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A Cylinder of Nebuchadnezzar II from Uruk in the Cindy and David Sofer Collection displayed in the Bible Lands Museum Jerusalem*

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Introduction

During his long reign, Babylon's most famous ruler, Nebuchadnezzar II (r. 604–562 BCE), sponsored large-scale building activities in numerous Babylonian cities, especially in his capital Babylon, which he transformed into a wonder to behold. Uruk's principal temple Eanna, whose Sumerian ceremonial name means “House of Heaven,” was one of many temples and shrines rebuilt while Nebuchadnezzar was king (George 1993, no. 75).² Akkadian inscriptions of his written on multi-column clay cylinders from Babylon, Kish, Marad, and Sippar, and rock reliefs carved on cliff faces in Lebanon (Brisa and Nahr el-Kelb), as well as an inscription of Babylon's last native king Nabonidus (r. 555–539 BCE) engraved on a basalt stele, record or mention that Nebuchadnezzar worked on the goddess Ištar's most important temple in Babylonia (Beaulieu 2003, 129 n. 137; Da Riva 2008, 110–112).³ Although we have known about Nebuchadnezzar's rebuilding of Eanna since the mid-nineteenth century, there has been little textual and archaeological evidence from Uruk itself to support this king's claims. Until now, only fourteen bricks with a twenty-three-line Akkadian inscription have provided proof that Nebuchadnezzar actually undertook construction of Eanna.⁴ Unlike many of his other building projects — for example, the renovation of Ebabbar, the temple of the sun-god Šamaš at Sippar —⁵ no foundation documents from Uruk recording details about this important construction project have been published. A three-column cylinder inscribed with an Akkadian inscription of Nebuchadnezzar from Uruk, although no details about its original provenance have been recorded, currently displayed at the Bible Lands Museum, Jerusalem, is the first positively-identified foundation document of this Neo-Babylonian king to have come from Ištar's temple at Warka. As it is the case with most Neo-Babylonian royal inscriptions, the text bears no date, but its production was connected to the restoration of the Eanna temple, which was connected to the return of Ištar to Uruk during the reign of Nebuchadnezzar (see below).

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¹ With the kind permission of the cylinder's owner, David Sofer, we present an edition of this important, new inscription of Nebuchadnezzar II. Moshe Caine took the photos accompanying this publication and we would like to thank him for allowing us to use and publish them. Finally, we would like to express our gratitude to Wayne Horowitz, Yigal Bloch, and Peter Zilberg for collating the cylinder on October 7, 2019, and to Yigal Bloch for supplying us with information about the cylinder while we prepared this paper.

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² According to Nebuchadnezzar's own inscriptions, he sponsored building activities at Babylon, Bāṣ, Borsippa, Cutha, Dilbat, Kish, Larsa, Marad, Sippar, Ur, and Uruk. The find spots of bricks inscribed or stamped with texts of his indicate that Nebuchadnezzar built in many other cities in Babylonia.

³ Nebuchadnezzar inscriptions C32, C33, C34, C36, C37, C38, NeKA, and WBC, as well as Nabonidus inscription 3 (Weiershäuser and Novotny 2020). The designations used in this paper for the inscriptions of Nebuchadnezzar and his father Nabopolassar follow Da Riva 2008 and 2013a, while those of Neriglissar and Nabonidus follow Weiershäuser and Novotny 2020. For further information, see Appendix 1 (concordance of cited Neo-Babylonian inscriptions).

⁴ B23. This inscription is known from the following exemplars: W 236b, W 466, W 470, W 470 (BM 90735; 1979-12-20,329), W 878, W 943, W 1200, W 1674, W 1701c, W 2236a, W 2519, W 2693, W 3205, W 3271, and W 4234A.

⁵ The inscriptions on cylinders are texts C23 and C31 and the inscription written on bricks is text B25.

The Cylinder

This object, which is on long-term loan to Bible Lands Museum in Jerusalem, is a solid clay cylinder measuring 7×15.6×7 cm. It bears a 225-word Akkadian inscription of Nebuchadnezzar recording the rebuilding of Eanna, the temple of Ištar at Uruk. The text is written in contemporary Neo-Babylonian script⁶ and distributed over three columns, in sixty-six lines.⁷ Each line of text is separated by a horizontal ruling, but no vertical ruling lines separate the columns. At the end of col. ii, there is a vertical line that might have functioned as a scribal sign to mark the separation of cols. ii and iii (see figs. 2c and 4c).

Although the cylinder is fully intact, it has sustained some minor water damage in col. I (see fig. 2a). From the contents of its *inūma*-clause (the “situation” part of the text; i 10–ii 9, esp. ii 2–9), its building report” (the “main topic” of the inscription; ii 10–34), and the concluding formula (iii 1–32),⁸ it is certain that the cylinder was intended to be deposited or displayed in Eanna, Uruk’s principal temple. Although the cylinder’s original find spot has not been recorded, there is little doubt that the object originates from Warka. The cylinder and its inscription will be referred to here as the “Uruk Cylinder” or the “Eanna Cylinder” of Nebuchadnezzar.⁹

Transliteration

Col. i

1. ^dna-bi-um-NÍG.DU-ú-šu-úr
2. LUGAL¹ mi-ša-ri-^rim¹
3. nu-ri*(text: H̄U)-im na-am-ra ša ma-ti-šu
4. ra-a¹-im ki-it-ti
5. ^rù¹ mi-ša-ri-im
6. mu-^ru¹-te-^re¹-^uú¹ aš-ra-at DINGIR GAL.GAL¹
7. za-ni-in é-sag-íl ù é-zi-da
8. DUMU ^dna-bi-um-IBILA-ú-šu-ur
9. ^ršar¹ ba-bi-lam.KI a-na-ku
10. i-nu-um ^dAMAR.UTU EN ra-bi-um
11. IGI.GÁL i-lí a-ši-ir ki-ib-ra-ti
12. ^rin¹ pa-ni-šu ša ma-ad-dam
13. ^rù¹ bu-un-na-an-né-e-šu nam-ru-ti
14. ^rin¹ ni-iš i-ni-šu ša-ad-la-a-ti
15. ša ki-ma ^dUTU i-ba-ar-ra-a
16. gi-im-re-e-ti
17. ha-di-iš ip-pa-al-sa-an-ni-ma
18. ú-ul-lu-ù re-e-ši-ia
19. a-na bé-lu-ut MA.DA e-pé-šu
20. šu-ma-am ši-ri-im ib-bé-e-ma
21. ni-šim ra-ap-ša-a-ti
22. a-na re-é-ú-ti i-dì-nam
23. a-na za-na-an ma-ḥa-zi-im

