Dictionnaire de la Bible* 6 (1960) p. 274; Funck, *Altertum* 34 (1988) p. 53; W. Mayer, *Studies* Römer (1998) pp. 253–256; and Jursa, *Die Babylonier* p. 37. Note that many years ago B. Landsberger (*Studies* Edhem p. 149) already argued against the idea of Adad-guppi being an *entu*-priestess of the moon-god at Ḫarrân and that P. Michalowski (*Studies* Stolper p. 207) believed that this proposal is “an unsubstantiated modern rumor.”

<sup>188</sup> Sîn-šuma-lišir's months-long reign (= his accession year) took place during the final year of Aššur-etel-ilāni's reign and at the same time as the accession year of Sîn-šarra-iškun. It also took place during the final year that Kandalānu, the king of Babylon, was alive (his 21st regnal year).

<sup>189</sup> With the exception of Sîn-šarra-iškun's accession year, which was the year before Nabopolassar became king, the entire reign of Assyria's penultimate king overlaps with the tenure of the founder of the Neo-Babylonian Empire. The entire duration of Aššur-uballiṭ II's reign also took place while Nabopolassar was king of Babylon. Moreover, Sîn-šarra-iškun Year 1 took place during the posthumous Kandalānu Year 22 (see the note immediately below).

<sup>190</sup> The Uruk King List (Novotny and Jeffers, RINAP 5/1 p. 29) credits Kandalānu with a twenty-one-year reign, but the Ptolemaic Canon (*ibid.* p. 30) states that he was king for twenty-two years. The length of Kandalānu's reign is broken away in Babylonian King List A (*ibid.* p. 29), but it might have been twenty-one years since that text also appears to list Sîn-šuma-lišir (reading uncertain) as a king of Babylon. The attribution of twenty-two years to Kandalānu comes from economic documents that are posthumously dated to his 22nd regnal year; see Brinkman and Kennedy, JCS 35 (1983) p. 49 no. L 163, which comes from Babylon and is dated to 2-VIII-626, which was twenty-four days before Nabopolassar became king (26-VIII-626). Kandalānu died early in his 21st regnal year, perhaps in late Ayyāru (II) or early Simānu (III). The latest economic document not posthumously dated to his reign was written on 8-III-627 (*ibid.* p. 49 no. L.159) and the earliest text posthumously dated to his tenure is 1-VIII-627 (*ibid.* p. 49 no. L.160). Because no one (Sîn-šarra-iškun or Nabopolassar) was in a position to take the hand of Marduk during the *akitu*-festival at Babylon on 1-I-626, the New Year's festival did not take place, as the *Akitu* Chronicle records (see the section *Chronicles* below) and nobody was officially crowned as the king of Babylon; thus, some economic documents continued to be dated by Kandalānu's reign. Rather than recording a one-year kingless period, the Ptolemaic Canon gives an extra year of reign to Kandalānu. Note that this text also assigns an extra year to Esarhaddon, attributing to him a thirteen-year-long reign. The additional year covers Šamaš-šuma-ukin's accession year (668).

<sup>191</sup> Adad-guppi was probably living in Assyria until Nabopolassar captured and destroyed Ḫarrân in 610 and, thus, from her perspective (as composed by Nabonidus' scribes after her death), Ashurbanipal and Aššur-etel-ilāni were kings before Nabopolassar came to power. Therefore, one would not expect the queen mother to regard Kandalānu, or even Šamaš-šuma-ukin, as a king during whose reign she had lived since they were Babylonian kings who were contemporaries of Ashurbanipal and his son Aššur-etel-ilāni.

<sup>192</sup> See n. 179 above.

<sup>193</sup> Based on extant chronographic sources, the end of the Šamaš-šuma-ukin rebellion would very likely have been recorded for that king of Babylon's 20th regnal year (648) in the Esarhaddon Chronicle and the Šamaš-šuma-ukin Chronicle; see Novotny and Jeffers, RINAP 5/1 pp. 34–35. The *Akitu* Chronicle (lines 23–27) records that the New Year's Festival did not take place during the 20th year (of Šamaš-šuma-ukin), the last year of the Brothers' War, as well as in Nabopolassar's accession year (626 = posthumous Kandalānu Year 22). The twenty-



(2) Aššur-etel-ilāni succeeded his father as king of Assyria for a short time and that his tenure did not overlap with that of Nabopolassar, unlike his successors Sîn-šarra-iškun and Aššur-uballiṭ II. The composer(s) of the Adad-guppi Stele Inscription, who very likely did not have precise information at hand, assigned a forty-two-year reign to Ashurbanipal and a three-year reign to Aššur-etel-ilāni.<sup>194</sup> This timeframe — Ashurbanipal's 21st to 42nd regnal years<sup>195</sup> and Aššur-etel-ilāni 1st to 3rd regnal years — covered the remaining twenty-five years of the ninety-five years that Adad-guppī had lived before Nabonidus officially became the king of Babylon. In total, Nabonidus' mother is said to have lived 104 years, which is impossible as there were only 102 years from 649 (Ashurbanipal's 20th year) to 547 (Nabonidus' 9th year). Because Nabonidus' literary craftsmen were aware of the number of years that had transpired between Adad-guppī's (purported) birth and her (recorded) death, they must have known that they had assigned too many years to the life of the centenarian queen mother.

Presumably in order not to give the impression that Ashurbanipal's reign was not immediately followed by Nabopolassar's, the chronographer(s)/composer(s) included Aššur-etel-ilāni in the list of kings, even though it was abundantly clear that adding that ruler's regnal years was superfluous and that the total for Adad-guppī's lifespan would be more than she actually lived.<sup>196</sup> If the three double-counted years for Aššur-etel-ilāni's reign are excluded from the year count, the total is reduced to 101, which is one year shy of the needed 102 years between 649 and 547. If Nabonidus' scholars actually knew how many years had passed since Ashurbanipal's 20th regnal year, they would have been aware that there were twenty-three years between 649 and 626, not twenty-two as they record.<sup>197</sup> Thus, they should have assigned Ashurbanipal a forty-three-year reign, but they did not. The missing year would then bring the count back up to the required 102 years. The subtraction of three years and the miscalculation of the date of Ashurbanipal's 20th year (which is off by one year) seems a rather unlikely scenario, especially as it is needlessly complex. The double counting can easily be accounted for, but the missing year for Ashurbanipal that is then accurately accounted for cannot. There must have been a simpler, more rational explanation for how Nabonidus' chronographer(s) calculated the age of his very old mother.

Based on the extant sources currently at our disposal, Babylonian Chronicles in particular, it appears that Nabonidus' scholars wrongly identified Ashurbanipal's 20th year (649): they seem to have confused it with Šamaš-šuma-ukīn's 20th and final year (648), the milestone year that his rebellion ended, as well as a year in which the New Year's festival at Babylon did not take place.<sup>198</sup> There are precisely twenty-two years between the end of Šamaš-šuma-ukīn's tenure as king and the 1st year of Nabopolassar's reign, as well as between interruptions in the *akītu*-festival at Babylon in 648 and 626. Moreover, these years match the number of years attributed to Kandalānu by the Ptolemaic Canon and economic documents.<sup>199</sup> Given that the 20th year loomed large in Babylonian (and Assyrian) historical memory, since it was the year the protracted war between

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two-year period in question corresponds to the reign of Kandalānu according to the Ptolemaic Canon and economic documents dated to that king's tenure (627–626) or to the twenty-one-year period for Kandalānu's reign (647–627) and the joint one-year reign for Sîn-šuma-lišir and Sîn-šarra-iškun (626), which overlapped with Nabopolassar's accession year, according to the Uruk King List and probably also Babylonian King List A (ibid. p. 29). Posthumous Kandalānu Year 22 is recorded as “for one (entire) year, there was no king in the land (Akkad)” in lines 14–15a of the Chronicle Concerning the Early Years of Nabopolassar (see the section *Chronicles* below). From surviving Babylonian Chronicles and King Lists, Nabonidus' scribes were clearly aware of the number of years between the end of Ashurbanipal's war with Šamaš-šuma-ukīn and the accession of Nabopolassar. Presumably, the missing entries in the Babylonian Chronicle would have been dated by Kandalānu's regnal years.

<sup>194</sup> Information about Aššur-etel-ilāni's 4th year as king appears to have gone unnoticed by the composer(s) of the Adad-guppi Stele Inscription. This is not surprising as Babylonian business documents dated to his reign come only from Nippur and only one is known for his 4th and final year as king (Brinkman and Kennedy, JCS 35 [1983] p. 53 no. M12). Four texts, however, are dated by his 3rd year; see ibid. p. 53 nos. M8–M11. Because there are so few presently-attested dated documents for the fourth year of Aššur-etel-ilāni's reign and since 627 was a chaotic year, with four kings by which to date business transactions (Kandalānu, Aššur-etel-ilāni, Sîn-šuma-lišir, and Sîn-šarra-iškun), it is not surprising that this Assyrian king is credited by Nabonidus' scribes as having ruled for only three years.

<sup>195</sup> Based on the information provided about Ashurbanipal's length of reign in the Adad-guppi Stele Inscription, some scholars (especially S. Zawadzki [Fall of Assyria pp. 57–63]) have suggested that Ashurbanipal and Kandalānu were one and the same person, but this seems unlikely, as already pointed out by J.A. Brinkman (for example, CAH<sup>2</sup> 3/2 pp. 60–62) and G. Frame (Babylonia pp. 191–213, especially 193–195, and 296–306).

<sup>196</sup> This is evident from the fact that Nabonidus' scholars were aware that there were only twenty-two years between the end of the Šamaš-šuma-ukīn rebellion and the 1st regnal year of Nabopolassar. Thus, any regnal years assigned to Aššur-etel-ilāni would have been regarded as a double count since those years were already included in the regnal count for Ashurbanipal.

<sup>197</sup> The composer(s) added twenty-two years to the 20th regnal year of Ashurbanipal to arrive at a total of forty-two years. The math, however, is off by one year when one counts from Ashurbanipal's actual 20th year as king. It is unclear, however, whether that year would have been 648 or 626.

<sup>198</sup> The Akītu Chronicle line 23 (Novotny and Jeffers, RINAP 5/1 p. 36) records the following for the 20th year (of Šamaš-šuma-ukīn's): “The twentieth year (648): The god Nabû did not go (and) the god Bēl did not come out.” Presumably other chronicles would have noted the same information and given additional details about the end of the rebellion.

<sup>199</sup> See n. 190 above.

Ashurbanipal and Šamaš-šuma-ukīn concluded, it should not come as a surprise that more than one hundred years later Nabonidus' chronographer(s) regarded the 20th year in texts accessible to them as Ashurbanipal's, not Šamaš-šuma-ukīn's, 20th regnal year. They would not have been the only men to have confused or mixed up the dates of past events, as it is clear that there are a number of errors in extant Babylonian Chronicles. For example, the Šamaš-šuma-ukīn Chronicle wrongly states that a bed of Marduk entered Babylon in the "14th year (of Šamaš-šuma-ukīn [654])," when it should have been the "13th year (of Šamaš-šuma-ukīn [655])," since that text dates events by the regnal years of the king of Babylon. The 14th year would be correct if the year refers to Ashurbanipal's 14th regnal year (655).<sup>200</sup> Thus, it is not implausible for Nabonidus' scribes to have regarded Šamaš-šuma-ukīn's 20th year as Ashurbanipal's 20th year. If this was the case, does the math add up? Yes. There are 101 years between 648 ("Ashurbanipal's" 20th year; 648 = Šamaš-šuma-ukīn Year 20) and 547 (Nabonidus' 9th year) and 104 years when the double-counted three-year reign of Aššur-etel-ilāni are taken into account.<sup>201</sup> Moreover, the twenty-two years of Ashurbanipal during which Adad-guppi claims to lived corresponds exactly to the requisite number of years between the end of Šamaš-šuma-ukīn rebellion and the first year of Nabopolassar's reign. Thus, it seems highly probable that Nabonidus' mother was born in 648, and not in 649, as previously thought.<sup>202</sup>

Chart 1: Side by side comparisons of the regnal years of Ashurbanipal, Aššur-etel-ilāni, Nabopolassar, and their contemporaries (Šamaš-šuma-ukīn, Kandalānu, Sîn-šuma-lišir, and Sîn-šarra-iškun) from 649 to 625.

