

Stealing the Enemy's Gods: An Exploration of the Phenomenon of Godnap in Ancient  
Western Asia

By

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When an ancient Near Eastern city was besieged and looted the statues and cultic appurtenances of the gods were often confiscated by the conquerors. Their loss was more than a heavy blow to the defeated people: the statue was the god's representation on earth and watched over and protected the city so his abandonment of his city was thought to have a lasting devastating effect. From the point of view of the conqueror the statue could be used not only as a tool of intimidation but for bribery and a crude form of diplomacy and as propaganda for his might and glory. In this thesis the history of the phenomenon of godnap is explored for the first time and there is also an investigation of related problems in religion and cultural history. At the outset a detailed investigation of the numinous character of an ancient Mesopotamian statue is given including an account of the ritual that imbued it with this divine quality. Special attention is given to Marduk of Babylon and the episodes in which even he found himself the victim of theft. The thesis includes an excursus on *evocatio* and parallels between Hittite and ancient Roman practices are drawn.

*ana ummīya ša kayamānu ukallanni*

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## ABBREVIATIONS

ABC	Grayson, A. K. <i>Assyrian and Babylonian Chronicles</i> .
Borger, BAL	Borger, R. <i>Babylonisch-Assyrische Lesestücke</i> .
Borger, <i>Asarh.</i>	Borger, R. <i>Die Inschriften Asarhaddons Königs von Assyrien</i> .
Borger, BIWA	Borger, R. <i>Beiträge zum Inschriftenwerk Assurbanipals. Die Prismenklassen A, B, C = K, D, E, F, G, H, J, und T sowie andere Inschriften</i> .
CAD	The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago
CT	Cuneiform Texts from the British Museum
Fuchs, <i>Khorsabad</i>	Fuchs, A. <i>Die Inschriften Sargons II. Aus Khorsabad</i> .
Helsinki Atlas	Parpola, S. and Porter, M. <i>The Helsinki Atlas of the Near East in the Neo-Assyrian Period</i> .
Luckenbill, <i>Senn.</i>	Luckenbill, D. D. <i>The Annals of Sennacherib</i> .
Maqlû	Meier, G. <i>Die assyrische Beschwörungssammlung Maqlû</i> .
MC	Glassner, J. J. <i>Mesopotamian Chronicles</i> .
RGTC	<i>Répertoire géographique des textes cunéiformes. Beihefte zum Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients. V: Die Orts- und Gewässernamen der Mittelbabylonischen und mittelassyrischen Zeit VII/1: Bagg, A. M. Die Orts- und Gewässernamen der neuassyrischen Zeit. Die Levante. VIII: Zadok, R. Geographical Names According to New- and Late-Babylonian Texts.</i>
RIMA 2	Grayson, A. K. <i>Assyrian Rulers of the Early First Millennium BC, I (1114-859)</i> .
RIMA 3	Grayson, A. K. <i>Assyrian Rulers of the Early First Millennium BC, II (858-745)</i> .
RIMB 2	Frame, G. <i>Rulers of Babylonia: From the Second Dynasty of Isin to the End of Assyrian Domination (1157-612 BC)</i> .
RIME 4	Frayne, D. R. <i>Old Babylonian Period (2003-1595 BC)</i> .
SAA	<i>State Archives of Assyria</i>
Streck, <i>Assurbanipal</i>	Streck, M. <i>Assurbanipal und die letzten assyrischen Könige bis zum Untergange Niniveh's</i> .
Tadmor, <i>Tiglath-Pileser</i>	Tadmor, H. <i>The Inscriptions of Tiglath-pileser III King of Assyria Critical Edition, with Introductions, Translations and Commentary</i> .
VS	<i>Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler der Königlichen Museen zu Berlin</i>



## TEXT SIGLA

### Appendix A

Š-IS

A-K

T-NI

Šu-ilišu

Agum-Kakrime

Tukulti-Ninurta I

### Appendix B

T-PI

A-NII

T-NII

ANPII

ŠLMIII

Š-AV

Tiglath-Pileser I

Adad-Nerari II

Tukulti-Ninurta II

Aššurnaširpal II

Šalmaneser III

Šamši-Adad V

### Appendix C

T-PIII

SGII

SNB

ESR

ABP

Tiglath-Pileser III

Sargon II

Sennacherib

Esarhaddon

Aššurbanipal

### Appendix D

NBZI

NKU

BIB

ANŠ

N-UŠB

NKB

ŠŠU

NBP

NBZII

NBN

CYR

Nebuchadnezzar I

Ninurta-kudurri-ušur

Bel-ibni

Aššur-nadin-šumi

Nergal-ušeziš

No King in Babylon

Šamaš-šuma-ukin

Nabopolassar

Nebuchadnezzar II

Nabonidus

Cyrus the Great

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## INTRODUCTION

The phenomenon termed ‘godnap’<sup>1</sup> was widespread in the ancient Near East but no systematic study of it has been produced. For a full treatment of the topic it has been necessary to collect all relevant historical inscriptions from the Isin-Larsa Period to the Persian conquest of Babylon. Some of the texts describing this phenomenon were published fifty or even one hundred years ago and have required editorial work. In order to keep the translations and therefore the historical record consistent, new translations are given for the first time in this thesis in the form of a ‘text book’ (Appendices A-E). On this basis a history of the phenomenon of godnap has been constructed and forms the main body of this thesis.

Godnap can be defined as the theft, and subsequent manipulation for the purposes of propaganda, of a cult statue and sometimes also of the related cultic appurtenances in conjunction with the capture and destruction of an enemy city. It became clear in my research that a number of different paradigms of the phenomenon can be distinguished and these are explained below. It has been possible to explore the topic not only from the vantage point of propaganda, but also from that of psychological warfare. Since the statue was the god’s presence on earth, the disappearance of the god from his shrine was believed to have had catastrophic effects on his patron city. The deity was no longer able to watch over the city, nor accept the prayers of worshippers. This feeling of great cosmic disorder is reflected in mythology, with terrible famines and horrific destruction attributed to the abandonment of their shrines by the gods.

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<sup>1</sup> The term was first used by Dr Alasdair Livingstone in a paper given at the 38<sup>th</sup> Rencontre Internationale Assyriologique (Charpin and Joannès 1992) and appearing in print in Livingstone 1997: 168.

The phenomenon of godnap consists of three main paradigms: the theft of the cult statue, the return of a cult statue, possibly following its refurbishment, and the movement of a statue for safe-keeping. These three paradigms co-exist only in two periods, the Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian Periods, with others only describing a maximum of two. Though the return of the gods is the first type chronologically described and is much discussed in the early periods, this example of godnap is not discussed at all in the Middle Assyrian Period, with the focus of this period on the theft of cult statues. During the final years of the Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian Empires, though the main focus for the Assyrians is on the theft of statues and the Babylonians were more concerned with the return of their statues, all iterations of the phenomenon of godnap can be seen.

These descriptions of godnap occur in various types of texts, mainly royal inscriptions, annals and chronicles. The earliest instances were recorded in royal inscriptions, inscribed on tablets or other objects, and in chronicles. These varying types of texts have been given equal weight in this analysis, meaning one type of text has not been favoured over another for historical accuracy. The Hittite texts describing godnap have more diversity in their sources; both historical documents and prayers include such descriptions. The Assyrian texts come mainly from compendia of historical sources known as the Assyrian Annals, but also from Assyrian chronicles, a genre more normally known to be Babylonian, and other royal inscriptions, such as those on stelae. The movement of the statues of the gods was also detailed in letters during the Neo-Assyrian Period. The Babylonians described godnap in royal inscriptions and

chronicles. The final texts concerning godnap, the literary sources, are texts from the historical-literary genre, which also discuss mythological material.

Godnap as a phenomenon of ancient Mesopotamian religion has been recognised from the beginnings of Assyriology, as many of the first texts translated mentioned the phenomenon, but no systematic study has ever been produced. Consequently, no edition or collection of the texts relating godnap has been previously compiled. When looking at the literature available which describes the phenomenon, two main types can be discerned – those that describe the phenomenon generally and those that discuss specific examples of godnap within other contexts. It will be more useful to discuss the former texts first.

In their studies of Assyrian imperial policy, Cogan, Kravitz and Holloway discuss godnap and include tables detailing its Assyrian instances; these tables are by no means exhaustive and the present thesis provides a much fuller record.<sup>2</sup> Though all these authors include tables in their works, the latter two, Kravitz and Holloway, include very few, if any, transliterations and translations; when citing examples of the abduction of the gods Cogan often gives a transliteration as well as a translation. He (1974) discusses the phenomenon generally and relates it to the larger theme of the abandonment of the gods; the Mesopotamians chose to think of their gods as having abandoned them rather than having them taken by a conqueror. His study was the first to expand upon the rationale for such an act as godnap and to define it as such. He came to the conclusion that it was not standard practice, as the statues of the gods were not always taken during

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<sup>2</sup> Cogan 1974: 199-121; Kravitz 1999: 28a; Holloway 2002: 118, 123-144, 277-283.

conquest. Cogan also mentions the repatriation of statues, describing both types – by the Assyrians and by those seeking the return of their own gods. A brief description of the study of the language used when reporting godnap is given by Cogan, and the conclusion drawn that, for the Middle and Neo-Assyrian Periods, no real patterns can be seen.

Kravitz, in her 1999 PhD thesis, describes the abduction of cult images as ‘divine trophies of war’. This analysis is apt, as in the texts describing the theft of a cult statue the gods are normally listed along with other booty. Kravitz first discusses godnap generally and then examines three episodes in detail, the abduction of Marduk by Tukulti-Ninurta I, the placement of gods as doorkeepers by Tiglath-Pileser I and Sargon II’s theft of Urartian Ḫaldi along with his return of the Sealand gods. Building on the work of Cogan, she also discusses the retrievals and restorations of cult statues, as Cogan had only discussed their theft and destruction. An overview of the chronology of the taking of divine images as spoils of war is given, with examples interspersed. The main focus is firmly set on the aspect of the theft and how the Assyrians thought about it rather than the effects on those who had their gods taken. The three specific examples chosen for further study have been done so because they have been more fully explained in the ancient sources than other episodes. These three episodes are placed within their historical context and then discussed within the frame of godnap. Sargon II’s Urartian campaign is discussed at length, with a detailed analysis of that king’s Letter to Aššur, a letter to the god detailing the campaign to defeat the Urartian king Rusa I. The thesis takes another cue from Cogan’s work and goes on, in subsequent chapters, to discuss the Israelite policy toward taking images as divine trophies of war.

As previously noted, Holloway (2002) includes generous tables in his work on the role of religion in the enforcement of Neo-Assyrian imperial policy. Like Kravitz, he includes not only the abduction of cult images, but their retrieval and repatriation. He also explores the extent to which the Assyrians forced their own religious views upon those they conquered. Though this theme is touched upon by other authors, it was not fully discussed. In bringing all of these ideas and policies regarding Assyrian religion and its uses in the subjugation and administration of conquered lands, Holloway has produced an invaluable volume. He includes three tables directly related to godnap as it is described in this study, listing instances of destruction of divine images, their deportation and their refurbishment and restoration.<sup>3</sup> Discussion of some of these acts follows these tables. Holloway does not discuss each occurrence of godnap, as his aim is not to provide a history of the phenomenon, but to frame it within the larger context of Assyrian religious policy in the Middle and Neo-Assyrian Periods. He relates the deportation of divine images to that of peoples, as was a common Assyrian practice. In his opinion, in apposition to Kravitz's view, godnap was merely another weapon in the Assyrian arsenal used in the complete subjugation of nations. This idea also fits with Holloway's general theme that of the use of religion to exercise power in the Neo-Assyrian Empire.

Two final shorter works describe the phenomenon of godnap in a general way, but with the use of more specific examples, thus bridging the gap between the two main ways of discussing the occurrences of the act. In his article on Assyrian religion from the

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<sup>3</sup> Holloway 2002: 118, 123-144, 277-283, as cited above.



collected volume *Assyria 1995: Proceedings of the 10th Anniversary Symposium of the Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus Project Helsinki, September 7-11, 1995*, Livingstone coins the term ‘godnap’ and provides the first definition of the term. The crux of the phenomenon is then defined by the use of some of the most well-known examples of its occurrence. Another short article by the present author (Johnson 2008) also describes some of these same examples, but also includes an excursus on the nature of the cult statue, thus providing a theological context for the theft of the image and illustrating the importance of the theft.

Instances of godnap have been described, in varying degrees of detail, within the contexts of other works. These are usually the most renowned occurrences, such as the movements of the statue of Marduk and the return of Nanaya to Uruk by Aššurbanipal. Though these studies are specific and do not address the history of godnap or its development over time, they provide valuable insight into the examples they discuss. The amount of detail describing the consequences and machinations behind the abductions of cult statues is largely defined by the main purpose of the work. Books describing the history of the period, such as Frame’s political history of Babylonia from 689 to 627 BC, relate the instances of godnap in that period to other Assyrian imperial policy.<sup>4</sup> Unlike the studies done by Cogan, Kravitz and Holloway, however, the aim of Frame’s book is to examine the political history between Assyria and Babylonia and the movements of divine images in this time period are given as examples of relations between the two nations.

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<sup>4</sup> See Frame 1992.

Porter's work is concerned with Esarhaddon's policy toward Babylonia following the destruction of Babylon by his father Sennacherib.<sup>5</sup> Esarhaddon attempted to re-forged the bond between the two nations following the sacrilege committed by his father and the refurbishment and return of the statue of Marduk was hoped to assist in this. In order to describe the policies of Esarhaddon toward the Babylonians it is then necessary to describe the theft, refurbishment and attempted return of Marduk to Babylon, so these are included in Porter's studies. Though the ideas behind godnap are discussed, they are only applied to this specific instance and no overarching conclusions regarding the phenomenon as a whole have been drawn. Brinkman also writes on the destruction of Babylon and its implications for Marduk.<sup>6</sup> He is mostly concerned with the differing traditions in relating the destruction of Babylon. As such the episodes of godnap he discusses are related to the theft and return of Marduk and the other gods of Babylon in the inscriptions of Sennacherib and Esarhaddon. He uses this theft and return to describe Esarhaddon's attitudes toward his father's actions. Using these specific and well-known examples of godnap to explain the actions of the Sargonid kings is useful in both their individual studies as well as in the overall study of godnap.

Likewise, Oded, in his book on the justifications for war in Assyria, uses occurrences of godnap as examples of different types of justification for war.<sup>7</sup> Again, he uses the textual evidence for godnap to elucidate the mechanisms behind Assyrian warfare. He extracts paradigms from the Assyrian Annals and then reinforces his preliminary statements with a description of the theft of a divine image. Similarly, Bahrani, in her books concerning the ideas of representation and rituals of war in Mesopotamia, uses

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<sup>5</sup> Porter 1993a, 1993b, 1995.

<sup>6</sup> Brinkman 1984b.

<sup>7</sup> Oded 1992.

these abductions of cult statues to reinforce an overarching idea.<sup>8</sup> She discusses the movements of the statue of Marduk in both historical and literary texts. This discussion adds to her overall discussion of the theft of all types of images. She seeks to discover the reasoning behind the abduction of images, in turn elucidating the relative importance of them.<sup>9</sup> In her later work, she explores the rituals of war, necessitating further discussion on the abduction of images and monuments.<sup>10</sup> In this context she explores the idea of a cult statue more completely and what it meant to be without the statue after it had been stolen.

Returning to the movements of the statue of Marduk, both Lambert and Dalley discuss the composition of the creation epic *Enūma Eliš* upon its return to Babylon.<sup>11</sup> In his article, Lambert briefly chronicles Marduk's rise to the head of the Babylonian pantheon before connected the return of Marduk by Nebuchadnezzar I with the composition of the creation epic. Lambert discusses the texts relating the return of Marduk and after looking previously at the political climate of the period comes to the conclusion that the two events are related. Dalley espouses this same idea, but in light of a recent publication describing the multiple statues of Marduk. The crux of her argument lies in the idea that previous studies of the period have relied on there having been only one statue of Marduk, but through the investigations of recent publications it has been discovered that seven did in fact exist in Babylon. Following this idea, Dalley reconstructs a history of these statues, discovering which ones were in fact stolen when texts report the general movements of the statue of Marduk. This excursus proves

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<sup>8</sup> Bahrani 2003, 2008.

<sup>9</sup> See Bahrani 2003.

<sup>10</sup> See Bahrani 2008.

<sup>11</sup> Lambert 1964, Dalley 1997.

interesting and valuable, also seeking to compare the events of literary and historical texts. She comes to the conclusion that since the statue of Marduk was returned at least twice previous to Nebuchadnezzar's return of the statue from Elam, and the return of the statue was therefore not a unique event. In the analysis needed to prove that the return of Marduk was not unique, Dalley has chronicled the instances of godnap for the period before the reign of Nebuchadnezzar and has also focussed solely on Marduk. This provides a snapshot of the activities related to godnap when the phenomenon is happening to Marduk. While this history can be chronicled, it is not set within the context of other historical instances of godnap and conclusions about the phenomenon as a consistent occurrence cannot be drawn.

Akin to Dalley's presentation of the movements of Marduk, Scurlock traces the movements of the goddess Nanaya of Uruk.<sup>12</sup> In exploring a text known as the *Uruk Prophecy* Scurlock uncovers the history of the statue of Nanaya at Uruk. The statue was moved around and likely refashioned, so in describing its history a discussion of godnap largely comes into play. The overarching ideas of if and why a city would fashion a new statue are discussed, with the conclusion that since there was need for the statue another one was made. Aššurbanipal's return of the statue is also discussed, along with the implications surrounding the idea that a people would have waited over a thousand years for the return of their statue.

A final work of note is Berlejung's treatise on cult statues.<sup>13</sup> In her thorough discussion of the cult statue and how it was fashioned in both Mesopotamia and Israel, Berlejung

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<sup>12</sup> Scurlock 2006.

<sup>13</sup> Berlejung 1998.

briefly discusses Mesopotamian godnap within her overall discussion of cult statues. As the nature of the cult statue is central to understanding the implications the statue's abduction, this work provides a jumping off point for further discussions on godnap. Berlejung also collects all known representations of cult statues in reliefs and stelae, adding a dimension to the work other than that of mere texts.

The present thesis aims to draw together the texts relating the phenomenon of godnap and extract patterns from them. The study is arranged chronologically as this allows the development of godnap to be seen in its historical context. Chapter One explores the nature of Mesopotamian cult statues and the theology and ritual that surrounded them, as this excursus is necessary in order to understand the implications of their abduction. Chapter Two discusses the earliest occurrences of godnap, from the Isin-Larsa Period. Chapter Three is concerned with the rise of the god Marduk to the head of the Babylonian pantheon since it can be shown that this elevation was a partial result of the theft of Marduk's statue from Babylon. The importance of Marduk and his cult can be seen by chronicling his rise to the head of the pantheon. He was the most commonly named god to have been both abducted and returned, showing that the abduction of his statue was indeed a major event. Chapter Four charts the phenomenon of godnap in the Hittite civilisation of Anatolia, exploring the similarities and differences between their interpretation of godnap and that of Mesopotamia. Chapters Five to Seven chronicle almost six hundred years of Assyrian and Babylonian history, the period in which occurred the majority of known instances of godnap. Chapter Eight explores two ancient cultic and historical-literary works that concern themselves with an exegesis of the geographical movements of the cult statue of Marduk that were conceived by the

Babylonian priests and scholars as expeditions undertaken by the god of his own volition.

## CHAPTER ONE: THE CULT STATUE

The Assyrian and Babylonian kings took a wide variety of spoil, including people, gold, precious metals and livestock, when conquering a city; theft of objects, religious or otherwise, was commonplace. It is not naïve to assume that they also took the most valuable item each city had in its possession: the cult statue of its patron deity. Consequently, the most important component of godnap was the cult statue. This theft was different to merely taking gold and precious stones as booty. The theft of the cult statue left a more permanent form of damage on the citizens of a conquered area; they could eventually replace their worldly goods, but replacing the representation of the god on earth would prove to be more difficult. To understand why this theft of a cult statue was so devastating it is pertinent to discover the attributes of such a statue as well as the nature of its importance. Consequently, in order to understand the importance of the cult statue, it is necessary to understand the relationship between the god represented by the statue and the statue itself.

The cult statue was the statue of the god housed in the holiest part of the temple. It was used primarily for worshipping the deity, as he or she was thought to be physically occupying the statue, but was also used in rituals and occasionally brought out when citizens were required to swear oaths. These statues would only have regular human contact with priests, as ordinary citizens were not worthy to attend the god everyday.<sup>14</sup> They would have access to the god during festivals when the statues were paraded.<sup>15</sup> Other statues of gods have been found, but no cult statues survive, mostly due to the

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<sup>14</sup> There were a special class of priests called *erib biti*, or ‘those who entered the temple’, who were the only priests allowed to do so.

<sup>15</sup> The procession or *šadaḫu* of Ishtar of Babylon is mentioned in the hemerologies (Personal Communication with Alasdair Livingstone regarding his unpublished book on the hemerologies).

fragility and value of materials with which they were constructed. The wealth inherent in the statue was not the primary reason for its theft; the psychological effects of taking the gods of a people were instrumental in their subjugation.

### **Appearance of the Cult Statue**

The cult statue, or in some cases, symbol, was made of a wooden core adorned with precious stones and metals.<sup>16</sup> Tamarisk was the wood of choice and had a long association with ritual; the bones of the gods are referred to as being made of tamarisk.<sup>17</sup> This idea is affirmed in the incantation tablets of the *Mīs Pī*, or ‘washing of the mouth’, ritual during which the fashioning of a new cult statue is described.<sup>18</sup> Their exact form cannot be discerned, as few statues survive at present due to the degradable nature of their composite materials. The few statues or pieces of statues that do survive cannot be dated before the third millennium; this has led Spycket to suggest anthropomorphic cult statues did not exist before this period.<sup>19</sup> The Mesopotamians thought of their gods as active, thinking and sensitive personalities, much like the vision they had of themselves, and therefore chose to represent them in an anthropomorphised form.<sup>20</sup> Many features of the head and face are clearly recognisable; the eyes, eyebrows, ears, mouth and nose can all be identified on reliefs depicting the statues of the gods.<sup>21</sup> Since most statues are depicted in profile (the exception being on a relief of the Assyrian king Tiglath-Pileser III, on which the frontal view has been reconstructed, so is in doubt (see Figure 1, below)) a frontal view of the heads of the statues is not possible, but it is known that

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<sup>16</sup> Berlejung 1998: 36-38.

<sup>17</sup> Maqlû VI 5.

<sup>18</sup> Walker and Dick 2001: 100; Incantation Tablet 1/2, lines 1-4. For more on this ritual see the section below.

<sup>19</sup> See Spycket 1968.

<sup>20</sup> Berlejung 1998: 35.

<sup>21</sup> Berlejung 1998: 46.



much care was given to the production of the constituent individual parts of the face.<sup>22</sup> The parts of the body not covered by clothing were covered in gold or silver to depict skin; the statues wore short or long garments with belts and did not wear shoes as shoes were not allowed to be worn in the temple.<sup>23</sup> These garments needed to be changed regularly, and this was done in a ceremony twice a year. This ceremony coincided with the changing of the seasons, a time when both humans and gods needed to change their attire.<sup>24</sup> Statues also possessed ornaments, mainly many kinds of jewelry as is seen in a text describing the dress of Ištar of Lagaba.<sup>25</sup> These ornamental pieces of clothing were not worn everyday, but brought out and the garments renewed during festivals.<sup>26</sup>

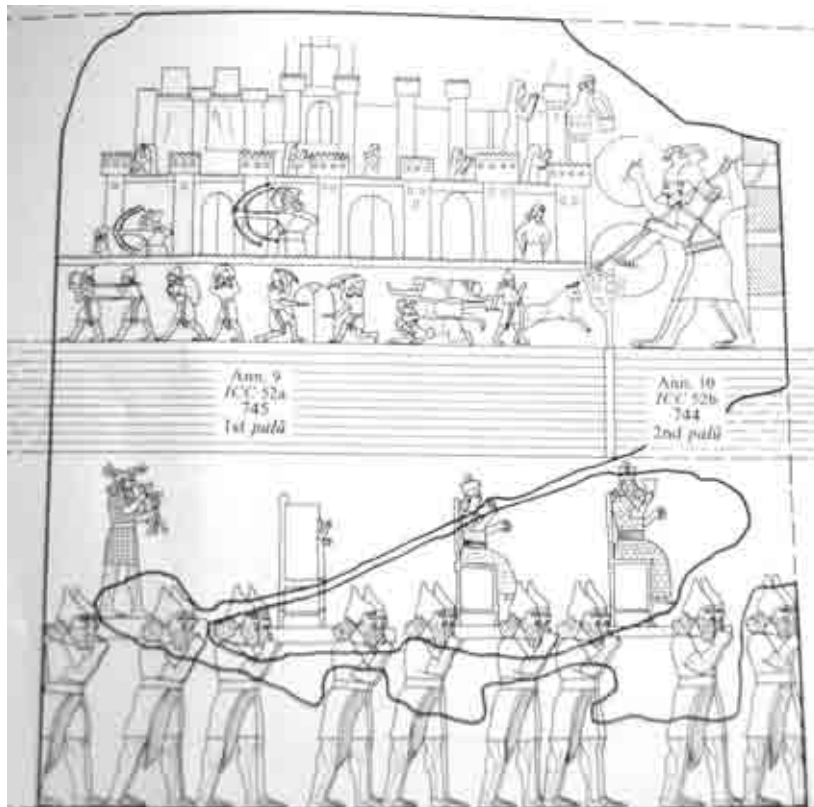


Figure 1. Line drawing of the theft of the gods of a town, possibly Unqi.

<sup>22</sup> Berlejung 1998: 46-47.

<sup>23</sup> Berlejung 1998: 50-52.

<sup>24</sup> Matsushima 1998: 118.

<sup>25</sup> Leemans 1952: 1-2.

<sup>26</sup> Leemans 1952: 22-23.

These cult statues were the resting place of the gods on earth and consequently regarded as the gods themselves. Apart from descriptive texts, cult depictions on cylinder seals and reliefs can be examined in order to determine the perceived appearance of the statues. These can prove useful, but it cannot be ascertained which is depicted, god or statue, as the statue was the embodiment of the god and the reliefs do not differentiate between the two.<sup>27</sup> They are shown wearing the symbol of divinity, a horned crown, and are sometimes shown with unique symbols or animals so that they can be easily identified. These types of symbols are also seen on *kudurrus*, or boundary stones, showing the presence of the god at the transaction related on the stone; the god is present at the exchange of land between two parties and the determination of its boundaries. These symbols also depicted which gods had put their blessing on the stone as well as those that threatened to curse any who would wish to destroy the stone. These symbols are also seen on monumental inscriptions, mainly stelae. In this case, they represent the gods' approval of the act the stele commemorates. These symbols can be seen as earlier non-anthropomorphic depictions of the gods which continued to be used in later periods either independently of the image of the god or in conjunction with the depiction of the statue as an aid in identifying which god was depicted. One of the most noted depictions of the gods is a relief from the Southwest Palace of Tiglath-Pileser III showing the gods of a north Syrian town, possibly Unqi,<sup>28</sup> being taken back to Assyria (see Figure 2, below).

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<sup>27</sup> Berlejung 1998: 36-38.

<sup>28</sup> Tadmor 1994: 240 and figure 12.

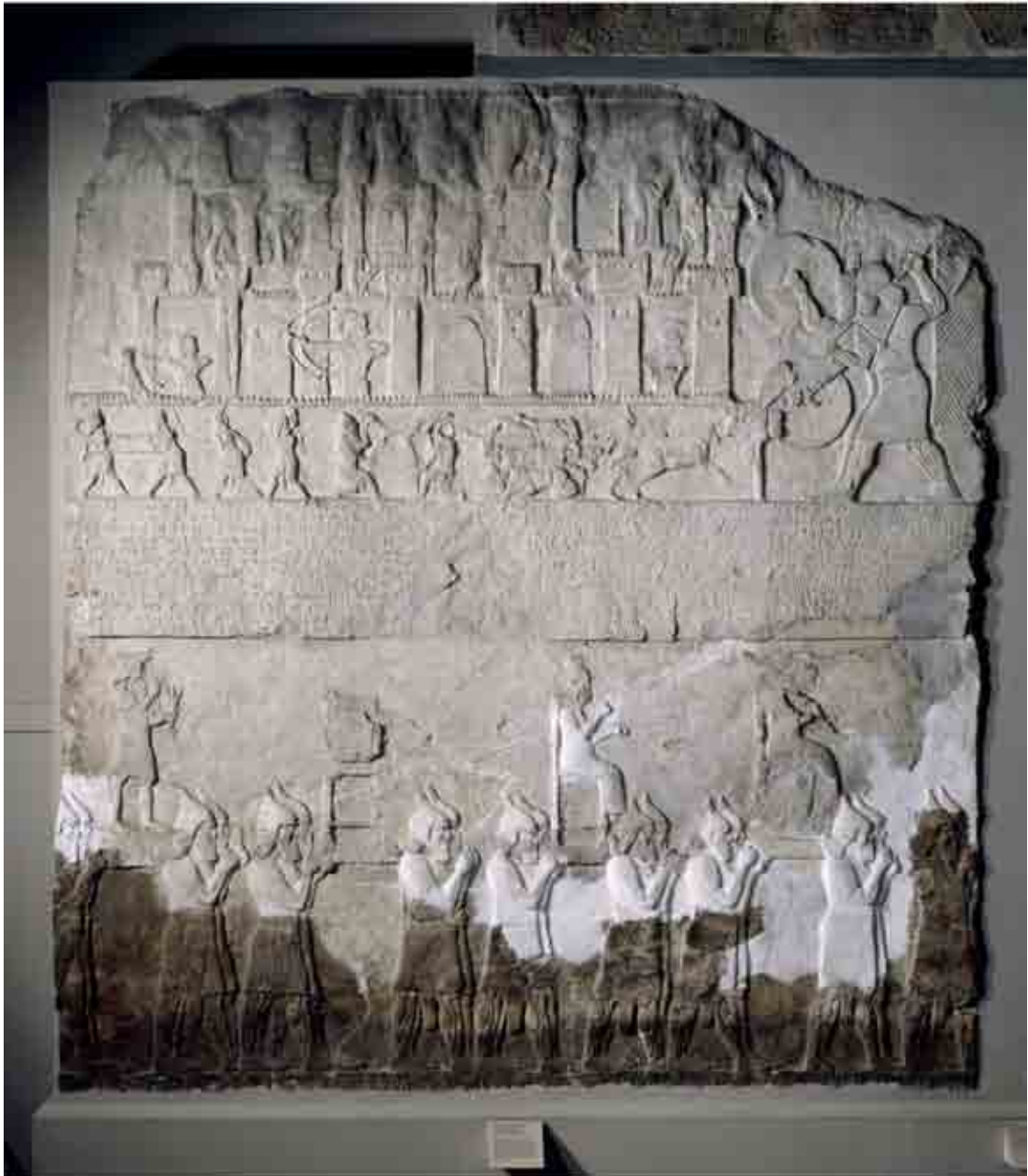


Figure 2. The theft of the gods of a town, possibly Unqi.

The gods are represented anthropomorphically and are being carried away by Assyrian soldiers. Three of the four depicted are seated on chairs, with the final god standing on a platform or dais. They all wear the horned crowns of divinity and are accompanied by symbols that can be used to identify them. The two on the right are representations of Ištar and the god on the far left is Adad or some incarnation of him; the remaining god

is not known as the slab is too broken for identification. This relief is the sole representation of the theft of the cult statues of the gods. Since the theft of these statues of the gods also represents the theft of the gods themselves, once again, it cannot be determined with certainty whether the gods depicted are the statues or the gods themselves.

Since the statue was equated with the god, it was important to keep the appearance of the statue consistent during its restoration or when a new statue needed to be made. In the time of Adad-apla-iddina (1068-1047<sup>29</sup>), the cult centres of Sippar were sacked by the Sutiens and the statue of Šamaš disappeared.<sup>30</sup> Later, the king Simbar-Šipak (1025-1008) searched for the statue, but could not find it so a sun disc was used as a placeholder for the presumably destroyed statue until a message from Šamaš dictating the appearance of the new statue was received. The temple was forced to wait until the reign of Nabû-alpa-iddina, two hundred years later, to gain this statue. During his reign, the king was approached by the head priest of Ebabbar (the temple of Šamaš in Sippar) who had conveniently ‘found’ a clay model of the new statue.<sup>31</sup> Since the statue was no longer in the temple, nor was Šamaš; the priests of the temple would have been superfluous, so it is posited that they took it upon themselves to remedy the situation.<sup>32</sup> Even though this restoration was orchestrated by the priest, it was still necessary to obtain the approval of the god (or invent the approval of the god) in order to make a new statue. So the god had final approval of the appearance of the statue, but also needed to initiate the production of a new one.

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<sup>29</sup> This and all subsequent dates are BC.

<sup>30</sup> Woods 2004: 41.

<sup>31</sup> Matsushima 1993: 212, following Lambert 1957-58: 398.

<sup>32</sup> Matsushima 1993: 212.

If a god was unhappy with the state of his statue he was able to leave it as nothing but the offerings and prayers of the devotees was keeping him there. Since the statue was the god, if it was deteriorating, so was he. This situation is depicted in a mythological composition known as the Erra Epic, when the trickster god Erra alerts Marduk to the state of disrepair of his statue.<sup>33</sup> Marduk is hesitant to leave his statue so repairs can be undertaken and describes to Erra the devastation that occurred when he last left his statue after he had become angry. Once Marduk abandoned his statue, great cosmic disorder occurred; the rules and regulations of the heavens disappeared, the stars and planets changed positions, catastrophes abounded on earth and all plant and animal fertility was nullified. Marduk asks Erra why this will not happen again if he decides to leave his statue and Erra offers his assistance in protecting the cosmic order whilst Marduk is gone. Marduk is convinced this will be fine and proceeds to leave his statue and to return once the proper repairs have been undertaken. This plays well into Erra's hand as his goal was to wreak havoc on the land. When Marduk leaves his statue this is exactly what happens. This epic illustrates clearly what the Mesopotamians believed would happen when the gods abandoned their statues.

Though the appearance of the statue needed the approval of the god, it was the king who financed the refurbishment and the monarch occasionally made his opinions known regarding the details of the refashioning. As part of their royal obligations, kings were involved in the restoration of statues along with the restoration of buildings and walls. In letters to the Assyrian king Esarhaddon (680-669), he is first told about the progress

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<sup>33</sup> Cagni 1977: 32, lines 127-28.

of the restoration of the accoutrement of the statues, and then asked for his opinion on the design of crowns and other jewels.<sup>34</sup> The situation was very different for the Babylonian kings. Nabonidus (555-539) had plans to re-imagine the crown of Šamaš in an extravagant and new way, but after asking the citizens of either Sippar or Borsippa<sup>35</sup> for their opinions, he was forced to keep the current design.<sup>36</sup> This reflects the importance of the role of priest played by the Assyrian king as opposed to the Babylonian king. One of the main roles of the Assyrian king was that of head priest of the cult of Aššur, though this may have only been an honorary term.<sup>37</sup> If the Assyrian king's duties did encompass those of the head priest, or *šangu*, he would have been literate. It has been shown that the Neo-Assyrian king Aššurbanipal was indeed literate; this may have been due to the fact that he was first trained as a priest.<sup>38</sup>

### ***Mīs Pī* and *Pīt Pī* Rituals**

Mesopotamian rituals consisted of a list of prescribed ritual actions that were to be accompanied by recitations of incantations in Sumerian and Akkadian; the incantations and the ritual actions were written on different tablets.<sup>39</sup> The *Mīs Pī* ritual, or 'washing of the mouth' ritual, was performed after a statue was made in order to purify it; the statue needed to be pure before the god could enter into it. The statue, and therefore the god in his earthly form, could not enter the temple until after the ritual had been performed. Two major sources for this ritual are extant, a tablet describing the ritual in Nineveh and one describing the ritual in Babylon, along with a few fragments from

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<sup>34</sup> Matsushima 1993: 214.

<sup>35</sup> The text is broken, but since it is the statue of Šamaš that is being restored Sippar is more likely.

<sup>36</sup> Matsushima 1993: 214.

<sup>37</sup> van Driel 1969: 174.

<sup>38</sup> see Livingstone 2007.

<sup>39</sup> Walker and Dick 2001: 29.

Assur, Sultantepe, Hama, Sippar, Nippur, Nimrud and Uruk, most of which are Neo-Assyrian or Neo-Babylonian.<sup>40</sup> Though these tablets were composed in later periods, we can see the ritual being used in the earlier texts of Gudea, ruler of Lagash, who reigned from 2141-2122. Gudea's statues were not cult images, but he had been deified on his death, so they represented him as a god. A description of a mouth-opening ceremony being performed on one of these statues is preserved, but its context has been destroyed, so it is not known whether the statue or some other object received the mouth-opening.<sup>41</sup> Nevertheless, the mention of the ritual proves it was in existence in the early periods.

Most extant copies of the ritual have come from the royal library of Aššurbanipal and date to his reign, 668-631. Unfortunately the colophons of these tablets do not quote their sources, but it is known that agents of the king went to Babylonia for the sole purpose of collecting certain texts. Letters from scribes in both Babylon and Borsippa sent to Aššurbanipal illustrate his desire for tablets containing many types of scribal lore. The scribes of Babylonia were eager to send him the documents he requested, with the scribes of Ezida, Nabû's temple in Borsippa, emphatically proclaiming that they would work tirelessly to finish copying all the documents he required.<sup>42</sup> In administrative tablets likewise found in Aššurbanipal's library at Nineveh, lists show a great number of tablets flooding into the library following the unsuccessful revolt of Aššurbanipal's brother Šamaš-šuma-ukin, king of Babylon, in 648.<sup>43</sup> This would explain the willingness of the scribes of Borsippa to please their new king by sending

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<sup>40</sup> Walker and Dick 2001: 27.

<sup>41</sup> Selz 1997: 177.

<sup>42</sup> Frame and George 2005: 268-9.

<sup>43</sup> Frame and George 2005: 277.

him the documents he had requested. Among these texts acquired by agents sent to Babylonia was a mouth-washing ritual.<sup>44</sup>

The *Mīs Pî* ritual was conducted over two days and the text is arranged with the incantations to be read first, followed by the ritual actions during which they were to be read.<sup>45</sup> The tablets have the following stages:

<b>Nineveh tablet stages</b>	<b>Babylon tablet stages</b>
A. preparations in city and countryside, purification of ritual tools	A. in the workshop
B. in the workshop	B. at the riverbank
C. at the riverbank	C. in the orchard/garden
D. in the orchard/garden	D. second day in the orchard
E. second day at reed huts in the orchard	E. at the temple gate
F. craftsmen renouncing their involvement	F. in the cella of the temple
	G. journey to the Kār-Apsî

Table 1. Stages of *Mīs Pî* Ritual

The first instance of mouth-washing in both rituals occurs in the workshop of the craftsmen who made the statue on the first day. The statue of the god is purified with a censer of juniper, and sometimes a torch, before the mouth-washing can begin. The hand of the god is then taken and he or she is led to the riverbank. The ritual is performed at the riverbank because it is the home of the god Ea, god of sweet waters, who in his incarnation as Nudimmud is a craftsman god. Whilst at the riverbank, a ram is sacrificed and the tools used to fashion the statue are placed in the animal's thigh, sewn up and the whole animal is thrown into the river. This is the first step in deleting the human role in the fashioning of the statue. In the Babylonian ritual text we are told mouth-washing occurs after this, but there is a break in the Nineveh version of the text,

<sup>44</sup> Walker and Dick 2001: 28 and footnote 98: 28.

<sup>45</sup> Walker and Dick 2001: 29.



so Berlejung has theorised mouth-washing would occur at this point in the tablet as well, in order to bring the number of mouth-washings to the same total in both tablets.<sup>46</sup> After incantations are said asking the other gods to count the new statue as one of their brothers, i.e. as the god, (in the Nineveh ritual only) the statue is taken to the orchard/garden near the river. The face of the statue is set toward sunrise, offerings are made to various gods and more mouth-washing takes place. The first day ends in the orchard after multiple mouth-washings.

On the second day sacrifices and purification rituals are performed before the mouth-washing can occur. The *mê* are transferred to the statue; it is at this point that the god enters the statue. The craftsmen who fashioned the statue are then brought together and renounce their involvement in the creation of the statue, saying it was the gods who made the statue, not them, thus officially conferring the production of the statue to the gods. In the Nineveh tablet the workmen only swear they did not make the statue, but in the Babylonian tablet their hands are bound with a scarf and cut off with a knife made of tamarisk wood. At this point the texts differ as the Nineveh tablet is broken. The Babylonian tablet continues the ritual by opening the eye of the god. This has the same effect as the opening of the mouth rituals performed in the Nineveh tablet. The god is then led into the temple, stopping to make an offering and recite an incantation at the temple gate. The god is then placed in the cella, offerings are set up for the other gods who have participated in the ritual and the god is purified with water from a trough made of tamarisk.

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<sup>46</sup> Walker and Dick 2001: 59 n. 79.

A part of the *Mīs Pī* ritual also involved opening of the mouth, or *Pīt Pī*. In the Nineveh tablet, the mouth-opening is performed after the first mouth-washing of the ritual, conducted in the house of the craftsmen.<sup>47</sup> The Babylonian tablet does not specify the opening of the mouth at this point; opening the mouth of the god is not mentioned in the ritual, but the statue's eyes are opened on the second day whilst the statue is still at the riverbank. This opening of the eye has the same effect as the opening of the mouth. The purpose of the *Pīt Pī* ritual is stated in one of the incantation tablets itself: 'this statue cannot smell incense without the "Opening of the Mouth" ceremony; it cannot eat food nor drink water'.<sup>48</sup>

The objectives of the *Mīs Pī* can now be deduced from the above actions. They are as follows: 1) to purify the statue so the god could enter it; 2) transfer the powers of divinity (*mē*) to the statue; 3) make the statue ready to receive offerings (opening the mouth in the Nineveh ritual and opening the eye in the Babylonian ritual); 4) transfer the production of the statue from human to divine hands; 5) lead the statue into his/her new temple. These can be garnered from the ritual tablets alone, but by reading the incantation tablets a more complete picture of why certain ritual acts were performed emerges. In the workshop where the craftsmen fashioned the statue, an incantation was read declaring that the god for whom the statue had been made was both born in heaven and on earth.<sup>49</sup> Further along in the ritual, the priest asks that the mouth of the god be washed so the statue and god might use his mouth to eat and his ears to hear;<sup>50</sup> receiving

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<sup>47</sup> Walker and Dick 2001: 57; Nineveh Ritual Tablet, obverse line 58.

<sup>48</sup> Walker and Dick 2001: 151; Incantation Tablet 3, Section B, lines 70ab-71ab.

<sup>49</sup> Walker and Dick 2001: 119; Incantation Tablet 1/2, lines 1-4.

<sup>50</sup> Walker and Dick 2001: 149; Incantation Tablet 3, Section A, lines 36-7.

food offerings and listening to the prayers of worshippers would be the god's main duties.

The mouth-washing appears to have been followed by the mouth-opening, but is not always explicitly stated; the likely order of the rituals had mouth-washing on the first day and mouth opening on the second day.<sup>51</sup> According to Berlejung, 'the "washing of the mouth" purified the cult image from any human contamination; the "opening of the mouth" positively enable[d] the statue to function as the deity'.<sup>52</sup> By the first millennium mouth-opening was subordinate to mouth-washing.<sup>53</sup> Since it was no longer explicitly mentioned, it can be assumed that it was either so intrinsically connected with mouth-washing that it did not necessitate inclusion, or it was no longer as important as mouth-washing. The *Mīs Pī* ritual was supremely important in that it asked the god to enter into his cult statue. Only by having the god enter the statue, and by entering show his approval, could the statue take its rightful place in the Holy of Holies and be used for its express purpose as a repository for the essence of the god whilst on earth.

Cult statues were not the only things ritually washed, the mouths of other statues and the mouths of priests were also washed, but in a separate ritual; a different verb meaning 'to bathe' (*ramāku*) was used for general mouth-washing as opposed to the use of *mesû*, 'to wash', when discussing the washing of the mouth of the statue of a god.<sup>54</sup> The verb *mesû* could also be used for describing general instances of washing. The mouths of other objects or animals were washed as well; sheep used for extispicy needed to have

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<sup>51</sup> Walker and Dick 2001: 14.

<sup>52</sup> Walker and Dick 2001: 14, ref Berlejung 1998: 190.

<sup>53</sup> Walker and Dick 2001: 19.

<sup>54</sup> Walker and Dick 2001: 10.

their mouths washed before they could be killed.<sup>55</sup> The act of washing the mouth was done for purification, no matter what verb was used to describe it. In one text, the mouth of a god is washed so that he may speak more clearly to the priest, but no mention of a statue is made.<sup>56</sup> One would assume a statue to be present, as the statue would be the god's presence on earth and a priest would not likely wish to presume where the incorporeal god might be and be forced to splash water in many places. The washing of the mouth was a rite of purification and was performed so that people would be pure enough to speak to the gods.

As with mouth-washing, other objects could have their mouths opened. In rituals to transfer illness or evil to an apotropaic figure, the figure was required to be enlivened so it could function as the sick person or enemy.<sup>57</sup> What happened to the image then happened to the person it represented. Other objects that were not anthropomorphic could have their mouths opened as well; a leather bag had its mouth opened so it could function as a divinatory medium, cult symbols could have their mouths opened as well as the jewels that protected the king's chariot and in an interesting case, a river had its mouth opened 'to restore order to its waters'.<sup>58</sup>

### **The *Akītu* Festival**

Statues sometimes left their designated homes during certain festivals; they went on a grand procession during the *akītu* festival in the month of Nisan (roughly mid-March to mid-April). This festival marked the beginning of each new year and lasted eleven or

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<sup>55</sup> Walker and Dick 2001: 11.

<sup>56</sup> Walker and Dick 2001: 11.

<sup>57</sup> Walker and Dick 2001: 13.

<sup>58</sup> Walker and Dick 2001: 13.

twelve days. The *akītu* festival was originally celebrated twice a year, once in Nisan to celebrate the grain harvest and once in Tašrītu to celebrate the wheat harvest; it later became only associated with the spring and became the New Year's Festival.<sup>59</sup> The main purpose of the festival was to reaffirm the king's ability to rule. Arguably the most important part of the festival was the act of the king taking Marduk's hand to lead him out of the temple, to the procession to the *akītu* house. Both parties needed to be in Babylon for this to happen.<sup>60</sup> A Babylonian chronicle known as the *Akītu Chronicle* is concerned with the suspension of the festival. It begins by relating the number of years the statue of Marduk was exiled in Assyria after Sennacherib destroyed the city in 689 and ends during the reign of Kandalanu, the successor to Aššurbanipal.<sup>61</sup> Since Marduk was in Assyria, the *akītu* did not take place (text ŠŠU 8a). The festival also did not take place when the king was away as is seen during the Babylonian king Nabonidus's ten-year stay in Teima.<sup>62</sup> The details of the festival varied from city to city and over time. We have two main texts describing part of an *akītu* festival: one from Babylon and one from Uruk. They will now be discussed in turn, by day.<sup>63</sup>

For the ritual in Babylon in Nisan, we have texts relating the events of days two to five though the ritual itself lasted eleven or twelve days. The events of day one are largely unknown, but a fragment exists, published by Çağırğan in his PhD thesis, giving us some idea of the day's events. A *mubannu* priest, a temple cook, performs the day's duties, whereas a *šešgallu* priest, presumably an elder priest as the name literally means

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<sup>59</sup> Bidmead 2002: 1.

<sup>60</sup> Bidmead 2002: 2.

<sup>61</sup> See ABC no 16 for more about his chronicle.

<sup>62</sup> Nabonidus Chronicle, ABC no 7: 107.

<sup>63</sup> The following excursus owes largely to the work of Çağırğan's 1976 PhD thesis, pages 205-233. References will be from his text unless noted otherwise.

‘elder brother’, performs the rituals during the remainder of the festival. This *mubannu* priest rises at dawn, goes to the Exalted Gate, the largest and main gate into the sanctuary of Esagila,<sup>64</sup> with a wooden key, and performs a rite concerning water, possibly throwing something into a cistern.<sup>65</sup> On day two, the *šešgallu* priest rises and washes in the river to purify himself so he can go before the god. He then recites a Sumero-Akkadian bilingual hymn in the presence of Marduk. Other priests are let into the temple complex and they perform their rites in front of Marduk. At this point, the text is broken, but reference is made to the tiara of Anu and a *namburbi*, an apotropaic ritual for warding off a portended evil.<sup>66</sup> This may be a reference to the historical destruction of the cities Uruk and Nippur, the patron cities of Anu and Enlil, respectively, as these gods were Marduk’s main rivals in the *Enūma eliš*, the Babylonian creation myth.

The third day begins in the same manner as the second, with the priest once again rising, washing and opening the gates. After all the rituals have been performed he summons a metalworker, a woodworker and a goldsmith. The metal worker is given gold and precious stones from the treasury of Marduk; the woodworker is given tamarisk and cedar and the goldsmith is given gold. They are given instructions to make two statues which will be used on the sixth day of the festival. One statue will be made of cedar and one of tamarisk; one will hold a cedar serpent in his left hand and raise his right hand to Nabû and the other will hold a scorpion in his left hand and raise his right hand to Nabû. These statues are left in the temple of Madanu until the sixth day and are given offerings from those given to Madanu.

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<sup>64</sup> George 1992: 87.

<sup>65</sup> Bidmead 2002: 46-7.

<sup>66</sup> CAD N/1: 224.

Day four begins with the *šešgallu* priest rising and bathing, but before he opens the gates he recites a prayer to Bel and Beltia in turn, then blesses Esagila from the Exalted Courtyard, connecting it with the *Iku*-star. The Exalted Courtyard was connected to the *Iku*-star because the plan of Esagila was thought to also correspond with stars in the heavens.<sup>67</sup> Once the gates have been opened, the lamentation priests and singers are left to perform their rites. After the second meal of the late afternoon *Enūma eliš* is read aloud from beginning to end.<sup>68</sup> During the recitation Anu's tiara and Enlil's seat remain covered, alluding to the animosity between these deities and Marduk.

Day five seems to be the busiest of the days we have descriptions of. The *šešgallu*'s duties are similar to those he performed on day four and after he recites prayers to Bel and Beltia in turn he opens the gates for the other priests. They perform their rites and then, after the deities have finished their morning meal, the *šešgallu* priest calls for a *mašmaššu* priest to purify the temple by sprinkling it with water. The *mašmaššu* priest then goes to the Ezida, a sanctuary of Nabû in Esagila, purifies it, then summons a slaughterer to cut off the head of a sheep. The priest moves the body of the sheep around the temple, attracting evil spirits to it so they might be caught inside the sheep, unable to escape back into the temple. The head and body of the sheep are then thrown into the river, which takes the evil away, to the west. The *mašmaššu* priest and the slaughterer must then vacate the city as they have been present during the purification and may be unclean. The *šešgallu* priest then calls for craftsmen to adorn the Ezida with

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<sup>67</sup> Black 1981: 42-3.

<sup>68</sup> This is not the only recitation of *Enūma eliš* in monthly rituals; since it was recited during the Kislimu ritual as well, its importance in the Nisan ritual has been questioned. (Çağirgan and Lambert 1991-93).

blue material embossed with gold in anticipation for Nabû's arrival. A tray of the best food and drink is taken to Marduk and then to Nabû.

The next part of the rituals of day five concerns the king. The king arrives at the temple and has his hands ceremonially washed. He is then taken into the temple, but not allowed into the cella of Marduk. The *šešgallu* priest strikes the king's cheek, signifying he is no longer the king, but an ordinary man; his regalia are also taken away as they signify kingship and are given by the gods, as is kingship. The king is then allowed to enter into Marduk's presence. He kneels before the god and recites a prayer that resembles a confession saying that 'his deeds have been right and he did not neglect either Babylon or his subjects during the entire year'.<sup>69</sup> The king is then required to perform rites according to the instruction of the priest. If he does this correctly Marduk will favour him, but if done incorrectly Marduk will favour his enemies. He is then given back his regalia and struck on the cheek again. If he cries, Marduk is happy, but if he does not, his rule will be doomed. At sunset the *šešgallu* priest ties forty reeds together and places them in a pre-dug hole in the Exalted Courtyard. A white bull is brought before the reeds and they are set on fire. The king and the priest then sing a hymn to the bull as a divine being. And here the text is broken, so the remaining events of day five, if there were any, are lost.

On day six the statues of the other gods are brought to Babylon by boat. The statues commissioned on day three are to be utilised on this day. When Nabû reaches the Ehursagtila, a slaughterer cuts off the heads of the statues and they are thrown into a

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<sup>69</sup> Çağırğan 1976: 213.



fire. This idea of the beheading of the statues has been widely accepted, but is not necessarily the intended meaning from the text. As Bidmead points out, the verb used, *maḥāṣu*, is normally used to describe striking something, and is indeed used when discussing the striking of the king's cheek on the fifth day of the festival.<sup>70</sup> The programme for day seven is unknown; some scholars use the *Marduk Ordeal* text to reconstruct the events of this day, but while the *Marduk Ordeal* describes events similar to those in the *akītu* festival it should not be used to reconstruct the events of the festival as it is not certain that the *Marduk Ordeal* does indeed discuss this particular festival.<sup>71</sup> Van der Toorn suggests that the statues were bathed and dressed in new garments on this day based on the texts from a festival held in Tašrītu, and this seems a plausible suggestion.<sup>72</sup>

The final two events of the festival of which we have at least some idea are the decreeing of destinies and the procession to the *akītu* house, which was located outside of the walls of Babylon. Different texts record the decreeing of destinies as happening on different days; this is to be expected as the *akītu* was celebrated differently over time and geographically. The reconstruction of day eight is owed largely to the *akītu* texts from Uruk, detailing the festival's occurrence in Tašrītu instead of Nisan, described below.<sup>73</sup> Destinies were decreed twice, once before the procession of the gods to the *akītu* house and once after. Assemblies of the gods gathered together for the purpose of decreeing the destinies of all the lands. This was part of the duties of the gods and Marduk bestowed this task upon himself in the *Enūma eliš* after his destruction of

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<sup>70</sup> Bidmead 2002: 86.

<sup>71</sup> Bidmead 2002: 87-88.

<sup>72</sup> Van der Toorn 1990: 13 and n 26.

<sup>73</sup> Bidmead 2002: 88.

Tiamat. The procession of the gods followed the dissolution of the first assembly of the gods, after the fates had been declared. The king led the procession, with Marduk directly behind him, and Ištar of Babylon following Marduk flanked by Zarpanitu and Tašmetu, Marduk's consort and his son Nabû's consort respectively. The other gods follow; when they reach a bend in the river, they embark onto their processional boats and are taken to the *akītu* house. It is not known precisely what happens inside.

The Uruk version of the festival begins with the gods assembled in the courtyard of a temple, presumably that of Anu as his patron city was Uruk. His temple in Uruk would be the equivalent of Esagil in Babylon. A rite is performed with a golden censer for all the gods in the assembly. They then all move into the Main Courtyard, with Enlil and Ea being given positions of superiority to the right and left of Anu, respectively. The king then goes to the cella of Antu, Anu's consort, and the other goddesses assemble around her. The king offers a libation and holds the hands of Antu. Antu and the rest of the goddesses then move to the Main Courtyard for the assembly. The fates are then determined. Though this text is more fragmentary than the text from Babylon, it gives insight into the ritual. The festival seems to have been celebrated in generally the same way throughout Babylonia.

The statues of the gods played a central role in this festival. The procession of the gods to the *akītu* house allowed the general public to see them, something they would not normally have been privy to as they would not be allowed to enter the cellas in the temple. The ritual is also important for the king. Were he not able to appeal to Marduk to grant him kingship for another year, the state would turn into chaos. When the statues

were not resident in their cities, they were not available to travel to Babylon to serve in the assembly to determine the fates. This inability caused great distress to the citizens of their respective cities as they depended upon the gods to perform this act for them. Were the statues, and by proxy the gods, not available to perform their duties the state would be thrown into utter chaos.

### **Other Festivals**

Another festival, celebrated in the month of Tašrītu, includes a procession to the *akītu* house and its use during the festival.<sup>74</sup> This procession takes place on the seventh day of the festival, considered one of the holy days of the month. Since this festival was celebrated in Uruk, the rites are centred around Anu, and it is his *akītu* house to which the procession is led. Similarly to the *akītu* festival of Nisan, the gods gather themselves in a courtyard; the king and the people are then sprinkled with water and offerings of meat and meal are given to Anu first and then the remainder of the gods present.

Another ritual held in the month of Kislimu, mirrors parts of the *akītu* festival held in Nisan. After vats of beer have been placed in front of Bel, the priest recites *Enūma eliš* in front of him.<sup>75</sup> The recitation seems to be for the benefit of Usmu, the messenger god in the service of Ea. Usmu is then led out of the temple to the *akītu* house. He and his entourage also travel in boats to the temple. Though much is made of Usmu's importance the ritual is one for Bel, and offerings are brought to him in the *akītu* house. Since this ritual involves the movement of the statues in a procession, it could not have been undertaken if the statues of the gods were not present.

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<sup>74</sup> Çağırğan 1976: 271. The rest of this paragraph is based on Çağırğan's translation of this text.

<sup>75</sup> Çağırğan and Lambert 1991-1993: 96.

As can be seen from the descriptions of these festivals, the statues of the gods were a necessity for the rites contained therein. If no statues existed then the gods would not be able to participate in the rituals, rendering the rituals useless. Since the gods had entered into the statues they were able to have some earthly participation rather than merely watching from above. Participation in festivals was the main function of the statue, after being the recipient of worship. During the processions, the gods were able to see and be seen by the general public, reaffirming their divinity and showing the people that they cared for them.

### **Conclusion**

The cult statue was not merely an anthropomorphic representation of a god, but was imbued with the spirit of the god himself. This allowed the gods to have a physical presence on earth. They could then receive offerings in the form of food and incense, while providing a physical form to which their worshippers could pray. The construction of a statue was a complex affair in that the approval of the god was needed before the statue could be created. As seen in the *Mīs Pī* ritual, those fashioning the statues did not take responsibility for their work, they were merely vessels for the gods to work through. If a god was dissatisfied with the condition of his statue he might abandon it. This caused great cosmic chaos as well as disheartening and disappointing the citizens of his city. Without the god's protection the inhabitants of his patron city could be invaded and their crops and livestock would lose all fecundity. The statues were also needed for certain festivals, in which they were processed to a special building, the *bīt akīti*, at which the destinies of all mankind were determined. These cult

statues had many duties in their patron cities and for the world order to be in harmony they needed to reside in their temples.

## CHAPTER TWO: EARLY ATTESTATIONS OF GODNAP

This chapter explores the earliest attestations of godnap, beginning in the Isin-Larsa Period at end of the third millennium and ending around the time of the Elamite destruction of Babylon and the end of the Kassite Period in the twelfth century. The first attestation of godnap dates to the reign of Šū-ilīšu, a king of Isin in the late twenty-first century. It is interesting that this inscription relates the return of a statue and that the first reference to the act of godnap is not a direct report of a statue being stolen. To return a statue that had been godnapped was a highly sought honour, taken to its height in the many returns of the statue of Marduk to Babylon. An excerpt from a text of Agum-kakrime, a Kassite king, describes the return of the statue of Marduk after it had been taken to Ḫatti by the Hittites in their 1595<sup>76</sup> sack of Babylon. The final two inscriptions of Tukulti-Ninurta I, though not royal inscriptions of that king, describe his theft of the statue of Marduk from Babylon as well as its eventual return. From these inscriptions, the focus of the earliest instances of godnap is on the return of the stolen statues rather than their theft.

### Šū-ilīšu

The first chronological mention of godnap occurs in an inscription of Šū-ilīšu (Š-IŠ 1), who is thought to have reigned for ten years from 2040 in Isin.<sup>77</sup> He was the son and successor of Išbi-Erra and continued his father's restoration work in Ur. The text relating to godnap was carved on pivot stones used for the door of the shrine Dublamaḫ; as such the emphasis in the inscription is on the doors of this shrine. The text does not

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<sup>76</sup> This and all following years are BC.

<sup>77</sup> RIME 4: 15 and xxxi.

mention the case of godnap itself, but rather with the return of the statue of the moon god Nanna from Anšan (Persia/Iran). Šū-ilīšu brings the statue of Nanna back from Anšan and builds a temple for him. So, at some earlier point, the statue of Nanna had been taken from his temple in Ur to Anšan, presumably by the king of Anšan in his capacity as conqueror. Even though this text commemorates the return of the statue, its original theft would be on the mind of the king returning it. He would know what a great achievement he had made and, rightly, would want to commemorate this occasion. The return of the statue, then, was a time of great celebration and a way for a king to make his deeds known and celebrated both on heaven and earth.

### **Agum-kakrime II and Marduk**

The Kassite king Agum-kakrime II, in his sole extant inscription (A-K 1), claims to have returned the statue of Marduk to Babylon after it was taken by the Hittites during their sack of Babylon in 1595. The text begins with Agum-kakrime listing his genealogy and establishing his right to be king. He then says that the great gods had decided Marduk should return from his exile. We are not told exactly how Agum-kakrime gains possession of the statue, but he says he planned the retrieval in addition to asking Šamaš what he should do by means of extispicy. He then sends soldiers to Ḫani to obtain the statue. This seems odd at first, as surely the Hittites would have taken the statue back to Ḫattusa with them, but Ḫani was on the route to and from Babylon, so it is possible the Hittites left the statue there.<sup>78</sup> Agum-kakrime then confirms he returned both Marduk and his consort Šarpanitum to Babylon as Šamaš had told him he would when he performed the divination rite. The next part of the text lists the new garments

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<sup>78</sup> Goetze 1957: 65.

and precious metals and stones the king gives to Marduk, Šarpanitum and their sanctuary. The remainder of the text discusses the refurbishment of their statues as well as their sanctuaries in Esagila.

The authenticity of this text has been called into question. One copy of the inscription is dated, by its colophon, to the Neo-Assyrian period as it comes from the library of Aššurbanipal.<sup>79</sup> The other fragments show Neo-Assyrian orthography in their signs and use Neo-Assyrian grammatical forms.<sup>80</sup> The question then arises whether or not this inscription was written in the Kassite period and the copies are just that, copies, or whether it is an ancient forgery. Jensen suggests the text was copied from a statue, and this makes sense given the short length of the lines.<sup>81</sup> The argument that if it is a copy the scribes would have used more archaic sign forms and grammar leads one to believe it might be an ancient forgery. This belief brings many more questions to the matter and allows for much speculation. As there are no other known inscriptions of this king, and none contemporary, the text is either an ancient forgery or by some twist of fate we are left with only this inscription. It would seem easier to examine the inscription as if it were an actual historical inscription for the time being.<sup>82</sup>

The purpose of this inscription is to show Agum-kakrime's devotion to Marduk; as the king of Kassite Babylonia he would want to integrate his rule with traditional Babylonian values, the most important of which were religious ones. His return of the

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<sup>79</sup> Longman 1991: 83.

<sup>80</sup> Longman 1991: 84.

<sup>81</sup> Jensen 1892: 134.

<sup>82</sup> The authenticity of the inscription is the subject of Dr Takayoshi Oshima's 1997 MA thesis from the Hebrew University entitled *Royal Inscription of Agum-Kakrime and Relating Issues*, though was unavailable to the present author.



statues of Marduk and Šarpanitum would show the people of Babylon that he too revered their patron god. It is interesting that no mention of the previous theft of the statues is made; only their return is important.

### **Tukulti-Ninurta I and Marduk**

In a Babylonian chronicle known as Chronicle P, Tukulti-Ninurta I's attack on Babylon in 1225 is described (T-NI 1a). This chronicle narrates the events of the Kassite Period and is inscribed on a large tablet consisting of two columns. The author of this chronicle was a Babylonian, and seems to be without bias as he mentions the killing of Kassite rulers as well as the sack of Babylon by Tukulti-Ninurta, which we are concerned with here.<sup>83</sup> Since there is little surviving evidence to corroborate the events in the chronicle, its historicity can be called into question. An Assyrian composition, the *Tukulti-Ninurta Epic*, relates some of the events given in Chronicle P so provides another source for the events in the chronicle; at the crucial point where in the text where the theft of the statue of Marduk should be, the tablet of the *Tukulti-Ninurta Epic* is broken. Just before the text T-NI 1a, in Chronicle P, Tukulti-Ninurta comes to Babylon, breaks down the wall and plunders Esagila and the city. He then proceeds to take the statue of Marduk, and thus Marduk himself, with him back to Assyria. He may have used this removal of the statue as a tool to show the people of Babylon that he was in complete control over their god. This would unnerve them and make them hate, but also respect, him. This theft of Marduk, the chief god of Babylon, would deeply frighten and upset the citizens.

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<sup>83</sup> ABC: 56-7.

In another part of the same chronicle (text T-NI 1b), the return of the statue of Marduk is related. Marduk (Bēl) stayed in Assyria (likely in Assur as that is where Tukulti-Ninurta I would have taken him) for seventy-six years and in the reign of Tukulti-Aššur he went back to Babylon. A king called Tukulti-Aššur is not known, but Glassner infers this to be Ninurta-tukulti-Aššur, an Assyrian king who had a short reign (under a year) in either 1133 or 1132.<sup>84</sup> The association of this king with the king in Chronicle P poses some historical problems. Babylon was sacked by the Elamites in 1155, and after some smaller skirmishes, was destroyed, and the statue of Marduk was taken to Elam. Nebuchadnezzar I (1125-1104) later goes to Elam and retrieves Marduk, at the god's behest. So, the original statue of Marduk was not returned from Assyria until after the Elamite invasion. Why then, was Nebuchadnezzar so keen to bring the one in Elam back? As there were seven statues of Marduk, four of which resided in Esagila, why was it so important to retrieve this specific one from Elam?<sup>85</sup> Using the argument that the older statue was more ancient and therefore more important, why would the Babylonian king credited with raising Marduk to his position as head of the pantheon want to retrieve a statue that was maybe less important?<sup>86</sup>

There is another issue with the inscription, though, which may shed light on the confusion. The part of the chronicle which lists the amount of time Marduk resided in Assyria is partially broken, leaving only the number six showing. Educated guesses as to what the number might be have been put forward, with Tadmor theorising a restoration of eighty, ninety, or one hundred, though none of these time spans seem to

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<sup>84</sup> MC: 281.

<sup>85</sup> Dalley 1997: 163.

<sup>86</sup> A similar issue occurs with the statue of Nannaya, returned from Elam by Aššurbanipal. The statue of Nannaya had been moved and replaced prior to her sojourn to Elam and there was confusion as to which statue was the original one. See Scurlock 2006.

fit properly with the rest of the history.<sup>87</sup> Glassner assumes the number to be seventy, as this would fit perfectly with the reign of Ninurta-tukulti-Aššur, but this does not account for the statue's sojourn to Elam in 1155.<sup>88</sup> Two solutions can be proposed: 1) the broken number is indeed seventy and Tukulti-Aššur is Ninurta-tukulti-Aššur, meaning the statue taken to Assyria was not the same one taken to Elam; 2) the Babylonian scribe who has written Chronicle P had lost or did not know the details of the event, but knew the statue was returned by an Assyrian king, so fabricated what he thought was a proper Assyrian name. Ninurta-tukulti-Aššur had been exiled from Assyria, likely for taking a pro-Babylonian approach to his rule.<sup>89</sup> The simplest explanation would seem to be the correct one, that Ninurta-tukulti-Aššur returned the statue from Assyria after the Elamites had taken another one during their sack, but it does not make sense when put with Nebuchadnezzar's incredible desire to retrieve Marduk from Elam. 'Tukultu' simply means 'trust', and trusting in Aššur was a very Assyrian thing to do, so the idea that a scribe could insert this name in for an either unnamed or lost Assyrian king is plausible. So, it follows that the statue retrieved by Nebuchadnezzar I from Elam, whose return coincided with the composition of the Babylonian creation epic *Enūma eliš*, would have to be the most ancient and most revered one.

Earlier in the chronicle, we learned that Marduk was taken to Assyria by Tukulti-Ninurta I after his sack of Babylon, but the circumstances of his return to Babylon are unknown. He simply goes to Babylon; the benefactor who returned him to his home is not mentioned. This seems odd. Just before this section in the chronicle, we are told that Tukulti-Ninurta I was put to death. No other statements regarding the interceding rulers

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<sup>87</sup> Tadmor 1958b: 140-1.

<sup>88</sup> MC: 280-1.

<sup>89</sup> Brinkman 1968: 102, n 557.

are made, just that Tukulti-Ninurta I was deposed and locked in a room to die. Since it was a prestigious act to return the statue it is interesting to note that the person to return Marduk to his home is not mentioned; it is only said that he returned during the reign of Tukulti-Aššur. As this chronicle is a Babylonian account of this period of history, it would be important to name the Babylonian king who returned the statue, but as the only king mentioned is named 'trusted one of Aššur' it is safe to assume an Assyrian returned the statue. Why then, would they choose to do this? Did they want to make amends with the god whom they had displaced? This seems unlikely as the worship of Marduk in Assyria was not very popular at this time. In other inscriptions recounting the return of a statue, as seen above with Agum-kakrime, the king takes the utmost pride in his role of reinstating the stolen statue. If the actions of theft and return of the statue of Marduk were used as political propaganda then the Babylonians might not want to paint the Assyrians in a good light, as ones who would return their god, even though they were the ones who stole him in the first place.

### **The Character of Godnap in Early Periods**

The earliest attestations of godnap exemplify two paradigms of the phenomenon: the return of the gods and the theft of the gods. Out of the four instances given here, three involve the return of the gods. This would lead one to think that this was the predominant theme of this period of time. It is difficult to say this definitively as there is a lack of evidence for most of the Kassite period, in the form of royal inscriptions. The return of Nanna by Šū-ilīšu is the first text to mention the phenomenon of godnap in its incarnation as the return of a god. Since the Elamites had taken Nanna from Isin, can godnap be considered an eastern concept, foreign to the Mesopotamians? From the

inscriptional evidence this seems to be the case, but if this is so, how did the Assyrians then learn of the practice and then make it their own? Tukulti-Ninurta I, in his theft of Marduk, sets a precedent for Assyrian rulers in the future and his act begins the phenomenon of godnap in the context of Mesopotamian civilisations. The return of Marduk to Babylon, whether by a function of the event being related in a Babylonian Chronicle or the scribe writing the chronicle not being familiar with the events of the day, shows an unusual lack of attribution of the act. The seems to undermine the importance of the return of the statue of Marduk, but in fact, does not as the event itself is thought worthy of mention by the Babylonian scribes.

### CHAPTER 3 - THE RISE OF MARDUK OF BABYLON

The gods whose statues were taken were not often named. The major exception to this is the god Marduk, head of the pantheon of Babylon. In order to ascertain his importance not only to his patron city and people, but to those who would wish to steal him, an exploration of his rise to the head of the Babylonian pantheon is necessary. In the ancient Mesopotamian pantheon upward mobility was difficult; the hierarchy was not easily changed. How, then, did an obscure god of the third millennium rise to the top of the pantheon? Despite the absence of any form of continuous record, evidence is collected here which, it will be argued, demonstrates his slow but steady rise. He became such an important god that the theogony of an entire civilisation was mutated to agree with his newly attained status. How did such an important god come to be so?

#### **Glimpses of Marduk and Babylon in the Third Millennium**

Although the material from the second millennium is reasonably well known, sources from the third millennium are fewer in number and present greater philological difficulty. The third millennium sources to be discussed here have been put together and their subsequent meaning deduced for the first time. Two tablets from the Early Dynastic Period (2900-2384) may mention Marduk. These comprise the earliest evidence for his cult. The first is a small fragment found at Tell Abū Ṣalābīkh, about twelve miles northwest of the ancient city of Nippur, in buildings that were 'probably the residential or administrative dependencies of a temple which is yet to be found'.<sup>90</sup> This particular text is part of a god list. There was a tradition in ancient Sumer to compile a variety of lists; this compulsion to make lists was then adopted by the

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<sup>90</sup> Biggs 1974: 18.

civilisations after the Sumerians. According to Taylor, the ‘Sumerians felt a uniquely strong need to order the world in which they lived’.<sup>91</sup> This argument, first brought forward by von Soden tries to explain the existence of these list texts.<sup>92</sup> While one item is related to another in the texts, no connection to abstract ideas is made. So, in a god list, you might find the Sumerian name of a certain god in one column and the Akkadian name of the same god in the next column, but no explanation as to the jurisdiction of the god. Since the Sumerians collected and ordered everything they saw, additions and changes were inevitable. This explains the proliferation of texts in general and variants in later texts. Lexical, votive, and god lists are the most prolific in the extant remains.

The earliest lexical lists were monolingual Sumerian, presumably driven by the Sumerians’ desire to categorise their world. In due course, lexical lists consisted of two columns with a Sumerian word on the left and its Akkadian equivalent on the right, thus explaining the Sumerian in Akkadian terms. These lists cover many topics such as professions, flora and fauna. The list entitled ‘ur<sub>5</sub>-ra = *hubullu*’ had a third column added to it in the Middle Babylonian Period which gave explanations for the Old Babylonian terms that had become obscure by this time. Later on, lexical lists evolved to include other dialects as well as other languages; lists exist that have Old Babylonian as the base language (mirroring Sumerian in older lists) and contain columns in Neo-Assyrian or Hittite. Votive lists are descriptions of offerings made to certain gods or duties that one will perform in recompense for something from the god. God lists generally share the one or two-column format of the original lexical lists, with an

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<sup>91</sup> Taylor 2001: 472.

<sup>92</sup> See von Soden 1936.

addition of a third explanatory column or in a few cases up to five columns.<sup>93</sup> They can be arranged in two ways: theological, with the most important gods and goddesses at the beginning moving down through the lesser deities; or lexical, where connections are drawn between names. The study of god lists is still in its infant stages and these lists, while supplying valuable information, cannot be taken full advantage of until their structures are fully explained.

The first piece of evidence discussed here is a fragment of an Early Dynastic god list which quite clearly has the entry ‘<sup>d</sup>UD.AMAR’.<sup>94</sup> The context of this inscription is unclear, but leads to the assumption that there was a god, UD.AMAR, worshipped here at Abū Ṣalābīkh and probably throughout Sumer. This line is interesting in that there is no known god with this name; add to it that the normal reading of the name Marduk in later periods is <sup>d</sup>AMAR.UD and a picture starts to emerge. Given the current information the possibility should be taken into account that <sup>d</sup>UD.AMAR was later written <sup>d</sup>AMAR.UD. This sign order resembles other Early Dynastic inscriptions in which the expected and logical order of the signs of certain words is not followed, but the signs are arranged haphazardly for unknown reasons or in an order that seemed geometrically appealing to ancient scribes. Sometimes this reordering was perpetuated in the scribal tradition, as in the name of the god Sīn written <sup>d</sup>EN.ZU, but read <sup>d</sup>ZU.EN. The writing style of the period could easily explain this non-conventional (with regards to the way Marduk’s name is written in later periods) writing of the name Marduk. The AMAR sign is broken, but only near the end so can most clearly be read as AMAR. If this is not Marduk, which god might it be? Could it be some other obscure third

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<sup>93</sup> Lambert 1957-71: 473-4.

<sup>94</sup> Biggs 1974: plate 48, no. 89.



millennium god who utilises the same signs for his name as Marduk? It is very improbable that a god whose name comprises the same signs as Marduk's would be around at the same time or even at all. The use of the same specific signs for two different gods is not attested and considering the only difference would be the order of the signs, and knowing that this order was flexible, it is hard to believe the same signs would be used to represent two different gods.

The second piece of evidence is a votive inscription that mentions Marduk, as well as a place that could be Babylon. So it would seem this tablet represents the earliest evidence of the cult of Marduk being established in Babylon. The text is fragmentary, but a transliteration can be identified:<sup>95</sup>

[P]A.[T]E?.[SI] (ensi)	
BAR.KI.BAR	
DUMU <i>A-hu-i-lum</i>	
LÚ <i>Ì-lum-be-/l[i] !</i>	
LÚ UR.KÙ.N[E]	5
DÍM É	
<sup>d</sup> AMAR.DU <sub>10</sub>	
MU.DU.AN	
[ḪÚ]B.[S]A[G].[D]U	

This text follows the type of votive inscription that describes a dedication made, in this case, the whole temple. The first two lines refer to a governor (ensi) of a place, Barbar. This place can be equated with another place, 'Babar' as it is probable that in Sumerian the second consonant of the first element in the name would be elided to provide for ease in pronunciation. This place name can then be altered to 'Babal' since 'r' and 'l' are closely related and sometimes interchangeable phonemes. This 'Babal' closely approximates the very well known and most common later name of Babylon in

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<sup>95</sup> Stephens 1937: no. 2; transliteration of Sommerfeld 1982: 20.

Babylonian, *bab-ilim*. *Bab-ilim*, with its obvious meaning, 'gate of god' could be a false etymologising for this toponym of unknown meaning, 'Babar/l'. As the Babylonian language was a mixture of Akkadian, Amorite, and other languages present in the area at the time, the early inhabitants of the area of Babylon could easily have taken the name already given to the place and grafted it on to their language. This may be an early reference to the city that would become Babylon.

In Mesopotamia there was a long-standing tradition for kings to found their cities on virgin soil. The first king of the First Dynasty of Babylon was Sumu-abum and since the city of Babylon was not called 'Fort Sumu-abum' it can be assumed the city existed before the First Dynasty of Babylon. If a city called Babal was near the site of Babylon then it could have easily taken over this name. Line 3 refers to this governor of 'bar.bar' as the son of Aĥu-ilum, a name meaning 'the brother is a god', insinuating that his brother has entered the world of the divine: he has died. Line 6 says that this governor of Barbar has fashioned a temple for the god mentioned in line 7. And line 8 refers again to the building of such a place and affirms that the governor has built this temple for the god.

There is no known Sumerian god by the name AMAR.DU<sub>10</sub> as mentioned in line 7, but this could be an early form of Marduk that becomes standard later or evolved from this early form. This early form would coincide with the syllabic version of the name Marduk. AMAR.DU only needs the 'k' of the genitive and an apocopation of the initial

‘a’ to transform into the name Marduk. It is interesting to note that Marduk is already associated with Babylon as early as the third millennium.<sup>96</sup>

In order to elucidate the miniscule amount of direct evidence for the cult of Marduk in the third millennium, evidence from the Old Babylonian Period must be taken into account. The lexical series ‘DIRI = (w)atru’ contains a grouping of tablets from Nippur which mention Marduk. These tablets are of the two-column variety discussed previously. There are two entries of importance: section 10, line 44 and section 11, line 9.<sup>97</sup> In section 10, line 44, column one has <sup>d</sup>GIŠGALxIGI and column two has *ma-ru-tu-uk*. This would seem odd, since the common writing of Marduk’s name at this time period was <sup>d</sup>AMAR.UD, but this entry was collated from two tablets. Both tablets have <sup>d</sup>GIŠGALxIGI in column one, but one tablet has *ma-ru-tu-uk* while the other has the expected <sup>d</sup>AMAR.UD. In section 11, line 9, column one has the normal <sup>d</sup>AMAR.UD and column two has *ma-ru-tu-u₄*. So it can be deduced that those two entries are the phonetic representation of the name Marduk.

### **Meanings of <sup>d</sup>AMAR.UD and Connections to Other Deities**

The name <sup>d</sup>AMAR.UD was often given two different semantic interpretations in ancient times. The most common meaning of <sup>d</sup>AMAR.UD was ‘bull calf of Utu (the sun)’. This derives from the Sumerian ‘amar’ meaning ‘bull calf’ and the UD sign regularly being used to represent the god Utu since one meaning of the sign is ‘utu’. The other meaning could be an appositive one meaning something to the effect of ‘the son, the sun’. This is taken from a possible sound change that would mutate AMAR to *māru*, the Akkadian

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<sup>96</sup> Richter, in his 1999 publication, discusses other cities, but does not study Marduk in Babylon.