⁶ Neo-Babylonian inscriptions are written in contemporary and archaizing scripts. The former is similar to the script used for concurrent administrative documents written on clay tablets, while the latter is inspired by the Old Babylonian monumental script of the Codex Hammu-rāpi, even though that stele had been carried off to Susa by the Elamites in the twelfth century BCE (Berger 1973, 95; Schaudig 2001, 32 n. 133; and Da Riva 2008, 77 [with n. 77]). Given the strong influence of the Codex Hammu-rāpi on the Neo-Babylonian scribes writing out inscriptions, perhaps it is preferable to refer to the archaizing script as Codex-Hammu-rāpi-inspired script or Old-Babylonian-lapidary-influence script. As Da Riva (2008, 77) has already pointed out, the use of Old Babylonian sign forms is an archaism that diminishes over the course of the Neo-Babylonian Period. During the reigns of Nabopolassar and Nebuchadnezzar II, archaizing script was more commonly used to write out royal inscriptions than it was during the reigns of their successors Amēl-Marduk, Neriglissar, and Nabonidus.

⁷ There are twenty-seven lines in col. i, thirty-four lines in col. ii, and thirty-two lines in col. iii.

⁸ The terminology follows Da Riva 2008, 92–98. The “Uruk Cylinder,” according to Da Riva would be an “ideal” inscription since it contains all four elements of a Neo-Babylonian inscription: (1) presentation, (2) situation, (3) main topic, and (4) concluding section.

⁹ Following the designations of Nebuchadnezzar’s inscriptions in Da Riva 2008 (118–122), the Uruk Cylinder could also go by the designation “C310” (or III,10, following the style of Berger 1973).

24. ù ud-du-šu e-eš-re-e-ti
25. ʿku¹-un-nu sa-ak-ke-e
26. ʿù šu¹-te-šu-ru šu-lu-uḫ-ḫa
27. ʿqi?-bi¹-ta-šu ka-bi-it-ti

Col. ii

1. ra-bi-iš ú-ma-`e-er-an-ni-ma
2. ʿpa¹-ar-ši-im re-e-eš-ʿta¹-ti
3. ù pel-lu-de-e qú-ud-mu-ti
4. ša^d INNANA UNUG.KI be-e-le-et UNUG.KI
5. e-el-le-tim
6. ú-te-er₄ aš-ru-uš-šu-un
7. a-na UNUG.KI še-e-du-ú-šu
8. a-na é-an-na la-ma-sa ša
9. da-ʿmi¹-iq-tim ú-te-er₄
10. in u₄-mi-šu é-an-na
11. É iš-ta-ar UNUG.KI
12. ša ú-ul-la-nu-ú-a
13. te-me-en-ša ap-tu-ú-ma
14. su-uḫ-ḫa-tu iṣ-ra-as-su
15. te-me-en-ša la-bí-ri
16. a-ḫi-it ab-re-e-ma
17. e-li te-me-ni-ša la-bí-ri
18. ú-ki-in uš-šu-ša
19. É ki-ma si-ma-ti-ša
20. re-e-eš-ta-a-ti
21. pa-pa-ha-a-te
22. šu-ba-at^d INANNA UNUG.KI
23. ù^d na-na-a
24. in ESIR.UD.DU.A
25. ù SIG₄.AL.ÚR.RA
26. ú-še-pí-iš
27. si-ḫi-ir₄-ti É in ṭi-iṭ-tam
28. ù li-bi-it-ti
29. ki-ma la-bí-ri-im-ma e-pú-uš
30. a-na^d INANNA UNUG.KI
31. ru-ba-a-ti ši-ir₄-tim
32. é-an-na É qú-ud-du-šu
33. šu-tu-um-mu na-ar-mi-ša
34. e-eš-ši-iš e-pú-uš

Col. iii

1. ʿ^dINANNA¹ UNUG.KI ru-ba-a-ti ši-ir₄-ʿtim?¹
2. a-na é-an-na
3. ʿÉ na-ar¹-mi-ki
4. ʿin ḫi-da¹-a-ti
5. ʿù ri-ša¹-a-ti
6. in e-re-bi-ki
7. ʿli-pí-it qá-ti-ia dam-qá-a-tim¹
8. ʿḫa-dí-iš na-ap-li-si-ma
9. ʿdam-qá-tu-ú-a¹
10. ʿli-iš-ša¹-ak-na
11. ša-ap-tu-uk-ki
12. ba-la-aṭ u₄-mu-um
13. re-e-qu-ú-tim
13. še-bé-e li-it-tu-ti
14. ku-un-nu ku-su-ú

15. *ù la-ba-ri pa-le-e*
16. *a-na ši-ri-ik-ti*
17. *šu-úr-kam*
18. *e-ma qá-ab-la-^ram¹*
19. *ù ta-ḥa-zi-im*
20. *lu šú-lu-ul um-ma-ni-^ria¹*
21. *iš-ta-ar at-ti-ma*
22. *a-na na-ar a-a-bi-^ria¹*
23. *al-ki i-da-a-a*
24. *^dna-na-^ra¹*
25. *da-ru-tam NIN-ti ì-^rlì¹*
26. *e-te-el-li ša é-an-na*
27. *in ma-ḥa-ar ^dna-bi-^rum¹*
28. *IBILA ši-it-lu-ṭú*
29. *ha-a'-i-ri na-ar-mi-ki*
30. *^rép-še¹-tu-ú-a*
31. *šu-um-gi-ri*
32. *qí-bí-i du-um-qí-ia*

Translation

(i 1–9) Nebuchadnezzar (II), the king of justice who is the bright light of his land, the one who loves truth and justice, the one who constantly seeks out the shrines of the great gods, the one who provides for Esagil and Ezida, son of Nabopolassar, king of Babylon, am I.

(i 10–22) When the god Marduk, the great lord, the wisest of the gods, the one who directs the (four) quarters (of the world), with his *plentiful* countenance and his bright features, (and) with his broad glance, which is like the god Šamaš who observes everything, looked upon me with pleasure and raised up my head, he gave me an exalted name to rule over the land. Then, he (Marduk) gave me a widespread people to shepherd.