Year	Ashurbanipal (actual)	Ashurbanipal (Adad-guppi Stele)	Aššur-etel-ilāni	Nabopolassar	Other Kings
649	20	[[19]]	—	—	Šamaš-šuma-ukīn 19
648	21	20	—	—	Šamaš-šuma-ukīn 20 Kandalānu 0
647	22	21	—	—	Kandalānu 1
646	23	22	—	—	Kandalānu 2
645	24	23	—	—	Kandalānu 3
644	25	24	—	—	Kandalānu 4
643	26	25	—	—	Kandalānu 5
642	27	26	—	—	Kandalānu 6
641	28	27	—	—	Kandalānu 7
640	29	28	—	—	Kandalānu 8
639	30	29	—	—	Kandalānu 9
638	31	30	—	—	Kandalānu 10
637	32	31	—	—	Kandalānu 11
636	33	32	—	—	Kandalānu 12
635	34	33	—	—	Kandalānu 13
634	35	34	—	—	Kandalānu 14
633	36	35	—	—	Kandalānu 15
632	37	36	—	—	Kandalānu 16
631	38	37	0	—	Kandalānu 17
630	[[39]]	38	1	—	Kandalānu 18
629	[[40]]	39	2	—	Kandalānu 19
628	[[41]]	40	3	—	Kandalānu 20
627	[[42]]	41	4	—	Kandalānu 21 Sîn-šuma-lišir 0 Sîn-šarra-iškun 0
626	—	42	—	0	Kandalānu 22
625	—	—	—	1	Ssi 1 Ssi 2

year counted in Adad-guppi Stele

year double counted in Adad-guppi Stele

[[42]] year not attested in source(s)

20 year confused by Nabonidus' chronographer(s)

0 same year, confirmed from Babylonian Chronicles

<sup>200</sup> On this confusion and at least one other error in the Babylonian Chronicle, see the discussion in n. 126 above.

<sup>201</sup> If one counts the number of months from 648 to 547, then Adad-guppi would have lived to 104 years of age since there were thirty-six (or possibly thirty-seven) intercalary months during Nabonidus' mother's long life, which is the equivalent of three years. There was an Intercalary Ulūlu (VI<sub>2</sub>) in the years 643, 640, 629, 621, 616, 611, 607, 603, 600, 598, 596, 584, 574, 564; and an Intercalary Addaru (XII<sub>2</sub>) in the years 646, 638, 635, 624, 619, 614, 606, 594, 591, 588, 582, 579, 577, 572, 569, 563, 560, 557, 555, 553, and 550. In addition, intercalary months were expected in 632 and between 629 and 624 (possibly in 625). The count would be one month more if Adad-guppi were to have been born in 649, rather than in 648, since that year had an Intercalary Addaru (XII<sub>2</sub>).

<sup>202</sup> This would mean that Adad-guppi was 101, not 102, years old.

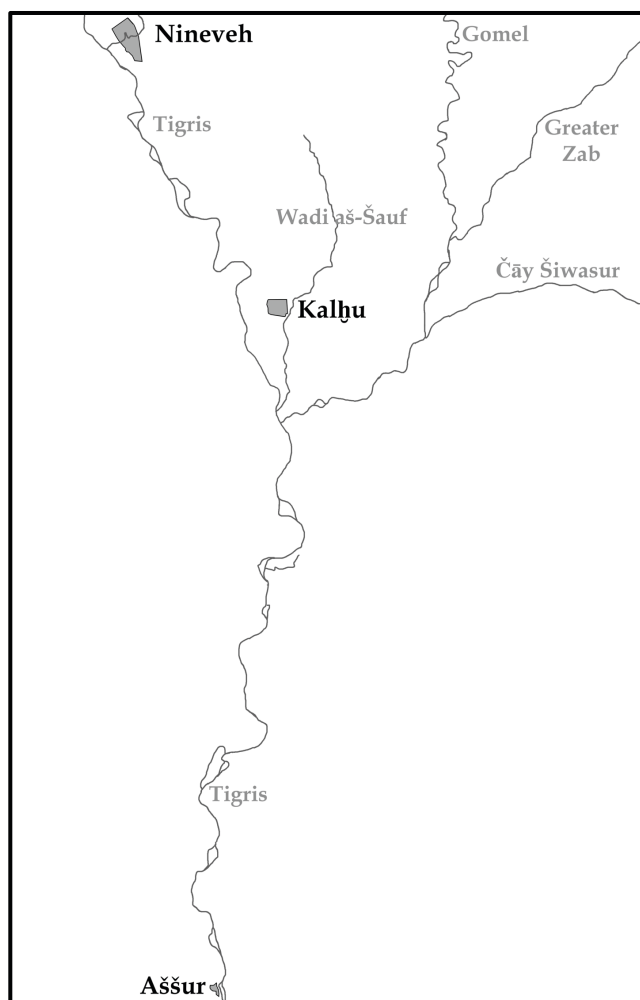


Figure 3. Map showing the principal Assyrian cities where Aššur-etel-ilāni and Sîn-šarra-iškun undertook building activities.

Based on the available evidence, it appears that Ashurbanipal reigned until early 631, as evidenced from the latest Babylonian economic documents dated to his reign. Thus, his son and first successor Aššur-etel-ilāni was probably king 630–627 and his son and second successor Sîn-šarra-iškun likely ruled over Assyria 626–612.

### Aššur-etel-ilāni and His Chief Eunuch Sîn-šuma-lišir

When Ashurbanipal died, a certain Nabû-rēḫtu-ušur incited a rebellion. The chief eunuch Sîn-šuma-lišir and men from his estate, including his cohort commander Tāb-šār-papāḫi, brought order back to the Assyrian heartland and installed Ashurbanipal's young and inexperienced son Aššur-etel-ilāni (630–627) on the throne.<sup>203</sup> Aššur-etel-ilāni, whose short reign is not well documented in contemporary or later sources, was king for four years, at least according to one economic text from Nippur.<sup>204</sup>

<sup>203</sup> Two grants of land with tax exemptions (Kataja and Whiting, SAA 12 pp. 36–41 nos. 35–36) record that Sîn-šuma-lišir aided Aššur-etel-ilāni, who was still a minor when Ashurbanipal died. Kataja and Whiting, SAA 12 pp. 38–39 no. 36 obv. 4–9 read: “After my father and begetter had dep[arted], no father brought me up or taught me to spread my [wings], no mother cared for me or saw to my [education], Sîn-šuma-lišir, the chief eunuch, [one who had deserved well] of my father and be[getter, who had led me constantly like a father, installed me] safely on the throne of my father and begetter [and made the people of Assyria, great and small, keep] watch over [my kingship during] my minority, and respected [my royalty].” For further information about Sîn-šuma-lišir, see, for example, J. Oates, CAH<sup>2</sup> 3/2 pp. 162–163, 168–170, and 172–176; Na’aman, ZA 81 (1991) pp. 243–257; Frame, RIMB 2 p. 269 B.6.36; Mattila, PNA 3/1 p. 1148 sub Sîn-šumu-lēšir; Fuchs, Studies Oelsner pp. 54–58 §3.1; and Schaudig, RLA 12/7–8 (2011) pp. 524–525.

<sup>204</sup> For biographical sketches of Ashurbanipal's first successor, see, for example, J. Oates, CAH<sup>2</sup> 3/2 pp. 162–176, 184, and 186; Frame, RIMB 2 p. 261 B.6.35; Brinkman, PNA 1/1 pp. 183–184 sub Aššur-etel-ilāni no. 2; and Fuchs, Studies Oelsner pp. 54–58 §3.1. Because his reign was

In Assyria, he sponsored construction on Ezida (“True House”), the temple of the god Nabû at Kalḫu.<sup>205</sup> Since his brother and successor Sîn-šarra-iškun (see below) also undertook work on that sacred building, construction on that temple appears to have been unfinished when Aššur-etel-ilāni’s tenure as king came to an end.

Despite Kandalānu being the king of Babylon, Aššur-etel-ilāni held authority over parts of Babylonia,<sup>206</sup> and, like his father before him, he sponsored building projects in several Babylonian cities. This is evident from a few of his inscriptions.<sup>207</sup> These record that he dedicated a *musukkanmu*-wood offering table to the god Marduk (presumably at Babylon); made a gold scepter for Marduk and had it placed in Eešerke, that god’s place of worship in the city Sippar-Aruru;<sup>208</sup> renovated E-ibbi-Anum (“House the God Anu Named”), the temple of the god Uraš and the goddess Ninegal at Dilbat; and rebuilt Ekur (“House, Mountain”), the temple of the god Enlil at Nippur. In addition, the young Assyrian king returned the body of Šamaš-ibni, a Chaldean sheikh who had been taken to Assyria and executed by Esarhaddon in 678, to Dūru-ša-Ladīni, a fortified settlement in the area of the Bīt-Dakkūri tribe.<sup>209</sup>

Although Aššur-etel-ilāni was king, it was Sîn-šuma-lišir, his chief eunuch, who held real power over Assyria.<sup>210</sup> This might have led to friction between the king’s top officials and members of the royal family. In 627 (or possibly already in 628), civil war broke out. The ambitious Sîn-šuma-lišir, who was not a member of the royal family,<sup>211</sup> declared himself king and took control of (parts of) Assyria, as well as parts of Babylonia, which he was able to do since Kandalānu, the king of Babylon, had recently died.<sup>212</sup> Aššur-etel-ilāni, Sîn-šuma-lišir, Sîn-šarra-iškun (another son of Ashurbanipal), and perhaps a few other members of the royal family vied for power in the Assyrian heartland and in Babylonia.<sup>213</sup> Sîn-šarra-iškun, Aššur-etel-ilāni’s brother, eventually won

contemporaneous with that of Kandalānu, Aššur-etel-ilāni is not included in the various lists of rulers of Babylonia, which state that Sîn-šuma-lišir (and Sîn-šarra-iškun) or Nabopolassar was king of Babylon after Kandalānu; see Novotny and Jeffers, RINAP 5/1 pp. 29–30.

According to CBS 2152, an economic document from Nippur (Brinkman and Kennedy, JCS 35 [1983] p. 53 no. M.12), Aššur-etel-ilāni was king until at least 1-VIII-627. Note, however, that the pseudo-autobiographical text of Adad-guppi, the mother of the Babylonian king Nabonidus (555–539), from Ḥarrān (Weiershäuser and Novotny, RINBE 2 p. 225 Nabonidus 2001 [Adad-guppi stele] i 30) states that Aššur-etel-ilāni was king for only three years; see above for details.

<sup>205</sup> Aei 1. Twenty-six exemplars of this seven-line Akkadian inscription are presently known. For an overview of the building history of the Ezida temple at Kalḫu, see George, *House Most High* p. 160 no. 1239; and Novotny and Van Buylaere, *Studies Oded* pp. 215 and 218. For a discussion of the archaeological remains of that temple, see, for example, D. Oates, *Iraq* 19 (1957) pp. 26–39; and D. Oates and J. Oates, *Nimrud* pp. 111–123. For information on Kalḫu, see in particular D. Oates and J. Oates, *Nimrud*; and the open-access, Oracc-based *Nimrud: Materialities of Assyrian Knowledge Production* website (<http://oracc.org/nimrud> [last accessed January 25, 2023]).

<sup>206</sup> Although none of Aššur-etel-ilāni’s inscriptions ever specifically call him “king of Babylon,” “governor of Babylon,” or “king of Sumer and Akkad,” his authority over (the northern) parts of Babylonia is evident from that fact that twelve economic documents from Nippur are dated by his regnal years, rather than those of Kandalānu. For a catalogue of these texts, which refer to him as either “the king of Assyria” or “the king of the lands,” see Brinkman and Kennedy, JCS 35 (1983) pp. 52–53 nos. M.1–M.12.

<sup>207</sup> Aei 2–5.

<sup>208</sup> This temple, whose Sumerian ceremonial name means “House, Shrine of Weeping,” is not otherwise attested and it might be a corrupted writing of Ešeriga (“House Which Gleans Barley”), the temple of the deity Šidada at Dūr-Šarrukku (= Sippar-Aruru); see George, *House Most High* p. 83 no. 269.

<sup>209</sup> Aei 6. For further information about Šamaš-ibni, See Frame, *Babylonia* pp. 79–80; and p. 165 of the present volume.