<sup>97</sup> Civil 2004: 36.

word for son. In either case, Marduk is portrayed as the son of Utu. This is interesting because Marduk is not usually associated with Utu.<sup>98</sup> It seems that early on Marduk had a connection to Utu which became lost. If he was originally the son of Utu, as Marduk became more important in the pantheon, his association with Utu would not be emphasised as much since, though important, Utu was not one of the most prominent gods in the Sumerian pantheon. It would be difficult to reflect this change in parentage in his name, so the name stayed and its associations left. It is also valuable to note that although the Old Babylonian scribes interpreted the name of Marduk in this way, it may not be the interpretation that was originally intended. Utu's sanctuaries were in Larsa and later in Sippar; Marduk is not known to have great followings in either of these towns. There was a sanctuary of Marduk in Sippar in the Old Babylonian Period, but it was introduced with the reign of Ḫammurabi as is seen from the few personal names mentioning Marduk before his reign.<sup>99</sup>

Similarities can be seen in the characters of the two gods. In the myth *Enki and the World Order*, Utu is described as the 'father of the great city' and Enki puts him in charge of the universe.<sup>100</sup> These same attributes are given to Marduk later in the *Enūma eliš*; this might have been a tactic employed by the writer of the *Enūma eliš* to make the etymology of Marduk's name have greater meaning since his readers would know the other myth concerning Utu. These similarities could just as easily be a matter of the attributes of Utu being passed to his son. There is no written evidence, apart from the reading of his name, that Marduk was regarded as the son of Utu in cult practice. It is

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<sup>98</sup> Although in many later royal inscriptions and year names in the Old Babylonian period he is mentioned in connection with Šamaš, the Akkadian equivalent of Utu.

<sup>99</sup> Harris 1975: 91, 146.

<sup>100</sup> Black, Cunningham, Robson and Zólyomi 2004: 215-225.

possible that the Sumerian, or earlier, version of Marduk was the son of Utu and this aspect of Marduk disappeared when he absorbed the characteristics of another god, Asalluḫi, who was known to be the son of Enki/Ea.

In cultic practice Marduk is normally the son of Enki/Ea; Ea is the Babylonian name of Enki. In a bilingual inscription of Samsu-iluna, son and successor of Ḫammurabi, Marduk's sire is said to be Enki/Ea:<sup>101</sup>

<sup>d</sup> AMAR.UTU dumu-sag-	3
<i>a-na</i> <sup>d</sup> AMAR.UTU	
<sup>d</sup> en-ki-ka-ra	4
[DU]MU <i>re-eš-ti-im ša é-a</i>	
‘...Marduk, first-born son of Ea...’	

The rest of this royal inscription, along with other royal inscriptions from the First Dynasty of Babylon, will be discussed later, but it is worthwhile to look at these few lines now. So, after the reign of Ḫammurabi Marduk becomes the son of Ea. Since we have no inscriptional evidence linking Marduk with Utu apart from his name, two possibilities emerge: Marduk was known to be the son of Utu in earlier times and gained the parentage of Asalluḫi when Marduk encompassed his attributes; or Marduk was always the son of Enki and the lack of inscriptional evidence is a twist of fate.

It is impossible for us to know when exactly Marduk encompassed Asalluḫi, but Marduk's assumption of Asalluḫi's parentage may give some clues. In the story *Gilgameš and Akka*, Gilgameš is said to be the lord of Kullab,<sup>102</sup> and for Gilgameš this would be a sanctuary in Uruk, since that is where the legendary king lived. Interestingly enough, there is also a Kullab section in Babylon, which borders the Marduk Gate listed

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<sup>101</sup> RIME 4: 381.

<sup>102</sup> Katz 1993: lines 15, 40, 51, 100, 113.

in a text describing the temple complex of Babylon.<sup>103</sup> Archaeologists have been able to recover little from Babylon that dates to the Old Babylonian Period or earlier because those levels are under the water level and the later levels are so thick it would be difficult to dig. To the east of this section in Babylon is an area called Eridu, this being the home of Marduk's adopted father Ea. Since the precinct of Kullab also existed in Uruk, it could easily be deduced that early cult centres and their gods were brought to Babylon as a result of their associations with Marduk. This can be seen again in the existence of an area called Kumar, which is associated with Kuara, the home of the Asalluḫi. The precincts of Babylon then, echo major early cult centres of gods associated with Marduk. Giving these older names to precincts of Babylon would give the city cultic prestige; the old gods would now be seen as being owned by Babylon and the city would be more respected for its cultic connections.

A brief history of Asalluḫi is helpful in determining how he is related to Marduk. In his earliest incarnations he was a storm god in the south-eastern marshes corresponding with Iškur/Adad of the central herding regions.<sup>104</sup> His main sanctuary was in Kuara, presumably somewhere in southern Mesopotamia. There are early references to Asalluḫi receiving offerings with Enki in Larsa and Ur.<sup>105</sup> This solidifies Asalluḫi's connection with Enki. Personal names from the middle and south of Babylonia show that his cult was mainly a southern one.<sup>106</sup> Sommerfeld suggests that the cult of Asalluḫi was originally in the south, but when joined with the cult of Marduk, spread further

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<sup>103</sup> George 1992: 24.

<sup>104</sup> Jacobsen 1970: 22-30.

<sup>105</sup> Sommerfeld 1982: 13.

<sup>106</sup> Sommerfeld 1982: 14.

north.<sup>107</sup> In a royal letter from Sin-Iddinam (1849-1843), king of Larsa, to the city goddess Nin-Isinna, ‘lady of Isin’, the king relates to the goddess his displeasure at the advances of Babylon toward his lands. He claims Asalluḫi is the king of Babylon:<sup>108</sup>

[<sup>d</sup>Asa]l-lú-ḫi lugal ká-dingir-ra<sup>ki</sup>

The name ‘ká-dingir-ra<sup>ki</sup>’ is an artificial Sumerian toponym that came into the language as a way to translate the meaning of *Bab-ilim*, ‘gate of the god’ from Akkadian into Sumerian. This is the first reference apart from the fragmentary third millennium evidence of a specific god being the king of Babylon. Since Marduk was associated with Babylon in the Early Dynastic Period, he may have gained sovereignty of Babylon as well as the parentage of Asalluḫi when the two deities came together. Since this letter was written during the reign of Sin-Iddinam, three generations before the reign of Ḫammurabi, it can be assumed Marduk’s status in Babylon was firmly in place before Ḫammurabi came to power. In order for Marduk to later become the head of the pantheon, he must have first had an established cult in Babylon so that when Babylon became the most important city in Mesopotamia she would have a god to ascend to the same heights she had.

Asalluḫi was also associated with magic. In Sumerian magic literature from Larsa and Nippur, Asalluḫi appears in the early period, but mention of Marduk is unusual. It is not until later that Marduk becomes important in magic. The scant reference to Marduk in these types of texts could be a result of few texts having been found from the third millennium, and of those that have been found, few come from Babylon. There exists a text, of probable early first millennium composition in which Marduk, in connection

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<sup>107</sup> Sommerfeld 1982: 14-15.

<sup>108</sup> Hallo 1976: 216.

with his role as Asalluḫi, exorcises demons.<sup>109</sup> This text is rare, in that Marduk himself recites the incantations to repel the demons, in his incarnation as Asalluḫi. It is interesting to note that divine epithets used in this text share few commonalities with the names of Marduk in the *Enūma eliš*.<sup>110</sup> These epithets, then, could be drawn from one of two possible different traditions; either an older list of the epithets of Marduk, or epithets of Asalluḫi. In either case, the epithets would be older than those in the *Enūma eliš* since Asalluḫi's importance was established before its composition, and in fact, before his absorption by Marduk. Sommerfeld believes the growth of Marduk and Babylon in magical tradition comes from Marduk's association with Asalluḫi; the cult of Asalluḫi spread north to Babylon and the magical traditions with it.<sup>111</sup>

### **Marduk's Growth in Importance in the Old Babylonian Period (2003 to 1595):**

#### **Evidence From Year Names**

For the Old Babylonian Period two main types of directly historical evidence have been found: year names and royal inscriptions. In ancient Mesopotamia two methods of dating were prevalent, by number of years of the king or by name. Years dated by name could take two forms, the Assyrian tradition of dating by eponym, giving a year the name of an official, or the Babylonian tradition discussed below in which the year was named according to an event that had occurred within it. During the First Dynasty of Babylon years were dated by the latter method. These year names have been collated from twenty date lists, which were compiled and used by scribes to more easily recall the year names.<sup>112</sup> They were written in Sumerian, arranged chronologically, and

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<sup>109</sup> See Lambert 1954-56.

<sup>110</sup> Lambert 1954-56: 310.

<sup>111</sup> Sommerfeld 1982: 17.

<sup>112</sup> Horsnell 1999a: 219.



written in extremely abbreviated forms allowing one line for each year name.<sup>113</sup> The abbreviated forms were not intended to be complete records of the years, but only to be used by the scribes as a memory recall aid. Date lists are an important tool because they put historical events in a chronological order.<sup>114</sup> A detailed discussion of Old Babylonian year names in relation to the character and identity of the god Marduk is given here for the first time.

Marduk is mentioned in the year names of all the kings of the First Dynasty of Babylon except two. He is first mentioned by Sumu-la-El, the second king of the dynasty, in connection with the construction of a throne of gold and silver for Marduk's dais in his temple.<sup>115</sup> Sabium next tells of his building of Esagila, Marduk's temple in Babylon.<sup>116</sup> In the extant year names of these two kings (out of four total) before Ḫammurabi, Marduk and his temple are only mentioned twice. It can be assumed that the cult held some importance because these kings felt that the accomplishment of building a dais or a temple was worthy to represent that year of their respective reigns.

Ḫammurabi mentions Marduk in four of his year names, all near the end of his reign. Transliteration and translation of the relevant sections of each year name follow, given in the order they will be discussed:<sup>117</sup>

Year 30:

mu *ḫa-am-mu-ra-pí* lugal-e á-gál ki-ág <sup>d</sup>marduk-ke<sub>4</sub> ...

'The year: Hammurapi, the king, the powerful one, beloved of Marduk ...'

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<sup>113</sup> Horsnell 1999a: 221.

<sup>114</sup> Horsnell 1999a: 223.

<sup>115</sup> Horsnell 1999b: 54.

<sup>116</sup> Horsnell 1999b: 70.

<sup>117</sup> Horsnell 1999b: 139, 143-44, 155-58.

Year 32:

mu *ḥa-am-mu-ra-pi* lugal ur-sag ù-ma <sup>d</sup>maruk-ke<sub>4</sub> ...

‘The year: Hammurapi, the king, the hero who attains victory for Marduk ...’

Year 37:

mu *ḥa-am-mu-ra-pi* lugal-e usu gal <sup>d</sup>marduk-ka-ta ...

‘The year: Hammurapi, the king, by the great power of Marduk ...’

Year 38:

mu *ḥa-am-mu-ra-pi* lugal-e du<sub>11</sub>-ga an <sup>d</sup>en-líl-bi-ta nam-kù-zu <sup>d</sup>marduk-ke<sub>4</sub>

...

‘The year: Hammurapi, the king, at the command of An and Enlil and by the cleverness which Marduk gave him ...’

Two year names use Marduk in epithets of the king and the other two describe an attribute of the king as being given to him by Marduk. In the epithets he is described as ‘beloved of Marduk’ and ‘hero who attains victory for Marduk’. When Ḥammurabi says he is ‘beloved of Marduk’ he is showing that he believes himself to be important, as is Marduk; he is important because Marduk loves him and Marduk is important because Ḥammurabi deems it important to be loved by Marduk. By calling himself this in conjunction with a description of his victory in battle, he insinuates that the fact that he is beloved by Marduk has aided him in this victory. He also discusses his battle conquests in year thirty-two, where he is the ‘hero who attains victory for Marduk’. In this case he is not merely associating victory in battle with Marduk, but is confirming that his motivation for victory is to attain it for Marduk. He is effectively making himself a champion of Marduk and saying that every time he conquers a people he is doing so to enhance the glory of Marduk.

The remaining two years in which Marduk is attested show the kinds of attributes Marduk is responsible for in the personage of Ḥammurabi. ‘By the great power of Marduk’ Ḥammurabi is able to overthrow more armies and attain more victories in year

37. In the following year, he is able to attain victory ‘by the cleverness which Marduk gave him’. So Marduk now has great power, reflecting the growing strength of Babylon, and is able to give Ḫammurabi cleverness, which reflects his assumption of the attributes of Enki and Asalluḫi. This aspect of Marduk’s character is not normally lauded, but will come across strongly later in the epic of creation in his battle tactics; by this time Ea, god of wisdom, is assumed to be his father.

These four year names of Ḫammurabi’s reign in which Marduk is mentioned include descriptions of victory in battle. There would seem to be a theme then. Why would Ḫammurabi mention Marduk, who is not known as a god of war, in accounts of his triumphs in battle? It follows that Ḫammurabi attributed these successes to Marduk’s aid in the most literal way. This shows that Ḫammurabi considered Marduk an extremely important god since Ḫammurabi’s conquests in Babylonia were instrumental in uniting the land under one ruler for only the second time in the history of the region.

Every ruler after Ḫammurabi to the end of the First Dynasty of Babylon mentions Marduk in at least two of his extant year names. Ḫammurabi’s successor, Samsu-iluna, has eight year-names in which Marduk is mentioned. Transliteration and translation of the relevant passages follow given in the order they will be discussed:<sup>118</sup>

Year 1:

mu *sa-am-su-i-lu-na* lugal-e (inim)-du<sub>11</sub>-ga zi-da <sup>d</sup>marduk-ka-ta nam-en-bi  
kur-kur-ra pa-è ba-ak-a ki-en-gi ki-uri un-gá-bi si bí-in-sá-sá

‘The year: Samsuiluna, the king, at the trustworthy word of Marduk, made his lordship in the mountains and manifest and made the people of Sumer and Akkad to prosper.’

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<sup>118</sup> Horsnell 1999b: 175-76, 226-27, 185-86, 187-89, 206, 193-94, 197, 220-21.

Year 33:

mu *sa-am-su-i-lu-na* lugal-e inim-du<sub>11</sub>-ga <sup>d</sup>utu <sup>d</sup>marduk-bi-da-ta <sup>unu</sup>sag-gar-ra-tum<sup>ki</sup>-(ma) sig<sub>4</sub> kilib-ba ki-bi-šè in?-ne-en<sub>6</sub>?-gi<sub>4</sub>?-a?

‘The year: Samsuiluna, the king, at the word of Utu and Marduk, restored(?) all the brickwork of the city Saggaratum.’

Year 6:

mu *sa-am-su-i-lu-na* lugal-e <sup>d</sup>utu <sup>d</sup>marduk-e-ne-bi-da-ra ni-dím-dím-ma-bi al in-na-an-du<sub>11</sub>-uš-(àm) alan šùd-(šùd)-dè <sup>d</sup>lamma kù-sig<sub>17</sub>-didli-bi-ta ni-si?-sá? ab?-di-di-dè é-babbar igi <sup>d</sup>utu-šè é-sag-íl igi <sup>d</sup>marduk-šè i-ni-in-ku<sub>4</sub>-ra ki-gub-ba-ne-ne mi-ni-in-gi-na

‘The year: Samsuiluna, the king, for the gods Utu and Marduk who had both desired fashioned objects, brought into the Ebabbar temple before Utu and into the Esagila temple before Marduk images <of suppliants> praying and golden protective deities proclaiming justice(?) and he fixed them in their places.’

Year 7:

mu *sa-am-su-i-lu-na* lugal-e <sup>giš</sup>tukul (kala) šu-nir (maḥ) ni babbar-ra-kù-sig<sub>17</sub> kù-babbar (ḥuš) (ga-ra) me-te é-e-ke<sub>4</sub> <sup>d</sup>marduk-ra a mu-na-ru-(a) é-sag-íl-la-ka mul an-gin<sub>7</sub> mi-ni-in-mul-la-(a)

‘The year: Samsuiluna, the king, dedicated to Marduk a (powerful) weapon, a (magnificent) emblem/standard, a shining object (overlaid) <with> (red) gold and silver, suitable for the temple, and made it shine in the Esagila like a star of heaven.’

Year 7 Akkadian version:

*ša-at-tim ša sa-am-su-i-lu-na šar-rum ka-ak-ki šu-ri-ni ú-nu-ut ḥurāši(KÙ.SIG<sub>17</sub>) ù kaspi(KU.BABBAR) si-ma-at bi-ti a-na <sup>d</sup>marduk iš-ru-ku i-na bi-tim sag-íl ki-ma ka-ak-ka-ab ša-me-e ú-ša-an-bi-ṭu*

‘The year: Samsuiluna, the king, dedicated to Marduk a weapon, an emblem/standard, an implement of gold and silver, an appurtenance of the temple, and made <it> shine in the Esagila temple like a star of the heavens.’

Year 19:

mu *sa-am-su-i-lu-na* lugal-e <sup>giš</sup>gu-za bára (maḥ) (gu-la) kù-sig<sub>17</sub> (kù-babbar)-(ta) min-a-bi (é) <sup>d</sup>marduk <sup>d</sup>zar-pa-ni-tum-bi-da-ke<sub>4</sub> in-ne-ši-in-dím-ma

‘The year: Samsuiluna, the king, made the two thrones of the (great) (high) dais, <which were finished> (with) gold and (silver), <for> (the temple) of Marduk and Zarpanitum.’

Year 10:

mu *sa-am-su-i-lu-na* lugal-e usu maḥ <sup>d</sup>marduk-ka-ta ugnim *i-da-ma-ra-aš<sup>ki</sup>* (ugnim èš-nun-na<sup>ki</sup>) (ma-da) *ia-mu-ut-ba-lum<sup>ki</sup>* unu<sup>ki</sup> i-si-in-na<sup>ki</sup> <sup>giš</sup>tukul ba-an-sìg

‘The year: Samsuiluna, the king, by the supreme power of Marduk, defeated the army of Idamaraz, (the army of Eshnunna), (the land of) Iamutbalum, Uruk and Isin.’

Year 12:

mu *sa-am-su-i-lu-na* lugal-e kur gú-si-a an-gám mu-un-da-bal-(e)-eš-àm usu maḥ <sup>d</sup>marduk-ke<sub>4</sub> mu-(un)-na-an-sum-ma-ta ugnim ki-en-gi ki-uri <sup>giš</sup>tukul-ta bí-in-sig-ga

‘The year: Samsuiluna, the king, against whom the foreign countries had again revolted, defeated the army of Sumer and Akkad by the supreme power which Marduk gave him.’

Year 28:

mu *sa-am-su-i-lu-na* lugal-e á-ág-gá <sup>d</sup>en-líl-lá-ka nam-kù-zu nam-á-gál-bi-ta <sup>d</sup>marduk-ke<sub>4</sub> mu-un-na-(an)-sum-ma-ta *ia-di-a-bu-um* ù *mu-ti-ḥu-ur-ša-na* lugal-lugal-la an-da-kúr-uš-a (šu-ni sá bí-in-du<sub>11</sub>-ga) ší-ta ḥuš-a-na giš-ḥaš-(a) in-ne-en-ak-a

‘The year: Samsuiluna, the king, at the command of Enlil and by the cleverness and strength which Marduk gave to him, (conquered) Iadiabum and Mutihurshana, kings who had become hostile against him and crushed them with his fierce weapon.’

Two of these year names describe acts the king has undertaken at the behest of Marduk. In year one of his reign ‘at the trustworthy word of Marduk,’ he ‘made his lordship in the mountain lands manifest and made the people of Sumer and Akkad to prosper’. Since this is the first year of his reign, by saying he brought the land under his jurisdiction and made it prosperous by the command of Marduk he insinuates that Marduk is responsible for the flourishing of the land. This must mean Marduk has some position of authority in the pantheon if he is able to make the whole of Babylonia flourish. Later, in his thirty-third year, Samsu-iluna, ‘at the word of Utu and Marduk, restored (?) all the brickwork of the city Saggaratum’. Now the king is restoring this city at the command of Marduk and Šamaš. The city of Saggaratum is unknown as are the reasons for its importance to both Šamaš and Marduk. It could be that there were sanctuaries of both gods in this town and somehow they were destroyed, through conquest or natural disaster, or they had fallen into disrepair. Most certainly ‘all the brickwork’ refers to all the important buildings in the town including the temples, the

wall and possibly the palace. The people of Saggartum could have unfairly had part of their city destroyed and Šamaš, as god of judgment, was instrumental in helping the city to regain its former glory. Why would Marduk be mentioned then? His importance in the pantheon could answer this question. If he was at the top or close to the top of the pantheon, his command would be instrumental in reconstructing the walls of a city.

Three of Samsu-iluna's year names, years six, seven and nineteen, discuss the fashioning of objects for Marduk and his temple, Esagila. Samsu-iluna says in year six that both Utu and Marduk 'desired fashioned objects' so he brought into each of their temples 'images <of suppliants> praying and golden protective deities proclaiming justice(?) and he fixed them in their places'. Then, in the next year, he dedicates 'to Marduk a (powerful) weapon, a (magnificent) emblem/standard, a shining object (overlaid) <with> (red) gold and silver'. This year is special for some reason because the name of the year exists in Akkadian as well as the standard Sumerian. This is interesting because there would be no need for a scribe to translate the name of the year into Akkadian. When reading texts with ideograms ancient scholars did not see the Sumerian ideogram as a Sumerian word, but thought instinctively of its Akkadian equivalent.<sup>119</sup> Thus, use of Sumerian to write the year names would have posed no problem. The meaning of the two texts is virtually identical. The reason for an Akkadian rendering could be that the event was so important it needed to be recorded in both languages in the event that future generations would not understand the Sumerian language. The third year name detailing the fashioning of objects concerns a dais of gold and silver '<for> (the temple) of Marduk and Zarpanitum'. Zarpanitum was

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<sup>119</sup> Lambert 1996: v.

Marduk's consort and was worshipped with him in his temples. The mention of Marduk's consort is intriguing. The fashioning of such a dais for the royal couple would only hold enough significance to be worthy of a year name if the couple, or one of its members, was held in high esteem. These three year names describing objects fashioned for Marduk show that Samsu-iluna was concerned with the well-being of Marduk in his temple. This great concern for one particular god illustrates his importance in the pantheon.

Once again, as in the year names of Hammurabi, Marduk is named in connection with triumphs in battle. Two of the three year names that describe these victories have close to the same wording. The king defeats an army 'by the supreme power of Marduk' in year ten and defeats foreign armies 'by the supreme power which Marduk gave him' in year twelve. Marduk now has supreme power in battle it would seem. It is worthwhile to wonder if he had this same supreme power with regards to all aspects of Babylonian life. In year twenty-eight, Samsu-iluna conquers 'by the cleverness and strength which Marduk gave to him'. This year name also mentions that the king decides to conquer these people 'at the command of Enlil'. It would follow that Enlil is the one who decided to fight, but Marduk is the one responsible for the victory since he supplied the necessary skills to win the battle. Overall, the year names of Samsu-iluna show a dependence on Marduk in battle and a willingness to please him by fashioning objects and following his commands. This illustrates that Samsu-iluna has a great respect for Marduk and believes he can achieve great things if he does the same for the god.

Abi-ešuh, Samsu-iluna's successor, names Marduk in nine of his year names. Transliteration and translation of these relevant year names follow, given in the order they will be discussed:<sup>120</sup>

Year 1:

mu *a-bi-e-šu-uh* lugal-e inim-du<sub>11</sub>.ga (á) maḥ <sup>d</sup>marduk-ka-ta  
 'The year: Abieshuh, the king, at the word and the supreme (power) of Marduk.'

Year 3:

mu *a-bi-e-šu-uh* lugal-e inim maḥ an <sup>d</sup>en-líl-bi-da-ke<sub>4</sub> usu gal-gal-(la)  
<sup>d</sup>marduk-bi-da-ke<sub>4</sub> éren *ka-aš-šu-ú*  
 'The year: Abieshuh, the king, <at> the supreme command of An and Enlil and the very great power of Marduk <defeated> the Kassite troops.'

Year 17:

mu *a-bi-e-šu-uh* lugal-e usu šà-aš-gub <sup>d</sup>marduk-ka éren kalam èš-nun-na<sup>ki</sup>  
 ki-in-gub ta-ši-il<sup>ki</sup>-ka-ta mē-a nam-dugud-ba in-ne-en-šub-ba a-ḥu-ši-na lugal  
 áš-nun-na<sup>ki</sup> LUXGAN mi-ni-in-dib-ba  
 'The year: Abieshuh, the king, by the perfect power of Marduk, routed the troops of the land of Eshnunna in battle on the way from(?) Tashil and seized Ahushina, the king of Eshnunna, as captive.'

Year 6:

mu *a-bi-e-šu-uh* lugal-e šíta maḥ an <sup>d</sup>en-líl <sup>d</sup>marduk-ke<sub>4</sub> kù-sig<sub>17</sub> ḥuš-(a)  
 gùn-gùn-a <sup>na4</sup>za-gìn-ta mu-na-dím  
 'The year: Abieshuh, the king, made the magnificent mace of An, Enlil <and> Marduk <finished> with variegated red gold <and> with lapis-lazuli.'

Year 12:

mu *a-bi-e-šu-uh* lugal-e <sup>d</sup>nanna <sup>d</sup>marduk-bi-da-ke<sub>4</sub> inim in-ne-en-du<sub>11</sub>-ga ša-  
 mu-un ... x x šíta? x x x ... x ...  
 'The year: Abieshuh, the king, since Nanna and Marduk had <listened to(?)> the word he had spoken to the <made(?)>...a mace(?)...'

Year 15:

mu *a-bi-e-šu-uh* lugal-e alan nam-ur-sag-ga <sup>d</sup>marduk <sup>d</sup>zar-pa-ni-tum-bi-da-  
 ke<sub>4</sub> x x x x ... x ... é-sag-íl-la  
 'The year: Abieshuh, the king, <brought(?)> an heroic statue of Marduk and Zarpanitum...<into> the Esagila.'

<sup>120</sup> Horsnell 1999b: 241, 245, 258-59, 248, 253, 256, 254, 252-53, 260-61.



Year 13:

mu *a-bi-e-šu-uh* lugal-e nun sun<sub>5</sub>-na lú <sup>d</sup>utu-ke<sub>4</sub> giš in-na-an-tuk-tuku-a x  
x AŠ <sup>d</sup>marduk-ke<sub>4</sub> ur<sub>5</sub>-tuku kalam-ma-ni-ta ba?-an?-da?-ab?-du<sub>8</sub>?-(a?)  
‘The year: Abieshuh, the king, the humble prince, to whom Utu listened, the...of  
Marduk, remitted (?) the debts from his country.’

Year 11:

mu *a-bi-e-šu-uh* lugal-e sag-dù-dù gu-la <sup>d</sup>marduk-ke<sub>4</sub> (šu mu x ...) ta <sup>i7</sup>*a-*  
*bi-e-šu-uh* mu-un-ba-al-lá  
‘The year: Abieshuh the king, by the great understanding of Marduk (...), dug  
the Abieshuh canal.’

Year 19:

mu *a-bi-e-šu-uh* lugal-e usu maḥ <sup>d</sup>marduk-ka-ta <sup>i7</sup>idigna giš bí-in-kéš-da  
‘The year: Abieshuh, the king, by the supreme power of Marduk dammed the  
Tigris.’

Year one of the reign has the phrase: ‘at the word and the supreme (power) of Marduk’.

This seems to say that Abu-ešuh came to power under these circumstances, effectively stating that Marduk put him on the throne. Marduk is also mentioned in two year names concerning battles. ‘The very great power of Marduk’ along with ‘the supreme command of An and Enlil’ help the king defeat the Kassites in year three. At this stage, Marduk has power, but An and Enlil are still at the top of the pantheon since they have the supreme power. Later, in his seventeenth year, ‘by the perfect power of Marduk’ he defeats other armies and takes a king captive. While Marduk’s power is great and perfect he is still out-ranked by An and Enlil.

Abi-ešuh uses the fashioning of objects to mark three years of his reign. He does not make any objects for Marduk alone. In year six, he fashions ‘the magnificent mace of An, Enlil <and> Marduk <finished> with variegated red gold <and> with lapis-lazuli’. This mace is made three years after his defeat of the Kassite troops with the help of An, Enlil, and Marduk mentioned previously. The mace could be compensation to the gods

for this victory. He then makes another mace for Nanna and Marduk in year twelve since they ‘had <listened to(?)> the word he had spoken to them’. This is to be another gift in recompense for something the gods have done for him; this time listening to his prayer and most likely answering it rather than helping him win a battle. Lastly, in his fifteenth year, he presumably made and ‘<brought(?)> an heroic statue of Marduk and Zarpanitum...<into> the Esagila’. It is curious as to why a new statue of Marduk is being brought into the temple. It could be that the old one was destroyed or stolen, but if it was stolen, the king would most likely try to regain it rather than make a new one. It seems likely then, that the statue had been removed from Esagila to undergo refurbishment, since there is no record of the theft of the statue from this time period.

Of the three remaining year names of Abi-ešuh mentioning Marduk, one describes the digging of a canal, one states the damming of a river, and one is ambiguous. The ambiguous year name has three epithets for the king, but the one that names Marduk is damaged. So it can be concluded that the king somehow connected himself with Marduk, but by what means is unknown. Abi-ešuh, ‘by the great understanding of Marduk (...), dug the Abieshuh canal’. This could mean the king had received the blessing of Marduk to build the canal. Building and reinforcing canals was very important in ancient Mesopotamia since the water supply as well as transportation was dependent on canals. The kings would be required to reinforce or dig new canals during their reign in order to keep everything running smoothly throughout the kingdom. The king, eight years later, ‘by the supreme power of Marduk dammed the Tigris’. Damming the river would effectively keep or bring water to the town depending upon where the dam was constructed. This would be instrumental in helping the farmers of

the community since agriculture was based on irrigation. Overall, during the years of Abi-ešuh, Marduk's role is important, but not the most important as is seen by the inclusion of An and Enlil.

Ammi-ditana, Abi-ešuh's successor, mentions Marduk in six of his extant year names.

Transliteration and translation follow, given in the order they will be discussed.<sup>121</sup>

Year 1:

mu *am-mi-di-ta-na* lugal-e ad-gi-a gu-la <sup>d</sup>utu <sup>d</sup>marduk-bi-da-ke<sub>4</sub>

'The year: Ammiditana, the king, <by> the great counsel of Utu and Marduk.'

Year 3:

mu *am-mi-di-ta-na* lugal-e eš-bar maḥ-(a) dingir gal-gal-la sag-du-(a)-ni an-še íb-ta-an-íl-eš-a-ta nam-á-gál-la <sup>d</sup>marduk-ke<sub>4</sub> un kalam-ma-na nam-éren-kéš-da-bi-šè in-ne-en-gar-ra-ta

'The year: Ammiditana, the king, by the exalted decision of the greatest gods who had raised his head to the sky and by the power of Marduk which he had placed among the people of his land for their conscription.'

Year 17:

mu *am-mi-di-ta-na* lugal-e usu maḥ-a <sup>d</sup>utu <sup>d</sup>marduk-bi-da-ke<sub>4</sub> a-ra-(aḥ)-ḥa-ab-(bi) lú ma-da mu...

'The year: Ammiditana, the king, <by> the supreme power of Utu and Marduk <defeated(?)> Arahab, the man of the hinterland.'

Year 21:

mu *am-mi-di-ta-na* lugal-e en íb gu-la ki-ág <sup>d</sup>utu <sup>d</sup>marduk-<bi-da>-ke<sub>4</sub> ur<sub>5</sub>-ra ma-da-ni ab-ak-ak-ke ba-an-da-ab-du<sub>8</sub>-a

'The year: Ammiditana, the king, the fierce great ruler, beloved by Utu <and> Marduk, remitted the debts which his country had incurred.'

Year 9:

mu *am-mi-di-ta-na* lugal-e nam-gal-(la) ki-tuš <sup>d</sup>marduk-ke<sub>4</sub> ma-áš-ka-an-am-mi-di-ta-na<sup>ki</sup> gú <sup>i7</sup>buranun-(na)-ta bí-in-dù-a

'The year: Ammiditana, the king, (in) greatness built the dwelling place of Marduk, Mashkan-Ammiditana, on the bank (of) the Euphrates.'

<sup>121</sup> Horsnell 1999b: 273, 275, 292-93, 298, 283, 304.

Year 24:

mu *am-mi-di-ta-na* lugal-e šíta <sup>giš</sup>tuku-la-(bi-da-ke<sub>4</sub>) íb-diri-ge-eš-a kù-sig<sub>17</sub>  
sur-ra <sup>na<sub>4</sub></sup>du<sub>8</sub>-ši-a-bi-da-ke<sub>4</sub> <sup>d</sup>marduk lugal-a-na é-sag-íl-la-šè i-ni-in-ku<sub>4</sub>-ra

‘The year: Ammiditana, the king, brought into the Esagila for Marduk, his king, a mace (and) a weapon which were superb, <finished with> sparkling gold and dušû-stone.’

Like Abi-ešuĥ, Ammi-ditana seems to say his ascension to the throne was determined by Marduk, but unlike his predecessor he includes Utu (Šamaš) in the task; ‘<by> the great counsel of Utu and Marduk’ he was made king. In year three of his reign there seems to be a need for an army because he enforces conscription ‘by the power of Marduk’. This is interesting because fourteen years later he defeats some tribes of the hinterland ‘<by> the supreme power of Utu and Marduk’. Could these conscripted troops be the same ones that fought this later battle in which Marduk helped them to win? This seems an unlikely proposition given the time span between the two events, but these conscripted troops may have been kept on to serve in later battles. Ammi-ditana is also referred to as ‘beloved by Utu <and> Marduk’ in a year in which he remitted all the debts of the country. The two remaining extant year names of Ammi-ditana mentioning Marduk discuss objects made for the god. In year nine of his reign, he builds ‘the dwelling place of Marduk, Maškan-Ammiditana, on the bank (of) the Euphrates’. This must be a shrine of some sort that the king built to show his devotion to Marduk since it is outside of the temple precinct. Later, in year twenty-four of his reign, he ‘brought into the Esagila for Marduk, his king, a mace (and) a weapon which were superb, <finished with> sparkling gold and dušû-stone’. He refers to Marduk as his king in this year name; this could mean Ammi-ditana has taken Marduk as his personal god or he sees Marduk as the king of the gods. This would be a big step in Marduk’s rise to the top of the pantheon.

Ammi-šaduqa names Marduk in three of his year names. Transliteration and translation of these year names follows, given in the order they will be discussed:<sup>122</sup>

Year 4:

mu *am-mi-ša-du-qá* lugal-e <sup>d</sup>marduk en gír-ra šu-nir gal-gal-la kù-sig<sub>17</sub> kù-babbar <sup>na<sub>4</sub></sup>za-gín-na na<sub>4</sub>? ... (.) é-sag-íl-la-šè in-ne-en-ku<sub>4</sub>-ra  
 ‘The year: Ammizaduqa, the king, brought into the Esagila <for> Marduk, the strong ruler, a very great emblem <of> gold, silver, lapis-lazuli <and>..(.) stone(?)’

Year 10:

mu *am-mi-ša-du-qá* lugal-e sipa zi še-ga <sup>d</sup>utu <sup>d</sup>marduk-bi-da-ke<sub>4</sub> ur<sub>5</sub>-ra kalam-ma-na (šu) bí-in-du<sub>8</sub>-a  
 ‘The year: Ammizaduqa, the king, the loyal obedient shepherd of Utu and Marduk, remitted the debts of his land.’

Year 11:

mu *am-mi-ša-du-qá* lugal-e igi-gál gu-la <sup>d</sup>marduk lugal-bi in-na-an-gar-ra bàd am-mi-ša-du-qá<sup>ki</sup> (bàd gal-la ħur-sag-gin<sub>7</sub>) ki-a íb-ta-an-í(?) gú? <sup>i<sub>7</sub></sup>sa-am-su-i-lu-na-naqab(IDIM)-nu-úĥ-ši (gú sag-gá-šè) ka <sup>i<sub>7</sub></sup>buranun-(na)-ta bí-in-dù-a  
 ‘The year: Ammizaduqa, the king, <by> the great wisdom which Marduk royally established for him, built Fort Ammizaduqa (the great fortress which he raised up like a mountain,) on the bank(?) of the canal “Samsuiluna is the source of abundance”, (on the higher bank) at the “uptake point” of the Euphrates.’

Ammi-šaduqa brings an emblem into Esagila for Marduk and gives him the epithet ‘the strong ruler’. This epithet is new for Marduk and may represent a further stage in the development of his divine character. Marduk is becoming more established and taking an active and stronger role in the pantheon. Ammi-šaduqa also remits the debts of the land just as Abi-ešuĥ did, but he refers to himself as ‘the loyal, obedient shepherd of Utu and Marduk’. Again, Marduk is mentioned with Šamaš; this is a recurring trend and could echo connections between the two gods. It could also show the importance of justice in Mesopotamian society in equating Šamaš with one of the top, if not the top,

<sup>122</sup> Horsnell 1999b: 329, 337, 338.

gods of the pantheon. The final mention of Marduk by Ammi-šaduqa is in conjunction with the building of Fort Ammi-šaduqa which he built ‘<by> the great wisdom which Marduk royally established for him’. Marduk, once again, is praised for his faculty of intelligence.

Samsu-ditana, the last king in the First Dynasty of Babylon, shows the most devotion to Marduk. His year names mentioning Marduk follow in transliteration and translation in the order they will be discussed:<sup>123</sup>

Year 1:

mu *sa-am-su-di-ta-na* lugal-e du<sub>11</sub> maḥ-a <sup>d</sup>marduk-ke<sub>4</sub> lugal bal-a-ni bí-in-gi-na-ta

‘The year: Samsuditana, the king, at the supreme command of Marduk, the king who established his reign.’

Year 5:

mu *sa-am-su-di-ta-na* lugal-e usu gal-gal-la <sup>d</sup>utu <sup>d</sup>marduk-bi-da-ke<sub>4</sub>

‘The year: Samsuditana, the king, <by> the very great power of Utu and Marduk.’

Year 6:

mu *sa-am-su-di-ta-na* lugal-e <sup>d</sup>marduk ur-sag-ga (.) lugal bal-a-ni bí?-(...) šíta <sup>giš</sup>mitum maḥ-a é-sag-íl-šè (in-ne-en-ku<sub>4</sub>-ra)

‘The year: Samsuditana, the king, (brought) into the Esagila <for> Marduk, the hero (.), the king who established(?) his reign, a mace, a magnificent weapon.’

Year 18:

mu *sa-am-su-di-ta-na* lugal-e <sup>d</sup>marduk nun gal-la-(a-ni)

‘The year: Samsuditana, the king, <for> Marduk, (his) great prince.’

Year one of Samsu-ditana’s reign establishes his commitment to Marduk: ‘the king, at the supreme command of Marduk, the king who established his reign’. The king is without doubt maintaining that Marduk is the reason he is king. It follows, then, that since Marduk is powerful enough to set him on the throne that he would have sufficient

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<sup>123</sup> Horsnell 1999b: 359, 362, 363, 374.

power to be near the top of the pantheon, if not at the top. Samsu-ditana then says he is king ‘<by> the very great power of Utu and Marduk’ in year five of his reign. Once again, there is a connection between Šamaš and Marduk. The next year he makes a mace for ‘Marduk, the hero, the king who established(?) his reign’ and places it in Esagila. The king mentions again that Marduk has established his reign. The last reference to Marduk only calls him ‘(his) great prince’. This reinforces the idea that Samsu-ditana took Marduk for his personal god or exalted him in some way.

The year names of the First Dynasty of Babylon provide clues to the status of Marduk and his cult in the Old Babylonian Period. Marduk’s development from a local god to a more prominent member of the pantheon over the course of the period is clear from the extant year names of the dynasty. While Marduk is mentioned in connection with other gods during the entirety of the First Dynasty of Babylon, he also, by the end of the period, attains a higher status than when he is first mentioned. After Ḫammurabi’s reign, Marduk became more popular and by the time of Samsu-ditana had evolved into the personal god of the king and the god who establishes the reign of the most powerful kings of the land. These year names are valuable evidence to the promotion of Marduk to the upper echelon of the pantheon.

### **Marduk’s Growth in Importance in the Old Babylonian Period (2003 to 1595): Evidence from Royal Inscriptions**

It is a surprising fact that has often escaped attention that Marduk is mentioned more often in year names than in royal inscriptions. It might have seemed that the Babylonian kings would have thought it prudent to exalt Marduk in their royal inscription

programmes considering he was the god of the capital city Babylon. The difficulties of excavation at Babylon, discussed earlier, do not really seem to account for the situation since one might have thought the power of Babylon and the god Marduk would be trumpeted abroad in the context of royal building projects elsewhere in Babylonia. The royal inscriptions in question are frequently bilingual, having known copies in both Sumerian and Akkadian, but may also be in only either Sumerian or Akkadian. This trend of bilingualism is well known in ancient Mesopotamia, particularly in Babylonian inscriptions from this period as Sumerian was still a living language, with Akkadian quickly rising to prominence. This harking back to Sumerian could have led to archaising tendencies resulting in the absence of Marduk in these inscriptions because of his lower status in earlier times.

No kings of Babylon before Ḫammurabi name Marduk. The earliest mention of Marduk in Old Babylonian royal inscriptions is in an epithet of Ḫammurabi in an inscription on various cones from Sippar regarding the building of the wall and a canal in that city. Both Akkadian and Sumerian versions of this text are extant. Ḫammurabi is one ‘who contents the god Marduk, his lord’.<sup>124</sup> This same epithet is used to describe Ḫammurabi on a tablet that describes the construction of a storehouse for Enlil in Babylon.<sup>125</sup> By utilising this epithet these texts show that Marduk is pleased by Ḫammurabi’s actions. This shows that Ḫammurabi was at least cognisant of the need to appease Marduk and that he was thought to be an important enough god for his appeasement to be recorded for posterity. In a text concerning the digging of a canal, Ḫammurabi, once again, refers to Marduk in epithets. Ḫammurabi is the one ‘who achieves the victory of the god

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<sup>124</sup> RIME 4: 335.

<sup>125</sup> RIME 4: 336-337.



Marduk, shepherd who contents him'<sup>126</sup> and says he built this canal 'by the mighty strength which the god Marduk gave to me'.<sup>127</sup> First he relates that he has achieved victories for Marduk's benefit and then says he has been able to carry out such work as a result of Marduk's gifts to him. Both of these references link Marduk to Ḫammurabi's activities and the success of these activities.

In the beginning of another of his royal inscriptions likely to be related to the year name of the thirty-sixth year of his reign, Ḫammurabi does something,<sup>128</sup> likely reinforcing the walls or the canal of Sippar since the tablet is from Sippar, 'by the supreme [might] of the god Marduk'.<sup>129</sup> He performs this action with the aid of Marduk's great power, seeming to prove that Marduk is celebrated in the pantheon and near the top, if not at the top. The use of the word 'supreme' points to a definite upper position for Marduk in the hierarchy. Later in his reign Ḫammurabi must perform work on the wall of Sippar again and Sumerian and Akkadian records of his accomplishment have been found on cones. Marduk is mentioned thrice, all in epithets of Ḫammurabi; twice Ḫammurabi is one 'whose deeds are pleasing to the gods Šamaš and Marduk',<sup>130</sup> and once he is 'beloved of the god Marduk'.<sup>131</sup> It would not be uncommon for Šamaš to be mentioned when discussing Sippar as he is the patron god of that city, but Marduk's mention is interesting. If Ḫammurabi did not have a high respect for Marduk and did not believe Marduk's help, as a god in a higher position, would be beneficial in his building works, why mention him? There are two explanations for this mention of Marduk: Ḫammurabi

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<sup>126</sup> RIME 4: 340-342.

<sup>127</sup> RIME 4: 340-342.

<sup>128</sup> The tablet is broken at this point, so Ḫammurabi's precise actions can only be guessed.

<sup>129</sup> RIME 4: 344-345.

<sup>130</sup> RIME 4: 348.

<sup>131</sup> RIME 4: 349.

may have considered Marduk his personal god and would seek to acquire his help in all endeavours, or Marduk was important in all matters concerning the whole of Mesopotamia and his favour would need to be courted by all those who wished for good things.

Hammurabi next mentions himself as the ‘shepherd beloved of the god Marduk’<sup>132</sup> and ‘the shepherd who pleases the god Marduk’.<sup>133</sup> The association of the king with a shepherd is common in ancient Mesopotamia. The king was thought to care for his people just as a shepherd takes care of his flock. There are hymnic and ritual texts from the early third millennium in which the king impersonates the shepherd god Dummuzi in a sacred marriage rite, which served to show his right to rule. This impersonation is evidenced in multiple copies of the texts where, in some cases one manuscript inserts the name of the deity as engaging in the sex act while others, in the same place, insert the name of the king. At a mythological level this act was the union of Dummuzi and Ištar/Inanna.<sup>134</sup> The identity of the female partner in this act is unknown, but it has been thought to be a high priestess. The union of Dummuzi and Inanna was thought to be essential to the growth of crops and the proliferation of animals as well, so in addition to re-affirming the king’s right to rule the rite assured the propagation of both plant and animal species. Sumerian kings, in this capacity as Dummuzi, were then associated with shepherds and early associations with caring for crops and flocks of animals were expanded to include all the inhabitants of the king’s lands.

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<sup>132</sup> RIME 4: 351.

<sup>133</sup> RIME 4: 353.

<sup>134</sup> Livingstone 1986: 167.

Ḫammurabi also built a sanctuary for Marduk in Borsippa. This act is interesting as Borsippa is traditionally known as the home of Nabû, who, about eight hundred years later, came to be considered Marduk's son. Ḫammurabi built Marduk a temple called the Ezida, which is later known as Nabû's temple. Ḫammurabi dedicated the temple to Marduk at the end of the inscription: 'for the god Marduk, the god who created him [Ḫammurabi], he built Ezida, his shining sanctuary, in Borsippa, his beloved city'.<sup>135</sup> One god taking over the temple of another was not an uncommon practice in Mesopotamia; Ḫammurabi dedicated this temple to Marduk when the temple was already associated with the god Tutu, Tutu being absorbed by Marduk previously.<sup>136</sup> From this inscription it can be deduced, since Ḫammurabi calls Marduk 'the god who created him',<sup>137</sup> he must have thought of Marduk as being somewhat high in the pantheon because the god that could create the king would be a prodigious god.

From Ḫammurabi's royal inscriptions, an affinity for Marduk can be deduced. The king uses gifts Marduk has given him to accomplish great feats and builds temples to honour the god. Whilst it was commonplace for the king to repair temples and buildings belonging to gods, the creation of new sanctuaries was a special act. Ḫammurabi's willingness to thank Marduk for his help shows just how high an esteem the king held the god. Kings generally paid tribute, whether physical or in inscriptions, to the gods they believed to have helped them, but the mention of Marduk as his creator leads one to believe Ḫammurabi held Marduk in great esteem.

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<sup>135</sup> RIME 4: 354-355.

<sup>136</sup> George 1997: 68.

<sup>137</sup> RIME 4: 354-355.

There are four royal inscriptions of Samsu-iluna that name Marduk. When discussing the construction of the wall of Nippur, Samsu-iluna is called the ‘[shepherd w]ho pleases [the hear]t of the god M[ard]uk’.<sup>138</sup> Once again a king refers to himself as a shepherd in connection with Marduk. This could mean he believed his kingship was the result of Marduk’s intervention or that pleasing Marduk was essential to keeping his sovereignty. In his royal inscriptions Samsu-iluna also describes his rebuilding of the wall of Sippar and the renovating of the Ebabbar temple in that city. He mentions Marduk twice, both in conjunction with Šamaš, relating that he was ordered to rebuild the wall and renovate the temple on the orders of both gods. He states he performed these actions ‘by the decree of the gods Šamaš and Marduk’<sup>139</sup> and at the end of the inscription he affirms that these actions were completed by saying: ‘I fulfilled the decree of the gods Šamaš and Marduk’.<sup>140</sup> Since these works are taking place in Sippar, Šamaš is mentioned along with Marduk. The mention of Marduk with the patron god of Sippar illustrates Marduk’s importance as either a high ranking god in the pantheon or a god of importance because he is the patron god of Babylon. Once again, Marduk is mentioned alongside his possible father, if the signs of his name are to be taken literally. This could merely be coincidence as the works the king is undertaking are in Sippar, Šamaš’s patron city. Alternatively, mentioning the two gods together could be a way to honour them as father and son. Marduk is mentioned in passing in one other inscription of Samsu-iluna in a list of gods who helped him in some way build Fort Samsu-iluna: ‘On account of this the gods An, Enlil, Marduk, Enki, and the goddess Inanna’.<sup>141</sup> Clearly, the fact that Marduk is not first in this list shows he is not the head of the

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<sup>138</sup> RIME 4: 373.

<sup>139</sup> RIME 4: 377 lines 59-60; 72-73.

<sup>140</sup> RIME 4: 387 lines 79-82; 98-101.

<sup>141</sup> RIME 4: 391 lines 79-81.

pantheon, but by his inclusion at the third position in the list, and before his father Enki, his movement to the top of the ranks can be easily seen.

An important inscription of Samsu-iluna, cited earlier, gives clues as to how the king thought of Marduk. A translation of the first twenty-four lines of this inscription follows:<sup>142</sup>

‘When the gods Anum and Enlil, the kings of heaven and earth, joyously looked at the god Marduk, first-born son of Ea, gave to him the rule of the four quarters, called (his) exalted name in (the assembly of) the Anunnaku gods, (and) made the foundation of Babylon firm for him like (that of) heaven and earth, at that time, the god Marduk, the Enlil of his land, the god who creates wisdom, gave to me, Samsu-iluna, king of his pleasure, the totality of the lands to shepherd (and) laid a great commission on me to make his nation lie down in pastures and to lead his extensive people in well-being, forever.’

While this inscription provides much information on Marduk himself, it also reveals great insight into the relationship between Marduk and Samsu-iluna. The inscription shows how Marduk was given power and rule over the land and then gave that same rule to Samsu-iluna. It also establishes that by year seventeen of Samsu-iluna’s reign (roughly 1732) Marduk was considered to be the son of Ea. This connection with Ea, briefly discussed above, is important because it establishes Marduk’s position in the pantheon at this time. The hierarchy of the gods was An, Enlil, Enki (Ea), Ninhursag, so by saying Marduk was the son of Ea, Samsu-iluna shows Marduk’s importance. This makes a clear statement that Marduk is important because he is the son of Ea, and Samsu-iluna could not have made this statement if it was not accepted. Ancient kings needed support to rule – the support of the people, the priests and the gods – and Samsu-iluna would not make this statement about the parentage of Marduk if he was

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<sup>142</sup> RIME 4: 381 lines 1-24.

not sure his proclamation would be supported. He also makes it clear that Marduk is his god, as well as the god of Babylon, and that he is descended directly from the god of wisdom. It can be assumed that since Marduk is the son of the god of wisdom, he is also wise, and Samsu-iluna would want to emphasise this so that he could be seen as wise as well. Marduk is also called ‘the Enlil of his land’ indicating he is the ruler of the land. Since Enlil was the king of the gods at this time, the expression ‘the Enlil of X’ was used to describe sovereignty over an entity, usually a country or a group of people. He is not called the Enlil of the gods, so is not considered to be the king of the gods, but the other gifts the gods have bestowed upon him indicate he is lauded in the pantheon and could be gaining a higher position. Samsu-iluna says that Marduk has bestowed upon him the land previously given to Marduk by the highest gods so that Samsu-iluna may, effectively, take over Marduk’s role as ruler of the land.

One inscription of Ammi-ditana, the second ruler after Samsu-iluna, names Marduk with Šamaš in a bilingual building inscription relating that ‘the gods Šamaš and Marduk, who love my reign’,<sup>143</sup> entrusted him with the rule of the people. Almost certainly Šamaš is mentioned to highlight Ammi-ditana’s acts in his role as judge. Both gods love his reign, meaning they approve of the way he governs the people of all the lands. Since they are the only two he mentions as loving his reign, they must be important to him, and likewise to those he rules.

From the textual evidence of the Old Babylonian Period, Marduk’s cult can be declared firmly established and firmly in Babylon. His growing importance in the pantheon is

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<sup>143</sup> RIME 4: 413 lines 6’-8’; 6’-8’.

seen by his inclusion with other, more powerful gods and by his mention in conjunction with the ruling of Babylon. While each king of the First Dynasty of Babylon had a different relationship with Marduk, it is clear that each held him in high esteem and needed his approval to effectively reign. While Marduk may have been the personal god for one or two kings, and appreciation of his abilities was needed to be king of Babylon, he was not yet the head of the pantheon. He was ascending through the ranks with speed and this ascension, at such a rate, would place in the minds of later generations the idea that he could be head of the pantheon and that he did, in fact, deserve this honour.

### **Marduk in the Kassite Period (1595 to 1157)**

Marduk's growing importance in the Old Babylonian Period is reflected in the number of personal names bearing his name. Personal names 'are fascinating because they reflect private religion in contrast to government-supported city cults'.<sup>144</sup> Commonly in the Old Babylonian Period personal names are found stating that one god 'is "lord/king/Enlil/god/foremost of the gods"' and Marduk is not mentioned among these.<sup>145</sup> In the Kassite Period, however, these sorts of names exist.<sup>146</sup> Other gods are mentioned in this kind of name, so Marduk's claim as the true head of the pantheon at this time is not a completely solid one. In any case, the use of Marduk's name in personal names may only mean he was gaining popularity among the people and not necessarily among the rulers. While he was seen to be an important god by the rulers of the Old Babylonian Period, his importance in the eyes of the kings has not diminished, but has increased in the eyes of the citizens of Sumer and Akkad.

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<sup>144</sup> Lambert 1984b: 2.

<sup>145</sup> Lambert 1984b: 2.

<sup>146</sup> Lambert 1984b: 3; cited Sommerfeld 1982 : 159.

Boundary stones, or *kudurrus*, also give some information about the cult of Marduk in the Kassite Period. These boundary stones showed which gods were witnesses to the transactions on them. Also included in these inscriptions were curses on whomever, whether mistakenly or deliberately, moved the stone from its resting place. They show two levels of gods: the highest-ranking group of Anu, Enlil, and Ea and a second ranked group comprised of Šîn, Šamaš, Adad, Marduk, and occasionally Ištar.<sup>147</sup> Most clearly, according to official documents sanctioned by the king, Marduk was a second ranked god.<sup>148</sup> While the personal name evidence shows that Marduk may have been popular with the general public, and was certainly respected by the royalty, he was not the foremost god of the pantheon of the kings of the Kassite Period. This seeming decline in his popularity with royalty may be related to the ethnicity of the Kassite kings; these rulers had invaded Babylonia and seized the throne when the Hittite sack of Babylon in 1595 created a power vacuum. Since these kings were not native to Babylon they would not have the same dedication to Marduk as the older, natively Babylonian kings had.

In the epic of Adad-šuma-ušur, who reigned from roughly 1218 to 1189, near the end of the Kassite Period, it seems a rebellion against the king breaks out, insinuated by the author of the epic to be caused by the king's neglect of Marduk and Babylon.<sup>149</sup> It is interesting to note that no other record of such a rebellion has been found to date. The king somehow manages to stay alive, possibly by admitting his error. He then goes to Esagila, confesses his sins to Marduk and commits himself to restoration work on the temple. After completion of the work, he travels to Borsippa, confesses his sins to Nabû in the Ezida and pledges restoration work there as well. After this he travels to Cutha,

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<sup>147</sup> Lambert 1984b: 3.

<sup>148</sup> Lambert 1984b: 3.

<sup>149</sup> Grayson 1975b: 56ff.



city of Nergal, god of death. This may perhaps be seen as a cultic journey in which offerings will be made to Nergal to appease him since the king's life was spared during the rebellion. When discussing Marduk he is called 'bēl [bēlē]<sup>meš</sup>', 'lord of [lords]'.<sup>150</sup> This designation of Marduk seems contradictory since in one of his royal inscriptions this same king does not have Marduk at the head of the pantheon; he orders the gods as such: Anu, Enlil, Marduk.<sup>151</sup> This contradiction has led Grayson to contend that 'the theological assumptions on the Adad-šuma-ušur epic are anachronistic',<sup>152</sup> for two reasons. He agrees with Lambert that Marduk did not take his seat at the head of the pantheon until the reign of Nebuchadnezzar I,<sup>153</sup> some hundred years later, and he believes it would not make sense for the king to go into Esagila and profess his sins when the statue of Marduk was not in residence. The statue had been taken to Assyria by Tukulti-Ninurta I and was not returned until after Adad-šuma-ušur's death.<sup>154</sup> Does this epic, then, give any real clues to Marduk's status in the Kassite Period? If the statue of Marduk was not in Babylon, it is unlikely the king would go to the temple and ask forgiveness as the god was not there. It is possible that this epic was created to show the ancient origins of Marduk and establish that previous kings worshipped him as well. The epic provides a history for Marduk as a god with supreme power and could be used as propaganda to show later generations that Marduk had this position before he was generally thought to have power.

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<sup>150</sup> Grayson 1975b: 73.

<sup>151</sup> Grayson 1975b: 44 n 17.

<sup>152</sup> Grayson 1975b: 44.

<sup>153</sup> See following section for more on this assertion.

<sup>154</sup> Grayson 1975b: 44 n 17.

### **Marduk's Rise under Nebuchadnezzar I**

From the reign of Nebuchadnezzar I, roughly 1124 to 1103, a boundary stone exists referring to Marduk as 'king of the gods' (*šar ilāni*).<sup>155</sup> So, by this point it is certain he has ascended to his position as head of the pantheon. How could such a change have come about? According to Lambert this was a gradual evolution that resulted in a situation first formally recognised as fact during the reign of Nebuchadnezzar I, and during or soon after that reign, was proclaimed in the Babylonian epic of creation as will be seen below. In the prologue of Hammurabi's law code, Marduk is given authority over the peoples and not over the gods, so clearly Hammurabi does not believe Marduk to be king of the gods, but by mentioning him in his law code he emphasises Marduk's importance.<sup>156</sup> It follows then that Marduk's popularity continued to grow in the Kassite Period, culminating in his proper ascension to the throne during the reign of Nebuchadnezzar I. Once again, personal names offer clues to the status of Marduk. In the reign of Kudur-Enlil, a late Kassite king, the name *Marduk-šar-ilāni*, 'Marduk is king of the gods' occurs.<sup>157</sup> This is the earliest mention of Marduk in this type of personal name (with the formula 'DN is king of the gods', where DN is a divine name), common in the Old Babylonian Period. While personal names give clues to the beliefs of the common people rather than royally sanctioned religious beliefs, it can be assumed the addition of Marduk to the corpus of gods whose names appear in this fashion illustrates a definite change in his status in the pantheon.

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<sup>155</sup> Lambert 1964: 6.

<sup>156</sup> Lambert 1964: 5.

<sup>157</sup> Lambert 1964: 8.

Cylinder seals exist for most periods of Mesopotamian history, and as such may aid in dating the rise of Marduk. Sommerfeld uses evidence from seal inscriptions of the Kassite Period to show Marduk's importance; a third of these seal inscriptions are addressed to Marduk.<sup>158</sup> This may be a sign of the growing importance of Marduk in the daily lives of people, or, as Lambert believes, an example of a lack of other evidence leading to this conclusion.<sup>159</sup> The 'total number of Kassite-period seals is much less than half that of the Old Babylonian Period'.<sup>160</sup> Though smaller in scale, the seals were larger in size; this attests to the decline of the economy in the Kassite Period in which only the top officials would have cylinder seals.<sup>161</sup> While this could be a reflection of the imposition of Marduk onto royal officials by the kings of Babylon, as Lambert suggests,<sup>162</sup> it seems equally likely that these officials could have personally had an affinity for Marduk. If Marduk's popularity was growing with the people, as has been noted from the evidence of personal names, it follows that these officials could also prize Marduk and desire to show their appreciation for him.

### **Evidence From the *Enūma eliš***

The date of the composition of the creation epic *Enūma eliš* is crucial in determining the date of the rise of Marduk. A general consensus that the epic can be dated to the late Kassite Period exists, mainly from references to the fifty names of Marduk that close the *Enūma eliš* also being included in the god list 'AN: <sup>d</sup>Anum', which dates to this period. Lambert believes it 'was a product of the very campaign that resulted in the

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<sup>158</sup> Sommerfeld 1982: 157.

<sup>159</sup> Lambert 1984b: 6.

<sup>160</sup> Lambert 1984b: 6.

<sup>161</sup> Lambert 1984b: 6.

<sup>162</sup> Lambert 1984b: 6.

official promotion of Marduk in the reign of Nebuchadnezzar I, perhaps composed during that very reign as a theological justification of the change'.<sup>163</sup>

An exegesis of the text is helpful in determining the date of the composition and in chronicling the rise of Marduk, so it follows. In the beginning, two gods exist, the male Apsu, representing the sweet waters and the female Tiamat representing the salt waters. These two then procreate and many gods are born. The children are making much noise, so Apsu, unable to convince Tiamat to make them be quiet, plots to destroy them. Unbeknownst to him, one of the children, Ea, discovers his plan and makes a plan of his own to stop Apsu. He slays Apsu and builds a house and temple upon him and proceeds to bear his own child, Marduk. The other gods then tell Tiamat she is not acting appropriately since she is not seeking revenge for the murder of her husband. She decides they are right and forms an army. First, Ea tries to fight her, but he is forced back by his cowardice. Marduk then volunteers to battle Tiamat and is successful in his attempt; he uses his cleverness and forces winds into her and shoots an arrow into her distended belly. He is then made the head of the pantheon and is set the task of rearranging the world. The epic concludes with a list of the fifty names of Marduk.<sup>164</sup>

So, then, what was the occasion for writing such a propagandising epic in which Marduk is placed firmly at the head of the pantheon? Dalley supposes the composition of the epic was in celebration of the return of the statue of Marduk to Esagila in Babylon and proposes four possible dates: 'in the reign of Agum-kakrime; under an anonymous king; in the reign of Itti-Marduk-balāṭu or Ninurta-nadin-šumi; and under

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<sup>163</sup> Lambert 1984b: 4.

<sup>164</sup> Dalley 2000: 233-277.

Nebuchadnezzar I'.<sup>165</sup> But she goes on to say that because the statue is returned many times over the years, there is no reason to think the return of the statue would be such a grand occasion for a new composition. But the return of the statue of Marduk was indeed a highly celebrated event throughout the history of Babylon. As will be seen in Chapter Seven, Nebuchadnezzar I took great pride in his return of the statue of Marduk, as did Agum-kakrime, as seen in Chapter Two. In Neo-Assyrian times, both Aššurbanipal and Šamaš-šuma-ukin celebrated the return of Marduk during their reign as a great achievement.<sup>166</sup> The purpose of this epic is to laud Marduk and show how he became the head of the pantheon. It highlights Marduk's courage and his wisdom while making the other top gods seem foolish and cowardly. This treatment was needed to ensure Marduk's believability as head of the pantheon. The fifty names given to Marduk at the end of the epic echo the fifty names of Enlil, the previous head of the pantheon, and while the fifty names of the two are not all the same, the fact that Marduk was given the fifty names places him on the same level as Enlil.

## **Conclusion**

Marduk's rise from obscure third millennium god to head of the pantheon was slow, but steady, consisting of only scant evidence in the beginning and resounding evidence at the culmination of the journey in the *Enūma eliš*. His cult existed in the Early Dynastic Period and grew in importance with the absorption of other gods; crucial for his final character was Asalluḫi, through whom he gained a new powerful father in the wisdom god Enki/Ea. His rise was also facilitated by the considerations of kings as well as

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<sup>165</sup> Dalley 1997: 167.

<sup>166</sup> After Esarhaddon's death, his sons Aššurbanipal and Šamaš-šuma-ukin became kings of Assyria and Babylonia, respectively. In the inscriptions of both kings, the return of the statue of Marduk is mentioned, with both kings claiming to have been the one to return it.

common people. If the king held a god in high esteem, especially if that king and his city were rich and powerful, it follows that the people would hold the same god in like esteem. Hammurabi and his successors in the First Dynasty of Babylon gave Marduk greater importance and established the foundations for his rise to the head of the pantheon. It has been shown that through various political building activities and various cultural mechanisms, Marduk rose from a virtually insignificant deity to the most significant deity in the Babylonian pantheon by the time of Nebuchadnezzar I.

## CHAPTER FOUR: GODNAP IN HITTITE ANATOLIA

Throughout much of the second millennium the Hittite polity that had its capital at Hattusa interacted with other political entities both within and outside Anatolia. These peoples had complex mythologies and concepts of religion that dissipated to other cultures easily. This chapter will focus on the Hittite approach to the phenomenon of the theft of the cult statue of the god. A related phenomenon, *evocatio*, rituals and prayers asking foreign gods in a besieged city to remove themselves from harm's way, or alternatively to draw them back to their cult centres, will also be considered.

### **Hittite Religious Policy**

The Hittite pantheon embraced all manner of deities because the Hittites believed and feared that not including a god might incur his wrath; they were very careful not to upset the gods. It has even been claimed that they exhibited 'neither a syncretistic nor an eclectic religious policy but a conscious, politically conditioned religious tolerance'.<sup>167</sup> Because of this wish not to offend any of the gods, a vast number of deities were accepted into the Hittite pantheon resulting in the boast of the 'thousand gods of Hatti'. A combination of Hattian, Hurrian, Luwian and a few Syrian and Mesopotamian deities yielded such a large pantheon by the fourteenth century that some order needed to be injected. This organisation, and subsequent syncretism, is seen to its full extent in the reforms of Puduhepa, wife of Hattusili III (1267-1237) and chief priestess. Only the highest levels of gods were grouped together. Grouping them together did not necessarily mean each could not be worshipped separately: 'the cults of both could be

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<sup>167</sup> Akurgal 1962: 76.

maintained, sometimes even in the same locality'.<sup>168</sup> This idea is in tune with the Hittites' general policy regarding the acceptance of gods into their pantheon. Though a kind of syncretism was enforced, 'at no point was a divine hierarchy ever imposed on a wide scale, for this would potentially have undermined the king's efforts to retain the loyalty of his subjects'.<sup>169</sup> If the king were to decide one god was more important than the others and the people disagreed they would lose respect for the king and therefore not feel the need to continue to be loyal to him.

This religious policy seems in and of itself to be a form of godnap. Though the deities in question were not stripped from their original pantheon and placed only in the Hittite pantheon, their movement to a new area echoes the movements of stolen cult statues. An important distinction must be made, however, between the forced movement of a deity and a religious policy that seeks to worship all gods. The gods incorporated into the Hittite pantheon were not taken out of their original abodes; they were still worshipped there, but were also worshipped in Hatti.

Disasters are caused by absent gods in the myths of the Hittites, similar to those previously described in *The Epic of Erra*, in Chapter One. In *The Disappearance of Telipinu*, the son of the Storm God and god of agriculture, Telipinu, leaves and takes plant, animal and human fecundity with him.<sup>170</sup> There is no indication whether the abandonment of his statue is involved in this act, but since it is a myth it can probably be assumed he is merely leaving the city or inhabited areas. A feast is hosted by the Sun God, with all the gods having been invited; they attend, but are unable to be sated by

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<sup>168</sup> Singer 1994: 90.

<sup>169</sup> Collins 2007: 177.

<sup>170</sup> Hoffner 1998: 15.



food or drink. They then realise Telipinu is missing and send, sequentially, an eagle and a bee to search for him. He is found and it is revealed he is full of anger, so an exorcist is called to release this anger.<sup>171</sup> Telipinu then returns home and everything is restored. This motif is used in myths of the other gods as well, even including the disappearance of the great Storm God. In this myth, the Storm God disappears, causing animals to be infertile or to reject their young; crops are also not viable and humans become infertile.<sup>172</sup> The details of this myth are similar to those of the Telipinu myth. There is a feast and the realisation of the missing god triggers a search for the missing deity. The Sun God then asks for the help of the Storm God's grandfather, who accuses the Sun God of sinning and blames the whole ordeal on him. The Sun God denies any sins and continues to try to find his son. This part of the myth reinforces the idea that sinning against the gods will bring about bad things and explains why the Hittites were loathe to offend any of the gods. He then asks a goddess called Hannahanna for assistance, who enlists the help of a bee; the bee seems to find the Storm God (the text is broken at the crucial point in the story) and the Storm God returns. These myths have similar plot lines in that in both, the god leaves, taking fertility with him, they are both missed by the other gods, and then found by Hannahanna and her bee. These myths show the dire consequences of the disappearance of a god. When the gods leave the land of the Hittites horrible things happen.

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<sup>171</sup> This idea of an angry god abandoning his city is also seen in Mesopotamia, most prominently in the anger of Marduk and his abandonment of Babylon before the reign of Nebuchadnezzar I. See Chapter Seven for more on this particular incident.

<sup>172</sup> Hoffner 1998: 21-22 (whole of the myth).

## **Cult Statues and *Evocatio***

In concordance with Mesopotamian belief, the Hittites believed the gods inhabited their statues, though the gods entered their statues in a different way to that of Mesopotamia. Instead of an elaborate purification ritual spanning days (the *Mīs Pī*), the god could be summoned to his statue by the *evocatio* ritual from wherever he may have gone in his travels across the land.

Come ye back to your fine and wonderful sanctuaries! Sit ye down again on your thrones and chairs! Sit ye down again on your holy, fine (and) wonderful seats!<sup>173</sup>

Since the gods were thought to inhabit all of nature, especially mountains and springs, they would need to be called back to their statues in their cult centres in order to receive proper worship and offerings. Some cult sanctuaries were integrated into nature, such as at the spring at Eflatun Pınar and at the famous site of Yazılıkaya. Yazılıkaya was a natural rock structure that had two main chambers which were roofless; it was in use from at least the fifteenth century, but was enclosed in the thirteenth century to restrict access to the site and the reliefs added.<sup>174</sup>

Haas states that the god was called, sometimes by name, to an offering or sacrifice made to the statue instead of being called to the actual statue.<sup>175</sup> The god, then, needed to inhabit the statue to receive offerings, but could wander freely when no offerings were being made. There is also an attraction ritual for the goddess Hepat in which the sun god is attracted in some way; he comes on seven ways (paths) into the Hatti land.<sup>176</sup> Statues were generally anthropomorphic, but sometimes took the form of symbols or animals.

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<sup>173</sup> Goetze in Pritchard 1969: 352.

<sup>174</sup> Collins 2007: 139.

<sup>175</sup> Haas 1994: 642.

<sup>176</sup> Haas 1994: 379 n. 508 (KUB 45.48 + KUB 45.71 Vs. II; duplicate KBo 20.62 Vs. I).

On the stag rhyton in the Schimmel collection, three worshippers are depicted in front of the god and an incense burner (Figure 3, below).



Figure 3. Rhyton in the Schimmel Collection of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

The Tutelary Deity of the Meadow is seated behind the incense burner and is also shown standing on top of a stag.<sup>177</sup> The chair the deity is sitting on has hooved feet akin to those of a deer, reinforcing his connections to that animal. Since the deity is standing on top of the stag, and the stag may be his statue, it is possible he could be in the process of entering the statue. Since the god is represented in both an anthropomorphic and zoomorphic way, the Hittites do not seem to have restrictions on which particular form their gods can take. The gods were also represented by non-anthropomorphic and non-zoomorphic objects such as a symbol or a type of stone stele called a *huwasi* stone.<sup>178</sup> *Huwasi* stones were used in open-air worship and sometimes engraved with a relief of the god or an inscription; they served the same function as the god's statue did in the temple.<sup>179</sup>

Hittite cult image descriptions and city and temple cult inventories show us what kinds of statues existed in addition to those represented on the few reliefs available for study. In one of these descriptions, concerning the figures depicted on the walls of Yazılıkaya,

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<sup>177</sup> Haas 1994: 525f.

<sup>178</sup> Haas 1994: 507.

<sup>179</sup> Collins 2007: 162.

details are given as to what each god is holding and what parts of their bodies are plated in silver and/or gold.<sup>180</sup> The inventories also explain what the statues looked like and even explain that sometimes a statue was made to replace a stele.<sup>181</sup> The new statues produced could be anthropomorphic, zoomorphic or even a symbol, such as a sun disk.<sup>182</sup> In the relief programme at Yazılıkaya an underworld god is depicted as a dagger with an anthropomorphic head.<sup>183</sup> The Hittites, then, were open to representing their gods in many different ways, sometimes incorporating anthropomorphic and non-anthropomorphic qualities.

### **The Kizzuwatna Ritual and the Fashioning of New Cult Statues**

In a ritual from Kizzuwatna, a region in south-eastern Anatolia, the process for creating a new statue for the Deity of the Night is explained. Miller has aptly re-named this ritual the ‘Expansion of the Cult of the Deity of the Night’ (CTH 41) as the original title used for the ritual referred to relocation and not the splitting of the deity and movement to another temple.<sup>184</sup> This ritual involves the fashioning of a new statue, the splitting of the deity, the deity’s movement into the new statue and finally, the new statue being placed into a new temple. It provides for the expansion of the cult of the deity and gives insight into how the Hittites perceived their gods.

First, the new image of the deity is made, in the same way the current image was made, and with the same attributes.<sup>185</sup> A symbol of life was inlaid into the statue by using the

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<sup>180</sup> von Brandenstein 1943: 4-11.

<sup>181</sup> Hoffner 2003: 63-64.

<sup>182</sup> Hoffner 2003: 63-64.

<sup>183</sup> Collins 2007: 141.

<sup>184</sup> Miller 2004: 259.

<sup>185</sup> Miller 2004: 274 (§2).

word for life (*ZI-TUM*, Akkadian *napištum* Hittite *ištan(zan)*) to represent an individual's 'life force' or 'soul', showing that the Hittites conceived of their gods (or at least their representations on earth) as having a 'soul' just as humans did.<sup>186</sup> The Hittites, then, also had the idea that the representations of their gods needed to be standardised, as the Mesopotamians did. Since this new statue would need to represent, and in fact, be, the Deity of the Night in a new temple it must look exactly the same as the current statue.

After the new statue has been produced the deity is then evoked into the old temple. The new deity is escorted into the new temple after the priest speaks the following to the god:

Honoured deity! Preserve your being, but divide your divinity! Come to that new house too, and take yourself the honoured place! And when you make your way, then take yourself only that place!<sup>187</sup>

As the only way for both statues to be inhabited by the god would be for the deity to split his/her divine nature this is what the priest asks of the deity. In this way both temples can have the deity in them and the deity can be worshipped by different sets of people. Had this ritual not been performed, the deity might be called to two different statues to receive offerings and would not fully inhabit one statue, but would have to travel between them. After the ritual there are two aspects of the same deity, who are able to inhabit two different statues, thus allowing the deity to be worshipped at two different places.

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<sup>186</sup> Miller 2004: 299, note to line 11.

<sup>187</sup> Miller 2004: 290.

Another ritual text, seemingly a revision to this one, describes another division of the Deity of the Night when expanding the cult to Samuḫa during the reign of Tudḫaliya I.<sup>188</sup> Though it would be easy to see ‘The Expansion of the Cult of the Deity of the Night’ text as being composed for this division of the Deity, the spatial and temporal restrictions of the Expansion ritual, mainly the events needing to occur at cities within one day’s journey of another, or indeed in a single city, preclude it from describing the expansion of the cult to Samuḫa.<sup>189</sup> Only one other reference to this division of a deity is known, that of Ḫattusili III relating the division of Iṣtar by his brother Muwattalli.<sup>190</sup> Though textual evidence confirming the division of a deity as a common activity is lacking, the Hittites were able to foresee the issues inherent in having multiple statues of a deity.

### ***Evocatio* as Godnap?**

As well as calling the god back to his statue, the ritual of *evocatio* was also used to affect an act similar to godnap. This type of *evocatio* is described in historical texts and usually follows the ideas of the ritual in which the gods are called to their statues discussed earlier. When the Hittites besieged a city, before totally destroying it, they entreated the gods to leave the city and join the Hittite pantheon. The native gods of a city are implored to leave their homelands and go to Hatti. The gods are entreated to leave their homes with the promise of beer and other offerings as well as the insistence that the Hittite land would be better for them.<sup>191</sup> A final sacrifice of ‘one sheep to the gods of the enemy city and one sheep to the goddesses of the enemy city’ is made and

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<sup>188</sup> Beal 2002: 198.

<sup>189</sup> Miller 2004: 357.

<sup>190</sup> Miller 2004: 360.

<sup>191</sup> Singer 1995: 345.

the gods take their leave.<sup>192</sup> The city is then sacked and once all its valuables have been taken away it is given over to the bulls of the Storm God so that they might have somewhere to graze.<sup>193</sup>

So, ‘the takeover of an enemy city was conceived by the Hittites not just as a military enterprise, but also as a complex theological procedure, in the course of which the consent of the city’s deities had to be obtained by entreaty and not by force’.<sup>194</sup> This seems to be an interesting tactic in battle, but can it be seen as godnap? If the term is taken to mean the theft of the cult statues of the gods after a military victory, then this Hittite ritual of *evocatio* cannot be seen as such. They are not physically taking the statues of the gods, though they are effectively taking the gods. So, if godnap is seen as theft of the gods of a city, then *evocatio* may fall under that rubric as the gods were persuaded to come to the Hittite lands with the promise of better treatment and better temples. Though promised these wonderful things, the gods did not have to leave, they chose to leave. How the Hittites received the message that the gods approved and did want to leave their native city is not related and probably did not even occur; the Hittites would assume the gods wanted to leave as they knew their land to be the best. Whether the cities being attacked were aware of this, and how they would view it, is another issue. Why would a people want to believe their gods could be convinced to leave them? If the settlements being attacked shared gods with the Hittites then this might be a valuable means of psychological warfare. Again, there would have to be some way for those in the city being besieged to discover their gods were being lured away, though if the siege was going badly then they might believe their gods had abandoned them. If the

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<sup>192</sup> Singer 1995: 345.

<sup>193</sup> Roszkowska-Mutschler 1992: 9.

<sup>194</sup> Singer 1995: 346.

Hittites failed in their endeavour to call the gods out did the siege of the city then fail or was there a way to conquer a city without the approval of the gods? Given their preoccupation with proper religious practices one would assume that if the siege did fail, the Hittites would view it as an inability to gain the favour of the gods of that city. Likewise, if they did conquer the city they would have done so with the approval of the gods.

Although *evocatio* cannot be seen as a form of godnap in the strictest definition, the effect is the same; the gods are leaving the city in which they previously dwelt and abandoning the people. If anything, this seems to be a harsher punishment for the people since it is brought on by the gods themselves. When their statues are stolen they have no choice but to go, but if they choose to leave as a result of the entreaties of the Hittites, they are abandoning their people as a result of something the people did. This seems to coincide with the Babylonian belief, seen in the Marduk Prophecy, that the abandonment of the gods is preferable to the theft of the gods.<sup>195</sup>

Bryce states that ‘The act of removing the statues of the local gods and relocating them in the temples of the conqueror physically marked the transference of these gods to the conqueror’s pantheon’.<sup>196</sup> This can be compared in Classical times with the use of *evocatio* at the siege of the Etruscan city of Veii, recounted by Livy.<sup>197</sup> A prayer is made to Juno before the Romans seize the city, beseeching her to ‘follow us in victory to Rome, now our home and soon to be yours, where a temple worthy of your majesty will

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<sup>195</sup> See Chapter Eight for a full treatment of the Marduk Prophecy.

<sup>196</sup> Bryce 2002: 135.

<sup>197</sup> Livy 5.21.



await to receive you'.<sup>198</sup> So the Romans were luring Juno out of one of her patron cities by bribing her with the promise of a nice temple; Livy also says the people of Veii had no idea their gods had been called out of the city by their enemy, but how could they have entertained such an idea unless the city fell to the Romans? In order to further legitimise the claim that Juno wanted to leave the city, when the Romans went to collect the statue one of the soldiers asked Juno if she would like to go to Rome. Some report that she was heard to say she was willing whilst others claim she nodded; the tradition Livy relates to us is that 'she was moved from her place with little effort, being light and easy to carry, as if she were moving with them'.<sup>199</sup> So as it did for the Romans, it seems that the removal of the statue was not holding the god ransom, but to the Hittites signified the transference of that god into their religion. Presumably these new gods would be housed in the temple of an established Hittite god.<sup>200</sup> This movement of the statues of the gods has been relayed to us through historical texts, and these will now be explored.