(i 23–ii 9) To provide for the cult centers and renovate sanctuaries, make rites secure, and ensure that their purification rites are carried out correctly, (by) his venerable command, he magnificently commissioned me and (thus) I returned the original rites (and) primordial rites of the goddess Ištar of Uruk, the holy lady of Uruk, (back) to their (original) place(s). I returned the protective god to Uruk (and) the goddess of goodness to Eanna.

(ii 10–34) At that time, (with regard to) Eanna, the temple of the goddess Ištar of Uruk, which, before the time I had opened up its foundation(s), its plan had been destroyed: I examined (and) checked its original foundation(s) and (then) firmly placed its (new) foundations on top of the original foundation(s). With bitumen and baked brick, I had the temple built as (it had been) in ancient times, (together with its) cellas, the seats of the goddesses Ištar of Uruk and Nanāya. I built the entire temple with mud and (unbaked) brick, as (it had been) in ancient times. For the goddess Ištar of Uruk, the exalted princess, I built anew Eanna, the consecrated temple, the *šutummu*, the place where she resides.

(iii 1–23) O Ištar of Uruk, exalted princess, when you enter Eanna, the temple where you reside, during joyous celebrations, look upon my fine handiwork with pleasure and may good things about me be set upon your lips. Give me as a gift a life of long days, the attainment of very old age, a firmly-secured throne, and a long-lasting reign. Whenever (I am in) battle and war, O Ištar, be the protection of my troops (and) march my side so that (I may) kill my enemies.

(iii 24–32) O Nanāya, the eternal lady of the gods, the pre-eminent one of Eanna, make my deeds find acceptance in the presences of the god Nabû, the triumphant heir, your beloved husband, (and) speak good (words) about me.

Commentary

i 2. *šar mīšarim* “king of justice”: This epithet is attested in Nebuchadnezzar inscriptions C31 i 2, C34 i 1, B25:2, and WBC viii 26, as well as in Nabopolassar inscriptions C12:1 and C32 i 1. Interestingly, this epithet is not attested in the inscriptions of later Neo-Babylonian kings, Neriglissar and Nabonidus.

i 3. *nūrim namra ša mātišu* “bright light of his land”: This epithet is not otherwise attested in Neo-Babylonian royal inscriptions. Moreover, it is very unusual as *nūru namru* is usually associated with gods. For example, in Nebuchadnezzar inscription C41 (i 39), the god Marduk is given this epithet. See also Tallqvist 1938, 133–134.

i 4–5. *rā'im kitti u mīšarim* “the one who loves truth and justice”: This epithet is also known from Nebuchadnezzar inscriptions C31 i 5–6 and C021 i 9–10. Nabonidus once refers to himself as *rā'im mīšari mukīn kitti* “the one who loves justice (and) establishes truth” (Weiershäuser and Novotny 2020, Nabonidus 24 i 5). Compare also the inscriptions of Sennacherib, which regularly refer to this Assyrian king as *nāšir kitti rā'im mīšari* “the guardian of truth who loves justice” (for example, Grayson and Novotny 2012, Sennacherib 1:2).

i 6. *mušte'ū ašrāt ilī rabūti* “the one who constantly seeks out the shrines of the great gods”: This epithet is attested in only one other inscription of Nebuchadnezzar (C014 i 3); it is used in several inscriptions of Nabonidus (Weiershäuser and Novotny 2020, Nabonidus 1 i 3, 23 i 2, and 34 i 5). Similar epithets, however, are used in the extant Nabopolassar and Nebuchadnezzar corpora. For example, *mušte'ū ašrāti Zababa u Ištar* “the one who constantly seeks out the shrines of the god Zababa and the goddess Ištar” (C36 i 6) and *mušte'ū ašrāti Nabī'um u Marduk bēlēya* “the one who constantly seeks out the shrines of the gods Nabū and Marduk, my lords” (C36 ii 21).

i 11. *igigalli ilī* “the wisest of the gods”: This epithet of the god Marduk is commonly attested in Nebuchadnezzar’s inscriptions. The epithet *āšir kibrāti* “the one who directs the (four) quarters (of the world)” is known also from Nabopolassar inscription C23 ii 14. In Neo-Babylonian inscriptions, Marduk is referred to as *āšir Igīgī* “the one who directs the Igīgū gods” (Nabopolassar 31 i 3) and *āšir puḥri Igīgī u Anunnakī* “the one who directs the assembly of Igīgū and Anunnakū gods” (Nebuchadnezzar C11).

i 12. *pānīšu ša maddam* “his plentiful countenance”: This expression is not otherwise attested in extant Neo-Babylonian inscriptions.

i 13. *bunnannēšu* “features”: The word *bunnannū* is not otherwise attested in Nebuchadnezzar’s inscriptions. It does appear twice in texts of Nabonidus (Weiershäuser and Novotny 2020, Nabonidus 3 x 44’ and 19 i 9). Note that *būnu* “appearance” is used to refer to the cedars of Lebanon in WBC ix 41.

i 14. *nīš īnīšu* “glance”: This construct-genitive noun combination is regularly attested, but not for a god (here, Marduk), but for the Nebuchadnezzar himself and for his predecessors; see, for example, ST vii 16 and 35, and C35 i 45 and ii 1. It is used, however, for the moon-god Sīn in an inscription of Nabonidus; see Weiershäuser and Novotny 2020, Nabonidus 28 ii 33. The adjective *šadlu* (“broad”) is normally used to describe doors (*daltu*), city gates (*abullu*), and roof beams (*gušūru*) in Nebuchadnezzar’s inscriptions, and troops (*ummānu*) and goods (*būšu*) in texts of Nabonidus; once it is used for the king’s wisdom (*milku*).

i 15. *ibarrā* “he observes”: For a similar use of the verb *barū* (“to see”), compare Nabopolassar inscription C12: 8–11 and 35.

i 17. *ippalsannīma* “he looked upon me”: The form of the verb *palāsu* (“to look at”) is also attested in two inscriptions of Neriglissar and in the stele inscription of Nabonidus’ mother Addaguppi; see Weiershäuser and Novotny 2020, Neriglissar 1 i 26 and 7 i 17’ and Nabonidus 2001 i 35 and 39.

i 18. *ullū rēšīya* “he raised up my head”: This noun verb combination is attested in the following inscriptions of Nebuchadnezzar: C34 i 19, C41 i 18, C39 ii 19–20, and B22:8. Moreover, *ullū rēšīya* appears in one inscription of Neriglissar (Weiershäuser and Novotny 2020, Neriglissar 3 i 15).