<sup>210</sup> See n. 203 above.

<sup>211</sup> As pointed out by E. Frahm (Companion to Assyria p. 198 n. 22), Sîn-šuma-lišir’s “family background remains unknown and ... it cannot be entirely excluded that he too was a member of the royal family.”

<sup>212</sup> This is evident from the fact that Babylonian King List A and the Uruk King List name him as Kandalānu’s successor (see Novotny and Jeffers, RINAP 5/1 p. 29) and that seven economic documents from Babylon and Nippur (Brinkman and Kennedy, JCS 35 [1983] pp. 53–54 nos. N.1–N.7) are dated by his accession year. The latest firmly dated text from Kandalānu was written on 8-III-627 (ibid. p. 48 no. L.159), although it is possible that that document could have been drafted shortly after that king of Babylon’s death since the earliest dated Babylonian economic document for Sîn-šuma-lišir is 12-III-627.

<sup>213</sup> Since one document from Nippur is dated to 1-VIII of Aššur-etel-ilāni’s 4th regnal year (Brinkman and Kennedy, JCS 35 [1983] p. 53 no. M.12) — which is later than the earliest-known economic documents dated by the accession years of Sîn-šuma-lišir and Sîn-šarra-iškun, which are dated to the 12th of Simānu (III) and the 8th of Tašrītu (VII) respectively (ibid. pp. 53–54 nos. N.1 and O.1) — it is certain that Aššur-etel-ilāni was still alive when the civil war broke out. It is unclear, however, who set the civil war in motion: Sîn-šuma-lišir, Sîn-šarra-iškun, or someone else.

It is possible that Sîn-šarra-iškun, with the backing of several influential officials, made the first move. This ambitious prince might have taken the opportunity when Aššur-etel-ilāni sent his protector Sîn-šuma-lišir to Babylon upon the death of Kandalānu. One conjectural scenario is as follows. With Sîn-šuma-lišir far away in Babylonia, presumably to be the next king of Babylon, Sîn-šarra-iškun and his supporters tried to depose Aššur-etel-ilāni. With the Assyrian heartland in chaos, Sîn-šuma-lišir saw his chance to grab power for himself, marched back to Assyria with his men, declared himself king, and fought his rivals, principally Sîn-šarra-iškun, for control of Assyria. His efforts, however, were in vain. Sîn-šarra-iškun gained the upper hand and forced Sîn-šuma-lišir to retreat south to Babylonia, where he assumed he would be safe. This would not be the case, since Nabopolassar, an influential man from Uruk with ambitions of his own, captured and executed him. This, of course, is conjectural, but one possible scenario for how events played out in Assyria in 627, especially since it is equally likely that Sîn-šuma-lišir rebelled against Aššur-etel-ilāni and that Sîn-šarra-iškun countered the chief



the day, ascended the Assyrian throne, and restored order to his kingdom.<sup>214</sup> *Sîn-šuma-lišir*, who is probably to be identified with the “all-powerful chief eunuch” (*rab ša rēši dandannu*) of the “Nabopolassar Epic,” appears to have gone to Babylonia, where he was captured and publicly executed on the orders of Nabopolassar, a “son of a nobody” who would soon become the next king of Babylon.<sup>215</sup>

### ***Sîn-šarra-iškun, Aššur-uballiṭ II, and the End of the Assyrian Empire***

Despite restoring power to the hands of the royal family, which could trace its origins back over a thousand years to its founder Bēl-bāni (the son of Adāsi),<sup>216</sup> and bringing civil order to Assyria, *Sîn-šarra-iškun* (626–612) was unable to prevent the collapse and disappearance of the Assyrian Empire.<sup>217</sup> Nevertheless, he was able to keep it alive for another fifteen years. During that time, at least until his 11th regnal year (616), he was able to keep his principal rival, the Babylonian king Nabopolassar, at bay (that is, out of the Assyrian heartland) and, thus, he could sponsor several largescale building activities in the Aššur–Nineveh–Arbela triangle.

#### *Sîn-šarra-iškun’s Building Activities*

Extant inscriptions record that *Sîn-šarra-iškun* undertook construction in the three most important cities of the heartland: Aššur, Kalḫu, and Nineveh.<sup>218</sup> Most of the work was very likely carried out before 615, at which point Assyria was fighting for its very existence.<sup>219</sup>

In the religious capital Aššur, he built a new temple for the god Nabû, since that god’s place of worship was then inside Eme-Inanna (“House of the Mes of Inanna”), the temple of the Assyrian Ištar.<sup>220</sup> *Sîn-šarra-iškun* had Egidrukalamasumu (“House Which Bestows the Scepter of the Land”) constructed on a vacant plot of land, which concealed the ruins of earlier, long-abandoned Ištar temples.<sup>221</sup> Nabû’s new earthly abode took several

eunuch’s bid for the Assyrian crown only after that ambitious man had tried to remove his brother from the throne. Until new textual evidence comes to light, this matter will remain a subject of scholarly debate.

<sup>214</sup> A few of his inscriptions seem to imply that he was young when he came to the throne; see, for example, Ssi 10 lines 16b–19. However, he could not have been that young when he came to power since Aššur-uballiṭ II, assuming that he was indeed a son of his, must have been old enough to take over the duties of king when his father died in 612 and, therefore, Aššur-uballiṭ must have been born prior to *Sîn-šarra-iškun* becoming king in late 627. It is not impossible that *Sîn-šarra-iškun* was an older brother of Aššur-etel-ilāni.

<sup>215</sup> Da Riva, JNES 76 (2017) p. 82 ii 10’–16’. See Gerber, ZA 88 (1998) p. 83; and Tadmor, *Studies Borger* pp. 353–357. *Sîn-šarra-iškun* might have put an end to his rivalry with *Sîn-šuma-lišir* by forming an alliance, albeit a very short-lived one, with Nabopolassar, who, seeking power for himself, agreed to the (terms of a bilateral) treaty since it was in his own interest to have *Sîn-šuma-lišir* out of the way. Nabopolassar, a self-described “son of a nobody,” appears to have come from a family that had strong Assyrian ties, with several of its members having served as high officials on behalf of Assyrian kings in Uruk. It is possible that he might have served as the governor of that Babylonian city. For details, see Jursa, RA 101 (2007) pp. 125–136. For brief biographical sketches of this Neo-Babylonian ruler, see, for example, Brinkman, RLA 9/1–2 (1998) pp. 12–16; and Da Riva, GMTR 4 pp. 2–7 §1.2.1.

<sup>216</sup> Seven inscriptions of Esarhaddon and one text of Ashurbanipal trace the royal family’s origins back to the Old Assyrian king Bēl-bāni, son of Adāsi (Brinkman, PNA 1/2 p. 288 sub Bēl-bāni no. 1). See, for example, Leichty, RINAP 4 p. 262 Esarhaddon 128 (Nippur A) line 14; and Novotny and Jeffers, RINAP 5/1 p. 220 Asb. 10 (Prism T) v 40–41.

<sup>217</sup> For his reign, see, for example, J. Oates, CAH<sup>2</sup> 3/2 pp. 175–182; Frame, RIMB 2 p. 270 B.6.37; Novotny, PNA 3/1 pp. 1143–1145 sub *Sîn-šarra-iškun*; Schaudig, RLA 12/7–8 (2011) pp. 522–524; and Frahm, Companion to Assyria pp. 191–192. Because his reign was contemporaneous with that of Kandalānu and Nabopolassar, this Assyrian king is usually not included in the various lists of rulers of Babylonia; see Novotny and Jeffers, RINAP 5/1 pp. 29–30. He is mentioned, however, in the Uruk King List (ibid. p. 29) as ruling over southern Mesopotamia for one year together with *Sîn-šuma-lišir*. His name might have also appeared in King List A, but the relevant section of that text is now missing. *Sîn-šarra-iškun* (and *Sîn-šuma-lišir*) are probably included in the Uruk King List because the length of Kandalānu’s reign is given as twenty-one, instead of twenty-two, years.

<sup>218</sup> See also Novotny and Van Buylaere, *Studies Oded* pp. 215–219. It is unlikely that *Sîn-šarra-iškun* rebuilt Ešahula, the temple of the god Nergal in Sirara, the temple district of Mē-Turān, since the text recording that work (Stephens, YOS 9 no. 80) was probably written in the name of Ninurta-tukultī-Aššur, and not that of *Sîn-šarra-iškun*; see the section *Texts Excluded from RINAP 5/3* above.

<sup>219</sup> See the section *Eponym Dates* below for discussions of the dates of *Sîn-šarra-iškun*’s inscriptions (and associated building projects).

<sup>220</sup> Ssi 7–14. For Egidrukalamasumu, see, for example, George, *House Most High* p. 94 no. 397; Novotny and Van Buylaere, *Studies Oded* pp. 216–218; Schmitt, *Ishtar-Tempel* pp. 82–100; Novotny, Kaskal 11 (2014) pp. 159–169; and Novotny in Yamada, SAAS 28 pp. 262–263. For Eme-Inanna, see, for example, George, *House Most High* pp. 122–123 no. 756; and Schmitt, *Ishtar-Tempel* pp. 26–81.

<sup>221</sup> The western part of the temple was constructed directly above Ištar Temples H, G, GF, E, and D, and the Ištar temple that had been built by Tukultī-Ninurta I. Its northern wall abutted the southern wall of the still-in-use Ištar temple that had been originally constructed by Aššur-rēši-iši I. See Novotny, Kaskal 11 (2014) p. 163 fig. 1. *Sîn-šarra-iškun*’s scribes, at least according to the building account of the so-called “Cylinder A Inscription” (for example, Ssi 10 lines 22b–27a), regarded the ruins to be the remains of earlier Nabû temples constructed by the Middle Assyrian kings Shalmaneser I (1273–1244) and Aššur-rēši-iši I (1132–1115) and the Neo-Assyrian ruler Adad-nārārī III (810–783). That same inscription (line 29) claims that the temple was erected “according to its original plan, on its former site,” which was not the case, because the new Nabû temple was constructed over the ruins of previous Ištar temples. Ssi 12 (lines 8–14a), a text engraved on a stone block, however, correctly states that the temple was built on an empty lot. For a brief study on the discrepancy between the textual and archaeological records, see Novotny, Kaskal 11 (2014) pp. 162–165. Note that the general ground plan of the Nabû temple at Aššur is very similar to that of the Ezida temple at Kalḫu. Compare fig. 4 with D. Oates and J. Oates, Nimrud p. 112 fig. 67.

years to complete<sup>222</sup> and, once it was finished, the statues of the god of scribes and his wife Tašmētu were ushered into the temple during a grand ceremony; at that time, prize bulls and fat-tailed sheep were presented as offerings. Although Sîn-šarra-iškun claims to have made the new temple “shine like daylight,” no details about its sumptuous decoration are recorded in extant texts. We do know, however, that he presented (inscribed) reddish gold *kallu*-and *šulpu*-bowls to Nabû, a silver spoon (*itqūru*) to Tašmētu, and *musukkannu*-wood offering tables (*paššuru*) to the goddesses Antu and Šala.<sup>223</sup>



Figure 4. Plan of the Nabû temple at Aššur and the earlier ruins of the Ištār temple. Adapted from Bär, *Ishtar-Tempel* p. 391 fig. 5.

At Kalḫu, Sîn-šarra-iškun completed his brother Aššur-etel-ilāni's work on Ezida (“True House”), Nabû's temple in that city, since construction on that sacred building remained unfinished when Sîn-šarra-iškun became king.<sup>224</sup>

At his capital, Nineveh, he made repairs to the mud-brick structure of the city wall Badnigalbilukurašūšu (“Wall Whose Brilliance Overwhelms Enemies”), renovated the western part of the South-West Palace (Egalzagdinutukua [“Palace Without a Rival”] = Sennacherib's palace), and, probably, sponsored a few other projects in that metropolis.<sup>225</sup> As for work on the “Alabaster House” (=the South-West Palace), which served as

<sup>222</sup> According to the dates of Sîn-šarra-iškun's inscription, construction on this sacred building took at least three years to complete. See the section *Eponym Dates* below for further information.

<sup>223</sup> Ssi 15–18.

<sup>224</sup> Ssi 19 (lines 30–37). For bibliographical references to Ezida, see n. 205 above.