### **Instances of Godnap: Anitta and Hattusili I**

The earliest recorded example of godnap in Anatolia is the Anitta Text. It was written before the Hittites made Hattusa their capital, before the establishment of the Hittite kingdom. The text details the military achievements of Anitta, son of Pithana, king of Kussara, who reigned during the Assyrian Colony Period, sometime before 1650. Anitta, as king, had the duty of putting down rebellions in the smaller cities surrounding Nesa (i.e. Kanesh, modern Kültepe). The new seat of the Kussaran dynasty was established in Nesa after Pithana, Anitta's father, took over the city and settled there.

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<sup>198</sup> Livy 5.21.

<sup>199</sup> Livy 5.22.

<sup>200</sup> According to Singer (1994: 86) this is the case in the Annals of Hattusili I.

Later, the Hittites identified themselves with Nesa, seeing it as the beginning of their dynasty. At some earlier point in time, Uhna, the king of Zalpa, has taken the statue of the god Siu from Nesa. In his text, Anitta relates his recovery of the statue:

Formerly Uhna, the king of Zalp(uw)a, carried off our (god) Siu from Nesa to Zalp(uw)a. But subsequently I, Anitta, the Great King, brought our (god) Siu from Zalp(uw)a back to Nesa.<sup>201</sup>

The details of Uhna's theft of Siu are not given; we are only told that Uhna took the statue from Nesa and carried it to Zalpa. What this means is not exactly clear; there is no mention of Uhna seizing the city of Nesa. Orlin suggests that Nesa had been under the control of Zalpa at the time of Pithana's military operations.<sup>202</sup> This would mean that the king of Zalpa (Uhna) was ostensibly the ruler at Nesa as well at that time. Therefore his abduction of the statue of Nesian Siu seems to be some sort of punishment for the people of Nesa. Why would the ruler of a city remove the statue of the patron god of the city he ruled? If the statue at Nesa was not a native Nesian god then this would make sense. The connections between Nesa and Kussara and the reasons for moving the seat of power to Nesa remain a mystery. Bryce has suggested Nesa might have been more strategically valuable and, since the precise location of Kussara is still unknown, this is seems a reasonable explanation.<sup>203</sup>

The real reason for mentioning this former theft is so Anitta can tell us about his return of the statue to Nesa. Returning the statue of a god was a very prestigious thing to have done, especially if you could regain the statue of one of your own gods from an enemy.

By sacking Zalpa, and returning the statue to Nesa, Anitta establishes himself as more

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<sup>201</sup> Neu 1974: 13, after Bryce 1983: 26 (CTH 1 38-42). The theft of the statue has been questioned, with some maintaining the statue was destroyed rather than stolen. The author lacks a knowledge of the Hittite language, so has assumed the translation discussing the theft of the statue is correct.

<sup>202</sup> Orlin 1970: 243.

<sup>203</sup> Bryce 1983: 28.

than just a ruler capable of defeating rival cities; he is now the saviour of one of his ancestral deities. This act ingratiated Anitta with his new subjects and would not make him seem like ‘just another conqueror’, but a ruler who really associated himself with Nesa.<sup>204</sup>

Hattusili I (1650-1620) lists his many military conquests in his annals. As the king who established the Hittite capital at Hattusa he had reason to defend the areas surrounding his great city. He first marches against Zalpa, destroys it and takes its gods:

Thereupon I marched against Zalpa and destroyed it. And I took possession of its gods... And the gods that were remaining I gave to the temple of Mezzulla.<sup>205</sup>

He then says he gave these gods to the temple of Mezzulla, the daughter of the Weather God and the Sun Goddess of Arinna. Lower-ranking deities, such as Mezzulla were sometimes seen as intermediaries between humans and the gods,<sup>206</sup> so making this kind of offering to her would be profitable for Hattusili as he could now ask Mezzulla to pass on his prayers to her parents. These gods who had been captured could have been related to an aspect or aspects of Mezzulla’s divine powers. If the Hittites followed the Mesopotamian practice of housing the statues of the gods in the temple of another related god, then this makes sense. Since this Zalpa can be assumed to be the same one mentioned by Anitta, this act may be a form of retaliation against Zalpa for the earlier theft of the Hittite god. This is not mentioned or even alluded to in the text, but no other reason for destroying Zalpa is given either. His march against the town may not have been related to the previous offence against his gods, but it seems logical that the theft of the gods of Zalpa could be related.

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<sup>204</sup> Bryce 1983: 33.

<sup>205</sup> Bryce 1983: 50-51.

<sup>206</sup> Bryce 2002: 146.

Next, he destroys Ulma (Ullamma) and gives seven of their gods to the temple of the Sun Goddess of Arinna and the remaining gods to the temple of Mezzulla:

And I destroyed the Land of Ulma, and on its site I sowed [weeds]. I brought seven gods to the temple of the Sun Goddess of Arinna...and I gave the gods which remained to the temple of Mezzulla.<sup>207</sup>

Since the Sun Goddess of Arinna was the foremost goddess in the Hittite pantheon it makes sense Hattusili would deposit the newly acquired statues of the enemy gods in her temple. Giving the remaining gods to Mezzulla would have the same repercussions as the previous gift of the gods of Zalpa to the goddess.

After restricting his actions to solely the destruction of some other cities, Hattusili says: ‘Like a lion I fended off Hahha and destroyed Zippasna. I took possession of its gods and brought them to the temple of the Sun Goddess of Arinna’.<sup>208</sup> As he had done before, in the case of the looted gods of Ulma, he brings them to the temple of the Sun Goddess of Arinna. Immediately following this he marches against Hahha again and lists the gods in an enumeration of things he has presumably taken and given to the Sun Goddess. The way the sentences are arranged makes this assumption tentative; he lists all the items he has taken and then says he has freed all the slaves of Hahha. In the next sentence he has given ‘them over to’ her.<sup>209</sup> So no verb meaning to take or to give is explicitly used in reference to what happens to the gods. It can be assumed that the use of ‘them’ in saying he has given the slaves to the Sun Goddess can be attributed to the statues of the deities as well, as he had given captured deities to the Sun Goddess before.

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<sup>207</sup> Bryce 1983: 51-52.

<sup>208</sup> Bryce 1983: 54.

<sup>209</sup> Bryce 1983: 54.

One wonders what any of these cities have in common or what they may have done to incur such wrath. Also, why would he give all the gods to the Sun Goddess of Arinna or her daughter? Clearly they are all cities on the Hittite periphery, but is there more to it than that? In the Anitta Text, the king mentions two of the same towns, Zalpa, and Ullamma (Ulma). The Anitta Text briefly mentions Ullamma, whereas Hattusili exacts a great punishment on Ulma; the army of Ulma comes at him twice and he defeats them twice, then he sows weeds on the site of the city, a common idiom used to describe the complete and utter destruction of a place. Ulma must have some greater significance for Hattusili and possibly for Anitta, but it is not related in either text. It is likely that Hattusili, after defeating Ulma twice, did not want to be forced to fight them again, so took their gods to utterly dishearten and defeat them.

### **Instances of Godnap: Arnuwanda and Mursili II**

The Prayer of Arnuwanda and Asmunikal, his queen, was written to elicit the help of the Hittite gods. Arnuwanda is thought to have been king from around 1400 to 1350, though these dates, like much of the chronology of the Hittite kings, are approximate. It describes a heinous act committed by the Kaska a tribe constantly in conflict with the Hittites who lived in the Pontic Mountains to the north of Hittite territory.<sup>210</sup> The numerous confrontations with them are understandable considering their close proximity. They were thought to be uncouth barbarians, as their civilisation still operated within a tribal structure, contrary to the more desirable city-state structure of the Hittites.

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<sup>210</sup> von Schuler 1965: 30.

The royal couple begin their prayer by describing what great things the Hittite people, and they in particular, have done for their gods, ending with the following:

Furthermore, your divine images of silver and gold, when anything had grown old on some god's body, or when any objects of the gods had grown old, no one had ever renewed them as we have.<sup>211</sup>

If a statue becomes broken or grows old, they repair them with all haste. The renewal of a cult statue was considered a completely different process to making a new one, as the form of the statue was already known and was already approved by the god since the deity already inhabited the statue. While being able to repair the statues without waiting for the deity's approval could possibly go wrong by unwittingly going against his/her wishes, it proved to be advantageous in that Arnuwanda and Asmunikal were able to show extreme dedication to their gods. When new images of the gods needed to be created the deities were asked what they would prefer, resulting in long oracle protocols.<sup>212</sup>

After the discussion of the superior treatment they have given the gods in the *Prayer*, there is an enumeration of past offences against them. These include the taking of cult objects, as well as the destruction of the statues of the gods. The text lists a number of territories where the temples of the gods have been sacked by the Kaskeans; and subsequently they smashed the images of the gods. Arnuwana and Asmunikal then inform the gods that 'the temples which you, O gods, had in these lands, the Kaska-men have destroyed and they have smashed your images, O gods'.<sup>213</sup> Mentioning that the Kaskeans were the ones who sacked the temples makes the act even more barbaric as they were seen as a savage people. The Kaskeans would have no respect for the Hittite

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<sup>211</sup> Singer 2002: 41.

<sup>212</sup> Collins 2005: 24, also n 41.

<sup>213</sup> Singer 2002: 42.

gods, let alone their temples. Their destruction of the statues was a great offence against both the gods and the Hittite people. This is the only reference to such an offence in Hittite literature. Is this because no one but the Kaskeans dared destroy the statues of the gods? As a result of this grievous action, the gods were not around to receive libations or hear prayers. This, along with their destruction, would anger the gods; so the reason for the prayer is now clear. Arnuwanda does not want to be associated with former wrongdoings against the gods and wishes to reiterate his piety. By juxtaposing his proper care of the gods with the Kaskeans' destruction of them he is making the difference between them even larger and showing the gods just how devoted to them he is.

Apart from the general demoralisation that follows the destruction or kidnap of the statues of one's gods, the citizens of these territories would be unable to perform the proper rites, sacrifices, and festivals associated with their gods. This is stated in the prayer and mention is made of an appeal to the Kaskeans to swear an oath not to harm what offerings were sent to the still surviving statue of the Storm God at Nerik. The Kaskeans seem to have thought better of destroying the statue of one of the chief Hittite gods, as Arnuwanda says they will continue to send goods to Nerik even though the city has been overrun by the Kaskeans. Nerik was a very important cult centre and the loss of it to the Kaskeans was devastating to the Hittites.<sup>214</sup> What reason do the Kaskeans have for not destroying this god? If the Kaskeans were able to easily destroy other Hittite gods, why do they want to save the Storm God of Nerik? At the end of the section Arnuwanda states that the Kaskeans repeatedly took the offerings, swore the

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<sup>214</sup> See Haas 1970.

oath and when they returned to Nerik they took the goods for themselves. So, according to Arnuwanda they have chosen not to destroy the statue of the Storm God in order to misappropriate the goods and offerings sent to him. How would Arnuwanda know this? It seems likely that he is saying this in order to reinforce the purpose of his prayer; he needs the Sun Goddess of Arinna's help and if offerings to other gods are being misappropriated, her offerings might be next.

In his Prayer to the Sun Goddess of Arinna, Mursili II (1321-1295) recounts the deeds of his father in an attempt to show what his incarnation of the Hittite empire might be able to accomplish if only he had help from the Goddess. In the *Prayer*, Mursili details a previous incident in which the land of Hatti had destroyed Aleppo and Babylon and taken their gods:

Moreover, as for Aleppo and Babylon, which they destroyed, they took their goods – silver, gold, and the gods – of all the lands, and they deposited them before the Sun Goddess of Arinna.<sup>215</sup>

He uses this story as a contrast with the current state of affairs; the vassal states of the empire have declared themselves independent and are no longer paying tribute to the Sun Goddess. Since the Sun Goddess was Mursili's personal goddess, as well as being one of the most important deities in the Hittite pantheon, this represents a great deficiency in cult practice. The destruction of cities such as Aleppo and Babylon was a great military achievement. These victories could not just be a thing of the past, they could happen again, if only someone would help the Hittites. The mention of past military prowess and the previous gift of the stolen gods to the Sun Goddess should implore her to help the Hittites; this is the point of the prayer. The promise of more

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<sup>215</sup> Singer 2002: 53.



dedications is implied, even if the Sun Goddess knows they may not happen for a while since the land is so impoverished.

The inclusion of this specific event is interesting. Clearly, Mursili wishes to show the celebrated military prowess of the past and argue that they could be that great again if only the plague were gone; they would then be able to defeat their relentless enemies. Mention of Aleppo and Babylon shows that Mursili is trying to highlight the larger, more powerful states that the Hittite Empire has conquered in the past. He goes even further in the next section when mentioning that the Hittite lands are being attacked by other enemies and asks the Sun Goddess for a call to action since this degradation of the empire reflects directly upon her and her reputation. So the purpose in mentioning the godnap of the past is to entreat the Sun Goddess to help Mursili and to bring prosperity back to the Hittites.

It is interesting that the goods mentioned, ‘silver, gold, and gods’ are in this order.<sup>216</sup> It follows then, that taking the gods was at least as important as taking the other forms of wealth of the conquered land. Does this mean that the taking of the gods was just a standard action and had the same effect as taking the gold and silver? If that were so, then the gods of each conquered city would be taken and as has been seen in the annals of Hattusili this is not the case. All of these items are ‘deposited before the Sun Goddess of Arinna’.<sup>217</sup> So not only are these items being taken, they are being given as tribute to the Sun Goddess. Since the prayer is dedicated to her, this seems fairly obvious, but in

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<sup>216</sup> Gurney 1940: 31.

<sup>217</sup> Gurney 1940: 31.

other texts, namely the annals of Hattusili I, the goods and gods are also given to the Sun Goddess.

### **The Character of Hittite Godnap**

The Hittite use of godnap can be described by three paradigms of the phenomenon: *evocatio*, a phenomenon exclusive to them, the theft of the gods and the return of the gods. In the Anitta text, godnap is mentioned in order to emphasise Anitta's return of the statue. The reason for the taking of the god in the first place is not known. The Prayer of Arnuwanda relates the destruction of the gods by the Kaskeans and by doing so Arnuwanda hopes to reinforce the degree of his piety. Hattusili I takes the gods of surrounding cities and gives them to either the Sun Goddess of Arinna or Mezzulla, her daughter. The reasons for the taking of the gods are not explicitly given, but presumably these gods are taken in order to impose some order onto the cities he has conquered. Mursili II mentions previous Hittite conquests in order to reinforce the potential military prowess of the current Hittite administration. Most of these texts use the kidnap of the gods and their placement in a Hittite temple to show the piety of the king writing the text. The Anitta Text also does this, but by mentioning the return of a statue instead of the taking of one. So why do the Hittites really take the gods? Their pantheon was ever expanding and they were more than willing to accept new gods into it in an attempt to forestall the anger of any of the gods. Is the taking of the gods just a function of this need to have 'an extreme form of polytheism'?<sup>218</sup>

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<sup>218</sup> Akurgal 1962: 76.

What then was the purpose of Hittite godnap? If the Hittites had such a high degree of tolerance for the gods of other religions why did they take the statues? It seems that they were not using the statues to control the other cities, but by placing their gods in a Hittite temple the conquered citizens were shown that the Hittites had assumed the worship of their gods. So the assumption of the gods was not used to control the people. The Hittites used this kidnap of the statues of the gods to show the people they had been adopted into the Hittite empire, but not to punish them, as was done in Mesopotamia.

## CHAPTER FIVE: THE MIDDLE ASSYRIAN EMPIRE

The main sources for the history of this period come from a group of texts loosely referred to as the Assyrian Annals. The Annals include all of the historical inscriptions extant for each Assyrian king from the twelfth century until the fall of Assyria in the seventh century and list events in chronological or geographic order, with some short narratives. Compendia of these texts have been published, usually under the title of ‘royal inscriptions’, as they are indeed inscriptions by rulers. For the Middle Assyrian Period, the most complete of these have been published in the Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia series. Unlike the Sumerian tradition from which the Annals come and the Babylonian tradition which was concurrent with them, the Assyrian chroniclers chose not to merely list events, but to expand the military narratives, creating a cohesive history.<sup>219</sup> As a result of this development in historiography we are able to construct more than just the deeds of kings/emperors; we are able to ascertain their motives and also learn the consequences of their actions.

### **Tiglath-Pileser I**

Tiglath-Pileser I (1114-1076) was the first king of the Middle Assyrian Period to perform the act of godnap. It was from his annals that the later, more detailed Assyrian Annals took their character. He was the first ruler to utilise this new genre, giving rise to its use to record the history of later Assyrian kings; the deeds of kings were no longer just a list of events, but a detailed narrative. Tiglath-Pileser I was able to focus his military campaigns on the north and west, as relations with Babylonia were stable, apart

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<sup>219</sup> Grayson 1972: XX

from Marduk-nadin-aḫe's incursion into Assur to take the statues of Adad and Šala from Ekallate.<sup>220</sup> He traversed places his ancestors had never reached and conquered them, exacting tribute and deporting citizens. His rule seems to be the one by which later Assyrian kings would model their own.

His most complete inscription is an octagonal prism, composed of eight columns, comprising around one hundred lines each. The bulk of Tiglath-Pileser I's acts of godnap come from this prism. The first text of Tiglath-Pileser I describing the act of godnap, T-PI 1a, concerns an alliance between the lands of Paphu and Katmuḫu, territories to the northwest of Assur. Tiglath-Pileser attacked Katmuḫu in his accession year and the Paphians came to her aid. This proved to be of no avail as the armies of both lands were destroyed. Detailed descriptions of the fate of the bodies of those that have been killed are given, relating that the king had stacked some of them up, but had thrown others into the River Nāme so they could be taken to the Tigris.<sup>221</sup> The mention of disrespect for the bodies of those that had been killed could stem from a desire to show the reader the power of the Assyrian king. It seems more likely that this mistreatment was a result of anger toward the armies involved. The inscription then focuses on the ruler of Paphu, whom Tiglath-Pileser claims to have captured himself. From this king, Kili-Tešub, he then took many things; most notably, his wife, sons, gods, gold, silver and 'the best of their possessions' (line 32). The text uses the qualifier 'their' to describe the gods taken, though the list of items before these refer specifically to Kili-Tešub's personal possessions or relatives. These, then are the gods of the city

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<sup>220</sup> No contemporary evidence for this event has been found and it is only described in the Annals of Sennacherib when he returns the statues to Assur (text SNB 7b), described in Chapter Six.

<sup>221</sup> Since common practice would dictate the burial of the dead so they could receive offerings from their relatives, this act is one of great disrespect.

Šereššu, where the fight between the alliance and the Assyrians has taken place, rather than the gods of Kili-Tešub, as it is unlikely Kili-Tešub would have brought the gods of Paphu with him to battle.<sup>222</sup> The city was then destroyed; the description of this event is related via the common phrase *ina IZI-MEŠ ášrup appúl aqqur*, ‘I burnt, demolished, razed with fire’ (lines 34-5).

What then was the reason for the total destruction of this city both physically and spiritually via normal means as well as the medium of godnap? The reason for the destruction of the Paphians and their king is clear; they should not have come to the aid of Katmuḫu. Previous to this incident, Tiglath-Pileser had come to the aid of Katmuḫu after the people of Mušku captured their territory. After he dispatched the Mušku, he was forced to return to Katmuḫu as they had stopped paying their tribute. It seems this was the last straw as the king proceeded to destroy the cities of Katmuḫu. Some of the citizens then fled across the Tigris to the city of Šereššu; Tiglath-Pileser followed them and destroyed the city, after which the text of T-PI 1a begins. Since the king had to go to the trouble of following the inhabitants of Katmuḫu to Šereššu in order to completely subdue them it seems likely he would be tired of their insolence and would want to deal a devastating blow. He was annoyed by the aid of Kili-Tešub, so took obligatory battle spoils from him, but was even more annoyed at the inhabitants of Katmuḫu, so decided to completely demoralise and dishearten them by stealing their gods.

The next episode in Tiglath-Pileser’s annals concerning the movement of the statues of the gods does not describe godnap, but the fear of it. The text, T-PI 1b, is also from the

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<sup>222</sup> However, he would have brought his wife and family with him on the campaign as was common practice.

octagonal prism of Tiglath-Pileser I and the events of the text date to Tiglath-Pileser's accession year. The citizens of the city of Urraṭinaš, a fortress near Katmuḫu,<sup>223</sup> fled before the advancing Assyrian army and took their gods with them. Instead of leaving their beloved gods to the mercy of the Assyrians they decided to take them into the mountains. This safekeeping of their gods shows that they feared either the act of godnap or what would happen to them if they abandoned their gods. They assumed that if they did not abandon their gods, the gods would not abandon them, giving them the hope that they would not be completely destroyed. The motif of the abandonment of the gods can be seen in various types of Mesopotamian literature. It has been accepted scholarly opinion that the Mesopotamians must have interpreted the act of godnap as their gods abandoning them. This link is seen in *The Lamentation over the Destruction of Sumer and Ur*, with the gods abandoning their statues before their destruction.<sup>224</sup> Though this motif is present in earlier inscriptions, it is only in the Neo-Assyrian Period that the conquering king used the idea that the gods of those he was conquering had abandoned them.<sup>225</sup> The citizens would not want to provoke the gods or give them reason to abandon them and bringing the gods with them in their flight would be the easiest way to prevent this. The citizens could also be taking their gods with them in the same way they were taking their possessions with them; their gods were part of their culture so needed to be preserved along with their other possessions. They could additionally have been attempting to save their gods from being taken by the Assyrians as this would not be beneficial to either party. So, by saying that the citizens of Urraṭinaš took their gods with them when they fled, the author of the annals has acknowledged that the practice was common enough to have been feared.

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<sup>223</sup> RGTC V: 274.

<sup>224</sup> See Michalowski 1989.

<sup>225</sup> Cogan 1974: 11.

Text T-PI 1c concerns the already kidnapped gods of Katmuḫu. Before this inscription Tiglath-Pileser tells us he has conquered the land of Katmuḫu to its entirety. Now, at the end of his accession year, presumably on his return to Assur, the king dedicated the gods of Katmuḫu to Adad; the gods of Šereššu, taken previously, would be included here. So, it seems that either in the early phases of godnap the captured gods were taken to the temple of Adad and ceremonially given to the god or that Tiglath-Pileser had an affinity for Adad and wanted to gain his favour. The booty from the land of Katmuḫu was taken to the temple of Aššur. This booty would constitute a great offering for Aššur, but why were the gods not given to him? The reason for Tiglath-Pileser's dedication of the gods to Adad is unclear. It is possible the gods that had been taken were storm gods, so were taken to the temple of the Assyrian storm god, Adad, but as the gods taken are simply described as 'gods', 'DINGIR.MEŠ' it is impossible to know what the nature of their divinities were. As these gods have come from many cities of Katmuḫu, they would likely be more than just storm gods; though it is not known whether all the gods of certain cities were taken or a select few. This inscription shows what was done with the captured gods after they had been taken.<sup>226</sup>

Tiglath-Pileser I committed four acts of godnap in the second year of his reign, starting shortly after the beginning of the year. The areas being conquered in this episode, text T-PI 1d, Sarauš and Ammauš, were said to have not known submission so it can be assumed that these areas had not been under complete Assyrian control previously. It is possible the Assyrians may have fought with these peoples, but had not been able to

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<sup>226</sup> Later, Sargon II would propose that the captured gods had left their statues voluntarily because they needed to visit Assur in order to pay their respects to Aššur. This is reflected in the practice of the gods being housed in Aššur's temple in Assur (Cogan 1974: 20-21).



subjugate them fully or that these areas were provinces that were able to govern themselves, thus not requiring complete submission. The troops of these lands took to the mountains, presumably in the hope the Assyrians would find fighting there more difficult. The Assyrians followed them into the mountains and the troops of Sarauš and Ammauš were utterly defeated, their corpses piled up on the mountain ledges like heaps of grain. Tiglath-Pileser then moved to capture their cities, succeeded, and carried off their gods. As these areas had not been conquered by Assyria before, it can be assumed that the kidnap of the statues of their gods was executed to illustrate the extent of Assyrian dominance and to keep ideas of revolt in check. The theft of their gods would have served as a constant reminder to obey their Assyrian overlords, seemingly one of the main reasons for the act of godnap.

Later in his second year, Tiglath-Pileser started to expand his empire by crossing the River Zab (T-PI 1e). He conquered the lands of Murattaš, Saradauš, Asaniu and Aṭuma, with Asaniu and Aṭuma proving to be a challenge, and finally started his siege on the city of Murattaš.<sup>227</sup> He tells us how long the siege lasted, two-thirds of a day, and in the end Tiglath-Pileser prevailed. Mentioning how long the siege took is an interesting device; one would assume that two-thirds of a day was not a very long siege, so this statement serves to show Tiglath-Pileser's prowess in battle, another testament to the greatness of the Assyrians. Along with copious amounts of booty, he took the gods of the city before demolishing and razing it. Information regarding the fate of the temples

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<sup>227</sup> In the inscriptions this name is written with two different determinatives, URU, meaning 'city' and KUR, meaning 'land' or 'country'.

of the gods is not given, but since the entire city was destroyed this can be assumed.<sup>228</sup> As this was his first attack against this city he may have taken the gods as a show of the military strength and power of Assyria. This godnap may also have been a function of the events of his first year as king; he waged many battles, some with non-submissive peoples. He could easily have been pre-empting revolts from this area by taking their gods as spoil.

Continuing the campaign of submission during his second year, Tiglath-Pileser marched to the land of Sugu (T-PI 1f). After marching to Sugu he fought with troops from various lands within the region of Sugu, conquering the entirety of it. He then took his deserved plunder along with twenty-five of their gods. As he had fought people from the lands Ḫimu, Lūhu, Arrigu, Alamun, Nimnu and Paphu, presumably these twenty-five gods consist of a few gods from each area, but with the lack of specification this cannot be determined. As seen from text T-PI 1a, Tiglath-Pileser has already had problems with Paphu as they came to the aid of Katmuḫu when he was conquering that area. Perhaps this godnap was his chance to take revenge on Paphu for their earlier actions. The most logical reason for this act of godnap, however, is to show the entirety of Sugu the true power of Assyria and her king. By stating that he took the gods after relating his conquest of the entirety of the state it seems as though he is adding insult to injury. He was such a powerful king and the people of this area are so inept that he has both conquered the entirety of Sugu and taken twenty-five of their gods. So then, the

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<sup>228</sup> Holloway 2002: 112. This idea could also apply to cases that do not include godnap, though the gods of the destroyed cities would likely be moved somewhere as the Assyrians did not destroy the gods of other cities with the notable exception of Marduk of Babylon, though his statue's complete destruction is debatable.

description of the godnap becomes a boast telling the reader just how magnificent the king actually was.

After obtaining these gods, Tiglath-Pileser dedicated them to many Assyrian gods (T-PI 1g). He gave the twenty-five gods of Sugu to the temple of Ninlil as door-keepers and also to Anu, Adad and Assyrian Ištar, presumably as door-keepers as well though this is not explicit in the text. It is interesting to note that line 36, which lists the temples of Anu, Adad and Assyrian Ištar as recipients of the statues of the gods of Sugu, is only preserved in two exemplars out of the seven extant sources of this text. It would seem, then, that the tradition of placing statues of the gods in the temples of Ninlil and Adad (as seen in T-PI 1c) was a fairly sound one, but the additional placement of some of the statues in the temples of the other gods might not have been a normal occurrence. Aššur is once again missing from the list of recipients of the statues of the gods. Since Ninlil was Aššur's wife, she may be fulfilling his role in her capacity as his consort. What function would these gods serve as door-keepers for the temples? It seems counter-intuitive to have the gods of a people the Assyrians had recently conquered serve as the safe-keepers of the temples of their own gods. Is this, then, a place of honour for the newly conquered gods? Or have they simply been demoted and are now servants of the Assyrian gods? I think the latter is more likely as the purpose of godnap was to subjugate peoples, so to extend this idea to the gods that were stolen is not difficult. Stripping the gods of Sugu of their prized position in their pantheon and making them mere door-keepers to the Assyrian gods would presumably have a psychological effect on not only the gods themselves, but the people who worshipped them. Just as the

people of the land of Sugu were subjugated by the Assyrian king, so were the gods of Sugu by the Assyrian gods.

In his fifth year Tiglath-Pileser travelled northwest to the region of Qumanu. After fighting a large battle at Mount Ḥarusa he conquered the city of Ḥunusu (T-PI 1h), an important stronghold of the territory of Qumanu.<sup>229</sup> There was a fierce battle and the Assyrian king emerged victorious, decapitating the enemy soldiers and making their blood ‘go into the caves and plains of the mountains’ (lines 7-8). He then carried off the gods, took plunder and burned the city. The reason for his harsh treatment of these peoples can be deduced from the events just before text T-PI 1h. Tiglath-Pileser has travelled to Muṣri and the people of Qumanu have come to the aid of those of Muṣri. So, in order to punish the Qumanu he must destroy their most important fortified city and take their gods so they know not to go against the will of the Assyrian king again. This mirrors the treatment of Paphu as seen in text T-PI 1f; the Paphians had come to the aid of Katmuḥu and were likewise punished. He also utterly destroyed the city and fashioned bronze lightning bolts on which he inscribed his achievements along with a warning for others not to rebuild the city or its wall.<sup>230</sup> Unlike the other texts on the octagonal prism, this episode is mentioned in another extant source. The act of godnap is not mentioned in this additional source, only the destruction of the city and the taking of captives is described.

In another source, a tablet re-constructed from many fragments found at Assur, Tiglath-Pileser describes his campaign to Suḥu (T-PI 2). After a successful campaign to

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<sup>229</sup> Kessler 1972-75: 500.

<sup>230</sup> RIMA 2: A.0.87.1: 24, lines 11-21.

Karduniaš he returned to Assur with possessions and booty. This is the first extant inscription relating Tiglath-Pileser's military endeavours into Babylonia.<sup>231</sup> His next campaign took him west to the region of Suḫu, where he conquered the city of Sapiratu, which lay on an island in the middle of the Euphrates. He then continued his march to the city of ẖindānu (Ḥimdānu), which was joined with Sapiratu to form a town in Suḫu.<sup>232</sup> He then 'carried off their many gods' and took them to Assur (lines 42-43). Since before this statement he describes his conquest of the entire land of Suḫu it can be assumed these gods are from the various cities in Suḫu. Suḫu bordered Babylonia and was a tributary of Babylon from the Old Babylonian period, so was strategically important.<sup>233</sup> Tiglath-Pileser is also the first Assyrian king to explicitly mention his campaign and conquest of Suḫu.<sup>234</sup> It can be assumed that this area had not been under Assyrian rule, though had previously been under the control of Babylon. So, for the first subjugation of this territory the theft of the gods of the land would seem to stem from a desire to show the inhabitants that the Assyrians were serious about keeping order as well as using the godnap to demoralise their citizens in order to prevent revolts.

In the final text of Tiglath-Pileser to be discussed, T-PI 3, the king's campaigns are described in short sentences without much elaboration. Interestingly, the 'military narrative is parallel to but different from other texts of Tiglath-Pileser'.<sup>235</sup> So, each text describes his military conquests, but uses different and often fewer words. In the section of the inscription which mentions godnap, the king first conquered Šubarū, a land to the west of Assyria, near to Ḥatti. Then we are told the king subdued Lullumu, which was

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<sup>231</sup> RIMA 2: 38-39.

<sup>232</sup> Postgate 1972-75: 415.

<sup>233</sup> Brinkman 1968: 184, n. 1127.

<sup>234</sup> Brinkman 1968: 184, n. 1127.

<sup>235</sup> RIMA 2: 31.

located in western Iran and next we see the king conquering Nairi, which was located in the Armenian highlands. This inscription, then, seems to have a different character than the others in the corpus of Tiglath-Pileser I in that the scribe has chosen to give a highlight of the events of the campaigns rather than the more elaborative narrative descriptions as seen in Tiglath-Pileser's other annals. The campaigns to very different parts of the empire have been related as if they were short events immediately following one another. This contributes to the summary effect that this document creates. Regarding the conquest of Lullumu, Tiglath-Pileser simply conquered it 'to its entirety' and then tells us that he has dedicated their gods to Assyrian Ištar.<sup>236</sup> The possessions and booty from Lullumu were then presented to Adad. This seems to be a reverse from text T-PI 1c as the gods were previously given to Adad, not the booty. It is interesting to note that neither the possessions nor the gods were given to Aššur. Perhaps, as may have been the case previously, the gods taken from this conquest were thought to have been better suited for presentation of Assyrian Ištar. This exclusion of Aššur as a god fit to receive the gods of other countries continues here, and indeed is maintained throughout Tiglath-Pileser's reign.

In the royal inscriptions of Tiglath-Pileser I ten separate instances of godnap can be found. Eight out of these ten instances are described in one text and are not described in any other extant sources.<sup>237</sup> The remaining two acts of godnap are depicted in other tablets, with short mentions of the destruction of the cities, but the acts of godnap left

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<sup>236</sup> Borger 1961: 115, restores line 23 as 'Ninlil, Anu, Adad...and Assyrian Ištar'.

<sup>237</sup> The episode with Ḫunusu in text T-PI 1h is the only exception; the capture of Ḫunusu is included in the same tablet as text T-PI 3, but the theft of the gods is not mentioned.

out.<sup>238</sup> The reasons for godnap, in the reign of Tiglath-Pileser I can be easily explained. When the king conquered areas for the first time or areas that had already revolted he took their gods; this showed the conquered peoples that the Assyrians not only had dominion over them, but also their gods. Presumably this was done to pre-empt revolts in newly conquered areas. In three of these texts the stolen gods were given or dedicated to Assyrian gods, albeit different deities in each instance. Did this mark the transfer of the gods to the Assyrian pantheon as it did for the Hittites? I do not think so as the Assyrians were not as concerned with accepting other gods into their pantheon to avoid angering them. By using the verbs *qiašu* and *šaraku*, meaning ‘to present (as a gift)’ and ‘to dedicate’ respectively, the verbs normally used when giving offerings to the gods, the author of this inscription wished to portray the gods of the enemies of Assyria as being equivalent to other, more regular offerings to the gods. In this way, the gods of conquered nations are seen merely as things that can be given to the Assyrian gods to gain their favour.

### **Adad-nerari II**

Chronologically, the next Assyrian king to describe his acts of godnap is Adad-nerari II (911-891). He took advantage of ‘Assur-dan II’s reassertion of Assyrian might and launched campaigns in almost every one of his twenty-one years on the throne’.<sup>239</sup> His annals only describe his first eighteen years, so it is not unreasonable to assume he did not campaign during his final years. Though he conquered territory in all four cardinal directions, the three main targets of his campaigns were the western territories held by

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<sup>238</sup> The episode in T-PI 2 is mentioned in the tablet which contains T-PI 3, with the description of the act of godnap not legible in the text, but restored by Grayson.

<sup>239</sup> RIMA 2: 142.

the Arameans, the north which included Ḫabḫu and Nairi, and Babylonia.<sup>240</sup> His campaigns were so successful that he was able to go on a so-called ‘show of force’ campaign in 894, near the end of his reign, collecting tribute in all the lands he had conquered.

The first section of text connected with godnap concerns the subjugation of one of the lands of the north and comes from the earliest known edition of the annals, dated to the king’s third regnal year, 909.<sup>241</sup> Adad-nerari started his reign by travelling to Qumanu (A-NII 1a) as Tiglath-Pileser I had done in his fifth year. He conquered the territory and captured their king Iluia, then he killed Iluia’s brothers and took plunder and valuables from the land to Assur. The gods of Qumanu were presented to Aššur. So, different to the earlier texts of Tiglath-Pileser I, the stolen gods were given to Aššur; presumably to be placed in front of his cult statue in imitation of worshippers. As seen previously when Tiglath-Pileser I had encountered the Qumanu, just as now, the citizens of that land did not fare well. It seems unlikely that this theft of their gods was resultant from the episodes with Tiglath-Pileser I as about two hundred years separate the two kings, so it is not known what provoked this outrage from Adad-nerari. The area could have rebelled in a previous time and Adad-nerari chose to bring them back into the fold of the Assyrian empire.

Text A-NII 1b is from the beginning of the reverse of the tablet that contains the previous text and is slightly broken, so its context is more difficult to discern. We cannot tell which town the king was attacking, as the text is fragmented due to a break

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<sup>240</sup> RIMA 2: 142.

<sup>241</sup> RIMA 2: 145.



in the tablet, but the signs for the River Tigris are legible, so it could possibly be on the Tigris; the mention of the Tigris could alternatively refer to the king crossing it. All we know for certain is that the king defeated three cities of a certain area, and possibly more.<sup>242</sup> He took the gods of either these three cities or the entirety of the land, though it would seem to be only the gods from these cities as in other inscriptions when taking the gods of a whole territory the king usually says he conquered that territory to its entirety just before mentioning the godnap.<sup>243</sup> Once he had destroyed the city he brought the gods, along with valuables, livestock and booty back to Assur. Like the other texts we have seen so far, and ones we will see later in this chapter and the following chapters, we are not told what happens to the stolen gods the majority of the time. We presume they were put in the temple of Aššur so the gods could worship Aššur and acknowledge his superiority, but this is not explicitly stated.

Later, in the fifteenth year of his reign (896), in the eponymy of Adad-dan, Adad-nerari went to the land of Ḫanigalbat for the sixth time (A-NII 2).<sup>244</sup> He confined Nūr-Adad, the leader of the city Našibina, inside his town. The siege of Našibina is then described, resulting in its subjugation by Adad-nerari including the placement of one of his generals as its new ruler. He then took many treasures out of the city as booty, including the gods. As per usual they are only mentioned in a long list of booty, but interestingly just after the gold and precious stones of Nūr-Adad. Since the cult statues of the gods were made from these materials, it is interesting they are mentioned here. Could this

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<sup>242</sup> The number forty and the Sumerian logogram for city (URU) are legible and the plural marker is assumed to follow.

<sup>243</sup> As seen in T-PI 1f and T-PI 3 as well as other texts.

<sup>244</sup> In the previous five times Adad-nerari went to Ḫanigalbat, he encountered Nūr-Adad once and other rulers of Temannu descent three times, with the supposed final subjugation of the country assumed after the fourth campaign there. The fifth time he went to Ḫanigalbat to collect tribute. (RIMA 2: 149-150).

allude not to the theft of the statues of the gods, but to stripping the statues of their outer layers?<sup>245</sup> The materials on top of the inner core would definitely be most valuable, but would the Assyrians care about defacing the god? Since they were already pre-disposed to taking the statues, then it seems likely they would not have cared about offending the gods of other, enemy nations. As previously stated, they did not allow the statues of the gods to be destroyed, apart from the alleged destruction of the statue of Marduk by Sennacherib's men. This would seem to show a reverence for divine statues, even if they were not directly worshipped by the Assyrians. Though only taking the precious materials of the enemy's gods seems tempting, the Assyrians would likely see more benefit from the psychological effects of godnap. Naşibina was also a strategically important city, lying at a crossroads to other cities from the Assyrian heartland.<sup>246</sup> It would then behove the Assyrian king to secure his rule over this area through the act of godnap.

The godnapping programme of Adad-nerari II consisted of three separate episodes. He used the theft of the gods to suppress rebellious lands and to secure strategic locations. He also presented the gods of enemy lands to his god Aššur. He used the psychological affects of godnap to his advantage in order to add important territories to the Assyrian empire. It is interesting to note that throughout his eighteen-year military career he only utilised the act of godnap three times. Either the areas he conquered bent to his will fairly simply or he was only prepared to take the gods of those cities that were especially troublesome or had rebelled from previous Assyrian overlords.

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<sup>245</sup> The *Astronomical Diaries* tell of similar events in the Seleucid era. The statue of Nergal is peeled and the precious stones stolen. The thieves are then burned for their sacrilege (Sachs and Hunger 1988: 477).

<sup>246</sup> Streck 1998: 185-6.

## Tukulti-Ninurta II

Tukulti-Ninurta II (890-884) did not concern his reign with the expansion of Assyrian territories, but with keeping order amongst those already won, though he did often explore these territories further than his predecessors. His ambitions for the empire are unknown, but it would seem he was concerned merely with stability and did not desire to gain new provinces. His main opponent was Nairi, as he launched three, possibly four, campaigns against the area. His final recorded campaign, though extensive and wide-ranging, boasted no military engagements as every city he encountered quickly gave tribute to him. His reign, then, seems to have been based on fear rather than brute military force; this idea is similar to the ideas behind godnap since the devastating psychological effects were more important than the physical removal of the statue.

In the most extensive version of the annals of Tukulti-Ninurta II one reference to godnap can be found (T-NII 1). This particular account begins in *medias res* so is likely to have had one or more tablets preceding it.<sup>247</sup> Just after returning from a campaign in Nairi Tukulti-Ninurta received a letter from Bi..., son of Amme-ba'li.<sup>248</sup> A man called Bialasi has presumably started a revolt against the Assyrians and they have asked the son of Amme-ba'li to sort it out as from the tone of the letter reported here in the annals it seems the matter has been discussed before. Amme-ba'li had been defeated on Tukulti-Ninurta's fourth campaign, and swore an oath of allegiance to the Assyrian king.<sup>249</sup> This would mean Tukulti-Ninurta could call on him to put down revolts in areas that were not easily accessible to the Assyrian army whilst they were on campaign. The

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<sup>247</sup> RIMA 2: 169.

<sup>248</sup> This part of the tablet is broken and this individual is not known from other sources, so his name cannot be reconstructed.

<sup>249</sup> Ebeling 1932: 96.

report mentions that Bialasi fled to different cities, but that is all we know of the episode. Bialasi must have been defeated as in the next line Tukulti-Ninurta tells us that in addition to his treasures, valuables and plunder, the gods of Bialasi were brought to him in Nineveh. There is no way to know if godnap was the king's intention as we are only told of the dispatch of the gods to Nineveh after being captured by Bi.... This act of godnap then resulted from the revolt or bad behaviour of Bialasi. This seems to prove that the taking of an enemy's gods was what was expected when quelling a revolt in Assyria; even those helping the Assyrian king by handling revolts in far-off areas knew the punishment for rebellion was godnap. So, in this instance godnap was used as a punishment for revolts within the Assyrian Empire.

### **Aššurnaširpal II**

The annals of Aššurnaširpal II (883-859) are large in number. The texts can be arranged chronologically as annalistic narratives or geographically as display narratives; sometimes the two methods are mixed in the same inscription. On his campaigns Aššurnaširpal travelled in all directions, but failed to venture to Babylon or Babylonia proper.<sup>250</sup> He expanded the empire considerably, launching fourteen major campaigns in his twenty-five years on the throne. It is surprising, then that he only utilised the tactic of godnap twice.

In an inscription on stone slabs which lined the Ninurta temple at Calah we find two discussions of godnap. The first, ANPII 1a, concerns the city of Suru in the region of Bīt-Ḫalupe, which was located west of Assur on the Ḫabur River.<sup>251</sup> Prior to the event

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<sup>250</sup> RIMA 2: 189.

<sup>251</sup> Helsinki Atlas: 9.

described in the text, the king has received a report whilst on campaign in Katmuḫu, which lay north-by-northeast of Suru, stating that Suru had rebelled; they had killed their governor and appointed another one from Bit-Adini, an Aramean state on the Upper Euphrates to the northwest of Suru. Why they had chosen a man of Bit-Adini is a mystery. Presumably Bit-Adini was a more powerful nation at this time and the citizens of Suru thought a governor from this area would be more suited to take on the Assyrians. As a result of this murder and new installation, Aššurnaširpal was forced to break off his campaign in Katmuḫu and go to Suru. As one would suspect, ‘fear of the radiance of Aššur’ overwhelmed the city (line 80). This phrase is commonly used in the Annals to describe the divinity of the god Aššur, with people fleeing his awesome power. The elders and nobles then came out and asked Aššurnaširpal to ‘do what makes your heart happy’ (line 81); they seem to be begging him to save their lives, while graciously leaving the decision up to him. The king then set his sights on Aḫi-iababa, the leader whom the rebels had installed. Aḫi-iababa was then seized and the city was besieged. The king then sent his nobles into the palace and temples and took out all the valuables, silver, gold, bronze and ‘his gods and their property’ (line 85). It is interesting to note that the king did not take these precious items, but sent his nobles instead. The king made a conscious decision not to sully his hands with the plunder. This decision will be seen again, although in a more controversial episode, when, during his siege of Babylon, Sennacherib sent his soldiers into the temples to take out the statues of the gods.

Though not stated explicitly, the reason for the taking of the statues of the gods is clear in this instance; the city rebelled and Aḫi-iababa, presumably, consented to take the

throne so his gods are the ones taken.<sup>252</sup> One would think it would be more demoralising to the citizens of Suru to take their own gods, unless the gods of Suru had become Aḫi-iababa's gods once he took over the leadership of the land. If not, then the theft of his gods would be a deterrent to other would-be rulers of Suru. The true depth of Aššurnaširpal's anger can be seen just after this text; after appointing Azi-ilu as the new governor he flayed the nobles who started the rebellion and placed their skins in a pile. He then took Aḫi-iababa back to Nineveh, flayed him and draped his skin over the walls. So, if the act of godnap was not enough, the king makes certain there will be no more resistance by killing everyone involved in a horrible manner.

The next text, ANPII 1b, occurred not too long after the previous text and concerned some of the same people. It seems Azi-ilu had now fallen out of favour with Aššurnaširpal and he ran to the city of Kipinu, located south of Suru at the point where the Euphrates meets the Ḫabur.<sup>253</sup> He was defeated by the Assyrian king, but managed to escape via an inaccessible mountain. However, Aššurnaširpal carried away captives and his gods, presumably whilst he was running away. So, the fate of the ruler of Suru seems an unhappy one. Invariably the state will rebel and the ruler will either be killed or be chased to an inaccessible area and his gods will be taken to Assyria. In both texts, the theft of the gods was a necessary action since both rulers of the city have disobeyed the king.

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<sup>252</sup> The text gives no clues as to Aḫi-iababa's willingness to become the leader of Suru, so whether his punishment is deserved or not cannot be known.

<sup>253</sup> Liverani 1992: 70.

### **Šalmaneser III**

Like his father Aššurnasirpal II, Šalmaneser III (858-824) continued to expand the Assyrian Empire, conquering territories previously held by Assyria and those further away that had not known submission. Due to the length of his reign, thirty-four years, he was able to accomplish much and thirty-four known campaigns are extant. He conquered lands to the west as far as the Mediterranean Sea and extensively campaigned to the north as well. His military conquests were directed mainly to the north and the west, with the king winning decisive battles in both areas early in his reign. He was then able to concentrate on expanding Assyrian territory in each area gradually. He was forced to intervene in affairs in Babylonia later in his reign to protect his allies there. His military activities were extensively described, and as such we have much information about his reign. The selections of the royal inscriptions of Šalmaneser III containing godnap exist on various objects, ranging from the standard clay tablets to bronze insets on gates, a statue of the king, an obelisk, door sills and a stele. Šalmaneser committed three separate acts of godnap, though two of these are represented by multiple source texts.

An incident also occurred which was the reverse of godnap, which will be discussed presently. Text ŠLMIII 1 is from a structure called the Kurkh Monolith as it is a large stone stele found at Kurkh in Turkey.<sup>254</sup> In the text, the king left Nineveh in the eponymy of Daiian-Aššur (853), his sixth regnal year, and set out for the cities of the leader Giammu. We are not told why the king chooses to attack Giammu, but he was once under Assyrian control, so it is possible he rebelled, though this seems unlikely as

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<sup>254</sup> Šalmaneser III is not the only king to have installed a stele at Kurkh and all such steles are called Kurkh Monoliths (RIMA 3: 11).

he has just witnessed the destruction of his neighbour Bit-Adini.<sup>255</sup> Yamada espouses the idea that Giammu had long held anti-Assyrian tendencies as a result of the influence of Bit-Adini and was not deterred by Šalmaneser's destruction of that region.<sup>256</sup> The citizens of his cities, later named as Saḥlala and Til-ša-turaḥi, were frightened by the presence of the Assyrian king and killed their leader. Šalmaneser then entered the cities and made his gods enter the palaces of Giammu. An act such as this is not attested again in the remainder of the text corpus of the Assyrian royal inscriptions.<sup>257</sup> As such, this is an important episode. What is the purpose of this act? By placing his gods in the palaces of these two conquered cities, the king seems to be declaring them part of Assyria, as they will now worship the same gods as other Assyrian cities do. Indeed Olmstead cites this act as helping to establish these towns as part of Assyria.<sup>258</sup> Since the inhabitants of this city took it upon themselves to dispose of their ruler, maybe the introduction of the Assyrian gods into their cities was a reward of some sort. The Assyrian gods are now watching over them as an Assyrian colony since they were brave enough to take justice into their own hands and do the right thing, overthrow their leader.

The next instance of godnap by Šalmaneser III is described in seven different texts, ŠLMIII 2, 4, 5a, 6, 7, 8 and 9. The accounts range from a basic narration of the events to detailed descriptions. The (chronologically) first text to mention the event is the inscription on the Balawat Gates.<sup>259</sup> The inscriptions can be dated to 850 as they describe events shortly before this date and end abruptly. The text was inscribed on

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<sup>255</sup> Yamada 2000: 151.

<sup>256</sup> Yamada 2000: 151.

<sup>257</sup> Tiglath-Pileser III did erect stelae with the images of his gods in conquered territories, but he did not install them in temples or palaces.

<sup>258</sup> Olmstead 1921: 363.

<sup>259</sup> The king's conflict with Aḥunu is discussed on the Kurkh Monolith, an earlier composition, but the godnap is not mentioned.



bronze bands which ran horizontally around the cedar doors and contained reliefs as well as text. The main part of the annals were inscribed on bronze panels that ran down the edges of the leaves affixed to each side of the gate at the point where both sides meet. This is where text ŠLMIII 2 was inscribed. In it, the king had just finished conquering Urartu. He then met Aḫunu, a man of Bit-Adini, who from earlier times ‘had tested obstinacy and strength’ (lines 3-4). He was confined in his city by the king, but managed to escape and fled to the fortified city Šitamrat, which was on a mountain peak. Šalmaneser then followed him, in a second year, and succeeded in subduing him. He took Aḫunu, his troops and his gods back to Assur. The reason for the harsh treatment of Aḫunu is explicitly given, he had not been obedient to Šalmaneser III’s forbears. This alone is justification for his campaign against Aḫunu and indeed for the act of godnap.<sup>260</sup> Four of the other texts, ŠLMIII 6-9, echo the above text and relate the event of Aḫunu’s subjugation and the subsequent theft of his gods.

So, two texts remain in the corpus of Šalmaneser III’s inscriptions which describe the theft of the gods of Aḫunu. First, again chronologically, we have ŠLMIII 4, which also gives us a date for this theft. We are told it occurred in Šalmaneser’s fourth regnal year and we have the same level of detail for the events as in ŠLMIII 2. As the tablet recording text ŠLMIII 4 dates to the twentieth year of Šalmaneser’s reign the later battles receive more attention and the narratives are longer, so there is only a short description of how Aḫunu was captured. The final text to discuss the theft of Aḫunu’s gods is ŠLMIII 5a and comes from the Black Obelisk. The obelisk is made up of four sides of five panels each, in which the king is depicted on his various conquests, with a

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<sup>260</sup> This justification exemplifies two types of Assyrian justifications for war as set out in Oded 1992 – war in order to quell a rebellion and war as punishment for wrongdoing (chapters seven and three respectively).

long text running underneath. In this text, we are told that the king left Nineveh to follow Aḫunu in the eponymy of Daiian-Aššur. This episode is related after a description of the events of the third regnal year, so one could assume the eponymy of Daiian-Aššur to be the fourth regnal year. This would be a mistake as according to the eponym list, this eponymy is for Šalmaneser's sixth regnal year.<sup>261</sup> So it seems the scribe has mistakenly made the fourth regnal year into this eponymy as the other texts clearly date the theft of the gods of Aḫunu to the sixth regnal year. This discrepancy can be explained by a scribal miscalculation; Daiian-Aššur had two eponymies, his second being in the thirty-first *palû*, which scribes thought was the thirty-first year of Šalmaneser.<sup>262</sup> In fact the thirty-first *palû* was the thirty-third year of the king, so the scribes saw twenty-seven years between the eponyms and miscalculated his first eponymy to the fourth year.<sup>263</sup> The remainder of the text relates the same events of ŠLMIII 2.

The next description of godnap in the annals of Šalmaneser III is attested in two texts, ŠLMIII 3 and ŠLMIII 5b. These texts describe the exploits of Marduk-mudammiq, the king of Namri. Marduk-mudammiq fled at the prospect of fighting the Assyrian army and Šalmaneser plundered his palaces and took his gods. Just before text ŠLMIII 3 the king defeated Marduk-mudammiq at the River Namritu, before following him to Namri. This is not related in text ŠLMIII 5b, so though these texts describe the same basic event, the details have been altered. ŠLMIII 3 is dated to 842 as it describes the military activities of the king until 843.<sup>264</sup> ŠLMIII 5b is from the Black Obelisk and dates to late

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<sup>261</sup> Millard and Whiting 1994: 56.

<sup>262</sup> Yamada 2000: 327.

<sup>263</sup> Yamada 2000: 327.

<sup>264</sup> RIMA 3: 32.

828 or more probably 827.<sup>265</sup> The reason for not mentioning the previous defeat of Marduk-mudammiq could be that the scribe did not think it was important as he would be relating the more important information that Šalmaneser had overwhelmed and plundered the cities. Since he had already defeated Marduk-mudammiq once, it seems logical for Šalmaneser to take his gods to reinforce the idea that the Assyrian king was not one to be trifled with.

The final act of godnap committed by Šalmaneser III was to steal the gods of Ianzu, king of Namri (texts ŠLMIII 5c and ŠLMIII 10). In text ŠLMIII 5b we are told after Marduk-mudammiq fled, Šalmaneser put Ianzu, a man of Bit-Ḫaban, on the throne. It is surprising, then, to find Šalmaneser returning to Namri in text ŠLMIII 5c, only to subdue the king he himself put in place over the land. He then took the gods, plunder and treasures of Ianzu back to Assur. So, again, there is a clear case of revenge for Ianzu's presumed revolt against Assyria. On the Black Obelisk (ŠLMIII 5c) Ianzu is merely described as a man of Bit-Ḫaban, but he was elevated to king of Namri in text ŠLMIII 10, a statue of Šalmaneser III. Elevating Ianzu to the role of king would make Šalmaneser's defeat of him even more glorious, and is consistent with the type of glorification one would expect to find on a statue of the king. Clearly, Namri was a difficult land to conquer and Šalmaneser was left with no other option to control the errant province, so he resorted to godnap.

In all three of Šalmaneser III's acts of godnap the theft was perpetrated as a result of the revolt of subjugated cities. This shows that during his reign godnap was used mainly in

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<sup>265</sup> RIMA 3: 63.

retribution for crimes committed against Assyria. This type of godnap was common in this period, but before Šalmaneser III not used exclusively. The king took the gods of Aḫunu because Aḫunu had not submitted to him and had fled to the mountains, causing the king to expend extra energy to chase him. Marduk-mudammiq also fled before the might of Assyria and had to be chased after. One could speculate that Šalmaneser III did not appreciate having to pursue these men and took their gods for that reason. Ianzu, on the other hand, had been given his seat of power by the king and had flouted it. This alone would be reason enough to take his gods.

### **Šamši-Adad V**

The final king of the Middle Assyrian Period to extol his exploits in godnapping was Šamši-Adad V (823-811). Though he inherited a great empire, he was hard-pressed to keep it, and indeed did not attempt to increase the empire as his father and grandfather had done. He was mainly concerned with rebellions in Assyria after a period of confusion at the end of the reign of Šalmaneser III, forays into Babylonia that threatened to upset the balance his predecessors had worked so hard to maintain and campaigns to the ever troublesome Nairi. The provinces of the west took notice of this and brazenly withheld tribute. It would be many years before these areas could once again be under the suzerainty of Assyria. His accomplishments are expounded upon in both the royal annals and Assyrian chronicles with most of the evidence for his thefts of the statues of the gods coming from the royal annals and a summary of sorts in the chronicles. The bulk of the texts (four out of six) come from a single inscription, a large stone stele with a relief of the king and divine symbols on the front and text on the sides

and back.<sup>266</sup> This stele employed an archaising script akin to those used in the days of Šamši-Adad's namesake, Šamši-Adad I. The attempt to secure the legacy of a former king through the use of an older script was a new idea in Assyrian historiography and seems to have been somewhat successful.

The first text from this inscription that concerns godnap, text Š-AV 1a, is from the second campaign of the king. He sent his chief eunuch, Murattiš-Aššur, to Nairi. He had a successful campaign as he conquered three hundred cities of the ruler Šaršina, son of Meqdiara, and eleven fortified cities and two hundred other cities of the ruler Ušpina. The eunuch then took the valuables and possessions of these cities, along with their gods, as booty. Since Nairi was an important border region with Urartu, it is logical that the king would want the gods of this land taken in order to secure the loyalty of the region by showing the inhabitants the true might of Assyria. It is not known whether this was Šamši-Adad's plan all along, but it can be guessed that he did not mind the act as he saw fit to put it in his annals. So, then, godnap could be used as a tool to secure the loyalty of border regions; if the land was prone to constant uprising it would be beneficial for the Assyrian king to deal a decisive blow and crush both the spirits of the citizens and the physical structures of the cities in that region. This would make the inhabitants think twice before attempting to rebel against their Assyrian overlords.

On his fourth campaign, Šamši-Adad expressed his wish to travel to Babylonia, but first he decided to conquer Me-turnat (text Š-AV 1b). Changing direction from his earlier campaigns, he headed south en route to Babylon through the Ebiḫ mountains and

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<sup>266</sup> RIMA 3: 180.

arrived at Me-turnat. After surrounding the city and overwhelming the citizens, he took those who had seized his feet in supplication, together with their possessions and their gods, to Assyria. As is common to the texts of this period, we are not given an explicit reason for the theft of the gods. Since the ultimate goal of this campaign was to conquer Babylon, it would make sense to conquer every town between Assyria and Babylon on the way in order to secure a safe route back home. The subjugation of Me-turnat seems to be just one in a long line of cities conquered on Šamši-Adad's journey to his real goal. Only those who had submitted to the king were taken to Assyria with their possessions and were made subjects of the king. Presumably, since these citizens had bowed down to the radiance of Aššur and were now subservient to the king, their gods, in turn, would now be subservient to Aššur. If this is the case, then the gods would need to go to Aššur, their new lord. This, then, could be the reason for this act of godnap.

Still in the fourth campaign, Šamši-Adad headed west to some other cities on the edge of the Zagros Mountains (text Š-AV 1c). He captured the cities of Datebir and Izduia and took the possessions of the people along with their gods. Some of the citizens fled to Querebti-alani, a fortified city. The king then killed the remaining troops and took the possessions and gods of this city as booty. So, were the gods of this city taken because the inhabitants fled to a more strategic location? While this remains a possibility, it seems more likely that the king was trying to make examples out of the cities between Assyria and Babylon. Since these areas also border Elam, godnap could be used to keep them loyal to Assyria and to prevent revolts.

Again, on the march of his fourth campaign, Šamši-Adad continued his spate of godnappings further south to Dur-Papsukkal (text Š-AV 1d). Instead of killing the soldiers of the city, he chose to keep them alive, but incorporated them into the Assyrian army. This was common practice by this time period and when cities were taken troops, if any were left alive, were inducted into the Assyrian army.<sup>267</sup> The king then took his booty from the city, including the gods, and demolished and razed it. No reason for this godnap is given, but as this fortified city was on the border with Elam, it would have been pertinent for the king to seize it as he was marching to Babylon. As seen above, godnap could be used to secure the loyalty of border regions. As before, we are not told what happened to these gods, but they presumably went back to Assur and were placed in the temple of Aššur as has been premised previously. After this campaign, the inscription which contains the events of Šamši-Adad's reign ends abruptly, even lacking the usual building section and concluding formulae of blessings and curses as was customary in the royal inscriptions.

But the further campaigns of Šamši-Adad V are not lost to us; a broken stone stele found in the temple of Anu-Adad at Assur completes the fourth campaign and relates the fifth and sixth campaigns. This stele was also not completed as after the description of the sixth campaign there are six un-inscribed, ruled lines.<sup>268</sup> Near the end of this inscription we find reference to godnap. Šamši-Adad had continued his march south toward Babylon and had conquered Der, an important fortified city on the border with Elam. In this text, Š-AV 2, we have the first instance of godnap in this period in which

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<sup>267</sup> Oded 1979: 50-51.

<sup>268</sup> RIMA 3: 189.

the gods are named.<sup>269</sup> Šamši-Adad carried off eleven named gods and the rest of the gods of Der. The first god listed is Ištaran, the state god of Der. Next listed is Nannaya, whose cult was based in Uruk. Šarrat-Der, literally the ‘queen of Der’, who was Ištaran’s wife was also taken. The next two gods mentioned are Mar-biti-ša-pan-bitu and Mar-biti-ša-birit-nari, ‘Mar-bitu-for the house’ and ‘Mar-bitu-in the middle of the rivers’. The designation *mār bīti*, ‘sons of the temples’, is an expression known mainly from the first millennium and sometimes used to describe the ‘sons of the house of Der’.<sup>270</sup> Burruqu, Urkitu and Šukaniia, the next gods in the list, are obscure gods and unknown from other sources. Gula is a well-attested goddess, known in many places as the goddess of healing, but without a cult centre in Der. Ner-e-tagmil was another name for Nergal as well as the vizier of the divine River Ordeal and only attested as being a god of Der in this passage. Sakkud is likewise unknown, but Bube, his city, was a suburb of Der with Ninurta as its state god. So, for most of these gods, the statues taken by Šamši-Adad from Der were not their main cult statues, apart from Ištaran and Šarrat-Der.

What effect would the theft of a city’s patron deity have on its inhabitants? As has been explored previously, the effects would be cosmically catastrophic. The reason for this theft by Šamši-Adad can be plainly seen; if the chief god of a city is taken away, the inhabitants will be more likely to obey the new Assyrian ruler. We are not told what happens following this event as the inscription is broken. It is interesting that Šamši-Adad chooses to name these gods. This could be interpreted as a boast; by telling the reader exactly which gods he has taken Šamši-Adad seeks to have his achievements seen for exactly how wondrous they are. The unfortunate fact that many of these gods

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<sup>269</sup> As we have seen in Chapter Two the earliest attestations of godnap do name the gods taken, but they are not named in the Middle Assyrian Period.

<sup>270</sup> Krebernik 1987-90: 355-7.



are unknown to us does not mean that the achievement of taking them would be any less spectacular than the theft of the patron deities of Der.

The final record of Šamši-Adad's acts of godnap comes from an Assyrian chronicle called the Synchronistic Chronicle as it describes the relations between Assyria and Babylonia in turn; each section deals with one Assyrian king and his Babylonian counterpart.<sup>271</sup> The text, Š-AV 3, seems to describe one event and then give a summary of the gods taken by Šamši-Adad. Due to a lacuna in the text, we do not know which city the king has captured. To explain the summary of cities and gods taken, it is possible that the capture of this city marks the subjugation of an entire territory and the king wishes to list all the areas of that territory he has conquered. So, the same cities listed in the stele inscriptions Š-AV 1a, 1b, 1c, 1d and 2 are seen here. The king had carried off the gods of these cities, but also lists specific gods taken as well. Again we have the pairing of Ištaran and Šarrat-Der and another Mar-biti, though this time of Maliku. None of the other gods listed 'can be connected with any of the cities given here but this is no[t] proof that no connection exists'.<sup>272</sup> Šimalyia was marginally connected with Der and was a non-Akkadian deity associated with the mountains outside of Der.<sup>273</sup> The rest of the gods were associated with places near to Der, such as Sippar, Uruk and Babylon.<sup>274</sup> Why are the gods listed here different to those in Š-AV 2? The sources are both Assyrian, but the Synchronistic History is an extremely biased chronicle. It would then follow that the gods mentioned in this version of events would be the more prominent ones or the ones the Assyrians would be most proud to have

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<sup>271</sup> Grayson 1975a: 51.

<sup>272</sup> Grayson 1975a: 244.

<sup>273</sup> Grayson 1975a: 245.

<sup>274</sup> Grayson 1975a: 244-5.

taken. This does not seem to be the case, as the gods mentioned in the royal inscription are not very well-known either.<sup>275</sup> So, why are they named? In the previous descriptions of godnap in this chapter the names of the gods are not given. Did the Assyrians know the names of the gods in Der and not the names of the other gods? Were the other gods not as important as the gods taken in Der, so did not deserve mention by name?

Šamši-Adad V first headed north in his godnapping endeavours, but quickly began a move back southward. After sending his chief eunuch to dispatch peoples in Nairi and seize their gods, he turned his attention back to the south, to Babylonia. On his journey down toward Babylon, he encountered resistance in a few towns and was forced to retaliate. The result was the theft of the gods of Me-turnat, Querebti-alani, Dur-Papsukkal and finally Der. All these cities constitute important borders with Elam and were strategically valuable. It seems we have found the reason for the acts of godnap perpetrated on these cities, their location. The gods were taken as a precautionary measure to keep the citizens in line by showing them the power and might of Assyria.

### **The Character of Godnap in the Middle Assyrian Period**

The Middle Assyrian kings performed a singular type of godnap: the theft of the statue. The peoples they were attacking also performed an act of godnap: the safekeeping of the statues of their gods. The acts of godnap in the Middle Assyrian Period were about keeping populations in line and making sure they knew the might of Assyria. The gods of strategically important border cities and those cities who would rebel against Assyria were taken by the reigning Assyrian king back to Assur for safekeeping. Occasionally

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<sup>275</sup> Apart from the state gods of Der, Ištaran and Šarrat-Der.

the gods of a city were presented as an offering to the Assyrian gods, namely Adad and Ninlil, after being brought back to Assur. This dedication of enemy gods to the Assyrian gods most likely transfers their status to one of subservience to the gods of Assyria.

## CHAPTER SIX: THE NEO-ASSYRIAN EMPIRE

The Neo-Assyrian Period represents the greatest expansion of the Assyrian Empire; it is in this time that the Assyrians conquered Egypt and finally held Babylonia within their grasp. The extensive military operations of the period represent more than just efforts to keep areas already conquered under their suzerainty, but also a great desire to expand the Empire and rule all the lands of Mesopotamia and beyond. The incursions into Egypt, the Levant, Urartu and Elam were met with success as well as defeat, though some more successful than others. From Tiglath-Pileser III's ascension to the death of Aššurbanipal many acts of godnap were committed, but they served only one purpose: to punish those who had crossed Assyria.

### **Tiglath-Pileser III**

After a short period of unrest following the reign of Šamši-Adad V, Tiglath-Pileser III ascended the Assyrian throne in 745 and remained in power until 727. During his accession year he campaigned in Babylonia, seemingly without the ultimate desire to conquer Babylon as he did not attempt to do so. After subduing parts of Babylonia and naming himself king of Sumer and Akkad he set his sights on the west, fighting an Urartian-Syrian alliance. He then turned back to the east, expanding the empire into the Iranian plateau and later coming back west and attacking Urartu. He then ventured west again, subduing cities along the Levantine coast and conquering Gaza in 734, and also conquering Arab tribes in the same year. After the death of the Babylonian king Nabonassar he attempted to rally the Babylonians into rebellion in order to force the usurping king off the throne, but this was not successful. He then went to Babylon

himself and conquered the city, taking Marduk's hand in the *akītu* festival to symbolise his kingship of the city. Though his campaigns were prolific, he only resorted to godnap in three areas, Babylonia, Gaza and when fighting the Arabs.

The evidence for Tiglath-Pileser III's military exploits is contained in his royal inscriptions as well as the Babylonian chronicles of the time. The texts relating godnap are summary inscriptions, annalistic accounts recorded in geographical rather than chronological order. The decision to classify the inscriptions of Tiglath-Pileser in this manner has been made by Tadmor in his edition of them due to the small amount of material available.<sup>276</sup> For instance, the records of other Neo-Assyrian kings can be categorised by their purpose, but owing to the 'paucity of texts and the fragmentary state of their preservation' this type of classification does not seem worthwhile for the inscriptions of Tiglath-Pileser.<sup>277</sup> The inscription describing Tiglath-Pileser's first use of godnap is from a Babylonian chronicle.

He first utilised godnap in his accession year during his campaigns against Babylonia. At this time, Babylonia was at the mercy of the Chaldean tribes in the south, with Nabonassar unable to control them. Though we have no written evidence for it, it seems likely the Babylonian king appealed to the Assyrian king for assistance. This idea would also explain why Tiglath-Pileser did not attempt to sack Babylon. In text T-PIII 5, we are told of Tiglath-Pileser's accession and of his sojourn to Akkad. As he was coming from Assyria, his campaign against Babylonia started in the north and he robbed the towns Rabbilu and Ḥamrana. Though Brinkman attributes this mention of Ḥamrana to

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<sup>276</sup> Tadmor 1994: 22.

<sup>277</sup> Tadmor 1994: 22.

designate the Aramean tribe by a similar name, Ḫamaranu, there is no reason to do so; his further assumption that Rabbilu is a tribalisation of a city name further proves the point.<sup>278</sup> If he were conquering the people of these tribes surely the tribal names would be designated with a LÚ rather than URU and would necessitate the use of a different verb meaning to conquer something rather than one meaning to steal. After these towns were robbed, the gods of Šapazza, another northern Babylonian town were deported. Though we are not told why the gods of this city have been taken, it can be assumed they were either to be made an example of or the citizens of Šapazza had committed a great crime against Tiglath-Pileser. As he was on his way down to Babylonia, taking the gods of a town en route to show other towns exactly what the Assyrian king was capable of seems a likely tactic.

The next chronological mention of godnap does not occur until Tiglath-Pileser's siege of Gaza in 734. This episode is mentioned in two royal inscriptions, both summary inscriptions, texts T-PIII 1 and 2a. The Assyrian king approached Gaza and the king, Ḫanunu, fled to Egypt. Tiglath-Pileser then conquered the city and took the possessions of the deposed ruler as well as the gods of the city. He next fashioned a statue of himself with the great gods on it, set it up in a temple and counted it as one of the gods. This installation of a statue of a king in a temple as 'an object of adoration' is rare.<sup>279</sup> On a stele from Iran, Tiglath-Pileser proclaimed to have mass produced stelae, depicting his image along with the images of the great gods.<sup>280</sup> This would seem to echo the production of statues with both sets of images on them. Presumably the purpose of the

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<sup>278</sup> Brinkman 1968: 270-1.

<sup>279</sup> Tadmor 1994: 177.

<sup>280</sup> Levine 1972: 21.

production of this statue in Gaza was to remind the citizens of the city that this mighty king had taken their gods.

The inclusion of the symbols of the great gods on the statue seems to preclude it from being an attempt to deify the Assyrian king. Even though their gods were taken, the citizens of Gaza were given a small victory by Tiglath-Pileser when he reinstated Hanunu as their king after the subjugation of the city. This reinstatement tells us that the Assyrians only thought of Gaza as a province at the time, since the city was allowed to have an indigenous governor. The theft of their gods can be placed within this context; since Tiglath-Pileser was allowing the people of Gaza to effectively govern themselves, he would need some sort of leverage if he ever needed to assert his authority.

After he had conquered Gaza, Tiglath-Pileser moved toward conquering the Arab tribes. He encountered Samsi, queen of the Arabs (texts 2b and 3).<sup>281</sup> From the designation ‘queen of the Arabs’ we know she was considered queen of all the nomadic tribes inhabiting the northern Sinai and northern Arabia. Samsi was defeated in 733<sup>282</sup> at Mount Saqurri, a mountain on the border with the Arab desert.<sup>283</sup> She fled to the desert after her soldiers were killed and Tiglath-Pileser took her gods. After this act of godnap, he set fire to Samsi’s camp. Upon reflection of the events of the battle, Samsi was in awe of the Assyrian king and his weapons so decided to bring him tribute of camels (and she-camels) to Assur. Could this be a bribe for the return of her gods? If she did ask for their return, surely there would be record of it as such events are also recorded in

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<sup>281</sup> The defeat of Samsi is mentioned in three other inscriptions (Ann 23:18’, Summ 4: 19’ and Summ 13:3’ in Tadmor 1994), but the tablets are broken and do not mention the incidence of godnap.

<sup>282</sup> Eph’al 1982: 32.

<sup>283</sup> RGTC VII/1: 213.

the annals of Esarhaddon and Aššurbanipal. The theft of her gods was a direct result of her broken oath to the Assyrian king. At a previous date, Samsi had sworn allegiance to Tiglath-Pileser and after his defeat of Ḫanunu and Gaza she decided to flout this oath. The breaking of an oath of allegiance was a major sin to the Assyrians, so her punishment seems to fit her crime.

In text T-PIII 4a, the Assyrian king had returned to Babylonia and overwhelmed Chaldea and defeated Nabu-ušabši, prince of the Chaldean tribe of Bit-Šilani, who inhabited the area in southern Mesopotamia near the Persian Gulf, near the borders of Sarrabanu.<sup>284</sup> He then proceeded to take captives, valuables and the gods as booty. Though Sarrabanu was an important fortified city in Bit-Šilani, the gods taken would surely be the gods of Sarrabanu and not of the whole tribe. Taking these gods would show the other cities held by the Chaldean tribe of Bit-Šilani what might happen if they were to cross Tiglath-Pileser. Indeed, after the theft of the gods of Sarrabanu, the Assyrian king marched to Tarbašu and Iaballu, other cities in Bit-Šilani, and took their gods before destroying these cities (still text T-PIII 4a). We are not told if the rulers of Tarbašu and Iaballu meet the same fate as Nabu-ušabši, impalement before his city gates, but it can be assumed a harsh penalty was given. The theft of the gods of cities held by Bit-Šilani might also be a message to the other Chaldean tribes. Since their hold on the southern part of Mesopotamia was becoming increasingly stronger, the theft of the gods of one tribe would serve as a warning to the others, though one that would go unheeded.

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<sup>284</sup> The city was besieged from 731-729 (Tadmor 1994: 161 n 15).



On this same campaign Tiglath-Pileser proceeded to the territory of Bit-Ša'alli after their leader Zaqiru had broken his oath of loyalty to Assyria (text T-PIII 4b). Zaqiru was seized, put in shackles and taken to Assyria. The citizens were naturally distressed by this, so they turned their royal city Dur-Balihayya into a fortress. Tiglath-Pileser then conquered the city by means of siege and earthworks, and people, property and gods were taken as booty. The reason for godnap in these cities is almost explicitly given; we are told Zaqiru had broken his oath and this can be assumed to be the reason for such a harsh treatment, as godnap would have been. Also, the people of Bit-Ša'alli could have surrendered once their leader had been taken captive to Assyria, but they chose to fortify their royal city, thus angering Tiglath-Pileser and provoking his most extreme wrath. As seen earlier in the theft of the Arabian gods of Samsi, the breaking of an oath of allegiance to the Assyrians resulted in total cosmic disorder.

In his many and varied conquests Tiglath-Pileser III only utilised the ultimate form of punishment, godnap, four times, and only in three geographical areas, those that had been the most troublesome. In his quest to expand the Assyrian Empire he campaigned in many lands, yet only Babylonia, the Levant and Arabia did he deem hostile enough to warrant godnap. His motives for committing godnap were straightforward as well. The lands he conquered needed to be submitted and taking their gods would have sent a clear message to not rebel against the Assyrian king. On his first sojourn to Babylonia, seemingly on a peace-keeping mission, he utilised godnap to show the might of Assyria. He later returned to the area, though further south, and punished those who had broken their oaths of allegiance to Assyria. The defiance of an oath also provoked his wrath in

Arabia. After many years campaigning in the Levant godnap seemed to be the sole way to subdue the population of the area.

## **Sargon II**

Sargon II's rise to the throne of Assyria in 722 occurred under mysterious circumstances. It is not known whether he was a son of Tiglath-Pileser III or a usurper of the throne, but his choice of name may provide a clue. Like Sargon of Akkad before him, he chose *Šarru-kin*, meaning 'the king is established', as his name to reinforce his right to occupy the throne. Sargon's reign was fraught with difficulty and rebellion from the beginning. On his ascension to the throne he inherited the battle in Samaria that his predecessor Šalmaneser V was fighting, the cause of that king's death. With revolts arising in Assyria the army was forced to return home and attend to them as they threatened the cohesion of the empire. After some unsuccessful campaigning in Babylonia, during which a Babylonian chronicle reports the defeat of the Assyrian army at Der, and successfully sorting out the previous problems in the Levant, Sargon turned his attention northward, to Urartu. He conquered the smaller state of Muşaşir, bordering Urartu and then once again campaigned in Syria and the Levant, sacking Ashdod and cities in its vicinity. The Assyrian king then mounted another campaign to Babylonia, this time engaging Marduk-apla-iddina II and was able to secure control of Babylon. He remained king of Babylon until his death in 705 on the battlefield whilst fighting the forces of Tabal in the northwest.

As the first act of his reign, Sargon continued the subjugation of Samaria, located in the central Palestinian hill country, started by Šalmaneser V.<sup>285</sup> As stated previously, the army was recalled to Assyria to quell rebellions, so Sargon was only able to return to Samaria and finish his subjugation of the land in 720 after suffering losses at the battle of Der against a Babylonian/Chaldean-Elamite alliance.<sup>286</sup> It is at this point that Sargon took credit for defeating the Samaritans (text SGII 1) and proceeded to take their gods. Since the Samaritans had joined forces with Sargon's enemy and stopped paying their tribute to him (and presumably Šalmaneser V) Sargon's act of godnap is not surprising. It seems he was using the (by now seemingly) standard Assyrian tactic of godnap to show the Samaritans that they should not have revolted and to prevent future revolts. As his next act was to resettle the population of Samaria, the citizens who were relocated could explain what happens to those who cross the Assyrian king to the inhabitants of their new city.

Sargon's next chronological act of godnap involved the city of Mušašir on the border of Urartu. Of Sargon's godnapping activities, this event was the one most written about, with seven descriptions of it in inscriptions from five different sources consisting of standard annalistic inscriptions, Sargon's Letter to Aššur, a stele and even the Assyrian eponym chronicle. The sacking of Mušašir is mentioned on the Display Inscription from Sargon's palace at Khorsabad (text SGII 2a). In this account we are told that Urzana, king of Mušašir has been defeated by Sargon; he then fled and died. Sargon entered Mušašir triumphantly and counted everything in the city as spoil, including the god Ḫaldia and his consort Bagbartu, the gods of Urzana. When describing Urzana we are

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<sup>285</sup> This is in concordance with the record of the subjugation of Samaria by Šalmaneser V in II *Kings* 18:9-10.

<sup>286</sup> Tadmor 1958a: 38.

told that he did not respect the rule of Assyria and did not pay his tribute. This, then, is the reason for the theft of the gods. At the end of the episode we are informed that upon hearing of the theft of Ғaldia and Bagbartu, Ursa, the ruler of Urarṭu, committed suicide. During Sargon's reign the cities bordering Urarṭu were constantly changing hands between the Assyrians and the Urarṭians. The defection of Muṣaṣir to Urarṭu would have been a major blow in the Assyrians' war against their neighbour to the north. The people of Muṣaṣir had not only thrown off the yoke of Assur, but had defected to the enemy.

The campaign against Muṣaṣir is dealt with in great detail in Sargon's Letter to Aššur describing his eighth campaign (texts SGII 3a, 3b and 3c). This type of composition was rare in Mesopotamia and since this letter is addressed to the city and its people (*ālu u nišēšu*) in line 4, it is thought to have been read out in the city.<sup>287</sup> First we are told of Urzana's refusal to remain under the yoke of Assur (text SGII 3a). As punishment, Sargon planned the removal of Ғaldia from his temple and the deportation of the people. Sargon ordered Ғaldia to leave his temple and come to the gate of the city. This is comparable to the display of captive kings at the gates of Nineveh seen in the later annals of Esarhaddon and Aššurbanipal.<sup>288</sup> Seemingly in contradiction to this display of Ғaldia at the gate, Sargon later sent his generals into Ғaldia's temple and has them bring out the god and his consort Bagbartu along with the accoutrement of their shrine (text SGII 3b). Finally, at the end of this letter, a summary of Sargon's destruction of Muṣaṣir is given in which we are told again of the theft of Ғaldia and Bagbartu (text SGII 3c). Throughout this part of the composition Ғaldia is described as the god of

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<sup>287</sup> Oppenheim 1960: 143, 144.