i 19–20. *ana bēlūt māti epēšu šumam šīrim ibbēma* “he gave me an exalted name to rule over the land”: The closest parallel in a Neo-Babylonian inscription appears in Nabopolassar inscription C23 i 8–9, which has *ana bēlūt māti šumam šīrim ibbū* “when he (Marduk) called (my) exalted name for dominion over the land.” The phrase *ana bēlūt māti* is known from Nebuchadnezzar inscription C31 i 19.

i 21–22. *nišim rapšāti ana rē'ūti iddinam* “he (Marduk) gave me a widespread people to shepherd”: This wording also appears in Nebuchadnezzar inscriptions C34 i 10 and C41 i 19–21. Compare C36 i 16, which has *ana rē'ūti nišim rapšāti*.

i 23–24. *zanān māḥāzim u uddušu ešrēti* “to provide for the cult centers and renovate sanctuaries”: This phraseology is very common in Nebuchadnezzar’s inscriptions; see, for example, WBC vii 40 and viii 44.

i 25. *kunnu sakkē* “to make rites secure”: The closest parallel in Neo-Babylonian inscriptions is known from Nabopolassar inscriptions C12:6 and C32 i 11, which have *kunni paršišunu* “to make their rites secure.” *sakkū* is not otherwise attested in the extant Nebuchadnezzar corpus. This word is twice used in texts of Nabopolassar (C31 i 17 and C22 i 15).

i 26. *šutēšuru šuluḥḥa* “to ensure that their purification rites are carried out correctly”: This word combination is not otherwise known from extant Neo-Babylonian inscriptions. The closest parallel is Neriglissar’s epithet *muštēširu šuluḥḥišun* “the one who ensures that their purification rites are carried out correctly” (Weiershäuser and Novotny 2020, Neriglissar 1 i 10). The word *šuluḥḥu* (“purification rites”) is attested two other times in Nebuchadnezzar’s inscriptions: C34 iii 41 and Prism v 7’, *šuluḥ bēlūti* in both instances.

i 27. *qibītašu kabitti* “his venerable command”: In Nebuchadnezzar’s inscriptions, *qibītu* is generally followed by the adjective *šīru* (“exalted”), not by *kabtu* (“venerable”). Compare *ūrtašu kabitti* “his venerable order” in Nabopolassar inscription C21 i 8.

ii 1. *rabīš uma’eranni* “he magnificently commissioned me”: This word combination is extremely common in Nebuchadnezzar’s inscriptions, as well as in royal inscriptions in general.

ii 2–9. A near-verbatim passage appears in Nebuchadnezzar inscription C34 ii 50–55. Apart from orthographic variants, that text, which has long been known, has *simāti rēštāti* “the original appurtenances” instead of *paršim rēštāti* “the original rites.”

ii 4. The titles “Ištar of Uruk” and “Lady of Uruk” are the most used designations of the goddess in the texts from the second half of the reign of Nebuchadnezzar. In the opinion of Beaulieu, they were equivalent and referred to Ištar as the *numen loci*, the goddess of city and temple (Beaulieu 2003, 120–121, 129). See also ii 11, 22, 30, and iii 1.

ii 12. *ullānū’a* “before my time”: This word is attested only one other time in the extant corpus of Nebuchadnezzar: C31 i 27. It is used at least three times by his father Nabopolassar; see Nabopolassar inscriptions C11/A:8, C12:23, and C31 i 30.

ii 13. *temmēnša aptūma* “(before) I had opened up its foundation(s) and”: Compare Nebuchadnezzar inscriptions C35 ii 13 and ST vii 59, both of which have *temmēnša aptūma* “I opened up its foundations and.”

ii 14. *suhhātu iṣrāssu* “its plan had been destroyed”: *suhhū* is not otherwise attested in Neo-Babylonian royal inscriptions, but *iṣratu* is: It appears in C211 ii 4 and C37 iii 18.

ii 15–18. A near-verbatim passage appears in Nebuchadnezzar inscription C34 ii 56–59. Apart from orthographic variants, that text has *temmēnna Eanna labīri* “the original foundation(s) of Eanna” instead of *temmēnša labīri* “its original foundation(s).” Perhaps *labīru* should be understood in col. ii 15 and 17 as “old(er),” rather than as “original,” since Nebuchadnezzar constructed Eanna anew directly on top of the seventh- and eighth-century-BCE temple, which had been rebuilt and renovated by Marduk-apla-iddina II (Frame 1995, nos. B.6.21.1–3), Sargon II (Frame 2020, nos. 125–28), Esarhaddon (Leichty 2011, nos. 133–39), and Ashurbanipal (Frame 1995, no. B.6.32.19). Thus, the foundations referred to here might be to those laid by Sargon, rather than the ones put in place by the Ur-III king Šulgi, who is mentioned as a previous builder by Sargon II (Frame 2020, no. 125 i 18). For an overview of the long building history of Eanna, see George 1993, no. 75; see also the section Nebuchadnezzar’s work on Eanna below.

ii 19–20. *kīma simātīša rēštāti* “as (it had been) in ancient times”: This three-word combination is not otherwise attested in the extant Nebuchadnezzar corpus, but it does appear in one inscription of Neriglissar and one inscription of Nabonidus; see Weiershäuser and Novotny 2020, Neriglissar 3 i 32 and Nabonidus 16 iii 1.

ii 21–25. The terms *agurru* (“baked brick”), *kupru* (“bitumen”), *papāḥu* (“cella”), and *šubtu* (“seat”) are all well attested in Nebuchadnezzar’s inscriptions. The seat of the goddess Nanāya in Eanna is called Eḫilianna (“House of the Luxuriance of Heaven”). Its known previous builders are Nazi-Marrutaš, Erība-Marduk, Esarhaddon, and Ashurbanipal (George 1993, no. 459; Frame 1995, no. B.6.32.19; and Leichty 2011, Esarhaddon 136).

ii 23. Nanāya was second to Ištar in the local pantheon of Uruk, in many aspects she and Ištar are equal. She is generally mentioned with her consort Nabû in the Neo-Babylonian royal

inscriptions and her cult in Uruk is also known from seventh-century-BCE Assyrian royal inscriptions (Frame 1995, no. B.6.32.19; Leichty 2011, Esarhaddon 136), particularly those of Ashurbanipal, who claimed to have returned Nanāya's statue to Uruk (in late 646 BCE) after he discovered a long-lost statue of her while his armies were looting and sacking the Elamite city Susa.¹⁰ For references, see Beaulieu 2003, 182–216.