<sup>225</sup> Ssi 1–6. The building report of Ssi 1 (lines 12'–15') records work on the Alabaster House and that of Ssi 6, at least according to its subscript (rev. 13'), would have described construction on Nineveh's city wall. The building accounts of other inscriptions of his from Nineveh (Ssi 2–5) are either completely missing or not sufficiently preserved to be able to determine what accomplishment of Sîn-šarra-iškun they commemorated. For information on Sennacherib's palace, see, for example, Reade, *RLA* 9/5–6 (2000) pp. 411–416 §§14.2–3; Grayson and Novotny, *RINAP* 3/1 p. 17; and Jeffers and Novotny, *RINAP* 5/2 p. 15. For a detailed and comprehensive study of the “Palace Without a Rival” (=the South-West Palace), see J.M. Russell, *Senn. 's Palace*. For information on the palace reliefs, see Barnett et al., *Sculptures from the Southwest Palace*; Lippolis, *Sennacherib Wall Reliefs*; and J.M. Russell, *Final Sack*. For studies on Nineveh's wall, see Reade, *RLA* 9/5–6 (2000) pp. 397–403 §§11.1–4; Grayson and Novotny, *RINAP* 3/1 pp. 17–19; and Reade, *SAAB* 22 (2016) pp. 39–93.

an administrative center,<sup>226</sup> Šîn-šarra-iškun's renovations might have included (1) partially redecorating Room XXII with scenes of the landscape around Nineveh and a triumphal procession of men wearing foliage on their heads; (2) recarving the walls of Court XIX and Room XXVIII with scenes of warfare; and (3) removing the former images of the wall panels in Room XLII and Court XLIX so that they could be resculpted with new images.<sup>227</sup> Presumably in 613 (if not earlier), he strengthened the vulnerable spots in Nineveh's defenses, principally by reinforcing its eighteen gates and narrowing their central corridors with large blocks of stone;<sup>228</sup> Šîn-šarra-iškun was able to do this since his rival Nabopolassar was preoccupied with a rebellion in Sūḫu, a kingdom situated in the Middle Euphrates region.<sup>229</sup>



Figure 5. Obverse and reverse of the “Fall of Nineveh Chronicle” (BM 21901). © Trustees of the British Museum.

### *Šîn-šarra-iškun's Wars with Nabopolassar*

Two Babylonian Chronicles — the so-called “Chronicle Concerning the Early Years of Nabopolassar” and “Fall of Nineveh Chronicle” (see below for translations) — provide the backbone for the long war between Šîn-šarra-iškun and Nabopolassar.<sup>230</sup> These two chronographic documents, together with the dates of Babylonian

<sup>226</sup> For details, see Reade, RLA 9/5–6 (2000) p. 415 §14.3.

<sup>227</sup> Some of these changes might have taken place already during the reign of his father Ashurbanipal, as stated already in Jeffers and Novotny, RINAP 5/2 (p. 15).

<sup>228</sup> For the evidence from the Adad, Halzi, and Šamaš Gates, see Stronach in Parpola and Whiting, Assyria 1995 pp. 307–324; and Pickworth, Iraq 67 (2005) pp. 295–316. Šîn-šarra-iškun might have also strengthened the western part of the South-West Palace since it could be accessed from the Step Gate of the Palace and the Step Gate of the Gardens.

<sup>229</sup> Fall of Nineveh Chronicle lines 31–37; see the *Chronicles* section below for a translation of that passage.

<sup>230</sup> The former chronographic text, as far as it is preserved, records events from 627 (Šîn-šarra-iškun's accession year) to 623 (Šîn-šarra-iškun Year 4 = Nabopolassar Year 3), but it would have included descriptions of the clashes between Assyria and Babylonia up to the year 617 (Šîn-šarra-iškun Year 10 = Nabopolassar Year 9). Based on information presented in the latter chronicle, which records the events of 616 (Šîn-šarra-iškun Year 11 = Nabopolassar Year 10) to 609 (Aššur-uballit Year 3 = Nabopolassar Year 17), the accounts for the years 622–617 would likely have narrated how Nabopolassar and his army expelled the Assyrians from Babylonia, which they were able to do in 620 (Šîn-šarra-iškun Year 7 = Nabopolassar Year 6), at least based on the date formulae of business documents.



economic documents,<sup>231</sup> chart the two rulers' fight for control over Babylonia between 626 and 620<sup>232</sup> and then the Babylonian and Median invasion of the Assyrian heartland and annihilation of its cities and cult centers between 616 and 612.

Up until 615, his 12th year as king, Sîn-šarra-iškun, with the assistance of allied troops from Egypt, was able to keep Nabopolassar at bay, mostly because the battles fought between the two rulers took place in northern Babylonia or in the Middle Euphrates region, and not on Assyrian soil. Everything, however, changed in 615, when Cyaxares (Umakištar), "the king of the Umman-manda" (Medes), joined the fight. In that turn-of-events year, Nabopolassar invaded the Assyrian heartland and attacked Aššur. He failed to capture that important religious center and was forced to retreat south, as far as the city Takritain (modern Tikrit). In the following year, 614, Cyaxares marched straight into the heart of Assyria and roamed effortlessly through it, first capturing Tarbisu, a city in very close proximity to Nineveh, and then Aššur, which the Babylonians had failed to take in 615.<sup>233</sup> Upon hearing this news, Nabopolassar quickly marched north and forged an alliance with the Median king. The unexpected union not only gave fresh impetus to Nabopolassar's years-long war with Sîn-šarra-iškun, but also removed any hopes that the Assyrian king might have had about the survival of his kingdom. Sîn-šarra-iškun could clearly see the writing on the wall and he took what measures he could to fortify Nineveh.<sup>234</sup> In 613 (if not earlier, in 614 or 615), that city's gates were reinforced by narrowing them with massive blocks of stone. The death blow for Sîn-šarra-iškun and his capital came during the following year, in 612. Nineveh's fortifications, even with the improvements made to its defenses, were not sufficient to prevent a joint Babylonian-Median assault from breaching the city's walls. After a three-month siege — from the month Simānu (III) to the month Abu (V) — Nineveh fell and was looted and destroyed.<sup>235</sup> Before the city succumbed to the enemy,<sup>236</sup> Sîn-šarra-iškun died. Unfortunately, the true nature of his death — whether he committed

<sup>231</sup> For a catalogue of the economic texts dated by his reign, see Brinkman and Kennedy, JCS 35 (1983) pp. 54–59. Those business documents, the earliest of which date to his accession year and the latest to his 7th year as king, come from Babylon (Accession Year), Kār-Aššur (Year 7), Maši... (year damaged), Nippur (Years 2–6), Sippar (Accession Year, Years 2–3), and Uruk (Years 5–7).

<sup>232</sup> The two men vied for control over Babylon, Nippur, Sippar, and Uruk. It is clear that Uruk changed hands on more than one occasion; see Beaulieu, *Bagh. Mitt.* 28 (1997) pp. 367–394. The latest economic document dated to Sîn-šarra-iškun's reign from Babylonia comes from Uruk and is dated to 12-X-620 (Brinkman and Kennedy, JCS 35 [1983] p. 58 no. O.45). This may well mark the end of Assyria's presence in Babylonia.

<sup>233</sup> On the last days of the city Aššur, see Miglus, ISIMU 3 (2000) pp. 85–99; and Miglus, *Befund und Historisierung* pp. 9–11. There is evidence of burning throughout the city. The Assyrian kings' tombs, which were located in the Old Palace, were looted, their sarcophagi smashed, and their bones scattered and (probably) destroyed; see Ass ph 6785 (MacGinnis in Brereton, *I am Ashurbanipal* p. 284 fig. 292), which shows the smashed remains of an Assyrian royal tomb. It has been suggested that this destruction might have been the work of Elamite troops, who were paying Assyria back for Ashurbanipal's desecration of Elamite royal tombs in Susa in 646, which is described as follows: "I destroyed (and) demolished the tombs of their earlier and later kings, (men) who had not revered (the god) Aššur and the goddess Ištar, my lords, (and) who had disturbed the kings, my ancestors; I exposed (them) to the sun. I took their bones to Assyria. I prevented their ghosts from sleeping (and) deprived them of funerary libations" (Novotny and Jeffers, *RINAP* 5/1 p. 250 Asb. 11 [Prism A] vi 70–76).

Kalhu was also destroyed in 614 and again in 612. See D. Oates and J. Oates, *Nimrud passim*; and Miglus, *Befund und Historisierung* pp. 8–9. A well in Ashurnasirpal II's palace (Northwest Palace) filled with the remains of over one hundred people attests to the city's violent end (D. Oates and J. Oates, *Nimrud* pp. 100–104). Some of the remains might have been removed from (royal) tombs desecrated during Kalhu's sack, while other bodies were thrown down there alive, as suggested from the fact that the excavators found skeletons with shackles still on their hands and feet. While Nabû's temple Ezida was being looted and destroyed, the copies of Esarhaddon's Succession Treaty (Parpola and Watanabe, *SAA* 2 pp. XXIX–XXXI and 28–58 no. 6) that had been stored (and displayed) in that holy building were smashed to pieces on the floor. For evidence of the selective mutilation of bas reliefs in the Northwest Palace, see Porter, *Studies Parpola* pp. 201–220, esp. pp. 210–218. For an overview of the widespread destruction of Assyria's cities, see MacGinnis in Brereton, *I am Ashurbanipal* pp. 280–283.

<sup>234</sup> As J. MacGinnis (in Brereton, *I am Ashurbanipal* p. 280) has pointed out, "the very size of the city [Nineveh] proved to be its fatal weakness. The length of its wall — a circuit of almost 12 kilometres — made it impossible to defend effectively at all places." The fact that Nineveh had eighteen gates, plus the Tigris River nearby, did not help.

<sup>235</sup> For evidence of Nineveh's destruction, which included the deliberate mutilation of individuals depicted on sculpted slabs adorning the walls of Sennacherib's South-West Palace and Ashurbanipal's North Palace, see, for example, Reade, *AMI NF* 9 (1976) p. 105; Reade, *Assyrian Sculpture* p. 51 fig. 73; Curtis and Reade, *Art and Empire* pp. 72–77 (with figs. 20–22), 86–87 (with figs. 28–29), and 122–123; Stronach in Parpola and Whiting, *Assyria* 1995 pp. 307–324 (with references to earlier studies); Reade, *RLA* 9/5–6 (2000) pp. 415–416 §14.3 and pp. 427–428 §18; Porter, *Studies Parpola* pp. 203–207; Reade, in Brereton, *I am Ashurbanipal* pp. 32–33 (with fig. 28); and MacGinnis in Brereton, *I am Ashurbanipal* p. 281. One of the more striking examples of the selected mutilation by Assyria's enemies is the wide gash across Sennacherib's face in the so-called "Lachish Reliefs" (BM 124911) in Room XXXVI of the South-West Palace (Reade, *Assyrian Sculpture* p. 51 fig. 73). There is evidence of heavy burning in the palaces. The intensity of Nineveh's last stand is evidenced by excavation of the Halzi Gate, where excavators discovered the remains of people (including a baby) who had been cut down by a barrage of arrows as they tried to flee Nineveh while parts of the city were on fire. See Stronach in Parpola and Whiting, *Assyria* 1995 p. 319 pls. IIIa–b.