<sup>288</sup> Kravitz 2003: 87, n 28.

Urartu, presiding over the coronation of Urartian kings, but in the other parts of the letter and in other texts, he is only described as the god of Urzana.<sup>289</sup> This discrepancy in the character of Ḫaldia shows the purpose of the ending section of the letter; the sack of Muṣaṣir is meant to be an important event. We know it to be considered important from the sheer number of inscriptions that describe it. In addition to those already mentioned, the sack of the city and abduction of Ḫaldia is mentioned in the Eponym chronicle, the list of eponyms for much of Assyrian history (text SGII 4), as well as on the Cyprus Stele (text SGII 5).<sup>290</sup>

After a short time Sargon's campaigns took him back to the west and he conquered Ashdod, Gimtu and Asdudimu, which lie on the Levantine coast (texts SGII 2b and 6a). The former king of Ashdod had refused to pay tribute, so Sargon replaced him. The people who lived in the surrounding area, called Hittites in this text (which, at this time, meant the peoples of Syria and Palestine), did not like the king Sargon had appointed, so they chose one of their own, Iamani (Iadna). In text SGII 2b this new king was afraid of Sargon and ran away to Muṣri (Egypt) when he heard of the approach of Sargon's army; his fear of the king and decision to flee are not mentioned in the seemingly duplicate text SGII 6a. Sargon then seized the cities of Ashdod, Gimtu and Asdudimu, a port near to Ashdod and Gimtu. The Assyrian king took the gods of these cities along with all the valuables of the land (and in text SGII 6a Iadna) as spoil. Similar to other texts in which a people choose a king to place on the throne, we are not told anything about Iamani/Iadna, specifically whether he desired the throne of Ashdod or not. Sargon's theft of the gods does not seem to affect him though, as it is likely the gods

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<sup>289</sup> Kravitz 2003: 88.

<sup>290</sup> This episode is also mentioned on the fragmented Prism B from Nineveh, not edited here due to its fragmentary nature, but can be found in Winckler 1889: plates 44-46.

taken would be those of the city of Ashdod rather than of the newly installed king, unless, of course, he was from Ashdod. The normal reasons for godnap are given: the cities had not respected Assyrian rule and had not paid their proper tribute.

In 710 Sargon travelled to Babylonia once again, most likely to attempt to finally subdue Marduk-apla-iddina II (biblical Merodach-baladan II), who had been stirring up opposition to Assyria in Babylonia since the time of Tiglath-Pileser III. Upon hearing of Sargon's approach, much like the leader of Ashdod, Marduk-apla-iddina fled Babylon for the city of Iqbi-Bel, an as of yet undiscovered place (text SGII 2c). From Iqbi-Bel he was able to assemble all the people of the land of Bit-Iakin, a tribal group associated with lands in southern Mesopotamia of which he was the ruler, along with all their gods and made them enter Dur-Iakin, the stronghold of the land. Though this is not godnap, this type of act shows an awareness and fear of godnap. The Chaldeans had been witness to the Assyrian use of godnap before and in anticipation of the arrival of the Assyrians they decided to pre-empt any attempt to steal their gods by removing them to a safer place. They hoped that if they did not abandon their gods, the gods would not abandon them.

After spending much of his reign as the aggressor, Sargon, in 709, now became the saviour of the citizens of Sippar, Babylon, Nippur and Borsippa (texts SGII 2d and 6b). After the siege and destruction of Dur-Iakin Sargon freed the citizens of Sippar, Babylon, Nippur and Borsippa from the enforced captivity imposed upon them by the Suti, a west-Semitic semi-nomadic tribe possibly not distinguished from the Arameans at this time. After destroying the Sutilian soldiers, Sargon establishes the freedom of Ur,

Uruk, Eridu, Larsa, Kisik and Nemed-Laguda and returned the captive gods of these cities. All of these cities were in southern Babylonia and there was no record of the gods being seized before this mention of their return, though this is not surprising as it would likely have been the Sutians who had seized them and we do not possess any of their records, if indeed they wrote about their exploits. Sargon would have earned great prestige for returning the gods of such ancient and important cities as Ur, Uruk, Eridu and Larsa, as well as gaining thanks from the citizens of Kisik and Nemed-Laguda. The return of these statues would also be welcomed by the gods themselves. This helpful return of the deities of Babylonian cities was a complete reversal of Sargon's policy toward Babylonia as in the beginning of his reign he chose to campaign in the land. By returning the gods of Babylonia Sargon gained their favour, and therefore the favour of the Babylonians themselves.

In another surprising act of forbearance in 707, Sargon returned the gods of the Sealand<sup>291</sup> (text SGII 7). After finally defeating Marduk-apla-iddina II at Dur-Iakin, Sargon presumably discovered the gods of the Sealand in the city and decided they should be returned. This source is a Babylonian chronicle and as such we are not given the circumstances regarding the return of the gods. Since Marduk-apla-iddina had taken his gods to Dur-Iakin earlier (SGII 2c) it is possible he had taken the other gods of the Sealand to Dur-Iakin as well. Since Sargon had appointed himself king of Babylon two years before this episode it is possible he was trying to endear himself to the people of the Sealand by returning their gods. The return of their gods would have shown the

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<sup>291</sup> The area in southern Mesopotamia near the Persian Gulf is often referred to as the Sealand.

people of the Sealand that they had had nothing to fear, since the gods were taken to Dur-Iakin by Marduk-apla-iddina II to avoid their capture by the Assyrians.

During the course of his seventeen year reign Sargon committed three separate acts of godnap, returned the gods of two different peoples and witnessed the movement of the gods for their safe-keeping by Marduk-apla-iddina II. His campaigns took him to the limits of the empire in an attempt to maintain control over those territories that his predecessors had had difficulty in enveloping into the empire. He used godnap as a tool to establish Assyrian suzerainty over troublesome territories. In his later years, he returned captive gods to show the Babylonian people he was committed to their country and not just an overlord.

### **Sennacherib**

Sennacherib became king of Assyria at the death of his father Sargon II in battle in 705. Sargon's inauspicious death plagued Sennacherib for most of his life as he sought meaning for his father's death. Despite this preoccupation, he continued in his father's footsteps and kept the Assyrian Empire together. His first two campaigns were to Babylonia, to quell rebellion, resulting in the establishment of Bel-ibni, a Babylonian raised in the Assyrian court, on the Babylonian throne. Two years later he was forced to return to Babylonia and dethrone Bel-ibni, putting his own son Aššur-nadin-šumi on the throne. This seemed to calm the Babylonians, mostly Chaldeans and Arameans, and Sennacherib was free to campaign elsewhere. Like his father Sargon he chose to campaign in the west, re-conquering cities in the Levant and southern Anatolia. Following greater unrest in Babylon, resulting in a Babylonian-Elamite alliance that



would see the death of his son, Sennacherib once again was forced to march to Babylonia. This time he would take decisive action against the Babylonians by destroying their capital and taking the statue of Marduk back to Assyria. The period after this conquest is referred to as a time when there was no king in Babylon by the Babylonian scribes, reflecting their distaste for Sennacherib's treatment of the city. Sennacherib's reign ended in 681 as inauspiciously as his father's; he was murdered, purportedly by one of his sons.

During his reign Sennacherib committed five distinct acts of godnap as well as retrieving and returning the gods of Assyria. The first of these instances is preserved in two sources and concerns Sennacherib's campaigns to the west, specifically to the Levantine coast. In his third campaign the Assyrian king conquered the city of Isqaluna (Ashkelon) (SNB 1a and 2a). On his way to Isqaluna, Sennacherib conquered two other cities in the region, Sidon and Tyre (SNB 2a). He deported Sidqa, the king of Isqaluna, along with his family and 'the gods of his father's house'. Sennacherib gives us the reason for taking the gods of Sidqa: the king of Isqaluna was not loyal to Sennacherib. So, it is not the gods of Isqaluna that are taken to Assyria, but the ancestral gods of Sidqa. Sennacherib places the blame for the revolt of this city squarely on the shoulders of its king, seemingly absolving the citizens of all blame. This seems a different approach than that taken by Sargon II, who deported many of the people living in this area after conquering their cities.

The next campaign of Sennacherib's involving godnap was his sixth campaign, which took him to Babylonia again. After travelling to Babylonia at the beginning of his reign and installing Bel-ibni as king in 700, Sennacherib must travel back to Babylonia as Bel-ibni proved to be an ineffective ruler. He removed him from the throne, installing his own son Aššur-nadin-šumi as the new king of Babylon. He then continued his march down south, to the territory of Bit-Iakin. From the evidence available, this seems to represent an important time in Sennacherib's reign as many records of this campaign have been found. In three texts from different sources (SNB 1b, 3 and 4), we are told that the people of Bit-Iakin, at the approach of the Assyrian army, bundled up their gods and took them across the sea to the cities of Nagitu, Nagitu-di'bina, Ḫilmu, Billatu and Ḫupapanu. These cities are said to be on the other side of the sea, so though their location is unknown, it is assumed they were across the Persian Gulf, in Elamite territory.

In this campaign, Sennacherib was chasing Marduk-apla-iddina II, who had been at the forefront of the rebellions in Babylonia for the past thirty years. It seems logical, then, that Marduk-apla-iddina's people would fear the theft of their gods by the Assyrians as they had seen the Assyrians take the gods of other cities previously. Marduk-apla-iddina had also previously brought all the gods together for safekeeping in the reign of Sargon II. To save their gods, and indeed themselves, the pain of being stolen they took them to Elam to try to save them. It was all in vain, for next we are told Sennacherib followed them to Elam, destroyed their forces and took their gods. We have an additional source for this event, which does not tell of the movement of the gods of Bit-Iakin to Elam, but

only of their theft by Sennacherib (SNB 2b).<sup>292</sup> Since the Assyrians had been in conflict with Marduk-apla-iddina for such a long time it is not surprising that Sennacherib decided to take his gods, contrary to what his father had done when previously encountering Marduk-apla-iddina. Though he did not apprehend the Chaldean ruler, his abduction of the gods of Bit-Iakin would be a message to the people, hopefully securing their loyalty and obedience.

In the eponymy of Aššur-bel-ušur (695), Sennacherib headed north to the Ḫatti land and conquered the king Gurdi and his city Til-garimmu (text SNB 5). The Assyrian king mounted a major siege on the city and it was brought under his control; he counted both the people within the city and their gods as spoil. There are multiple accounts of this event, though one of them is broken at the point relating the theft of the gods.<sup>293</sup> An octagonal prism found in Iraq in 1952, proves the proposed restoration of this text to be correct. Til-garimmu was a fortified city in the territory of Kammanu, near Tabalu and was an Assyrian province by 712.<sup>294</sup> Since this campaign of Sennacherib's occurred seventeen years later, it is reasonable to assume this city had fomented a rebellion, or had decided not to pay their tribute. Considering the military might thrown against them, it seems more logical to assume they had rebelled. This may have been a result of Sennacherib's forced preoccupation with Babylonia since he would want to solve problems in other areas quickly.

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<sup>292</sup> Another text on an alabaster slab relates this event, but is broken at the point which would tell us about the theft of the gods. This theft has been restored, and therefore not included here, but can be found in Luckenbill, *Senn*: 89, ll 1-2.

<sup>293</sup> See CT XXVI: 15 for the broken text.

<sup>294</sup> RGTC VII/1: 256-7.

After the abduction and murder of his son Aššur-nadin-šumi by the Elamites in 694, Sennacherib was once again forced to travel to Babylonia. In the course of fighting the Elamites sometime after 693, the year Nergal-ušeziḫ had been placed on the Babylonian throne by the king of Elam, Sennacherib committed another act of godnap. After his army had killed many Elamite soldiers and an Elamite prince, they marched to Uruk (texts SNB 4b and 6). Once in Uruk, the soldiers took Šamaš of Larsa, Beltu of Eridu, Beltu of Uruk, Nana, Ušuramatsa,<sup>295</sup> Belit-balaḫi, Kurunnam, Kaššitu, Nergal, and the remaining gods dwelling in Uruk (text SNB 4b).<sup>296</sup> These gods were not solely the gods of Uruk, but the tutelary deities of other southern Babylonian states as well. By taking these gods, Sennacherib was showing the people of southern Babylonia what happens to those who disobey him. It is interesting that he names these gods in his inscriptions. The Assyrian convention of merely stating that the gods, DINGIR.MEŠ, were taken has been superseded. Sennacherib wants anyone reading his annals to know exactly which gods he has taken so that he may prove his power.

Sennacherib's final act of godnap was also his most brutal. After struggling with the governance of Babylonia for most of his reign, it seems he finally lost his patience. In 689, after a long siege, Sennacherib entered Babylon and utterly destroyed it. We are given a full account of the devastation on the Bavian Inscription (texts SNB 7a and 7c) and a summary of the events on the *Bīt Akīti* Inscription, an inscription on the *akītu* house Sennacherib built outside Assur where the new year festival took place (text SNB 8). The Assyrian king entered Babylon and completely destroyed everything, turning the city into a ruin heap and flooding it. No corroborating archaeological evidence has

<sup>295</sup> He is listed as the son of Adad in tablet III, line 248 of the god list *AN: dAnum*. See Litke 1998.

<sup>296</sup> In text SNB 6 the portion of the text listing which gods were taken is broken, leaving only Šamaš of Larsa and 'the rest of the gods of Uruk'.

been found for this flooding of the city and it is not mentioned in the Babylonian chronicle.<sup>297</sup> The Bavian Inscription commemorated the building of a new canal, the channelling of water for the benefit of the city. It is interesting to note that the wording of the inscription describing the destruction of Babylon mimics the commemoration of the new canal, but in the negative.<sup>298</sup> The utilisation of such rhetorical techniques shows precisely how important the destruction of Babylon was. In the description of the destruction of the city inscribed on the *akītu* house, Sennacherib says he threw the soil of Babylon into the Euphrates and it reached as far as Dilmun (modern day Bahrain). The people of Dilmun saw this soil and fully understood the power and might of Assyria. This description emphasises the importance of the destruction of Babylon, once again.

Whilst destroying Babylon, Sennacherib arrived at the temples of the gods. He sent his army into the temple to remove the gods and they smashed the statues (SNB 7a). The use of the third person instead of the first person in this instance is interesting as in most royal inscriptions the king is the one who performs all the actions. It is clear that this destruction of the statues of the gods is a fabrication, as we know from the inscriptions of Sennacherib's son Esarhaddon that the statue of Marduk was taken back to Assur and renewed by the later king. In the *Bīt Akīti* Inscription (SNB 8) Sennacherib, once again, returns to the use of the first person, claiming he had smashed the gods. This change in subject could be a function of where the inscriptions were to be displayed. The Bavian Inscription was on a rock face for all to see, whilst the *Bīt Akīti* Inscription was located on Sennacherib's new *akītu* house, built after his return from Babylon. This could

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<sup>297</sup> Brinkman 1984a: 68.

<sup>298</sup> Van De Mierop 2003: 8-9.

possibly mean that Sennacherib felt some remorse for his destruction of the gods of Babylon and did not want to be associated with the destruction of the statues of the gods or that he did not want others to know that he personally destroyed the gods. It was in this *akītu* house that the king would celebrate the New Year's Festival, but with Aššur presiding over it rather than Marduk. This would form part of Sennacherib's religious programme by which the duties of Marduk were subsumed by Aššur in order to exalt Aššur over Marduk. Sennacherib's obsession with transferring all of Marduk's duties over to Aššur shows that he did have reverence for Marduk and his functions, but wanted Aššur to be the one to perform them instead. Was this a product of his struggles with Babylon during his reign? Given his actions, it is reasonable to assume Sennacherib had held Babylon in high esteem; he attempted to let the province govern itself instead of destroying it during his first foray into Babylonia. Babylon had long been revered as a centre of learning and, though he eventually destroyed the city, Sennacherib seems to have revered it himself, in his own way.

Later descriptions of Babylon's destruction depict Sennacherib as an angry tyrant, with only the destruction of the city on his mind. An inscription of the Neo-Babylonian king Nabonidus, text SNB 9, depicts an unnamed king, likely Sennacherib as no other Assyrian kings had destroyed Babylon in recent times, planning the destruction of the great city. He came to Babylon and decimated it, even desecrating the cultic rites. He then took Marduk by the hand and led him to Assyria. This echoes the part of the *akītu* festival where the king leads Marduk on the procession to the *bit akīti*. Contrary to Sennacherib's own texts, Marduk remains in Assyria seemingly of his own volition. The text states that his anger was not appeased by the people and that their sins were

great. Marduk is then forced to remain in Assyria for 21 years until his city is worthy of him again. Sennacherib still receives the blame for the destruction of the city, as his punishment for this crime is to be murdered by his own son.

Sennacherib's destruction of Babylon was brought about from his frustration with the land he had fought to control for his entire reign. He had attempted to rule the area in different ways, none of which seemed to work very well, so destruction was the only viable solution. He had also suffered the loss of his son at the hands of the Babylonians and one assumes this would cause some change in the way the king thought about them as a people. During his time within the city, he found the statues of two Assyrian gods that had been stolen in the time of Marduk-nadin-aḫe (1099-1082) (text SNB 7b).<sup>299</sup> Sennacherib returned Adad and Šala to their rightful places in Ekallate in Assur. As the Assyrian king was returning Assyrian gods it is no surprise they are named as Sennacherib would want to receive full credit for returning them. Though his predecessors both returned the gods of foreign lands, Sennacherib only deems worthy the return of the gods of his own country. While this was a patriotic action, it is interesting to note that he did not seem to possess the capacity for forgiveness that Sargon II and Tiglath-Pileser III seemed to show. Both were able to show restraint when governing Babylonia. One could argue that Sennacherib attempted to do this as well, and the extra strain from the Babylonian revolts pushed him into more drastic actions.

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<sup>299</sup> This event is only mentioned in this inscription, with no contemporary source having been found as of yet.

During his twenty-five year reign as king of Assyria, Sennacherib committed five separate acts of godnap<sup>300</sup> and returned two lost Assyrian gods. The acts of godnap span four areas, from Anatolia to Elam, but were mostly focussed on Babylonia and her peoples. His campaigns to the west brought the Levantine coast more securely under Assyrian rule; this would continue to be a problem area for his successors, often resulting in more acts of godnap. Sennacherib's problems with Babylonia would plague his reign, allowing him to seem a cruel and harsh master. After attempting to control the area by taking the gods of its most enigmatic ruler, the Assyrian king was foiled again and was left with only one choice, the destruction of Babylon. Whilst this event is what he is most famous for, Sennacherib was also able to gain prestige with the return of the Assyrian god Adad and his consort Šala.

### **Esarhaddon**

The reign of Esarhaddon, one of Sennacherib's sons, seems to have a different character to his father's. While, he, too, engaged in military campaigns and conquered varying cities and areas, his diplomatic actions and religious programme seem to have equal importance to his military activities. It is possible that his complete reversal of his father's policies toward Babylon has helped modern scholars to form a more well-rounded picture of him. While he did expand the empire considerably and was the first Assyrian king to hold Egypt under his sway, he also began to repair Assyrian-Babylonian relations. The idea of reconciling the two nations was well received, though

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<sup>300</sup> An additional act of godnap, Sennacherib's destruction of the Arab fortress of Adummutu and the theft of the Arab gods is described in the annals of Esarhaddon (treated below) and Aššurbanipal. Sennacherib's actions will be discussed with Esarhaddon's subsequent return of these gods as the narrative is more easily explained in relation to Esarhaddon's return of these gods.



somewhat undermined by his final decision to divide his kingship between two of his sons, one becoming king of Assyria and the other king of Babylonia on his death in 669.

One of Esarhaddon's major achievements was the rebuilding of Babylon. After his father's destruction of the city, Esarhaddon decided to follow a completely opposite policy. He chose to endear himself to the Babylonians by rebuilding their city and attempting to return their chief deity. Esarhaddon's policy included a programme designed to integrate Babylonian mythology with Assyrian, and thereby help to unite the two peoples. Since the statue of Marduk had been destroyed, to some extent, by Sennacherib, it would need to be restored before being escorted back to Babylon. It was determined by divination that Marduk would be restored in Ešarra, the temple of Aššur in Assur;<sup>301</sup> this enabled Marduk to subsume a place in the pantheon under Aššur since he was reborn in Aššur's temple after his statue had been renewed and a mouth-washing ceremony had been conducted.<sup>302</sup> This cleverly solved the problem of Marduk's position at the top of the pantheon and Aššur's relationship to him. Marduk could continue to be important to the Babylonians as the head of their pantheon, but since he had been renewed in the temple of Aššur, and the Assyrians would always know that Aššur was still the most important god and true head of the pantheon.

Now that his statue was restored, Marduk could be returned to his patron city, Babylon. Esarhaddon attempted to return Marduk in the month of Iyar in 669 according to evidence brought together by Parpola,<sup>303</sup> but we know Marduk did not reach Babylon

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<sup>301</sup> Porter 1993a: 21 n 4.

<sup>302</sup> Porter 1993a: 12 and n 4.

<sup>303</sup> Parpola 1983: 32.

and Esagila until the reign of Aššurbanipal.<sup>304</sup> The statue was led in procession along the road to Babylon, with appropriate offerings made at set intervals, but when it entered Babylonian territory the procession halted. A man on horseback, seemingly set to perform some act of defiance, upon his arrest stated that the gods had told him they would be the booty of Kurigalzu.<sup>305</sup> The meaning of this statement is not completely understood, but it frightened the officials accompanying the statue to Babylon enough for them to halt the procession and write to Esarhaddon describing the event.<sup>306</sup> Porter interprets this cryptic reference as an attempt to foment rebellion as Kurigalzu was an ancient Babylonian king.<sup>307</sup>

Though Marduk was not returned by Esarhaddon, the Assyrian king composed inscriptions telling of his return. One of these inscriptions (text ESR 1b) explains how many years Marduk had decreed he would be away. Marduk prophesied his return after seventy years, but at the time Esarhaddon wanted to affect his return, the king of the gods had been away a much shorter time. Esarhaddon's scribes devised a plan by which Marduk would say he had changed his mind and would return after only eleven years. This was achievable by transposing the cuneiform signs since the sign for one also stands for sixty. So sixty plus ten becomes ten plus one after the shift. In this same inscription, though earlier, Esarhaddon related the reason for the gods' departure (text ESR 1a). The destruction of Babylon by his father was not mentioned; the gods abandoned the city and went up to heaven because they were restless. This theme of abandonment was prevalent throughout Mesopotamian history and was the common

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<sup>304</sup> Lambert 1988: 158.

<sup>305</sup> Porter 1993a: 17.

<sup>306</sup> Porter 1993a: 17.

<sup>307</sup> Porter 1993a: 17.

explanation when the gods of a city were taken by an invading army. As the theft of the gods by Sennacherib was still in the memory of the Babylonians, they would be searching for a reason for their abandonment. The gods had become restless after the destruction of the city because their temples and statues had been destroyed. It would make more sense for the gods to have left their statues before they could be destroyed, but this would also mean they had deserted those they were meant to protect. By saying they left as a result of the destruction Esarhaddon puts the blame for their abandonment on to his father without having to mention him by name.

Again, in anticipation of the return of Marduk to Esagila and the other gods of Babylonia to their temples, Esarhaddon incorporated the report of the returns into his epithets (texts ESR 2a, 6, 7, 8 and 9). One inscription containing this epithet is Assyrian, one is an inscription used in both Assyria and Babylonia and the other three were found in Babylon. In his attempt to unite the two nations, Esarhaddon began a gradual change in the language used in his royal inscriptions; the same words and syntax were used in inscriptions dedicated in Assyria and in Babylonia.<sup>308</sup> At this stage, at least programmatically, he was equating the two territories. The epithets relating the return of Marduk in the Babylonian inscriptions (ESR 7, 8 and 9) describe Esarhaddon's reign as the one in which Marduk returns after having a change of heart regarding his anger towards Babylon, while the Assyrian inscription (ESR 2a) names Esarhaddon as the one who returned Marduk and the Babylonian gods to Babylon and Esagila. This seems to be a device to remind the Babylonians that Marduk left their city because he was angry, not as a result of Sennacherib's destruction of Babylon. The inscription used

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<sup>308</sup> Porter 1993b: 120.

in both Assyria and Babylonia (ESR 6) mentions that the renewal of the statues of the gods of Babylon took place in the temple of Aššur before telling of Esarhaddon's return of the statues. This would emphasise to both nations the new status of Marduk under Aššur. The Assyrians would be comforted by this news, whilst the Babylonians would be happy to have their chief deity returned in his renewed state.

The movement of some of the gods of Babylon is recorded in a letter to Aššurbanipal which describes the actions of Esarhaddon (ESR 4). A certain Šamaš-šumu-lešir was sent to the 'Land of the Chief Cupbearer' to assess the situation in a city. He went to the temple and found the gods Marat-Sin of Eridu, Marat-Sin of Nemed-Lagudu, Marat-Eridu, Nergal, Amurru and Lugalbanda all seated in the same temple. After inquiring as to why they are there, he received the news that they arrived with Bel (Marduk) and the inhabitants mean to send them back to Babylon with Bel. The purpose of the letter is now revealed: Šamaš-šumu-lešir is horrified by the presence of these gods in this city and not in their rightful places and wished to inform the king of the situation. Presumably these gods of Babylonia were taken to Assyria by Sennacherib after his destruction of Babylon. They seem to be on their way to Babylon to celebrate Marduk's return and then will be taken further south to their temples afterward. Emphasis is also made on the fact that all six of these deities are in the same temple, drawing up a picture of the statues merely having been piled up in a room in the back of the temple. This would be disrespectful to the deities and they would likely not be able to receive their proper offerings. The letter ends with Šamaš-šumu-lešir complaining to the king asking him why he has been forced to come to this place.

Another letter to an unnamed king, likely to be Esarhaddon given its content, relates the journey of the statues of the gods of Der (ESR 5). The author of the letter, his name has broken off of the tablet, wrote to the king to tell him that the gods of Der, and he other gods Nanaya, Gula, Mar-biti and Marat-biti have come to a city, from a fort, and eventually to Babylon. The names of these places have been broken, but one assumes this city and fort were on the way to Babylon and the king is being updated as to their progress. Esarhaddon returned the gods of Der to their city as seen in texts ESR 7, 8, 9, 10a and 11a, described below. This update on the progress of their journey is interesting. Though Esarhaddon failed to return Marduk to Babylon, he did return the gods of other Babylonian cities. One would assume these gods went to Babylon first to participate in the celebration of Marduk's return, but this must not be the case. It seems Esarhaddon wanted to show the people of Babylon how merciful he was and what the future held by having the returning gods of other cities stop in Babylon first.

The return of two other gods is credited to Esarhaddon as well. In his epithets on Babylonian royal inscriptions (texts ESR 7, 8<sup>309</sup> and 9) and in two Babylonian chronicles (texts ESR 10a and 11a) Ištaran was returned to Der. Ištaran, along with other deities of Der, was captured and taken back to Assyria by Šamši-Adad V. Sargon II also went to Der, but there is no record of him taking the gods back to Assyria. In the sixth year of Aššur-nadin-šumi (694), Ištaran was said to go from Der to Assyria, but the conditions of his exile are unknown. It is possible that Esarhaddon decided to return Ištaran to his patron city to once again ingratiate himself to the Babylonians. In his Babylonian royal inscriptions he is said to have caused Ištaran's return to Der; this is a

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<sup>309</sup> Though ESR 8 is fragmentary and the names of Marduk and Ištaran cannot be read, the standard formula of this epithet proves their restoration.

marked difference to the language used to describe Marduk's return as it is Esarhaddon who has the impetus to return Ištaran.

Esarhaddon's return of Ištaran is also mentioned in documents written by Babylonians, two Babylonian chronicles. This episode is discussed in the Babylonian Chronicle Series (ESR 10a) and the Esarhaddon Chronicle (ESR 11a). Both chronicles have Babylonian authorship, but the Esarhaddon Chronicle is said to be less historically accurate and contain a pro-Assyrian bias as neither the sack of Sippar in Esarhaddon's sixth regnal year nor his defeat in Egypt are mentioned.<sup>310</sup> Given the different reasons for writing each chronicle it is interesting to note that both report the return of Ištaran to Der. The Esarhaddon Chronicle also mentions the return of the gods ̒um̒umia and Šimaliya to Sippar. These gods were also taken by Šamši-Adad V after his assault on Der, so had been moved from Sippar to Der before Šamši-Adad's attack on the city (text Š-AV 3).

Both of these chronicles also relate the return of another deity, Ištar of Akkade (ESR 10b and 11b). She was returned to Akkade in Esarhaddon's seventh year whereas Ištaran was returned in his accession/first year.<sup>311</sup> In both sources, Ištar was said to come from Elam to Akkade, so this return seems to have nothing to do with Esarhaddon. It would seem odd for the king to worry about the return of Ištar of Akkade whilst he was trying to invade Egypt, though it makes sense for the Elamites to attempt to re-forge their alliance with Babylonia by returning one of their oldest and treasured

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<sup>310</sup> ABC: 30.

<sup>311</sup> The Babylonian Chronicle Series dates this event to Esarhaddon's first year while the Esarhaddon Chronicle sets the return in his accession year.

deities. No records survive for the Elamite king at the time, Humban-ḫaltash I,<sup>312</sup> but there is no reason to doubt Ištar's return from Elam, though her exile to Elam is not explicitly mentioned in any source. It is possible she had been in Elam since the last forays into Babylonia by the Elamites at the end of the Kassite Period.

Esarhaddon also returned the gods of the Arabs that his father had taken (ESR 2b). In his preparations for the campaign to Egypt, Esarhaddon thought it prudent to secure the allegiance of the Arabs. In a testament to perceptions of him as a diplomat rather than a conqueror he took the opportunity to return the Arab gods his father had stolen when he had besieged the Arab fortress of Adummutu. This theft of the gods is mentioned briefly in fragmentary evidence from Sennacherib's extant inscriptions.<sup>313</sup> This episode is described directly after Sennacherib's eighth campaign on one of the fragmentary tablets (VA 3310), so is logically thought to have taken place after this campaign. Since the destruction of Babylon is not described on this tablet this then puts the date for the attack on the Arabs between 691 and 689.<sup>314</sup> These Arabian gods have been taken to secure the loyalty of the Arabs.

During his conquest of the city, Sennacherib had taken the Arabian queen back to Nineveh with him. The king of the Arabs, Hazael, decided to follow his wife to the city and beg for the return of his gods. He gave large amounts of tribute to Esarhaddon in the hope the Assyrian king would return his gods. Hazael had previously paid tribute to

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<sup>312</sup> Carter and Stolper 1984: 94, n 382.

<sup>313</sup> VA 3310 describes the campaign against Adummutu, while the cuneiform sign for god is visible on K 8544 close to a description of the battle and the queen of the Arabs (Luckenbill, *Senn*: 113 and Smith 1878: 137-8, respectively).

<sup>314</sup> Eph'al 1982: 118.

Sennacherib, presumably after his campaign to Adummutu.<sup>315</sup> The theft of their gods seems to have been a punishment in addition to the exacting of tribute, after the surrender of their city.<sup>316</sup> Esarhaddon tells us he objected to the theft of these gods, but does not give any indication why. This admission of disapproval of his father's actions seems to show his disapproval of godnap in general, though his later inscriptions prove this to be false.

Why was his father wrong in taking the gods of these Arabs? Before he returns the gods to Hazael the Assyrian king has the statues renewed and his name inscribed on them. He also appoints a new queen over the Arabs, Tabua, and returns her to her land with her gods. She had been deported to Nineveh during the reign of Sennacherib and had grown up in the palace.<sup>317</sup> It is easy to think of the return of both Hazael's and Tabua's gods as one episode, but a distinction is made in the language showing they are different episodes, leading to the conclusion that each of these leaders was from a different tribe.<sup>318</sup> What was the purpose of returning the Arabian gods? Esarhaddon desired to ingratiate himself to the Arabs under Hazael's control first by returning their gods, but also by renewing them, revoking whatever damage may have befallen them in their original siege. By inscribing both his name and the name of his god, Aššur, on the statues of their gods Esarhaddon forces the Arabs to remember exactly who returned them. This would presumably make them disposed to be more loyal to him and not rebel, even if incited by Babylonians or Elamites. He reinforces this idea with the appointment of Tabua, a woman who has been raised in the palace.

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<sup>315</sup> Eph'al 1982: 127.

<sup>316</sup> Eph'al 1982: 127.

<sup>317</sup> Eph'al 1982: 127.

<sup>318</sup> Eph'al 1982: 128.



Esarhaddon also engaged in the act of godnap during his reign. On his way through the region of Bazu, probably located somewhere in northern Arabia,<sup>319</sup> Esarhaddon took the gods of eight cities (ESR 2c). On his march through the region, he killed the kings and queens of these eight cities and took their gods. This act represents the alternative method of controlling the Arab population. One would assume these kings had either not had prior dealings with the Assyrians, or had committed some act of treachery in the Assyrians' eyes if they had been allies. A reason for their murders is not given, so there is no way to know exactly why they were killed. The six kings and two queens are named and are said to be of certain cities, so these were presumably not the nomadic Arabs the Assyrians had dealt with previously. These could then have been cities who would not submit to the might of Assyria; this would explain why their gods were taken from them.

Shortly after the murder of the Arab kings and the theft of their gods, Esarhaddon encountered some kings who had not known submission (ESR 2d). From the context of the inscription these can be assumed to be more Arab kings, though this is not stated. These kings, however, had committed the worst sin imaginable, their punishment fitting their crime in Assyrian eyes; the corpses of their warriors were left unburied and were allowed to be eaten by vultures. These kings had been negligent to Esarhaddon's forefathers and had brought this harsh punishment upon themselves and their cities. Even after they surrendered themselves to the king, he demolished their cities and

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<sup>319</sup> RGTC VIII: 73.

caused the corpses of their warriors to be left unburied and spoiled by vultures. This would act as a warning to all other kings considering rebellion against Assyria.

In his tenth year, on his campaign to Egypt, after completely subjugating the area, Esarhaddon took the Egyptian gods. We are told of this event on an Assyrian stele (ESR 3) and in the Babylonian Chronicle Series (ESR 10c). The Nahr el-Kelb stele (ESR 3) was set up on the coast, north of Sidon to commemorate the defeat of Taharqa, the Egyptian king. On the stele he is described as the king of Kusi, Kush, since the pharaohs were from the south at this time in Egyptian history. Esarhaddon takes Taharqa's gods and goddesses, along with his property as spoil. We are given more detail in the Babylonian chronicle, which does not mention Taharqa, but relates the destruction and plundering of Memphis (ESR 10c). Egypt was defeated three times and the gods were deported. Memphis was seized and destroyed and the Egyptian king abandoned his city. This godnap can be seen as retribution for the Egyptians' defeat of Esarhaddon in his seventh year. Esarhaddon would still be furious at this defeat and at the Egyptians' penchant for fomenting rebellion in the cities of the Levantine coast. In order to maintain his hold on the west he needed to show the peoples of that area the might of Assyria and taking their gods was the perfect way to do so.

Though the majority of his inscriptions relate Esarhaddon's grand gestures of returning the gods of Babylonia and Arabia, he also stole the statues of the gods. Thirteen of his nineteen inscriptions describing the movement of the gods concern the return of gods. Six of these thirteen are dedicated to detailing the return of Marduk and have been found in both Babylonia and Assyria. To placate the Babylonians of other cities

Esarhaddon returned the statue of Ištaran to Der and the statue of Ištar of Akkade was returned to her patron city from Elam, likely through the machinations of the Elamites. He affected the return of other statues to Babylonia as can be seen in correspondence to the king. He also both returned and stole the gods of differing Arab tribes. The destruction of Egypt, though not the final act of his reign, constitutes his final act of godnap.

### **Aššurbanipal**

Though Aššurbanipal was the younger of Esarhaddon's two sons who were elevated to kingship at his death in 669, he received the more prestigious territory, Assyria. As such, he had more responsibility than his brother, Šamaš-šuma-ukin, king of Babylon, and was solely responsible for military campaigns. Since his father had died on campaign en route to Egypt, Aššurbanipal now inherited the conflict, though he would need to settle affairs in Assyria before he could continue the campaign. He was forced to fight with Elam twice during his reign and successfully campaigned there. Esarhaddon had been able to control Babylonia and the fragmentation of the empire between his sons did not cause problems in the early years of their respective reigns. But after sixteen years of peace, it seems Šamaš-šuma-ukin's subservient role started to wear on the Babylonian king. No doubt with Babylonian ministers whispering in his ear, he started a revolt against his brother in 652, which would end four years later with his defeat and subsequent death. The remainder of Aššurbanipal's reign included the general campaigning involved with being the king of Assyria and ended with his death in 631. His godnapping programme includes multiple episodes in Elam, theft in Arabia and activity in the Levant. The city of Larak also pleaded with him to aid in the return

of their gods. He names himself as the king who returned Marduk to Babylon and Nanaya to Uruk, an act he considered of greatest importance.

Like his father, he claimed credit for the return of Marduk to Babylon and Esagila, but Aššurbanipal was able to actually perform the task through the instillation of his brother on the Babylonian throne. Though it is likely the statue returned to Babylon with Šamaš-šuma-ukin, the region's new king, Aššurbanipal found the act prestigious enough to include in his epithets in his inscriptions placed in Babylon. In two inscriptions commemorating building work in Babylon and one from Borsippa, Aššurbanipal states that Marduk had previously dwelt in the presence of 'the father, his creator' in Assur during the reign of a previous king and was now returning to Babylon in joy (ABP 8, 9 and 11). This is a veiled reference to Marduk's stay in Assur during the reign of Esarhaddon. Sennacherib's sack of Babylon, the reason for Marduk's presence in Assur, is not mentioned, but the language used cleverly reminds the Babylonian reader of the sack of the city, whilst neither lauding nor condemning the act. In three inscriptions, from Babylon, Sippar and Uruk (ABP 7, 10, and 12, respectively),<sup>320</sup> Aššurbanipal only claims to be the king in whose reign Marduk returned to Babylon, with no mention of Marduk's stay in Assyria. All of the inscriptions containing this epithet are building inscriptions from cities in Babylonia. The decision to mention Marduk's stay in Assyria, however veiled, is interesting as the event would not be one the Babylonians would want to be reminded of. It is only mentioned on inscriptions commemorating the restoration of the temple Ekarzagina in Babylon (ABP 8), the Ezida temple at Borsippa (ABP 11), and the work on platforms and daises in Esagila (ABP 9).

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<sup>320</sup> Another inscription (RIMB 2, B.6.32.13) reports these events, but is broken. The text referring to the return of Marduk has been heavily restored, so it is not treated here.

To commemorate the work on temples and cultic objects related to Marduk and his son Nabu this reference to Marduk's precious captivity is subtly mentioned.

Other inscriptions commemorating the rebuilding of temples include the epithet, but not the reminder that Marduk had previously resided in Assur. What significance does this have? The inscriptions subtly describing Marduk's stay in Assyria are located in temples within Esagila and at the temple of Nabu, his son, in Borsippa, areas frequented by Marduk and his son. Subtly describing Marduk's captivity in Assur in the areas most frequented by the god seems an attempt to constantly remind the Babylonians of it. Presumably this would anger the Babylonians and not endear Aššurbanipal to them at all. The other temple inscriptions mentioning Marduk's return are in the temples of Ištar and Šamaš, gods not readily associated with Marduk.

We are also told of Marduk's stay in Assyria in the Esarhaddon Chronicle, which, as mentioned above, details the reign of Esarhaddon and the accession of Šamaš-šum-ukin. This inscription (ABP 13), which parallels the *Akītu* Chronicle (ŠŠU 8a), relates that Marduk had dwelt in Assur for eight years under Sennacherib and twelve under Esarhaddon. Since this statement appears after the death of Esarhaddon and before the accession of Aššurbanipal in the text of the chronicle it can be assumed that Marduk was returned after spending twenty years in Assur. This Babylonian authored evidence takes a different tone to that of the Assyrian inscriptions. Though the chronicles do not attribute acts to kings in the same way the Assyrian royal inscriptions do, any king would be greatly honoured to be named as the one who returned Marduk. Presumably, the reluctance of the Babylonian scribe to attribute the act to a specific king stems from

the fact that an Assyrian king is returning Marduk and not a Babylonian one, so his name may not bear mentioning.

The sole inscription of Aššurbanipal that has been found in Assyria mentioning the return of Marduk is a text that has intrigued scholars for many years. It tells of the early days of the Assyrian king, detailing his literacy and describes his ability to read obscure inscriptions ‘from before the flood’.<sup>321</sup> Later in this inscription, the king prays to Marduk to change his mind and return to Esagila (ABP 6), reminiscent of the prayers of Nebuchadnezzar I in his attempts to entreat Marduk to return home.<sup>322</sup> Marduk is asked to turn his head back toward Esagila and Aššurbanipal entreats him to return to his seat in Esagila. The use of language similar to that of the great Babylonian king Nebuchadnezzar I, who had saved Marduk from the Elamites is an interesting choice for an inscription meant to be seen in Assyria. This text was found in the library of Aššurbanipal at Nineveh. Its exact purpose is unknown, but represents an attempt to showcase the abilities of the king. His use of language similar to that of the Babylonian king may be an attempt to unite both monarchs in that they both performed the great act of returning Marduk to his rightful place. We know Aššurbanipal to have requested tablets of differing natures from the scribal centres of Babylon and Borsippa, so his knowledge of the texts of Nebuchadnezzar I may have come from these tablets. His true relationship with his brother is elucidated from this inscription. Surely the king of Babylon would be a more suitable personage to request Marduk’s return, but it is Aššurbanipal who entreats him. So, it seems, concerning important matters, Šamaš-šuma-ukin was not the true king of Babylon, Aššurbanipal was.

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<sup>321</sup> Livingstone 2007: 100.

<sup>322</sup> These texts, NBZI 1 and 3b, will be discussed in Chapter Seven.

In a second act of benevolence, Aššurbanipal returned the god Atarsamain to Iauta', son of Ḫazael, king of the land of Qedar (ABP 2). This return occurred during the Great Rebellion, sometime between 650 and 647<sup>323</sup> before his siege of the Arab tribes when campaigning in Qedar. It is described just after the king of Elam agrees to release a contingent of Assyrian soldiers. They had previously been sent as reinforcements during the Great Rebellion, but had been surrounded and captured by the Babylonian leader Nabu-bel-šumati. This description of the resumption of good relations between Assyria and Elam would serve as a good backdrop for Aššurbanipal to discuss his attempt to resume good relations with the Arabs. So, we are told of the journey of Iauta' to visit the Assyrian king in order to secure the release of his gods. Aššurbanipal made him take the oaths to Assyria and then returned his gods to him. He mentioned that it was his father who had taken the gods of Qedar, though Esarhaddon's only known dealings with the Arabs regarding their gods occurred when he returned Ḫazael's gods to him (text ESR 2b). Esarhaddon mentions that his father Sennacherib had taken the gods of Ḫazael, but that theft is only mentioned in two sources, as previously stated. We can only assume Aššurbanipal is referring to an incident that has not been recorded in the annals of Esarhaddon. He cannot have confused his father with his grandfather as the gods of Ḫazael had been returned by his father Esarhaddon previously. So, it would seem that after his decision to return the Arab gods to Ḫazael, Esarhaddon was forced to attack them once more and chose to take their gods. His son Aššurbanipal, however, decided the gods could be returned to the Arabs only after they swore allegiance to Assyria once more. The return of the Arab gods would have been seen as a

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<sup>323</sup> Eph'al 1982: 143.

magnanimous gesture and would make Aššurbanipal's military campaigns easier as he would be able to focus his energies wholly on putting down the revolt in Babylonia and his later campaigns in Elam.

Aššurbanipal did not commit an act of godnap until his second Elamite campaign, after he had crushed the revolt of his brother in Babylonia. Aššurbanipal marched into Elam on his seventh campaign in 647 and on his return march he captured twenty-nine towns in Elam and took their gods (ABP 1a). These cities are largely unknown, apart from the four royal cities Madaktu, Dur-Undasi, Bubilu and Bunaku, as well as Susa. Though this inscription mentions the capture of Susa, the city was not completely destroyed until Aššurbanipal's foray into Elam in the next year. Why did these cities incur the wrath of the Assyrian king? It would seem that he intended to destroy all the royal cities and the other cities mentioned may have merely been in his path. He was likely to have been still angry at the betrayal of Elam as they had supported his brother in the Babylonian revolt. Years before the revolt, the Elamites and Assyrians had been on friendly terms, for once, but when Šamaš-šuma-ukin decided to rebel the Elamite kings saw an opportunity they could not resist. This campaign, then, can be seen as revenge for the earlier Elamite attacks on Assyrian troops. The theft of the gods of various Elamite cities would be a warning to the rest of Elam that would not be heeded and also a punishment for the rebellious land.

On this same campaign into Elam Aššurbanipal conquered twenty cities from Ғunnir to Ғidalu, two cities in the interior of Elam (ABP 1b). He then demolished and razed Bašimu, the endpoint of his invasion into Elam, killing the people of the land, heaping



them up and finally smashing their gods. Bašimu is still unknown, but can tentatively be located on the south coast of Elam.<sup>324</sup> By smashing the gods of these cities, Aššurbanipal reminds the reader of his grandfather Sennacherib's destruction of Babylon, indicating a similar defeat of Elam. Akin to his grandfather's relationship with Babylonia, Aššurbanipal had problems keeping Elam in line throughout his reign and hoped the destruction of their gods would achieve the relative peace it had done for Sennacherib. After reporting his destruction of the gods of Bašimu, Aššurbanipal says he took them back to Assyria. Either he was taking the smashed pieces back with him because of their inherent value or he was taking the pieces back as further punishment for the Elamites. He not only smashed their gods, but was holding what was left of them captive in Assyria.

After this destruction and theft of the gods of Bašimu, the Assyrian king finally demolished Susa, the religious centre of Elam (ABP 1c, 1d and 4). After the initial sacking of the city, Aššurbanipal destroyed the *ziggurat* of Susa, giving a list of the Elamite gods he took to Assyria (ABP 1c). He took the patron god of the city, Šušinak, the underworld god Lagamal and other gods about whom not much is known. By going against the convention of merely stating that 'the gods' were taken and naming them, Aššurbanipal is showing their importance in Elam and emphasising the effect their absence will have on their patron cities and in fact, Elam as a whole. The sack of Susa is also mentioned in another inscription, the so-called Nergal-Laš-Inscription (ABP 4). This inscription is dedicated to Nergal and describes the taking of the god Šušinak and the other gods and goddess of Elam as booty. The other gods mentioned in

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<sup>324</sup> Helsinki Atlas: 17. This location is designated as 'uncertain' in the Atlas, so can only be tentatively ascribed here.

Aššurbanipal's annals are not listed here, though the naming of the patron god of Susa is significant. Just as others before him had declared their theft of Marduk from Babylon Aššurbanipal accentuates his theft of the patron god of Susa by naming him and not referring to the remaining gods by name. The final inscription discussing the theft of the gods of Susa concerns the removal of the statues of the bull colossi, *lamassu*, which were guardians of the temples (ABP 1d). Aššurbanipal has desecrated the Elamite temples and has counted 'their gods as powerless ghosts'. The theft of the gods did not normally result in the god's divinity being taken away, only transferred to another nation. But Aššurbanipal's demotion of the Elamite gods to merely powerless ghosts added another layer to his godnapping activities. He not only removed them from their socles, but rendered them powerless, effectively killing them. This would be extremely catastrophic for the Elamites, as when the statues of the gods were taken to another land there was hope they could be returned, but if they were effectively killed then their return would not matter or even be possible. After his destruction of Susa, presumably on his way back to Assyria he destroyed fourteen Elamite royal cities and took their gods (ABP 3). This act mimics the theft of the gods from other Elamite cities as seen on his second campaign in Elam. As he made his way back through Elam he conquered the remaining royal cities and took their gods in order to utterly destroy the Elamite empire.

Whilst in Elam, Aššurbanipal retrieved the statue of Nanaya and returned her to Uruk (ABP 1e). Aššurbanipal explains that Nanaya was angry for 1,635 years and dwelt in a place not suitable for her, Elam. When he was elevated to kingship, by the great gods and Nanaya, she told him to come to Elam in order to free her from her captivity there and return her home. Amidst the narrative of the destruction of Elam and its gods,

Aššurbanipal takes time to return a Mesopotamian goddess, akin to Sennacherib's return of Adad and Šala to Assur after he had sacked Babylon. The return of Nanaya is narrated outside the larger campaign of destruction in Elam. We are told of the removal of Nanaya from Elam and her return to Uruk at the same time, when these events were likely to be separated by some amount of time as Aššurbanipal would not have left Elam in the middle of his campaign there to return Nanaya to Uruk. The language of the text again is similar to a text of Nebuchadnezzar I in which Marduk tells him to come to Elam to rescue him.<sup>325</sup> Just as Nebuchadnezzar I took great pride in returning Marduk from the wretched Elamites, so too did Aššurbanipal revel in the return of Nanaya to Uruk.

Aššurbanipal's next encounter with godnap occurred whilst he was fighting the Arabs, specifically the Qedarites of northern Arabia (text ABP 1f). He had already seen fit to return the gods stolen by Esarhaddon to them, but their inability to keep to their oaths of loyalty necessitated the intercession of Aššurbanipal to punish them for their insurrection. The king besieged the *a'lu* of the god Atarsamain, a confederation of tribes who worship Atarsamain.<sup>326</sup> Along with these tribes he conquered the people of Qedar and their king Uate', son of Bir-Adad, who was given the title 'king of the Arabs', a title which seems to have meant the king of any of the Arab tribes at this time. Aššurbanipal took the gods of Uate' and presumably of the people of Qedar, but not the gods of all the Arabs as the text specifies the theft of 'his gods'. This theft of the gods mirrors the policies of his father and grandfather. He took the gods of these tribes to show the other tribes of Arabia what would happen if they were to rebel against him,

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<sup>325</sup> This text, NBZI 1 is discussed in Chapter Seven.

<sup>326</sup> CAD A/1: 374.

but also to make sure the followers of Uate' did not rebel again. After he defeated them, Aššurbanipal took all the people of Qedar along with all their possessions back to Assyria. This, presumably, was their punishment for the uprising.

Aššurbanipal's final act of godnap occurred on the return march of his ninth campaign in 644 at the town of Ušu, a mainland suburb of Tyre (text ABP 1g). He killed the people of Ušu because they had not given their governors the tribute that was to go to Aššurbanipal and Assyria. This is interesting because normally the rulers of a city are blamed for not giving tribute, but here the citizens are clearly implicated; had he meant the rulers of Ušu this would be clearly stated. This refusal to give the required tribute to the rulers of the city showed that the people of Ušu would not submit to an overlord, and therefore needed to be punished and Aššurbanipal chose to murder them. Presumably this group of people murdered was a subset of the population as after their gods were taken, the remaining people of Ušu were taken to Assyria as booty. This could also have been a way to punish the gods of Ušu for allowing their followers to discontinue their shipment of tribute to Aššurbanipal since the citizens of Ušu seem to have been either killed or taken to Assyria with their gods.

A final text describes not an act of godnap, but a plea for the return of the gods (ABP 5). The people of Larak, in a letter dated to Babylonia after the Great Rebellion, after having apprehended a criminal who would betray Assyria, reminded the king that they were loyal to him. They then asked if the king could facilitate the return of their gods from Nippur. While this text does not explain how or why the gods of Larak were moved to Nippur, it does show the great lengths a city would go to in order to have its

gods returned. The citizens of Larak show their loyalty by giving a man who did not submit to Assyria over to the king, thereby proving their allegiance. They know that an act showing their loyalty would reiterate the oaths of allegiance they presumably had taken.

Throughout his reign, Aššurbanipal concentrated most of his inscriptions on his most important accomplishments, the return of Marduk and the destruction of Elam. He was able to affect the return of a highly prized goddess, Nanaya of Uruk, as well as placate the ever-troublesome Arabs by giving them the gods that had been previously stolen from them. Though he later stole these same gods from them, he only did so as a result of their insolence. He was also seen as an authority who could return gods to other cities, as the citizens of Larak appealed to him for help in this matter. His campaigns also took him to the Levant, a troublesome area for much of the Neo-Assyrian Period, where he punished the citizens of Ušu for their decision to withhold tribute.

### **The Character of Godnap in the Neo-Assyrian Period**

During the Neo-Assyrian Period three paradigms of godnap can be seen: the theft of the gods, the return of the gods and the movement of the gods to prevent their capture. The Neo-Assyrian kings chose to utilise an effective method of keeping populations and cities under control: godnap. It is during this time period that the practice reaches its zenith, with each king committing multiple acts. Though it was their primary method of controlling troublesome populations, the Neo-Assyrian kings also returned stolen gods to their patron cities at diplomatically advantageous times. From the beginning of the reign of Tiglath-Pileser III in 744 to the death of Aššurbanipal in 631 godnap was used

to completely destroy a population, not only physically, but emotionally as well. The return of stolen gods evoked emotion as well and was a good bargaining tool and useful when attempting to regain the trust of peoples who had been conquered or treated badly before.

## CHAPTER SEVEN: THE MIDDLE AND NEO-BABYLONIAN EMPIRES

For the Babylonian kings, two types of text are extant, royal inscriptions and chronicles. The royal inscriptions of Babylonian kings vary from those of the Assyrian ones; they consist either of tablets which relate the building programmes of the kings or historical-literary texts, similar to the Agum-kakrime text (A-K 1) discussed in Chapter Two. The Babylonian Chronicles, a group of texts so-called because they list the events of the reigns of the kings of Babylonia, mostly discuss the reigns of the later Babylonian kings, starting mainly in the mid-eighth century or later. This chapter will cover a span of six hundred years of Babylonian history, from the beginning of the Second Dynasty of Isin, with the reign of Nebuchadnezzar I, to the end of Babylonia as an independent nation with the subjugation of the land by Cyrus the Great.

### **Nebuchadnezzar I**

Nebuchadnezzar I succeeded his father Ninurta-nadin-šumi to the throne of Babylon in 1125. He was the fourth king of the Second Dynasty of Isin, the dynasty of Babylonian kings reinstated after the Elamite destruction of Babylon and the end of the Kassite rule of Babylonia in 1155. It is to this dynasty, and indeed from Nebuchadnezzar's reign that later Babylonian kings looked for inspiration on becoming a quintessentially Babylonian ruler. Nebuchadnezzar sent raiding parties into Assyria twice, with no real success; the Babylonian army retreated under threat from Assyrian king Aššur-reša-iši I and were defeated in their second attempt.<sup>327</sup> Nebuchadnezzar's major success was the punishment of Elam for their prior destruction of Babylon and the retrieval of the statue

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<sup>327</sup> Brinkman 1968: 110-11.

of Marduk that had been taken from his temple Esagila in Babylon. This return of Marduk would be his greatest achievement, and though his reign ended in 1104, the act would be lauded for many centuries.

All of the extant references to godnap during the reign of Nebuchadnezzar I concern the removal of the statue of Marduk and the gods of Babylon to Elam, along with the return of these statues. Babylon had been sacked in 1155 by the Elamite king Kutir-Nahhunte and the statue of Marduk had been taken as booty back to Elam. The number of these texts is not surprising given the importance of the return of Marduk, especially when considering Nebuchadnezzar's role in setting Marduk atop the Babylonian pantheon. The texts all belong to the genre of historical-literary texts, texts that portray historical events in a literary style. The first text that deals with this subject, NBZI 1, is a prayer of Nebuchadnezzar to Marduk. In this text, Marduk has already gone to Elam and Nebuchadnezzar is attempting to affect his return. He tells Marduk about the horrors that have befallen Babylon in his absence and pleads with him to return. Marduk then replies to the Babylonian king, asking him to attack Amurru and then bring him back from Elam. The attack on Amurru seems odd as it would normally indicate an area in the west, the exact opposite direction from Elam, but the term *māt Amurri* has been used to describe what Brinkman refers to as the 'Aḫlamu Arameans', who had reached the city of Rapiqu on the northwest border of Babylonia at this time.<sup>328</sup> So it is indeed possible for Nebuchadnezzar to have had skirmishes with them, with the impetus to completely destroy them given by the answer to his prayer to Marduk. Or, more likely, the scribe who composed this text thought it best to have the destruction of these

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<sup>328</sup> Brinkman 1968: 112, n 610, 279.



Arameans come from Marduk himself. Next, Nebuchadnezzar must destroy Elam and return Marduk to his rightful place in Esagila. Nebuchadnezzar has the great honour of bringing Marduk back to Babylon at the god's request. Marduk's return would also prove fortuitous for the citizens of Babylon as the atrocious state of affairs in the city that occurred after Marduk had left would be overturned now that he had returned.

Another historical-literary text, NBZI 2, describes how Nebuchadnezzar brought Marduk back to Babylon. Whilst battling the Elamites, the Babylonian king saw Marduk and the other gods of Babylon who left with him. He became quite excited and rushed to take the hand of Marduk and lead him back to Esagila. This time we are not told whether Marduk has sanctioned Nebuchadnezzar's destruction of Elam, but it can be assumed the god would welcome any attempt to rescue him. This text is one of the inscriptions relating the return of Marduk to Babylon that is not ascribed to any particular king. It is associated with Nebuchadnezzar because it describes the return of Marduk from Elam and he was the sole Babylonian king to have done so. This text has a religious tone to it as well, with the king seizing the hand of Marduk reminiscent of the events of the *akītu* festival.

In yet another iteration of this episode, NBZI 3a, we are told why Marduk left Elam and how the Elamite king came to steal the statues of the gods. Marduk was angry at the Babylonians and commanded all the gods to abandon the land. One might assume he was angry at the theft of his statue, but this text places the gods' abandonment before the theft of their statues by the Elamite king. So it seems the gods must have been angry for another reason, possibly because the Babylonians let the Elamites overrun Babylon

or that the Babylonians had committed some crime against them. After the gods abandoned the city the land turned to ruin with evil demons running amok, making the city easily conquerable for the Elamites. As such, the Elamite king made short work of destroying Babylon with quick attacks and battles. He then destroyed the sanctuaries of the gods and took their statues to Elam. In this text, then, the abandonment of the gods has more of an effect on Babylon than the taking of the statues. After the gods go up to heaven people start lying, evil fills the land and the country becomes unstable. After all this has happened the statues of the gods are then taken away. This seems to only add insult to injury as the Babylonians could have hoped for the return of the gods, but only if their statues remained in their sanctuaries, and as the wicked Elamites have taken them this would not be possible.

Text NBZI 3b is interesting in that Nebuchadnezzar affected Marduk's return not by military means, but through prayer. Nebuchadnezzar prayed daily to Marduk in the hope he would return. Eventually his prayers were answered when Marduk decided it was time to leave Elam after all and come home. The pitiful supplications of the Babylonian king had been heard by the god and he returned home with haste. This text, then, is different to the others that describe the return of Marduk; it shows the Babylonians in a different light. To retrieve their chief god from an enemy land, they do not automatically think of sacking the enemy towns, as had been done to them, but they use the power of prayer. This is reminiscent of the Hittite ritual *evocatio*, discussed in Chapter Four. Nebuchadnezzar appeals to Marduk to return by telling him how horrible things have become since he has left. His return at the prayers of Nebuchadnezzar would represent only the return of the god and not his statue; his statue would also need

to be in Babylon for him to be able to return to it. This text could possibly represent a dual tradition, by which the statue was returned by military means, but Marduk also needed to be called on to return to the statue. As all the gods had abandoned Babylon before their statues were taken to Elam they would need to be called back to their statues from the heavens.

The final royal inscription of Nebuchadnezzar to mention godnap, NBZI 4, again describes the anger of the gods and their sojourn to Elam. This text is on a cylinder fragment that does not bear the name of any specific king, but the events it details show it clearly belongs to Nebuchadnezzar I. It does not give as detailed a description as NBZI 3a does, only saying that the gods had become angry and they went to Elam; Marduk is not even named in the inscription. This inscription is broken, though this does not explain the omission of Marduk's name. The rest of the inscription may explain the oversight, however. The text speaks of a king who was appointed to the Babylonian throne by the sun-god and then commanded to destroy Elam by the same god. Since the anger of all the gods is discussed there is no need to single out Marduk, especially in a text in which the campaign to Elam is originated by the sun-god.

The inscriptions of Nebuchadnezzar I show him as a great king who was able to retrieve the beloved statue of Marduk from the clutches of the Babylonians' erstwhile enemy, the Elamites.<sup>329</sup> Though he was an important god in Babylon before, it is in this time period that Marduk becomes the most important god. It has been theorised that this return of Marduk's statue was the impetus for the composition of the *Enūma eliš*, as

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<sup>329</sup> Though the two kingdoms chose to become friends when fighting their mutual enemy, the Assyrians.

discussed in Chapter Three. This event, then, serves as one of the most important events in the history of Babylon. The return of Marduk also had implications with regard to the re-establishment of Babylonians on the throne of Babylon. The Elamite destruction of Kassite Babylon in 1155 marks a transition from the throne being occupied by outsiders, the Kassites, to its occupation again by Babylonians.<sup>330</sup> To reinforce this idea of patriotism and nationalism it was important to return Marduk to his rightful place in Esagila and Babylon.

### **Ninurta-kudurri-ušur**

Ninurta-kudurri-ušur was not a king of Babylon, but was governor of the land of Suḫu, which was located on the Middle Euphrates, northwest of Babylon and southwest of Assur, between the cities Rapiqu and Hindanu.<sup>331</sup> Suḫu was a highly contested border territory between Assyria and Babylonia. Texts from this area are sparse, but two known rulers emerge from them: Ninurta-kudurri-ušur and his father Šamaš-reša-ušur.<sup>332</sup> Ninurta-kudurri-ušur's inscriptions mention the governor of Rušapu, who is listed in the Assyrian eponym lists as being governor of that city in 747.<sup>333</sup> Also from his inscriptions, we know Ninurta-kudurri-ušur to have been governor for seven years, so the dates of his reign can be narrowed down to sometime in the mid-eighth century. Like Nebuchadnezzar I, Ninurta-kudurri-ušur's affiliation with godnap is restricted to the return of the gods.

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<sup>330</sup> Though Nebuchadnezzar I was not the first king of the Second Dynasty of Isin, his return of Marduk is the seminal event in the dynasty and represents a new-found patriotism.

<sup>331</sup> RGTC V: 235-6.

<sup>332</sup> RIMB 2: 275.

<sup>333</sup> RIMB 2: 275.

In text NKU 1a we are first told of the revolt of the city of Anat from Suḫu and their defection to Assyria. This had occurred before the reign of Ninurta-kudurri-uṣur's father as the people of Anat asked for Šamaš-reša-uṣur's help in expelling the Assyrians from their city. The text clearly states the citizens of Anat joined with 'the Assyrian' of their own free will. This does not seem to be the case as 'the Assyrian' then desecrated their temples and gods, not indicative of the behaviour of an ally. The Assyrians also secreted the goddess Anat in a hidden place. Presumably, the citizens of Anat were promised amnesty, but the Assyrians had lied to them and proceeded to destroy their city. This event is mentioned in another of Ninurta-kudurri-uṣur's inscriptions, with the desecration of the statues and temples not recorded.<sup>334</sup> Just after this description of the revolt we are given its context. It occurred fifty years before the reign of Šamaš-reša-uṣur and Assyrian control of the city lasted three years into his reign. Why did the Assyrians put the statue in a hidden place when they ransacked the city rather than taking it back to Assur? If the citizens of Anat had willingly given control of their city to Assyria then there would be no need for godnap. It is possible the Assyrians hid the statue in the event they might need it at a later date were the citizens of Anat to revolt against them. They would also have hidden the statue to dishearten the people of the city, as they would no longer be able to properly worship their patron goddess. This incident is mentioned so that the piety of Ninurta-kudurri-uṣur can be shown in the next part of the inscription, NKU 1b, as he brings the goddess Anat back from her hiding place.

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<sup>334</sup> RIMB 2: S.0.1002.5, iv 1-7a: 308.

Ninurta-kudurri-ušur's connection with godnap is finally apparent in the next part of the inscription, NKU 1b. He was the one who brought back the goddess Anat from her hiding place and restored her cult offerings. The report of this restoration of the statue and cult as well as the revolt is on a stele which has a relief of a man with his hand raised in front of a deity, likely to be Anat, thus commemorating the return of the statue.<sup>335</sup> This relief depicting the text shows that Ninurta-kudurri-ušur wanted all the citizens to remember that he was the one who returned the statue, again putting a high value on the act.

### **Bel-ibni**

Bel-ibni was a Babylonian raised in the court of Sennacherib whom the Assyrian king placed on the Babylonian throne from 702 to 700. As seen in Chapter Six, Sennacherib's relationship with Babylon was a complex one eventually resulting in the city's destruction. After his first attack on Babylon and the capture of Marduk-apla-iddina II's family he installed Bel-ibni as king of Babylon. After Sennacherib left Babylonia Bel-ibni was left in charge of the entirety of it, but by 700 the Chaldean tribes had taken over much of the south and after invading Babylonia again, Sennacherib removed Bel-ibni from the throne and made his son Aššur-nadin-šumi king of Babylon.<sup>336</sup>

In his sole extant royal inscription, a copy of the original inscription, Bel-ibni grants privileges to the town Ša-ušur-Adad. In this text, B-IB 1, Bel-ibni, during the course of his (or more likely his patron, Sennacherib's) campaigns to expel Marduk-apla-iddina II

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<sup>335</sup> RIMB 2: 317.

<sup>336</sup> Brinkman 1984a: 59-60.

from Babylon, plundered the shrines of Babylonia and removed their gods, more specifically Ba-KUR of Ša-ušur-Adad.<sup>337</sup> During his next conquest, the city of Šapiia, he saw a vision of the goddess and was frightened of her. This explains why he has given privileges to Ša-ušur-Adad; he felt guilty for plundering their city and taking Ba-KUR. After his guilt manifested in a vision of the goddess he felt the need to restore her to her city. Since at this time Bel-ibni and the Assyrian forces were trying to subdue Marduk-apla-iddina and the Babylonian forces, the stolen gods may have been used to keep that city loyal to Assyria or used as a bargaining tool to discover the whereabouts of Marduk-apla-iddina. Once the Assyrians realised the citizens of Ša-ušur-Adad did not know where the deposed Babylonian king was and that they were not going to revolt, Bel-ibni was allowed to return their gods to them. This text is interesting because the ruler who stole the gods is also the one to return them. His short reign makes the text even more interesting as one would not expect such a quick reversal of opinion toward a conquered city.

### **Aššur-nadin-šumi**

Aššur-nadin-šumi was one of the sons of Sennacherib who was put on the throne of Babylonia in 699 after Bel-ibni's unsuccessful reign. His reign, in contrast, was quite successful, with no revolts or disturbances recorded.<sup>338</sup> He administered Babylonia for six years until he was taken to Elam by an invading Elamite army in 694 after being betrayed by a group of Babylonians.<sup>339</sup> Whilst no royal inscriptions are extant for this king, his reign is attested in the Babylonian chronicles, where he is mentioned in connection with godnap. In a chronicle mainly describing the reign of a later Assyrian

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<sup>337</sup> Walker and Kramer 1982: 72.

<sup>338</sup> Brinkman 1984a: 60.

<sup>339</sup> Luuko and Van Buylaere, SAA 16 no 21.

placed on the throne of Babylon, Šamaš-šuma-ukin, Aššur-nadin-šumi is mentioned. This chronicle consists of a selection of events from other chronicles and was in personal use rather than being a royal document.<sup>340</sup> The first line of the chronicle, ANŠ 1, states that in the sixth year of Aššur-nadin-šumi's reign Ištaran went from Der to Assyria. The last mention of the movement of the gods of Der is during the reign of Šamši-Adad V, who took them to Assyria (Š-AV 2 and 3). As Ištaran is once again sent to Assyria here, he must have found some way back to Der. As it was an important fortified city bordering Elam, it is possible Sennacherib would have conquered Der and subsequently used it as a base for his campaign to Elam just before the Babylonian betrayal of Aššur-nadin-šumi to the Elamites. This expedition to Elam was an attempt to rout the Chaldeans and Elamites and met with resounding success. Unfortunately, this campaign would also be the cause of the death of his son as in their counter-attack the Elamites chose to attack Babylon and took Aššur-nadin-šumi back with them to Elam. Though we are not told of an attack on Der, assuming there was one, sending Ištaran, the chief god of Der, to Assyria would deal a harsh blow to the citizens of Der and persuade them not to contest Assyrian authority.

### **Nergal-ušeziḫ**

After absconding back to Elam with Aššur-nadin-šumi, the king of Elam appointed Nergal-ušeziḫ king of Babylon in 693. The political loyalties of the cities of Babylonia become confusing at this point as cities expected to be pro-Babylonian seem to be pro-Assyrian and vice versa.<sup>341</sup> Nergal-ušeziḫ seized Nippur, plundered and robbed the city (N-UŠB 1). A few months later the Assyrians came to Uruk and took the gods and the

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<sup>340</sup> ABC: 32-3.

<sup>341</sup> Brinkman 1984a: 62.



people of the city.<sup>342</sup> As they were trying to regain control over areas they had previously held this act of godnap seems a logical way to keep the remaining citizens of Uruk loyal to Assyria. The Assyrian army then moved towards Nippur and met Nergal-ušeziḫ in battle in the vicinity of Nippur; he and his army lost the skirmish and he was taken to Assur. It is not likely that Nergal-ušeziḫ was attempting to retrieve the gods of Uruk from the Assyrians as he probably did not know about their theft. This godnap can be seen as part of Sennacherib's retribution for the death of his son at the hands of the Babylonians.

### **No King in Babylon**

This period of Babylonian history is referred to by the Babylonian chroniclers as having no king (689-681) when in fact there was ostensibly a king of Babylon, Sennacherib. With his destruction of the city in 689, the Babylonian monarchy in effect became obsolete and even though Sennacherib never called himself king of Babylon, he did destroy the city and by some definitions conquering an area makes one king of it. The later Neo-Babylonian scribes did not recognise Sennacherib's reign most likely because he destroyed and pillaged the city and took away Marduk and the other gods of Babylon. In the text that concerns godnap from this period in the Babylonian chronicles we are told of the return of the gods of Uruk (NKB 1). The text states they returned to Uruk from Elam, though this seems to be a scribal error as we know they were taken by the Assyrians in 693 from the inscriptions of Sennacherib.<sup>343</sup> Why would Sennacherib want to return the gods to Uruk? Little documentation for this period exists, so it is

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<sup>342</sup> This episode is also related in Sennacherib's inscriptions SNB 4b and SNB 6, discussed in Chapter Six.

<sup>343</sup> In ABC Grayson suggests the Elamites were the ones to have taken the gods of Uruk in the first place, but this does not seem to be the case.

difficult even to speculate. The assumption that the citizens of Uruk had proven themselves once again loyal to Assyria can be made, but only with a small amount of certainty. Certainly the return of their gods would help to ingratiate the Assyrians to the citizens of Uruk, so their return may have been a political tactic to help repair relations between the two. Since this return occurred at the end of Sennacherib's reign this might be easy to believe given his son Esarhaddon's policies toward Babylonia, but it seems out of character for Sennacherib. As he was murdered shortly after this it is difficult to know exactly what his intentions were. This chronicle records the murder of Sennacherib shortly after this return of the gods of Uruk, so it cannot be referring to their return by Esarhaddon, as seen in texts ESR 7, 8, 9, 10a and 11a in Chapter Six. This event may represent a scribal error or Sennacherib may have indeed ordered the return of these gods at the end of his reign.

### **Šamaš-šuma-ukin**

Šamaš-šuma-ukin, the son of Esarhaddon and the brother of Aššurbanipal, was appointed to the Babylonian throne by his father before his death. Esarhaddon's decision to split the kingship of the two nations and make the Babylonian king effectively a vassal of the Assyrian king is a baffling one. Nevertheless, Šamaš-šuma-ukin took the Babylonian throne in 668, a year after Aššurbanipal took the Assyrian throne. In some of the chronicles it is said Aššurbanipal installed his brother on the throne, showing the true nature of Esarhaddon's decision to divide the kingship. Šamaš-šuma-ukin's reign was not uneventful, with raids from Elam plaguing Babylonia and the constant interference of his brother in Babylonian affairs. All of this came to a head in 652 when Šamaš-šuma-ukin became the leader of a revolt, known as the Great

Rebellion, against Assyria, with his reign ending in 648. Mentions of godnap during his reign are not confined to his royal inscriptions, but are also found in the Babylonian chronicles. These texts mainly describe the return of Marduk, with one episode from a chronicle detailing Šamaš-šuma-ukin's theft of the gods of Cutha during the Great Rebellion.

After Esarhaddon's failed attempt to return the statue of Marduk, he was finally escorted home to Babylon by Šamaš-šuma-ukin when he ascended the Babylonian throne. This makes sense as the return of Marduk was a momentous event and signalled the end of his exile in Assyria.<sup>344</sup> In one text, ŠŠU1, we are told of Marduk's return, holding the hand of Šamaš-šuma-ukin. The king of the gods was led home from exile by the new king of Babylon, who, though he was an Assyrian, cared about Babylon and her gods, so sees it fit to return Marduk to his rightful place, while not letting the political advantages to such an act go unnoticed. This event became so important that Šamaš-šuma-ukin used it as a basis for one of his epithets, as seen in texts ŠŠU 2, 3 and 4. He has become 'the one in whose reign the Enlil of the gods, Marduk, went to Babylon in joy' and not just the son of Esarhaddon and the king of Babylon, Sumer and Akkad. By using this epithet he also carried the favour of the Babylonians and showed them that he would be a good king as he respected and has adopted their beliefs.

The return of Marduk is also mentioned in three different chronicles, texts ŠŠU 5, 6 and 8b. The text of these three chronicles is virtually identical; Marduk (here referred to as Bel) and the gods of Akkad have left Assur (or Baltil) and have returned to Babylon in

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<sup>344</sup> Some scholars see the text known as the *Marduk Ordeal* (discussed in Chapter Eight) as describing this return of Marduk to Babylon. See Frymer-Kensky 1984: 140.

the accession year of Šamaš-šuma-ukin. In two of the sources, ŠŠU 6 and 8b, we are told that Nabu and the gods of Borsippa came to Babylon to greet Marduk. It is fitting that Marduk's son would come to see that he had arrived safely home and rejoice in the event. A final text relating to Marduk and Šamaš-šuma-ukin is from a chronicle that is concerned with the *akītu* festival (ŠŠU 8a). We are told that Bel stayed in Assyria for a total of twenty years, eight under Sennacherib and twelve under Esarhaddon and the *akītu* was not celebrated for these years. As discussed in Chapter One, the *akītu* festival was the New Year's festival held in Nisan and Marduk's presence was required as his statue was processed from his temple to the *bīt akīti* outside of the city walls. Since Marduk was away, this festival was not able to be held as planned. This disturbed the Babylonian priests very much and the return of Marduk was greeted with great rejoicing.

The final text of Šamaš-šuma-ukin to discuss godnap is one describing the Babylonian king participating in the act, text ŠŠU 7. In his seventeenth year, Šamaš-šuma-ukin gathered an army and attacked Cutha. At this time in his reign he had revolted against Assyria, so attacked cities in Babylonia allied with the Assyrians. He then took something of Nergal to Babylon; the text is broken at this point and Millard's suggested reconstruction of ALAN (Akkadian *šalmu*) seems logical given the political climate at the time.<sup>345</sup> Grayson, in his edition of the text, says this restoration seems plausible, but only puts this information in a note and has not included the restoration in his transliterated text.<sup>346</sup> Glassner, on the other hand, agrees with Millard's suggestion and

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<sup>345</sup> He also suggests the missing sign/signs could be the beginning of a personal name ending in Nergal. Millard 1964: 26.

<sup>346</sup> ABC: 129, commentary for line 10.

places the restoration in his edition and translation of the text.<sup>347</sup> As Cutha was an important city on the route south to Nippur, a major Assyrian fortification in Babylonia, it would be a key city to hold and defend.<sup>348</sup> The theft of Nergal, the patron god of Cutha, would be a more powerful object to have taken back to Babylon than merely the Assyrian ruler of Cutha (the other option for the restoration of the signs surrounding Nergal in the text). If the ruler were taken, the Assyrians would want revenge and might attack Babylon more fiercely than they already were. If the statue of Nergal was taken, the citizens of Cutha would learn to fear the Babylonian kings and possibly want to change their loyalties.

The reign of Šamaš-šuma-ukin began peacefully with the return of the statue of Marduk to Babylon and Esagila. After sixteen years effectively under his brother's rule, he had suffered enough indignation and decided to revolt. The Great Rebellion would last four years, during which the capture of Cutha was affected and the statue of Nergal possibly taken away. Šamaš-šuma-ukin was likely to have learnt this tactic from the campaigns of both his father and grandfather and chose to incorporate them into his military programme.

### **Nabopolassar**

In the reign of Nabopolassar (625-605), the three main permutations of godnap can be seen: the theft of the gods, the return of the gods and the movement of the gods to a safer place. Nabopolassar was the first king of the so-called Neo-Babylonian dynasty. His ascension to the throne of Babylon marks the beginning of the end of Assyria as it

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<sup>347</sup> MC: 212-13.

<sup>348</sup> Millard 1964: 26.

was during his reign that the Assyrian empire was destroyed by a Median-Babylonian alliance. Two chronicles describe the instances of godnap in his reign. The first discusses the first part of his reign, while the second is concerned with the latter half of his reign and the fall of Assyria.

The chronicle that details the first part of Nabopolassar's reign contains two types of godnap, the return of the gods and the sending of the gods to Babylon for safekeeping. Before the beginning of his reign, the people of Kiš decided to send their gods to Babylon (text NBP 1a). The Assyrian army was advancing toward Kiš, and in anticipation of their likely entrance and subsequent destruction of the city, the gods of Kiš were sent to Babylon. The idea of sending the gods to Babylon for protection continued into Nabopolassar's first year, with both the gods of Šapazza and Sippar making the journey to Babylon (texts NBP 1c and 1d, respectively). The Assyrians were continuing their march into Babylonia and the citizens of these cities did not want the Assyrians to take their gods to Assyria, or possibly destroy them, so they chose to send them away. They were not abandoning their gods, but merely moving them to a safer place. Though the gods would not be present in their respective cities, the devastation caused by their removal would be less than the devastation that would occur if the Assyrians took them captive.

In a shrewd political move, shortly after he ascended the throne Nabopolassar returned the gods of Susa, which the Assyrians had previously captured (text NBP 1b). In the past, the Babylonians had often sought the help of Elam in their struggle against Assyria. After a relatively quiet period following the revolt of Šamaš-šuma-ukin, the

hostilities between Assyria and Babylonia had begun anew. It then seems logical that the new Babylonian king would try to re-form the old alliance with Elam. To this end, Nabopolassar returned the gods of Susa, whom the Assyrians had taken to Uruk when they conquered Elam under Aššurbanipal. These gods included the goddess Nanaya, whom the Assyrians believed should rightfully reside in Uruk. The statue of Nanaya had indeed been taken to Elam over one thousand years prior, and had remained in Elam for so long that the Elamites considered the Assyrian repatriation of Nanaya a theft of their own goddess. Since, in the subsequent time a new statue of Nanaya had been fashioned, Nabopolassar assumed the Urukeans would not be upset by the return of the elder statue to Elam. This return of the gods was not done for patriotic or religious reasons, but was a calculated move to gain the trust of the Elamites. This appeal to their religious nature rather than the earlier appeals to their greed seems to have worked better for the Babylonians as they did not have any border skirmishes with Elam at this time. Though sources for this period are scant, it can be assumed the return of the Elamite gods to Susa ingratiated the Babylonians once again to the Elamites.

Nabopolassar also committed acts of godnap himself on towns in Assyria after the Assyrians had been driven from Babylonia and back into the Assyrian heartland. On the journey northward into Assyria, Nabopolassar moved his troops toward the towns Manê, Saḥiri and Baliḥu (towns in western Assyria near to Bit-Adini), robbed these towns and took their gods (text NBP 2a). With this act it seems the Babylonians have embraced the practice of using godnap as a means to subjugate a people. Previously, only Bel-ibni, most likely on the order of Sennacherib, and Šamaš-šuma-ukin had utilised godnap; the other Babylonian kings were more concerned with returning statues

and saving them from being captured or destroyed. But, in his fight against Assyria, Nabopolassar decided to take the gods of these three towns situated on the middle Euphrates. He took their gods to show these cities, and the rest of Assyria, what a powerful ruler he had become.