ii 27–29. *siḫirti bīti in ṭiṭtam u libitti kīma labīrimma ēpuš* “I built the entire temple with mud and (unbaked) brick, as (it had been) in ancient times”: At present, there are no parallels to this passage. One could tentatively read the first word in col. ii 27 as *si-ḫi-ir₄-ti* (“circumference,” “entirety”); see CAD S, 236b, which refers to buildings constructed by Sennacherib and Nabonidus), but that orthography for *siḫirtu* is not otherwise attested in Neo-Babylonian inscriptions; the currently attested forms are: *si-ḫi-ir-ti*, *si-ḫi-ir-ti*, *si-ḫir-ti*, *si-ḫir-ti-šú*, and *si-ḫir-tú*. If this reading proves correct, then this is an unusual written form of that word. The building materials *ṭīdu* (“mud”) and *libittu* (“mud brick”) are mentioned together in Nabopolassar inscription C31 iii 2 (SIG₄.SIG₄ ù ṭi-it-tam). At present, *ṭīdu* is mentioned only in this inscription and the aforementioned text of Nebuchadnezzar's father.

ii 31. *rubāti šīrtim* “exalted princess”: This epithet is well attested in Akkadian sources, including for the goddess Ištar (see Tallqvist 1938, 333).

ii 32–33. The words *quddušu* (“consecrated”) and *šutummu* are currently not otherwise attested in Neo-Babylonian inscriptions, because they seem to be literary-religious epithets of Eanna and, thus, very few extant inscriptions refer to this temple in these terms. *šutummu*s are often mentioned in the economic and administrative documentation of sanctuaries in the Neo-Babylonian Period. They were significant parts of temple complexes, facilities that contained workshops and warehouses and formed quarters for different members of the temple personnel (Waerzeggers 2010, 11–13, and Index on p. 799; Baker 2013). These two lines *Eanna bītu quddušu šutummu narmiša* “Eanna, the consecrated temple, the *šutummu*, the place where she resides” are reminiscent of *Eanna quddušu šutummu ellu* “consecrated Eanna, the holy *šutummu*” in the text known as the “Great Ištar Prayer” line 28 (Lenzi ed. 2011, 265). Based on this parallel, *quddušu* clearly modifies *bītu* (Eanna), and not *šutummu*, which is qualified by *ellu* (“holy”) in the “Great Ištar Prayer” line 28. *šutummu*, in this inscription and in the aforementioned prayer, is certainly a designation for/epithet of Eanna and, thus, should not be regarded as an actual storeroom or workshop area of Ištar's temple. Compare, for example, Uruk itself, which is sometimes referred to as the “sheepfold” (*supūru*). Following this interpretation, this might imply that *šutummu*s could be considered as a ritually pure part of a temple. It should be noted, however, that temples had very strict rules on ritual purity, as well as bodily or spatial hygiene, and, on the whole, *šutummu*s were not considered pure, but quite the contrary since they were liminal places in which contaminated objects from outside could be kept or stored; see Waerzeggers 2010, 12.

We have opted for understanding *na-ar-mi-ša* here (and *na-ar-mi-ki* in iii 3) as a form of *narmū* “dwelling place” (see CAD N/1, 361), and not of *narāmu* “beloved.” Even if this second interpretation is also possible, the focus of this composition is to stress the return of the legitimate deity to Eanna and the rebuilding of the temple, and to highlight the character of the goddess as the tutelary spirit of Eanna and Uruk.

iii 7. *lipit qātīya damqātīm* “my fine handiwork”: This word combination is also attested in Nebuchadnezzar inscriptions C24 ii 16 and B26:29 (together with *in ḫidāti u rīšāti* “during joyous celebrations”). In general, *lipit qātīya* is either not followed by an adjective or by the adjective *šūquru* (“very valuable”); once it is modified by *ellu* (“holy”). For example, see C210 ii 19, C31 iii 1, C36 iii 46, B11:5, and B24:12.

iii 18–19. *ēma qablam u tāḫāzi* “whenever (I am in) battle and war”: This phraseology is also

¹⁰ For example, Ashurbanipal 11 (Prism A) vi 107–124: “(As for) the goddess Nanāya, who 1,635 years (ago) became angry (and) went to live in the land Elam, a place not befitting her, *then*, at that time (when) she — and the gods, her fathers — nominated me for ruling over the lands, she entrusted me with the return of her divinity, saying: ‘Ashurbanipal will bring me out of the evil land Elam and make me enter Eanna (again).’ The word(s) of their divine command that they had spoken in distant days, they now disclosed to the people of a later generation. I grasped the hand of her great divinity. She took the direct path, which pleases the heart, to Eanna. In the month Kislimu (IX), on the first day, I made her enter into Uruk and made (her) dwell on (her) eternal dais in Eḫiliana, which she loves.” (Novotny and Jeffers 2018, 251).

attested in the Nebuchadnezzar inscription C25 ii 23. Compare also brick inscription B23:14 (also from Uruk), which has *ina qablam u tāḫāzi* “in battle and war.”

iii 20–22. *lū šulūl ummānīya* “be the protection of my troops” and *ana nār ayyābīya* “so that (I may) kill my enemies”: These are not otherwise attested in Nebuchadnezzar’s inscriptions, as far as they are preserved. The combination of *nēru* and *ayyābi* is known from texts of Nabopolassar (inscriptions C12:16 and C32 i 26), Nerglissar (Weiershäuser and Novotny 2020, Neriglissar 1 i 37 and 2 i 12 and ii 26), and Nabonidus (Weiershäuser and Novotny 2020, Nabonidus 2 ii 29 and 1002 ii 31). In the extant Nebuchadnezzar corpus, the verb *nēru* (“to kill”) is generally used with *gērū* (“opponent”), *lā māgiri* (“one who is not submissive”), and *zā’eru* (“enemy”).

iii 23. *alkī idāya* “march my side”: This word combination is attested also in an inscription of Nabonidus recording the renovation of Emašdari, the temple of the goddess Ištar of Agade at Babylon (Weiershäuser and Novotny 2020, Nabonidus 2 ii 28). Compare the Nebuchadnezzar brick inscription from Uruk (B23: 15–16), which has *idāya izzizīma* “stand at my side.”