<sup>236</sup> Some (fictional) correspondence between Sîn-šarra-iškun and Nabopolassar from the final days of the Assyrian Empire exists in the form of the so-called "Declaring War" and "Letter of Sîn-šarra-iškun" texts. The former (BM 55467; Gerardi, *AfO* 33 [1986] pp. 30–38), which is known from a tablet dating to the Achaemenid or Seleucid Period, was allegedly written by Nabopolassar to an unnamed Assyrian king (certainly Sîn-šarra-iškun) accusing him of various atrocities and declaring war on the Assyrian, stating: "[On account] of the crimes against the land Akkad that you have committed, the god Marduk, the great lord, [and the great gods] shall call [you] to account [...] I shall destroy



suicide, was murdered by one or more of his officials, or was executed by the troops of Nabopolassar or Cyaxares — is not recorded in cuneiform sources, including the Fall of Nineveh Chronicle (see below).<sup>237</sup>

### *Aššur-uballiṭ II and the End of the Assyrian Empire*

Although Nineveh was in ruins and Sîn-šarra-iškun was dead, the Assyrian Empire still had a little bit of fight in her. Aššur-uballiṭ II (611–609), a man who was very likely the son and designated heir of Sîn-šarra-iškun, declared himself king of Assyria in Ḥarrān, an important provincial capital located in the northwestern part of Assyria, near the Baliḥ River (close to modern Urfa).<sup>238</sup> Assyria's last ruler — who could not officially be crowned king of Assyria since the Aššur temple at Aššur was in ruins and, thus, the ancient coronation ceremony that would confirm him as Aššur's earthly representative could not be performed<sup>239</sup> — relied upon Assyria's last remaining ally: Egypt. While Nabopolassar's armies consolidated Babylonia's hold over the Assyrian heartland in 611, Aššur-uballiṭ was able to prepare for battle in his makeshift capital. In 610, Nabopolassar, together with Cyaxares, marched west, crossed the Euphrates River, and headed directly for Ḥarrān, Assyria's last bastion. As the Babylonian and Median forces approached the city, Aššur-uballiṭ and his supporters fled since any fight would have been futile. By saving his own skin, this Assyrian ruler put off the final death blow of his kingdom by one year. When the armies of Nabopolassar and Cyaxares arrived at Ḥarrān, they thoroughly looted and destroyed it and its principal temple Eḫulḫul, which was dedicated to the moon-god Sîn. During the following year, 609, Aššur-uballiṭ returned with a large Egyptian army and attacked the Babylonian garrisons that Nabopolassar had stationed near Ḥarrān. Despite this minor victory, he failed to retake the city. By the time, the king of Babylon arrived on the scene, Aššur-uballiṭ and his Egyptian allies were no longer in the vicinity of Ḥarrān and, therefore, he marched to the land Izalla and attacked it instead. Aššur-uballiṭ was never to be heard from again. The once-great Assyrian Empire was gone, but not forgotten.<sup>240</sup>

Some key events of the Neo-Assyrian Period were recorded in the Bible, the writings of Greek and Roman historians (for example, Berossus, Ctesias of Cnidus, Herodotus, and Josephus), and Aramaic and Demotic tales (for example, the tale of Ahiqar, the Inaros Cycle, and the Brothers' War [Amherst Papyrus 63]) and these sources, with their portrayals of Assyria and some of its more memorable kings and their deeds (or misdeeds), kept the memory of the Assyrian Empire alive until Assyria's rediscovery in the mid-19th century, when its capital cities began to be unearthed and native, contemporary cuneiform sources written in the Akkadian language came to light.<sup>241</sup>

### **Dating and Chronology**

Unless it is stated otherwise, the dates given in this volume (excluding those in bibliographical citations) are all BC. Each ancient Mesopotamian year has been given a single Julian year equivalent even though the ancient year actually encompassed parts of two Julian years, with the ancient year beginning around the time of the vernal equinox. Thus, for example, the 1st regnal year of Ashurbanipal (the eponymy of Mār-larīm) is indicated

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you [...]” (rev. 10–14). The (fictional) response is a fragmentary letter (MMA 86.11.370a + MMA 86.11.370c + MMA 86.11.383c–e; Lambert, CTMMA 2 pp. 203–210 no. 44), known from a Seleucid Period copy, purported to have been written by Sîn-šarra-iškun to Nabopolassar while the Assyrian capital Nineveh was under siege, pleading to the Babylonian king, whom the besieged Assyrian humbly refers to as “my lord,” to be allowed to remain in power. For further details about these texts, see, for example, Lambert, CTMMA 2 pp. 203–210 no. 44; Frahm, NABU 2005/2 pp. 43–46 no. 43; Da Riva, JNES 76 (2017) pp. 80–81; and Frazer, Akkadian Royal Letters.

<sup>237</sup> See the section *Ashurbanipal's Death* above, esp. n. 178, for more information.

<sup>238</sup> On Aššur-uballiṭ II, see, for example, J. Oates, CAH<sup>2</sup> 3/2 p. 182; Brinkman, PNA 1/1 p. 228 sub Aššur-uballiṭ no. 2; Radner, Tall Šēḫ Ḥamad pp. 17–19; Frahm, Companion to Assyria p. 192; Radner in Yamada, SAAS 28 pp. 135–142; and MacGinnis in Brereton, I am Ashurbanipal pp. 283–284.

<sup>239</sup> On Aššur-uballiṭ remaining as the heir designate, rather than the king, of Assyria, see Radner in Yamada, SAAS 28 pp. 135–142.

<sup>240</sup> For Assyria after 612, its “afterlife,” and legacy (with references to previous literature), see, for example, Curtis, Continuity of Empire pp. 157–167; Frahm, Companion to Assyria pp. 193–196; and Hauser in Frahm, Companion to Assyria pp. 229–246. For Nabopolassar (625–605) and Nebuchadnezzar II (604–562) modelling the organization of their central palace bureaucracy and imperial administration on Assyria's, see Jursa, Achämenidenhof pp. 67–106; and Jursa, Imperien und Reiche pp. 121–148. Urban life continued to some extent in Assyria's once-grand metropolises and the cult of the god Aššur survived in Aššur. See, for example, Miglus, Studies Strommenger pp. 135–142; Dalley, Aof 20 (1993) pp. 134–147; Dalley, Hanging Garden pp. 179–202; Frahm, Companion to Assyria pp. 193–194; and Radner, Herrschaftslegitimation pp. 77–96. A handful of “post-Assyrian” legal contracts have been discovered at Dur-Katlimmu (modern Tell Sheikh Hamad), a site on the eastern bank of the Khabur River. These texts come from the early reign of the Neo-Babylonian king Nebuchadnezzar II, between 603 and 600; see Postgate, SAAB 7 (1993) pp. 109–124; and Radner, Tall Šēḫ Ḥamad pp. 61–69 nos. 37–40.

<sup>241</sup> For Assyria in the Hebrew Bible and in Classical Sources, see respectively Frahm, Companion to Assyria pp. 556–569; and Rollinger in Frahm, Companion to Assyria pp. 570–582.

to be 668, although it actually ended in early 667 and, thus, events which took place late in the ancient year “668” actually took place early in the Julian year 667.

Texts edited in this volume occasionally mention contemporary dates and the charts in this section are intended to aid the reader in understanding those dates.

The traditional order of the Mesopotamian month names and their modern equivalents are:

I	Nisannu	March–April	VII	Tašritu	September–October
II	Ayyāru	April–May	VIII	Araḥsamna	October–November
III	Simānu	May–June	IX	Kislīmu	November–December
IV	Du’ūzu	June–July	X	Ṭebētu, Kanūnu	December–January
V	Abu	July–August	XI	Šabātu	January–February
VI	Ulūlu	August–September	XII	Addaru	February–March
VI <sub>2</sub>	Intercalary Ulūlu		XII <sub>2</sub>	Intercalary Addaru	

Based on evidence from Babylonia, Intercalary Addaru (XII<sub>2</sub>) was (sometimes) placed before the “normal” twelfth month, just as it is still done today in the Jewish calendar.<sup>242</sup> This might have also been the case for Intercalary Ulūlu (VI<sub>2</sub>). In Assyria, it is unknown if one or both of these inserted months were added prior to, instead of after, Ulūlu (VI) and Addaru (XII). A letter from Mār-Ištar, Esarhaddon’s agent in Babylonia,<sup>243</sup> concerning the interruption of a festival in Ulūlu might provide seventh-century evidence for Intercalary Ulūlu (VI<sub>2</sub>) coming before the “normal” Ulūlu. The relevant portion of that piece of correspondence reads as follows:

As to what the king, my lord, wrote to me: “The month Ulūlu (VI) is intercalary; do not perform the ceremonies this month” — Ammu-salām entered Babylon on the evening of the 6th day; the god Nabû had come before him, on the 3rd. The gate was kept open before the gods Bēl and Nabû on the 4th, the 5th and the 6th, and sacrifices were performed. When I saw the king my lord’s sealed order, I issued the order: the rest of the ceremonies of Ulūlu (VI) will be performed in the coming month, as the king, my lord, wrote to me.<sup>244</sup>

Although it is not explicitly stated by Mār-Ištar, one could tentatively assume that an Intercalary Ulūlu was added (last minute) before the “normal” Ulūlu, thereby causing the in-progress festival to be postponed one month so that it could be performed during the “normal” Ulūlu, rather than in the then Intercalary Ulūlu.<sup>245</sup> Because the festival was to take place during a regularly scheduled month, the king and his advisors were keenly aware of the importance of maintaining the (various) cultic calendar(s), especially during a year in which an intercalary month was added. Therefore, it is not unreasonable to assume that “normal” Ulūlu and Addaru took place immediately before Nisannu (I) and Tašritu (VII) respectively, rather than being separated from them by an intercalary month. This would seemingly ensure that there were no major disruptions between ceremonies and festivals that were celebrated just before the *akītu*-festival (New Year’s festival). Should this actually have been the case during the (late) Neo-Assyrian Period, then the revised order of the Mesopotamian month names and their modern equivalents should be:

I	Nisannu	March–April	VII	Tašritu	September–October
II	Ayyāru	April–May	VIII	Araḥsamna	October–November
III	Simānu	May–June	IX	Kislīmu	November–December
IV	Du’ūzu	June–July	X	Ṭebētu, Kanūnu	December–January
V	Abu	July–August	XI	Šabātu	January–February
VI <sub>2</sub>	Intercalary Ulūlu		XII <sub>2</sub>	Intercalary Addaru	
VI	Ulūlu	August–September	XII	Addaru	February–March

<sup>242</sup> For details on the presently-available evidence (from the reign of Nabonidus), see Magdalene, Wunsch, and Wells, *Fault, Responsibility and Administrative Law* pp. 464–465.

<sup>243</sup> For a brief overview of his correspondence, see Baker, PNA 2/2 pp. 739–740 sub Mār-Issār no. 18.

<sup>244</sup> Parpola, SAA 10 p. 295 no. 357. The translation is S. Parpola’s, but with a few minor modifications to match RINAP’s editorial style.

<sup>245</sup> S. Parpola (LAS 2 pp. 284–285, commentary to no. 287) states the following: “While the intercalation of a second Ulūlu did not alter the name of the month in which the festival took place, it was necessary to postpone part of the ceremonies till the following month since the festival of Ulūlu was originally connected with the New Year’s festival of Tašritu, and it would have been unthinkable to break the sequence of cultic events leading from one festival to the other by a hiatus of a month or more.”

For a table attempting to precisely convert Assyrian dates to Julian ones for the first twenty-one years of Ashurbanipal's reign and translations of relevant passages in six king lists (including Babylonian King List A, the Uruk King List, and the Ptolemaic Canon), see Novotny and Jeffers, RINAP 5/1 pp. 28–30.

### Eponym Dates

In Assyria, each eponym-year, called a *limmu* or *limu* in Akkadian, was named after a high state official. Lists of these officials (eponyms) were compiled by Assyrian scribes. The eponym list for Ashurbanipal's reign breaks off after his 20th regnal year and, thus, the exact sequence from 648 to the end of the Assyrian empire (609) is unknown, so every scholar who has attempted to order the eponyms after 648 has his/her own sequence, most notably M. Falkner (AfO 17 [1954–56] pp. 100–120), S. Parpola (PNA 1/1 pp. XVIII–XX), and J.E. Reade (Orientalia NS 67 [1998] pp. 255–265). P. Miglus (Befund und Historisierung pp. 11–14) has carefully assessed the proposed sequences of eponyms against the dated texts in twenty-three Neo-Assyrian archives at Aššur and has concluded Parpola's proposed reconstruction for Sîn-šarra-iškun's eponyms for the years 614–612 cannot be reconciled with the archaeological findings from Aššur, whereas Reade's suggested arrangement for this same three-year period does.<sup>246</sup> Charts comparing Falkner's, Parpola's, and Reade's suggested arrangement of the post-canonical eponyms have been recently published in Baker, PNA 4/1 pp. 265–266 and Novotny and Jeffers, RINAP 5/1 pp. 31–32, and, therefore, not reprinted here. The chart below provides the proposed eponyms for the second half of Ashurbanipal's reign (648–631), as well as for the complete reigns of Aššur-etel-ilāni, Sîn-šarra-iškun, and Aššur-uballiṭ II.