On the return march through Assyria, Nabopolassar decided to capture the people and gods of Ḫindanu and took them back to Babylon (text NBP 2b). This city had been previously looted and its gods taken by Tiglath-pileser I, so either their gods had been returned previous to this incident and not mentioned in any extant source, or the citizens of Ḫindanu had gone through the arduous process of fashioning new ones. After Nabopolassar took these gods he was then pursued by the armies of Egypt and Assyria, but managed to elude them. Ḫindanu, whilst not a border town, must have had some significance since Nabopolassar stopped there long enough to take the gods while he was being chased by the combined armies of Egypt and Assyria. By taking these gods and those of the other Assyrian towns on the Euphrates Nabopolassar showed the Assyrians he was a powerful ruler, especially since he was willing to adopt their tactics.

During his reign, Nabopolassar committed acts of godnap, returned stolen statues and saw the movement of gods for safe-keeping. Whilst he followed the tradition of previous Babylonian rulers and focussed his attentions on the return of statues, he also adopted the Assyrian tactic of taking the statues to punish those whom he had conquered. The movement of the gods for safe-keeping was not a new idea in this period, but illustrates the great lengths a city would go to in order for their gods to not be seized by the Assyrians.



## **Nebuchadnezzar II**

Nebuchadnezzar II was not in residence at Babylon at the time of the death of his father Nabopolassar in 605. He was forced to cut short a campaign and journey to Babylon to take up the throne. He quickly began what is sometimes called a ‘show of force’ campaign or a ‘tribute collecting’ campaign in the regions to the west in order to establish himself more thoroughly on the throne. Ḫatti continued to be his base of operations, especially during his later campaigns to Egypt and the Levantine coast. After a great defeat at the hands of the Egyptians, he recouped his losses and then turned to the Arab tribes of northern Arabia. After spending some time in Babylon and its surrounding territory, he mustered his army once more in Ḫatti and launched a campaign against Jerusalem in 588, with the city falling under his suzerainty just under two years later. Evidence for an invasion of Egypt afterward is sparse, but the possibility cannot be ruled out. Nebuchadnezzar both committed an act of godnap and returned a stolen god during his reign.

After taking a year to recoup after great losses in Egypt, Nebuchadnezzar mounted a campaign to Ḫatti (text NBZII 1). He then sent his troops across the desert to attack the Arabs. We are not told of a battle, or even which part of the desert the king sent his troops to, only that they took the possessions and gods of the many Arabs. As is typical for Babylonian chronicles, only a small amount of information is given, but presumably this would indicate that the army fought with different Arab tribes and took the gods of each. After his army took the gods of the Arabs, the king returned home, but went back

to Ḫatti the following year to mount a campaign to Judah. Wiseman suggests this plundering of the Arab tribes and the taking of their gods was merely standard procedure as set up by the Assyrians.<sup>349</sup> While this suggestion is likely to be true, it is interesting to note the Babylonians' espousal of the Assyrian tactic. As seen from other examples in this chapter, the Babylonians also committed acts of godnap; the Babylonians had adapted the Assyrian concept to suit their own needs after having seen how effective it really was.

Another text, NBZII 2, concerns the return of the statue of Ištar of Uruk. The statue had been previously removed, possibly in the reign of Eriba-Marduk, and replaced, by that king, with a foreign goddess. Though the text does not name Nebuchadnezzar as the king who returned Ištar, this can be inferred from the context that he was indeed the one who returned the statue.<sup>350</sup> Nebuchadnezzar being the good Babylonian king he was, claims to have returned the statue and expelled the foreign goddess. This return of Ištar is not the return of a statue which had been kidnapped, but one that had been displaced two hundred years earlier. The question remains then, is this a true case of godnap? Other texts included in this study that involve the return of a statue have been so included because those gods taken had been forcibly removed from their shrines after a conquering army had entered their cities. This is not the case for this statue; her removal was merely a decision to change the main goddess worshipped in Uruk. Though this incident does not represent a form of godnap, the return of a kidnapped statue, it does illustrate the importance placed on the act of returning a statue.

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<sup>349</sup> Wiseman 1985: 30.

<sup>350</sup> Beaulieu 2001: 32.

## Nabonidus

Nabonidus's rise to the throne of Babylon in 556 was fraught with confusion. In a short inscription, Nabonidus himself claims to not covet kingship, 'although he certainly was a leading figure in the conspiracy that led to the murder of Lābaši-Marduk', the king who preceded him, in 556.<sup>351</sup> Even if he did not set out to be king, this assassination led to his ascension to the throne and seems to have been at least partly orchestrated by his son, Belshazzar.<sup>352</sup> Consequently, he was concerned with legitimising his rule in the early part of his reign. After an early campaign in Cilicia in 555 he does not seem to have been interested in other large scale military campaigns.<sup>353</sup> Most of the extant texts relating to this period of his reign are largely religious in character, so if he did have other military plans they have not survived in the form of inscriptions.<sup>354</sup> He spent ten years of the later portion of his reign at the Arabian city of Teima,<sup>355</sup> returning to Babylon in 543.<sup>356</sup> Nabonidus also spent a large amount of time renovating the temple of Sîn at Ḫarran at the end of his reign, probably because he and his mother were from that part of the Empire.

The inscription relating to godnap during the reign of Nabonidus concerns the movement of the gods of various Babylonian cities into Babylon. Nabonidus seems to have wanted to gather the gods of Babylonia together for their protection from the Persian forces of Cyrus the Great. In this text, NBN 1, the gods of Marad and Kiš, along with the nearby city of Ḫursag-kalama, entered Babylon. As Marad was just south of

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<sup>351</sup> Beaulieu 1989: 68.

<sup>352</sup> Beaulieu 1989: 92.

<sup>353</sup> Beaulieu 1989: 144.

<sup>354</sup> Beaulieu 1989: 144.

<sup>355</sup> As there is little archaeological evidence for this period it is difficult to determine exactly how long he stayed there and when he left Babylon (Beaulieu 1989: 149).

<sup>356</sup> Beaulieu 1989: 203.

Kiš and Ҳursag-kalama was the name for the eastern part of Kiš, it seems logical to assume this episode represents the movement of the gods of this area of Babylonia to Babylon. Just after these gods are taken to Babylon, the chronicle states that the gods of Borsippa, Cutha and Sippar did not enter Babylon. If the gods of Babylonia were being taken to Babylon for protection as they had been at other times, why would the gods of Borsippa, Cutha and Sippar not be taken to Babylon as well? Maybe they were not considered as important as the gods of Kiš and Marad as kingship was said to have originated at Kiš. This seems unlikely as Sippar's patron god was Šamaš, a popular god throughout Babylonian history, so the removal of his statue to prevent it being taken by an invading army would be likely. These cities may not have feared the Persian invasion and did not see it fit to send their gods all the way to Babylon for no apparent reason. These gods that were sent were properly taken care of whilst detained in Babylon. According to temple records, Nabonidus made provisions for them and did not disturb their regular offerings.<sup>357</sup> Nabonidus removed the gods of Marad, Kiš and Ҳursag-kalama to Babylon to keep them from being taken by another army, just as a good Babylonian king should.

Though Nabonidus spent much of his reign outside Babylon he did show affection for the gods of Babylonia near the end of his reign. He attempted to gather them together at Babylon for their own protection, though some cities did not think this was necessary. He has been seen as a neglectful king, who abandoned his empire for ten years to stay in Arabia, but this text shows that he did indeed care for the gods of Babylon and wished to save them from the tyranny of the Persians.

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<sup>357</sup> Beaulieu 1993: 245.

## **Cyrus the Great**

The final king of Babylon, if he can indeed be called that, was Cyrus the Great, who conquered the city in 539. The Persian king had become ambitious and after the destruction of Assyria by the coalition of Medes and Babylonians, one of the few remaining great empires was that of Babylon. Cyrus came to the Persian throne in 559 and set about destroying the kingdoms remaining after the destruction of Assyria, namely Media, Elam and Babylonia. He attacked the Median stronghold, Ecbatana and conquered it. His next conquest was to Sardis, though the date for this campaign cannot be established with certainty.<sup>358</sup> He then moved to conquer the Neo-Babylonian empire with his destruction of Babylon in 539. Two of Cyrus's acts related to godnap are described on a document called the Cyrus Cylinder. He explains why the gods of Babylon were angry with the previous leadership, presumably so he can assert their approval of his regime. He also returned the statues of the gods of many Babylonian cities. We are also told of the return of the gods of Babylonia in a chronicle text that details the reign of Nabonidus and ends after the ascension of Cyrus.

At the beginning of the Cyrus Cylinder, the atmosphere of Babylon just before Cyrus takes control was reported. Marduk became angry and abandoned the city (text CYR 1a). The gods were angry because they were forced to enter Babylon by Nabonidus. This explains Cyrus's version of Nabonidus's actions in text NBN 1; Nabonidus has forcibly made the gods of certain cities enter Babylon and they are not pleased with him. As previously stated, Nabonidus brought the gods of Babylonia to Babylon for

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<sup>358</sup> Briant 2002:34.

safe-keeping when the Persian invasion began. Cyrus re-interprets Nabonidus's actions to show his failings as a ruler and therefore gain approval for his own usurpation of the throne. Just after he explained the anger of the gods, we are told that Marduk chose Cyrus as the true king of Babylon. Since the act of removing the gods does not lie with Cyrus, but with Nabonidus, it might seem easier to discuss this event in terms of the earlier Babylonian king, but it was Cyrus who put a certain spin on the events. Cyrus was the one who explained that the gods did not appreciate being taken to Babylon. To legitimise his usurpation of the throne Cyrus re-imagined the events of the recent past and painted Nabonidus in a bad light to gain the support of the Babylonian population.

The other episode involving godnap during Cyrus's reign is the return of the gods that Nabonidus had brought into Babylon. We are told of this event on the Cyrus Cylinder (CYR 1b), but also in a Babylonian chronicle that details Nabonidus's reign (CYR 2). As expected, the accounts of this event differ as the purposes for writing each document were different. The excerpt from the Cyrus Cylinder puts the episode of the return of these gods between Marduk rejoicing at Cyrus's good deeds and Cyrus praying to the newly restored gods as well as giving them offerings and repairing one of the main walls of Babylon. Both the episodes that surround the return of the gods show Cyrus's piety and his resumption of regular royal duties, such as building work. Before he mentions the restoration of the gods to their seats, Cyrus tells of all the different peoples who have come from the width and breadth of Mesopotamia to give him tribute in Babylon. He then lists the cities whose gods he has restored: Assur, Susa, Ešnunna, Meturnu, Der, and the gods of the lands Zamban and Gutium; essentially he has returned all the gods of Mesopotamia, as well as the gods of Elam. Mention of the cities Assur,

Susa and Der would bring prestige as these had always been important religious and military centres. So, once again, the return of the gods would have brought the new lord of Babylon prestige and would have won the hearts of those in the rest of Babylonia and indeed the rest of the empire. By placing the description of such a noble act between the images of Marduk rejoicing at Cyrus's rise to kingship and Cyrus performing the typical royal duties of a Babylonian king, the scribe is trying to assert Cyrus's authority to be king.

The chronicle that addresses the return of the gods (CYR 2) merely states that the gods of Akkad returned to their sanctuaries. This is the typical wording of the return of the gods utilised in the Babylonian chronicles. Likewise, the scribe has not elaborated on why Nabonidus brought the gods to Babylon, but he has mentioned that it was Nabonidus who had brought them. The context of this episode is interesting; we are told that Cyrus has conquered Babylon and peace reigns throughout the city. Then the gods were returned to their sanctuaries and after this returning we are told of the death of the governor of Gutium and of the queen's death. So, the purpose of the chronicles remains intact; they simply report events and give little explanation. Though chronicles can have bias, this one seems to have little or none; it only says Nabonidus caused the gods to enter Babylon, presumably to keep them safe.

Cyrus used the return of the gods of Babylonia to ingratiate himself with his new subjects. He desired to distance himself from the previous rulers, so re-casted Nabonidus's removal of the gods of Babylonia to Babylon in a bad light. This showed

him as the benevolent ruler who returned the gods to their rightful places. This use of godnap as propaganda is an innovative utilisation of the act and is specific to Cyrus.

### **The Character of Godnap in the Middle and Neo-Babylonian Periods**

The Middle and Neo-Babylonian kings participate in three paradigms of godnap: the theft of the gods, the return of the gods and the movement of the gods to prevent their capture. The instance of godnap in its simplest form, the theft of the statues of the gods, is only committed by three purely Babylonian kings: Nergal-ušeziḫ, Nabopolassar and Nebuchadnezzar II. Other men who held the title ‘king of Babylon’ did commit this act; Bel-ibni, though said to be a Babylonian, was a scion of the court of Sennacherib and installed on the throne by the Assyrian king. Aššur-nadin-šumi was the son of Sennacherib, so had been exposed to the practice. Though Šamaš-šuma-ukin only resorted to godnap after he had revolted from Assyria, it is no coincidence that he would use a predominantly Assyrian technique to further his efforts with the revolt as he was indeed an Assyrian.

The return of the gods seems to be a more important act for the Babylonians. They also have the forethought to move their gods to safer places to avoid having them kidnapped.<sup>359</sup> This may be a function of the Babylonians being the ones whose gods were kidnapped most often, mainly by the Assyrians, thereby necessitating them to retrieve their statues. This seems to adhere to certain stereotypes concerning Assyria and Babylonia; that the Assyrians were the aggressors and the Babylonians more peaceful and concerned with pursuits other than warfare. These stereotypes are not

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<sup>359</sup> Though this act has been seen before during the course of the Assyrian campaigns, it was not on such a grand scale as used by the Babylonians.



necessarily true as evidenced by the Babylonians' use of godnap in later years. Whether they were concerned more with the idea of returning statues rather than taking them, they were able to adopt the idea of godnap for their own use, though it does not seem to have come naturally to them.

## CHAPTER EIGHT: THE LITERARY SOURCES

As would be suspected, the majority of descriptions of godnap are found in historical sources. Though this is the case, two mythological-literary texts which are related to godnap exist. They both deal with the theft of the statue of Marduk, as he was the most important god at the time and place of their composition. The first, the *Marduk Prophecy*, details Marduk's early years, before the reign of Nebuchadnezzar I. The second, the *Marduk Ordeal*, describes his later years, after the sack of Babylon by Sennacherib. Though they differ in purpose and style, both texts are of a literary nature and relate episodes which can be related to godnap.

### *Marduk Prophecy*

The *Marduk Prophecy* is an example of a rare group of texts in the genre called 'fictional autobiography' by Longman.<sup>360</sup> The text details Marduk's sojourns around the Near East and is told from Marduk's point of view, hence the autobiographical definition. As it would be impossible for Marduk himself to tell us of his travels, this work is clearly a literary fiction. The text is also an historical-mythological apology from the cult of Marduk at Babylon, explaining Marduk's absence from his shrine. Marduk takes responsibility for abandoning Babylon many times and places his departure under the guise of a journey to a foreign land to help his city, Babylon. This text was a way for the priests of the cult to explain Marduk's absence historically, while justifying the reasons for his departure mythologically. It has been given the misnomer of a prophecy, understandably, by its original editor, as it was found in a series of two

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<sup>360</sup> Longman 1991: 41.

tablets, one with a text that can be called a prophecy inscribed on it, that of Šulgi.<sup>361</sup> The text dates to the reign of Nebuchadnezzar I, thus coinciding with the rise of Marduk to the head of the Babylonian pantheon.

The text begins with the invocation of deities both unknown and well-known to us. By invoking unknown and possibly archaic deities, the author of this text shows his erudition, though without knowledge of the deities it is difficult for us to ascertain exactly what kind of knowledge the scribe is imparting with their inclusion, possibly simply the fact that he knows the names of archaic deities. Marduk's father, Ea, is mentioned along with his incarnation as the god of craftsmen, Nudimmud. This theme of mentioning gods closely related to Marduk is continued with the mention of his son Nabu and the god Muati, who may be a manifestation of Nabu as his name is written with the same sign used for Nabu's name. The emphasis on these two gods would make sense as Ea was Marduk's (adopted) father and Nabu his son. Marduk next calls on the great gods to listen to his story and says once he is ready he will tell it.

Marduk emphasises his wanderlust in the next part of the text. He declares that he walks continuously everywhere and watches everything. Once this has been established it is easy to see why he would leave his statue; he needs to watch over all the lands, so must go to them to see what is happening there. This short passage, then, gives the justification for Marduk's abandonment of his statue. Since he is the 'watchman' he must go in search of new lands and people to make sure they are doing what they are supposed to. He must also roam the land because, as 'the great lord' he must receive

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<sup>361</sup> The original edition was published by R Borger in *Bibliotheca Orientalis* 28.

tribute in the form of offerings from every land. This ability to wander wherever he pleases also serves to affirm his position at the head of the pantheon.

Marduk then commands his sojourn to Ḫatti. As we have seen previously in Chapter Two, Marduk was taken by the Hittites during their sack of Babylon in 1595. This event, as we have seen earlier, is mentioned by Mursili II and attributed to his father Mursili I. The purpose of the whole of the *Marduk Prophecy* can be seen in this statement of Marduk's decision to go to Ḫatti. Whenever Marduk has been taken somewhere against his will, he now tells us that he wanted to go there and that he commanded it. He was also generous in his gifts to Babylon, setting up business ventures in Ḫatti for his city. The scribe has turned the incident into a voluntary visit to Ḫatti rather than an enforced stay there, eliminating Marduk's abandonment of Babylon. He did not abandon Babylon and her citizens; he merely went to Ḫatti to establish new business ventures there to help the Babylonian economy. Therefore, Marduk has always had Babylon as his primary concern and deserves to be exalted still. Marduk then tells us of a Babylonian king who led him and his cultic objects to Babylon. Since the Agum-kakrime text exists, it is easy to equate this Kassite king with the Babylonian king of the Marduk Prophecy. We are not given much information about the king, just that he affected Marduk's return to Babylon. Upon his return, Marduk asks for his regular offerings and tribute to be renewed.

Marduk next chooses to go to Assur (Baltil). He finds Assyria pleasing, at first glance an odd statement given the previous history between the two nations. Marduk also helps the Assyrian king to win land with the help of divine troops and he blesses the entirety

of Assyria. Marduk also presents the king with ‘the fates’, presumably the tablet of destinies, which was given to the monster Qingu in the *Enūma eliš* by Tiamat to ensure his victory. The tablet of destinies was given to those who were deemed worthy and would enable them to decree the destinies of others. Marduk’s assistance in the Assyrian king’s military endeavours seems odd, but can be explained easily. Since Marduk is the king of the gods and head of the pantheon, in order for the Assyrian king to be successful he must have had Marduk’s help. No other god would have been able to provide such assistance. At the time when the historical event of Marduk being taken to Assyria occurred, the Assyrians were winning many battles and conquering different lands, so Marduk must have been helping them. The gift of the tablet of destinies to the king is also interesting, for the same reasons. Since the Assyrians were proving victorious in battle, Marduk must have given them the tablet of destinies, just as Tiamat had given Qingu, though with a better result for the Assyrians. Marduk then returns to Babylon again, this time by means unknown, and asks for tribute. As seen in Chapter Two, Chronicle P discusses both the theft of Marduk by Tukulti-Ninurta I and his return to Babylon. The historical account from Chronicle P of both events corroborates the events related in the Marduk Prophecy. Just as the Marduk Prophecy does not give much detail about the king who returns Marduk, so does Chronicle P, giving an unknown name and year for Marduk’s return.

Marduk next commands his journey to Elam. He has commanded all the gods to go with him to Elam, leaving a path of devastation behind in Babylon. In 1155, Kutir-Nahhunte and the Elamites sacked Babylon, thus ending the Kassite dynasty. They took much booty along with the statue of Marduk back to Elam. It is with this journey that the

horrible implications that come with the theft of the statues of the gods are shown. Cannibalism seems regular, dogs are rabid and bite people, who die from their wounds. The authority of the king is diminished and the corpses of people are so plentiful they block the gates. But why has none of this devastation been reported for the other times when Marduk commanded that he leave the city? In the other instances of his leaving the city Marduk gives reasons why he went and that he did so for the benefit of Babylon, but there are none of these for this journey. Marduk abandons his city; in the historical-literary texts of Nebuchadnezzar I, as seen in Chapter Seven, we learn Marduk had become angry and that is why he left. The Marduk Prophecy does not give such a reason, Marduk simply goes to Elam and takes all the gods with him.

When considering the purpose for writing such a composition as the Marduk Prophecy, this horrible portrayal of the state of Babylon after Marduk's abandonment becomes clear. In order to make his return more glorious, the author must make the conditions in Babylon after his abandonment horrifically awful. All the most horrible things imaginable have happened, but everything will return to normal once Marduk returns. The king responsible for this return, Nebuchadnezzar I, is then all the more exalted as a wonderful king, not only for returning Marduk, but also, in the process, returning Babylon to a more habitable state. So, the Marduk Prophecy was also a piece of propaganda used to explore the greatness of Nebuchadnezzar I.

After discussing the horrible state of Babylon after Marduk has gone to Elam, the text then states that a king of Babylon will arise and bring Marduk back from Elam, utterly destroying the Elamites in the process. This king will also renew the cultic objects of

Marduk. Once he has renewed these objects, and Marduk has resolved to return after reconciling with the king and Babylon, all that was wrong in the city becomes right again. This reinforces the idea that the text was used as propaganda to declare the greatness of Nebuchadnezzar I. The text also speaks of the return of the king of Der, presumably Išaran. During their incursion into Babylonia the Elamites may have passed through Der, as it was a border city between the two nations. It is possible that they took the statue of Išaran and Nebuchadnezzar thought it fit to return it, though this is not mentioned in any of his extant inscriptions. But when compared with the return of the patron god of his city and the head of the Babylonian pantheon, the return of the patron god of Der would not be so important. The Marduk Prophecy ends with offerings to be made and a blessing.

The autobiographical nature of the text helps to connect the reader with the events of the text. In this way, the idea that Marduk was not forcibly taken from Babylon, but left of his own free will in order to perform great duties for the city, is reinforced as the reader becomes more involved with the text. This, then, is the perfect type of text to use as an apology for the inability to keep Marduk from either leaving his statue and city, or being stolen by others. The propagandistic aspect of the text has been fully exploited since only once Marduk has returned does the city again become habitable.

### ***Marduk Ordeal***

The text known as the *Marduk Ordeal* exists in two versions, one from Assur and a more fragmentary one from Nineveh. It describes a situation in which Marduk has become imprisoned for an unspecified crime. He undergoes the river ordeal during the

course of the text and is freed at its close. Though this seems fairly straightforward, the exact purpose of this text has proven difficult to ascertain. Even its date is ambiguous, with some scholars saying it represents Marduk's exile in Assyria after the destruction of Babylon by Sennacherib,<sup>362</sup> and others believing it to have been written in celebration of Marduk's eventual return to Babylon under Aššurbanipal and Šamaš-šuma-ukin.<sup>363</sup> Unfortunately the find spot of the tablet from Assur provides no assistance in the matter as it was found amongst a group of older tablets, leading Dalley to suggest it may have come from an even earlier tradition, thus complicating things further.<sup>364</sup>

The text<sup>365</sup> begins with the statement that Marduk is being held in a prison. He is then taken to the site of the ordeal, located near the *akītu* house. He will undergo the river ordeal, but his crime is not mentioned. We see Belet-ili roaming the streets searching for him and Zarpanitu, his consort, praying for his life. The situation is quite dire, especially since Zarpanitu is calling upon the other gods to save Marduk. It seems he attempted to escape his prison by ascending to the top of the *ziggurat*, but he was brought down again by his guards and beaten as we are told his clothes have been dyed red. So he is being held in a temple of some sort, or he was taken to a temple to perform some sort of activity. The imagery here is of a god exiting a temple from the top of it, which would seem to be the most logical way to exit a temple unnoticed. This, then, would be the perfect way to affect an exit if the god wished to abandon his statue and temple. Since he is promptly brought back into the temple and beaten, this is

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<sup>362</sup> Livingstone 1986: 232.

<sup>363</sup> Frymer-Kensky 1984: 132.

<sup>364</sup> Dalley 1991: 148-9.

<sup>365</sup> The Assur version will be taken as the main version of the text, with the Nineveh text quoted where relevant.



reminiscent of the smashing of the statues of the gods during Sennacherib's destruction of Babylon and Esagila. The message here is that the other gods wanted Marduk to stay, so they stopped his retreat and forced him to remain in the temple. This can be interpreted in two ways: the other gods wanted Sennacherib to destroy Marduk and this is the justification for that act, or the gods did not want Marduk to abandon Babylon when he would be needed most there. So, this thwarting of Marduk's escape can have a positive spin from both an Assyrian and Babylonian perspective.

Judgments are then pronounced against those in league with Marduk and to reinforce the severity of their punishments we are told that the head of one of the conspirators has been put around the neck of the Lady of Babylon. A messenger comes to tell the Lady of Babylon that Marduk is being sent to the river ordeal. Next, the precious things which were taken out of Esagila are gathered together and laid before him. The events following this mirror the events of the *akītu* festival discussed in Chapter One. His garments are taken to a storeroom, reminiscent of the regalia of the king being taken away in the festival. He is then taunted with these things, along with the *Enūma eliš*, the document that would proclaim his great achievements for the world. Instead of showcasing his great deeds, it is said that the *Enūma eliš* concerns his imprisonment. This is the opposite of what would happen during the *akītu* festival, as Marduk's actions in the creation myth would be lauded, not be cause for imprisonment. Marduk then pleads with Šamaš saying he only did what was good to Aššur and asks what his crime was. This parallels the recitation of the king when taken into the cella of Marduk during the *akītu* festival; the king must declare he did everything within his power to help

Babylon. Marduk is given no answer to the question of his crime, so prays to Sin and Šamaš again, asking for his life to be spared.

Marduk manages to get through the river ordeal and is taken to the *akītu* house. There he endures more humiliation as we are told he drinks too much of the water in his fright and that his offerings have not been renewed. So, we have a picture of a scared and helpless god; this is not the kind of imagery normally used to describe the gods, let alone one as important as Marduk. The idea that this text was used to celebrate Marduk's return from Assyria in 668 seems to contradict this depiction of him. He is not a strong god, the king of Babylon, but a nervous god who lives in fear of his tormentors. This text has been used in the past to reconstruct the events of the *akītu* festival, but this seems odd. The *Enūma eliš* is read out, but with Aššur as the hero, instead of Marduk with Marduk's other accomplishments now ascribed to Aššur. The recitation of the creation epic and the venue of the events, the *akītu* house, are reminiscent of the *akītu* festival, but the idea of Marduk being imprisoned is not a theme in the festival programme. All the gods are summoned to see Marduk in this state and he is put back in his prison behind a door which has many holes in it and is eventually freed by the gods.

This text seems to be a subversive account, mimicking the rituals of the *akītu* festival, attempting to malign Marduk. The date of its composition, then, would be important. Since it was either commissioned during Marduk's stay in Assyria after Sennacherib's destruction of Babylon or for the return of Marduk in the reign of Aššurbanipal and Šamaš-šuma-ukin, the primacy of Aššur in the text is prevalent. The main theme of the

text is Marduk's imprisonment and torment, not his eventual escape, so this leads one to think it was written sometime after Marduk was brought to Assur by Sennacherib. The find spots of the texts and their language bear this out as both versions extant were found in Assyria and were written in the Assyrian dialect. Also, the mention of the *akītu* house is seminal to this viewpoint; Sennacherib built his own *akītu* house in Assyria after his destruction of Babylon as he was trying to promote Aššur and hand Marduk's duties and rites over to him.

### **Godnap in the Literary Sources**

The literary texts describing godnap use the act for a different purpose, namely showing the power and might of Assyria. The literary sources, though having different purposes, show godnap in a different light. In the *Marduk Prophecy*, Marduk instigates his travels and puts forward the idea that he was not forcibly taken. The *Marduk Ordeal* is a subversive attack on Marduk's position at the head of the pantheon along with an indictment of his ability to properly govern Babylonia. These texts exemplify the differences inherent in historical and literary texts, showing that both types of texts are important in the reconstruction of events.

### **The Language of Godnap**

Within the three main paradigms of godnap different verbs are used to describe each individual act. A discussion of these now follows, with the verbs used in each paradigm outlined in the following tables. Texts describing the theft of cult images are the most prevalent, and have the most variation in terms used.

Period	Verbs used
Old Assyrian	<i>dekû</i>
Middle Assyrian	<i>našu, wašu(š), šalalu, abaku, târu, nasaḥu, wabalu, šabatu</i>
Neo-Assyrian	<i>šalalu/ekemu</i> (reconstructed), <i>ekemu</i> (reconstructed), <i>šalalu, abaku, šalati(š) manu, qabu, nasaḥu, šabatu/erebu, kašadu, našu/wabalu</i> (reconstructed)
Middle Babylonian	<i>šalalu</i> – describing the acts of the king of Elam
Babylonia under Assyrian control (702-648 BC)	<i>duppuru, ḥabatu, abaku</i>
Neo-Babylonian	<i>abaku, lequ, ḥabatu</i>

Table 2. Verbs Used to Describe the Theft of a Cult Image

Since there is only one textual description of the theft of a statue from the Old Assyrian Period (termed Early Attestations of Godnap earlier in this work), a single verb variation exists. The Assyrian king Tukulti-Ninurta I is said to have forced Marduk to go to Assyria after removing him from his socle. Since the verb *dekû* was also used to describe the movement of statues from their places in order to keep them safe, it was not confined to describing the removal of objects in a maleficent manner. The use of this verb to describe the theft of other cult statues is not attested following this instance.

During the Middle Assyrian Period, the theft of cult statues became more prevalent, and as such one would expect a variety of terms to be used to describe the act. This is in fact the result, as eight different verbs are utilised in discussing the act. The verb utilised most was *nasaḥu*, ‘to deport’, followed closely by *šalalu*, ‘to take as booty’. Though *nasaḥu* has the greatest number of attestations, these all come from the inscriptions of one king, Šalmaneser III. No verb was used consistently by the kings to describe godnap in their inscriptions in this period, but *šalalu* was utilised by a majority of them. Another verb, *tarû*, was used by two of the kings who also used *šalalu* to describe their

acts of godnap. For one of these kings, Aššurnaširpal II, taking the gods was always thought of as taking booty; the only verbs present in his inscriptions are *šalalu* and *tarû*. *Našu* was only used by Tiglath-Pileser I, so it would seem that the use of this verb to describe the abduction of cult statues went out of fashion after his reign. No other measurable conclusions can be drawn from the usage of the other words describing godnap in this period, as they have no specific patterns of usage, even within the reigns of each king. The language of godnap in the Middle Assyrian Period was not standardised, with verbs used seemingly interchangeably.

The Neo-Assyrian Period seems to have more of a pattern, with seemingly a preference for one or two verbs over others. The most used verb was *šalalu*, along with a variation, *šalati(š) manu*, meaning ‘to count as booty’. These verbs seem to be the standard ones used by this time, with others used sporadically. This, however, does not mean a stock phrase for the theft of the gods existed. Further, the phenomenon cannot be considered a literary topos because of the preponderance of one verb as the practice was infrequently mentioned in the Assyrian Annals.<sup>366</sup> As many of the texts used for this analysis describe a singular event and are variations of one another, the higher numbers of instances of certain verbs cannot conclusively be said to mean one verb was favoured over another. The choice of verb also seems to vary between kings, with some favouring one and others another. Apart from the greater number of instances describing the theft of the gods as an act of plunder, no discernable patterns can be seen in the choice of verbs within texts describing godnap of the period.

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<sup>366</sup> Becking 1997: 163.

In the Middle Babylonian Period, one act of godnap is recorded by Nebuchadnezzar I, describing the acts of the Elamite king when he had destroyed Babylon. Though the use of *šalalu* in this instance was recorded before the Neo-Assyrian uses (and indeed, most of the Middle Assyrian uses as well) it is the only time this verb is used in Babylonia to describe the theft of the gods. When describing the act in the later period of Assyrian control over Babylonia and in the Neo-Babylonian Period, other verbs are utilised, though not with any consistency. Four different verbs are used in the six texts from these later periods, none of which describe the act as one of plunder.

The language describing the theft of the cult statues of the gods is not consistent throughout the periods of the act's description. Verbs meaning 'to take as booty' occur most often in the Neo-Assyrian Period, after having been used consistently in the Middle Assyrian Period. This use may show that those kings who took the gods thought of them as a spoil of war, the ultimate form of booty, that could be used to influence those who had been conquered. If the gods were indeed booty, then they could be used as negotiating tools to ensure the obedience of conquered peoples, as indeed they were.

Other objects were often taken along with the gods and usually enumerated in lists utilising the same verb as the theft of the god. There does not seem to be a pattern within the objects listed in inscriptions from any time period. The objects listed do have one thing in common, they are all of value; the most common objects taken are livestock and whatever gold and/or silver the enemy has. Some texts describe the leaders being taken, but this does not seem to be standard practice. It seems that in later periods, i.e. the Neo-Assyrian Period, only the most troublesome opponents are taken

back to Assyria along with the gods. The location of the gods in the enumeration of goods taken does not have a pattern either, with the gods mentioned at the beginning, middle or end of the lists in texts. Occasionally the theft of the gods is described using one verb, while the taking of other objects as plunder is described with a different verb. Though the practice of taking the gods of a defeated city reaches its zenith in the Neo-Assyrian Period, the language used to describe the act does not follow any discernable pattern.

The second major paradigm describing the movement of the statues of the gods was their return, whether an act of repatriation by those who had previously taken the gods or one of retrieval of gods stolen.

<b>Period</b>	<b>Verbs Used</b>
Old Babylonian/Old Assyrian	TUM = <i>wabalu, taru, alaku</i>
Neo-Assyrian	<i>taru, ramû, erebu(Š)</i> , GIN = <i>alaku</i> , KU <sub>4</sub> = <i>erebu, tamaḥu (qatī)</i>
Middle Babylonian	<i>ṣabatu</i>
Babylonia under Assyrian control (702-648 BC)	<i>zakaku</i> , KU <sub>4</sub> = <i>erebu, ramû</i>
Neo-Babylonian	<i>naḥasu, taru</i>
After Destruction of Babylon	<i>taru</i> , GUR = <i>taru</i>

Table 3. Verbs Used to Describe the Return of a Cult Image

This returning of the gods is in fact how we are first told of the act of godnap – the return of Nanna by the Old Babylonian king Šū-ilīšu. The most common verb used to describe the practice, *taru*, ‘to return’, is expected and used during most periods. Apart from this consistent use of one verb, no patterns emerge over time, or even within periods. Interestingly, some of the verbs used to describe the theft of the gods are also used to describe their return; it is the direction of the movement that discerns the two. When the gods are returned their installation in a specific temple is sometimes

mentioned and other times not. In the Neo-Assyrian Period, when discussing their efforts to return previously captured statues, the Assyrians often reinstate the regular cult offerings, ensuring the re-establishment of the cult. This re-establishment is not mentioned in all texts, so we cannot assume it was standard practice.

The third and final paradigm of godnap is the movement of cult statues for their safe-keeping. This phenomenon only occurred in three periods; for two of these periods the gods were moved in order to prevent their capture by the Assyrians. The verbs used to describe this movement are some of the same ones used to describe the theft of the gods, as well as ones used to describe their return. As with the verbs used in both returning and taking gods, the direction of the movement is used to differentiate between each act.

<b>Period</b>	<b>Verbs Used</b>
Middle Assyrian	<i>našu</i>
Neo-Assyrian	<i>paḥaru, dekû, abaku</i>
Neo-Babylonian	GIN = <i>alaku</i> , KU <sub>4</sub> = <i>erebu</i>

Table 4. Verbs Used to Describe the Movement of a Cult Image for its Safe-keeping

In conclusion, no outstanding lexical patterns can be seen in the language describing the three paradigms of godnap. Some of the same verbs are used over time, but this does not conclusively prove a pattern exists. Various verbs were used to describe the theft of cult statues, with kings seemingly choosing which to use with no discernable reasoning. Most descriptions of the return of cult statues use a single verb, though this seems to be borne from the idea that returning a statue is a simpler concept than the abduction of one. Since different verbs were used in different time periods, and some by only one king within that time period, no stock phrase can be associated with the theft of cult statues.



## CONCLUSION

This thesis has demonstrated that the phenomenon of godnap was omnipresent in the ancient Near East. Rather than being an occasional curiosity as has sometimes been supposed it was a frequently used device that had its place in actual warfare as well as propaganda and intimidation. In order to examine the phenomenon comprehensively, a substantial corpus of transliterated texts has been compiled and consistent English translations provided; individual texts been referred to in the account of the history itself by a system of *sigla*. Thus a comprehensive history of ancient Near Eastern godnap, a phenomenon that has in the past only been given a passing mention in the various histories of ancient Mesopotamia,<sup>367</sup> has for the first time been enabled and provided from its beginnings in the Isin-Larsa Period to the conquest of Babylon in 539 BC by Cyrus the Great. This has shown that godnap was developed by the Elamites in the late third millennium and later, the Hittites in Anatolia and was then used in the Neo-Assyrian Empire in an almost systematic manner. It has also been shown that manipulation of the enemy's gods for propaganda purposes was not confined to the Near East.

In order to create and write the cultural history that has been provided here it has been necessary to examine some basic aspects of Mesopotamian religion. The importance of the cult statue and its place within Mesopotamian thought and culture has been explored in order to explain why the theft of the statue was so heinous an event. In creating the history certain patterns have emerged. In the second millennium, although godnap as

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<sup>367</sup> The most recent comprehensive history of the ancient Near East by Van De Mieroop does not mention the phenomenon even in passing (Van De Mieroop 2007).

such is present, it is the act of rescue or retrieval that the texts dwell on. In the history of godnap the fate of Marduk of Babylon is at the forefront: this god found himself in captivity not only in Assyria and Anatolia but also in Elam. An esoteric Babylonian text in which Babylonian scholars provide exegesis about Marduk's movements through the lands has been subjected to scrutiny. This analysis has demonstrated the belief that the god did so of his own volition and in order to prepare trade routes for the Babylonians. It was however in the Assyrian periods that godnap came into its own and in this cultural area that we find the most detailed accounts and these have been traced and interpreted. The final swansong of Mesopotamian history was in the Late Babylonian Empire and it has been shown that here also godnap played its role.

The phenomenon of godnap was first mentioned in Mesopotamia in the context of the return of a statue, not its theft. This perspective proves interesting and allows us to think of the practice as one that originates outside of Mesopotamia. This description of the practice's origin in Elam combined with the first description of the theft of a cult statue occurring in a Hittite description supports this idea further. Since these first civilisations to utilise godnap had territory on either side of Mesopotamia it does not seem likely that the idea for the practice was transferred between them. Each, then, realised the potential for psychological warfare in the taking of the cult statue of Babylon, as indeed both cultures stole the statue of Marduk in different time periods. This need to dominate Babylon will be continued in later periods, with godnap used to control both the city of Babylon and strategic borders between Babylonia and Assyria.

Few gods are named in descriptions of godnap and the one named the most, as his statue was taken most often, was Marduk. His importance and influence were greater than other gods as he was the head of the Babylonian pantheon. To understand this importance a discussion of his rise to the head of the pantheon has been necessary. He was an obscure god in the third millennium and through his absorption of other deities as well as his promotion by various Babylonian kings he was finally placed atop the pantheon by Nebuchadnezzar I. The movements of Marduk had been detailed for many years, from his first abduction by the Hittite king Mursili I in 1595, to his return to his temple by the Assyrian kings Aššurbanipal and Šamaš-šuma-ukin around 668. No other named god had been kidnapped as many times as he had, nor over such a large period of time. As well as taking gods both within and outside their dominion and retrieving their own gods taken by other civilisations in Anatolia, the Hittites also utilised a practice similar to godnap, that of *evocatio*. Hittite and Roman *evocatio* were similar practices and have been contrasted and compared and some relevant parallels between Near Eastern and ancient Roman culture and religion have been drawn and discussed.

Comparative study of the textual accounts of godnap show that three paradigms in this act of sacrilege can be distinguished, the theft of the gods, their movement for safekeeping and their return either by the active retrieval of the statues by those who had lost them or to the former enemy, sometimes after their refurbishment, for ideological and political purposes. The theft of cult statues was most common, the most common perpetrators being the Assyrians. The Middle Assyrian king Tiglath-Pileser I was the first king to kidnap the statues of the gods in a systematic way. It can be inferred that he modelled his use of the practice on that of Tukulti-Ninurta I. The idea of

moving the gods away before their capture begins in this period. At the approach of the Assyrians, populations possessed a real fear of the kidnap of their gods. The addition of this fear to the accounts of godnap performed by the Middle Assyrian kings lends a more propagandistic approach to the Assyrian Annals. No deities are returned in this period and even though some were moved out of the path of the invading Assyrian armies, they were always captured in the end. The Assyrian need to subdue other lands led to the use of godnap as a viable weapon to ensure the domination of those who would not otherwise submit.

It is in the Neo-Assyrian Period that godnap is utilised the most. By this time it has become common practice to take the gods of those who would not otherwise submit to the yoke of Assur. We are told of the movement of the gods for safe-keeping, much in the same manner as described in the Middle Assyrian Period, to highlight the insolence of those who were being conquered and to show the futility of their attempted aversions to Assyrian rule. The Neo-Assyrian kings also show their piety in this period, relating their return of important Assyrian deities, stolen in earlier times. The statues of the gods are explicitly used as bargaining tools by both the Assyrians and those who are attempting to retrieve their own gods. An attempt to be seen as kind and forgiving is made in the return of gods to cities in Babylonia, with the hopes of the Assyrian kings ingratiating themselves to their new subjects.

In contrast to this willingness to commit the act of godnap on those they wished to conquer, the Babylonians concerned themselves mainly with the retrieval of their own kidnapped gods. Texts from the Middle Babylonian king Nebuchadnezzar I illustrate his

extreme need to return Marduk from his exile in Assyria to his rightful place in Esagila and Babylon. It is not until the Neo-Babylonian Period and the reign of Nabopolassar that a purely Babylonian king performs the act of godnap. Previous acts committed by kings of Babylon had been by those intimately associated with Assyria, either placed upon the throne by the Assyrian king or being Assyrians themselves. With the fall of the Assyrian Empire at the hands of the Babylonians and the Medes, the practice of godnap was adapted and adopted by the Babylonians; they had been the victims of this heinous act for many years, so knew its effects intimately. Their use of godnap echoes general ideas about Babylonians, mainly that they were a peaceful people, especially when seen in opposition to the Assyrians.

Two literary texts also describe the movements of the gods, but in terms different to those used in the historical inscriptions describing godnap. The *Marduk Prophecy* seeks to place the movements of Marduk in a non-military context. The god leaves Babylon of his own volition and only to ensure the furthering of Babylonian culture and trade. This text is believed to have been written at the time of Marduk's ascension to the head of the Babylonian pantheon, and was necessary for the preservation of Babylonian national identity. Another text, the *Marduk Ordeal*, was also written at the time of the movement of the statue of Marduk, though in this instance during his exile in Assyria. The text explores the mythological consequences of his removal to Assyria and seeks to show the god as a prisoner in order to affirm his subservience to Aššur.

The phenomenon of godnap was widely distributed both geographically and chronologically, spanning one thousand years and the entire area of ancient Western

Asia. Three paradigms of the phenomenon can be discerned from careful study of the available texts, collected here for the first time. While the Assyrians accepted the practice with much vigour, the Babylonians were reluctant to kidnap the gods, even in retribution for their gods having been taken, and preferred to retrieve them. Though the phenomenon never seems to have become a standard practice when conquering a city, it did become the accepted and expected reaction to the subjugation of those states who broke oaths or proved especially difficult to conquer. This use of godnap to subdue insubmissive cities highlights the practice's use as psychological warfare. If a city had been destroyed physically and had still not surrendered completely, or chose to rebel against her overlords, the only course of action left to the conqueror would be to take the gods, resulting in great cosmic disorder. As this was completely and totally devastating for those who had been conquered, godnap was a great tool in the arsenal used to establish suzerainty.

## APPENDICES

The following appendices comprise the textual data collected for this thesis. The transliterations have been collected from a multiplicity of editions of historical inscriptions, very many from the Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia series, and the most recent editions of historical text corpuses available (apart from the recently published volume of Esarhaddon's inscriptions in the Royal Inscriptions of the Neo-Assyrian Periods series, as this was not available to the author before preparation of these appendices). Additionally, two texts have been transliterated by the present author as no previous transliteration exists in published scholarly literature. This, then, explains the somewhat disjointed appearance of the transliterations, as different authors have collated their sources in varying ways; the main point of contention between scholars being the representation of Sumerograms and whether or not to supply their Akkadian equivalent. Undertaking the task of re-editing each text so that the transliterations were consistent seemed only fit if one were making a new edition of the texts, not merely re-translating them to ensure consistency in their analysis.

The translations herein are the author's own, apart from the *Marduk Ordeal* text, for which my supervisor has kindly allowed me to use his translation. These translations have been produced to provide consistency within the body of work studied, ensuring each Akkadian word has a consistent English equivalent. This has also allowed for the updating of antiquated translations, some dating to the early twentieth century and which have not been translated since their initial publication.

The examples of godnap in these appendices have been taken from various editions of the transliterated cuneiform texts, but some uniformity has been introduced within their transliteration. The appendices are arranged chronologically, following the order of the chapters in the main body of the thesis. The texts in each appendix have also been ordered mostly chronologically, with royal inscriptions taking precedence over chronicles, and texts from the same ethnic group appearing before their rivals, for example, Assyrian texts appearing before Babylonian ones when discussing the exploits of an Assyrian king. Texts have been assigned numbers according to this pattern, with lowercase letters designating that texts have come from the same source.

All historical texts in this corpus have been excerpted from their original sources and do not represent the entirety of a version of a king's annals or a chronicle, depending upon the text, apart from one letter (ESR 5), which has been given in its entirety due to its short length. As many military endeavours are described in both annals and chronicles, and not all of them describe godnap, this truncation of the sources was necessary.

This body of texts represents the main descriptions of the phenomenon of godnap. Though other scholars have listed the Assyrian sources describing godnap in tabular form, no such collection of the Babylonian instances has been published.<sup>368</sup>

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<sup>368</sup> Cogan 1974: 119-21; Kravitz 1999: 28a; Holloway 2002: 118, 123-144, 277-283.



## APPENDIX A: FIRST ATTESTATIONS OF GODNAP

Š-IŠ 1; inscription on two pivot stones describing the restoration of the Dublamaḥ in Ur;  
RIME 4 E4.1.2.1: 16.

1. <sup>d</sup>nanna
2. sag-íl-maḥ-
3. <sup>d</sup>a-nun-na-ke<sub>4</sub>-ne
4. lugal-a-ni-ir
5. <sup>d</sup>š<sub>u</sub>-ì-lí-š<sub>u</sub>
6. nita-kala-ga
7. lugal-uri<sub>5</sub>.KI-ma-ke<sub>4</sub>
8. u<sub>4</sub> <sup>d</sup>nanna
9. an-ša-an.KI-ta
10. uri<sub>5</sub>.KI-šè
11. mu-un-túm-ma-a
12. dub-lá-maḥ
13. ki-di-ku<sub>5</sub>-da-ni
14. mu-na-dù
15. GIŠ.ig zà-mí ma-gùn-a
16. mu-na-an-gub
17. nam-ti-la-ni-šè
18. a mu-na-ru

For Nanna, august proud one of the Anunna gods, his king, Šū-ilīšu, mighty man, king of Ur, when he brought (the statue of) Nanna from Anšan to Ur, built the Dublamaḥ, his place of judgment. For Nanna he set up a multi-coloured door with marks of care. He dedicated it for his life.

A-K 1; inscription of Agum-Kakrime II (Stein 2000: 150-157).

Column I

1. [A-gu-um] *ka-ak-ri-me*
2. DU[MU] *UR-ši-gu-ru-maš*
3. NUMUN *el-lum*
4. *ša* <sup>d</sup>*Šu-qa-mu-nu*
5. *ni-bi-it* <sup>d</sup>*A-nim u* <sup>d</sup>*En-líl*
6. <sup>d</sup>*É-a u* <sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU
7. <sup>d</sup>XXX *u* <sup>d</sup>UTU
8. *eṭ-lum da-an-nu*
9. *ša* <sup>d</sup>*Iš-tar qá-rit-ti*
10. *i-la-a-ti a-na-ku*
11. LUGAL *mil-ki u ta-šim-ti*
12. LUGAL *taš-me-e u sa-li-mi*
13. DUMU UR-ši-gu-[*ru-maš*]
14. *li-ip li-[ip(?)]-pi*
15. *ša A-bi-<sup>˘</sup>x<sup>˘</sup>-[x(-x)]*
16. *qar-<sup>˘</sup>ra-du<sup>˘</sup> [eṭ-lum(?)]*
17. DUMU *K[aš]-ti[l-ia-š]u*
18. IBILA *r[eš]-<sup>˘</sup>ti<sup>˘</sup>*
19. *ša A-gu-um <sup>˘</sup>ra-bi-i<sup>˘</sup>*
20. <sup>˘</sup>NUMUN<sup>˘</sup> *el-lum NUMUN LUGAL-ti*
21. <sup>˘</sup>*ta<sup>˘</sup>-mi-iḫ ṣer-re-ti*
22. <sup>˘</sup>*ni<sup>˘</sup>-i-ši re-é<sup>˘</sup>-ú*
23. [g]*a-áš-r[u] <sup>˘</sup>a-na<sup>˘</sup>-ku*
24. *re-é-i*
25. UN.MEŠ DAGAL.MEŠ-*tim*
26. *qar-ra-du*
27. *re-É-A-um*
28. *mu-ki-in*
29. SUḪUŠ <sup>giš</sup>GU.ZA *a-bi-šú*
30. *a-na-ku*
31. LUGAL *Kaš-ši-i*
32. *ù Ak-ka-di-i*
33. LUGAL KUR KÁ.DINGIR.RA<sup>ki</sup>
34. *ra-pa-aš-tim*
35. *mu-še-ši-ib*
36. KUR *Áš-nun-na-ak UN.MEŠ*
37. DAGAL.MEŠ-*tim LUGAL KUR Pa-da-an*
38. *u Al-ma-an LUGAL KUR Gu-ti-i*
39. UN.MEŠ *sak-la-a-ti*
40. LUGAL *muš-ta-aš-kin*
41. *kib-rat ar-ba-<sup>˘</sup>i*
42. *mi-gir DINGIR.GAL.GAL.LA*
43. *a-na-ku*
44. *i-nu* <sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU
45. [E]N *É-sag-íla*

46. [ù] KÁ.DINGIR.RA<sup>ki</sup>  
47. [DINGIR].GAL.GAL.LA  
48. [i-n]a pi-i-šu-nu el-lim  
49. [a-n]a KÁ.DINGIR.RA<sup>ki</sup>  
50. [ta]-ar-šú iq-bu-u  
51. [<sup>d</sup>]AMAR.UTU ana TIN.TIR<sup>ki</sup>  
52. [x(-x)]-<sup>r</sup>x<sup>r</sup> pa-ni-šú iš-ku-na  
53. [...-m]a<sup>?</sup> <sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU  
54. [...] <sup>r</sup>x<sup>r</sup>-a-a
- Column II
1. ak-pú-ud at-ta-id-ma
  2. a-na le-qé-e <sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU
  3. a-na KÁ.DINGIR.RA<sup>ki</sup>
  4. pa-ni-šu áš-kun-ma
  5. tap-pu-ut <sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU
  6. ra-im BALA-e-a
  7. al-lik-ma
  8. LUGAL <sup>d</sup>UTU ina SILA<sub>4</sub> <sup>lu</sup>HAL a-šal-ma
  9. a-na KUR ruq-ti a-na KUR Ħa-ni-i
  10. lu-ú áš-pur-ma ŠU <sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU
  11. ù <sup>d</sup>Šar-pa-ni-tum
  12. lu iš-ba-tu-nim-ma
  13. <sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU ù <sup>d</sup>Šar-pa-ni-tum
  14. ra-im BALA-e-a
  15. a-na É-sag-íla
  16. ù KÁ.DINGIR.RA<sup>ki</sup>
  17. lu ú-tir-šu-nu-ti
  18. i-na É šá <sup>d</sup>UTU
  19. i-na pa-ra-as EGIR
  20. ú-kin-na
  21. lu ú-tir-šu-nu-ti-[ma]
  22. DUMU.MEŠ um-ma-[ni]
  23. lu ú-še-šib-š[u-nu-ti]
  24. TIBIRA KÙ.D[ÍM lu-u BUR.GUL]
  25. lu-<sup>r</sup>ú<sup>r</sup> [...GAL<sup>?</sup>-ma]
  26. [...-šu-nu]
  27. lu[...-áš<sup>?</sup>]
  28. 4 GUN [KÙ.GI SA<sub>5</sub>]
  29. a-na lu-bu-u[š-ti]
  30. <sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU ù <sup>d</sup>Šar-pa-ni-tum
  31. lu-ú ad-di-nu-ma
  32. lu-bu-uš-ta ra-bi-ta
  33. lu-bu-uš-ta KÙ.GI SA<sub>5</sub>
  34. <sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU ù <sup>d</sup>Šar-pa-ni-tum
  35. lu ú-lab-bi-šú-šú-nu-ti-ma
  36. <sup>na<sub>4</sub></sup>ZA.GÌN.KUR.RA <sup>na<sub>4</sub></sup>ZÚ Mar-ħa-ši SIG<sub>7</sub>
  37. <sup>na<sub>4</sub></sup>NÍR IGI <sup>na<sub>4</sub></sup>NÍR MUŠ.GÍR
  38. <sup>na<sub>4</sub></sup>NÍR.BABBAR.DILI <sup>na<sub>4</sub></sup>NÍR.BABBAR.DIL.DILI

39. <sup>na4</sup>IGI.MEŠ *Me-luḥ-ḥa*
40. <sup>na4</sup>GĪŠ.NU<sub>11</sub>.GAL
41. <sup>na4</sup>MUNUS.LA *aq-ra u* <sup>na4</sup>SIKIL
42. *ša ina* KUR<sup>2</sup>-šu *na-as-qu*
43. *a-na áš-rat* <sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU
44. *ù* <sup>d</sup>Šar-pa-ni-tum
45. *lu-ú ad-di-nu-ma*
46. *mu-uḥ-ḥi lu-bu-uš-ti*
47. *i-lu-ti-šú-nu*
48. *ra-bi-tim*
49. *lu ú-za-`-i-nu-ma*
50. *a-ge-e qá-ar-ni*
51. *ši-ra-a-ti*
52. *a-ge-e be-lu-ti*
53. *si-mat i-lu-ti*
54. *ša ša-lum-ma-ti*
55. *ma-la-ti*

Column III

1. *ša* <sup>r</sup> <sup>na4</sup>ZA.GÌN *ù* KÙ.GI
2. *i-n[a]* SAG.DU-šu
3. *lu-ú áš-ku-nu-ma*
4. *i-na* UGU S[A]G *a-ge-šu*
5. <sup>na4</sup>NÍR IG[I M]UŠ.GÍR
6. NA<sub>4</sub> *me-né-[š]ú-ti*
7. *lu-ú áš-ku-nu-ma*
8. <sup>na4</sup>NÍR <sup>na4</sup>MUŠ.G[Í]R
9. <sup>na4</sup>ZÚ *Mar-ḥa-ši* <sup>na4</sup>ZA.GÌN
10. <sup>na4</sup>NÍR.BABBAR.DI[LI]
11. *ina* UGU *a-ge-š[u]*
12. *lu ú-za-i-nu-[ma(?)]*
13. MUŠ.ḤUŠ *a-ru-[x-x]*
14. *i-lu-ti-š[ú x x x]*
15. KÙ.GI <sup>r</sup> *lu`-[...]*
16. *ki-ga[l-la-x ...]*
17. *šu-[bat-x ...]*
18. [*lu-ú ...*]
19. [*ina x ...*]
20. [...]

Lacuna

29. [...]
30. *lu ú-šal-ma<sup>?</sup>* [x x (x)]
31. *lu ú-šal-bi-[iš-ma(?)]*
32. *a-bu-us-sa-at* [bīti(?)]
33. *ta-am-l[i<sup>?</sup> x x]*
34. *lu aš-ku-`nu`-[x x (x)]*
35. <sup>na4</sup>NÍR <sup>na4</sup>r<sup>x</sup> x<sup>r</sup> [x]
36. <sup>na4</sup>NÍR.[x x]
37. É.GAL 2-KAM [x x]

38. -----  
 39. *mu-ḫi ir-ti-<sup>r</sup>x<sup>r</sup>* [x x]  
 40. *lu ú-ša-ab-[bi-it(?)]*  
 41. *ḫi-iš KÙ.GI <sup>r</sup>x<sup>r</sup>* [x (x)]  
 42. <sup>na4</sup>ZÚ <sup>na4</sup>ZA.[x x]  
 43. *i-na na-piš-[ti-šu(-nu)(?)]*  
 44. *lu-ú áš-<sup>r</sup>x<sup>r</sup>* [x x]  
 45. *šu-kut-ti* [x x x]  
 46. *šu-kut-ti* [x x x]  
 47. <sup>na4</sup>IGI.MEŠ *M[e<sup>7</sup>-luḫ-ḫa(?)]*  
 48. <sup>na4</sup>NÍR [...] *[...]*  
 49. <sup>na4</sup>ZÚ *M[ar-ḫa-ši SIG<sub>7</sub>(?)]*  
 50. <sup>na4</sup><sup>r</sup>NÍR<sup>r</sup>.DILI <sup>na4</sup>[x x x]  
 51. *i-na <sup>r</sup>x<sup>r</sup>* [...] *[...]*  
 52. *lu* [...] *[...]*  
 53. <sup>r</sup>x<sup>r</sup> [...] *[...]*

Column IV

1. *lu-<sup>r</sup>ú<sup>r</sup> [u]ḫ-ḫi-zu-ma*
2. *i-na UGU šub-ti-šú*
3. *šu-bat <sup>giš</sup>ERIN*
4. *lu uš-zi-zu-ši-<sup>r</sup>ma<sup>r</sup>*
5. *a-di aš-ra-ti*
6. *i-lu-ti-šú-nu*
7. *ra-bi-ti*
8. *ú-šá-aš-bi-tu-ma*

Agum-kakrime, son of Uršigurumaš, pure offspring of Šuqamunu, chosen one of Anu and Enlil, Ea and Marduk, Sin and Šamaš, strong man of Ištar, most heroic of goddesses am I. King of intelligence and common sense, king of compliance and peace, son of Uršigurumaš, descendant of Abi-..., heroic man, son of Kaštiliaš, foremost heir of Agum the elder, pure offspring, royal offspring, one who takes up the lead-rope of the people, strong shepherd am I. Shepherd of numerous people, hero, shepherd who makes firm the foundation of the throne of his father am I.

King of the Kassites and Akkadians, king of the wide land of Babylonia, who caused the numerous peoples of Ešnunna to settle down, king of the land of Padan and Alman, king of the land of Gutium, a barbarous people, king who caused four regions to submit, favourite of the great gods am I.

When the great gods, by their pure mouths, commanded the return of Marduk, lord of Esagila and Babylon, to Babylon, Marduk set his face to Babylon. ...Marduk... I planned, I praised?, to take Marduk and I set his face to Babylon. I went to the assistance of Marduk, who loves my reign. King Šamaš I investigated by extispicy (lit dividing a lamb). I indeed sent to the distant land, to the land of Ḫani. The hand of Marduk and Šarpanitum did indeed seize me. Marduk and Šarpanitum, who love my reign, I did indeed return to Esagila and Babylon. I did indeed return them to a temple which Šamaš established by investigating. I caused sons of craftsmen, sculptors,

goldsmiths, stonecutters to settle there. ... great...their... Four talents of red-gold I did indeed give for the clothing of Marduk and Šarpanitum. Great clothing, red-gold clothing Marduk and Šarpanitum I did indeed clothe them.

Lapis lazuli of the mountain, green *Marḥaši*-stone, valuable eye stone, valuable semiprecious stone, *pappardilu*-stone, precious white stones, eyes of Meluḥḥa, alabaster, rare *silu*-stone and *sikillu*-stone, which is choice(st) in its mountains I did indeed give to the sanctuary of Marduk and Šarpanitum. I did indeed the surface of their august godly clothing. I did place a crown of horns, a crown of lordship, an ornament of divinity full of awesome radiance of lapis lazuli and gold on his head. On the top of his crown I did indeed place valuable eye stone, semiprecious stone, stone of weakness?. I did embellish the top of his crown with valuable stone, semiprecious stone, obsidian of *Marḥaši*, lapis lazuli, *pappardilu*-stone. *Mušḥuššu* ... his divinity ... gold ... pedestal ... seat ... Lacuna

... I did investigate. I did indeed cause them to put on clothing. Storehouse houses ... stone inlay I did indeed set ... valuable stone ... valuable stone ... palace there are two ... thereupon [his] chest I did increase. A necklace of gold ... obsidian ...on their bodies I did indeed pl[ace]. Jewellery ... jewellery ... eye stones of Meluḥḥa, valuable stone ... green obsidian of *Marḥaši*, valuable stone ... (three lines missing) I did indeed mount among precious materials. I did indeed cause him to separate? upon his seat, seat of cedar until I made them seize their godly august sanctuaries.

T-NI 1a; Tukulti-Ninurta's attack on Babylon; MC no 45: 280, ABC no 22: 176.

Column IV

5. ... <sup>d</sup>EN GAL <sup>ú</sup> <sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU

6. [*ina šu*]b-ti-šú id-ke-e-ma a-na <sup>kur</sup>Aš-šur <sup>ki</sup> ú-šá(!)-aš-bit ...

He removed the great lord Marduk [from] his socle and took him unwillingly to Assyria.

T-NI 1b; description of Bēl's captivity and return after revolt of Tukultī-Ninurta I; MC no 45: 280, ABC no 22: 176.

Column IV

12. [7]6(?) MU<sup>meš</sup> *a-di* <sup>m</sup>*Tukul-ti-AN.ŠÁR* <sup>d</sup>EN *ina* <sup>kur</sup>*Aš-šur* <sup>ki</sup> *a-šib ana tar-ši*  
<sup>m</sup>*Tukul-ti-AN.ŠÁR* <sup>d</sup>EN *a-na*
13. [TIN].TIR<sup>ki</sup> *it-tal-kám*

For 76 years, until Tukulti-Aššur, Bēl dwelled in Assyria. At the time of Tukulti-Aššur, Bēl went to Babylon.



## APPENDIX B: THE MIDDLE ASSYRIAN EMPIRE

T-PI 1a; Octagonal Prism Inscription of Tiglath-Pileser I; RIMA 2, A.0.87.1: 14-15.

### Column II

16. ... *i-na u<sub>4</sub>-mi-šu-ma um-ma-na-at*
17. KUR *pap-ḥe-e ša a-na šu-zu-ub*
18. *ù né-ra-ru-ut-te ša KUR kat-mu-ḥi*
19. *il-li-ku-ú-ni it-ti um-ma-na-at*
20. KUR *kat-mu-ḥi-ma ki-ma šu-ú-be uš-na-il*
21. *pa-gar muq-tab-li-šu-nu a-na gu-ru-na-a-te*
22. *i-na gi-sal-lat KUR-i lu-qé-ri-in*
23. *šal-ma-at qu-ra-di-šu-nu ÍD na-a-me*
24. *a-na ÍD.IDIGNA lu ú-še-ši*
25. <sup>m</sup>*ki-li-<sup>d</sup>te-šub DUMU ka-li-<sup>d</sup>te-šub*
26. *ša <sup>m</sup>er-ru-pi i-sa-si-ú-šu-ni*
27. LUGAL-*šu-nu i-na qé-reb tam-ḥa-ri qa-ti*
28. *ik-šud DAM.MEŠ-šu DUMU.MEŠ*
29. *nab-ni-it lib-bi-šu el-la-su 3 šu-ši*
30. *ruq-qi URUDU.MEŠ 5 nàr-ma-ak ZABAR*
31. *it-ti DINGIR.MEŠ-šu-nu KÙ.GI KÙ.BABBAR.MEŠ*
32. *ù du-muq nam-kur-ri-šu-nu áš-ša-a*
33. *šal-la-su-nu ú-še-ša-a*
34. URU *šu-a-tu ù É.GAL-šu i-na IZI-MEŠ*
35. *áš-ru-up ap-púl aq-qur*

At that time, the army of the land Paphu, who came to the rescue and aid of the land Katmuḥu, together with the army of Katmuḥu, I made lay flat like reeds. I stacked the bodies of their fighters in mounds on the ledges of the mountains. The river Nāme made the corpses of their warriors go out to the Tigris. Kili-Teshub, son of Kali-Teshub, who they call Errupi, their king, I myself seized in the centre of battle. His wives, his own sons, his clan, 180 copper kettles, five bronze washbasins, together with their gods, gold and silver, the best of their possessions I carried off. I took out their plunder. That city and his palace I burnt, demolished, razed with fire.

T-PI 1b; Octagonal Prism Inscription of Tiglath-Pileser I; RIMA 2, A.0.87.1: 15.

Column II

36. URU *ur-ra-ti-na-áš* URU *dan-nu-ti-šu-nu*  
37. *ša i-na* KUR *pa-na-ri na-du-ú*  
38. *pu-ul-ḫu a-di-ru me-lam<sup>d</sup>a-šur* EN-*ia*  
39. *iš-ḫúp-šu-nu-ti-ma a-na šu-zu-ub*  
40. *nap-ša-te-šu-nu* DINGIR.MEŠ-*šu-nu bu-ša-šu-nu iš-šu-ú*  
41. *a-na gi-sal-lat* KUR-*i ša-qu-ti*  
42. *ki-ma* MUŠEN *ip-pár-šu ...*

The city Urraṭinaš, their strong city, placed in the land of Panaru, the terror, fear, the splendour of Aššur, my lord, overwhelmed them and in order to save their lives they took their gods, their valuables, they fled to the ledges of high mountains like birds.

T-PI 1c; Octagonal Prism Inscription of Tiglath-Pileser I; RIMA 2, A.0.87.1: 16.

Column II

58. *i-na u<sub>4</sub>-mi-šu-ma 1 nam-ḥar ZABAR 1 nàr-ma-ak*  
59. *ZABAR ša ki-šit-ti ù ma-da-at-ti*  
60. *ša KUR kat-mu-ḥi a-na <sup>d</sup>ašur EN-ia a-qiš*  
61. *1 šu-si ruq-qi URUDU.MEŠ it-ti DINGIR.MEŠ-šu-nu*  
62. *a-na <sup>d</sup>IŠKUR ÁGA-ia áš-ruk*

At that time, one bronze vat, one bronze washbasin from the acquisitions and tribute of the land Katmuḥu I dedicated to Aššur, my lord. I presented sixty copper kettles with their gods to Adad, who loves me.

T-PI 1d; Octagonal Prism Inscription of Tiglath-Pileser I; RIMA 2, A.0.87.1: 18-19.

Column III

73. KUR *sa-ra-uš* KUR *am-ma-uš*  
74. *ša iš-tu u<sub>4</sub>-um ša-a-te ka-na-ša*  
75. *la-a i-du-ú ki-ma DU<sub>6</sub> a-bu-be*  
76. *ás-ḫu-up it-ti um-ma-na-te-šu-nu DAGAL.MEŠ-te*  
77. *i-na KUR a-ru-ma al-ta-na-an-ma*  
78. *dáb-da-šu-nu áš-kun šal-ma-at*  
79. *muq-tab-li-šu-nu i-na gi-sal-lat KUR-i ki-ma ser-ma-še*  
80. *lu ú-mé-ši URU.MEŠ-šu-nu ak-šud*  
81. DINGIR.MEŠ-šu-nu *áš-ša-a šal-la-su-nu*  
82. *bu-ša-šu-nu nam-kur-šu-nu ú-še-ša-a*  
83. URU.MEŠ-šu-nu *i-na IZI.MEŠ áš-ru-up*  
84. *ap-púl aq-qur a-na DU<sub>6</sub> ù kar-me*  
85. *ú-ter ...*

I overwhelmed the lands Sarauš (and) Ammauš, which from primeval days had not known submission, like ruin hills from the deluge. With their broad army at Mount Aruma I completely overwhelmed; I caused their defeat. I spread out the corpses of their warriors like grain heaps on the mountain ledges. I conquered their cities; I carried off their gods. I took out their plunder, their valuables, their possessions. I burnt, demolished, razed, their cities with fire. I turned them into ruin hills and ruin heaps.

Column III to IV

92. *i-na a-ša-re-du-ti-ia-ma ša KÚR.MEŠ-ia*  
93. *ak-šu-du GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ ù um-ma-na-te-ia.MEŠ*  
94. *lu al-ge ÍD za-ban šu-pa-la-a*  
95. *lu e-bir KUR mu-rat-taš KUR sa-ra-da-uš*  
96. *ša qé-reb KUR a-sa-ni-ú ù KUR a-ṭu-ma*  
97. *A.ŠÀ nam-ra-ši ak-šud*  
98. *um-ma-na-te-šu-nu ki-ma ze-er-qe*  
99. *ú-né-ki-is URU mu-rat-taš*  
100. *URU dan-nu-ti-šu-nu a-di ŠANABI-ti u<sub>4</sub>-me*  
101. *ša <sup>d</sup>UTU na-pa-ḫi ak-šud*  
102. *DINGIR.MEŠ-šu-nu bu-ša-šu-nu nam-kur-šu-nu*  
103. *2 šu-ši ruq-qi URUDU.MEŠ*  
1. *30 GUN URUDU.MEŠ ša-bar-ta bu-še ta-tur*  
2. *É.GAL-lì-šu-nu ù šal-la-su-nu*  
3. *ú-še-ša-a URU šu-a-tu i-na IZI.MEŠ*  
4. *áš-ru-up ap-púl aq-qur*

With my prowess, with which I conquered my enemies, I took my chariots and army (and) crossed the Lower Zab. I conquered the lands Murattaš (and) Saradauš, which are near to the difficult lands Asaniu (and) Aṭuma. I slaughtered their army like sheep. I conquered their fortified city Murattaš in the afternoon. I took out their gods, their valuables, their possessions, 120 copper kettles, 30 talents of copper blocks, the valuables of wealth of their palace, their plunder. With fire I burnt, demolished, razed that city.

T-PI 1f; Octagonal Prism Inscription of Tiglath-Pileser I; RIMA 2, A.0.87.1: 20.

Column IV

22. KUR *su-gi a-na si-ḥír-ti-ša ak-šud*
23. 25 DINGIR.MEŠ-*šu-nu šal-la-su-nu*
24. *bu-ša-šu-nu nam-kur-šu-nu ú-še-ša-a*
25. *nap-ḥar URU.MEŠ-šu-nu i-na IZI.MEŠ*
26. *áš-ru-up ap-púl aq-qur*

I conquered the land Sugu to its entirety. I brought out twenty-five of their gods, their plunder, their valuables, their possessions. All of their cities I burnt with fires, demolished, razed.

T-PI 1g; Octagonal Prism Inscription of Tiglath-Pileser I; RIMA 2, A.0.87.1: 20.

Column IV

32. *i-na u<sub>4</sub>-mi-šu-ma 25 DINGIR.MEŠ-ni ša KUR.KUR.MEŠ*
33. *ši-na-ti-na ki-šit-ti qa-ti-ia*
34. *ša al-qa-a a-na ú-tu-’u-ut É <sup>d</sup>NIN.LÍL*
35. *hi-ir-te GAL-te na-mad-di <sup>d</sup>a-šur EN-ia*
36. *<sup>d</sup>a-nim <sup>d</sup>IŠKUR <sup>d</sup>INANNA áš-šu-ri-te*
37. *É.KUR.MEŠ-at URU-ia <sup>d</sup>a-šur*
38. *ù <sup>d</sup>INANNA.MEŠ KUR-ti-ia*
39. *lu-ú áš-ru-uk*

At that time I dedicated twenty-five gods of those lands (Sugu), acquisitions which my own hands had taken, as door-keepers of the temple of Ninlil, beloved foremost wife of Aššur, my lord, (the temples of) Anu (and) Adad, (the temple of) Assyrian Ištar, the temples of my city, Assur, and the goddesses of my land.

Column V-VI

99. URU ḥu-nu-sa URU dan-nu-ti-šu-nu  
100. ki-ma DU<sub>6</sub> a-bu-be áš-ḥu-up  
1. it-ti um-ma-na-te-šu-nu gap-ša-a-te  
2. i-na URU ù KUR-e šam-riš lu-ú am-da-ḥi-iš  
3. a-bi-ik-ta-šu-nu lu áš-kun  
4. ÉRIN.MEŠ muq-tab-li-šu-nu i-na qé-reb ḥur-ša-a-ni  
5. ki-ma šu-ú-be lu uš-na-il SAG.DU.MEŠ-šu-nu  
6. ki-ma ze-er-ge ú-né-ki-is  
7. ÚŠ.MEŠ-šu-nu ḥur-ri ù ba-ma-a-te šá KUR-i  
8. lu-šèr-di URU šu-a-tu ak-šud  
9. DINGIR.MEŠ-šu-nu áš-ša-a šal-la-su-nu bu-ša-šu-nu nam-kur-šu-nu  
10. ú-še-ša-a URU i-na IZI.MEŠ áš-ru-up

I overwhelmed the city Ḥunusu, their fortified city, like a ruin hill from the deluge. I fiercely fought with their huge army in the city and the mountain; I inflicted their defeat. I caused their fighters to lay flat in the centre of the mountains like reeds. I decapitated them like sheep; I made their blood go into the caves and plains of the mountains. I conquered that city. I carried off their gods; I took out their plunder, their valuables, their possessions. I burnt the city with fire.



T-PI 2; reconstructed from many fragments of clay tablets; RIMA 2, A.0.87.4: 43.

41. *i-na ger-ri-ia an-ni-im-ma a-na KUR su-ḫi lu-ú al-lik URU sa-pi-ra-ta šá MURUB<sub>4</sub> ÍD pu-rat-te*  
42. *a-di URU ḫi-im-da-ni URU.MEŠ-ni gab-ba šá KUR su-ḫi lu ak-šud šal-la-su-nu lu áš-lu-ul*  
43. *DINGIR.MEŠ-ni-šu-nu ma-du-te ù NÍG.GA.MEŠ-šu-nu lu áš-šá-a a-na URU-ia<sup>d</sup> a-šur lu ub-la*

On this campaign of mine I went to Suḫu. I conquered the city Sapiratu, which is in the middle of the Euphrates, to the city Ḫindānu (Ḫimdānu), all the cities of the land Suḫu. I carried off their plunder. I carried off their many gods, and their property; I brought (them) to my city Assur.

T-PI 3; Annalistic Text of Tiglath-Pileser I; in fragments; RIMA 2, A.0.87.2: 33-4.

21. [... *lā mā*]-*gi-ri ú-šék-niš* 4 LIM ʾKUR *ú-ru*-*ma-a-ia*.MEŠ  
22. ʾKUR ʾ*a-bé-eš-la-a-ia*.MEŠ ÉRIN.MEŠ KUR *ḥa-te-e* [*lā kānišē*] *al-qa-a a-na*  
UN.ME[Š *māti-i*] *a am-nu*  
23. KUR *lu-lu-mi-i a-na si-ḥír-ti-ša* ʾ*ak*-*šud* 25 DINGIR.MEŠ-*ni-šu-nu* [*ana...*]  
24. [*ištar aššurī-t*]e DINGIR.MEŠ-*ni ša* URU-*ia* <sup>d</sup>*a-šur* ù <sup>d</sup>INANNA.MEŠ ʾ*ša*  
KUR-*ti-ia* ʾ*a-qiš* NÍG.G[*A-šu-nu*] *a-na* <sup>d</sup>ÍŠKUR EN-*ia áš-ru*-*uk*

I subdued the insubmissive [Šubarú]. I took 4,000 Urumu (and) Abešlu, [insubmissive] troops of Ḫatti, (and) counted them as people of my [land]. I conquered the land Lullumu to its entirety. I presented twenty-five of their gods [to ... Assyrian Ištar], the gods of my city Assur and the goddesses of my land. I dedicated [their] property to Adad, my lord.

A-NII 1a; Annals of Adad-nerari II; earliest known edition; RIMA 2, A.0.99.1: 143-44.

8. *i-na šur-rat LUGAL-ti-ia i-na maḥ-re-e BALA-ia*
9. *ša i-na GIŠ.GU.ZA LUGAL-ti ra-bi-iš ú-ši-bu*
10. *i-na qí-bit aš-šur EN GAL-e EN-ia GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ ÉRIN.ḪI.A.MEŠ-ia ad-ki*
11. *a-na KUR qu-ma-né-e lu DU-ik DAGAL.MEŠ KUR qu-ma-né-e lu ak-šud*
12. *<sup>m</sup>i-lu-ia MAN KUR qu-ma-né-e i-na qa-bal É.GAL-šu*
13. *qa-a-ti lu ik-šu-su ŠEŠ.MEŠ-šu a-na gu-ru-ni lu SÌG-aš*
14. *GAZ.MEŠ-šu-nu ma-'a-tu GAZ-ak šal-la-su-nu NÍG.ŠU.MEŠ-šu-nu*
15. *NÍG.GA.MEŠ-šu-nu GU<sub>4</sub>.MEŠ-šu-nu UDU še-ni .MEŠ-šu-nu*
16. *a-na URU-ia aš-šur ub-la DINGIR.MEŠ-ni-šu-nu ki-i qi-š[u]-te*
17. *a-na aš-šur EN-ia ...*

In the beginning of my kingship, in my first regnal year, in which I sat in majesty on my royal throne, by the command of Aššur, great lord, my lord, I called up my chariots (and) troops. I went to the land Qumānu; I conquered the broad land Qumānu. I captured Iluia, king of the Qumānu, in the middle of his palace. I killed his brothers in heaps; I inflicted their significant defeat. I brought their plunder, their valuables, their property, their oxen, their flocks to my city Assur. Their gods, I presented to Aššur, my lord.

A-NII 1b; Annals of Adad-nerari II; RIMA 2, A.0.99.1: 144.

Lines 1'-5' of reverse

1' X [... ÌD].IDIGNA [...]

2' 40 URU.[MEŠ ...] X *re-e* [...]

3' 3 URU.MEŠ-*'ni-šu-nu'* [*a*]*t-tas-ḥa* GAZ.MEŠ-*šu-n*[*u ma'attu adūk*]

4' DINGIR.MEŠ-*ni-šu-nu* *šal-la-su-nu* NÍG.ŠU.MEŠ-*šu-nu* NÍG.G[A.MEŠ-*šu-nu*]

5' GU<sub>4</sub>.MEŠ-*šu-nu* UDU *še-ni*.MEŠ-*šu-nu* *ú-še-ša-a a-na* URU-*i*[*a aššur ūbla*]

[...] Tigris [...] forty towns [...] shepherd?, three of their cities I uprooted. [I inflicted] their [significant] defeat. I took out their gods, their plunder, their valuables, their property, their oxen, their flocks in order to [bring (them)] to my city [Assur].

A-NII 2; Annals of Adad-nerari II; dated to 19<sup>th</sup> year, 893; RIMA 2, A.0.99.2: 150-51.