iii 25. *dārūtam bēlet ilī* “the eternal lady of the gods”: This epithet of Nanāya is not otherwise attested in Neo-Babylonian inscriptions. Ištar of Agade is called *bēlet ilī* “lady of the gods” in an inscription of Nabonidus (Weiershäuser and Novotny 2020, Nabonidus 29 iii 20); see also Tallqvist 1938, 59–60.

iii 26. *etelli* “the pre-eminent one”: One expects the feminine form of the word *etelletu*, not the masculine form *etellu*, since this epithet refers to the goddess Nanāya. In Late Babylonian documents, however, masculine forms (verbs and nouns) are often used instead of feminine forms. In Neo-Babylonian inscriptions, *etellu* is once used as an epithet of the god Marduk (Weiershäuser and Novotny 2020, Neriglissar 1 ii 29) and twice as an epithet of the king (Weiershäuser and Novotny 2020, Nabonidus 24 i 6 and 1001 i 3).

iii 28. *aplu šitluṭu* “the triumphant heir”: This epithet of the god Nabû is very well attested in the known inscriptions of Nebuchadnezzar; see, for example, C36 ii 10, C211 i 8; C212 ii 17, C38 i 77, and WBC ii 5 and vii 7.

iii 30–32. *epšētū’a šumgirī qibī dumqīya* “make my deeds find acceptance (and) speak good (words) about me”: This four-word passage appears regularly in Nebuchadnezzar’s inscriptions; see, for example, C211 ii 34, C212 ii 25, C32 iii 52–53, and C37 iii 59.

Nebuchadnezzar’s work on Eanna

The rebuilding of the Eanna recorded in this text cannot be dated with certainty, but it probably coincided with the return of the goddess Ištar to Uruk, as Nebuchadnezzar himself claims in the inscription:

(ii 2–ii 9) I returned the original rites (and) primordial rites of the goddess Ištar of Uruk, the holy lady of Uruk, (back) to their (original) place(s). I returned the protective god to Uruk (and) the goddess of goodness to Eanna.¹¹

The historiography and circumstances of the return of the divine statue have been studied by Beaulieu (2001; 2003, 129–138). According to some inscriptions of Nebuchadnezzar, as well as a few later sources, the statue of Ištar had been taken to Babylon in the eighth century BCE by a sacrilegious king, perhaps Erība-Marduk or, more plausibly, the Chaldean ruler Nabû-šuma-iškun.¹² In Uruk, the statue of Ištar was replaced by a foreign goddess, perhaps Zarpanītu, or a form of Ištar of Babylon. The reasons for this desecration are not entirely clear, but they seem to be theological in nature, responding to an attempt to integrate and synthesize local cults and religious notions in order to eliminate the “strong sense of place emanating from the local city goddess” (Beaulieu 2003, 136). This situation seems to have continued into the sixth century

¹¹ This passage is also included in C34 ii 50–55. Ištar’s return is also recorded in Nabonidus 3 iii 11’–39’ (Weiershäuser and Novotny 2020).

¹² For example, see Nabonidus 3 iii 11’–29’ (Weiershäuser and Novotny 2020), which states: “(As for) the goddess Ištar of Uruk, the exalted princess who resides in an inner sanctum (which is clad) in gold, who harnesses seven lions, whose purification rites the people of Uruk had overturned, whose inner sanctum they had removed, and whose yoked team they had dismantled during the reign of the king Erība-Marduk, who in anger had gone out from Eanna and who had dwelt (in a place) that was not her residence, (and) in whose shrine they had made a protective goddess who did not befit Eanna dwell.”

BCE, until Nebuchadnezzar undid this sacrilege by reinstalling the local goddess herself, the true protective deity of Eanna and Uruk, in her temple. The *šēdu* and *lamassu* mentioned in ii 8–9 very probably refer to Ištar herself since she, and no other divinity, was regarded as the protective deity of Uruk and the tutelary goddess of Eanna; these two terms, however, could also refer to two independent protective deities, both of whom accompanied Uruk's true divine patron when she returned to the temple (see Beaulieu 2003, 136–138).

It appears that the return of Ištar's statue and the restoration of the older, pre-eighth-century-BCE rites made it necessary for Nebuchadnezzar to rebuild the temple anew, as Eanna was either in ruins or its current state/plan were considered unbecoming the true Ištar of Uruk, as this inscription records:

(ii 10–ii 34) At that time, (with regard to) Eanna, the temple of the goddess Ištar of Uruk, which, before the time I had opened up its foundation(s), its plan had been destroyed: I examined (and) checked its original foundation(s) and (then) firmly placed its (new) foundations on top of the original foundation(s).¹³ With bitumen and baked brick, I had the temple built as (it had been) in ancient times, (together with its) cellas, the seats of the goddesses Ištar of Uruk and Nanāya. I built the entire temple with mud and (unbaked) brick, as (it had been) in ancient times. For the goddess Ištar of Uruk, the exalted princess, I built anew Eanna, the consecrated temple, the *šutummu*, the place where she resides.

Temple archives from Uruk have not provided unequivocal evidence for Nebuchadnezzar's construction of Eanna (Kleber in Jursa 2010, 540–563)¹⁴ and, thus, the evidence from this king's inscriptions cannot be contextualized within his long reign and dated according to other contemporary sources.¹⁵

In any case, both the return of Ištar and the rebuilding of Eanna, seem to be connected to a shift of names used to refer to the goddess in Nebuchadnezzar's inscriptions (Beaulieu 2003, 128–130). This gradual modification, which was probably connected to the restoration and reinforcement of Ištar's links to her original temple, is clearly attested towards the second decade of Nebuchadnezzar's reign and, thus, allows us to chronologically contextualize the rebuilding, or at least the beginning of the project, also around that time (Kleber 2008, 277). This proposed, approximate date can be confirmed from prosopographical evidence found in letter YOS 3, 5 (Beaulieu 2003, 129–130; Kleber 2008, 278), which, in all likelihood, is related to this building project, since it mentions Ninurta-šar-ušur, who is known to have held the office of *qīpu* in Eanna between 606 and 577 BCE, from the twentieth regnal year of Nabopolassar and the twenty-eighth regnal of Nebuchadnezzar (Beaulieu 2003, 129 n. 138), or, according to Kleber (2008, 31), between the sixteenth regnal year of Nabopolassar (610 BCE) and the twenty-eighth regnal year of Nebuchadnezzar. In any event, the beginning of the building program cannot be later than 577 BCE.