Year	Regnal Year	Falkner	Parpola	Reade
Ashurbanipal				
648	21	Bēšunu, governor of Ḫindānu	Bēšunu, governor of Ḫindānu	Bēšunu, governor of Ḫindānu
647	22	Nabû-da''inanni, governor of Que	Nabû-nādin-aḫi, governor of Kār-Shalmaneser	Nabû-nādin-aḫi, governor of Kār-Shalmaneser
646	23	Nabû-šar-aḫḫēšu, governor of Samaria	Nabû-šar-aḫḫēšu, governor of Samaria	Nabû-šar-aḫḫēšu, governor of Samaria
645	24	Nabû-šarru-ušur, chief eunuch	Šamaš-da''inanni, governor of Babylon	Nabû-da''inanni, governor of Que
644	25	Marduk-rēmanni, governor of Kilīzu	Nabû-šarru-ušur, chief eunuch	Šamaš-da''inanni, governor of Babylon
643	26	Aššur-šarru-ušur, governor of Maraš	Aššur-šarru-ušur, governor of Maraš	Nabû-šarru-ušur, chief eunuch
642	27	Mušallim-Aššur, governor of Aliḫi	Nabû-da''inanni, governor of Que	Šarru-mētu-uballiṭ, governor of Māzama
641	28	Aššur-gimillu-tēre, chief fuller	Aššur-gārū' a-nēre, chief cupbearer	Aššur-šarru-ušur, governor of Maraš
640	29	Zababa-erība (unknown rank)	Šarru-mētu-uballiṭ, governor of Māzama	Aššur-gārū' a-nēre, chief cupbearer
639	30	Sîn-šarru-ušur, governor of Ḫindānu / Sîn-šarru-ušur, governor of Nineveh	Mušallim-Aššur, governor of Aliḫi	Bulluṭu, chief singer Upāqa-ana-Arbail (unknown rank)
638	31	Bēlu-lū-dāri (unknown rank)	Aššur-gimillu-tēre, chief fuller	Upāqa-ana-Arbail (unknown rank)
637	32	Šarru-mētu-uballiṭ, governor of Māzama	Zababa-erība (unknown rank)	Mušallim-Aššur, governor of Aliḫi

<sup>246</sup> P. Miglus (Befund und Historisierung pp. 13–14) makes the following statement about the post-canonical eponym sequence for the years 614–612: “Zusammenfassend ist festzustellen, dass die von Simo Parpola vorgenommene Rekonstruktion der Eponymen-Abfolge für die Jahre 614–12 v. Chr. mit den archäologischen Befunden in Assur nicht in Einklang zu bringen ist. Sie setzt eine Kontinuität der Privatarhive voraus, von denen mindestens neun die Eroberung der Stadt unbeschadet überdauert haben müssten. Dies würde bedeuten, dass ihre Besitzer in einer völlig neuen politischen und wirtschaftlichen Lage unverändert ihren bisherigen Geschäften hätten nachgehen können. Julian Reade listet als Eponymen für 614 v. Chr. Sîn-šarru-ušur, den Statthalter von Ninive, auf, für 613 v. Chr. Marduk-rēmanni, den Statthalter von Kalizi, und für 612 v. Chr. Nabû-mār-šarri-ušur (Tab. 1.2). In Assur findet man lediglich den ersten auf dem Schuldschein 1.23 im Archiv 52a. Das Dokument datiert vom 22. Elūlu (VI.) und dürfte somit unmittelbar vor der Stadteroberung verfasst worden sein. Die beiden anderen Namen sind hingegen in Assur nicht belegt, was die von Reade vorgenommene Rekonstruktion der postkanonischen Eponymenreihe für diesen Zeitabschnitt zu bestätigen scheint.”

<i>Year</i>	<i>Regnal Year</i>	<i>Falkner</i>	<i>Parpola</i>	<i>Reade</i>
636	33	Šamaš-da''inanni, governor of Babylon / Šarru-mētu-uballit, governor of Māzama	Sîn-šarru-ušur, governor of Hindānu	Aššur-gimillu-tēre, chief fuller
635	34	Aššur-gārū'a-nēre, chief cupbearer	Bēlu-lū-dāri (unknown rank)	Zababa-erība (unknown rank)
634	35	Nabû-nādin-aḫi, governor of Kār-Shalmaneser	Bulluṭu, chief singer	Sîn-šarru-ušur, governor of Hindānu
633	36	Ashurbanipal, king	Upāqa-ana-Arbail (unknown rank)	Bēlu-lū-dāri (unknown rank)
632	37	Bulluṭu, chief singer	Ṭāb-šil-Sîn (unknown rank)	Adad-rēmāni (unknown rank)
631	38	Upāqa-ana-Arbail (unknown rank)	Adad-rēmāni (unknown rank)	Marduk-šarru-ušur, governor of Que
<b>Aššur-etel-ilāni</b>				
630	1	Adad-rēmāni (unknown rank)	Šalam-šarri-iqbi, field marshal of Kummuhu	Bēl-šaddū'a (unknown rank)
629	2	Bēl-šarru-na'id (unknown rank)	Nabû-šarru-ušur "the later," palace scribe	Nabû-sagibi, governor of Laḫīru
628	3	Nabû-sagibi, governor of Laḫīru	after Nabû-šarru-ušur, palace scribe	Sîn-šarru-ušur, palace scribe; Sîn-šarru-ušur, "the later" (unknown rank); Nūr-šalam-šarpi (unknown rank)
627	4 <sup>247</sup>	Mannu-kī-aḫḫē, governor of Šimirra (hapax Nineveh)	Marduk-šarru-ušur, governor of Que	Kanūnāyu, governor of Dūr-Šarrukīn
<b>Sîn-šarra-iškun</b>				
626	1	Nabû-šarru-ušur "the later," palace scribe	Marduk-rēmāni, governor of Kilizu; Iqbi-ilāni (unknown rank)	Aššur-mātu-taqin, governor of (U)pummu
625	2	after Nabû-šarru-ušur, palace scribe	Sîn-šumu-ibni (unknown rank; hapax Nineveh); Sîn-šarru-ušur, palace scribe	Aššur-rēmāni, chief eunuch of the crown prince
624	3	Aššur-mātu-taqin, governor of (U)pummu	Kanūnāyu, governor of Dūr-Šarrukīn	Nabû-šarru-ušur "the later," palace scribe
623	4	Šalam-šarri-iqbi, field marshal of Kummuhu	Aššur-mātu-taqin, governor of (U)pummu	Šalam-šarri-iqbi, field marshal of Kummuhu
622	5	Sîn-šarru-ušur, palace scribe	Dādī, (chief) treasurer	Dādī, (chief) treasurer
621	6	Aššur-rēmāni, chief eunuch of the crown prince	Bēl-iqbi, governor of Tušḫan	Bēl-aḫu-ušur, palace overseer
620	7	Dādī, (chief) treasurer	Sa'īlu, chief cook	Sa'īlu, chief cook
619	8	Bēl-aḫu-ušur, palace overseer	Mannu-kī-aḫḫē, governor of Šimirra (hapax Nineveh)	Bēl-iqbi, governor of Tušḫan
618	9	Sa'īlu, chief cook	Nabû-sagibi, governor of Laḫīru	Iqbi-ilāni (unknown rank)
617	10	Nabû-tappūtī-alik, chief eunuch	Aššur-rēmāni, chief eunuch of the crown prince	Sîn-ālik-pāni, chamberlain
616	11	Bēl-iqbi, governor of Tušḫan	Bēl-aḫu-ušur, palace overseer	Nabû-tappūtī-alik, chief eunuch (= Paši)
615	12	Iqbi-ilāni (unknown rank); Sîn-ālik-pāni, chamberlain	Sîn-ālik-pāni, chamberlain	Šamaš-šarru-ibni, field marshal
614	13	Sîn-kēnu-īdi	Paši (unknown rank)	Sîn-šarru-ušur, governor of Nineveh
613	14	Šamaš-šarru-ibni, field marshal	Nabû-tappūtī-alik, chief eunuch	Marduk-rēmāni, governor of Kilizu
612	15 <sup>248</sup>	Nabû-mār-šarri-ušur, field marshal	Šamaš-šarru-ibni, field marshal	Nabû-mār-šarri-ušur, field marshal

<sup>247</sup> 627, Aššur-etel-ilāni's 4th regnal year, is also the accession years of Sîn-šuma-lišir and Sîn-šarra-iškun.

<sup>248</sup> 612, Sîn-šarra-iškun's 15th regnal year, is also the accession year of Aššur-uballit II, starting in late Abu (V) or early Ulūlu (VI) of that year, based on the extant account of the year 612 in the Fall of Nineveh Chronicle (lines 38–52); see p. 45 below.



Year	Regnal Year	Falkner	Parpola	Reade
Aššur-uballiṭ II				
611	1	—	Nabû-mār-šarri-ušur, field marshal	—
610	2	—	Nabû-šarru-ušur, chief judge	—
609	3	—	Gargamisāyu (unknown rank)	—

Seven inscriptions of Sîn-šarra-iškun bear dates. These are as follows:

Eponym	Falkner	Parpola	Reade	Dated Sîn-šarra-iškun Texts
Aššur-mātu-taqqin, governor of (U)pummu	624	623	626	9 (Aššur)
Bēl-aḫu-ušur, palace overseer	619	616	621	6 (Nineveh), 10 (Aššur)
Dādī, (chief) treasurer	620	622	622	19 (Kalḫu)
Nabû-tappūtī-alik, chief eunuch <sup>249</sup>	617	613	616	1 (Nineveh)
Sa'īlu, chief cook	618	620	620	11 (Aššur)
Sîn-šarru-ušur, governor of Ḫindānu	639	636	634	3 (Nineveh)

Given that Sîn-šarra-iškun's inscriptions from Kalḫu and Nineveh record different building projects,<sup>250</sup> it is not possible to establish a chronological sequence for Bēl-aḫu-ušur, Dādī, Nabû-tappūtī-alik, and Sîn-šarru-ušur (governor of Ḫindānu) based solely on those texts. However, since all of the dated inscriptions of Sîn-šarra-iškun from Aššur record the construction of the Nabû temple at Aššur, it might be possible to suggest an order for the eponymies of Aššur-mātu-taqqin, Bēl-aḫu-ušur, and Sa'īlu. As proposed already by Falkner and Reade,<sup>251</sup> the chronological order of these three eponym-officials is likely Aššur-mātu-taqqin, Bēl-aḫu-ušur, and Sa'īlu. There is probably no gap or an interlude of not more than a year (or two) between Aššur-mātu-taqqin and Bēl-aḫu-ušur.<sup>252</sup> The provisional order is based on (1) the fact that Ssi 9 (Ass 3518+) is a shorter version of Ssi 10 (Cylinder A) and (2) the assumption that Ssi 11, an inscription written on clay cones adorning the interior walls (once they had been built), would have been written after Ssi 10, a text copied onto clay cylinders (and prisms) deposited inside the structure of the temple (as its walls were being built). Given the size of this building, it is tentatively proposed here that Aššur-mātu-taqqin, Bēl-aḫu-ušur, and Sa'īlu held the post of eponym one after the other, with no gaps, or with no more than one year between their tenures. If this proves correct, then the end date for this three- to five-year period might have been 620 (Sîn-šarra-iškun's 7th year as king) — or 619, 618, 617, or even 616 (his 8th–11th regnal years) at the absolute latest — since Nabopolassar besieged Aššur in Ayyāru (II) and Simānu (III) of 615 and the Medes under Cyaxares (Umakištar) captured and destroyed Assyria's traditional religious capital sometime after Abu (V) 614.<sup>253</sup> Given what little we know about Sîn-šarra-iškun's reign, most of which comes from the Fall of Nineveh Chronicle (see below), Aššur-mātu-taqqin, Bēl-aḫu-ušur, and Sa'īlu were most likely eponyms earlier in Sîn-šarra-iškun's tenure as king, perhaps starting in 626, 625, 624, or 623. An early date for Aššur-mātu-taqqin's stint as eponym is fairly certain since, as already pointed out by J.E. Reade,<sup>254</sup> a Babylonian-style legal text from Nippur is dated by his eponymy and, therefore, that governor of (U)pummu must have been eponym before 620, at the absolute latest, because the last documents from Babylonia dated by Sîn-šarra-iškun's regnal years are from that year.<sup>255</sup> Given that transactions from Nippur are dated by his 2nd to 6th regnal years, it is likely that the legal transaction in question (Ni 2534) dates to near the beginning of Sîn-šarra-iškun's reign, possibly either to his 1st (626), as proposed by Reade, or 2nd (625) year as king.<sup>256</sup> The year 625 is tentatively preferred here for the eponymy of Aššur-mātu-taqqin (1) since the year 627 was extremely turbulent;<sup>257</sup> (2) because Sîn-šarra-iškun, at least

<sup>249</sup> J.E. Reade (*Orientalia* NS 67 [1998] p. 259) proposes that Paši was an alternate name used for Nabû-tappūtī-alik at Aššur.