62. *ina li-me* <sup>md</sup>IŠKUR-KAL-*an ina šu-uš-mur* GIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ-*ia dan-nu-te 6-te-šú a-na* KUR *ḥa-ni-gal-bat lu a-lik*
63. <sup>m</sup>ZALAG-<sup>d</sup>IŠKUR KUR *te-man-na-a-ia ina URU na-ši-bi-na 'lu' e-si-ir-šu 7 URU.MEŠ-ni bat-tu-bat-te-šú 'lu' ad-di*
64. <sup>m</sup>aš-šur-*dī-ni-a-mur LÚ tar-ta-nu ina ŠÀ lu-še-šib ḥi-ri-ša ša ina pa-na la ba-šu ki-šir* KUR-*e*
65. *dan-ni li-me-tu-šú lu iḥ-ru-uš 9 ina 1 KÙŠ lu-ra-piš a-na šu-pa-li dan-na-su*
66. A.MEŠ *lu-ši-ik-ši-dī BĀD ina UGU ḥi-ri-ši UR.SAG.MEŠ-ia ki-ma nab-li ḥi-ri-ša-šu ú-šal-bi*
67. *i-ša-su-ú UGU-šu ri-ig-mu šèr-ri GIM a-bu-bu na-às-pan-te dan-nu giš-pár-ri UGU-šú*
68. [...] <sup>d</sup>NISABA *lu-za-ma-šu i-na qí-bit* <sup>d</sup>a-šur EN GAL EN-*ia i-na ŠÀ URU-šu*
69. [...M]JEŠ-*šú KU.GI-su NÍG.GA.MEŠ-šú NA<sub>4</sub> KUR-e šu-qu-ra DINGIR.MEŠ-ni-šu GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ ši-im-da-at*
70. [*nīrīšu ...*]-*ri-ia ši-bir ú-nu-ut MÈ-šú GIŠ.GU.ZA.MEŠ KÙ.GI GIŠ.BANŠUR.MEŠ KÙ.GI eb-ba-te*
71. [*nēmatte ša tam-li*]-*ti uḥ-ḥu-za-a-te* GIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ *uš-ši .MEŠ ma-ḥi-ru-tu kúl-tar KÙ.GI si-mat MAN-ti-šú*
72. [...] X-*zi .MEŠ šá KILÁ-šu-nu la aš-bat ú NÍG.GA É.GAL-šú DAGAL-<sup>r</sup>ta<sup>r</sup> áš-lu-<sup>r</sup>la<sup>r</sup>*

In the eponymy of Adad-dān, with the rage of my strong weapons I did indeed go to the land Ḥanigalbat for the sixth time. Nūr-Adad, the Temannu, I did confine in the city Našibina. I erected seven towns around it. Aššur-dīnī-amur, a high official, I placed in it. He set a moat, which had not existed on the surface of the strong neighbouring lands. He increased it to nine cubits to make it reach the low-lying terrain of the water. The wall was next to the moat. I encircled his moat with my warriors like a flame. They shouted on it with the voice of a child. Traps strong as the destructive deluge upon him... may he be deprived of grain. By the command of Aššur, great lord, my lord, from within his city his [...], his gold, his property, precious stone of the mountain, his gods, chariots with teamed animals [...], a staff, his equipment of battle, a gold throne, a polished gold table, a [couch] with set in decoration, weapons, former arrows, a gold tent suitable for his kingship, [...] the weight of which could not be determined, and the expansive property of his palace I took away as booty.

T-NII 1; Annals of Tukultī-Ninurta II; most extensive version of annals on a reasonably well-preserved tablet from Assur; RIMA 2, A.0.100.5: 171.

4. *ina* GIŠ.tukul-ti aš-šur EN-ia KUR.KUR.MEŠ DÙ-ši-<sup>r</sup>na<sup>r</sup> pu-ul-*hi* ú-sa-*hi*-pi-*ši*-na<sup>m</sup>bi- x –[...] -šú šá<sup>m</sup>am-me-b[a-a<sup>r</sup>-li]
5. a-na UGU-ia lu iš-pu-ra ma-<sup>r</sup>a (?)<sup>m</sup>bi (?)<sup>r</sup>-a-la-si LÚ e-mu-qi-a a-<sup>r</sup>na<sup>r</sup> [mu<sup>h</sup>hī]-šú a-sa-pa-ra E[GIR-šú (?) ...]
6. iš-tu URU ú-di a-na URU šá- x [x] x na si li *hi* šú (?) -a-te ir-te-de-ma IBILA-šú a-di EN *h*[i-tí ...]
7. NÍG.GA-šú NÍG.ŠU.MEŠ-šú šal-at-s[u niširti] É.GAL-lì-šú ma-<sup>r</sup>a-tu DINGIR.MEŠ-ni-šú ma (?)<sup>r</sup>ar (?)<sup>r</sup>-ši (?)<sup>r</sup>-su<sup>r</sup> kàd (?)<sup>r</sup>-[râ (?) ...]
8. iš-tu ki (?) -li-šu<sup>r</sup> a-na<sup>r</sup> URU ni-[n]u-a<sup>r</sup> i (?) -ta (?)<sup>r</sup>-[a]b-ku a-na UGU-ia ub-lu-[ú-ni]

With the trust of Aššur, my lord, I overwhelmed all the lands with my terror. Bi[... , son] of Amme-ba[<sup>r</sup>lī], wrote to me: ‘With regard to Bialasi, I have sent my forces against him. L[ater he ...] He continued from the city Udu to the city Ša[...].’ His son together with guilty men, [...] his property, his valuables, his plunder, the many secrets of his palace, his gods, his herds, as presents, [...] they were discharged from his captivity to Nineveh (and) brought before me.

ANPII 1a; Annals of Ashurnasirpal II; from stone reliefs which lined walls and floors of temple of Ninurta at Calah; RIMA 2, A.0.101.1: 199.

Column I

79. ... *ana* URU *su-ú-ri šá É-ḥa-lu-pe-e aq-ṭi-rib*  
 80. *púl-ḥi me-lam-me šá aš-šur* EN-*ia is-ḥup-šú-nu* LÚ.GAL.MEŠ  
 LÚ.ŠU.GI.MEŠ URU *a-na šu-zu-ub* ZI.MEŠ-šú-nu *a-na* GABA-*ia È-ni*  
 81. GÌR.II-*a iṣ-bu-tú ma-a ḥa-da-at du-ku ma-a ḥa-da-at bal-liṭ ma-a ḥa-da-at*  
 šá ŠÀ-*ka-ni e-pu-uš* <sup>m</sup>*a-ḥi-ia-ba-ba* DUMU *la ma-ma-na*  
 82. šá TA KUR É-*a-di-ni ub-lu-ni-šu-ni ina* ŠU DIB-*at ina gi-piš lib-bi-ia u šu-*  
*uš-mur* GIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ-*a* URU *a-si-bi* ÉRIN.MEŠ EN *ḥi-ṭi gab-bu*  
 83. *ú-ša-bi-tu-ni i-ta-nu-ni* LÚ.GAL.MEŠ-*a a-na* É.GAL-šú É.KUR.MEŠ-šú *ú-še-*  
*rib* KÙ.BABBAR-*šu* KÙ.GI-*su* NÍG.GA-*šu* NÍG.ŠU-šú ZABAR  
 84. AN.BAR.MEŠ AN.NA.MEŠ ÚTUL.MEŠ ZABAR *tap-ḥa-a-ni* ZABAR *ḥa-ri-*  
*a-te* ZABAR NÍG.GA ZABAR *ma-a*'-*a-du* NA<sub>4</sub>.GIŠ.NU<sub>11</sub>.GAL GIŠ.BANŠUR  
 85. *iḥ-zi* MUNUS.ÉRIN.MEŠ É.GAL.MEŠ-šú MUNUS.DUMU.MUNUS.MEŠ-šú  
 šal-*la-at* ÉRIN.MEŠ EN *ḥi-ṭi a-di* NÍG.GA.MEŠ-šú-nu DINGIR.MEŠ-*nì-šú a-di*  
 NÍG.GA-šú-nu  
 86. NA<sub>4</sub> KUR-*e šu-qu-ru* GIŠ.GIGIR-šú *ra-ki-su* ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ GIŠ.LAL  
 GIŠ *ni-ri-šú ḥal-lu-up-ti* ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ *ḥal-lu-up-ti* ÉRIN.MEŠ  
 87. TÚG *lu-búl-ti bir-me* TÚG *lu-búl-ti* GIŠ.GADA.MEŠ Ì.GIŠ DÙG.GA-*be* GIŠ  
*e-re-nu* ŠIM.MEŠ DÙG.GA.MEŠ *ki-si-ti* GIŠ *e-re-ni*  
 88. SÍG.ZA.GÌN.MI SÍG.ZA.GÌN.SA<sub>5</sub> GIŠ.MAR.GÍD.DA-šú GU<sub>4</sub>.MEŠ-šú UDU  
 še-*ni-šú šal-la-su* DUGUD-*ta šá* GIM MUL.MEŠ AN-*e* ŠIT-*ta la-a* TUK-*ú*  
 89. *áš-lu-la* ...

I approached the city Sūru, belonging to Bīt-Ḥalupe. Fear of the radiance of Aššur, my lord, overwhelmed them. The nobles and elders of the city in order to save their lives, came out to my chest. They seized my feet and said: 'As it makes you happy, kill; as it makes you happy, let live; do what makes your heart happy'. Aḥi-iababa, son of a nobody, whom they brought from Bīt-Adini I seized in my hands. With my expansive heart and my raging weapons I besieged the city. All the guilty soldiers were seized and given to me. I made my nobles go into his palace and his temples. His silver, his gold, his property, his valuables, bronze, iron, tin, bronze serving dishes, bronze cauldrons, large bronze containers, many bronze treasures, alabaster, an inlaid table, his palace women, his daughters, plunder of the guilty soldiers together with his treasures, his gods together with their property, precious stone of the mountain, his chariots, harnessed horses, equipment of the soldiers, clothing of several colours, linen clothing, sweet oil, sweet aromatic cedar, cedar wood shavings, blue-purple wool, red-purple wool, his carts, his bulls, his flocks of sheep, his heavy plunder, which like the stars in heaven could not be counted, I took as booty.

ANPII 1b; Annals of Ashurnasirpal II; RIMA 2, A.0.101.1: 215.

Column III

38. ... <sup>m</sup>a-zi- DINGIR KUR la-qa-a-a

39. a-na Á.MEŠ-šú it-ti-kil-ma ina URU ki-pi-na né-pi-ri lu iṣ-bat it-ti-šú-nu am-  
da-ḫi-iṣ iṣ-tu URU ki-pi-na a-pi-ik-ta-šú áš-kun 1 LIM ÉRIN.MEŠ

40. ti-du-ki-šú a-duk GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ-šú a-ṣi-'i šal-la-su ḪI.A.MEŠ aš-lul  
DINGIR.MEŠ-ni-šú ú-te-ra a-na šu-zu-ub ZI.MEŠ-šú KUR-ú mar-ṣu KUR bi-su-  
ru šá SAG

41. ÍD pu-rat-te lu iṣ-bat ...

Azi-ili, the Laqû, trusted in his force and seized the crossing at the city Kipinu. I fought with them; I inflicted their defeat away from Kipinu. I killed 1,000 of his fighting troops. I repulsed his chariots; I carried off captives from him. I brought away his gods. To save his life he took to an inaccessible mountain, Mount Bisuru, which is at the head of the Euphrates.



ŠLMIII 1; Kurkh Monolith; RIMA 3 A.0.102.2: 22-23.

Column II

78. ... *ina li-me* <sup>md</sup>DI.KUD-aš-šur *ina* ITI.GU<sub>4</sub> UD 14.KÁM TA URU.NINA *at-tu-muš* ÍD.ĤAL.ĤAL *e-te-bir a-na* URU.MEŠ-*ni*

79. *ša* <sup>m</sup>gi-am-mu ÍD.KASKAL.KUR.A *aq-ṭi-rib púl-ḥa-at* EN-ti-ia *na-mur-rat* GIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ-*ia ez-zu-te ip-la-ḥu-ma* *ina* GIŠ.TUKUL *ra-ma-ni-šú-nu* <sup>m</sup>gi-am-mu EN-šú-*nu*

80. *i-du-ku a-na* URU *saḥ-la-la u* URU.DU<sub>6</sub>-ša-tur-a-ḥi *lu* KU<sub>4</sub>-ub DINGIR.MEŠ-*ia ana* É.GAL.MEŠ-šú *lu ú-še-ri-ib ta-ši-il-tu* *ina* É.GAL.MEŠ-šú *lu áš-kun*

81. *na-kam-te-šú lu ap-ti ni-ṣir-tú-šu lu a-mur* NÍG.GA-šú NÍG.ŠU-šú *áš-lu-la a-na* URU-*ia aš-šur ub-la* ...

In the eponymy of Daiiān-Aššur, on the fourteenth day of Iyyar, I started out from Nineveh, crossed the Tigirs, (and) approached the cities of Giammu on the River Baliḥ. They were afraid of the terror of my lordship, the awesome brightness of my fierce weapons and with their own weapons they killed their lord Giammu. I entered the cities Saḥlala and Tīl-ša-turaḥi. I made my gods enter his palaces. I set up a joyous festival in his palaces. I opened his storage places; I saw his secrets. His property, his valuables I took as booty; I brought (them) to my city Assur.

ŠLMIII 2; Balawat gate inscription of Shalmaneser III; text engraved twice; one on each side of gates at point where gates meet; RIMA 3 A.0.102.5: 29-30.

Column III

3. ... <sup>m</sup>a-ḥu-ni A <sup>m</sup>a-di-ni šá TA MAN.MEŠ-ni AD.MEŠ-ia šip-ṣu u da-na-nu  
4. il-ta-ka-na ina šur-rat MAN-ti-ia ina URU-šú e-sir-šú BURU<sub>14</sub>-šú a-su-ḥu  
GIŠ.KIRI<sub>6</sub>.MEŠ-šú a-kis ana šu-zu-ub ZI.MEŠ-šú ÍD.A.RAD e-bir URU ši-tam-  
rat ŠU.SI KUR-e šá ina a-ḥa-at ÍD pu-rat-te šá-ki-ni-ma DUNGU TA AN-e šú-  
qa-lu-la-at a-na  
5. dan-nu-ti-šú iš-kun i-na 2-te MU EGIR-šú ar-te-di ŠU.SI KUR-e a-si-bi LÚ  
mu-daḥ-ši-ia ki-ma an-ze-e UGU-šú-nu i-še-’u 17 LIM 5 ME ÉRIN.ḪI.A.MEŠ-šú  
a-su-ḥa <sup>m</sup>a-ḥu-ni a-di ÉRIN.ḪI.A.MEŠ-šú DINGIR.MEŠ-ni-šú GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ-šú  
6. ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ-šú a-na pa-ni-ia ú-te-ra a-na URU-ia aš-šur ub-la a-na  
UN.MEŠ KUR-ia am-nu

Aḥunu, man of Bīt-Adini, who from the kings of my fathers, had tested obstinacy and strength: at the beginning of my reign I confined him to his city. I uprooted his harvest; I cut down his orchards. In order to save his life he crossed the Euphrates. He established his fortifications at the city Šitamrat, a mountain peak on the bank of the Euphrates which is suspended from heaven like a cloud. In a second year I followed him, I besieged the mountain peak. My soldiers flew against them like the *anzû*-bird. I uprooted 17,500 of his troops. Aḥunu together with his troops, his gods, his chariots, his horses I took for myself (lit. I gave to my face); I brought (them) to my city Assur. I counted (them) as people of my land.

ŠLMIII 3; Annals of Shalmaneser III; on clay tablets, dated to 842; RIMA 3, A.0.102.6: 40.

Col. IV

13. <sup>md</sup>AMAR.UTU-*mu*-SIG<sub>5</sub> MAN KUR *nam-ri* TA IGI GIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ-*a*
14. *dan-nu-ti ip-láḫ-ma* URU *šu-mur-za* URU.É-<sup>d</sup>U.GUR
15. URU *níq-qu ša* KUR *tug-li-ia-áš* URU.MEŠ-*ni-šú*
16. BAD.MEŠ-*ni-šú dan-nu-ti ú-maš-šir*
17. *a-na šu-zu-ub* ZI.MEŠ-*šú e-li*
18. *mi-še-e'-ta ina* É.GAL.MEŠ-*šú áš-ku-un*
19. DINGIR.MEŠ-*ni-šú NÍG.GA-šú NÍG.ŠU-šú* MUNUS.ERIM.MEŠ É.GAL.MEŠ-*šú*
20. ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ LAL-*at* GIŠ.GIŠ-*šu a-na la ma-ni*
21. *áš-lu-la ...*

Marduk-mudammiq, king of the land Namri, became afraid at the face of my mighty weapons and abandoned the cities Šumurza, Bīt-Nergal, (and) Niqqu of the land Tugliaš, his fortified cities (and) fortresses. To save his life he fled; I plundered his palaces. His gods, his property, his valuables, his palace women, his harness-trained horses without number I plundered.

ŠLMIII 4; Text of Shalmaneser III; large stone tablet found in wall of Assur; RIMA 3, A.0.102.10: 52.

Column I-II

48. ... *ina* 4 BALA.MEŠ-*ia*
49. ÍD.A.RAD *ina mi-li-šá e-bir* EGIR
50. <sup>m</sup>a-*ḫu-ni* DUMU *a-di-n[i] ar-te-di*
51. KUR *ši-tam-rat ú-ba-an* KUR-*e ša a-ḫat*
1. ÍD.A.RAD *a-na dan-nu-ti-šú iš-kun*
2. *ú-ba-an* KUR-*e a-si-bi ak-ta-šad*
3. <sup>m</sup>a-*ḫu-ni* DUMU *a-di-ni a-di* DINGIR.MEŠ-*ni-šu*
4. GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ-*šu* ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ-*šú* 20 LIM 2 LIM
5. ÉRIN.ḪI.A.MEŠ-*šú a-su-ḫa-šu a-na* URU-*ia*
6. *aš-šur ub-la* ...

In my fourth regnal year I crossed the Euphrates in flood; I followed Aḫunu, man of Bīt-Adini. He established as his fortress Mount Šitamrat, a mountain peak on the bank of the Euphrates. I besieged, conquered the mountain peak. Aḫunu, man of Bīt-Adini, together with his gods, his chariots, his horses, 22,000 of his troops I deported and brought to my city Assur.

ŠLMIII 5a; Black Obelisk Inscription of Shalmaneser III; RIMA 3, A.0.102.14: 65.

45. *i-na lim-mu* <sup>m</sup>DI.KUD-*aš-šur* TA URU.NINA.KI *at-tu-muš* ÍD.A.RAD  
46. *ina mi-li-šá e-bir* EGIR <sup>m</sup>*a-ḥu-ni* DUMU *a-di-ni a-lik ši-tam-r[at]*  
47. ŠU.SI KUR-*e šá a-ḥat* ÍD.A.RAD *a-na dan-nu-ti-šú iš-kun* KUR *ú-ba-[na-at]*  
48. KUR-*e a-si-bi ak-ta-šad* <sup>m</sup>*a-ḥu-ni a-di* DINGIR.MEŠ-*šú* GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ-*šú*  
49. ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ-*šú* DUMU.MEŠ-*šú* DUMU.MUNUS.MEŠ-*šú* ÉRIN.ḪI.A-  
*šú a-su-ḥa-šú ana URU-ia aš-šur*  
50. *ub-la ...*

In the eponymy of Daiiān-Aššur, I started out from Nineveh; I crossed the Euphrates in flood. I followed Aḥunu, man of Bīt-Adini. He established as his stronghold Mount Šītamat, a mountain peak on the bank of the Euphrates. I besieged, I captured the mountain peak. Aḥunu, together with his gods, his chariots, his horses, his sons, his daughters, his troops I deported (and) brought to my city Assur.

ŠLMIII 5b; Black Obelisk of Shalmaneser III RIMA 3, A.0.102.14: 67.

93. ... *ina* 16 BALA.MEŠ-*ia* ÍD « *a* »-*za-ba e-bir a-na* KUR *nam-ri*

94. *a-lik* <sup>md</sup>AMAR.UTU-*mu-* SIG<sub>5</sub>-*iq* MAN KUR *nam-ri a-na šu-zu-ub* ZI.MEŠ-*šu*  
*e-li* NÍG.GA-*šú*

95. ÉRIN.ḪI.A.MEŠ-*šú* DINGIR.MEŠ-*šú* *a-na* KUR *aš-šur.KI ub-la ia-an-zu-ú*  
DUMU <sup>m</sup>*ḫa-an-ban a-na* MAN-*ti a-na* UGU-*šú-nu áš-kun*

In my sixteenth regnal year I crossed the River Zab; I went to the land Namri. Marduk-mudammīq, king of Namri, fled to save his life. I brought his property, troops, his gods to Assyria. I appointed to the sovereignty over them Ianzû, a man of Bīt-Ḫa(n)ban.

ŠLMIII 5c; Black Obelisk of Shalmaneser III; RIMA 3, A.0.102.14: 68.

125. ... <sup>m</sup>ia-an-zu-ú DUMU <sup>m</sup>ḥa-ba-an a-di NÍG.GA-šú ma-a'-di

126. DINGIR.MEŠ-šú DUMU.MEŠ-šú DUMU.MUNUS.MEŠ-šú ÉRIN.MEŠ-šú  
ma-a'-du a-su-ḥa a-na KUR aš-šur ub-la ...

Ianzû, man of Bīt-Ḥaban, together with his vast amount of property, his gods, his sons, his daughters, his many troops I deported; I brought (them) to Assyria.

ŠLMIII 6; Text of Shalmaneser III; text engraved on a stone throne base at Fort Shalmaneser; RIMA 3, A.0.102.28: 103.

25. 80 LIM 7 LIM 5 ME ÉRIN.ĦI.A.MEŠ KUR *ĥat-ti a-su-ĥa a-na* UN.MEŠ KUR-*ia*

26. *am-nu* <sup>m</sup>*a-ĥu-ni* DUMU *a-di-ni šá* TA MAN.MEŠ-*ni* AD.MEŠ-*ia še-ep-šu*

27. *u da-na-nu il-ta-ka-nu a-di* ÉRIN.ĦI.A.MEŠ-*šú* DINGIR.MEŠ-*ni-šu* GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ-*šú*

28. ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ-*šú a-su-ĥa-šú a-na* UN.MEŠ-*še-ia am-nu-šú*

I uprooted 87,500 troops of the land Ħatti; I counted them as people of my land. Aĥunu, the man of Bīt-Adini, who from the kings of my fathers, had tested obstinacy and strength, I deported together with his troops, his gods, his chariots, his horses. I counted them as my people.



ŠLMIII 7; text engraved on stone slab that was a stepped dais, possibly used to place throne on; RIMA 3, A.O.102.29: 105.

8. ... <sup>m</sup>*a-ḥu-nu*

9. [*mār*] *a-di-ni a-di* ÉRIN.ĤI.A.MEŠ-šú

10. DINGIR.[MEŠ-šú ] NÍG.GA É.GAL-šú

11. *a-su-ḥa a-na* UN.MEŠ KUR-*ia*

12. *am-nu-šú* ...

Aḥunu, the man of Bīt-Adini, together with his troops, his gods, the property of his palace I deported. I counted them as people of my land.

ŠLMIII 8; text engraved on a door sill at Fort Shalmaneser; RIMA 3, A.0.102.30: 107.

20. [...<sup>m</sup>a]-*ḫu-nu* DUMU *a-di-ni a-di* ÉRIN.ḪI.A.MEŠ-*šú* DINGIR.MEŠ-*šú*

21. [NÍG.GA] ʾÉʾ.GAL-*šú a-su-ḫa a-na* UN.MEŠ KUR-*ia am-nu-šú*

I deported Aḫunu, man of Bīt-Adini together with his troops, his gods, [the property of] his palace; I counted them as people of my land.

ŠLMIII 9; door sill engraving from Fort Shalmaneser; RIMA 3, A.0.102.34: 111-12.

6. <sup>m</sup>a-ḥu-nu A <sup>m</sup>a-di-ni a-di ÉRIN.ḪI.A.MEŠ-šú DINGIR.MEŠ-šú a-su-ḥa

7. a-na UN.MEŠ KUR-ia am-nu-šú ...

Aḥunu, a man of Bīt-Adini, together with his troops (and) his gods I deported. I counted them as people on my land.

ŠLMIII 10; From broken statue of Shalmaneser III; RIMA 3, A.0.102.40: 118.

Column III (the back)

1. 2-šú a-na KUR nam-ri a-lik <sup>m</sup>ia-an-zu-ú MAN KUR nam-ri a-di  
DINGIR.MEŠ-ni-šú šal-lat KUR-šú
2. "NÍG".GA É.GAL-šú a-na URU-ia aš-šur ub-la ...

A second time I went to Namri. Ianzû, king of Namri, together with his gods, plunder from his land, the property of his palace I brought to my city Assur.

Š-AV 1a; engraved on a large stone stele found at Calah; RIMA 3, A.0.103.1: 184.

Column II

16. ... *ina* 2 *ger-ri-ia*
17. <sup>m</sup>mu-LAL-aš-šur LÚ.GAL.SAG.MEŠ
18. *er-šu mu-de-e* GIŠ.LAL LÚ *te-e-me*
19. *it-ti ÉRIN.ĤI.<A>-ia* u KARASŠ-*ia*
20. *a-na KUR na-'i-ri ú-ma-er-ma*
21. *áš-pur-šú a-di* UGU *tam-ti ša šùl-me*
22. <sup>d</sup>šam-ši *il-lik* 3 ME URU.MEŠ-*ni*
23. *ša* <sup>m</sup>ŠAR-ši-*na* DUMU
24. <sup>m</sup>me-*eq-di-a-ra* 11 URU.MEŠ-*ni*
25. *dan-nu-ti a-di* 2 ME URU.MEŠ-*ni-šú*
26. *ša* <sup>m</sup>uš-*pi-na ik-šud* GAZ.MEŠ-šú-*nu*
27. GAZ *šal-la-su-nu NÍG.GA-šú-nu NÍG.ŠU-šú-nu*
28. DINGIR.MEŠ-šú-*nu* DUMU.MEŠ-šú-*nu* DUMU.MUNUS.MEŠ-šú-*nu*
29. *iš-lu-la* URU.MEŠ-šú-*nu ip-púl*
30. *iq-qur ina* IZI *iš-ru-up* ...

On my second campaign I gave orders and sent Mutarriš-Aššur, the head eunuch, wise and experienced in battle, a rational man, with my troops and my camp to the land Nairi. He went as far as the Mediterranean Sea (lit. completeness of the sun). He conquered 300 cities of Šaršina, son of Meqdiara, eleven fortified cities together with 200 cities of Ušpina. He inflicted their defeat. He took their plunder, their property, their valuables, their gods, their sons, their daughters as booty. He demolished, razed, and burnt their cities with fire.

Š-AV 1b; RIMA 3, A.0.103.1: 187.

Col III-IV

70. ... *ina* 4 *ger-ri-a* SIG<sub>4</sub>

1. UD 15.KÁM *a-na* KUR *kar-du-ni-áš a-la-ku*

2. ÍD *za-ban e-bir ina bi-rit* URU *za-ad-di* URU *za-ban*

3. BAL *na-at-bak* KUR-*e* 3 UR.MAḪ.MEŠ *tar<sup>tar</sup>-du-te a-duk*

4. KUR *e-bi-iḫ ab-bal-kit* URU *me-e-túr-na-at al-me*

5. *pu-ul-ḫi me-lam-me šá aš-šur u* <sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ

6. EN.MEŠ-*a is-ḫu-up-šú-nu-ti* GÌR.MEŠ-*a iṣ-ba-tú* UN.MEŠ

7. *ša-tu-nu ú-še-ša-am-ma a-di* NÍG.GA-*šú-nu* DINGIR.MEŠ-*šú-nu a-na lib-bi*

8. KUR-*ia ú-bíl-šú-nu-ti a-na* UN.MEŠ KUR-*ia am-nu*

In my fourth campaign, on the fifteenth day of the month Sivan, in order to go to Babylonia I crossed the river Zab. While between cities Zaddi and Zaban I passed through a ravine of the mountain and killed three chased lions. I crossed over Mount Ebiḫ. I surrounded the city Mê-turnat. Terror of the radiance of Aššur and Marduk, the great gods, my lords, overwhelmed them. They seized my feet. Those people I made go out and together with their property, their gods I brought them to the middle of my land, then I counted them as people of my land.

Š-AV 1c; RIMA 3, A.0.103.1: 187-8.

Column IV

14. ... URU *da-te-e-bir* URU *iz-du-ia*
15. *ša ina a-ḫi* URU *ga-na-na-ti šak-nu a-di 2 ME URU.MEŠ-ni*
16. *ša li-mi-tu-šú-nu* KUR-ud 3 ME 30 GAZ.MEŠ-šú-nu *a-duk*
17. *šal-la-su-nu* NÍG.GA-šú-nu NÍG.ŠU-šú-nu DINGIR.MEŠ-šú-nu *áš-lu-la*  
GIŠ.KIRI<sub>6</sub>-šú-nu
18. *ak-ši-tí* URU.MEŠ-šú-nu *ap-púl aq-qur ina IZI GÍBIL UN.MEŠ šá ina pa-ni*  
GIŠ.TUKUL
19. *ez-zu-te ip-pár-ši-du a-na* URU *qé-reb-ti-URU.MEŠ-ni* URU *dan-nu-te-šú-nu*
20. *e-ru-bu* URU *šú-a-tú a-si-bi ak-ta-šad 5 ME GAZ.MEŠ-šú-nu a-duk šal-la-*  
*su-nu*
21. NÍG.GA-šú-nu NÍG.ŠU-šú-nu DINGIR.MEŠ-šú-nu GU<sub>4</sub>.MEŠ-šú-nu UDU *še-*  
*ni-šú-nu áš-lu-la* URU
22. *ap-púl aq-qur ina IZI GÍBIL ...*

I conquered the cities Datēbir (and) Izduia, which are beside the city Gannanāte, together with 200 neighbouring cities. I killed 330 of their fighters. I carried off their plunder, their property, their valuables, their gods as booty. I chopped down their orchard; I demolished and razed their cities with fire. The people who had fled in the face of my fierce weapons entered their fortified city Querebti-ālāni. I killed 500 of their fighters; I took their plunder, their property, their valuables, their gods, their oxen, their flocks as booty. I demolished, razed the city with fire.

Š-AV 1d; against Dūr-Papsukkal; RIMA 3, A.0.103.1: 188.

Col IV

31. 3 LIM TI.MEŠ *ina qa-<ti> ú-šab-bit* GIŠ.NÚ MAN-ti-šú GIŠ *né-mat* MAN-ti-šú

32. *ni-šir-ti* É.GAL-šú MUNUS.ÉRIN.MEŠ.É.GAL.MEŠ-ti-šú NÍG.GA-šú

33. NÍG.ŠU-šú DINGIR.MEŠ-šú *ú mim-ma ši-ši-i'-ti* É.GAL-šú *a-na la ma-ni*

34. *iš-tú qé-reb* URU šú-a-tú *áš-lu-la šal-lat qu-ra-di-šú*

35. *ki-ma* BURU<sub>5</sub>.ĪI.A.MEŠ *a-na um-ma-na-ti* KUR-ia

36. *lu-ú i-pa-du* URU šú-a-tú *ap-púl aq-qur ina IZI GÍBIL*

3,000 (soldiers) I seized alive. I carried off from the middle of that city its royal bed, its royal throne, the secrets of its palace, its palace women, its property, its valuables, its gods, anything fine in its palace, without number, as booty. Its captured warriors were imprisoned like locusts into the army of my land. That city I demolished, I razed with fire.



Š-AV 2; engraved on a broken stone stele found at Anu-Adad temple in Assur; RIMA 3, A.0.103.2: 190.

Column III

37' ... *a-na* KUR *de-e-ri*  
38' *lu* [*al-lik* UR]U.BÀD.DINGIR.KI *ma-ḥa-zu* GAL-*a*  
39' *šá* [*kīma ki*]-*šir* KUR'-*e šur-šu-da iš-da-šú*  
40' *a*- [x x (x)] '*la(?) um(?) -ma(?) -na(?) -ti-ia*  
41' UR[U(?) x x] x '*bu* URU *šu-a' -[tu]* *al-mi*  
42' '*ak-šu-ud'* AN.GAL <sup>d</sup>*na-na-a* <sup>d</sup>GAŠAN-URU-*de-ri*  
43' <sup>d</sup>DUMU-É-*šá-pa-an-É* <sup>d</sup>DUMU-É-  
44' *šá-bi-rit-ÍD* <sup>d</sup>*bu-ru-qu*  
45' <sup>d</sup>*gu-la* <sup>d</sup>*ur-ki-tu* <sup>d</sup>*šu-ka-ni-ia*  
46' <sup>d</sup>*né-er-e-tag-mil* <sup>d</sup>*sak-kud*  
47' *šá* URU *bu-bé-e* DINGIR.MEŠ *a-ši-bu-ut*  
48' URU.BÀD.DINGIR.KI *a-di* NÍG.GA-*šú-nu*  
LACUNA

I went to Dēr. Dēr, the great important city whose foundations are firm like bedrock, ..., my army ... I surrounded, conquered that city. [I carried off] the deities Ištaran, Nannaya, Šarrat-Dēr, Mār-bīti-ša-pān-bīti, Mār-bīti-ša-birīt-nāri, Burruqu, Gula, Urkītu, Šukāniia, Nēr-e-tagmil, Sakkud of the city Bubê, the gods dwelling in Dēr, together with their property.

Š-AV 3; Synchronistic Chronicle; MC: 182.

Column IV (Source 1A)

1. *lu e-sir-šú* URU *šu-ú ik-šud* <sup>md</sup>*Ba-ba<sub>6</sub>-PAP.AŠ*
2. *a-di NÌ.GA-šú ni-šir-ti É-GAL-šú a-na* <sup>kur</sup>*Aš-šur il-qa-a*
3. <sup>uru</sup>BÀD.AN<sup>ki</sup> <sup>uru</sup>*La-ḫi-ru* <sup>uru</sup>*Ga-na-na-a-te*
4. BÀD«ŠÚ». <sup>d</sup>PAP.SUKKAL *È-re-du-ti* <sup>uru</sup>A<sup>meš</sup>-*Tùr-an*
5. URU<sup>meš\_ni</sup> *ma-'-du-te šá* <sup>kur</sup>*Kar-du-ni-áš*
6. *a-di* <sup>uru</sup>*ḫal-ši-šú-nu* DINGIR<sup>meš</sup>-*šú-nu šal-la-su-nu i[š-bat ]*
7. AN GAL <sup>d</sup>*Ḫum-ḫum-ia<sub>5</sub>* <sup>d</sup>GAŠAN-BÀD.AN<sup>ki</sup> <sup>d</sup>GAŠAN.URI<sup>ki</sup>
8. <sup>d</sup>Ši-ma-li-ia <sup>d</sup>IGI.DU <sup>d</sup>*A-nu-ni-tú* <sup>d</sup>DUMU.É
9. *šá* <sup>uru</sup>*Ma-li-ki ub-la ...*

He (Šamši-Adad V) confined the city; he himself conquered (it). He took Baba-aḫa-iddina together with his property, secrets of his palace to Assyria. Dēr, Laḫiru, Gananāti, Dūr-Papsukkal, Bīt-ridūti, Mê-Turan, many cities of Babylonia together with their fortresses, their gods, their plunder he seized. He carried off Ištaran, Ḫumḫumia, Šarrat-Dēri, Bēlet-Akkadī, Šimalyia, Palil, Annunītu, Mār-bīti of Māliku.

## APPENDIX C: THE NEO-ASSYRIAN EMPIRE

T-PIII 1; Inscription of Tiglath-Pileser III; inscribed on a fragmentary slab found at Nimrud; Tadmor, *Tiglath-Pileser*, Summ 4: 138, 140.

8' ... <sup>m</sup>Ha-a-nu-ú-nu <sup>uru</sup>Ha-az-za-at-a +a  
 9' [šá la-pa-an <sup>giš</sup>]kakkē<sup>meš</sup>-ia ip-par-ši-[du-ma a-na <sup>kur</sup>]Mu-uš-ri in-nab-tú <sup>uru</sup>Ha-az-zu-tu  
 10' [...aškud/ērub] bušâ-šú ilāni<sup>meš-ni</sup> -[šú ašlul/ēkim šalam ilāni<sup>meš</sup>]-<sup>ni</sup>(sic)  
 ʿbēlē<sup>meš</sup>-ia ù šalam(sic) šarru-ti-ia  
 11' [ša hurāši ēpuš<sup>uš</sup> i]-na qí-rib ʿekalli' [ša <sup>uru</sup>Ha-az-zu-tu ulziz a]-ʿna' ilāni<sup>meš</sup>  
 māti-šu-nu am-nu-ma

Ḫanunu of Gaza, who on account of my weapons, fled and ran away to Egypt. Gaza, I conquered/entered. His valuables, his gods, I plundered. A statue of the gods, my lords and my royal image out of gold I fashioned. I continued into the interior of the palace of Gaza. I counted it among the gods of their land.

T-PIII 2a; found at Nimrud; thought to maybe connect with 2b, but not proved conclusively; part of most detailed text of annals; Tadmor, *Tiglath-Pileser*, Summ 8: 176, 178.

15' [<sup>uru</sup>Hazzutu... akšud/ērub x bilat] hurāši 800 bilat kaspu nišē<sup>meš</sup> a-di  
mar-ši-ti-šú-nu aššat-su mārē<sup>meš</sup> -[šú mārātē<sup>meš</sup> -šú...  
16' ...bušâšu ilāni<sup>meš</sup> -šú ašlul/ēkim] ša-lam ilāni<sup>meš</sup> rabûti<sup>meš</sup> bēlē<sup>meš</sup> -ia <ù> ša-  
lam šarru-ti-ia ša hurāši [ēpus<sup>uš</sup>]  
17' [i-na qí-rib ekalli ša <sup>uru</sup>Ha-az-zu-tu ulziz a-na ilāni<sup>meš</sup> māti-šú-nu am-nu-  
ma...-šú]-nu ú-kin ù šu-ú ul-tu <sup>kur</sup>Mu-uš-ri kīma iṣ-ṣu-[ri ip-par-šam-ma]

Gaza ... I conquered. X talents of gold, 800 talents of silver, people together with their property, his (Ḫanunu's) wife, his sons, his daughters... ..his property, his gods I plundered. I fashioned a statue of the great gods, my lords and a statue of my royal image out of gold. It stood in the middle of the palace of Gaza (and) I counted (it) among the gods of their land. Their ... I established. And that man (Hanunu) flew back from Egypt like a bird.

T-PIII 2b; Tadmor, *Tiglath-Pileser*, Summ. 8: 178.

24' ... ša<sup>f</sup> Sa-am-si šar-rat<sup>kur</sup> A-ri-bi] 'ina<sup>kur</sup> Sa-qu-ur-ri šadê<sup>e</sup> 9,400

di-ik-<sup>r</sup>ta<sup>r</sup>-[šú-nu a-duk ...

25' ... ilāni]-<sup>r</sup>ša<sup>r</sup> giš<sup>giš</sup> be-li giš<sup>giš</sup> haṭṭāti(NÍG.GIDRU)<sup>meš</sup> d<sup>d</sup>iš-tar-šá [makkūr-šá e-kim]

26' [ù ši-i a-na šu-zu-ub napšāti<sup>meš</sup>-šá ... a-na ma-ad-ba-ri a-šar šu-ma-me kīma  
SAL.ANŠE.]<sup>r</sup>EDIN<sup>r</sup>.NA taš-ku-na pa-ni-šá ...

...As for Samsi, queen of the Arabs, I defeated 9,400 (of her soldiers?) at Mount Saqurri... her gods, weaponry, staffs of her goddess, her treasures I took. And she, in order to save the lives entrusted to her (i.e. the lives of her people) ... to a steppe, an arid place, she set herself, like an onager.

T-PIII 3; part of a large clay tablet found in the Nabu Temple in Nimrud; Tadmor, *Tiglath-Pileser*, Summ 9: 188.

Reverse

17. [šá<sup>f</sup> Sa-am-si šar-rat<sup>kur</sup> A-ri-bi ina<sup>kur</sup> Sa-qu-ur-ri šadē<sup>e</sup> ... ] 'x' ina<sup>giš</sup> kakki  
ù-šam-qit-ma gim-ri 'karāši'-[šá ...  
18. ... riqqē<sup>hi.a</sup> kalâma]<sup>ma</sup> a-na la ma-ni ilāni<sup>meš</sup>-[šá e-kim]  
19. [ù si-i a-na š-zu-ub napšāti<sup>meš</sup>-šá a-na ma-ad-ba-ri a]-'šar' šu-ma-me kīma  
SAL.<ANŠE.>EDIN.NA taš-ku-'na' [pa-ni-šá]

As for Samsi, queen of the Arabs, at Mount Saqurri... I struck down with weapons and all of her camp... all sorts of aromatic plants without number, her gods I took. And she, in order to save the lives entrusted to her (i.e. the lives of her people) to a steppe, an arid place she set herself, like an onager.

T-PIII 4a; from broken tablet found at Nimrud; Tadmor, *Tiglath-Pileser*, Summ 7: 160, 162.

15. ... <sup>kur</sup>*Kal-du a-na si-hir-ti-šú hu-ha-riš as-<sup>r</sup>hu<sup>r</sup>-up ša <sup>md</sup>Nabû-ú-šab-ši apil*  
<sup>m</sup>*Ši-la-a-ni di-ik-ta-šú ina i-ta-at <sup>uru</sup>Sa-ar-rab-a-ni āli-šú a-duk*
16. *ù šá-a-šú meh-re-et abul āli-šú a-na <sup>giš</sup>za-qi-pi ú-še-li-šu-ma ú-šad<sup>r</sup>-gi-la*  
*māt-su <sup>uru</sup>Sa-ar-rab-a-nu ina ši-pi-ik <sup>r</sup>eperi<sup>hi.a</sup> [ù <sup>giš</sup>]šú<sup>r</sup>-pi-i ak-šud 55,000*  
*nišē<sup>meš</sup> a-di mar-ši-ti-šú-nu*
17. *šal-la-su bušā-šú makkūr-šú aššat-su mārē(!)<sup>meš</sup>-šú(!) mārāte<sup>meš</sup>-šú ù ilāni<sup>meš</sup>-*  
*šú áš-lu-la <sup>r</sup>āla<sup>r</sup> šu-a-tú a-di ālāni<sup>meš-ni</sup> ša li-me-ti-šú ap-[púl aq-qur ina išāti*  
*áš]-<sup>r</sup>ru<sup>r</sup>-up-ma a-na tilli u kar-me ú-tir*
18. <sup>uru</sup>*Tar-ba-šu <sup>uru</sup>Ia-bal-lu ak-šud 30,000 nišē<sup>meš</sup> a-di mar-ši-ti-šú-nu <sup>r</sup>bušā<sup>r</sup>-šú-*  
*nu makkūr-šú-nu u ilāni<sup>meš</sup>-šú-nu <sup>r</sup>áš<sup>r</sup>-[lu-la ālāni<sup>meš</sup> šu]-a-tu-nu a-di ālāni<sup>meš-ni</sup> ša*  
*li-me-ti-šú-nu*
19. *ki-ma til a-bu-bi ú-ab-bit ...*

I overwhelmed Chaldea to its entirety like a bird in a trap. Concerning Nabu-ušabši of Bit-Šilani, I defeated him on the borders of Sarrabanu, his city and I impaled him in front of the gate of his city and made his land see (him). I conquered Sarrabanu by mounds of earth and battering rams. 55,000 people, together with their property, his plunder, his valuables, his property, his wife, his sons, his daughters (and) his gods, I took as booty. That city, together with the cities of its neighbouring areas I demolished, razed, and burned with fire. And I turned (them) into a tell and a ruin heap. I captured the cities of Tarbašu and Iaballu. 30,000 people together with their property, their valuables, their treasures and their gods I took as booty. Those cities, together with the cities of their neighbourhood I laid waste to like the tells destroyed by the Flood.

T-PIII 4b; Tadmor, *Tiglath-Pileser*, Summ 7: 162.

19. ... <sup>m</sup>Za-qi-ru mār <sup>m</sup>Šá-'a-al-li i-na a-'de'-e ilāni<sup>meš</sup> rabûti<sup>meš</sup> ih-ti-ma it-ti  
[nakriya iš-ku-na] 'pi'-i-šú a-na šá-a-šú a-di <sup>lu</sup>rabûti<sup>meš</sup>-šú ina qātē<sup>II</sup> ú-ša-bit  
20. bi-ra-a-ti parzilli ad-di-šú-nu-ti-ma a-na māt Aš-šur<sup>ki</sup> al-qa-a nišē<sup>meš</sup> <sup>kur</sup>Bīt-Šá-  
'a-al-li ip-la-hu-ma <sup>uru</sup>Dūr-[<sup>d</sup>Balih(KASKAL.KUR)-a+a āl ] 'šarru'-ti-šú-nu a-na  
dan-nu-ti-šú-nu iṣ-ba-tu  
21. āla šu-a-tu i-na bi-ru-ti ù <sup>giš</sup>né-pi-ši ak-šud-ma qa-q-a-riš 'am'-nu 40,500(!)  
nišē<sup>meš</sup> a-di mar-ši-ti-šú-nu šal-la-su-[nu bušā]-'šú'-nu makkūr-šú-nu aššat-su  
mārē<sup>meš</sup>-šú mārāte<sup>meš</sup>-šú ù ilāni<sup>meš</sup>-šú áš-lu-la

Zaqiru of Bit-Sha'alli broke the oath of great gods and joined with [my enemy.] I myself seized him together with his nobles. I put iron shackles on them and took them to Assyria. The people of Bit-Sha'alli were afraid, and they turned their royal city Dur-Balihayya into a fortress. I captured that city by means of mounds and siege machinery and I counted it as spoil. 40,500 people together with their property, their plunder, their valuables, their treasures, his (Zaqiru's) wife, his sons, his daughters, and his gods I took as booty.



T-PIII 5; Chronicle from the time of Nabonassar to Šamaš-šuma-ukīn; MC no 26: 194, ABC no 1: 70-71.

Column I

1. [MU 3 <sup>d</sup>NÀ.KÚR] šàr TIN.TIR<sup>ki</sup>
2. [Tukul-ti-A-é-šár-ra] ina <sup>ku</sup>[<sup>r</sup>]Aš-šur ina AŠ.TE DÚR
3. MU.BI [šàr <sup>kur</sup>Aš-šur] ana <sup>kur</sup>URI<sup>ki</sup> ur-dam-ma
4. <sup>uru</sup>Rab-bi-lu u <sup>uru</sup>Ha-am-ra-nu iḥ-ta-bat
5. u DINGIR<sup>meš</sup> šá <sup>uru</sup>Šá-pa-az-za i-ta-bak

In the third year of Nabonassar, king of Babylon, Tiglath-Pileser (III) ascended to the throne in Assyria. The same year, the king of Assyria went down to Akkad. He robbed Rabbilu and Ḥamrānu and led away the gods of Šapazza.

SGII 1; Nimrud Prisms D & E; Tadmor 1958: 34.

Column IV

25. [LÚ.URU Sa]-me-ri-na-a-a ša it-ti LUGAL
26. [LÚ.KÚR]-ia a-na la e-peš ar-du-ti
27. [ù la na]-še-e bil-ti
28. [a-ḥa-me]š ig-me-lu-ma e-pu-šú ta-ḥa-zi
29. [i-n]a e-mu-uq DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ [EN.ME]Š-ia
30. [it]-ti-šú-nu am-da-ḥi-[iṣ-ma]
31. [2]7 LIM 2 ME 80 UN.MEŠ a-di GIŠ.GI[GIR.MEŠ-šu-nu]
32. ù DINGIR.MEŠ ti-ik-li-šú-un šal-la-[ti-iš]
33. am-nu 2 ME GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ ki-ṣir LUG[AL-ti-ia]
34. i-na lib-bi-šú-nu ak-ṣur-ma
35. si-it-ta-ti-šú-nu
36. i-na qí-rib KUR Aš+šur u-šá-aṣ-bit

The Samaritans, who together came to an agreement with the king of my enemy to no longer be my slaves nor to bring tribute and make battle, with the force of my lords, the great gods, I fought with them. And 27,280 people, together with their chariots and gods of their trust I counted as spoil. I gathered two hundred chariots for my royal troops from among them and I added the rest of them to the centre of Assyria.

SGII 2a<sup>369</sup>; Display Inscription; against Mušašir; Fuchs, *Khorsabad*: 214-15.

72. ... <sup>m</sup>Ur-za-na <sup>uru</sup>Mu-ša-šir-a-a ša a-na <sup>m</sup>Ur-sa-a  
73. <sup>kur</sup>Ur-ar-ṭa-a-a it-tak-lu-ma i-mi-šu ar-du-tu ina gi-piš um-ma-ni-ia <sup>uru</sup>Mu-ša-  
ši-ru a-ri-biš ak-tùm-ma  
74. ù šu-ú a-na šu-zu-ub napišti(ZI)-šú e-den-nu-uš-šú ip-par-šid-ma šadā(KUR)-  
šu e-li a-na <sup>uru</sup>Mu-ša-ši-ri šit-lu-ṭiš e-ru-um-ma  
75. aššas(DAM)-su mārī(DUMU.MEŠ)-šú mārātī(DUMU.MUNUS.MEŠ)-šú  
būšu(NÍG.ŠU) makkūru(NÍG.GA) ni-šir-ti ekallī(É.GAL)-šú ma-la ba-šu-ú it-ti 20  
lim 1 me 70 nišī(UN.MEŠ) a-di mar-ši-ti-šú-nu  
76. <sup>d</sup>Ḫal-di-a <sup>d</sup>Ba-ag-bar-tum ilānī(DINGIR.MEŠ)-šú a-di makkūrī(NÍG.GA)-šú-nu  
ma-'a-at-ti šal-la-ti-iš am-nu <sup>m</sup>Ur-sa-a šar māt(KUR) Ur-ar-ṭi  
77. ḫe-pe-e <sup>uru</sup>Mu-ša-šir šá-lal <sup>d</sup>Ḫal-di-a ilī(DINGIR)-šu iš-me-ma i-na qātī(ŠU<sup>H</sup>)  
ra-ma-ni-šú ina patar(GÍR.AN.BAR) šib-bi-šú na-piš-ta-šú ú-qat-ti

Urzana of Mušašir, who trusting in Ursa of Urartu forgot (his) slavery, with masses of my troops I covered Mušašir like locusts. And in order to save his life, he alone fled and died (lit. (went) upon his mountain). I triumphantly entered Mušašir. I counted as spoil his wife, his sons, his daughters, his valuables, his treasures, the secrets of his palace, everything that exists, along with 20,170 people together with their property, Ḫaldia and Bagbartum, his gods, together with their many treasures. Ursa, king of the land of Urartu, when he heard of the destruction of Mušašir and the plunder of his god Ḫaldia, committed suicide with the sword of his belt (lit. completely ended his life with his own hands).

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<sup>369</sup> This and the remaining texts in this chapter taken from Fuchs's *Die Inschriften Sargons II. aus Khorsabad* have been modified slightly from his partitur transliteration. The transliterations given in this appendix are a combination of the sources, so as to give a complete picture of the text.

SGII 2b; Display Inscription; against Ashdod, Gath, Asdudimmu; Fuchs, *Khorsabad*: 220-221.

101. ... šu-ú <sup>m</sup>Ia-ma-ni a-lik gir-ri-ia
102. ru-qiš iš-me-ma a-na i-te-e māt(KUR) Mu-ṣu-ri
103. ša pa-aṭ māt(KUR) Me-luḥ-ḥa in-na-bit-ma la in-na-mer
104. a-šar-šú <sup>uru</sup>As-du-du <sup>uru</sup>Gi-im-tu <sup>uru</sup>As-du-di-im-mu
105. al-me ak-šud ilānī(DINGIR.MEŠ)-šú aššas(DAM)-su mārī(DUMU.MEŠ)-šú  
mārāṭī(DUMU.MUNUS.MEŠ)-šú
106. būšu(NÍG.ŠU) makkūru(NÍG.GA) ni-šir-ti ekallī(É.GAL)-šú it-ti  
nišī(UN.MEŠ) mātī(KUR)-šú
107. a-na šal-la-ti am-nu ...

That Iamani heard the coming of my campaign from afar and he ran away to the border of Muṣri which is on the border of Meluḥḥa and was not found/discovered. His region, Ashdod, Gimtu, Asdudimmu I besieged, I conquered. I counted his gods, his wife, his sons, his daughters, his valuables, his treasures, the secrets of his palace, and the people of his land as spoil.

SGII 2c; Display Inscription; Fuchs, *Khorsabad*: 226.

125. ... šu-ú<sup>md</sup> *Marduk*(AMAR.UTU)-*aplu-idinna*(SUM-na) *a-lak ger-ri-ia iš-me<sup>l</sup>-ma<sup>l</sup> ḥat-tu rama-ni-šú im-qut-su-ma ul-tu qé-reb Bābili*(KÁ.DINGIR.RA)<sup>ki</sup> *a-na<sup>uru</sup> Iq-bi—<sup>d</sup>Bēl*(EN) *ki-ma su-tin-ni*

126. *ip-pa-riš mu-šiš ālānī*(URU.MEŠ)-*šú áš-bu-te ù ilāni*(DINGIR.MEŠ) *a-šib libbī*(ŠÁ)-*šú-un ki-i iš-tén ú-paḥ-ḥir-ma a-na<sup>uru</sup> Dūr*(BĀD)-<sup>m</sup>*Ia-kin<sub>7</sub> ú-še-rib-ma ú-dan-ni-na ker-ḥe-e-šú ...*

That Marduk-apla-iddina heard the coming of my campaign and panic fell down on him. He fled from the middle of Babylon to Iqbi-Bēl at night like a bat. He assembled his inhabited cities (i.e. the inhabitants) and the gods dwelling in its centre as one and he caused them to enter into Dūr-Iakin. He reinforced its citadel.

SGII 2d; Display Inscription; Fuchs, *Khorsabad*: 229-230.

134. ... *mārī*(DUMU.MEŠ) *Sippar*(ZIMBIR)<sup>ki</sup> *Nippur*(NIBRU)<sup>ki</sup>  
135. *Bābili*(KÁ.DINGIR.RA)<sup>ki</sup> *u Bār-sipa*<sup>ki</sup> *ša i-na la an-ni-šú-nu i-na qer-bi-šú*  
*ka-mu-ú ši-bit-ta-šú-nu a-bu-ut-ma ú-kal-lim-šú-nu-ti nu-ru eqlēti*(A.ŠÀ.MEŠ)-*šú-nu*  
*ša ul-tu u<sub>4</sub>-me ul-lu-ti i-na i-ši-ti ma-a-ti* <sup>lú</sup>*Su-ti-i*  
136. *e-ki-mu-ú-ma ra-ma-nu-uš-šú-un ú-ter-ru* <sup>lú</sup>*Su-ti-i* *šāb*(ÉRIN.MEŠ) *šēri*(EDIN)  
*i-na* <sup>giš</sup>*kakki*(TUKUL) *ú-šam-qit ki-sur-ri-sú-nu ma-šu-ú-ti ša ina di-li-iḫ*  
*māti*(KUR) *ib-bat-lu ú-šad-gi-la pa-nu-uš-šú-un ša Úri*(ŠEŠ.UNUG)<sup>ki</sup>  
*Uruk*(UNUG)<sup>ki</sup> *Eridu*(NUN)<sup>ki</sup>  
137. *Larsa*(ARARMA)<sup>ki</sup> *Kullaba*(KUL.ABA<sub>4</sub>)<sup>ki</sup> *Ki-sik*<sup>ki</sup> <sup>uru</sup>*Né-med* —<sup>d</sup>*La-gu-da áš-*  
*ku-na an-du-ra-ar-šú-un ù ilāni*(DINGIR.MEŠ)-*šú-nu šal-lu-ti a-na ma-ḥa-zi-šú-nu*  
*ú-ter-ma sat-tuk ki-šú-nu ba-aṭ-lu-ú-ti ú-ter* ...

The people of Sippar, Nippur, Babylon (and) Borsippa, who were captive therein without their consent, I destroyed their prison and I showed them the light. I returned their fields to them, which in the days of old, in the disorder of the land, the Suti took. I struck down the Suti, a people of the desert, with weapons. Their forgotten boundary, which in the confusion of the land had fallen into disuse, I handed over to them. Concerning Ur, Uruk, Eridu, Larsa, Kullaba, Kisik, Nemed-Laguda I established their freedom and returned their captive gods to their sanctuaries. I returned their ceased regular offerings to their former frequency.

SGII 3a; Letter to Aššur; taking of Haldia; Mayer 1983: 102.

346. *áš-šu ša<sup>m</sup> Ur-za-na LUGAL ma-lik-šu-nu a-na zi-kir<sup>d</sup> A-šur la iš-ḫu-tu-ma  
ni-ir be-lu-ti-ia is-lu-ma i-mi-šu ar-du-ti*

347. *šá UN.MEŠ URU šu-a-ti šá-lal-šu-nu ak-pid-ma ša<sup>d</sup> Ḫal-di-a tu-kul-ti<sup>kur</sup> Ur-  
ar-ṭi aq-ta-bi šu-ša-a-šu*

348. *meḫ-ret KÁ.GAL-šu šal-ṭiš ú-še-ši-ib-ma DAM-su DUMU.MEŠ-šú  
DUMU.MÍ.MEŠ-šú UN.MEŠ-šú NMUN É AD-šú áš-lu-la*

Because Urzana, their counsellor and king, did not fear the command of Aššur, he cast off the yoke of my lordship and forgot the slavery of the people of that city; I planned their captivity. I commanded the expulsion of Ḫaldia (from his temple), trusted one of the land Urartu. I triumphantly made him sit in front of his city wall. I took his (Urzana's) wife, his sons, his daughters, his people and the offspring of his father's house as booty.

SGII 3b; Letter to Aššur; Mayer 1983: 106, 110.

367. ... <sup>lú</sup>šu-ut-SAG.MEŠ-ia <sup>lú</sup>re-di-ia <a>-na É <sup>d</sup>Ḫal-di-a áš-pur-ma

368. <sup>d</sup>Ḫal-di-a DINGIR-šu ù <sup>d</sup>Ba-ag-bar-tu <sup>d</sup>XV-šu a-di NÍG.GA É.KUR-šú ma-  
'a-at-ti mal ba-šu-ú

Enumeration of all goods taken

405. a-di NÍG.GA-šú ma-at-ti ša ni-i-ba la i-šu-ú áš-lu-la

I sent my generals and my soldiers to the temple of Ḫaldia and Ḫaldia, his god, and Bagbartu, his goddess, together with the possessions of their shrine, much of what existed there fully...together with all his possessions, which did not have number, I took as booty.



SGII 3c; Letter to Aššur; Mayer 1983: 112.

423. *ša*<sup>m</sup> *Ur-za-na*<sup>uru</sup> *Mu-ša-šir-aije*<sup>d</sup> *Ḫal-di-a* DINGIR-*šu*<sup>d</sup> *Ba-ag-bar-tu*<sup>d</sup> *iš-tar-šú*  
*a-di bu-še-e* É.KUR-*šú* *ma-'a-di*

424. *it-ti* 6 LIM 2 ME 10 UN.MEŠ 12 <sup>anše</sup>*ku-dini* 3 ME 80 ANŠE.MEŠ 5 ME  
25 GUD.MEŠ 1 LIM 2 ME 85(!) UDU.MEŠ DAM-*su* DUMU.MEŠ-*šú*  
DUMU.MÍ.MEŠ-*šú* *áš-lu-la*

As for Urzana of Mušāšir, I took Ḫaldia, his god, Bagbartu, his goddess, together with the many valuables of his (Ḫaldia's) temple along with 6,110 people, twelve mules, 380 donkeys, 525 bulls, 1,285 sheep, his wife, his sons, (and) his daughters as booty.

SGII 4; Eponym Chronicle; MC no 9: 174.

B4 Rev and duplicates

8' [: <sup>md</sup>15.BÀD ša <sup>uru</sup>Arrap-ḫa a-na <sup>kur</sup>Ur-a]r-ṭi <sup>uru</sup>Mu-ša-šir Ḫal-di-a <i-ta-bak(?)>

9' [: <sup>m</sup>Aš-šur-ba-ni ša <sup>uru</sup>Kal-ḫa <sup>lú</sup>G]AL <sup>meš</sup>ina <sup>kur</sup>El-li-pa

10' [...] É GIBIL e-ta-rab

11' [a]-na <sup>uru</sup>Mu-ša-šir

*ditto* {in the eponymy of} Ištar-dūrī, of Arrapha, against Urartu (and) Mušašir; Ḫaldia was sent away. *ditto* {in the eponymy of} Aššur-bāni, of Kalḫu, the nobles at Ellipi, [...] the renewed temple at Mušašir.

SGII 5 Cyprus Stele; VS I no 71: 66-68; author's transliteration.

39. *ur-za-na* MAN(*šarru*) <sup>uru</sup>*mu-ša-šir a-di*

40. <sup>d</sup>*Hal-di-a* <sup>d</sup>*Ba-ag-bar-[tu]*

41. *a-na šal-la-ti ŠID-[nu]*

Urzana, king of Mušāšir, together with Haldia (and) Bagbartu I counted as booty.

SGII 6a; Sichtbare Inschriften 2.3 Die Annalen; Fuchs, *Khorsabad*: 133-134.

245. ... <sup>lu</sup>*Hat-ti da-bi-ib ṣa-lip-ti be-lu-su*  
246. *i-ze-ru-ma* <sup>m</sup>*Ia-ad-na la be-el* <sup>giš</sup>*kussî(GU.ZA) ṣa kīma(GIM) šá-a-šu-nu-ma*  
247. *pa-laḥ be-lu-tim la i-du-u ú-rab-bu-ú e-li-su-un*  
248. *i-na ug-gat lib-bi-ia it-ti* <sup>giš</sup>*narkabat(GIGIR) šēpī(GIR<sup>II</sup>)-ia* <sup>anše</sup>*pét-ḫal-lu<sub>4</sub><sup>!</sup>-ia*  
249. *ša a-šar sa-al-me i-da-a-a la ip-par-ku-ú a-na* <sup>uru</sup>*As-du-di*  
250. *āl(URU) šarru(LUGAL)-ti-šú ḫi-it-mu-ṭiš al-lik-ma* <sup>uru</sup>*As-du-du* <sup>uru</sup>*Gi-im-tú*  
251. <sup>uru</sup>*As-du-di-im-mu al-me akšud(KUR-ud) ilāni(DINGIR.MEŠ) a-ši-bu-ut lib-*  
*bi-šú-un ša-a-šú*  
252. *a-di nišī(UN.MEŠ) mātī(KUR)-šú ḫuraṣu(KÙ.SI<sub>22</sub>) kaspu(KÙ.BABBAR)*  
*makkūr(NÍG.GA) ekallī(É.GAL)-šú a-na šal-la-ti am-nu-šú*

The Hittites who (always) speak treachery elevated over them Iadna, not fit for the throne, who, like them, did not know respect for rule. In the rage of my heart, with my personal chariot and my cavalry, who will not leave my side in a friendly (or hostile) place, I went quickly to Ashdod, his royal city. Ashdod, Gimtu, Asdudimmu I besieged, I conquered. The gods dwelling in its centre, he himself (Iadna), together with the people of his land, gold, silver, treasures of his palace I counted as plunder.

SGII 6b; Sichtbare Inschriften; Fuchs, *Khorsabad*: 169.

373. ... *mārī*(DUMU.MEŠ) *Sippar*(UD.KIB.NUN)<sup>ki</sup> *Nippur*(NIBRU)<sup>ki</sup>  
*Bābili*(KÁ.DINGIR.RA)<sup>ki</sup> *Bār-sipa*<sup>ki</sup>  
374. *ša i-na la an-ni-šú-nu i-na qer-bi-šú ka-mu-ú ši-bit-ta-šú-nu a-bu-ut-ma ú-*  
*kal-lim-šú-nu-ti nu-ru eqlētī*(A.ŠÀ.MEŠ)-*šú-nu*  
375. *ša ul-tu u<sub>4</sub>-me ul-lu-ti i-na i-ši-ti ma-a-te* <sup>lú</sup>*Su-ti-i e-ki-mu-ma ra-ma-nu-uš-*  
*šú-un ú-ter-ru* <sup>lú</sup>*Su-ti-i*  
376. *šāb*(ÉRIN.MEŠ) *šēri*(EDIN) *i-na* <sup>giš</sup>*kakki*(TUKUL) *ú-šam-qit ki-sur-ri-šú-nu*  
*ek-mu-te ú-ter áš-ru-uš-šú-un ša Úri*<sup>ki</sup>  
377. *Uruk*(UNUG)<sup>ki</sup> *Eridu*(NUN)<sup>ki</sup> *Larsa*(ARARMA)<sup>ki</sup> *Ki-sik*<sup>ki</sup> <sup>uru</sup>*Né-med-d*<sup>d</sup>*La-gu-da*  
*áš-ku-na an-du-ra-ar-šú-un ù ilānī*(DINGIR.MEŠ)-*šú-nu*  
378. *šal-lu-ti a-na ma-ḥa-zi-šú-nu ú-ter-ma šat-tuk-ki-šú-nu ba-aṭ-lu-ti ú-ter áš-ru-*  
*uš-šú-un ...*

The people of Sippar, Nippur, Babylon (and) Borsippa, who were captive therein without their consent, I destroyed their prison and I showed them the light. I returned their fields to them, which in the days of old, in the disorder of the land, the Suti took. I struck down the Suti, soldiers of the open country, with my weapons. I returned their seized boundary to its former place. Concerning Ur, Uruk, Eridu, Larsa, Kisik, Nemed-Laguda, I established their freedom and returned their captive gods to their sanctuaries. I returned their ceased offerings to their former frequency (lit. place).

SGII 7; Chronicle from Nabonassar to Esarhaddon; Sargon II has just come to Babylon and defeated Merodach-baladan II; MC no 17: 204, ABC, no 1B: 76.

Column II

18' [MU] 15 <sup>iti</sup>DU<sub>6</sub> U<sub>4</sub> 22.KÁM DINGIR<sup>meš</sup> šá KUR tam-t[im  
19' ana (?)] KI-šú-nu GUR<sup>meš</sup> BAD<sup>meš</sup> ina <sup>kur</sup>Aš-šur GAR<sup>[nu(?)]</sup>

In the fifteenth year, on the twenty-second of Tešrit the gods of the Sealand returned to their places. Diseases were placed in Assyria.

SNB 1a; Standard Edition of the Annals; line numbering follows Oriental Institute Prism; Borger, BAL: 73.

Column II

60. ...ù<sup>m</sup>Ši-id-qa-a

61. šár<sup>uru</sup>Is-qa-(al-)lu-na ša la ik-nu-šú

62. a-na ni-ri-ia ilānī(DINGIR.MEŠ) bīt(É) abī(AD)-šú šá-a-šú aššas(DAM)-su

63. mārī(DUMU.MEŠ)-šú mārātī(DUMU.MÍ.MEŠ)-šú aḥḥī(ŠEŠ.MEŠ)-šú

zēr(NUMUN) bīt(É) abī(AD)-šú

64. as-su-ḥa-ma a-na māt(KUR) Aš-šur<sup>ki</sup> ú-ra-áš-šú

And Sidqa, king of Isqaluna (Ashkelon) who was not loyal to my rule, I deported the gods of his father's house, him, his wife, his sons, his daughters, his brothers, the offspring of his father's house and made him go down to Assyria.

Column IV

32. *i-na* 6 *gir-ri-ia si-it-ti nišī*(UN.MEŠ) *māt*(KUR) *Bīt(É)-<sup>m</sup>Ia-kin<sub>7</sub>*  
33. *ša la-pa-an* <sup>giš</sup>*kakkī*(TUKUL.MEŠ)-*ia dan-nu-te kīma*(GIM) *sír-ri-me*  
34. *ig-ru-ru ilānī*(DINGIR.MEŠ) *ma-rak mātī*(KUR)-*šú-un i-na šubtī*(KI.TUŠ)-*šú-nu id-ku-ma*  
35. *tam-tum rabītum*(GAL-tum) *ša ši-it* <sup>d</sup>*Šamši*(UTU-ši) *e-bi-ru-ma*  
36. *i-na* <sup>uru</sup>*Na-gi-ti* *ša māt*(KUR) *Elamti*(ELAM.MA)<sup>ki</sup> *id-du-ú šu-bat-sún*  
37. *i-na* <sup>giš</sup>*eleppēt*(MÁ.MEŠ) *māt*(KUR) *Ḫat-ti tam-tum lu e-bir* <sup>uru</sup>*Na-gi-tú*  
38. <sup>uru</sup>*Na-gi-tú-di-i'-bi-na a-di māt*(KUR) *Ḫi-il-mu māt*(KUR) *Pil-la-tú*  
39. *ù māt*(KUR) *Ḫu-pa-pa-nu na-ge-e* *ša māt*(KUR) *Elamti*(ELAM.MA)<sup>ki</sup> *akšud*(KUR-ud)  
40. *nišī*(UN.MEŠ) *māt*(KUR) *Bīt(É)-<sup>m</sup>Ia-kin<sub>7</sub>* *a-di ilānī*(DINGIR.MEŠ)-*šú-nu ù nišī*(UN.MEŠ)  
41. *ša šár māt*(KUR) *Elamti*(ELAM.MA)<sup>ki</sup> *áš-lu-lam-ma la e-zi-ba*  
42. *mul-taḫ-tu qé-reb* <sup>giš</sup>*eleppēti*(MÁ.MEŠ) *ú-šar-kib-ma*  
43. *a-na a-ḫa-an-na-a ú-še-bi-ra-ma ú-ša-aṣ-bi-ta*  
44. *ḫar-ra-an māt*(KUR) *Aš-šur*<sup>ki</sup> ...

On my sixth campaign, the remaining people of the land of Bīt-Iakin, who had become frightened like wild asses before my fierce weapons, removed the gods of the extent of their land from their seats. They crossed the great sea of the rising sun (the Persian Gulf) and they established their residences in Nagitu, a city of the land of Elam. I indeed crossed the sea in Hittite boats. I conquered the cities Nagitu and Nagitu-di'bina together with the lands Ḫilmu, Pillatu and Ḫupapanu. The people of the land of Bīt-Iakin together with their gods and the people of the king of Elam I took as booty. I left not a single survivor. I made them get on boats and cross to this side of the river. I made them take the road to Assyria.



SNB 2a; Inscription on Bull Colossi from palace at Nineveh; written after 6<sup>th</sup> campaign; Luckenbill, *Senn.*: 68-9.

18. *i-na šal-ši gir-ri-ia a-na* <sup>kur</sup>Ḫa-at-ti lu al-lik <sup>m</sup>Lu-li-i šar <sup>uru</sup>Ši-du-un-ni [pu]-luḫ-ti me-[lam-me-ia is-ḫup]-šú-ma ul-tu qe-reb <sup>uru</sup>Šur-ri a-na <sup>kur</sup>Ia-ad-na-na  
 19. *qabal tam-tim in-na-bit-ma šaddu-šu e-mid* <sup>m</sup>Tu-ba-'lu i-na <sup>giš</sup>kussi šarru-ti-šu ú-še-šib man-da-at-tu be-lu-ti-ia ú-kin ši-ru-uš-šu šarrāni<sup>meš</sup> <sup>kur</sup>MAR.TU<sup>ki</sup> ka-li-šu-un biltu ka-bit-tú  
 20. *i-na ta-mir-ti* <sup>uru</sup>Ú-šú-ú a-di maḫ-ri-ia ú-bi-lu-ni ù <sup>m</sup>Ši-id-qa-a šar <sup>uru</sup>Is-qa-al-lu-na šá la ik-nu-šu a-na ni-ri-ia ilâni<sup>meš</sup> bît-abi-šú a-di ki-im-ti-[šú]  
 21. *as-su-ḫa-am-ma a-na* <sup>kur</sup>Aššur<sup>ki</sup> ú-raš-šú <sup>m</sup>Šarru-lu-dà-a-ri mâr <sup>m</sup>Ru-kib-ti šarra-šu-nu [maḫ-ru-ú eli nišê]<sup>meš</sup> <sup>uru</sup>Is-qa-al-lu-na aš-kun-ma man-da-at-tu [bēlu]-ti-ia ú-kin ši-ru-uš-šú

In my third campaign I went to Ḫatti (i.e. the Hittite land). Luḫi, king of Sidon (Šidunni), terror of my radiance overwhelmed him and he ran away from Tyre (Šurri) to Cyprus (Iadnana) in the middle of the sea and died. I placed Tuba'lu on the royal throne. I established my lordly tribute upon him. The kings of Amurru, all of them, brought before me heavy tribute to the territory surrounding Ušû. And Sidqa, king of Ashkelon (Isqaluna), who was not loyal to my yoke, the gods of his father's house together with his family I deported and he went down to Assyria. Šarru-lu-dâri, son of Rukibti, their former king, I placed over the people of Ashkelon (Isqaluna) and I established my lordly tribute upon him.

SNB 2b; Inscription on Bull Colossi from palace at Nineveh; Luckenbill, *Senn.*: 75-6; Sennacherib's soldiers land on the banks of Ulai River, capture the levees, then...

94. ... <sup>uru</sup>*Na-gi-tu*  
 95. <sup>uru</sup>*Na-gi-tu-di-'-bi-na* <sup>kur</sup>*Hi-il-mu* <sup>kur</sup>*Bil-la-tu*  
 96. <sup>ù</sup> <sup>kur</sup>*Hu-pa-pa-nu alāni*<sup>meš</sup> *šá šar* <sup>kur</sup>*E-lam-ti ik-šú-du*  
 97. *dan-nu-su-un te-ne-šit* <sup>lu</sup>*Kal-di ilāni*<sup>meš</sup> *gim-ri* <sup>kur</sup>*Bīt-<sup>m</sup>Ia-kin*  
 98. *a-di makkûru-šu-nu* <sup>ù</sup> *niše*<sup>meš</sup> *E-la-me-i* <sup>giš</sup>*šu-um-bi*  
 99. *paré*<sup>meš</sup> *imêre*<sup>meš</sup> *iš-lu-lu-ni qe-reb* <sup>giš</sup>*elippâte*<sup>meš</sup> *-[šu-nu]*  
 100. *ú-še-lu-ma a-ḥa-an-na-a a-na* <sup>uru</sup>*Bâb-sa-li-me-ti a-di maḥ-ri-ia*  
 101. *ú-še-bi-ru-ni alāni*<sup>meš</sup> *ša-tu-nu ip-pu-lu iq-qu-ru i-na girri iq-mu-ú*

Nagitu, Nagitu-di'bina, Hilmu, Billatu, and Hupapanu, cities of the king of Elam, they conquered their fortresses. The people of Chaldea, all the gods of Bit-Iakin, together with their property and the people of Elam, wagons, mules, donkeys they took as booty. They loaded it onto their boats and crossed to Bab-salimeti, on this side of the river and brought it before me. They demolished, razed with fire and burned those cities.

SNB 3; Inscription on Bull Colossi from palace at Nineveh; Luckenbill, *Senn.*: 77-8.

25. ... *ba-ḥu-la-a-ti* <sup>kur</sup>*Kal-di*  
26. *ša ti-ib ta-ḥa-zi-ia e-du-ru-ma ilāni*<sup>meš</sup> *nap-ḥar māti-šu-un i-na šub-ti-šu-un*  
27. *id-ku-ú tam-tim i-bi-ru-ma i-na* <sup>uru</sup>*Na-gi-a-ti id-du-ú šú-bat-sun*  
28. *i-na* <sup>giš</sup>*elippāte*<sup>meš</sup> <sup>kur</sup>*Ḥa-at-ti arkî-šu-un e-bir* <sup>uru</sup>*Na-gi-a-tu*  
29. <sup>uru</sup>*Na-gi-a-tu-di-’-bi-na* <sup>kur</sup>*Ḥi-il-mu* <sup>kur</sup>*Bil-la-tu*  
30. *ù* <sup>kur</sup>*Ḥu-pa-pa-nu na-gi-e ša e-bir-tan* <sup>id</sup>*Mar-ra-ti ak-šud(ud)-ma*  
31. *te-ni-šit* <sup>kur</sup>*Kal-di a-di ilāni-šu-nu niše*<sup>meš</sup> *šar* <sup>kur</sup>*Elamti*<sup>ki</sup>  
32. *aš-lu-lam-ma la ez-zi-ba mul-taḥ-ṭu*

The subjects of Chaldea who became worried at the attack of my battles, removed the gods of all their lands from their seats. They crossed the sea and established their residences in Nagitu. I crossed over after them in Hittite boats. Nagitu, Nagitu-di’bina, Ḥilmu, Billatu and Ḥupapanu, a district which is on the other side of the sea I conquered. And the men of Chaldea together with their gods, the people of the king of Elam I took as booty. And not a survivor was left behind.

SNB 4a; Nebi Yunus Inscription ; Luckenbill, *Senn.* p 86-7.

19. ... <sup>uru</sup>*Na-gi-ti*
20. <sup>uru</sup>*Na-gi-tu-di- 'bi-na* <sup>kur</sup>*Hi-il-mu* <sup>kur</sup>*Bil-la-tu* <sup>uru</sup>*Hu-pa-pa-a-nu na-gi-e*
21. *ša šar* <sup>kur</sup>*Elamti* *ša i-na e-bir-tan tamtim šit-ku-na-at šu-bat-sun ša niše*<sup>meš</sup>
22. <sup>kur</sup>*Bīt-Ia-kin la-pa-an* <sup>giš</sup>*kakkê-ia dan-nu-ti ilāni*<sup>meš</sup> *māti-šu-un i-na šubti-šu-nu*
23. *id-ku-ú tam-tim e-bi-ru-ma ú-ši-bu qe-reb-šu-un i-na* <sup>giš</sup>*elippāte*<sup>meš</sup> <sup>kur</sup>*Ḫat-ti*
24. *ša i-na Ninua*<sup>ki</sup> *ù* <sup>uru</sup>*Til-bar-si-ip e-pu-šu tam-tim lu e-bir alāni*<sup>meš</sup> *ša qe-reb*
25. *na-gi-e ša-tu-nu akšud(ud)-ma i-na girri aq-mu niše*<sup>meš</sup> <sup>kur</sup>*Bīt-Ia-kin ù ilāni*<sup>meš</sup>-  
*šu-nu*
26. *a-di ba-ḫu-la-a-te šar* <sup>kur</sup>*Elamti*<sup>ki</sup> *aš-lu-lam-ma a-na* <sup>kur</sup>*Aššur*<sup>ki</sup> *ú-ra-a*

Nagitu, Nagitu-di'bina, Ḫilmu, Billatu, Ḫupapanu, the districts of the king of Elam, which are located on the other side of the sea, where the people of Bit-Iakin removed the gods of their land from their socles, on account of my strong weapons, they crossed the sea and settled therein. On Hittite boats, which I built in Nineveh and Til-Barsip, I crossed the sea. The cities which were near those districts I conquered and burned with fire. The people of Bit-Iakin and their gods, together with the subjects of the king of Elam I took as booty and went to Assyria.

SNB 4b; Nebi-Yunus Inscription; Luckenbill, *Senn.*: 87.

27. *ar-ka Bâbilû<sup>ki</sup> meš ša it-ti<sup>md</sup> Marduk-apla-iddina(na) ú-šu-ú in-nab-tu E-lam-taš*  
28. *šar<sup>kur</sup> Elamti<sup>ki</sup> a-na Bâbili<sup>ki</sup> (il)illiku-nim-ma<sup>m</sup> Šú-zu-bu mâr<sup>m</sup> Ga-ḥul i-na<sup>giš</sup> kussi šarru-ti*  
29. *eli-šu-nu ú-še-šib-ma šābē<sup>meš</sup> giš kakki<sup>giš</sup> narkabāti<sup>meš</sup> sisē<sup>meš</sup> ki-šir šarru-ti-ia a-na mi-iḥ-rit*  
30. *šar<sup>kur</sup> Elamti<sup>ki</sup> ú-ma-`-ir ummānāte<sup>hi.a</sup> ma-`-du it-ti mâr-i-šu i-du-ku-ma i-tur ar-ka-niš*  
31. *šú-nu a-di Uruk<sup>ki</sup> iš-tam-di-ḥu<sup>d</sup> Šamaš šá Larsa<sup>ki</sup> d<sup>d</sup> Bēltu šá Eridu<sup>ki</sup> (? text NUN-E-ŠI) d<sup>d</sup> Bēltu šá Uruk<sup>ki</sup> d<sup>d</sup> Na-na-a*  
32. *d<sup>d</sup> Ú-šur-a-mat-sa d<sup>d</sup> Be-lit balāti<sup>d</sup> Kurun-nam(GAŠ-TIN-nam) d<sup>d</sup> Kaš-ši-tu d<sup>d</sup> Nergal(IGI-DU) ilāni<sup>meš</sup> a-ši-bu-ut*  
33. *Uruk<sup>ki</sup> a-di bušī-šu-nu makkûra-šu-nu šá la ni-bi iš-lu-lu-ni*

After the Babylonians who had gone out with Marduk-apla-iddina (Merodach-baladan) had run away to Elam, the king of Elam went to Babylon and he placed Šuzubu (Nergal-ušezib), member of the family of Gaḥul, on the royal throne over them. Soldiers, weapons, chariots, horses, my royal troops I sent against the front of the king of Elam. They killed many of the main body of his army along with his son and he retreated. They marched to Uruk. Šamaš of Larsa, Beltu of Eridu, Beltu of Uruk, Nana, Ušuramatsa, Belit-balaṭi, Kurunnam, Kaššitu, Nergal, the gods dwelling in Uruk, together with their possessions of no number they took as booty.