Moreover, YOS 3, 5 makes clear that the king himself supervised the restoration of Eanna, as he presided over the rituals relating to the laying of the foundations:

“Command of the king to Ninurta-šar-ušur. I am well; may you rejoice! I am relying (on you) for the watch in Eanna. Do not be negligent concerning offerings, (building) materials, and tools for laying the foundations of Eanna. Prepare everything! Until I come I will pray Bēl, Nabû and the Lady-of-Uruk, my personal gods. I will act in such a manner that they will grant success to me” (Beaulieu 2003, 130).

This information provides a new dimension to the claims often found in texts that infer that Babylonian kings more or less directly oversee the renovation of important buildings.¹⁶ Perhaps we should reconsider the skepticism with which scholars interpret these royal assertions and maybe accept that, at least in some cases, a direct supervision of the king actually took place.

¹³ Compare C34 ii 56–59.

¹⁴ In contrast, Eanna's contribution to the construction of buildings in other cities is well attested (Beaulieu 2005; Da Riva 2008, 71).

¹⁵ In this sense, documentation from Ebabbar is more abundant (Da Riva 2008, 72)

¹⁶ Compare the famous passage of Nabopolassar's involvement in the construction of the ziqqurat with his children in the C31 inscription (Da Riva 2013, 9–10).

Appendix 1: Concordance of cited Neo-Babylonian inscriptions

The inscriptions of Nebuchadnezzar and his father Nabopolassar are cited in this paper by their designations in Da Riva 2008 and 2013a, while those of their successors, Neriglissar and Nabonidus, are referred to the text numbering of Weiershäuser and Novotny 2020, the inaugural volume of the Royal Inscriptions of the Neo-Babylonian Empire (RINBE) series (co-directed by Karen Radner and Grant Frame). Given the ambiguity of these references, the authors felt it necessary to provide some further information about these texts.

1. Nabopolassar

- a. C11/A (Imgur-Enlil Inscription): Da Riva 2013a, 44–50; Weiershäuser and Novotny forthcoming a, Nabopolassar 1; oracc.org/ribo/Q005360.¹⁷
- b. C12 (Eḫursagtila Inscription): Da Riva 2013a, 54–63; Weiershäuser and Novotny forthcoming a, Nabopolassar 7; oracc.org/ribo/Q005366.
- c. C21 (Euphrates Inscription): Da Riva 2013a, 63–70; Weiershäuser and Novotny forthcoming a, Nabopolassar 14; oracc.org/ribo/Q005373.
- d. C22 (E'edinna Inscription); Da Riva 2013a, 70–73; Weiershäuser and Novotny forthcoming a, Nabopolassar 15; oracc.org/ribo/Q005374.
- e. C23 (Nemed-Enlil Inscription); Da Riva 2013a, 73–77; Weiershäuser and Novotny forthcoming a, Nabopolassar 4; oracc.org/ribo/Q005363.
- f. C31 (Etenmenanki Inscription); Da Riva 2013a, 77–92; Weiershäuser and Novotny forthcoming a, Nabopolassar 6; oracc.org/ribo/Q005365.
- g. C32 (Imgur-Enlil Inscription); Da Riva 2013a, 93–104; Weiershäuser and Novotny forthcoming a, Nabopolassar 3; oracc.org/ribo/Q005362.

2. Nebuchadnezzar II¹⁸

- a. C11: Da Riva 2008, 118; Weiershäuser and Novotny forthcoming a, Nebuchadnezzar II 17; oracc.org/ribo/Q005488.
- b. C23: Da Riva 2008, 119; Weiershäuser and Novotny forthcoming b; oracc.org/ribo/pager (search !cat C23).
- c. C24: Da Riva 2008, 119; Weiershäuser and Novotny forthcoming b; oracc.org/ribo/pager (search !cat C24).
- d. C25: Da Riva 2008, 119; Weiershäuser and Novotny forthcoming a, Nebuchadnezzar II 16; oracc.org/ribo/Q005487.
- e. C210: Da Riva 2008, 120; Weiershäuser and Novotny forthcoming b; oracc.org/ribo/pager (search !cat C210).
- f. C211: Da Riva 2008, 120; Weiershäuser and Novotny forthcoming b; oracc.org/ribo/pager (search !cat C211).
- g. C212: Da Riva 2008, 120; Weiershäuser and Novotny forthcoming b; oracc.org/ribo/pager (search !cat C212).
- h. C31: Da Riva 2008, 120; Weiershäuser and Novotny forthcoming b; oracc.org/ribo/pager (search !cat C31).

¹⁷ RIBo = Royal Inscriptions of Babylonia online (oracc.org/ribo/). Open-access editions of all of the published Neo-Babylonian inscriptions are accessible via the main RIBo corpus pager (oracc.org/ribo/pager) and the via Babylon 7 sub-project (oracc.org/ribo/babylon7/pager). New editions of Nabopolassar's inscriptions will appear in Weiershäuser and Novotny forthcoming a. Since the numbering for the inscriptions of Nabopolassar for that volume has been set, stable URLs for these texts are cited here.

¹⁸ New editions of the Nebuchadnezzar corpus will be published in Weiershäuser and Novotny forthcoming a and forthcoming b. The stone inscriptions and clay cylinders and prisms from Babylon will appear in forthcoming a, while the Babylon bricks and the rest of this king's inscriptions from Babylonia and the Levant will be published in forthcoming b. At present, only the numbering for the published Nebuchadnezzar material from Babylon to appear in Weiershäuser and Novotny forthcoming a has been assigned. It is not yet possible to assign numbers to the rest of the material as there are many unpublished cylinder fragments of Nebuchadnezzar that still need to be identified. Because it is unclear how many of these new pieces are duplicates of already-known texts and how many are new inscriptions, the numbering of texts for Weiershäuser and Novotny forthcoming b cannot yet be established. Stable URLs will be given for the Nebuchadnezzar inscriptions that have been assigned secure numbers, while search criteria will be given for those whose numbers will change between now and the publication of that book.