<sup>250</sup> Ssi 1 (lines 12'–15') records work on the "Alabaster House" at Nineveh (=the South-West Palace), Ssi 6 would have described the construction on Nineveh's city wall, and Ssi 19 (lines 30–37) gives an account of the rebuilding of the Nabû temple (Ezida) at Kalḫu. The building account of Ssi 3 is not sufficiently preserved to be able to identify which building at Nineveh that text commemorated.

<sup>251</sup> For this opinion, see also Novotny, *Kaskal* 11 (2014) p. 164 n. 11.

<sup>252</sup> This would mean that it took Sîn-šarra-iškun five or six years to build the superstructure of Nabû's temple at Aššur. Based on S. Parpola's arrangement of these eponyms, it would have taken him eight years to build the temple.

<sup>253</sup> Fall of Nineveh Chronicle lines 16–30 (see p. 44).

<sup>254</sup> Reade, *Orientalia* NS 67 (1998) p. 258.

<sup>255</sup> See n. 231 above.

<sup>256</sup> Brinkman and Kennedy, *JCS* 35 (1983) p. 62 no. Sn.2.

<sup>257</sup> One could suggest, for example, that Sîn-šarru-ušur the palace scribe (attested in date formulae for months I–X), Sîn-šarru-ušur "the

according to his own inscriptions, spent a great deal of time and effort preparing the building site that he could construct Nabû's temple at Aššur; and (3) since Aššur-mātu-taqin's tenure as eponym was shortly after that of Kanūnāyu, governor of Dūr-Šarrukīn, and there do not appear to have been any irregularities during the period that Kanūnāyu was eponym.<sup>258</sup>

With regard to Parpola's suggestion that Nabû-tappūtī-alik was eponym in 613, this seems highly unlikely,<sup>259</sup> unless, however, the work on the western part of the South-West Palace was a last-minute effort to strengthen it from potential breaches via the Step Gate of the Palace and the Step Gate of the Gardens. If that was not the case, then one should expect that Nabû-tappūtī-alik held that prestigious post before Babylonian and Median forces started campaigning in the Assyrian heartland, that is, before 615, as Falkner and Reade suggest.

#### *Dates of Ashurbanipal's Babylonian Inscriptions*

A number of Ashurbanipal's inscriptions from Babylonia mention his older brother Šamaš-šuma-ukīn in a positive light and, thus, were certainly composed before the start of the Brothers' War in 652. The inscriptions of Ashurbanipal that do not refer to Šamaš-šuma-ukīn and that were written on clay cylinders are presumed to have been written after Babylon opened its gates to Ashurbanipal in late 648, while Kandalānu, Ashurbanipal's hand-selected replacement as the king of Babylon, sat on the throne.

The inscriptions of Sîn-balāssu-iqbi (Asb. 2003–2018), the governor of Ur, also predate the Šamaš-šuma-ukīn rebellion. That governor of Ur — who undertook construction of the moon-god temple Ekišnugal on Ashurbanipal's behalf, rather than Šamaš-šuma-ukīn's — is attested as the governor of Ur only for the years 658 and 657, although he undoubtedly held that position for a much longer period of time. A pre-652 date for these texts is confirmed by the fact that his (younger?) brother Sîn-šarru-ušur had replaced him as governor of Ur (shortly) before the outbreak of the Šamaš-šuma-ukīn rebellion.<sup>260</sup>

#### *Chronicles*

Three Mesopotamian chronicles provide useful information both on events of the reigns of Assyria's last two rulers Sîn-šarra-iškun and Aššur-uballit II and on the order of those events.<sup>261</sup> The standard edition of Mesopotamian chronicles is the edition of A.K. Grayson (Grayson, *Chronicles*), but note also the more-recent edition by J.-J. Glassner (Glassner, *Chronicles*) and the ongoing work by I. Finkel and R.J. van der Spek (see <https://www.livius.org/sources/about/mesopotamian-chronicles/> [last accessed January 25, 2023]). For the convenience of the user of this volume, it has been thought useful to present translations of the relevant passages here; these translations are adapted from the aforementioned works.

#### *1. Chronicle Concerning the Early Years of Nabopolassar*

(Grayson, *Chronicles* pp. 87–90 no. 2; Glassner, *Chronicles* pp. 214–219 no. 21)<sup>262</sup>

1–4a) [...] when he<sup>263</sup> had sent [troops] to Babylon, [they entered the city] during the night. Then, they did battle inside the city for an entire day. [They inflicted a defeat (on them and)<sup>264</sup> the garrison] of Sîn-šarra-iškun<sup>265</sup> fled to Assyria. The city (Babylon) was entrusted to [...].<sup>266</sup>

4b–9) On the twelfth day of the month Ulūlu (VI), the troops of Assyria [went down to Akkad], entered the

later" (IX–XI), and Nūr-šalam-šarpi (XII) were all eponym in 627, while Sîn-šuma-lišir and Sîn-šarra-iškun vied for power.

<sup>258</sup> For the evidence that Aššur-mātu-taqin (immediately) followed Kanūnāyu as eponym, see Dalley and Postgate, *Fort Shalmaneser* pp. 55–56 and pl. 2 no. 6.

<sup>259</sup> P. Miglus (*Befund und Historisierung* pp. 13–14) has also come to this conclusion; see n. 246 above.

<sup>260</sup> Note that another of Sîn-balāssu-iqbi's brothers, Sîn-tabni-ušur, was governor of Ur in 650–649. See, for example, Frame, *Babylonia* pp. 278–279.

<sup>261</sup> For translations of the four Mesopotamian chronicles that provide information on events of the reigns of Ashurbanipal and Šamaš-šuma-ukīn, see Novotny and Jeffers, *RINAP 5/1* pp. 33–36.

<sup>262</sup> For a recent study of lines 1–17, see Fuchs, *Studies Oelsner* pp. 64–65.

<sup>263</sup> Lines 1–9 likely record events that took place during 627. J.J. Glassner (*Chronicles* pp. 216–217) reads the beginning of line 1 as [ina ITL.x mdAG-IBILA-URU ERIM.MEŠ] ana TIN.TIR.KI ki-i iš-pu-ru, which he translates as "[in the month of ..., Nabopolassar] having sent [troops] to Babylon." As the events recorded here took place before Ulūlu (VI), presumably in 627, it is unclear whether or not Nabopolassar was involved at Babylon at that time. It is not impossible that this passage refers to infighting between Sîn-šuma-lišir and Sîn-šarra-iškun.

<sup>264</sup> J.J. Glassner (*Chronicles* p. 217) translates this passage as "they inflicted a defeat on Assyria," but restores only [BAD<sub>5</sub>.BAD<sub>5</sub> GAR.MEŠ].

<sup>265</sup> It is possible that Sîn-šarra-iškun could be an error for Sîn-šuma-lišir.

<sup>266</sup> A.K. Grayson (*Chronicles* p. 88) translates the first part of line 4 as "he appointed [officials with]in the city."

city Šasnaku,<sup>267</sup> (and) set fire to (its) temple (and) [*had (its) property brought out*]. Then, in the month Tašrītu (VII), the gods of Kish went to Babylon. [*On the ...th day, the troops o]f Assyria marched to Nippur and Nabopolassar retreated before them. [The troops of As]syria and the citizens of Nippur went after him as fa[r] as Uruk. At Uruk, they did battle against Nabopolassar, but (then) retreated before Nabopolassar.*

10–13) In the month Ayyāru (II),<sup>268</sup> the troops of Assyria went down to Akkad. On the twelfth day of the month Tašrītu (VII), when the troops of Assyria had marched against Babylon (and) when the Babylonians had come out of Babylon, on that (very) day, they (the Babylonians) did battle against the troops of Assyria. They inflicted a major defeat upon the troops of Assyria and took them as prisoners.

14–15a) For one (entire) year, there was no king in the land (Akkad). On the twenty-sixth day of the month Araḥsamna (VIII), Nabopolassar ascended the throne in Babylon.

15b–17) The accession year of Nabopolassar (626): In the month Addaru (XIII), Nabopolassar returned the gods of Susa to Susa, whom (the king of) Assyria had carried off and made reside in Uruk.<sup>269</sup>

18–19) The first year of Nabopolassar (625): On the seventeenth day of the month Nisannu (I), terror fell upon the city (Šapazzu). The god Šamaš and the gods of the city Šapazzu (Bāš) went to Babylon.<sup>270</sup>

20) On the twenty-first day of the month Ayyāru (II), the troops of Assyria [en]tered the city Sal[lāte]<sup>271</sup> (and) had (its) property brought out.

21–24) On the twentieth day <of the month Simānu (III)/Du'ūzu (IV)>, the gods of Sippar we[nt] to Babylon [and], on the ninth day of the month Abu (V), Nabopolassar and his troops [marched] to the city Sall[āte] and did battle against the city Sallāte, but he did not take the city. The troops of Assyria arriv[e]d and he (Nabopolassar) retreated before them and withdrew.

25–28) [The second year] of Nabopolassar (624): At the beginning of the month Ulūlu (VI), the troops of Assyria went down [to Akkad] and set up camp by the Banītu canal. They did [battle against Nab]opolassar, but *achieved nothing*. [...] ...<sup>272</sup> and (then) they withdrew.

29–34) [The third year (623)]: On the eighth [day of the month ...], Dēr rebelled against Assyria. On the fifteenth day of the month Tašrītu (VII), [...] (In) that (same) [year], the king of Assyria and his troops went down to Akkad and [took Uruk].<sup>274</sup> He had (its) property brought out] and made (it) enter Nippur. Afterwards, Itti-ili [*rebelled. When the king of Assyria hea]rd (this),*<sup>275</sup> he posted a garrison in Nippur [(and) went back to his land. Itti-ili set out from] (the area) Across the River (Ebēr nāri), came up, and [...] against [(the city) ...]. He ravaged [the city ...]nu. Then, he set out towards Nineveh.

35–40) [...],<sup>276</sup> who had come to do battle against him, [ ... whe]n they saw him, they bowed down before him. [...]. The rebel king [...] one hundred days [...] ... when [...] the] rebel [king ...].

## 2. Fall of Nineveh Chronicle

(Grayson, Chronicles pp. 90–96 no. 3; Glassner, Chronicles pp. 218–225 no. 22)

1–2) The tenth year of Nabopolassar (616): In the month Ayyāru (II), he mustered the troops of Akkad and

<sup>267</sup> Šasnaku is probably not far from Sippar. On its location, see Zadok, Rép. Géogr. 8 pp. 289–290.

<sup>268</sup> Lines 10–17 probably record the events that occurred in 626.

<sup>269</sup> The Assyrian in question is Ashurbanipal, who sacked and plundered Susa in 646; see the section *Uruk* above for some details.

<sup>270</sup> Šapazzu, which is also known as Bāš, is a city in the vicinity of Sippar. See Bagg, Rép. Géogr. 7/3 p. 102. Its principal god is Bēl-šarbi.

<sup>271</sup> Sallāte is a city in northern Babylonia, on the east bank of the Euphrates, in the vicinity of Sippar; see M.P. Streck, RLA 11/7–8 (2008) p. 578; Zadok, Rép. Géogr. 8 p. 285; and Bagg, Rép. Géogr. 7/3 p. 499. This city is not to be confused with the Assyrian city Raqamātu, which is located in the Habur triangle, west of Našibina and north of Guzana; see Bagg, Rép. Géogr. 7/2 pp. 505–506.

<sup>272</sup> J.J. Glassner (Mesopotamian Chronicles p. 216) reads the beginning of line 28 as [ERIM.MEŠ KUR aš-šur ...]-suḥ-ma “[the troops of Assyria broke up ca]mp.”