Column V

29. *i-na li-mu* <sup>m</sup>*aššur-bêl*(EN)-*ušur*(PAP) <sup>lú</sup>*šá-kìn* <sup>kur</sup>*kúd-mu-ḫi*  
30. <sup>ṛ</sup>*a-na* <sup>uru</sup>*til-ga-ri-im-me*  
31. *a-lum* <sup>ṛ</sup>*ša* <sup>pa-a-ṭi</sup> <sup>kur</sup>*ta-ba-li*  
32. *ša* <sup>m</sup>*gúr-di-i* *šàr* *âl*(URU) *ur-du-ti*  
33. *ir-ku-su* <sup>giš</sup>*kakkê*(TUKUL.MEŠ)-*šú*  
34. *as-su-uq-ma* <sup>lú</sup>*šābē*(ERÍN.MEŠ) <sup>giš</sup>*qašti*(PAN) *na-ši tuk-ši*  
35. *ù as-ma-re-e* <sup>giš</sup>*narkabâte*(GIGIR.MEŠ) *sîsê*(ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ)  
36. *ki-šir šarru*(LUGAL)-*ti-ia ú-ma-ʾir ši-ru-uš-šú*  
37. *âlu*(URU) *šu-a-tu ni-i-tum il-mu-ma*  
38. *i-na ši-pik e-pi-ri ú qur-ru-ub šu-pi-i*  
39. *mit-ḫu-uš* «*ša*» *zu-uk šēpē*(GÌR.MIN) *iš-ba-tu âlu*(URU)  
40. *nišê*(UKÛ.MEŠ) *a-di ilāni*(DINGIR.MEŠ) *a-šib lib-bi-šú*  
41. *im-nu-ú šal-la-ti-iš*

In the eponymy of Aššur-bêl-ušur, the governor of Kudmuḫi, at Til-garimmu, a city on the border of Tabali, whose kingship Gurdi had constructed, I threw my weapons. Archers, soldiers carrying shield and lance, chariots, horses, my royal troops I sent against its great warriors. They besieged that town and by means of a siege wall of piled up earth and the assault of siege engines, by the attack of infantry they conquered the city. The people together with the gods dwelling therein they counted as spoil.

SNB 6; text on alabaster slab; Luckenbill, *Senn.*: 90.

9. [šābē<sup>meš</sup> giš<sup>giš</sup> ḥaṭṭi<sup>giš</sup> narkabāte<sup>meš</sup>] sisē<sup>meš</sup> ki-šir šarru-ti-ia a-na me-iḥ-rit
10. [šar<sup>kur</sup> Elamti<sup>ki</sup> uma 'ir] ummānāte<sup>hi.a</sup>-šu ma-'-du it-ti māri-šu i-'du'-ku-ma
11. [iturma arkaniš šunu adi] Uruk<sup>ki</sup> iš-tam-di-ḥu<sup>d</sup> Šamaš šá Larsa<sup>ki</sup>
12. [. . . . . ilāni<sup>meš</sup>] a-ši-bu-ut kir-bi-šu a-di bušē-šu-nu
13. [makkūrišunu ša la nībi iš'-lu-lu-ni ...

Soldiers, staffs, chariots, horses, my royal troops I sent against the front of the king of Elam. They killed many of the main body of his army along with his son and he retreated. They marched to Uruk. Šamaš of Larsa ... gods dwelling therein together with their valuables, their possessions of no number, they took as booty.

SNB 7a; Bavian Inscription; against Babylon; Luckenbill, *Senn.*: 83.

47. *makkûr ali šú-a-tu kaspu ħurāšu abnē<sup>meš</sup> ni-siq-ti bušû makkûru a-na qâtâ<sup>II</sup>*  
[*nišē<sup>meš</sup>-ia<sup>7</sup> am-ni-i-ma a-na i-di ra-ma-ni-šu-nu ú-tir-ru*  
48. *ilāni<sup>meš</sup> a-šib lib-bi-šu qātâ<sup>II</sup> nišē<sup>meš</sup>-ia ik-šú-su-nu-ti-ma ú-šab-bi-ru-ma*  
[*bušâ*]-*šu-nu makkûra-šu-nu il-qu-ni ...*

The property of that city, silver, gold, precious stone, valuables and property, I counted into the hands of my people and they made it their own. The gods dwelling therein, the hands of my people took and smashed them. They took their valuables and their property.



SNB 7b; Bavian Inscription; Luckenbill, *Senn.*: 83.

48. ... <sup>d</sup>Adad <sup>d</sup>Šá-la ilâni<sup>meš</sup>  
49. šá <sup>kur</sup>Ekallâti<sup>meš</sup> šá <sup>md</sup>Marduk-nâdin-aḫē<sup>meš</sup> šar <sup>kur</sup>Akkadī<sup>ki</sup> a-na tar-ši  
<sup>m</sup>Tukulti(ti)-apal-e-šár-ra ʾšar<sup>ʾ</sup> <sup>kur</sup>Aššur<sup>ki</sup> il-qu-ma a-na Bābili<sup>ki</sup> ú-bil-lu  
50. i-na 418 šanāti<sup>meš</sup> ul-tu Bābili<sup>ki</sup> ú-še-ša-am-ma a-na <sup>kur</sup>E[kallāti<sup>meš</sup>] a-na aš-  
ri-šu-nu ú-tir-šu-nu-ti ...

Adad and Šala, the gods of the city of Ekallate, whom Marduk-nadin-aḫē, king of Akkad, at the time of Tiglath-pileser, king of Assyria, had taken and carried to Babylon, after 418 years, I took them out from Babylon and returned them to their places in Ekallate.

SNB 7c; Bavian Inscription; just after the sack of Babylon; Luckenbill *Senn.*: 83-4.

50. ... *ala* ù *bîtâte*<sup>meš</sup>

51. *ul-tu uššē-šu a-di gab-dib-bi-šu ap-pul*<sup>370</sup> *aq-qur i-na girri aq-mu dūru* ù *šal-  
hu-u bītātī*<sup>meš</sup> *ilānī*<sup>meš</sup> *ziq-qur-rat libitti u epiri*<sup>hi.a</sup> *ma-la ba-šu-ú*

52. *as-suḫ-ma a-na* <sup>id</sup> *A-ra-aḫ-ti ad-di* ...

I demolished, razed and burned with fire the city and houses, from its foundations to its parapets. I tore out the city wall and outer city wall, temples, gods, ziggurats of brick and earth, all that existed. I cast them into the Araḫtu canal.

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<sup>370</sup> Luckenbill states this word is ‘*ab-bul*’, but this is a standard Neo-Assyrian phrase and should be read ‘*ap-pul*’.

SNB 8; *bit akīti* Inscription; Luckenbill, *Senn.*: 137.

36. ... *iš-tu Bābili<sup>ki</sup> aḥ-pu-u<sup>371</sup>*  
37. *ilāni ša ú-šab-bi-ru niše<sup>meš</sup>-šu ina <sup>giš</sup>kakki as-pu-nu*  
38. *aš-šú qaḡ-qar ali šú-a-ti [šú<sup>ʾ</sup>-us-si-i qaḡ-qar-šu as-suḥ-ma*  
39. *a-na <sup>id</sup>Pu-rat-ti a-na tam-tim ú-ša-bil e-pi-ri-šu a-na Dilmun<sup>ki</sup>*  
40. *ik-šu-du-ma Dilmun<sup>ki</sup>-ai i-mu-ru-ma ḥat-ti pu-luḥ-ti ša <sup>d</sup>Aššur*  
41. *im-qut-su-ni-ti-ma na-mur-ta-šu-nu ub-lu-u-ni*

After I destroyed Babylon, I smashed its gods, devastated its people with weapons, so that the soil of that city would be taken far away, I tore out its soil and caused it to be carried to the Euphrates, and to the sea. Its earth reached Dilmun and the Dilmunites saw it and the panic of the terror of Aššur fell upon them and they brought me their audience gifts.

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<sup>371</sup> Luckenbill has ‘*aḥ-bu-u*’.

SNB 9; Babylon Stele of Nabonidus; describes destruction of Babylon by Sennacherib;  
 Schaudig 2001: 515-16.

- 1' [ik]-ta-pu-ud HUL-ti  
 2' [t]a-ri ÛG ŠÀ-ba-šu  
 3' i-ta-ma-a ḥi-ti-ti  
 4' ni-še-e ma-[at URI]<sup>ki</sup>  
 5' ta-a-a-ru u[l ir-ši]  
 6' le-em-[ni-i]š  
 7' a-na TIN.TIR<sup>ki</sup> is-ni-i]q  
 8' ú-na-am-mi  
 9' eš-re-e-ti-iš  
 10' ú-sa-aḥ-ḥi  
 11' ú-šu-ra-a-ti  
 12' pel-lu-de-e  
 13' ú-ša-al<sup>l</sup>-pi-it  
 14' qá-ti NUN<sup>d</sup> AMAR.UTU  
 15' iṣ-ba-at-ma  
 16' ú-še-ri-ib  
 17' qé-reb BALA.TIL<sup>ki</sup>  
 18' ki-ma uz-zi DINGIR-ma  
 19' i-te-pu-uš KUR  
 20' ul ip-šu-ur  
 21' [k]i-mil-ta-šu  
 22' NUN<sup>d</sup> AMAR.UTU  
 23' 21 MU<sup>meš</sup>  
 24' qé-reb BALA.TIL<sup>ki</sup>  
 25' ḥi-r-ta-me šu-bat-su  
 26' [i]m-lu-ú U<sup>meš</sup>  
 27' ik-šu-da a-dan-nu  
 28' i-nu-úḥ-ma  
 29' uz-za-šu  
 30' šá LUGAL DINGIR.DINGIR EN EN<sup>me</sup>  
 31' É.SAG.ÍL  
 32' ù KÁ.DINGIR.RA<sup>ki</sup>  
 33' iḥ-su-us  
 34' šu-bat be-lu-ti-šú  
 35' LUGAL SU.BIR<sup>ki</sup>  
 36' šá i-na uz-za<sup>d</sup> AMAR.UTU  
 37' ša-al-pu-ut-ti  
 38' KUR iš-ku-nu  
 39' DUMU ši-it ŠÀ-bi-šú  
 40' i-na<sup>giš</sup> TUKUL  
 41' ú-ra-as-si-ib-šú

He planned to desecrate, to lead away the people therein. The crimes changed the people of Akkad. Viciously, he did not show mercy. He arrived at Babylon and turned it into ruins. He made one tenth of it unrecognisable. He desecrated the ordinances of

cultic rites. He seized the hand of the prince Marduk and made him go out into Assyria. Since the anger of the god and the re-building of the land did not appease his divine wrath, the prince Marduk took up residence in Assyria for 21 years. He filled the days until he reached a fixed date and he was appeased. The anger of the king of the gods, lord of lords of Esagil and Babylon, the seat of his lordship was remembered. The king of Assyria, who at the anger of Marduk had placed the land under destruction, his son, his offspring cut him down with weapons.

ESR 1a; British Museum Prism Fragments Bu. 88-5-12, 80; —, 101; and —, 103  
Borger, *Asarh.*, §11, Recension E, Episodes 7 and 8: 14.

Column I

9. *É-sag-gíl u B[ābi]lu<sup>ki</sup>*
10. *na-mu-ta il-li-ku-ma*
11. *e-mu-ú qí-šub-bé-eš*
12. *ilāni<sup>meš</sup>-šú u<sup>d</sup> ištara<sup>ti</sup><sup>meš</sup>-šú*
13. *ip-ri-du-ma ki-iš-ši-šú-nu*
14. *e-zi-bu-ma e-lu-ú šá-ma-meš*

Esagila and Babylon went to wasteland; they became empty. Their gods and goddesses  
were restless and they abandoned their cellas and went up to the heavens.

ESR 1b; Borger, *Asarh.*, §11 Episode 10: 15.

Recensions A & D

- 2b. 70 *šánāti*<sup>meš</sup>
3. *mi-nu-ut ni-di-ti-šu*
4. *iš-tur-ma re-me-nu-ú*
5. <sup>d</sup>*Marduk sur-riš lib-ba-šu*
6. *i-nu-uḥ-ma e-liš a-na*
7. *šap-liš uš-bal-kit-ma*
8. *a-na 11 šánāti*<sup>meš</sup>
9. *a-šab-šú iq-bi*

Recension B

19. *a-di ûme*<sup>meš</sup> *im-[lû libbi bêli rabê?]*<sup>e</sup> <sup>d</sup>*Marduk i-nu-ḥu-ma a-na mâti ša e-ni-nu ir-šu-ú sa-li-[mu]*
20. 70 *šánāti*<sup>meš</sup> *im(?)-[lû ... šánāti]*<sup>meš</sup> *iš-tur-ma re-e-mu ir-ši-ma iq-ta-bi a-ḥu-lap*

Recensions A & D

He inscribed seventy years as the amount of time its land would be uncultivated. Merciful Marduk in a moment his heart was appeased. From the upper to the lower he caused it to turn over; he commanded its sitting to be eleven years.

Recension B

Until the days had passed that the heart of the great lord Marduk was appeased and he would obtain peace from the country of favour, seventy years passed. He inscribed [eleven] years, showed mercy and said: ‘Praise!’

ESR 2a; Borger, *Asar.*, §27, Episode 3: 45-6.

Column II

21. ... *ba-nu-u bīt dAš-šur*
22. *e-piš É-sag-gíl u Bābili<sup>ki</sup> mu-(ud-)di-iš ilāni<sup>meš</sup> u diš-tar*
23. *šá qé-reb-e-šú ša ilāni<sup>meš</sup> mâtâte(KUR.KUR) šal-lu-(u-)ti ul-tú qé-reb<sup>unu</sup> Aš-šur*
24. *a-na áš-ri-šú-nu ú-tir-ru-(ú-)ma ú-še-ši-bu šub-tu né-eḫ-tum*
25. *a-di ēkurrāti(É.KUR.(RA).MEŠ) ú-šak-lil-u-ma ilāni<sup>meš</sup> i-na parakkē<sup>meš</sup>-šú-nu*
26. *ú-šar-mu-ú šu-bat da-ra-a-ti ina tu-kul-ti-šú-nu rabî-ti*
27. *ul-tu ši-it dŠamši<sup>ši</sup> a-di e-reb dŠamši(<sup>ši</sup>) šal-ṭiš at-tal-lak-ú-ma*

epithets of Esarhaddon:

..., builder of the temple of Aššur, one who renewed Esagila and Babylon, who returned the gods and goddesses therein, who were the captive gods of the lands, from the heart of Aššur to their places and placed them in peaceful seats until he completed their temples and had them occupy their lasting abodes. With their great trust, from the rising to the setting sun I went triumphantly.



ESR 2b;<sup>372</sup> Borger, *Asarh.*, §27, Episode 14: 53.

Column IV

1. <sup>uru</sup>A-du-mu-tu âl dan-nu-tu <sup>lu</sup>A-ri-bi
2. <sup>ša</sup> <sup>md</sup>Sin-áhê <sup>meš</sup>-erība šàr mât Aš-šur<sup>ki</sup> abu ba-nu-u-a
3. ik-šu-du-ma bûša-šú makkûr-šú ilâni<sup>meš</sup>-šú
4. a-di <sup>f</sup>Is(? [Ma ? ?)-kal-la-tú šar-rat <sup>lu</sup>A-ri-bi
5. iš-lu-lam-ma a-na mât Aš-šur<sup>ki</sup> il-qa-a
6. <sup>m</sup>Ḫa-za-ilu šàr <sup>lu</sup>A-ri-bi it-ti ta-mar-ti-šú ka-bit-tú
7. a-na Ninua<sup>ki</sup> âl be-lu-ti-ia
8. il-lik-am-ma ú-na-áš-ši-iq šêpê<sup>ll</sup>-ia
9. áš-šú na-dan ilâni<sup>meš</sup>-šú ú-šal-la-an-ni-ma re-e-mu ar-ši-šú-ma
10. <sup>d</sup>A-tar-sa-ma-a-a-in <sup>d</sup>Da-a-a <sup>d</sup>Nu-ḫa-a-a
11. <sup>d</sup>Ru-ul-da-a-a-ú <sup>d</sup>A-bi-ri-il-lu
12. <sup>d</sup>A-tar-qu-ru-ma-a ilâni<sup>meš</sup> ša <sup>lu</sup>A-ri-bi
13. an-ḫu-su-nu ud-diš-ma da-na-an <sup>d</sup>Aš-šur bêli-ia
14. ú ši-tir šumi-ia eli-šú-nu áš-ṭur-ma ú-tir-ma ad-din-šú
15. <sup>f</sup>Ta-bu-u-a tar-bit êkalli abi-ia a-na šarru-u-ti
16. eli-šú-nu áš-kun-ma it-ti ilâni<sup>meš</sup>-šá a-na mâti-šá ú-tir-ši

Adummutu, the fortress of the Arabs, which Sennacherib, king of Assyria, father, my creator, conquered and took its valuables, its property and its gods, together with Ismakallatu, queen of the Arabs, as booty and took all of this to Assyria. Ḫazael, king of the Arabs, came to Nineveh, my lordly city, with his massive tribute and he kissed my feet. Because I objected to the theft of his gods, I showed him mercy. Atarsamain, Dâa, Nuḫâa, Ruldâu, Abrillu, and Atarquruma, the gods of the Arabs, I renewed their dilapidation and I inscribed both my name and the name of strong Aššur, my lord, upon them. I returned them to him (Ḫazael). I placed Tabûa, raised in the palace of my father, over them as queen. I sent her to her land with her gods.

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<sup>372</sup> There is a duplicate of this text in another of Esarhaddon's inscriptions (Borger, *Asarh.*, §27, episode 12: 57).

Column IV

62. <sup>m</sup>Ki-i-su šàr <sup>uru</sup>Ḫal-di-su <sup>m</sup>Ak-ba-ru šàr <sup>uru</sup>Il-pi-a-tú  
63. <sup>m</sup>Ma-an-sa-ku šàr <sup>uru</sup>Ma-gal-a-ni  
64. <sup>f</sup>Ia-pa-’ šar-rat <sup>uru</sup>Di-iḫ-ra-a-ni  
65. <sup>m</sup>Ḫa-bi-su šàr <sup>uru</sup>Qa-DA-ba-’  
66. <sup>m</sup>Ni-ḫa-ru šàr <sup>uru</sup>Ga-’-u-a-ni  
67. <sup>f</sup>Ba-as-lu šar-rat <sup>uru</sup>I-ḫi-lum  
68. <sup>m</sup>Ḫa-ba-zi-ru šàr <sup>uru</sup>BU-DA-’  
69. 8 šarrâni<sup>meš</sup>(<sup>ni</sup>) ša qé-reb na-ge-e šu-a-tú a-duk  
70. ki-ma (<sup>še</sup>)buqli (MUNU<sub>4</sub>) áš-ta-ṭi pa-gar (<sup>lu</sup>)qu-ra-di-šú-un  
71. ilâni<sup>meš</sup>-šú-nu bûša-šú-nu makkûr-šú-nu (ù) nišê<sup>meš</sup>-šú-nu  
72. áš-lu-la a-na qé-reb mâṭ Aš-šur<sup>ki</sup> ...

Kisu, king of Ḫaldisu, Akbaru, king of Ilpiatu, Mansaka, king of Magalani, Iapa’, queen of Diḫrani, Ḫabisu, king of QaDABA’, Niḫaru, king of Ga’uani, Baslu, queen of Iḫilum, Ḫabaziru, king of BU-DA-’, eight kings of the those nearby districts I killed. I spread out the corpses of their warriors like malt. I took their gods, their valuables, their possessions, their people as booty into Assyria.

ESR 2d; Borger, *Asarh.*, §27, Episode 18: 57-8.

Column V

3. *ša a-na šarrâni<sup>meš</sup> abbē<sup>meš</sup>-ia i-šu-tu-ma e-tap-pa-lu ze-ra-ti*
4. *ina qí-bit<sup>d</sup> Aš-šur bêli-ia ina qâte<sup>II</sup>-ia im-ma-nu-ú*
5. *pa-áš-qu-ti dûr-abnē<sup>meš</sup>-šú-nu kîma kar-pat pa-ḥa-ri ú-par-ri-ir*
6. *pa-gar qu-ra-di-šú-un ina la qe-bé-ri ú-šá-kil zi-i-bu*
7. *nak-mu makkûr-šú-nu áš-lu-la a-na qé-reb mât Aš-šur<sup>ki</sup>*
8. *ilâni<sup>meš</sup> ti-ik-li-šú-nu šal-la-tiš am-nu*

Those who were negligent to the kings, my (fore)fathers, they were responsible for the hostilities. At the command of Aššur, my lord, they surrendered into my hands. I shattered their impenetrable stone walls as if they were the vessel of a potter. The corpses of their warriors were not buried; I caused vultures to eat them. Their amassed possessions I took as booty to the heart of Assyria. I counted the gods of their trust as spoil.

ESR 3; Nahr el-Kelb stele; Borger *Asarh.*, §67 Mnm. C: 101.

11. [xxx] x *ékalli-šú ilâni<sup>meš</sup>-šú d<sup>d</sup>ištarâti<sup>meš</sup>-šú šá<sup>l</sup> Tar-qu-u šàr mât Ku-u-si a-di makkûri-šú-nu*

12. [... *šalla*]-*tiš am-nu* ...

His palace, his gods, his goddesses, Tarqu (Taharqa), king of Kusi (Kuš), together with his property I counted as spoil.

ESR 4; letter to Assurbanipal, but describing the actions of Esarhaddon; SAA 13 no 190:162.

6. *bé-et* LUGAL [*be*]-*lí a-na* KUR GAL—KAŠ.LUL
  7. *iš-pur-an-ni-ni* A.ŠÀ.MEŠ
  8. *a-na* ARAD.ME[Š-šú *i*]-*d-din-u-ni*
  9. *ina* ŠÀ-*bi* URU *šu-ú bé-et e-lu-u-ni*
  10. <sup>d</sup>DUMU.MÍ—<sup>d</sup>30 *ša* ERIDÙG
  11. <sup>d</sup>DUMU.MÍ—<sup>d</sup>30 *ša* URU.*né-med—la-gu-du*
  12. <sup>d</sup>DUMU.MÍ—ERI.DÙG <sup>d</sup>U.GUR
  13. <sup>d</sup>MAR.TU <sup>d</sup>LUGAL.BÀN.DA
  14. PAB 6 DINGIR.MEŠ *an-nu-tu*
  15. *ina* ŠÀ-*bi* 1-*en É kam-mu-su*
  16. UN.MEŠ *šá ina* ŠÀ-*bi iq-tè-bu-ni*
  17. *ma-a* DINGIR.MEŠ *an-nu-tu*
  18. *ma-a* TA\* AD-šú *ša* LUGAL
  19. TA\* ŠÀ-*bi* URU.1-*tú it-tal-ku-u-ni*
  20. *ma-a* AD-šú *ša* LUGAL *iq-tè-bi*
  21. *ma-a* TA\* <sup>d</sup>EN<sup>17</sup> *a-na* URU.KÁ.DINGIR.KI
  - e22. *a-šap-par-šú-nu*
  23. *me-me-ni ina* IGI LUGAL
  24. *la iq-bi ak-kan-ni*
  25. [T]A <sup>d</sup>EN *it-tal-ku-u-mu*
- reverse
1. *ú-ma-a šum-mu* LUGAL *be-lí*
  2. *i-qa-bi* LÚ.A—KIN *ša* LUGAL
  3. *li-il-lik* DINGIR.MEŠ *an-nu-tu*
  4. *lu-bil-u-ni* KASKAL.2 *ina* GÌR.2.MEŠ-šú-*nu*
  5. *liš-ku-nu i-na mi-i-ni*
  6. *an-na-a[k-k]a-a lu kam-mu-su*
  7. *ina* U[GU *ša*] *a-mur-ú-ni*
  8. *a-n[a* LUGAL EN]-*ia as-sa-par*

When the king, my lord sent me to the land of the Chief Cupbearer, he gave fields to his servants. Inside the city, I went up to that temple. Marat-Sin of Eridu, Marat-Sin of Nemed-Lagudu, Marat-Eridu, Nergal, Amurru, Lugalbanda, all six of these gods were placed inside one temple. The people who were inside said to me: ‘These gods came from Issete with the king’s father. The king’s father said: ‘I will send them with Bel to Babylon.’ No one has spoken to the king here. They came here with Bel. Now if the king, my lord, commands, let a royal messenger go, and let them carry these gods; let them be on their way. For why should they be placed here? Concerning that which I saw, I have written to the king.

ESR 5; letter of an unknown person to a king describing the movements of the gods of Der; SAA 18 no 18: 20-21.

1. 'a'-[na LUGAL EN-ia']
2. AR[AD-ka<sup>m</sup>x x x]
3. lu-[u DI-mu]
4. a-[na LUGAL EN-ia']
5. D[I-mu a-na EN.NUN]
6. šá [É—DINGIR.MEŠ<sup>?</sup>]
7. šá [LUGAL EN-ia']
8. <sup>d</sup>x[x x x x]
9. a-'na' [LUGAL EN-ia']
10. lik-ru-b[u]
- e.11. DINGIR.MEŠ [0]
12. šá URU.de-r[i]
13. <sup>d</sup>na-na-[a]

reverse

1. <sup>d</sup>gu-l[a]
2. <sup>d</sup>DUMU—'É'
3. <sup>d</sup>DUMU.MÍ—'É'
4. šá ul-tú URU.ĤAL.[ŠU]
5. it-ti <sup>d</sup>[x x]
6. a-na URU.[x x]
7. il-li[k-ku]
8. ina URU.KÁ.DIN[GIR.RA.KI]
9. LUGAL [EN-a]
10. lu-u 'i'<sup>1</sup>-[di]

To the king, my lord: your servant N wishes good health to the king, my lord. The watch of the temples of the king, my lord, goes well. May the god DN praise the king, my lord. The gods of Der, Nanaya, Gula, Mar-bitu and Marat-bitu, who came from the fort with the god DN to the city GN, are now in Babylon. The king, my lord, should indeed know.

ESR 6; Borger. *Asarh.* §53, AsBbA: 80; one of texts used both in Assur and Babylon.

Obverse

Epithets of Esarhaddon:

36. ... *ša-lam ilâni<sup>meš</sup> rabûti<sup>meš</sup> ba-nu-u bît Aššur e-piš É-sag-íl u Bâbil<sup>ki</sup>*

37. *ša [ilâni]<sup>meš</sup> mâtâti(KUR.KUR) šal-lu-u-ti a-na áš-ri-šú-nu ú-tir-ru-ma ú-šar-mu-u pa-rak da-ra-a-ti*

The statues of the great gods who were made in Esagil and Babylon were renewed in the temple of Aššur. Those gods of the lands who had been deported, he returned to their places. He made them take up residence in their shrines for eternity.

ESR 7; inscription found on numerous barrel cylinders from Nippur; describes renovation of Ebaradurgara (“House, Dias of the Throne”) temple for the goddess “Queen-of-Nippur” (<sup>d</sup>un.gal nibru.ki); RIMB 2, B.6.31.11: 176.

9. LUGAL *šá i-na* UD.MEŠ BALA-šú EN GAL-ú <sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU *ana*  
TIN.TIR.KI *sa-li-mu ir-šu-ú ina é-sag-il É.GAL-šú ir-mu-ú šu-[bat]-su*  
10. <sup>d</sup>a-num GAL-ú *ana* URU-šú BÀD.AN.KI *u É-šú é-dim-gal-kalam-ma ú-še-ri-*  
*bu-ma ú-še-ši-bu pa-rak da-ra-a-ti*  
11. DINGIR.MEŠ KUR.KUR *šal-lu-tu šu-kut-ta-šú-nu ud-di-šu ul-tu qé-reb* KUR  
*aš-šur.KI a-na áš-ri-šú-nu ú-tir-šú-nu-ti-ma ú-ki-nu is-qu-uš-šú-un*

The king, who in the days of his reign, the great lord Marduk showed mercy to Babylon (and) returned to his seat, his palace, Esagila; who made Ištaran return to his city Der and his temple Edimgalkalama and made him sit upon his eternal dais; the one who renewed the adornments of the captive gods of the lands; he returned them from the heart of Assyria to their places and re-established their share of income.



ESR 8; Akkadian inscription found on four cylinder fragments recording the restoration of the Ekur temple at Nippur; RIMB 2, B.6.31.12: 178-179.

17. [... T]IN.TIR.KI *sa-li-mu ir-šu-ú*
18. [...] *ir-mu-ú šu-bat-su*
19. [... É]-šú *é-dim-gal-kalam-ma ú-še-rib-ú-ma*
20. [...] *da-ra-a-ti*
21. [... *ud-diš-m*]a *ul-tu qé-reb KUR aš-šur.KI*
22. [... ú ]-*kin`-nu is-qu-uš-šú-un*

...he showed mercy to Babylon; ... he returned to his seat; ... he made return to his temple Edimgalkalama; ... eternal; ...he renewed; from the middle of Assyria ...; he established their share of income.

ESR 9; inscription on several clay cylinders describing the restoration of the Eanna temple at Uruk for Ištar; RIMB 2, B.6.31.15: 183.

18. LUGAL *šá ina u<sub>4</sub>-me BALA-šú EN GAL-ú<sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU a-na TIN.TIR.KI sa-li-mu ir-šu-ú*
19. *ina é-sag-il É.GAL-šú ir-mu-ú šu-bat-su*
20. <sup>d</sup>*a-num GAL-ú ana URU-šú BÀD.AN.KI ù É-šú é-dim-gal-kalam-ma ú-še-ri-bu-ma*
21. *ú-še-ši-bu pa-rak-ka da-ra-a-ti*
22. DINGIR.MEŠ KUR.KUR *šá a-na KUR aš-šur.KI i-ḫi-šu-ni šu-kut-ta-šú-nu ud-diš-ma ul-tu qé-reb KUR aš-šur.KI*
23. *ana áš-ri-šú-nu ú-tir-šú-nu-ti-ma ú-kin is-qu-uš-šú-un*

The king, who in the days of his reign, the great lord Marduk showed mercy to Babylon (and) returned to his seat, his palace Esagila; who made Ištaran return to his city Der and his temple Edimgalkalama and made him sit on an eternal dais; who renewed the adornment of the gods of the lands, who had moved quickly to Assyria, he returned them to their places from the heart of Assyria and established their share of income.

ESR 10a; in the first year of Esarhaddon; MC no 16: 200; ABC no 1: 82.

Column III

44. *ina* <sup>iti</sup>KIN <sup>d</sup>KA.DI *u* DINGIR<sup>meš</sup> [šá BÀD.AN<sup>ki</sup> TA ...]

45. *ana* BÀD.AN<sup>ki</sup> GIN<sup>meš</sup> ... [...]

46. *ana* BÀD.LUGAL.GIN GIN<sup>meš</sup> [...]

In Elul, Ištaran and the gods [of Der] went [from ...] to Der. ... went to Dur-Šarrukin [...].

ESR 10b; the seventh year of Esarhaddon; MC no 16: 200; ABC no 1: 84.

Column IV

17. *ina* <sup>iti</sup>ŠE <sup>d</sup>INANNA *A-kà-dè* <sup>ki</sup> *u* DINGIR<sup>meš</sup> *šá* *A-kà-dè* <sup>ki</sup>

18. TA <sup>kur</sup>ELAM GIN<sup>meš</sup>-*nim-ma* *ina* <sup>iti</sup>ŠE U<sub>4</sub> 10.KÁM *ana* *A-kà-dè* <sup>ki</sup> KU<sub>4</sub><sup>meš</sup>

In Adar, Ištar of Akkade and the gods of Akkade went from Elam; they entered Akkade on the tenth day of Adar.

ESR 10c; tenth year of Esarhaddon; variant text C, MC no 16, note 18: 260.

Column IV

- 1' [3-šú d]i-ik-tu<sub>4</sub> šá Mi-šir di-kát  
2' [šal-lat]-su šal-lat DINGIR<sup>meš</sup> i-tab-ku  
3' [U<sub>4</sub> 2]2.KÁM Me-em-pi URU LUGAL<sup>tu</sup>  
4' [ša-bi]t LUGAL-šú ul-te-zib  
5' [DUMU<sup>m</sup>]<sup>eš</sup> ŠEŠ-šú ina ŠU<sub>ii</sub> ša-ab-tu  
6' [šal-lat]-su šal-lat UN<sup>meš</sup> ḥab-tu NÌ.ŠU-šú  
7' [iš]-tal-lu-ni

Three times Egypt was defeated. It was plundered. The gods were sent away. On the twenty-second day, Memphis, the royal city, was seized and abandoned by its king. His children and brother were captured. Its plunder was taken as booty, the people were robbed, its property taken as booty.

ESR 11a; Esarhaddon Chronicle; history of the reign of Esarhaddon and accession of Šamaš-šuma-ukin; MC no 18: 208; ABC no 14:125.

Chr-Esar 1; accession year of Esarhaddon; MC p 208-9

6. *ina* <sup>iti</sup>KIN AN GAL *u* DINGIR<sup>me</sup> *ša* BÀD.[AN<sup>ki</sup> KU<sub>4</sub><sup>meš</sup>]

7. <sup>d</sup>Ḫum-ḫum-ia *u* <sup>d</sup>Ši-ma-li-[ia *ina* ZIMBIR<sup>ki</sup> KU<sub>4</sub><sup>meš</sup>]

In Elul, Ištaran and the gods of Der entered [Der]. Ḫumḫumia and Šimalia entered Sippar.

ESR 11b; Seventh year of Esarhaddon; MC no 18: 208-9; ABC no 14: 126.

24. MU.BI <sup>d</sup>INANNA A-kà-dè<sup>ki</sup> u DINGIR<sup>meš</sup> ša A-kà-dè<sup>ki</sup> TA <sup>k</sup>[<sup>ur</sup>ELAM.MA<sup>k</sup>]i  
GIN<sup>meš</sup>

25. ina <sup>iti</sup>ŠE U<sub>4</sub> 10.KÁM a-na A-kà-dè<sup>ki</sup> [KU<sub>4</sub><sup>meš</sup>]

That year, Ištar of Akkade and the gods of Akkade came from Elam. On the tenth day of Adar they entered Akkade.

ABP 1a; Rassam Cylinder; Borger, BIWA: 49 (line numbers follow A).

Column V

List of towns attacked on return march (Gatudu, Gatuduma, Daeba, Nadi', Dur-Amnani, Dur-Amnanim, Ḫamanu, Taraqu, Ḫaililsu, Bit-kunukku-bit-su, Bît-Arrabi, Imbî, Madaktu, Susa, Bubê, Temen-Marduk-šarrâni, Urdalika, Alfariga, Tûbu, Tîl-Tûbu, Dun-šarri, Dûr-Undasi, Dûr-Undasima, Bubilu, Samûna, Bunaku, Qabrina, Qabrinama, and Ḫara')

59. DINGIR.MEŠ-šú-nu UN.MEŠ-šú-nu GU<sub>4</sub>.MEŠ-šú-nu *še-e-ni-šú-nu*

60. NÍG.ŠU.MEŠ-šú-nu NÍG.GA.MEŠ-šú-nu

61. <sup>giš</sup>*šu-um-bi* ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ <sup>anše</sup>KUNGA.MEŠ

62. <sup>giš</sup>*til-le ú-nu-ut* MÉ *aš-lu-la a-na* KUR AN.ŠÁR<sup>ki</sup>

... their gods, their people, their sheep, their valuables, their property, wagons, horses, donkeys, military equipment, battle gear I took as booty to Assyria.



ABP 1b; Rassam Cylinder; against Elam; Borger, BIWA: 51-52.

Column V

115. 20(NIŠ)ÀM URU.MEŠ *ina na-ge-e ša* <sup>uru</sup>*ḥu-un-nir*  
116. *ina* UGU *mì-iš-ri šá'* <sup>uru</sup>*ḥi-da-lu ak-šu-ud*  
117. <sup>uru</sup>*ba-ši-mu ù* URU.MEŠ *šá li-me-ti-šú ap-pul aq-qur*  
118. *ša* UN.MEŠ *a-šib ŠÀ-bi-šú-un ka-mar-šú-nu áš-kun*  
119. *ú-šab-bir* DINGIR.MEŠ-šú-un  
120. *ú-šap-ši-iḥ ka-bat-ti* EN EN.EN  
121. DINGIR.MEŠ-šú <sup>d</sup>XV.MEŠ NÍG.ŠU-šú NÍG.GA-šú  
122. UN.MEŠ TUR *u* GAL *áš-lu-la a-na* KUR AN.ŠÁR<sup>ki</sup>

I conquered twenty cities from the border of Ḥunnir to beyond the border of Ḥidalu. I demolished and razed Bašimu and the cities of its neighbouring areas. I caused the people dwelling therein to be heaped up. I smashed their gods. I soothed the spirit of the lord of lords. Its gods, its goddesses, its valuables, its property, its people great and small I took as booty to Assyria.

ABP 1c; Rassam Cylinder; against Elam; Borger, BIWA: 53-54.

Column VI

27. *ziq-qur-rat* <sup>uru</sup>{*šu-šá*}-*an*
28. *ša ina a-gúr'-ri* <sup>na<sub>4</sub></sup>ZA.GÌN *šu-pu-šat ub-bit*
29. *ú-kap-pi-ra* SI.MEŠ-šá *ša pi-tiq URUDU nam-ri*
30. <sup>d</sup>*šušinak*(MÜŠ.ŠÉŠ) DINGIR *pi-riš-ti-šú-un*
31. *ša áš-bu ina pu-uz-ra-a-te*
32. *ša mam-ma-an la im-ma-ru ep-šet* DINGIR-*u-ti-šú*
33. <sup>d</sup>*šu-mu-du* <sup>d</sup>*la-ga-ma-ru*
34. <sup>d</sup>*pa-ar-ti-ki-ra* {<sup>d</sup>}*am-man-ka-si-maš/bar*
35. <sup>d</sup>*ú-du-ra-an* <sup>d</sup>*sa-pa-ag/k*
36. *ša* LUGAL.MEŠ KUR ELAM.MA<sup>ki</sup>
37. *ip-tal-la-ḥu* DINGIR-*us-su-un*
38. <sup>d</sup>*ra-gi-ba* <sup>d</sup>*su-un-GAM(gúr?)*-*sa-ra-a*
39. <sup>d</sup>*ka-ar-sa* <sup>d</sup>*ki-ir-sa-ma-as*
40. <sup>d</sup>*šu-da-nu* <sup>d</sup>*a-a-pa-ag/k-si-na*
41. <sup>d</sup>*bi-la-la* <sup>d</sup>*pa-ni-in-tim-ri*
42. <sup>d</sup>*si-la-ga-ra-a* <sup>d</sup>*na-ab/p-sa-a*
43. <sup>d</sup>*na-bir-tu* <sup>d</sup>*ki-in-da-kar-b/pu*
44. DINGIR.MEŠ <sup>d</sup>XV.MEŠ *šá-a-tu-nu*
45. *it-ti šu-kut-ti-šú-nu* NÍG.GA.MEŠ-*šu-nu ú-nu-ti-šú-nu*
46. *a-di* <sup>lú</sup>*šá-an-ge-e* <sup>lú</sup>*b/pu-uḥ-la-le-e*
47. *áš-lu-la a-na* KUR AN.ŠÁR<sup>ki</sup>

I destroyed the *ziggurat* of Susa which was built with glazed bricks of lapis lazuli. I stripped its horns of shiny cast copper. Šušinak, the god of their protected knowledge, who dwells in hidden places, whom no one had seen the nature of his divinity, Šumudu, Lagamaru, Partikira, Amman-kasi-maš/bar, Uduvan, Sapag/k, whose divinity the kings of Elam feared, Ragiba, SunGAMsara, Karsa, Kirsamas, Šudanu, Apag/k-sina, Bilala, Panintimri, Silagara, Nab/psa, Nabirtu, Kindakarb/pu, those gods and goddesses with their adornments, their property, their household items together with the *šangu* priests and *buhlalu* priests I took as booty to Assyria.

ABP 1d; Rassam Cylinder; Borger, BIWA: 55.

Column VI

58. *ad-ka-a* <sup>d</sup>ALAD.MEŠ <sup>d</sup>LAMMA.MEŠ  
59. EN.NUN.MEŠ *šu-ut* É.KUR *ma-la ba-šú*<sup>1</sup>  
60. *ú-na-as-si-ḥa* AM.MEŠ *na-ad-ru-u-ti*  
61. *si-mat* KÁ.MEŠ-*ni*  
62. *eš-re-e-ti* KUR ELAM.MA<sup>ki</sup>  
63. *a-di la ba-še-e ú-šal-pit*  
64. DINGIR.MEŠ-*šu* <sup>d</sup>XV.MEŠ *am-na-a a-na za-qí-qí*

I removed all the bull colossi and guardians from the temple. I deported the raging wild oxen, the ornaments of the gates. I desecrated the sanctuaries of Elam to non-existence; I counted its gods and goddesses as powerless ghosts.

ABP 1e; Rassam Cylinder; Borger, BIWA: 57-8.

Column VI

107. <sup>d</sup>na-na-a šá 1(DIŠ) LIM 6(ÀŠ) ME 30(ÙŠU).ÀM 5(IÁ) MU.AN.NA.MEŠ  
108. ta-as-bu-šú tal-li-ku tu-ši-bu  
109. qé-reb KUR ELAM.MA<sup>ki</sup> a-šar<sup>l</sup> la si-ma-te-e-šá  
110. ù ina UD-me-šu-ma ši-i ù DINGIR.MEŠ AD.MEŠ-ša  
111. tab-bu-u šú-mì a-na be-lut KUR.KUR  
112. ta-a-a-rat DINGIR-ti-šá tu-šad-gi-la pa-nu-u-a  
113. um-ma <sup>m</sup>AN.ŠÁR.DU.A ul-tú qé-reb KUR ELAM.MA<sup>ki</sup>  
114. lem-né-ti ú-še-ša-an-ni-ma  
115. ú-še-rab-an-ni qé-reb é-an-na  
116. a-mat qí-bit DINGIR-ti-šú-un  
117. ša ul-tú UD.MEŠ SUD.MEŠ iq-bu-u  
118. e-nen-na ú-kal-li-mu UN.MEŠ EGIR.MEŠ  
119. ŠU.MIN DINGIR-ti-šá GAL-ti at-mu-uḫ  
120. ḫar-ra-nu i-šer-tú šá ul-lu-uṣ ŠÀ-bi  
121. ta-aṣ-ba-ta a-na é-an-na  
122. ina <sup>iti</sup>GAN UD.1.KÁM ina qé-reb UNUG<sup>ki</sup> ú-še-rib-ši-ma  
123. ina é-ḫi-li-an-na šá ta-ram-mu

Nanaya was angry for 1,635 years; she went and dwelt in the middle of Elam, a place not suitable for her. And when she and the gods, her fathers, raised my name to ruler of the lands she entrusted to me the return of her divinity. She said, ‘Aššurbanipal, make me go out from wicked Elam, make me go into the heart of the Eanna’. The spoken word of their divinities which from distant days they spoke, they now revealed to later peoples. I took hold of the hands of her great divinity and she took the regular road to the Eanna with a swollen heart. On the first day of Kislimu I made her enter Uruk, into the Eḫilanna, which she loves.

ABP 1f; Rassam Cylinder; Borger, BIWA: 65.

Column VIII

119. *ina*<sup>uru</sup> *a-z/ša-al-li lu iš-tu-u* A.MEŠ *neš-bé-e*
120. TA<sup>\*!</sup> ŠÀ-bi<sup>uru</sup> *a-z/ša-al-la*
121. *a-di*<sup>uru</sup> *qu-ra-ši-ti*
122. 6(ĀŠ) DANNA *qaq-qa-ru a-šar<sup>!</sup> šu-um-me*
123. *lap-lap-ti / kal-kal-ti ir-du-u il-li-ku*
124. <sup>lu</sup>*a'-lu šá<sup>d</sup> a-tar—sa-ma-a-a-in*
1. *ù<sup>lu</sup> qid-ra-a-a šá<sup>m</sup> ú-a-a-te-e'*
2. DUMU<sup>m</sup> *bir-d<sup>!</sup> IŠKUR XX<sup>!</sup> KUR a-ri-bi al-me*
3. DINGIR.MEŠ-šú AMA-šú NIN<sub>(9)</sub>.MEŠ<sup>!</sup>-šú DAM-su
4. *qin-nu-šú UN.MEŠ KUR qí-id-ri ka-la-mu*
5. ANŠE.MEŠ ANŠE.A.AB.BA.MEŠ *u še-e-ni*
6. *ma-la ina tukul-ti AN.ŠAR u<sup>d</sup> XV*
7. EN.MEŠ-ia *ik-šu-da ŠU.MIN-a-a*
8. *ḥar-ra-an KUR di-maš-qa ú-šá-aš-ki-na še-pu-uš-šú-un*

Since, in Az/šalli they drank to their satiety; they went from Az/šalli as far as Qurašiti. They continued for six *bēru* (double hours) through territories of parching thirst. I besieged the *a'lu* (confederation of tribes) of Atarsamain and the Qedarites of Uate', son of Bir-Adad, king of the Arabs. His gods, his mother, his sisters, his wife, his family, all the people of the land Qidri, donkeys, Arabian camels and sheep, all that my hands captured with the trust of Aššur and Ištar, my lords. I placed their feet on the road of the land Damašqa (Damascus).

ABP 1g; Rassam Cylinder; Borger, BIWA: 69.

Column IX

115. *ina ta-a-a-ar-ti-ia* <sup>uru</sup>ú-šú-u

116. *ša ina a-ḫi tam-tim na-da-ta šu-bat-su ak-šu-ud*

117. UN.MEŠ <sup>uru</sup>ú-šú-u šá a-na <sup>lu</sup>NAM.MEŠ-šú-nu la sa-an-qu

118. *la i-nam-di-nu man-da-at-tú*

119. *na-dan šat-ti-šú-un a-duk*

120. *ina ŠÀ* UN.MEŠ *la kan-šú-u šib/p-tu áš-kun*

121. DINGIR.MEŠ-šú-nu UN.MEŠ-šú-nu áš-lu-la a-na KUR AN-ŠÁR<sup>ki</sup>

On my return march I conquered Ušu, located on the shore of the sea. I killed the people of Ušu, who were not obedient to their governors and did not give tribute, their yearly gifts. I punished those people who would not submit to an overlord. I took their gods and their people as booty to Assyria.

ABP 2; Cylinder B; 9<sup>th</sup> (?) campaign; Borger, BIWA: 113.

Column VII

93. <sup>m</sup>ia-u-ta-a' DUMU <sup>m</sup>ha-az-a-DINGIR  
94. LUGAL KUR qa-ad-ri e-piš ARAD-ti-ia  
95. áš-šú DINGIR-MEŠ-šú (K30(+)) + šá AD ba-nu-u-a iš-lu-la<sup>1</sup>) im-ḥur-an-ni-ma  
96. ú-ṣal-la-a LUGAL-ú-ti  
97. MU(<sup>n</sup>īš) DINGIR-MEŠ GAL-MEŠ ú-ša-az-kír-šú-u-ma  
98. <sup>d</sup>a-tar-sa-ma-in ú-tir-ma a-din-šú

Iauta', son of Ḥazael, king of the land of Qidru, worker in my slavery, because my father, my creator, had taken his gods as booty he approached me and besought my majesty. I made him speak the names of the great gods and I returned and gave him Atarsamain.

ABP 3; K 1364 in CT XXXV, plate 48; author's transliteration.

Reverse

10. 14 URU.MEŠ *dan-nu-ti mu-šab* LUGAL-ti-šú-un *a-di* URU.MEŠ TUR.MEŠ  
*šá ni-ba la [išu] ...*

11. ù 12 *na-ge-e ša qé-reb* <sup>kur</sup>Elam.MA.KI *ka-li- šá ak-šu-ud ap-pul aq-[qur]*  
*[aqmu] ...*

12. DINGIR.MEŠ-šú-un DINGIR.XV.MEŠ-šú-un NIG.ŠU.MEŠ NIG.GA.MEŠ  
UN.MEŠ GÌŠ MUNUS ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ ...

13. ANŠE.MEŠ GU<sub>4</sub>.MEŠ *u še-e-ni šá e-li* BURU<sub>5</sub>.ĪI.A *ma-'a-du [ašša/ubla]*

Fourteen strong cities, the seat of their kingship, together with numerous small cities and twelve districts within the whole land of Elam I conquered, I demolished, I razed [I burned]. Their gods, their goddesses, valuables, property, men, women, horses, ..., donkeys, oxen and flocks which were numerous as locusts [I carried off].



ABP 4; K 2631 + K2653 + K2855; Borger, BIWA: Die Nergal-Laš-Inchrift: 84, following Borger's line numbers.

55. UGU KUR ELAM.MA<sup>ki</sup> *da-um-ma-tum ik-ṣu-ru* IG<sup>?</sup>-[  
56. *ú-šá-tir-ma* UGU *šá maḥ-ri a-bu-ba-niš as-pu-un* IZ[I<sup>?</sup>  
57. *ina li-mi-it* UD-mi-im-ma <sup>uru</sup>*šu-šá-an aṣ-bat* <sup>d</sup>MÜŠ.ERE[N (names of a few  
Elamite gods)  
58. DINGIR.MEŠ KUR ELAM.MA<sup>ki</sup> *ù* <sup>d</sup>XV.MEŠ-šá-šú *ú-še-ṣa-am-ma šal-la-ti-iš*  
*am-n[u*?

A darkness gathered over the land of Elam. ... I caused it to return more than it had been before. I devastated it like the flood. Fire ... Within one day I seized Susa. Šušinak, the gods of the land Elam and its goddesses I made go out and I counted them as booty.

ABP 5; letter from people of Larak requesting the return of their gods; SAA 18 no 77: 59.

Reverse

5' ... LUGAL EN-*a* *i-di* 'ki-i'

6' ARAD.MEŠ-*ka* LÚ.UD.UD.KI.MEŠ

7' *it-ti* LUGAL *ki-i-ni* DINGIR.MEŠ-*ni* ((*ni*))

8' *ina* EN.LÍL.KI LUGAL *a-lak-šú-nu*

9' 'x x x x x x x'-[*n*]*a*?

rest broken away

The king, my lord, knows that your servants, the Larakians, are loyal to the king. Our gods are in Nippur. [May] the king ... their coming ...

ABP 6; K 3050 + K 2694; Streck, *Assurbanipal*, II: 262.

Column II

29. *ḥu-su-us bāb-īl<sup>ki</sup> šá ina ug-gat libbi<sup>bi</sup>-ka ta-bu-tu-šu at-ta*  
30. *a-na e-sag-gil ēkal bêlu-ti-ka ki-šad-ka tir-ra su-uḥ-ḥi-ra pa-[an-ka]*  
31. *ma-ši ala-ka te-e-zib a-šar la si-ma-te-ka ra-ma-ta šub-tú*  
32. *at-ta-ma (?) <sup>d</sup>ellil ilâni<sup>meš</sup> <sup>d</sup>marduk qí-bi a-lak šú-an-na*  
33. *ina pi-i-ka [el?]-li ša la šú-u[n-nu-u liš]-ša-kin e-rib e-sag-[gil]*

To Marduk: Remember Babylon, which in the rage of your heart you ran away from! Turn back you neck, body, and face to Esagila, the palace of your lordship! It is enough that you abandoned (your city). Your beloved seat is not in a place not suitable for you. Enlil of the gods, Marduk, command the going to Šuanna! In your pure word, which does not change, establish the entrance of Esagila!

ABP 7; Clay cylinders recording the restoration of Nēmet-Enlil (outer wall of Babylon) and its gates; composed before rebellion of Šamaš-šuma-ukīn; RIMB 2, B.6.32.1: 198.

10. *ina* BALA-*e-a* EN GAL <sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU *ina* ri-šá-*a-ti a-na* TIN.TIR.KI *i-ru-um-ma*

11. *ina* é-sag-íl šá da-ra-*a-ti šu-bat-su ir-me sat-tuk-ki* é-sag-íl

12. ù DINGIR.MEŠ TIN.TIR.KI *ú-ki-in* ...

In my reign, the great lord Marduk entered Babylon in joy and took up residence in his eternal seat in Esagila. I re-established the regular offerings for Esagila and the gods of Babylon.

ABP 8; inscription found on one or two stone stelae commemorating the restoration of Ekarzagina (shrine of Ea within Esagila complex) at Babylon; dates to the first part of Aššurbanipal's reign; RIMB 2, B.6.32.2: 200-201.

36. ... EN [GAL]
37. <sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU šá ina BA[LA-e ]
38. LUGAL maḥ-[ri]
39. ina ma-ḥar AD ba-ni-[i-šú]
40. ú-ši-bu ina qé-[reb]
41. bal-til.KI ina u<sub>4</sub>-[me]
42. BALA-ia ina ri-šá-t[i]
43. a-na TIN.TIR.KI
44. i-ru-um-ma
45. sat-tu[k]-k[i]
46. é-s[a]g-íl
47. u DINGIR.M[EŠ] KÁ.DINGIR
48. ú-ki[n ...

The great lord Marduk, who in the reign of a former king had dwelt in the middle of Assur in the presence of the father, his creator, in the days of my reign entered Babylon in joy. I re-established the regular offerings of Esagila and the gods of Babylon.

ABP 9; inscription describing work on the platforms and daises of Esagila; composed before 652; RIMB 2, B.6.32.6: 207.

7. ... EN GAL <sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU
8. *šá* ina BALA-e LUGAL *maḥ-ri* ina *ma-ḥar* AD *ba-ni-i-šú*
9. *ú-ši-bu* ina *qé-reb* *bal-til*.KI ina *u-me* BALA-ia
10. *ina* *ri-šá-a-ti* *a-na* TIN.TIR.KI *i-ru-um-ma*
11. *sat-tuk-ki* *é-sag-il* u DINGIR.MEŠ TIN.TIR.KI *ú-kin*

The great lord Marduk, who in the reign of a former king had dwelt in Assur in the presence of the father, his creator, in the days of my reign entered Babylon in joy. I re-established the regular offerings for Esagila and the gods of Babylon.

ABP 10; inscription on several clay cylinders describing the restoration of the Ebabbar, temple of Šamaš in Sippar; composed prior to 652; RIMB 2, B.6.32.12: 214.

8. ... *ina* BALA-*e-a* EN GAL <sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU *ina* ri-šá-a-t[i]
9. a-na TIN.'TIR'.KI *i-ru-um-ma* *ina* é-sag-il šá da-ra-ti šu-bat-su ir-me
10. sat-<sup>r</sup>tuk'-ki é-sag-il u DINGIR.MEŠ TIN.TIR.KI *ú-kin* ...

In my reign the great lord Marduk entered Babylon in joy. He took up residence in his eternal seat in Esagila. I re-established the regular offerings for Esagila and the gods of Babylon.

ABP 11; stone stela recording the restoration of Ezida, temple of Nabû at Borsippa; depiction of king on front personally helping with the restoration; similar picture on B.6.32.2; also similar to a stela of Šamaš-šuma-ukīn found in same room; composed before 652; RIMB 2, B.6.32.14: 218.

23. ... EN GAL <sup>d</sup>AMAR.U[TU]
24. *šá ina BALA-e LUGAL maḥ-ri ina ma-ḥar*
25. *AD ba-ni-i-šú ú-ši-bu ina qé-reb*
26. [*b*]al-til.KI ina u<sub>4</sub>-me BALA-e-a ina ri-šá-a-[*ti/te*]
27. *ʿa*-na TIN.TIR.KI *i-ru-um-ma sat-tuk-k[i]*
28. *é-sag-il u DINGIR.MEŠ TIN.TIR.KI ú-kin*

The great lord Marduk, who in the reign of a former king had dwelt in Assur in the presence of the father, his creator, in the days of my reign entered Babylon in joy. I re-established the regular offerings for Esagila and the gods of Babylon.



ABP 12; a few clay cylinders bearing an inscription detailing the restoration of the Eanna temple at Uruk for Ištar-of-Uruk; composed before 652; RIMB 2, B.6.32.19: 226.

16. ... *ina* BALA-*e-a* EN GAL <sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU

17. *ina ri-šá-a-ti a-na* TIN.TIR.KI <sup>r</sup>i<sup>r</sup>[*u-um-ma*] *sat-tuk-ku é-sag-íl u*

DINGIR.MEŠ TIN.TIR.KI *ú-kin*

In my reign the great lord Marduk entered Babylon in joy. I re-established the regular offerings for Esagila and the gods of Babylon.

ABP 13; Esarhaddon Chronicle; statement of how long Marduk had resided in Assur; on tablet after the end of chronicle of Esarhaddon's reign; MC no 18: 208; ABC no 14: 127.

34. 8 MU<sup>meš</sup> md30.ŠEŠ<sup>meš</sup>-eri<sub>4</sub>-ba 12 MU<sup>meš</sup> mAN.ŠÁR.ŠEŠ.SUM<sup>na</sup>  
35. 20 MU<sup>meš</sup> dEN [ina B]AL.TIL<sup>ki</sup> a-šib-ma i-sin-nu a-ki-tú ba-ṭi-il  
36. dNÀ TA Bár-sipa<sup>ki</sup> a-na È<sup>e</sup> dEN u-ul GIN<sup>ku</sup>

Eight years of Sennacherib, 12 years of Esarhaddon, 20 years, Bel dwelled in Assur and the *akitu* festival was interrupted. Nabu did not go from Borsippa to the temple of Bel.

## APPENDIX D: THE BABYLONIAN AND NEO-BABYLONIAN EMPIRES

NBZI 1; partially preserved Neo-Assyrian copy of a historical literary text describing how Marduk told Nebuchadnezzar to take him back to Babylon from Elam; RIMB 2, B.2.4.5: 18.

Obverse

Nebuchadnezzar's address to Marduk:

5. *a-ḥu-lap at-tu'-ú-a šu-ta-nu-ḥu ù ú-tu-l[u(?)]*
6. *a-ḥu-lap i-na KUR-ia šá ba-ke-e ù sa-pa-a-d[u]*
7. *'a'-ḥu-lap i-na UN.MEŠ-ia šá nu-um-bé-e ù ba-ke-'e'*
8. *[a]-di ma-ti EN TIN.TIR.KI ina KUR na-ki-ri áš-ba-a-ti*
9. *[li]b(?)'-bal-'kit' i-na lib-bi-ka TIN.TIR.KI ba-nu-um-ma*
10. *[a-n]a 'é'-[s]ag-il šá ta-ram-mu šu-us-ḥi-ra pa-ni-ka*
11. *[suppé(?)]<sup>d</sup>AG-NÍG.DU-ÜRURU EN KÁ.DINGIR.RA.KI iš-mé-e-ma*
12. *[X X X u]l-tu an-e in-da-naq-qu-ta-áš-ši*
13. *[X X X (X) i(?)]-na pi-i 'aq'-bak-ka a-na-ku*
14. *[X X X X ] X šá du-un-'qa' al-ta-tap-pa-rak-ka*
15. *[X X X X X (X)]-'ia te(?)'-ba-a-ṭa a-na KUR MAR.TU.KI*
16. *[... ši(?)]-kìn ṭè-mì-ka ši-me*
17. *[X X X X (X) ELA]M.'MA'.KI a-na KÁ.DINGIR.RA.[K]I li-qa-an-nu*
18. *[X X X bēl(?)] KÁ.D]INGIR.RA.KI ELAM.MA.KI [l]ud-din-ak-ka*

‘Woe as for me dejected and lying down! Woe in my land which sheds tears and mourns! Woe for my people who call out and shed tears! How long, lord of Babylon, will you dwell in the land of the enemy? May beautiful Babylon cross over in your heart!<sup>373</sup> Turn your face to Esagila, which you love!’ The lord of Babylon listened to the supplications of Nebuchadnezzar and from heaven constantly comes down to him. ‘...by my mouth I spoke to you myself. ... of good luck I have sent to you. ... my ... attack the land Amurru. Listen to this appointed task! ... Take me [from] Elam to Babylon. Let me, lord of Babylon, give Elam to you!’

<sup>373</sup> Or ‘May the building of Babylon cross over in your heart!’.

NBZI 2; partially preserved historical-literary text describing a campaign to Elam; purports to be sent back to Babylon from a victorious king in Elam, so assigned to Nebuchadnezzar I since similar to his Elam campaigns; RIMB 2, B.2.4.7: 23.

Obverse

23. *ur-ri-iḫ-ma* X [...] <sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU *qar-rad* DINGIR.MEŠ *šá-qa-a a-ta-mar*  
24. *ù* DINGIR.MEŠ *šá* KUR X [...] *-ma iq-bu-ú it-tan-ma-ru it-ti-šú*  
25. *áš-ši-ma šur-ru* (X) [...] *pal(?)]-ḫa-ku ú-šá-áš-<sup>r</sup>mi<sup>r</sup>-ra bi-ki-ti*  
26. *qa-at* EN GA[L-*i* (*marduk*) *ašbatma ú-š ]á-aš-bi-tu ú-ru-uḫ* KUR-šú

I hastened and [...] I saw the god Marduk, eminent hero of the gods. And the gods of the land [...] *who*] had ordered [...], were seen with him. I raised my heart [...] I was in awe of you. I became spirited with weeping. I seized the hand of the great lord Marduk and caused him to start to hasten toward his land.

NBZI 3a; partially preserved inscription from the first tablet of a historical-literary text; bilingual and tells how Marduk had become angry with Babylonia in the past and the destruction of it by the Elamites; RIMB 2, B.2.4.8, p 26.

17. en-e lipiš-bi na-an-bal-la [šà]-dib-ba in-[...]  
*be-lu<sub>4</sub> i-gug-ma ki-mil-ta ir-ši*
18. kur-ra al-mu-un-da-ab-bé dingir-re-e-ne m[u-un-š]ub-ba al-bal šu sag-gá-na  
 níg-lul-la ab-zi-zi-e-a  
*iq-bi-<sup>ˀ</sup>ma ma-a<sup>ˀ</sup>-ta id-du-ši DINGIR.MEŠ-š[á] iš-ni t̄è-em UN.MEŠ-šá šu-ḥu-za  
 sur-ra-a-ti*
19. sag-é/líl X [X] X (X) ˀgú<sup>ˀ</sup>-šub-ba-meš ul-ḥé ˀši-in<sup>ˀ</sup>-[e<sub>11</sub> (...)] X <sup>d</sup>lamma níg-  
 si-sá ki-bar-ra al-gub-bu  
*ˀiz<sup>ˀ</sup>-nu-<sup>ˀ</sup>ú ra-bi<sup>ˀ</sup>-[šu] šul-me e-lu-<sup>ˀ</sup>u<sup>ˀ</sup> [ana šu-puk AN-e la-mas-si] mi-šá-ri it-ta-ziz  
 a-ḥi-ta*
20. <sup>d</sup>X [X zi-a]l-la-aš nam-lú-u<sub>18</sub>-lu ba-an-šub-ba dingir ma-ra-ab-tuku-a gú-sag-  
 KAL-ir si-ga  
*[<sup>d</sup>X] X na-šir nap-šá-a-ti ni-ši i-te-ez-ba ki-ma [la r]aš(?) DINGIR-ma e-ma-a  
 gim-rat-si-in*
21. udug-ḥul-didli šà-ba kalam-ma e-ra nam-tar sag nam-BAD-e-ne «ˀla<sup>ˀ</sup>» [ú]ru-  
 šu-peš<sub>6</sub> al-sun<sub>5</sub>-ne-eš  
*ú-tuk-[k]u lem-nu-ti im-lu-u qé-reb ma-a-ti nam-ta-ru la [p]a-du-u ma-ḥa-zi-iš i-  
 ter-bu*
22. ma-da ab-tur-ra-àm [m]a-al-gi-bi ši-in-kúr-ru-da  
*iš-ḥir-ma ma-a-tu<sub>4</sub> mi-lik-šá iš-ni*
23. níg-zi elam-ma.KI ḥé-ˀli<sup>ˀ</sup>-bi nu-mu-un-da-ab-kal-la [... m]è gír-íl-la-a-ni ši-in-  
 sar-re  
*še-e-nu e-la-mu-u la mu-šá-qir AN [... ta]-ḥa-za-šú ti-bu-šú iḥ-tam-tù*
24. úru-didli íb-ta-an-gi ir-ra-šè ba-an-si dingir-re-e-ne ši-in-bi-ra-ka zag líl-lá ba-  
 ni-in-ri  
*ú-šá-aḥ-rib da-ád-me na-mu-iš um-me [DINGIR.MEŠ iš-t]a-lal ú-nam-me eš-re-e-  
 ti*
25. <sup>d</sup>šà<sup>ˀ</sup>-zu lugal dingir-re-ˀe<sup>ˀ</sup>-[ne n]am tar-tar-e-dè [...] X ši-in-zi gi<sub>4</sub>-gi<sub>4</sub> ba-an-è  
<sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU šár-ri DINGIR.ˀMEŠ mu<sup>ˀ</sup>-šim ši-ma-a-t[i ...] X KUR.KUR i-ḥaṭ  
*gim-re-e-ti*

The lord (Marduk) became furious and angry with divine wrath. He commanded and the land was abandoned by her gods. Her people changed their minds; they were incited to lies. The gods who give protection were angry and went up to the foundation of heaven; the protective spirit of justice stood outside. The god ... who guards living creatures abandoned the people. They all became like those who do not have a god. Evil demons filled the land; relentless *namtaru*-demons entered the sanctuaries. The land became small; it changed its mind. The wicked Elamite who did not hold Anu in esteem, [...] his battle (and) his attack were quick. He laid waste to inhabited areas, turning them into desert. He took the gods as booty. He turned the sanctuaries into ruins. Marduk, king of the gods, determiner of destinies,<sup>374</sup> [...] the lands, investigated everything.

<sup>374</sup> The text says ‘decider of fates’ in the Sumerian.

NBZI 3b; part of same bilingual inscription as NBZI 3a; describes the return of the statue of Marduk from Elam; RIMB 2, B.2.4.9: 29-30.

9. [šà (X)] mu-un-gig-ga-mu šùd-dè kúš-ù-mu šu-íl-la-mu u<sub>4</sub>-šú-uš-e kir<sub>4</sub> šu mar-ra-ma sískur-ra-a-ni ù-gul-gá-gá šà-bi dagal-la arḥuš tuk-a gú-bi nigin šà-bi-ta uru kù-ga
10. [*ina u*]n-nen-ni-ia šum-ru-šu-ti ik-ri-bi-ia šu-nu-ḥu-ti ni-iš qa-ti-ia ù la-ban-ap-pi-ia šá u<sub>4</sub>-mi-šam a-bal-lu-uš ut-nen-nu-šú
11. [*su*]r-ru-uš šad-lim re-e-mu ir-ši-ma ki-šad-su ú-saḥ-ḥi-ra ana qé-reb URU KÙ.GA
12. [X (X)] šà-bi túm-ma-a-ra uru edin mu-un-DU-a-ni šà-bi-ta níg-ḥul elam-ma.KI-ke<sub>4</sub> kaskal a-li-ri ḥar-ra-an aslia<sub>4</sub> ḥé-en-da-še-še-ga šà šu-an-na-ta mu-un-dib
13. [X] šá ub-la lib-ba-šú a-lak URU EDIN ki i-ku-šam-ma iš-tu qé-reb lem-né-ti e-lam-ti ḥar-ra-an šu-lu-lu ú-ru-uḥ ri-šá-a-ti
14. [*t*]u-da-at taš-me-e ù ma-ga-ri iṣ-ba-ta ana qé-reb šu-an-na.KI

On my supplications, my distressed prayers, my weary prayers and expressions of humility which daily I supplicated, I prayed to him, his far reaching heart showed pity and he turned back his neck to the pure city. When he desired, he went from evil Elam, going by city and open country, he hastened along the road of jubilation, he took joyful paths, at the compliance and acceptance of my prayers, into Šuanna (Babylon).

NBZI 4; cylinder fragment preserving part of a bilingual historical-literary text that describes how the king of Babylonia was appointed by the sun-god and commanded to plunder Elam; name of the king is not preserved, but is assigned to Nebuchadnezzar I since similar inscriptions record events of his reign; RIMB 2, B.2.4.10: 32.

16. [...] šà gú elam-ma.KI-ke<sub>4</sub> [...] -eš  
DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ šá it-ti KUR ak-ka-di-i is-b[u(?)-su(?)] i-ru-ú a-na qé-  
reb ʾma(?)-a(?)-ti(?) e(?) ʾ-[lam-ti]

The great gods who had become angry with the land of Akkad, went to the land of Elam.

NKU 1a; stone stela describing the restoration of the temple of goddess Anat which had been desecrated by ‘the Assyrian’; RIMB 2, S.O.1002.10: 318.

15. ÉRIN.MEŠ LÚ *an-at-a-a a-šib* URU *a-na-at*
16. *la-pa-an* KUR *su-ḫi ib-bal-kit ú-ma*
17. ŠU-su-nu *a-na* LÚ *aš-šur.KI-a-a it-tan-nu*
18. ù LÚ *aš-šur.KI-a-a a-na* URU *an-at*
19. *ul-te-lu-ni* URU URU *an-at* ù DINGIR.MEŠ-šú
20. *ú-šal-pit TÚG SIG<sub>5</sub> an-at KÙ.GI ša-ri-ri*
21. NA<sub>4</sub>.MEŠ *ni-siq-tim* ù *mim-ma si-mat*
22. DINGIR-ti-šú *ú-šal-pit-ma* ù *a-na šá-a-ši*
23. *ú-še-šib-šú i-na pu-uz-ru ...*

The troops, men of Anat, who dwell in the city of Anat rebelled against the land of Suḫu. On this day, they exchanged their hands with the Assyrian and they made the Assyrian go up to the city of Anat. He desecrated the city of Anat and its gods. The fine garment of Anat, of *šariru*-gold, precious stones and all things suitable for her divinity he desecrated. And he caused her to dwell in a hidden place.



NKU 1b; stone stela describing the restoration of the temple of goddess Anat which had been desecrated by ‘the Assyrian’; RIMB 2, S.O.1002.10: 318.

23. ... *a-na-ku*
24. <sup>md</sup>*nin-urta-NÍG.DU-ÛRU LÚ.GAR KUR* ‘*su*’-*hi u KUR ma-ri*
25. *ÌR pa-liḫ DINGIR-ti-šu GAL-ti an-at ul-’tu*’
26. *pu-uz-ru ú-še-ša-am-ma TÚG SIG<sub>5</sub> ‘KÙ.GI*’
27. [*ša-r*]*i-ri* ‘*ù NA<sub>4</sub>*’.*MEŠ* ‘*ni-siq-tim*’ [*x*]-*x-’tú*’
28. [*x x x x ú*]-*šak-lil DINGIR-us-’su*’ *ù*
29. *i-na* [...] *ú-še-šib-šú*
30. *gi-na*-[*né-e* (x)] x [*x x* (x)]-*šú ki-i*
31. *pi-i* <sup>m</sup>*ḫa-am-mu-ra-pu LUGAL*
32. [*KÀ.KINGIR*].*RA.KI LUGAL maḫ(?)*-*ri-ia ú-kin*

I, Ninurta-kudurri-ušur, governor of the lands of Suḫu and Mari, reverent servant of the great divinity of Anat, caused her to go out from her hidden place. [...] fine garment, *šariru*-gold and precious stones. I completed her divinity again and caused her to reside in [...]. I re-established regular offerings [...] according to the command of Ḫammurapi, king of Babylon, a king who preceded me.

BIB 1; copy of an inscription granting privileges to the town of Ša-ušur-Adad by Bēl-ibni; RIMB 2, B.6.26.1: 158.

5' [ilānu šá URU/KUR]-šú i-gu-gu-ma šá-'a'-šú X [X (X)] X [X X]  
6' X X ra-'biš' ú-ma-'e-r[u-ni]m 'IŠ KU' X [X X] X  
7' BÁRA.MEŠ DINGIR.MEŠ-šú-nu iq-qur šá-a-šú-nu iḫ-bu-ut-'ma'  
DIN[GIR.MEŠ-ší-n]u ú-dáp-'pír'  
8' <sup>d</sup>nin-urta IBILA a-šá-re-du KIN-tú <sup>d</sup>ba-KUR 'GAŠAN' t[er(?)]-t[i(?)]  
9' 'ú'-šab-ri-šum-ma ú-šaḫ(\*)-sis lib-bu-uš-šú  
10' 'ina šil'-lat URU šá-pi-ia <sup>d</sup>ba-KUR i-mur-ru-ma  
11' 'ip'-laḫ ik-kud-ma sur-'qin'-nu ú-kin  
12' DINGIR.MEŠ šá <šá>-URU.ÛRU-<sup>d</sup>[IŠKU]R ḫab-tu-tu a-na <sup>d</sup>PA EN-šú ú-  
za[k]-'ki'

The gods of his city/country became furious and [...] him. ... They solemnly ordered him [...]. He razed the shrines of their (the Babylonians') gods, robbed them, removed their gods. Ninurta, foremost son, revealed to him the message of Ba-KUR, lady of messages, and caused him to remind his heart. During the plundering of the city Šapia they saw Ba-KUR. He was afraid, he was distressed. He established the offerings, the robbed gods of Ša-ušur-Adad he released to his lord Nabu.

ANŠ 1; Chronicle from the end of Aššur-nādin-šumi to revolt of Šamaš-šuma-ukīn; MC no 19: 210; ANB no 15: 128.

1. MU 6 AN.ŠÁR-*na-din*-MU <sup>iti</sup>ZÍZ U<sub>4</sub> 1 AN GAL TA BÀD.AN<sup>ki</sup> *ana* <sup>kur</sup>Aš-šur  
GIN

Year six of Aššur-nadin-šumi, on the first day of the month of Šebat, Ištaran went from Der to Assyria.

N-UŠB 1; MC no 16: 198; ABC no 1: 78-79; King of Elam puts Nergal-ušeziḫ on throne in Babylon then...

Column II-III

45. MU 1.KÁM <sup>ld</sup>U.GUR-ú-še-[zib] <sup>iti</sup>ŠU U<sub>4</sub> 16.KÁM  
46. <sup>d</sup>U.GUR-ú-še-zib Nib[ru]<sup>ki</sup> DIB<sup>bat</sup> SAR SAR IR IR<sup>lal</sup>  
47. <sup>iti</sup>DU<sub>6</sub> U<sub>4</sub> 1.KÁM ERÍN [<sup>kur</sup>Aš-šur ana UNU<sup>ki</sup> KU<sub>4</sub><sup>meš</sup>  
1. DINGIR<sup>meš</sup> ša UNU<sup>ki</sup> u UN<sup>meš</sup>-šú iḫ-tab-tu  
2. <sup>d</sup>U.GUR-ú-še-zib EGIR LÚ.ELAM GIN-ma DINGIR<sup>meš</sup> ša UNU<sup>ki</sup>  
3. u UN<sup>meš</sup>-šú i-te-[e]k-mu <sup>iti</sup>DU<sub>6</sub> U<sub>4</sub> 7.KÁM ina pi-ḫat NIBRU<sup>ki</sup>  
4. ṣal-tu<sub>4</sub> ana ŠÀ ERÍN <sup>kur</sup>Aš-šur DÙ<sup>uš</sup>-ma ina mè edin ṣa-bit-ma  
5. ana <sup>kur</sup>Aš-šur a-bi-ik ...

Year one of Nergal-ušeziḫ, on the sixteenth day of Dumuzi, Nergal-ušeziḫ seized Nippur, robbed it and plundered it. On the first day of Tešrit the Assyrian army entered Uruk. They robbed the gods of Uruk and its people. After the coming of the Elamites and the taking of the gods of Uruk and its people, on the seventh day of Tešrit, in the district of Nippur, Nergal-ušeziḫ fought to the heart of the Assyrian army. He was seized in the battle in the open country and sent away to Assyria.

NKB 1; Beginning of 8<sup>th</sup> year of no king in Babylon; MC no 16: 198; ABC no 1: 81.

Column III

28. MU 8.KÁM LUGAL *ina* TIN.TIR<sup>ki</sup> NU TUK <sup>iti</sup>ŠU U<sub>4</sub> 3.KÁM

29. DINGIR<sup>meš</sup> *ša* UNU<sup>ki</sup> TA [EL]AM<sup>ki</sup> *ana* UNU<sup>ki</sup> KU<sub>4</sub><sup>meš</sup>

Year eight of not having a king in Babylon, on the third day of the month Dumuzi, the gods of Uruk went from Elam into Uruk.

ŠŠU 1; clay cylinder found at Sippar with bilingual inscription describing renovation of city wall of Sippar; RIMB 2, B.6.33.1: 250.

14. lipiš bal-til.ki tin.tir.ki-ta zag-bi húl h́e-en-gá-gá  
*ul-tu qé-reb bal-<til>.KI a-na šu-bat ba-la-tu*
15. lugal dingir-e-ne <sup>d</sup>aasar-ri-ke<sub>4</sub>  
*it-ti-ia ha-diš lu-ú i'-i-ra LUGAL DINGIR.MEŠ <sup>d</sup>a-sa-ri*
16. umun gu-la ur-sag <sup>d</sup>asal-lú-ḫi  
*be-lum ra-bu-ú qar-ra-du <sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU*
17. é-sag-íl é-gal an-ki-a bára-a-ni  
*ina É.MIN É.GAL AN-e ù er-še-ti*
18. sikil-la zé-eb-bi-da-aš ḫu-mu-un-ni-in-ri  
*šu-bat-su el-le-ti ta-biš lu-ú ir-mi*

The king of the gods, Asari went with me joyfully from Baltil (Assur) to ‘the seat of life’.<sup>375</sup> The great lord, hero, Marduk,<sup>376</sup> took up his holy seat favourably in Esagila, the palace of heaven and the netherworld.

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<sup>375</sup> The Sumerian version has ‘Babylon’ for ‘the seat of life’.

<sup>376</sup> The Sumerian version has ‘Asalluḫi’ for ‘Marduk’. See Chapter Three for more information on the connection between these two gods.

ŠŠU 2; stone stela found in Ezida temple at Borsippa describing the restoration of the enclosure wall of that temple for Nabû; RIMB 2, B.6.33.3: 253.

5. [ša] ina BALA-šú <sup>d</sup>en-lil DINGIR.DINGIR <<sup>d</sup>>AMAR.UTU ARĪUŠ ir-šú-u
6. 'ina' ri-šá-a-tú a-na TIN.TIR.KI i-'ru'-um-ma
7. ina é-sag-íl šá da-rat šu-bat-su ir-'me(?)'
8. sat-tuk-ku é-sag-gil DINGIR.ME KUR.EME.GI<sub>7</sub> u 'URU.KI ú'-k[in(?)]

In whose reign the Enlil of the gods, Marduk, showed pity and went to Babylon in joy. He took up his seat in Esagila for eternity. I re-established the regular offerings (in) Esagila (for) the gods of Sumer and Akkad.

ŠŠU 3; two cylinders describing the renovation of storehouses belonging to the Ezida temple at Borsippa for Nabû; RIMB 2, B.6.33.4: 255.

15. *ša i-na [pale]-<sup>r</sup>šú <sup>d</sup>en-lil* DINGIR.DINGIR <sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU *sa-li-mu ir-šu-ú*

16. *i-na ri-šá-a-tú [a-na TI]N.TIR.KI i-ru-um-ma i-na é-sag-il šá da-rat šu-bat-su ir-me*

17. *sat-tuk-ki é-s[ag-í]l* DINGIR.DINGIR KUR.EME.GI<sub>7</sub> *ù URI.KI ú-kin-nu*

In whose reign the Enlil of the gods, Marduk asked for peace; he went to Babylon in joy and took up his seat in Esagila for eternity. I re-established the regular offerings (in) Esagila (for) the gods of Sumer and Akkad.