- i. C32: Da Riva 2008, 120–121; Weiershäuser and Novotny forthcoming b; oracc.org/ribo/pager (search !cat C32).
- j. C33: Da Riva 2008, 121; Weiershäuser and Novotny forthcoming a, Nebuchadnezzar II 31; oracc.org/ribo/Q005502.
- k. C34 (Middle Hill Cylinder): Da Riva 2008, 121; Da Riva 2013b, 279–285 Weiershäuser and Novotny forthcoming a, Nebuchadnezzar II 19; oracc.org/ribo/Q005490.
- l. C35: Da Riva 2008, 121; Weiershäuser and Novotny forthcoming a, Nebuchadnezzar II 23; oracc.org/ribo/Q005494.
- m. C36: Da Riva 2008, 121; Weiershäuser and Novotny forthcoming a, Nebuchadnezzar II 32; oracc.org/ribo/Q005503.
- n. C37: Da Riva 2008, 121; Weiershäuser and Novotny forthcoming b; oracc.org/ribo/pager (search !cat C37).
- o. C38: Da Riva 2008, 121; Weiershäuser and Novotny forthcoming b; oracc.org/ribo/pager (search !cat C38).
- p. C39: Da Riva 2008, 121; Weiershäuser and Novotny forthcoming a, Nebuchadnezzar II 30; oracc.org/ribo/Q005501.
- q. C41: Da Riva 2008, 19–23, 121; Weiershäuser and Novotny forthcoming a, Nebuchadnezzar II 27; oracc.org/ribo/Q005498.
- r. C014: Da Riva 2008, 121; Weiershäuser and Novotny forthcoming a, Nebuchadnezzar II 33; oracc.org/ribo/Q005504.
- s. C021: Da Riva 2008, 121; Weiershäuser and Novotny forthcoming b; oracc.org/ribo/pager (search !cat C021).
- t. B11: Walker 1981, no. 96; Da Riva 2008, 117; Weiershäuser and Novotny forthcoming b; oracc.org/ribo/pager (search !cat B24).
- u. B22: Da Riva 2008, 117; Weiershäuser and Novotny forthcoming b; oracc.org/ribo/pager (search !cat B22).
- v. B23: Walker 1981, no. 109; Da Riva 2008, 117; Weiershäuser and Novotny forthcoming b; oracc.org/ribo/pager (search !cat B23).
- w. B24: Walker 1981, no. 91; Da Riva 2008, 117; Weiershäuser and Novotny forthcoming b; oracc.org/ribo/pager (search !cat B24).
- x. B25: Walker 1981, no. 93; Da Riva 2008, 117; Weiershäuser and Novotny forthcoming b; oracc.org/ribo/pager (search !cat B25).
- y. B26: Walker 1981, no. 90; Da Riva 2008, 117; Weiershäuser and Novotny forthcoming b; oracc.org/ribo/pager (search !cat B26).
- z. NeKA (Nahr el-Kelb Archaic): Da Riva 2008, 122; Da Riva 2009; Weiershäuser and Novotny forthcoming b; oracc.org/ribo/pager (search !cat Neka).
- aa. Prism (Hofkalender): Da Riva 2008, 122; Da Riva 2013b, 254–279; Weiershäuser and Novotny forthcoming a, Nebuchadnezzar II 11; oracc.org/ribo/Q005482.
- bb. ST (Stone Tablet; East India House Inscription); Da Riva 2008, 122; Wallenfels 2008; Da Riva 2013–14; Weiershäuser and Novotny forthcoming a, Nebuchadnezzar II 2; oracc.org/ribo/Q005473.
- cc. WBC (Wadi Brisa Contemporary): Da Riva 2008, 122; Da Riva 2012; Weiershäuser and Novotny forthcoming b; oracc.org/ribo/pager (search !cat WBC).

3. Neriglissar

- a. Neriglissar 1 (Esagil Inscription): Da Riva 2013a, 114–120 (C21); Weiershäuser and Novotny 2020, 35–38; oracc.org/ribo/Q005386.
- b. Neriglissar 2 (Lībil-ḥegalla Inscription): Da Riva 2013a, 120–124 (C22); Weiershäuser and Novotny 2020, 38–40; oracc.org/ribo/Q005387.
- c. Neriglissar 3: Da Riva 2013a, 124–136 (C23); Weiershäuser and Novotny 2020, 42–46; oracc.org/ribo/Q005388.
- d. Neriglissar 7: Da Riva 2013a, 135–138 (C011); Weiershäuser and Novotny 2020, 49–50; oracc.org/ribo/Q005392.

4. Nabonidus

- a. Nabonidus 1 (Imgur-Enlil Cylinder): Schaudig 2001, 345–350 no. 2.1; Weiershäuser and Novotny 2020, 52–55; oracc.org/ribo/Q005398.
- b. Nabonidus 2 (Emašdari Cylinder): Schaudig 2001, 353–358 no. 2.3; Weiershäuser and Novotny 2020, 55–58; oracc.org/ribo/Q005399.
- c. Nabonidus 3 (Babylon Stele): Schaudig 2001, 514–529 no. 3.3; Weiershäuser and Novotny 2020, 59–72; oracc.org/ribo/Q005400.
- d. Nabonidus 16: Schaudig 2001, 397–409 no. 2.11; Weiershäuser and Novotny 2020, 96–101; oracc.org/ribo/Q005413.
- e. Nabonidus 19: Schaudig 2001, 362–370 no. 2.5; Weiershäuser and Novotny 2020, 106–110; oracc.org/ribo/Q005416.
- f. Nabonidus 24: Schaudig 2001, 384–394 no. 2.9; Weiershäuser and Novotny 2020, 119–124; oracc.org/ribo/Q005421.
- g. Nabonidus 28: Schaudig 2001, 409–440 no. 2.12; Weiershäuser and Novotny 2020, 140–151; oracc.org/ribo/Q005425.
- h. Nabonidus 29: Schaudig 2001, 426–436 no. 2.12 ex. 19; Weiershäuser and Novotny 2020, 152–157; oracc.org/ribo/Q005426.
- i. Nabonidus 34: Schaudig 2001, 373–377 no. 2.7; Weiershäuser and Novotny 2020, 165–169; oracc.org/ribo/Q005431.
- j. Nabonidus 1001: Schaudig 2001, 483–484 no. 2.26; Weiershäuser and Novotny 2020, 210–211; oracc.org/ribo/Q005463.
- k. Nabonidus 1002: Weiershäuser and Novotny 2020, 211–213; oracc.org/ribo/Q005464.
- l. Nabonidus 2001: Schaudig 2001, 500–513 no. 3.2; Weiershäuser and Novotny 2020, 223–228; oracc.org/ribo/Q005471.

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