<sup>273</sup> J.J. Glassner (Mesopotamian Chronicles p. 216) restores here <sup>m</sup>i-ti-DINGIR šal-tú ana NIBRU.KI DÙ (“Itti-ili did battle against Nippur”), but without justification.

<sup>274</sup> The interpretation of lines 31–34 follows Fuchs, Studies Oelsner p. 34 (with nn. 29 and 31). J.J. Glassner (Chronicles p. 216) tentatively restores BĀD.AN.KI (“Dēr”) in line 31.

<sup>275</sup> J.J. Glassner (Chronicles p. 216) restores after EGIR <sup>m</sup>i-ti-DINGIR (“after Itti-ili”) GIN UNUG.KI iḥ-te]-pe-e-ma, thus understanding the end of line 31 and the beginning of line 32 as “[He pursued] Itti-ili, ravaged [Uruk].” Note that A. Fuchs (Studies Oelsner p. 34 n. 29) proposes Uruk’s conquest was mentioned at the beginning of line 31, and not in line 32, as Glassner suggests.

<sup>276</sup> J.J. Glassner (Chronicles p. 218) reads the beginning of line 35 as [ERIM.MEŠ šá <sup>md</sup>30-LUGAL-GAR-un LUGAL KUR aš]-šur “[the troops of Šin-šarra-iškun, the king of Ass]yria.”

marched along the bank of the Euphrates River. Moreover, the Sūḥeans (and) Ḥindāneans did not do battle against him, (but) placed their possessions before him.

- 3–6a) In the month Abu (V), the troops of Assyria assembled in the city Gablīni<sup>277</sup> and Nabopolassar went up against them. Then, on the twelfth day of the month Abu (V), he did battle against the troops of Assyria and the troops of Assyria retreated before him. He then inflicted a major defeat upon Assyria (and) took many of them as prisoners. He captured the Manneans, who had come to their aid, and the officials of Assyria. On that (very) day, he (also) took the city Gablīni.
- 6b–8a) Also in the month Abu (V), the king of Akkad (and) his troops w[en]t up to the cities Manê, Saḥiri, and Balīḥu [a]nd took them as the spoils of war. They carried off much of their booty (and) abducted their gods.
- 8b–9) In the month Ulūlu (VI), the king of Akkad and his troops returned and, on his way, he took (the people of) the city Ḥindānu and its gods to Babylon.
- 10–11a) In the month Tašrītu (VII), the troops of Egypt and the troops of Assyria pursued the king of Akkad as far as the city [G]ablīni, but they did not overtake the king of Akkad (and so) they withdrew.
- 11b–15) In the month Addaru (XII), the troops of Assyria and the troops of Akkad did battle against one another at the city Madānu, which (is in the territory of) the city Arrapha, and the troops of Assyria retreated before the troops of Akkad. They (the troops of Akkad) inflicted a major defeat upon them (the Assyrian troops) (and) they drove them to the (Lower) Zab. They captured [t]heir char[iots] and their horses (and) took many of them as prisoners. They made many of their (text: its) [...] cross the Tigris River with them and ushered (them) into Babylon.

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16–18) [The eleventh year (615): The king of] Akkad mustered his troops and marched along the bank of the Tigris River. Then, in the month Ayyāru (II), he encamped against Baltil (Aššur). [On the ...th day] of the month Simānu (III), he did battle against the city, but he did not take the city. The king of Assyria mustered his troops, pushed the king of Akkad back from Baltil (Aššur), and pursued him as far as the city Tagrita'in, [a city] on the (west) bank of the Tigris River.<sup>278</sup>

19–22) The king of Akkad posted his troops as a garrison in the fortress of the city Tagrita'in. The king of Assyria and his troops encamped against the troops of the king of Akkad who had been posted in the city Tagrita'in. Then, for ten days, they did battle against them, but he (the king of Assyria) did not take the city. The troops of the king of Akkad, who had been posted in the fortress, inflicted a major defeat upon Assyria. [They pushed] the king of Assyria and his troops [back] and he (the king of Assyria) returned to his land.

23) In the month Araḥsamna (VIII), the Medes went down to the city Arrapha and [...] ... [...].

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24–27) The twelfth year (614): In the month Abu (V), when the Medes [had set out] against Nineveh, [the king of Assyria and his troops] speedily came [to its aid], but (nevertheless) they took Tarbiṣu, a city in the province of Nineveh. [...] they (the Medes) went along [the Ti]gris [River] and encamped against Baltil (Aššur). They did battle against the city and [...] destroyed [...]. They inflicted a terrible defeat upon a great people. He took it (Baltil) as the spoils of war (and) [carried off its] bo[oty].

28–30) [The king of A]kkad and his troops, who had gone to help the Medes, did not arrive (in time for) the battle. [When] the cit[y was taken, the king of Akka]d [and] C[yax]ares (Umakištar) met one another by the city (and) they brought about friendly relations and a peace agreement with each other. [Afterwards, Cyaxa]res and his troops returned to his land. The king of Akkad and his troops (also) returned to his (own) land.

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31–37) [The thirteenth year (613): In the month Ayyāru (II), the Sūḥeans rebelled against the king of Akkad and began a war. [The king of Akkad] mustered his [tr]oops and marched to the land Sūḥu. On the fourth day of the month Simānu (III), he did [battle against the c]ity Raḥi-ilu, a city which is (on an island) in the middle of the Euphrates River, and, at that time, he took the city. He built his [...]. The men who (live) on the bank(s) of the Euphrates River came down to him (and) [...]. He encamped [against] the city Anat. [He had] (siege) tower[s cross over] fr[om] the western side, [...], brought th(os)e (siege) towers close to (Anat's) city wall. He did battle against the [city], but [he did not take] the c[ity].<sup>279</sup>

<sup>277</sup> Gablīni is located near where the Ḥabur joins the Euphrates; see Zadok, Rép. Géogr. 8 p. 135.

<sup>278</sup> Tagrita'in (Tagariteyāni) is modern Takrīt; see Zadok, Rép. Géogr. 8 p. 301; and Bagg, Rép. Géogr. 7/2 p. 582.

<sup>279</sup> A.K. Grayson (Chronicles p. 94) tentatively translates this passage as "and captured it."



... the king of] Assyria and his troops came down and [they pushed back] the king of Akkad and his troops.<sup>280</sup>

38–41) [The fourteenth year (612)]: The king of Akkad muster[ed] his troops [and march]ed [to Assyria]. The king of the Ummān-manda [marched] towards the king of Akkad. [Then, the king of Akkad and Cyaxares] met one another [by the city ...]û. [The k]ing of Akkad [and his troops crossed the Tigris River and Cy]axares had (his troops) cross [the Rad]ānu [River] and (then) they marched along the bank of the Tigris River. [On the ...th day of Simānu (III), they encamp]ed against Nineve[h].

42–46) From the month Simānu (III) until the month Abu (V), for three [months, they ...] (and) did intensive battle against the city.<sup>281</sup> [On the ...th day] of the month Abu (V), they inflicted a major [defeat upon a g]reat [people]. At that time, Sîn-šarra-iškun, the king of Ass[yria, died. ...]. They carried off substantial booty from the city and (its) temple(s). [They turned the c]ity into a mound of ru[ins (lit. “a mound and ruins”). The ...] of Assyria escaped from the enemy and, in order to (save his own) life, he g[rasped] the feet of the king of Akkad.

47–49a) On the twentieth day of the month Ulūlu (VI), Cyaxares and his troops returned to his land. Afterwards, the king of Akka[d and his troops] marched as far as the city Našībīna. [They ...] prisoners and deportees. Moreover, they brought the (people of) the land Rašappa (Rušapa) to Nineveh, before the king of Akkad.

49b–52) On [the ...th day of the] month [..., Aššur-uballiṭ (II)] ascended the throne in Ḥarrān to exercise the kingship of Assyria. Until [the ...th day of] the month [..., ...] in Nineveh. [F]rom the twentieth day of the month [...], the king of [Akkad] took away [...] and [...] in the city [...].

53–55) The fifteenth year (611): In the month Du’ūzu (IV) the ki]ng of Akkad [mustered his troops and] marched to Assyria [and marched about] triumphantly [in Assyria]. He captured [the ...] of the lands [...] and Šu[...],a, took them as the spoils of war, (and) [carried off] their sub[stantial] booty.

56–57) In the mon[th Araḥsamn]a (VIII), the king of Akkad t[ook] the lead of his troops [and marched] against the city Ru[g]gu[lītu]. He did battle against the city and, on the twenty-eighth day of the month Araḥsamna (VIII), he took the city. [...] did not [spare] a single person (among them). He returned [to his land].

58–60) The sixteenth year (610): In the month Ayyāru (II), the king of Akkad muster[ed] his troops [a]nd marched to Assyria. Fr[om the month ...] until the month Araḥsamna (VIII), he marched about triumphantly in Assyria. In the month Araḥsamna (VIII), the Ummān-manda came [to the ai]d of the king of Akkad. Then, they consolidated their troops together and marched to Ḥarrān, [agains]t [Aššur-uballiṭ] (II), who had ascended the throne in Assyria.

61–64a) Then, fear of the enemy fell over Aššur-uballiṭ (II) and the troops of Eg[yp]t, who] had come [to his aid]; they aban[doned] the city [and] crossed [the Euphrates River]. The king of Akkad reached Ḥarrān, [did battle against the city, and] took the city. He carried off substantial booty from the city and (its) temple(s).

64b–65) In the month Addaru (XII), the king of Akkad left [his troops and] their [camp] and he (himself) returned to his land. Moreover, the Ummān-manda, who had co[me] to the aid [of] the king of Akkad, [with]drew.

66–68) <The seventeenth year (609)>: In the month Du’ūzu (IV), Aššur-uballiṭ (II), the king of Assyria, [(...)] the numerous troops of Egypt, [(...)], crossed the (Euphrates) River, and marched against Ḥarrān in order to conquer (the troops that the king of Akkad had posted there). [They (... and) to]ok [...]. They massacred the garrison that the king of Akkad had posted inside. [Wh]en they [had kill]ed (the enemy), they encamp[ed] against Ḥarrān.

(69–71) Until the month Ulūlu (VI), they did battle against the city, but ach[ieved nothing and] did not [with]draw. The king of Akkad went to the aid of his troops, but [did not do battle]. He went up [to the land I]zalla and he burned with fire the [...] of numerous cities in the mountains.

72–75) At that time, the troops of [...] ma]rched as far as the province of Urarṭu (Urašṭu). In the land [...],

<sup>280</sup> A.K. Grayson (Chronicles p. 94) tentatively translates this passage as “and ... the king of Akkad and his army. He (the king of Akkad) went home.”

<sup>281</sup> A.K. Grayson (Chronicles p. 94) translates this passage as “they subjected the city to a heavy siege.”

they (the troops of the king of Akkad) took them as the spoils of war. They [took away] the garrison that the king of [... had posted inside it] and went up to the city [...]. The king of Akkad returned to his land.

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 76-77) In the [eighteenth] ye[ar (608): In the month Ulū]lu (VI), the king of Akkad mustered his troops and (...).

78) Let [the one who] lo[ve]s the gods [Na]bû and Marduk protect (this tablet and) not let (it) fall into (enemy) hands.

### 3. *Akītu Chronicle*

(Grayson, *Chronicles* pp. 131-132 no. 16; Glassner, *Chronicles* pp. 212-215 no. 20)

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 24-27) After Kandalānu,<sup>282</sup> in the accession year of Nabopolassar (626): There were insurrections in Assyria and Akkad. Hostilities (and) warfare were constant. The god Nabû did not go (and) the god Bēl did not come out.  
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<sup>282</sup> The phrase *arki Kandalānu*, "after Kandalānu," is also attested as a date formula for two Babylonian economic documents written after the death of that king of Babylon. There is one presently-attested tablet that is posthumously dated to Kandalānu's 22nd year (626); BM 40039 (Wiseman, *Chronicles* pp. 89-90 and pls. XVIII-XIX) was written on "Araḥsamna (VIII), 2nd day, year twenty-two, after Kandalānu, king of Babylon." This tablet was inscribed twenty-four days before Nabopolassar ascended the throne in Babylon (26-VIII-626).