ŠŠU 4; inscription on cylinder fragment containing the epithets of Šamaš-šuma-ukīn;  
RIMB 2, B.6.33.6: 258.

1' [...] X [...]

2' [ina] ri-šá-a-ti a'-na 'KÁ.DINGIR'.[RA.KI *īrumma*]

3' [ina] é-sag-il ša da-ra-[ti *šubassu irme*]

4' [sat-tuk-k]i é-sag-il ù DINGIR.MEŠ KUR [*šumeri u akkadî ukinnu*]

He (Marduk) went in joy to Babylon; he took up his residence in Esagila for eternity. I established regular offerings (in) Esagila (for) the gods of Sumer and Akkad.

ŠŠU 5; Accession year of Šamaš-šuma-ukin; MC no 16: 202; ABC no 1: 86.

Column IV

34. MU SAG <sup>ld</sup>GIŠ.ŠIR.MU.GI.NA *ina* <sup>iti</sup>GU<sub>4</sub>

35. <sup>d</sup>EN *u* DINGIR<sup>meš</sup> *ša* <sup>kur</sup>URI<sup>ki</sup> *ul-tu* <sup>uru</sup>ŠÀ.URU

36. *ú-šu-nim-ma* *ina* <sup>iti</sup>GU<sub>4</sub> U<sub>4</sub> 1[4/24.KÁM] *ana* TIN.TIR<sup>ki</sup> KU<sub>4</sub><sup>meš</sup>-*ni*

In the accession year of Šamaš-šuma-ukin, the month of Iyyar, Bel and the gods of Akkad went out from Assur. On the fourteenth/twenty-fourth day of Iyyar they went to Babylon.

ŠŠU 6; Esarhaddon Chronicle; accession year of Šamaš-šuma-ukīn; return of gods to Babylon; MC no 18: 208, 210; ABC no 14: 127.

38. MU.SAG <sup>Id</sup>GIŠ.ŠIR.MU.G[I.N]A *ina* <sup>iti</sup>GU<sub>4</sub> <sup>d</sup>EN *u* DINGIR<sup>me</sup> š[a <sup>kur</sup>URI]<sup>ki</sup>  
39. TA BAL.TIL<sup>ki</sup> *ú-š[u-n]im-ma* <sup>iti</sup>GU<sub>4</sub> U<sub>4</sub> 25.KÁM *ana* TIN.TIR<sup>ki</sup> KU<sub>4</sub><sup>meš n</sup>u  
40. <sup>d</sup>NÀ *u* DINGIR<sup>meš</sup> ša Bār-sipa<sup>ki</sup> a-na TIN.TIR<sup>ki</sup> i[t-tal-ku-ni]

In Iyyar of the accession year of Šamaš-šuma-ukīn, Bel and the gods of Akkad went out from Baltil (Assur). On the twenty-fifth of Iyyar, they entered Babylon. Nabu and the gods of Borsippa went to Babylon.

ŠŠU 7; seventeenth year of Šamaš-šuma-ukin; MC no 19: 212; ABC no 15: 129.

7. MU 17 KIN 2.KÁM U<sub>4</sub> 9 <sup>d</sup>GIŠ.ŠIR.MU.GI.[NA ...]<sup>ki</sup> ÉRIN<sup>me</sup>-šú *id-ke-e-ma*
8. *ana* GÚ.DU<sub>8</sub>.A<sup>ki</sup> GIN<sup>ik</sup>-[*ma URU i*]š-ša-bat
9. *di-ik-tam ina* ŠÀ ÉRIN<sup>kur</sup> Aš-šur u G[Ú.DU<sub>8</sub>.A<sup>ki me</sup> *i-d*]uk
10. [ALAN] <sup>d</sup>U.GUR *iš-bat-am-ma ana* T[IN.TIR<sup>ki</sup> *i-b*]u-kám

On the ninth day of the supplementary month of Elul in the seventeenth year of his reign Šamaš-šuma-ukin called up his troops. They marched to Cutha and he seized the city. He defeated the troops of Assyria and Cutha. He seized [the statue of] Nergal and sent (it) away to Babylon.

ŠŠU 8a; Chronicle of the New Year's Festival; MC no 20: 212; ABC no 16: 131.

1. [8] MU<sup>meš</sup> *ina* <sup>md3</sup>[0.ŠEŠ.SU]
2. 12 MU<sup>meš</sup> <sup>m</sup>AN.ŠÁR.[ŠEŠ.SUM]
3. 20 MU<sup>meš</sup> <sup>d</sup>EN *ina* *Bal-til* <sup>ki</sup> *a*-[šib-*ma*]
4. *i-sin-nu a-ki-tú ba-ṭi-[il]*

Eight years of Sennacherib, twelve years of Esarhaddon, twenty years Bel dwelt in Baltil (Assur) and the *akītu* festival was interrupted.

ŠŠU 8b; Chronicle of the New Years Festival; accession year of Šamaš-šuma-ukīn; MC no 20: 212, 214; ABC no 16: 131.

5. MU.SAG<sup>md</sup>GIŠ.ŠIR.MU.GI.NA *ina* <sup>iti</sup>GU<sub>4</sub> [<sup>d</sup>EN]
6. *u* DINGIR<sup>meš</sup> *ša* <sup>kur</sup>URI<sup>ki</sup> TA *Bal-ti*<sup>ki</sup> *ú-š*[*u-nim-ma*]
7. *ina* <sup>iti</sup>GU<sub>4</sub> U<sub>4</sub> 24.KÁM *a-na* TIN.TIR<sup>ki</sup> KU<sub>4</sub><sup>meš-[ni]</sup>
8. <sup>d</sup>NÀ *u* DINGIR<sup>meš</sup> *ša* *Bár-sipa*<sup>ki</sup> *ana* TIN.TIR<sup>ki</sup> *it-tal-ku-ni*

In Iyyar of the accession year of Šamaš-šuma-ukīn Bel and the gods of Akkad went out from Assur. On the twenty-fourth day of Iyyar they entered Babylon. Nabu and the gods of Borsippa went to Babylon.

NBP 1a; movement of gods of Kiš in anticipation of sacking of the city by Assyrians; after Nabopolassar has defeated them at Babylon; MC no 21: 216; ABC no 2: 88.

6. ...*ina* <sup>iti</sup>DU<sub>6</sub> DINGIR<sup>me</sup> *ša* Kiš<sup>ki</sup> *ana* TIN.TIR<sup>ki</sup> GIN<sup>me</sup>

In Tešrit the gods of Kiš went to Babylon.

NBP 1b; accession year of Nabopolassar; returning of the gods of Susa; MC no 21: 216; ABC no 2: 88.

15. ... *ina* <sup>iti</sup>ŠE

16. DINGIR<sup>me</sup> *šá* <sup>kur</sup>Šu-šá-an *šá* <sup>kur</sup>Aš-šur *i-bu-ku-nim-ma ina UNU<sup>ki</sup> ú-še-ši-bu*

17. DINGIR<sup>me</sup> -š<sup>u-nu</sup> <sup>md</sup>NÀ.EDURU.ÙRI *ana* <sup>uru</sup>Šu-šá-an *ul-taḥ-ḫi-is*

In Adar Nabopolassar returned the gods of Susa, which Assyria had sent away and made dwell in Uruk, to Susa.



NBP 1c; first year of Nabopolassar; MC no 21: 216; ABC no 2: 88-9.

18. MU 1.KÁM <sup>md</sup>NÀ.EDURU.ÙRI <sup>iti</sup>BÁR U<sub>4</sub> 17.KÁM *ḥat-ti ana URU ŠUB<sup>ur</sup>*  
19. <sup>d</sup>UTU *u* DINGIR<sup>me</sup> *šá* <sup>uru</sup>Šá-pa-az-zu a-na TIN.TIR<sup>ki</sup> *it-tal-ku-ni*

On the seventeenth day of Nisan in the first year of Nabopolassar panic fell on the city (Šapazza<sup>377</sup>). Šamaš and the gods of Šapazza went to Babylon.

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<sup>377</sup> Zawadzki 1989: 59.

NBP 1d; Chr-NBP 4; first year of Nabopolassar; MC no 21: 216; ABC no 2: 89.

21. <<sup>iti</sup>SIG<sub>4</sub>/ŠU (?)> U<sub>4</sub> 20.KÁM DINGIR<sup>me</sup> šá ZIMBIR<sup>ki</sup> ana TIN.TIR<sup>ki</sup> *it-tal-*  
[*ku-nim-ma*]

On the twentieth day of <Siwan/Dumuzi (?)> the gods of Sippar went to Babylon.

NBP 2a; NBP-FAE; Chronicle of Nabopolassar and the Fall of the Assyrian Empire; tenth year of Nabopolassar; MC no 22: 218; ABC no 3: 91.

6. ... *ina* <sup>iti</sup>NE-*ma šàr* URI<sup>ki</sup> ÉRIN<sup>ni.meš</sup>-šú
7. *ana* <sup>uru</sup>Ma-né-e <sup>uru</sup>Sa-ḫi-ri u <sup>uru</sup>Ba-li-ḫu *iš-[qí-m]a ḫu-bu-ut-su-nu iḫ-tab-tu-nu*
8. *šil-lat-su-nu ma-at-tú iš-tal-lu-nu* DINGIR<sup>me</sup>-šú-nu *i-tab-ku-nu* ...

In Ab the king of Akkad moved his troops upward to Manê, Saḫiri and Baliḫu. He robbed their booty, they took a large amount of plunder and sent away their gods.

NBP 2b; tenth year of Nabopolassar; MC no 22: 218; ABC no 3: 91.

8. ... *ina* <sup>iti</sup>KIN *šár* URI<sup>ki</sup> *u* ÉRIN<sup>me</sup>-šú

9. *ana* EGIR-šú GUR-*am-ma* *ina* KASKAL-šú <sup>uru</sup>Hi-*in-da-nu* *u* DINGIR<sup>me</sup>-šú *ana*  
TIN.TIR<sup>ki</sup> *il-te-qa-a*

In Elul, the king of Akkad and his troops returned; On the campaign they took (the people of) Ḫindanu and its gods to Babylon.

NBZII 1; Chronicle covering the death of Nabopolassar and first years of Nebuchadnezzar (605-595); sixth year of Nebuchadnezzar; MC no 24: 230; ABC no 5: 101.

Rev.

9' MU 6.KÁM <sup>iti</sup>GAN šâr URI<sup>ki</sup> ÉRIN<sup>me</sup>-šú *id-ke-ma ana* <sup>kur</sup>Ḫat-tú GIN<sup>ik</sup> TA  
<sup>kur</sup>Ḫat-tú ÉRIN<sup>me</sup>-šú *iš-pur-ma*

10' *mad-ba-ri UŠ-ma* <sup>kur</sup>A-ra-bi *ma-du-tu NÌ-šú-nu bu-li-šú-nu u DINGIR<sup>me</sup>-šú-nu*  
*ma-diš iḫ-tab-tu-nu ina* <sup>iti</sup>ŠE LUGAL *ana KUR-šú GUR*

In Kislev, in the sixth year, the king of Akkad called up his troops and marched to Ḫatti. From Ḫatti he sent his troops, they reached the desert. They greatly robbed the valuables of the many Arabs, their cattle and their gods. In Adar the king returned to his land.

NBZII 2; reinstatement of Ištar of Uruk; Beaulieu 2001: 31.

Col. III

50. *sì-ma-a-ti re-eš-ta-a-ti*

51. *pel-lu-de-e qú-ud-mu-ú-ti*

52. *ša <sup>d</sup>INNIN UNUG<sup>ki</sup> bé-e-le-et UNUG<sup>ki</sup> e-el-le-ti*

53. *ú-te-er aš-ru-uš-šu-un*

54. *a-na UNUG<sup>ki</sup> še-e-du-ú-šu*

55. *a-na É.AN.NA la-ma-sa ša da-mi-iq-ti ú-te-er*

56. *te-me-en-na É.AN.NA la-bí-ri*

57. *a-ḫi-iṭ ab-re-e-ma*

58. *e-li te-me-en-ni ša la-bí-ri*

59. *ú-ki-in uš-šu-ša*

I returned the original appurtenances and former rituals of Ištar of Uruk, the holy lady of Uruk, to their places. I returned to Uruk her vital spirit, to Eanna her gracious protective spirit. I investigated and inspected the old foundation of Eanna. I established its (new) foundations above the old foundations.

NBN 1; Chronicle of Nabonidus (556-539); very damaged library tablet with two columns on each face; seventeenth year of Nabonidus; MC no 26: 236; ABC no 7: 109.

Column III

8' ... *ina* <sup>iti</sup>[...]

9' DINGIR<sup>meš</sup> *ša* *Marad-da*<sup>ki</sup> *dZa-ba<sub>4</sub>-ba<sub>4</sub>* *u* DINGIR<sup>meš</sup> *ša* *Kiši*<sup>ki</sup> *dNin-líl* [*u*  
DINGIR<sup>meš</sup>

10' *ša*] *Hur-sag-kalam-ma ana* TIN.TIR<sup>ki</sup> KU<sub>4</sub><sup>meš.ni</sup> EN TIL <sup>iti</sup>KIN DINGIR<sup>meš</sup> *ša*  
<sup>kur</sup>URI<sup>ki</sup> [...]

11' *ša* UGU IM *u* KITA IM *ana* E<sup>ki</sup> KU<sub>4</sub><sup>meš.ni</sup> ...

In the month ... the gods of Marad, Zababa and the gods of Kiš, Ninlil and the gods of Hursag-kalama entered Babylon. Until the end of Elul the gods of Akkad [...] above and below the ..., they entered Babylon.

CYR 1a; Cyrus Cylinder; Schaudig 2001: 552.

9. *a-na ta-zi-im-ti-ši-na* <sup>d</sup>EN-LÍL DINGIR<sup>meš</sup> *ez-zi-iš i-gu-ug-m[a X X X] ki-su-úr-šu-un* DINGIR<sup>meš</sup> *a-ši-ib ŠÀ -bi-šu-nu i-zi-bu at-<sup>r</sup>ma<sup>r</sup>-an-šu-un*
10. *i-na ug-ga-ti-ša ú-še-ri-bi a-na qé-reb ŠU.AN.NA<sup>ki</sup> <sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU t[i-iz-qa-ru <sup>d</sup>EN.LÍL DINGIR<sup>m</sup>]<sup>eš</sup> us-sa-aḥ-ra a-na nap-ḥar da-ád-mi ša in-na-du-ú šu-bat-su-un*
11. *ù ÛG<sup>meš</sup> KUR šu-me-ri ù URI<sup>ki</sup> ša i-mu-ú ša-lam-ta-áš ú-sa-<sup>r</sup>aḥ<sup>r</sup>-ḥi-ir ka-<sup>r</sup>bat<sup>r</sup>-[ta-áš] ir-ta-ši ta-a-a-ra kul-lat ma-ta-a-ta ka-li-ši-na i-ḥi-iṭ ib-re-e-ma*

The Enlil of the gods became extremely furious at their grumbling [and left] their boundaries. The gods who dwelled therein abandoned their temple sanctums, enraged that he had caused them to enter Babylon. August Marduk, Enlil of the gods, turned to all those living there who had cast down their dwellings and the people of Sumer and Akkad who had become as corpses. He turned his mind, he showed mercy. He investigated and looked at the return to all of their countries.



CYR 1b; Cyrus Cylinder; Schaudig 2001: 553.

28. ...i-na qí-bi-ti-šú] šir-ti nap-ḥar LUGAL a-ši-ib BÁRA<sup>meš</sup>  
29. ša ka-li-iš kib-ra-a-ta iš-tu tam-tì e-li-tì a-di tam-tì šap-li-tì a-ši-ib n[a-gi-i  
né-su-tì] LUGAL<sup>meš</sup> KUR a-mur-ri-i a-ši-ib kuš-ta-ri ka-li-šú-un  
30. bi-lat-su-nu ka-bi-it-tì ú-bi-lu-nim-ma qé-er-ba ŠU.AN.NA<sup>ki</sup> ú-na-áš-ši-qu še-  
pu-ú-a iš-tu [ŠU.AN.NA<sup>ki</sup>]<sup>1</sup> a-di<sup>uru</sup> aš-šur<sup>ki</sup> ù MÜŠ.EREN<sup>ki</sup>  
31. a-kà-dè<sup>ki</sup> KUR èš-nu-nak URU za-am-ba-an URU me-túr-nu BÀD.DINGIR<sup>ki</sup>  
a-di pa-aṭ KUR qu-ti-i ma-ḥa-z[a e-be]r-ti<sup>id</sup> IDIGNA ša iš-tu pa<sup>1</sup>-na-ma na-du-ú  
šu-bat-su-un  
32. DINGIR<sup>meš</sup> a-ši-ib ŠÀ-bi-šú-nu a-na áš-ri-šu-nu ú-tir-ma ú-šar-ma-a šu-bat  
da-rí-a-ta kul-lat ÛG<sup>meš</sup>-šú-nu ú-pa-aḥ-ḥi-ra-am-ma ú-te-er da-ád-mi-šú-un  
33. ù DINGIR<sup>meš</sup> KUR šu-me-ri ù URI<sup>ki</sup> ša<sup>1d</sup> NÁ.NÍ.TUKU a-na ug-ga-tì EN  
DINGIR<sup>meš</sup> ú-še-ri-bi a-na qé-reb ŠU.AN.NA<sup>ki</sup> ...

By his august word, all kings seated on thrones who dwell in all regions from the Upper Sea to the Lower sea, far off districts, kings of the land of Amurru, who dwell in tents, all of them carried their heavy tribute to me and kissed my feet in Babylon. From Babylon, Assur and Susa, Akkad, Ešnunna, the land of Zamban, Me-turnu, Der, as far as the borders of Gutium, I returned the gods dwelling therein to their places, who from the past had abandoned their seats, to the other side of the Tigris. They took up their eternal seats; I assembled all their people and returned them to their inhabited areas, the gods of Sumer and Akkad, whom Nabonidus, to the rage of the lord of the gods, had made enter Babylon.

CYR 2; Chronicle of Nabonidus; seventeenth year of Nabonidus; MC no 26: 236, 238;  
ABC no 7: 110.

Column III

Rev.

21' TA <sup>iti</sup>GAN EN <sup>iti</sup>ŠE DINGIR<sup>meš</sup> šá <sup>kur</sup>URI<sup>ki</sup> šá <sup>Id</sup>NÀ.I ana E<sup>ki</sup> ú-še-re-du-[ni]  
22' a-na ma-ḥa-zi-šú-nu GUR<sup>me</sup> ...

From Kislev until Adar, the gods of Akkad which Nabonidus had sent to Babylon  
returned to their sanctuaries.

## APPENDIX E: LITERARY SOURCES

*Marduk Prophecy*; Borger 1971: 5-13.

### Column I

1. <sup>d</sup>*Ha-har-nim/num* [<sup>d</sup>]*Ha-a-a-šum*
  2. <sup>d</sup>*A-nu-um* <sup>d</sup>*En-lil*
  3. <sup>d</sup>*Nu-dim-[mud]* <sup>d</sup>*É-a*
  4. <sup>d</sup>*Muati* (?) <sup>d</sup>*NÀ-um*(*Nabium*)
  5. DINGIR.MEŠ(*ilū*) GAL.MEŠ(*rabûtu*) ZU.MEŠ(*limdā*?) ḪAL.MEŠ(*pirsātī*?)-*ia*<sub>5</sub>
  6. KI(*ki*?) K[ÉŠ]DA-*su*(*arkusu*?) MÚR.MU(*qablī*?) MU.MU(*zikrī*?)  
MU(*azzakkar*?)
  7. *a-na-ku* <sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU(*Marduk*) EN(*bēlu*) GAL-*ú*(*rabû*)
  8. LAL.MEŠ *ḫa-a-a-tu* DU.MEŠ(*muttallik*?) KUR.MEŠ-*ni*(*šadânī*)
  9. LAL *ḫa-i-tu* MU.DU.IS(*mukabbis*?) KUR.KUR.MEŠ(*mātāti*)
  10. *ša* KUR.KUR.MEŠ(*mātāti*) DÙ.A.BI(*kalī*)-*š*<sub>4</sub>-*na*
  11. TA(*ištu*) È(*šit*) <sup>d</sup>UTU-*ši*(*Šamši*) EN(*adi*) KU<sub>4</sub>(*erēb*) <sup>d</sup>UTU-*ši*(*Šamši*)
  12. DU.MEŠ-*ku*(*ittallaku*) *a-na-ku-ma*
  13. DUG<sub>4</sub>.GA(*aqbi*) *a-na* KUR(*māt*) Ḫat-*ti* DU-*ik*(*allik*)
  14. Ḫat-*ti-i* *áš-al*
  15. GIŠ.GU.ZA(*kussi*) <sup>d</sup>*A-nu-ti-ia*<sub>5</sub>
  16. *i-na lib-bi-šá ad-di*
  17. 24 MU.AN.NA.MEŠ(*šanāti*) *i-na lib-bi-šá* TUŠ(*ašbākū*)-*ma*
  18. [K]ASKAL.MEŠ(*ḫarrānāt*) DUMU.MEŠ(*mārī*) KÁ.DINGIR.RA(*Bābili*)<sup>ki</sup>
  19. *i-na lib-bi-šá ad-di*
  20. [x].MEŠ-*šá* NÍG.GÁL.MEŠ(*bušû*)-*šá* ù NÍG.GA.MEŠ(*makkūrū*)-*šá*
  21. [*ana*?] [<sup>uru</sup>UD.KIB.NUN(*Sippar*)<sup>ki</sup> <sup>uru</sup>EN.LÍL.KI(*Nippur*)
  22. [*u*? <sup>uru</sup>KÁ.DINGIR.R]A(*Bābili*)<sup>ki</sup> LAL.MEŠ-DA
  23. [*šar Bābili*?] E<sub>11</sub> (*īām*)-*ma*
  24. [...] DIB (?)*-ma*
  25. [x?] x A x [...] <sup>uru</sup>K]Á.DINGIR.RA(*Bābili*)<sup>ki</sup>
  26. *ša* SUR.MEŠ [...]MEŠ SAL(*šal*?)*-ma*
  27. SIL DAGAL GAL (SIL.DAGAL<sup>gal</sup> = *ribīt*?) <sup>ur</sup>[<sup>u</sup>(?)*Bābili*?]<sup>ki</sup> DÙG-*ma*
  28. MU MIR(*agē*) [<sup>d</sup>*A-nu-t*]i-*ia*<sub>5</sub>
  29. ù ALAM(*šalam*) DÙ-t[*i*(?) (-) ...] x
  30. A.MEŠ(*mū*) IM.MEŠ(*zunnū*? *šārū*?) [...]
  31. *u<sub>4</sub>-mi* [...]
  32. MIR(*agē*) <sup>d</sup>*A-nu-ti-ia*<sub>5</sub> [...]
  33. ù ALAM(*šalam*) [DÙ]-[...]
  34. *ana* SU(*zumrī*?)*-ia*<sub>5</sub> UM [...]
  35. *aḫ-ḫi-s*[*a ana* <sup>uru</sup>KÁ.DINGIR.RA<sup>ki</sup> MU-*ma*]
  36. ÍLA.[MEŠ(*išâ*) GUN.ḪLA.MEŠ-*ki-na*]
  37. KUR.[KUR.MEŠ(*mātātu*) *ana* <sup>uru</sup>KÁ.DINGIR.RA<sup>ki</sup>-*ma*]
  38. [DU.UN DÍM.MA DIŠ KI]
- 1' ...  
2' ...  
3' [xxxx] *Bal-ti-il*<sub>5</sub> DÙG(-)[xxxx]

4' [xxxx] *É-kur(-)Bal-ti-il<sub>5</sub>* [xxx]  
 5' [É-KUR.ME]Š(*ekurrātī*)-šú GIM(*kīma*) NA<sub>4</sub>.ZÁLAG(*zalaqi*) 'ZÁLAG]-  
 [*ir(?unammir)-ma?*]  
 6' [xxx].MEŠ *ta-aḥ-da* NÍG.BA(*aqīs?*)-[*su-ma?*]  
 7' [xxx] DÙG NE A<sub>h</sub> U[R(?) xx]  
 8' [ITU UD M]U.DIŠ.KAM(*šatta*) A.AN [ŠUD<sub>x</sub>?]  
 9' [MÚR.MEŠ??] ERIM.MEŠ(*šābī*) <sup>d</sup>*En-lil* KI(*ittī*)-šú *ki* KEŠDA-s[*u*](*arkusu*)  
 10' [xxx] x GIM(*kīma*) MUŠEN.MEŠ(*iššūrī*) PA.MEŠ(*kappī*) GAR-un(*aškun*)-[*šu?*]  
 11' [KUR.KUR.ME]Š(*mātāti*) DÙ.A.BI(*kalī*)-š<sub>4</sub>-na DIR-l[*i*](*umalli*)  
 12' [xxx] DIR(*umallī*?)*-ma* KUR(*māt*) *Aš-šur* ŠUD<sub>x</sub>-ub(*akrub*)  
 13' [xxx] NAM.MEŠ(*šīmāti*) NÍG.BA(*aqīs*)-*su*  
 14' [xxx] ŠE(?) BA *an-na* GI.NA(*kīna*) SUM(*addin*)-*šu*  
 15' [*aḥ-ḥi-s*]a *ana* <sup>uru</sup>KÁ.DINGIR.RA(*Bābili*)<sup>ki</sup> MU(*azzakar*)-*ma*  
 16' Í[L]A.MEŠ(*išá*) GUN.<sub>h</sub>I.A.MEŠ(*bilātī*)-*ki-na* KUR.KUR.MEŠ(*mātātu*)  
 17' *ana* <sup>uru</sup>KÁ.DINGIR.RA(*Bābilim*)<sup>ki</sup>-*ma* DU.UN DÍM.MA DIŠ KI  
 18' *ana-ku* <sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU(*Marduk*) EN(*bēlu*) GAL-ú(*rabū*)  
 19' EN(*bēl*) NAM.MEŠ(*šīmāti*) *u* E[Š.B]AR(*purussē*) *a-na-ku-ma*  
 20' *man-nu* DIB(*išbat?*) KASKAL(*ḥarrāna*) *a n-ni-ta*  
 21' KI(*ki?* *ašar?*) DU-*ku*(*alliku*) *aḥ-ḥi-sa* [*a-na*]-*ku* DUG<sub>4</sub>.GA(*aqbi*)  
 22' *a-na* KUR(*māt*) ELAM.MA(*Elamti*)<sup>ki</sup> DU(*allik*)-*ma*  
 23' DU.MEŠ(*illikū*) DINGIR.MEŠ(*ilū*) DÙ.A.BI(*kalāma*) *a-na-ku-ma*  
 DUG<sub>4</sub>.GA(*aqbi*)  
 24' ŠUK.<sup>d</sup>INANNA.MEŠ(*nindabē*) É.ḤI.A.MEŠ(*bītāti*) *a-na-ku-ma* TAR-us(*aprus*)  
 25' <sup>d</sup>Šakkan *u* <sup>d</sup>Nisaba *ana* A[N]-e(*šamē*) E<sub>11</sub>-li(*ušēli*)

Column II

1. <sup>d</sup>*Siris* ŠÀ(*libbi*) KUR(*māti*) GIG-*iš*(*ušamriš*)  
 2. ADDA.MEŠ(*šalmāt*) UN.ḤI.A(*nišī*) KÁ.MEŠ(*bābī*) BE.MEŠ-*a*(*ipeḥḥā*)  
 3. ŠEŠ(*aḥu*) ŠEŠ(*aḥā*)-šú GU<sub>7</sub>(*ikkal*)  
 4. *ru-u<sub>8</sub>-a ru-u<sub>8</sub>-a-šú* *ina* GIŠ.TUKUL(*kakki*) *i-ra-si-ib*  
 5. DUMU.MEŠ(*mārū*) DÙ.MEŠ(*banī*) *a-na* DUMU.MEŠ(*mārī*)  
 MAŠ.KA<sub>x</sub>.MEŠ(*muškēnūti*)  
 6. ŠU.MIN(*qās*)-*su-nu i-ma-ak-ka-ku*  
 7. GIŠ.GIDRI(*ḥattu*) LÚGUD.[D]A(*ikarru*) GIB(*pirku*) KUR(*māta*) GIB-*ik*(*iparrik*)  
 8. LUGAL.MEŠ(*šarrānū*) X-[G]I KUr(*māta/i*) TUR.MEŠ(*uṣaḥḥarū*)  
 9. UR.A.MEŠ(*nēšū*) *a-lak-tam* TAR.MEŠ(*iparrasū*)  
 10. UR.GI<sub>7</sub>.MEŠ(*kalbū*) [IDIM.MEŠ(*išeggū*)?]-*ma* UN.ḤI.A(*nišī*) *ú-na-šá-ku*  
 11. *ma* -[*l*]a *ú-n[a-š]á-ku úl* TI.MEŠ(*iballutū*) ÚŠ.MEŠ(*imuttū*)  
 12. 'UD.MEŠ(*ūmī*)-*ia<sub>5</sub>* DIR(*umallī*)-*ma* MU.DIŠ.KAM.MEŠ(*šanātī*)-*ia<sub>5</sub>*  
 DIR(*umallī*)-*ma*  
 13. *a-na* URU(*ālī*)-*ia<sub>5</sub>* KÁ.DINGIR.RA(*Bābili*)<sup>ki</sup>  
 14. *ù É-kur(-)Sag-íla* ŠÀ(*libbī*) TÙM(*ubla*) x(x)  
 15. *a-na-ku eš/iš<sub>7</sub>-da-ra-a-ti* DÙ.A.BI(*kalāma*) MU'(*azzakar?*)-[*ma?*]  
 16. *a-na-ku* DUG<sub>4</sub>.GA(*aqbi*) ÍLA.MEŠ(*išá*) GUN.MEŠ(*bilātī*)-*ki-[na]*  
 17. KUR.KUR.MEŠ(*mātātu*) *ana* <sup>uru</sup>KÁ.DINGIR.RA(*Bābilim*)<sup>ki</sup>-*ma*  
 18. DU.UN DÍM.MA DIŠ [KI]  
 19. *šār* KÁ.DINGIR.RA(*Bābili*)<sup>ki</sup> E<sub>11</sub>(*illâm*)-[*ma*] {or E<sub>11</sub>-[*a*]?}  
 20. *é(būt)* TAB.RI.ME[Š](*tabrāti??*)

21. *É-kur(-)Sag-gil* GIBIL(*uddaš*)-[*ma*]
22. GIŠ.ḪUR.MEŠ(*uṣurāt*) AN-*e'*(*šamê*) ù KI-[*tim*](*eršetim*)
23. *i-na É-kur(-)Sag-gil* GIŠ.ḪUR(*iššir*)-[*ma? ir?*]
24. SUKUD.MEŠ(*mēlī*)-šú *ú-šá-na* LUḪ-[*ta*](*zakûta*)
25. *a-na* URU(*ālī*)-*ia*<sub>5</sub> KÁ.DINGIR.RA(*Bābili*)<sup>ki</sup> GAR-[*an*](*išakkan*)
26. ŠU(*qātī*) DIB(*išabbat*)-*ma ana* URU(*ālī*)-*ia*<sub>5</sub> KÁ.DINGIR.RA(*Bābili*)<sup>[ki]</sup>
27. *ù* [*É-kur(-)Sag-ila šá da-ra-ti* KU<sub>4</sub>(*ušerreb?*)-[*an-ni?*]
28. [<sup>giš</sup>*Má*]-TUŠ-*a* GIBIL(*uddaš*)-[*ma*]
29. [<sup>giš</sup>*sik*]-*kan-na-ti-šá* *ša-ri-kur*(*ra<sub>x</sub>??*) DIR-[*la?*](*umalla*)
30. [*ki-šad*]-*i-šá pa-šal-la(?) ú*-[*x(x)*]
31. [LÚ'.MÁ.LAḪ<sub>4</sub>(*malaḫī*) *mut-tab-bi-li*-[*šá?*]
32. [*a-n*]*a lib-bi-šá* DUL.D[U-*la?*](*ušella*)
33. [ZA]G(*imna*) *u* GÜB(*šumēla*) GIB.MEŠ(*iparrikū*) [xx]
34. [LUGA]L(? *šarru*) *šá* Ki(*ki? itti?*) *ka-kab(? ri?) É-kur(-)Sag*-[*ila/gil*]
35. [...] KI *la*<sub>2</sub> (?) [xx(x)]

- 1' ...
- 2' *šá* *da-ra-a*<sub>2</sub>-[*ti* ...]
- 3' <sup>giš</sup>*Má*-*daḫ-he*-[*du* ...]
- 4' <sup>giš</sup>*sik-kan-na*-[*ti-šá* ...]
- 5' [*k*]*i-šad-i*-[*šá* ...]
- 6' LÚ.MÁ.LAḪ<sub>4</sub>(*malaḫī*) [...]
- 7' *a-na lib-bi*-[*šá* ...]
- 8' <sup>d</sup>NÁ(*Nabium*) DUMU(-)[...]
- 9' DU.MEŠ *šá* DIŠ [...]
- 10' *ù É-kur(-)*[...]
- 11' *šá da-ra-a*<sup>o</sup>-[*ti*]
- 12' NUN(*rubû*) BÍ(*šû*) DINGIR [...]
- 13' *É-kur(-)É(-)x(-)*[...]
- 14' ÍD(*nār*) DINGIR [...]
- 15' A.MEŠ(*mû/ê*) KÙ.MEŠ(*ellūtu/i*) [...]
- 16' *É-kur(-)É(-)x(-)*[...]
- 17' ŠU(*qāt*) <sup>d</sup>Nin-x(-)[...]

### Column III

- 1' [... B]A(?)B[AD](?)
- 2' [...] ÚŠ T[I]
- 3' [xxx(x)] xx A TUK-*ši*(*irašši*)
- 4' [xxx(x)-*n*]*i(?)-tum* GI.NA(*ginâ?*) GIN-*an*(*ikân?*)
- 5' <sup>d</sup>Nin-g[*ír-s*]*u i-šal-laṭ-ma*
- 6' ÍD.MEŠ(*nārātu*) KU<sub>6</sub>.MEŠ(*nūnī*) BAL.MEŠ(*ubbalā?*)-*ma*
- 7' A.ŠÀ(.)A.GÀ[R] GUN(*bilta*) DIR(*imalla*)
- 8' Ú.BAR(*dīš?*) [S]ID(*kuṣši*) *a-na* EBUR(*ebūri*)
- 9' Ú.BAR(*dīš?*) EBUR(*ebūri*) *a-na* SID(*kuṣši*) BAR.MEŠ-*ra*(*uštabarra*)
- 10' EBUR(*ebūr*) KUR(*māti*) SIS<sup>o</sup>.Á(*iššir*) KIL.LAM(*maḫīru*) SIG<sub>5</sub>(*idammiq*)
- 11' ḪUL.MEŠ-*tu*(*lemnētu*) *uš-te-eš-še-ra*
- 12' LÙ.MEŠ(*dalḫātu*) LUḪ.MEŠ(*izakkâ*) ḪUL.MEŠ(*lemnētu*)
- ZÁLAG.MEŠ(*inammirā*)

- 13' IM.DIRI.MEŠ(*erpētu/urpātu*) BAR.MEŠ-*a*(*uštābarrā*)  
 14' ŠEŠ(*aḥu*) ŠEŠ(*aḥā*)-šú ARḤUŠ.M[EŠ](*irēm*)  
 15' DUMU(*māru*) AD(*abā*)-šú GIM<sub>2</sub>(*kīma*) DINGIR<sub>2</sub>(*ili*) *i-pal-là[h]*  
 16' AMA(*ummu*) DUMU.MUNUS(*mārta*) *a*-[...]  
 17' MUNUS.É.GI<sub>4</sub>.A(*kallātu*) *uk-tal*-[*lal mussa i*]-[*pal<sub>2</sub>-lāh*]  
 18' ARḤUŠ.MEŠ(*rēmu*) *a-na* UN.[ḤI.A(*nišī*) *gin-an*]  
 19' GURUŠ(*eṭlu*) GUN(*bilas*)-*su* [... GIN-*an*]  
 20' NUN(*rubū*) BI(*šū*) KUR.KUR.MEŠ(*mātāti*) [DÙ.A.BI-*šī<sub>4</sub>-na i-be*]-*el*  
 21' *ù a-na-ku-<sub>2</sub>ma* DINGIR<sub>2</sub>.MEŠ(*ilū*) DÙ.A.BI(*kalā*)-*ma*  
 22' KI(*ittī*)-šū *sá-al<sup>1</sup>-ma-ku* ELAM.MA(*Elamta*)<sup>ki</sup> GAZ(*iḥeppe*)  
 23' URU.ḤI.A.MEŠ(*ālānī*)-šá GAZ.MEŠ(*uḥappa*)  
 24' URU(*āl?* <sup>unu?</sup>) *be-ra-ti-šá ú-sa-ma-ak*  
 25' LUGAL(*šarra*) GAL-*a*(*rabā*) šá <sup>unu</sup>*De-er*  
 26' *i-na* NU(*lā*) TUŠ(*šubtī*)-šū ZI(*ušebtē*)-šū-*ma*  
 27' *ša-aḥ-ra-ár-ta-šú KÚR-ár*(*unakkar*)  
 28' ḤUL(*lumun*)-šū *x-šū-ma ŠU*(*qās*)-*su* DIB(*išabbat*)-*ma*  
 29' *a-na* <sup>unu</sup>*De-er*] *ù É-kur*(-)*UD*(*Dim<sub>x</sub>?*)-*gal-kalam-ma*  
 30' šá *da*-[*ra*]-<sup>o</sup>*a-ti* KU<sub>4</sub>(*ušerreb*)-šū

Column IV

- 1' ...  
 2' ša DING[IR(?) ...]  
 3' “4 *sā(t)*” [...]  
 4' “4 *sā(t)*” [...]  
 5' “1 *sūt*” ZI.DA(*qēmu*) [...]  
 6' 1 *qa*  
 7' 1 *qa* LĀL(*dišpu*) 1 *qa* Ī.NUN<sub>2</sub>.NA<sub>2</sub>(*ḥimētu*)  
 8' 1 *qa* GIŠ.PEŠ<sub>2</sub>.x[...] 1 *qa* GIŠ.GEŠTIN.ḤĀD.A(*muzīqu*)  
 9' 1 *qa* [*šaman*] NA<sub>4</sub>.BUR(*pūri*)  
 10' 1 *qa* x DÙG.GA(*tābu*) NU ŠE.SUM.IR  
 11' 1 U[D]U.NÍTA(*immeru*) GI.NA(*kīnu?*)  
 12' *bur* GU<sub>4</sub>(*alpi*) šá<sup>1</sup> [*uš<sub>2</sub>-tam-ru-ú*]  
 13' *ana za-qí-qí* AN-x-<sup>o</sup>*i uq-tam-ma*  
 14' ITU(*arḥa*) UD(*ūma*) *ù* MU.DIŠ.KAM<sub>2</sub>(*šatta*) A<sub>2</sub>.[A]N ŠUD<sub>x</sub>(*akarrab*)-šū

O Ḫaḫarnum, Ḫayyašum, Anu, Enlil, Nudimmud, Ea, Muati, Nabu! Let the great gods know my protected knowledge. After I have gotten ready I will give my speech.

I, Marduk, the great lord, am always watching, walking watchfully over the mountains/lands. I watch a watchman, roaming the lands. I am the one who walked continuously in all the lands from the rising to the setting sun.

I commanded that I go to Ḫatti; I investigated Ḫatti. I placed the throne of my Anu-ness in its midst and I dwelt therein for twenty-four years. I established business ventures therein for the citizens of Babylon. ...her... I oversaw her/its valuables and her/its property at Sippar, Nippur and Babylon.

A king of Babylon arose and seized (my hand/me) and (led me to) Babylon which [...]. The main street of Babylon was pleasing. [The name of] the crown of my Anu-ness ... and image ... water ... rain/wind ... three days ... the crown of my Anu-ness ... and image ... to my body ... I returned to Babylon. I spoke: 'Deliver your tribute, lands, to Babylon' ?[Go report to the one place?]

... Assur was good ... Ekur(-)Assur ... Made its temples shine like *zalaqu*-stone. I bestowed prosperity ... Monthly, daily, yearly I prayed. I made ready the troops of Enlil with him; I placed wings on him like birds. I assigned the lands to their entirety (to him). I assigned ... I blessed the land of Aššur. I presented him the fates and I returned the decreased grain to normal. I returned to Babylon (and) I spoke: 'Deliver your tribute, lands, to Babylon' ?[Go report to the one place?]

I am Marduk, great lord, lord of destinies and decisions I am. Who seized the road/way? I went to the place. I have returned. It was I who commanded my going to the land of Elam. I indeed commanded the going of all the gods. It was I who cut off the food offerings of the temples. I caused the gods Šakkan and Nisaba to go up to heaven. The god Siris caused the interior of the land to be ill. People's corpses blocked the gates. Brother consumed brother, friend struck down friend with weapons, free citizens spread their hands to commoners (to beg). The sceptre became short, wrongs caused difficulties in the land, ... kings diminished the land. Lions cut off pathways. Dogs were rabid and bit people; those who were bitten did not live, but died. I filled my days; I filled my years. I desired to go to my city Babylon and Ekur-Sagila. I spoke to all the ... I spoke: 'Deliver your tribute, lands, to Babylon' ?[Go report to the one place?]

A king of Babylon will arise. He will renew Ekur-Sagil, the admirable house. He will draw the plan of heaven and earth in Ekur-Sagil, he will change its height. He will set up exemptions for my city Babylon. He will seize my hand and will make me enter my city, Babylon, and Ekur-Sagila for eternity. He will renew my processional boat; he will inlay its rudder with *šariru*-gold; he will [cover] its sides with *pašalla*-gold; he will cause the boatmen, its servants, to embark on it. They will oppose to the right and left. The king who at the quay of Ekur-Sagila ... a place not ... of eternity ... the Madaḫḫedu boat ... its rudder ... its sides ... boatmen ... on it ... Nabu, son of ... and Ekur-... for eternity ... That prince, god ... Ekur-E-... river god ... waters of purity ... Ekur-E-... the hand of the god Nin-...

... The gate ... blood of life? ... He will acquire water ... He will establish regular offerings. Ningirsu will dominate. The rivers will bring fish; the field and meadow will have full yield; the winter harvest will last to spring (and) the spring harvest will last to winter. The harvest of the land will prosper; the purchase price will be good. Wickedness will be set right; confusion will be made clear; wickedness will be cleared up; the clouds will be made to stay firm. Brother will show mercy to brother; son will revere his father like a god; mother will [...] daughter. The bride will marry and will revere her husband. He will establish mercy for the people. The young man will continue to pay his taxes. The prince will rule all the lands.

And I, myself, and all the gods will become reconciled with him. He will smash Elam; he will completely smash its towns; he will dam up the towns of its swamps. He will cause the great king of Der to depart from his unsuitable seat; he will change his devastation; he will [...] his misfortune; he will seize his hand (Ištaran's) and he will make him enter Der and Ekur-dim-gal-kalama for eternity.

... of the god ... 4 *sâ(t)* ... 4 *sâ(t)* ... 1 *sūt* of flour ... 1 *qa* ... 1 *qa* of honey, 1 *qa* of ghee, 1 *qa* of ... 1 *qa* of raisins, 1 *qa* of oil in a small bowl, 1 *qa* of sweet ..., not smelling of grain or onion, 1 normal sheep, a young ox calf which has been approved will be burned for the ghosts/spirits. I will praise/bleed him monthly, daily, yearly.



1. [LÚ ša ina É-šú i-ra-'a-bu-ú-ni x x x x <sup>d</sup>EN šu-ú ina É LÚ.ša-ab-te šu-tu k]a-li
2. [LÚ ša UD-7-KÁM ša ITI.BARAG x x x x x x x x x x x x x x x x]-un-ni
3. [x x x x x x LÚ.A—KIN ša <sup>d</sup>UTU <sup>d</sup>IM šu-u-tu TA\* É LÚ.ša-ab-te] ú-šé-ša-áš-šú
4. [x x x x x x x ma-a] ša' la 'LÚ.A—KIN' ša EN.MEŠ-šú man-nu ú-še-ša-áš-šú
5. [LÚ.A—KIN šu-u ša] 'il'-lak-u-ni ú-še-ša-áš-šú-ni
6. [x x x x x i]-ra-kab-u-ni a-na ħur-sa-an šu-ú il-lak
7. [ina ŠÀ É.a-ki-te ša] il-lak-u-ni É šu-ú ina UGU šap-te ša ħur-sa-an ina ŠÀ i-ša-'u-ú-lu-šú
8. [<sup>d</sup>AG ša TA\* BÁR.S]IPA.KI il-lak-an-ni a-na šul-me ša AD-šú ša ša-bit-u-ni šu-ú il-la-ka
9. [<sup>d</sup>be-lit—DINGIR].MEŠ' ša ina su-qu-qa-te i-đu-lu-u-ni <sup>d</sup>EN ú-ba-'a ma a-a-ka ša-bit
10. [<sup>d</sup>zar-pa-ni-tum] ša ŠU.2-šá tar-ša-a-ni a-na <sup>d</sup>30 <sup>d</sup>UTU tu-šal-la ma-a <sup>d</sup>EN bal-li-'ta'
11. [<sup>d</sup>be-lit—DINGIR.M]EŠ ša tal-lak-u-ni KÁ qa-bu-rat šu-ú tal-lak tu-ba-['a-š]u
12. [EN.MEŠ] 'ú'-ma-a-še ša ina 'KÁ' ša É.SAG.ÍL i-za-zu-u-ni LÚ.EN.NUN.MEŠ-šú šu-nu ina UGU-šú paq-du i-na-š[u-ru-šú]
13. [x ša ina s]i-qu-ri-[te] e-pi-šu-ni a-ki DINGIR.MEŠ e-si-ru-šu-ni iḫ-ti-liq ina ŠÀ-bi 'e'-'[te-li]
14. [ma-a is—s]u-ri ú-[š]e-zab TA\* ŠÀ-bi us-se-ri-du-niš-[šu]
15. [ta-ḫap-šu] ša ina KI.TA-šú S[ÍG].tab-ri-bu ša lab-bu-šu-ni mi-iḫ-ši ša maḫ-ḫu-šu-ni šú-nu ina MÚD.MEŠ-šú [šar-pu]
16. [<sup>d</sup>taš-me]-tum ša is-si-šú kam-mu-sa-tu-ni a-na šul-me-šú ta-ta-[al-ka]
17. [<sup>d</sup>x š]a is-si-šú la il-[la]k-u-ni ma-a la EN-ḫi-iṭ-ṭi a-na-ku ma-a us-sa-ta-am-maḫ [is-si-šú]<sup>1</sup>
18. [ina UGU]-ḫi <sup>d</sup>aš-šur d[e]-na-ni ina pa-ni-šú ip-ti-qid<sup>1</sup> de-na-ni i-m[i-id]
19. [<sup>d</sup>x ša is]-si-šú la il-lak-u-ni DUMU <sup>d</sup>aš-šur šu-u-tú ma-šu-ru šu-ú ina UGU-ḫi-šú pa-qid URU.bir-tú ina UGU-ḫi-šú i-n[a-šar]
20. [SAG.DU š]a ina GIŠ.tal-li ša <sup>d</sup>be-lit—KÁ.DINGIR.RA.KI e'-la-an-ni SAG.DU ša EN—ḫi-iṭ-ṭi ša is-si-šú i-z[i-zu-ni]
21. [im-l]i<sup>1</sup>-ku-šú-ni šú-tú SAG.DU-su ina UZU.G[Ú š]a <sup>d</sup>be-lit—KÁ.DINGIR.RA.KI e-ta-a['-lu]
22. [<sup>d</sup>AG] ša a-na BÁR.SIPA.KI i-sa-ḫur-u-ni il-lak-u-ni GIŠ.tal-l[al-l]i ša ina ŠÀ-šú is-sa-na-l[a-a'-ú-ni]
23. [ina UGU] ša <sup>d</sup>EN ina ħur-sa-an il-lik-u-ni URU ina UGU-[ḫi] it-ta-bal-kàt qa-ra-bu ina ŠÀ u[p-pu]-šú
24. [G]I.ÚR.MEŠ ša ŠAḪ.MEŠ ša ina IGI KASKAL ša <sup>d</sup>AG ki-i T[A\*] BÁR.SIPA.KI il-la-kan-an-ni i-kar-ra-ru<sup>1</sup>-ni
25. <sup>d</sup>AG ša il-lak-an-ni ina UGU-ḫi i-za-zu-u-ni em-mar-u-ni EN—ḫi-iṭ-ṭi ša TA\* <sup>d</sup>EN šu-tú-[ni šu-ú]
26. ki-i ša TA\* <sup>d</sup>EN šu-tú-ni em-[mar]

27. [L]Ú.MAŠ.MAŠ.MEŠ ša ina pa-na-tu-šú il-lak-u-ni ši-ip-tú i-ma-an-nu-u-ni  
UN.MEŠ-šú šu-nu ina pa-na-tu-šú ú-na-bu-u [il-lu-ku]
28. [L]Ú.maḥ-ḥu-u ša ina IGI <sup>d</sup>be-lit—KÁ.DINGIR.RA.KI il-la-ku-u-ni LÚ.mu-pa-  
si-ru šu-u a-na GABA-šá i-bak-k[i il-lak]
29. ma-a a-na ḥur-sa-an ub-bu-lu-šú ši-i ta-ṭa-rad ma-a ŠEŠ-u-a ŠEŠ-u-a [x x x  
x]
30. la-bu-su-šu ša a-na <sup>d</sup>GAŠAN—UNUG.KI ú-še-bal-u-ni ku-zi-pi-šú-nu it-ta-  
a[ṣ-ṣu-šú-nu]
31. lu-u KUG.UD lu-u KUG.GI lu-u NA<sub>4</sub>.MEŠ-šú ša TA\* ŠÀ É.SAG.ÍL a-na  
É.KUR.MEŠ ú-še-ṣu-u-ni É-su šu-ú-tu [x x x x]
32. TÚG.še-er-i-tu ša lab-u-šu-ni ina ka-dam-me [šu-ú e-si-ip]
33. ši-iz-bu ša ina IGI <sup>d</sup>15 ša NINA.KI i-ḥal-li-bu-ni né-mi-il ši-i tu-ra-bu-šú-ni  
re-e-mu ú-ka-li-im-šú-[ni]
34. e-nu-ma e-liš ša da-bi-ib-u-ni ina IGI <sup>d</sup>EN ina ITI.BARAG i-za-mur-ú-šú-ni  
ina UGU ša ṣa-bit-u-ni [šu-ú]
35. ṣu-ul-le-e-šú-nu ú-ṣal-la su-ra-ri-šú-nu i-sa-r[a-ar]
36. <sup>r</sup>ina IGI <sup>d</sup>UTU<sup>r</sup> šu-tú i-da-bu-ub ma-a dam-qa-a-te ša <sup>d</sup>aš-šur ši-na e-ta-pa-  
áš ma-a mi-i-nu ḥi-[ṭa-a-a]
37. [<sup>d</sup>EN] ša AN-e i-da-gal-u-ni a-na <sup>d</sup>30 <sup>d</sup>UTU ú-ṣal-la ma-a bal-li-[ṭa-a-n]i
38. [<sup>d</sup>EN ša] kaq-qu-ru i-da-gal-u-ni ḥu-ur-ni-šú ina UGU-šú kar-ru-ni ina UGU  
ša TA\* ŠÀ ḥur-sa-an i[l-lik-u]-ni
39. [<sup>d</sup>x ša T]A\* <sup>d</sup>EN a-na É.a-ki-ti la ú-ṣu-ni [GIŠ].<sup>r</sup>KAxKIB<sup>r</sup>.Ú ša LÚ.ṣa-ab-te  
i-na-áš-ši i-si-šú u[š<sup>?</sup>-š]ab
40. [<sup>d</sup>be-liti—K]Á.DINGIR.RA.KI ša ina ŠÀ É.á-ki-it la tal-lak-u-ni MÍ.šá-ki-in-tú  
ša <sup>r</sup>E<sup>r</sup> [ši-i-ti]
41. [ma-a a]ṭ-ti É tu-dí-i ma-a É uš-ri ina ŠU.2-ki ú-b[a-’a]
42. [<sup>d</sup>be-lit—KÁ.DINGIR].RA.KI ša SÍG.MI ina ku-tal-li-šá-ni SÍG.tab-ri-bu ina  
pa-ni-[šá-ni 0]
43. [x x x ina pa-na-t]u-uš-šá da-mu ša ṣur-ri ša tab-ku-u-ni [šu-nu]
44. [<sup>d</sup>be-lit—KÁ.DINGIR.RA].KI ša UD-8-KÁM ša ITI.BARAG ŠAḤ ina pa-ni-  
šá i-ṭa-[ba-ḥu-u-ni 0]
45. [MÍ.šá-ki-in-t]ú šá É ši-i i-šá-’u-lu-ši ma-a man-nu EN—ḥi-iṭ-ṭi ma-a x[ x x  
x x x x]
46. [x x x x x x]-<sup>r</sup>bi<sup>r</sup> ú-bal-u-ni EN—ḥi-iṭ-ṭi i-[x x x]
47. [<sup>d</sup>EN ša ina É.a-ki]-<sup>r</sup>ti<sup>r</sup> il-lak-u-ni pa-gi-li ša a-ki im-ma-al-l[u-ni x x x-šu  
ú-ga-mar-u-ni]
48. ina pu-lu-uḥ-ti šu-u A.MEŠ ár-ḥiš i-za-am-mu A.MEŠ [ša x x x x x x x x]
49. [x x i-ma]-ḥa-ḥu-ni ú-ṣar-ra-ru-u-ni A.MEŠ da-al-ḥu-tu šú-nu [x x x x]
50. [x x x x] UZU.KA.IZI la-ba-ak-te i-kar-ra-ru-ni ša qa-du-ur-ti šu-[ú 0]
51. [ZÍD.D]A ša ina ŠÀ ITI.BARAG a-na ma-gal ma-a-’du-nu ZÍD.DA ša ki-i  
ṣa-bit-u-ni šu-ú [0]
52. A.MEŠ ŠU.2 ša ú-qar-rab-u-ni bé-et ib-ku-ni šu-ú di-’a-a-te-šú ina ŠÀ-bi  
<sup>r</sup>ú<sup>r</sup>-[x x x]
53. TÚG.še-er-’i-i-tu ša ina UGU-ḥi-šú ša i-qa-bu-u-ni ma-a A.MEŠ š[u]-nu si-  
li-’a-a-te ši-na
54. šu-ú ina ŠÀ e-nu-ma e-liš iq-’ṭi-bi<sup>r</sup> ki-i AN-e KI.TIM la ib-ba-nu-ni  
AN.ŠÁR it-[tab-ši]
55. ki-i URU u É ib-šu-u-ni šu-ú it-tab-ši A.MEŠ ša ina UGU AN.ŠÁR [0]

56. *šu-u-tú ša ħi-ṭi-šú ina ŠÀ ka-dam-me šu-tú e-si-ip la A.MEŠ 'la-biš' ka-  
dam<sup>?</sup>-[mu x x x x]*
57. *li-is-mu ša ina ITI.GAN ina IGI <sup>d</sup>EN ù ma-ḥa-za-a-ni gab-bu i-lab-[bu-u-ni  
ša <sup>d</sup>MAŠ šú-u]*
58. *ki-i <sup>d</sup>aš-šur <sup>d</sup>NIN.URTA ina UGU ka-šá-di ša an-zi-i iš-pur-u-nu <sup>d</sup>U.G[UR x  
x x x]*
59. *ina IGI <sup>d</sup>aš-šur iq-ṭi-bi ma-a an-zu-u ka-ši-id <sup>d</sup>aš-šur a-na <sup>d</sup>[GA.GA<sup>?</sup> ṭè-mu  
is-sa-kan]*
60. *ma-a a-lik a-na DINGIR.MEŠ-ni gab-bu pa-si-ir ú-pa-sa-ar-šú-nu ù šú-nu  
ina UGU-ḥ[i i-ḥ]ad-di-[u il-lu-ku]*
61. *da-ba-bu gab-bu ša ina ŠÀ-bi LÚ.UŠ.KU.MEŠ [da-bi-bu-u-ni]*
62. *ša ḥa-ba-a-te ša i-ḥab-ba-tu-šú-ni ša ú-šal-pa-tu-šú-ni šu-ú DINGIR.MEŠ  
AD.MEŠ-šú šu-nu 'i-li-ú'*
63. *UR.KU ša É.SA.BAD eb-bir-an-ni LÚ.A—KIN šu-u-tú <sup>d</sup>GU.LA ina UGU-ḥi-  
šú ta-šap-pa-ra*
64. *KUŠ.E.SÍR ša ina É <sup>d</sup>be-lit—KÁ.DINGIR.RA.KI ub-bal-u-ni it-ḥu-ur šu-u-tú  
ú-še-bal-áš-ši*
65. *né-mi-il a-na šá-a-šú la ú-šar-u-šú-ni la ú-ṣu-u-ni*
66. *GIŠ.GIGIR ša a-na É.a-ki-it tal-lak-u-ni ta-la-kan-an-ni EN-šá la-áš-šú ša la  
EN ta-sa-bu-u'*
67. *ù <sup>d</sup>sak-ku-ku-tú ša TA\* URU ta-lab-ba-an-ni ba-ki-su ši-i TA\* URU ta-la-bi-  
a*
68. *GIŠ.IG bir-ri ša i-qa-bu-u-ni DINGIR.MEŠ šu-nu i-ta-as-ru-šú ina É e-tar-ba  
GIŠ.IG ina IGI-šú e-te-di-li*
69. *šu-nu ḥu-ur-ra-a-te ina ŠÀ GIŠ.IG 'up'-ta-li-šú qa-ra-bu ina ŠÀ-bi up-pu-šú  
blank space of about 10 lines*
70. *man-nu ša ṭup-pu an-ni-u e-mar-ra-qu-u-ni lu-u ina A.MEŠ i-kar-ra-ar-u-ni*
71. *ù em-mar-u-ni a-na ša la ú-du-u-ni la ú-šá-áš-mu-u-ni*
72. *<sup>d</sup>aš-šur <sup>d</sup>30 <sup>d</sup>UTU <sup>d</sup>IM ù <sup>d</sup>IŠ.TAR <sup>d</sup>EN <sup>d</sup>AG <sup>d</sup>U.GUR <sup>d</sup>15 ša NINA.'KI'*
73. *<sup>d</sup>15 ša URU.arba-il <sup>d</sup>15 ša É—kid-mur-r[i]*
74. *DINGIR.MEŠ ša AN-e KI.TIM ù DINGIR.MEŠ KUR—aš-šur.KI ka-li-šú-nu*
75. *ar-rat la nap-šu-ri ma-ru-uš-tu li-ra-ru-šu-ma a-di UD.MEŠ bal-ṭu a-a ir-šu-  
šu re-e-mu*
76. *MU-šú NUMUN-šú ina KUR li-še-lu-ú UZU.MEŠ-šú ina pi-i ša kal-bi liš-  
kun-[nu]*

‘[The man who rages in his house ..... is Bel. He is] held fast [in the prison.] [The man who on the 7<sup>th</sup> of Nisan .....]... [..... is the messenger of Šamaš and Adad]. He brings him out [of the prison.] [.....]: “Without the messenger of his lords, who would take him out?” [The messenger] who goes and brings him out, (and who) rides [.....], goes to the (place of the) ordeal. [The Akitu House where] he goes, is the house at the edge of (the place of) the ordeal; they question him there

[Nabû, who] comes [from] Borsippa, comes to greet his father, who has been taken prisoner. [Belet-il]i, who roams the streets, is looking for Marduk: “Where is he kept prisoner?” [Zarpanitu], whose hands are stretched out, prays to Sin and Šamaš: “Let Bel live!” [Belet-ili] who goes away, is going to the graveyard and looking for him.

[The ath]letes who stand at the gate of Esaggil are his guards; they are appointed over him, and guard [him]. [The ... which] is done [on] the ziggurat: When the gods surrounded him, he fled and we[nt up] there, [thinking: “Per]haps I will be saved.” They brought [him] down from there. [The saddle] beneath him, (and) the red wook with which he is clother, are the blows with which he was struck. They are [dyed] with his blood.

[Tašme]tu, who sits with him, has co[me] to greet him. [...] who does not go with him, saying: “I am not a criminal; I have nothing to do [with him]!” – [on] account of that Aššur entrusted judgment to him; he passes the judgments. [...] who] does not go with him, is the son of Aššur. He is a guard appointed over him, and gu[ards] the citadel on account of him.[The head] which hangs from the *crossbar* of the Lady of Babylon, is the head of the criminal who assi[sted and ad]vised him. They have hung his head on the neck of the Lady of Baylon.

[Nabû], who returns and goes to Borsippa, and sprinkles about the stames on the date palms there: [(that) is because] Bel went to (the place of) the river ordeal. The city has revolted against [him] and they are fighting in there. The pig reeds which they throw in the path of Nabû when he comes from Borsippa, and which Nabû, in his coming, steps upon and sees, is the criminal who was with Bel: he recog[nizes him] as the accomplice of Bel.

The exorcists, who go in front of him reciting an incantation, are his people; they [go] wailing in front of him. The ecstatic who goes before the Lady of Babylon is a bringer of news; he goes toward her weeping: “They are taking him to the river ordeal!” She sends (him) away, saying: “My brother, my brother!” [...] His clothing which they send to the Lady of Uruk is his robes; they carried [them off]. His silver, gold, or gems, which they took out of Esaggil to other temples, is his property [.....]. The *outfit* in which he was dressed is [collected] in the storeroom. The milk which they milk which they milk in front of Ištar of Nineveh is (milked) because she brought him up *and* showed compassion to him.

*Enuma Eliš*, which is recited and chanted in front of Bel in Nisan, concerns his imprisonment. He says prayers and make supplications to them, and pleads (his case) before Šamaš: “I only did what was good to Aššur! What is [my] crime?” [Bel], who

scans the sky, prays to Sin and Šamaš: “Let me live!” [Bel], who scans the ground and on whom his ...s have been put, is (thus) because he [turn]ed back from the river ordeal.

[..., who] does not go out with Bel to the Akitu House, holds the *fetter* of the prisoner and *s[it]s* with him. [The Lady of] Babylon, who does not go to the Akitu House, is the governess of the house. [He (instructs her)]: “You know the house. Guard the house! I shall call you to account [for it.]” [The Lady of] Babylon who has black wool on her back and red wool on her front [...]: [*the red wool*] on her [front] is blood of the *heart* which was shed [.....]. [The Lady of Babylo]n, before whom a pig is slau[ghtered] on the 8<sup>th</sup> of Nisan, is [the governe]ss of the house. They ask her: “Who is the criminal [.....]?” They bring [.....], [*muzzle*] the criminal [and .....].

[Bel, who] goes [to the Aki]tu House, and the libation vessels which he empties [...] as soon as they are filled – in (his) terror he quickly thirsts for water. The water [which he] mixes [with .....] and pours out, is the turbid water [.....]. [The ...] which they place [on] the marinated roasted meat, is that of ... [.....]. [The flo]ur which is much too plentiful for Nisan, is the flour which was there when he was taken prisoner. The water for (washing) the hands which they bring near, is where he wept. He [*poured*] his tears into it. The *outfit* which is on him and of which it is said: “That is water” – that is a lie. It is said in *Enuma Eliš*: When heaven and earth were not created, Aššur came i[n]to being). (Only) when city and temple (already) existed did he come into being. It is the water which was over Aššur. The (*outfit*) of his crime is gathered in the storeroom. He is not dressed in water. The chamber [.....].

The race which they go [round] in front of Bel and in all the cult cities in Kislev [*is that of Ninurta*]. When Aššur sent Ninurta to vanquish Anzû, Nergal [.....] announced before Aššur, “Anzû is vanquished.” Aššur [said] to the god [*Kakka*]: “Go and tell the good news to all the gods!” He gives the good news to them, and they rejoice about it [and go].

All the talk which [they talk] among the lamentation priests, and the acts of robbery which they commit against him and afflict him with are the gods, his fathers, coming up. The dog which crosses Esabab is a messenger. Gula is sending it to him. The shoe which they bring to the temple of the Lady of Babylon is a *token*. He sends it to her, because they will not let him go out.

The chariot which goes to the Akitu temple and comes back has no driver. Without a driver it rocks about. Finally, Sakkukutu who goes round the city is his wailing woman. She circumambulates the city. The lattice door is so called (because when) the gods cornered him, he entered the building and locked the door behind him. They bored holes in the door and did battle through them.

Whoever crushed this tablet or throws it into water, or sees it but does not tell about it to one who does not know it, may Aššur, Sin, Šamaš, Adad and Ištar, Bel, Nabû, Nergal, Ištar of Nineveh, Ištar of Arbela and Ištar of the Kidmuri Temple, the gods of heaven and earth, and all the gods of Assyria curse him with an indissoluble, grievous curse and

not have mercy on him all the days of his life. May they remove his name and seed from the land and put his flesh in the mouth of a dog.<sup>378</sup>

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<sup>378</sup> Livingstone 1989: 82-86.

1. [x x x x x x x x x x x x x x x x x x x] 'a'-di 'AGA?'<sup>d+</sup>EN 'ú'-[x x x x x x x x x x x x x x x x x x x]
2. [x x x x x x x x x x x x x x x x] 'x x x' KUR.KUR.MEŠ*i-ḫe-ep-pi* x[x x x x x x x x x x x x x x x x x x]
3. [x x x x x x x x x x x]x-i LÚ ša ina<sup>1</sup> É<sup>1</sup>-šu i-ra-'a-bu-ú-ni x[x x x x x x x x x x x x x x x x]
4. [<sup>d</sup>EN šu-ú ina É LÚ.ša-ab-te] šu-ú-tu ka-li LÚ ša UD-7-KAM ša ITI.[BARAG] TA\* x[x x x x x x x x x x x x x x x x x x]
5. [x x-un-ni x x x LÚ.A—KIN ša] <sup>d</sup>UTU <sup>d</sup>IM šu-ú-tu TA\* É LÚ.ša-ab-[te ú-še-ša-áš-šu x x x x x x x x x x x x x]
6. [x x x x x x x x ma-a ša la]-a LÚ.A—KIN ša EN.MEŠ-šu man-nu ú-še-ša-áš-šu LÚ.A—K[IN šu-u ša il-lak-u-ni ú-še-ša-áš-šu-ni]
7. [x x x x x i-ra-kab-u-ni a-na ḫur-sa]-an šu-ú il-lak i-na ŠÀ É.á-k[i-ti š]a il-lak-u-ni É šu-ú [ina UGU šap-te ša ḫur-sa-an ina ŠÀ i-ša-'u-ú-lu-šú]
8. [<sup>d</sup>AG ša TA\* BÁR.SIPA.KI il-lak-an]-ni ina UGU ša ka-lu-ú-ni šu-ú-[tu il-lak-a x x x x i]-par-ru-ku ki-i ša É nu-[x x x x x x x]
9. [x x x x x x x x x x x x x] i<sup>1</sup>-pat-tu-ú-ni DUG.kal-lu ša ina šá-ru-ri šá <sup>d</sup>UTU [x x x x x x x x x x x x x x x x]
10. [x x x x x x x x x ma-a at-tu-u]š-ši a-s[u]-ḫur-ka AN<sup>?</sup> [x x]-an-ni ma-a šá-ru-r[i x x x x x x x x x x x x x x x x x]
11. [x x x x x x x x x x x x x ITI.BAR]AG i-za-am-ma-ru-ú-ni ina UGU ša ša-b[i-tu-ni x x x x x x x x x x x x x x]
12. [x x x x x x x x x x x x x x x]x pa-ni-šu ur-ra-zu-ú-ni [x x x]da-ru-ú-[ni x x x x x x x x x x x x x]
13. [x x x x x x] šu-ú [x x x]-áš-šu iz-za-az pa-ḫa-[x x x x x x]
14. [x x x x x x x x x x x x x x x]x a-na ma-šar-ti-šu šá-pi-ir a-x[x x] an ina pa-ni-šu il-lak UZU.Ú[R x x x x x x x]
15. [GI.ÚR.MEŠ ša ŠAḪ.MEŠ ša ina IGI KASKAL ša <sup>d</sup>AG ki-i TA\* BÁR.SIPA.KI il-l]a-ka-an-ni i-kar-ra-ru-u-ni [<sup>d</sup>AG ša il-lak-an-ni ina UGU-ḫi i-za-zu-u-ni em-mar]-ú-ni EN—ḫi-iṭ-ṭi š[a TA\*] <sup>d</sup>EN i-zi-zu-ú-ni šu-nu <sup>d</sup>aš-šur i-du-ak-šu-n[u 0]
16. [<sup>d</sup>AG ša a-na BÁR.SIPA.KI i-sa-ḫur-u-ni il-lak]-'ú'-ni GIŠ.tal-tal-li ša [ina ŠÀ]-šu i-sa-al-la-a'-ú-ni si-ḫu ú-[x x it-ta-b]al<sup>1</sup>-kàt<sup>1</sup> ina qa-r[a-bu ina ŠÀ-bi up-pu-šu]
17. [<sup>d</sup>x ša is-si-šú la il-lak-u-ni DUMU <sup>d</sup>aš-šur šu]-ú-tu ma-šu-ru šu-u ina UGU-ḫi-šú pa-qid ina URU.GÚ.DU<sub>8</sub>.A.K[I URU.bir-tú ina UGU-ḫi-šú i-na-šar]
18. [<sup>d</sup>x x ša is-si-šú la il-lak-u-ni ma-a la EN—ḫi-iṭ-ṭi]i a-na-ku ma-a la us-[sa-tam-m]a-aḫ<sup>1</sup> is-si-šú ina UGU-ḫi <sup>d</sup>aš-šur de-na-a-ni [ina pa-ni-šú ip-ti]-qid ma-a ke-e-nu šu-ú de-n[a-ni e-mi-id]
19. [<sup>d</sup>be-lit—DINGIR.MEŠ ša] ina su-[qa-qa-a-te] i-du-ul-[lu-u]-ni <sup>d</sup>EN ú-ba-'a [ma-a a]-'a<sup>1</sup>-ka ša-[bit]
20. [x x x x x x x x x x]x la il-lak-ú-ni [x x x] TÚG.MEŠ-šu šu-nu it-ta-aḫ-ru-uš 'a'-[na šá]-a-šú<sup>1</sup> a-na UGU ḫur-sa-an it-t[u-bi-lu-šú]
21. [<sup>d</sup>EN ša AN-e i-da-gal-u-ni a-na <sup>d</sup>aš-šur] <sup>d</sup>a-num <sup>d</sup>30 <sup>d</sup>UTU <sup>d</sup>I[M ú-šal-l]a ma-a bal-li-ṭa-a-ni TÚG.še-er-i-[ṭ]ú [ša lab-b]u-šu-u-ni ina ka-dam-me šu-ú [e-si-ip]







67. [x x x x x x x x x x]x-su-te šu-<sup>r</sup>ú' [x x x x x x x x x-š]u-te ku-ba-di-šú-nu
- 
68. [man-nu at-ta lu-u LÚ].ZU lu-u LÚ.[x x x ša ʔup-pu an0ni-u e-mar-ra-qu-u-ni l]u-u ina ÍD lu-u ina PÚ i-kar-ra-ru-u-n[i]
69. [ù em-mar-u-ni a-na ša la ú-d]u-u-[ni l]a ú-šá-áš-mu-ú-[ni]
70. [<sup>d</sup>aš-šur <sup>d</sup>30 <sup>d</sup>UTU <sup>d</sup>IM <sup>d</sup>IŠ.TAR <sup>d</sup>EN <sup>d</sup>AG <sup>d</sup>U.GUR <sup>d</sup>15 šá NINA.KI <sup>d</sup>15 šá URU arba-il] <sup>d</sup>15 šá É—kid-mur-ri DINGIR.ME[Š]
71. [ša AN-e ù KI.TIM ù DINGIR.MEŠ KUR—áš-šur.KI ka-li-šú-nu ar-rat la nap-šu-ri ma-ru-uš-tú li-ra-ru-šú-ma a-di UD.MEŠ ba]l-ʔu a-a ir-šu-šu [re-e-mu]
72. [MU-šú NUMUN-šú ina KUR li-še-lu-ú UZU.MEŠ-šú ina pi-i ša kal-bi liš]-ku-[nu]
- 

‘[The ... who .....] with the tiara of Bel [.....] [.....]... he destroys the lands [.....]. [.....] The man who rages in his house ...[....., is Bel]. He is held fast [in the prison]. The man who n the 7<sup>th</sup> of [Nisan ...] from [...] is [the messenger of] Šamaš and Adad. [He takes him] out of the prison. [.....: “Witho]ut the messenger of his lords, who could take him out?”

The messenger who goes and brings him out [and who rides .....], goes to the (place of the) ordeal. The Akitu House where he goes is the house [at the edge of (the place of) the ordeal; they question him there]. [Nabû, who comes from Borsippa, comes] because of the one who is held fast. [..... th]ey block [...] just as ... [.....]. [The ..... which] they open, the urn which in the rays of Šamaš [....., .....: .....: “I have gone] out to seek you, [...]... the rays [.....].”

[*Enuma Eliš* which ..... and which] they sing [.....] concerns his impri[sonment; .....] [..... which] they ... before him ...[....] ...[.....] [.....] stands [...]... [....] [.....]... he is sent to guard him ...[....]... goes in front of him. The th[igh .....]

[The pig reeds which] they throw [in the path of Nabû when he co]mes [from Borsippa and which Nabû, in his coming, steps upon and see]s, are the criminals who assisted Bel. Aššur ki[lled them]. [Nabû, who returns and goes to Borsippa] and sprinkles the young date palms [ther]e, [...] rebellion. *It r[evol]ted*, and [they did] batt[le there]. [... who does not go with him] is [the son of Aššur]. He is a guard appointed over him. He guards [the citadel] in Cutha [on account of] him. [... who does not go with him, saying]: “I am not a criminal. I have nothing [to do] with him!” – on account of that Aššur [entr]usted judgment [to him], saying: “He is just”. He [passes] the judg[ments].

[Belet-ili] who roams the s[treets], is seeking Bel: “Where is he kept pri[soner]?” [The ... who] does not go [... is *Bel*]. The have torn off his garment [and taken him] to the (place of the) ordeal. [Bel, who scans the sky, is praying to Aššur], Anu, Sin, Šamaš and Ad[ad]: “Let me live!” The *outfit* [in which] he was clad is [gathered] in the storeroom.

[The exorcists who go in front of him reciting] an incantation, are his people; they [go] wailing in front of him. [.....] upon the dead one [.....] the saddle beneath him and

[the red wool with which he is clad], are the blows with which he was struck, [dyed with his] blood.

[Bel who goes to the Akitu House, and the libation vessels which he empties [...] as soon as they are filled – in (his) fright he quickly thirsts for water. The waster which [he mixed with ..... and lib]ates [.....] is *insolence*. [(Only) an in]solent person makes libations with *ladles and testicles*.

[... who does not go out with Bel to the Akitu House, carries] the *fetter* of the [pris]oner and [sits] with him. [The ...], which they place [on] the marinated roasted meat in front of Bel, is that of ... [.....]. [The flour which is much too] plentiful [for Nisan], is (the flour) which [was there] when he was captured and [sto]od (still). The water (for washing) the hands which] they bring near is where he wept. He [poured] his tears into it. [*Enuma Eliš*, which is recited and sung before Bel] in Nisan [concerns his imprisonment. He] says [pra]yers and makes supplications to them, [pleading (his case) before Šamaš]: “I only did what was good to Aššur! I waged [bat]tle by the order of Aššur, so what is my crime?”

[Zarpanitu, whose hands are stretched out], prays to Aššur, Anu, Sin, Šamaš and Adad: “Let [Bel] live! Do not kill [him]!” [The ecstatic] who goes [before of the Lady of Babylon], is a brin[ger of news]; he goes toward her weeping: “They are taking him [to (the place of) the ordeal]!” She sends him away, saying: “[...] my brother, my bro[ther!]” [Belet-ili], who goes away, is going to the graveya[rd and looking for him: “He should be p]laced [in a tomb]! Let me fetch him and bury him!” [The Lady of Babylon, who has black wool on her back and re]d wool [on her front, ..... The red wool] on her [front] is the blood of the *heart* which was shed. [The Lady of Babylon, before whom they slaughter a pig on the 8<sup>th</sup> day of Nisan], is [the governess of the house; they question her: “Who is the criminal .....?” They br]ing [.....], *muzzle* the criminal [and .....]. [The head which hangs from the *crossbar* of the Lady of Babylon is the head of the criminal who] assisted and advised him. [They have] hung [his head on the neck of the Lady of Babylon. [The show which they b]ring [to the temple of the Lady of Babylon is a *token*. He sen]ds it to her, because they [will] not [let] him go out.

Tašmetu, who sits with him, [has] co[me to greet him]. [The milk which they milk in front of Ištar of Nineveh is (milked) because she brought him up] *and* showed him compassion. She sends [him] to his prisons. [... which is done on the ziggurat: when the gods surrounded him, he fled and went up there, thinking: “Maybe I shall be saved.” They brought [him down] from there. [The lattice door is so called (because when) the gods cornered him, he entered the building and loc]ked [the door behind him]. They bored [hole]s in the door and [did] battle through them. [..... is the criminal] who assisted Bel and whom t[hey killed].

[The atheletes who stand at the gate of Esaggil are his guards; they are appointed over him] and guard [him]. [The *outfit* which is on him and of which it is said: “That is water” – that is a lie]. It is said [in *Emuna Eliš*]: [When heaven and earth were not created, Aššur came into being. (Only) when city and temple (already) existed, did he come into being. It is the water which] was [over] Aššur. His criminal [*outfit*] is

gath[ered in the storeroom]. [*He is not clad in water. The storeroom* .....] the daughter of Anu. *They kil[led her]*. [.....] is his ... [.....] are the gods, his fathers, see[ing him].

[All the talk which they talk among the lamentation priests, and the acts of robbery which they comm]it and afflict him with are the gods, his fathers, coming up. [The race which] they go ro[und in front of Bel and] all the cult centres [in Kislev is *that of Ni*]nurta. [When Aššur] s[ent Ninurta to vanquish] Anzû, Qingu and Asakku, [Nergal announced before Aššur]: “Anzû, Qingu and Asakku are vanquished.” [(Aššur) said: “Go and] give the good news [to all the gods]!” He gives the news, and they [rejoice] about it and go. [.....] is [... *the god*] *Lahmu* ..... cult centre [...] [.....] the ...s of the district [.....] not on [.....], because it is not old. [..... which] they bring [..... q]uestion [.....]. [.....]... in [.....]. [.....] all [...] who are dressed in robes [.....] [..... who] is his [wail]ing woman ... [.....]

[Sakkukutu, who goes around the city] is his wailing woman. She circumam[bulates] the city [..... while] they perform the [funeral] display. [The dog which crosses Esabad] is a messenger. [Gula sends it to him]. It goes round the city and si[ts down]. [.....] who weeps, (and) [..... who] weeps [...] life, is [weeping] because of Bel. [The chariot which goes to the Akitu House and co]mes back [has no driver. Without a driver] it rocks about. [.....] ...[.....] who ..., they show the [...] which] *they* surrounded. [.....] it is ...[.....]... their *honour*.

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[Whoever you are, whether] a scholar ot a [...] who breaks this tablet] or throws it into a river or a well, [or sees it but] does not tell about it [to one who does not kn]ow it, [May Aššur, Sin, Šamaš, Adad, Ištar, Bel, Nabû, Nergal, Ištar of Arbela, Ištar of Nineveh] and Ištar of the Kidmuri Temple, the gods [of heaven and earth, and all the gods of Assyria curse him with an indissoluble, grievous curse and] not have mercy on him [all the days of his l]ife. [May they remove his name and seed from the land and] put [his flesh in the mouth of a dog].<sup>379</sup>

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<sup>379</sup> Livingstone 1989: 86-91.

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