

From the Foundations to the Crenellations

Essays on Temple Building
in the Ancient Near East
and Hebrew Bible

Edited by
Mark J. Boda and Jamie Novotny

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Table of Contents

List of Figures and Tables	ix
Preface	xi
Abbreviations	xv
List of Contributors	xxxvii

Part One: The Ancient Near East

Temple Building among the Sumerians and Akkadians (Third Millennium) <i>Richard E. Averbeck</i>	3
Temple Building in the Old Babylonian Period <i>Madeleine Fitzgerald</i>	35
Elamite Temple-Building <i>D. T. Potts</i>	49
Temple Building among the Hittites <i>Gary Beckman</i>	71
Temple Building in Northwest Semitic Literature of the Late Bronze and Iron Ages <i>Wayne T. Pitard</i>	91
Temple Building in Assyria: Evidence from Royal Inscriptions <i>Jamie Novotny</i>	109
The Restoration of Temples in the Neo- and Late Babylonian Periods: A Royal Prerogative as the Setting for Political Argument <i>Hanspeter Schaudig</i>	141
Palace to Temple—King to Cosmos: Achaemenid Foundation Texts in Iran <i>Margaret Cool Root</i>	165
Temple Building in Hellenistic Babylonia <i>Tom Boiy</i>	211
Building Rituals from the First Millennium BC: The Evidence from the Ritual Texts <i>Claus Ambos</i>	221
Temple Building in the Ancient Near East: A Synthesis and Reflection <i>Stephanie Dalley</i>	239

Part Two: Hebrew Bible

Temple Building and Exodus 25–40 <i>Pekka Pitkänen</i>	255
“Solomon Built the Temple and Completed It”: Building the First Temple According to the Book of Kings <i>Victor Avigdor Hurowitz</i>	281
Legitimizing the Temple: The Chronicler’s Temple Building Account <i>Mark J. Boda</i>	303
Temple Building in Ezra 1–6 <i>Lisbeth S. Fried</i>	319
“The Wall is No More”: Temple Reform in Ezekiel 43:7-9 <i>Margaret S. Odell</i>	339
Temple Building in Haggai: Variations on a Theme <i>John Kessler</i>	357
Temple Building and the Book of Zechariah <i>Antti Laato</i>	381
Cosmos, Temple, House: Building and Wisdom in Ancient Mesopotamia and Israel <i>Raymond C. Van Leeuwen</i>	399
Temple Building in the Hebrew Bible: A Synthesis and Reflection <i>Baruch A. Levine</i>	423

Part Three: Response

Temple Building in the Ancient Near East and the Hebrew Bible: A Response <i>Richard S. Ellis</i>	439
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Part Four: Appendices

Appendix 1: Selected Aramaic, Akkadian, Hittite, Phoenician, Persian Sumerian, and Ugaritic Sources	447
Appendix 2: Catalogue of Elamite Sources	479
Appendix 3: Hebrew Bible Passages Connected to Ancient Near Eastern (Re)Construction Rituals and Texts with Select Bibliography	511
Bibliography	517
Indices	563

Temple Building among the Hittites

Gary Beckman, Ann Arbor

The Hittite word for any type of permanent structure is *per / parna-*, most often expressed in texts by means of the Sumerogram É. If a scribe wished to make explicit that a temple was in question, he would write É.DINGIR^{LM} (read *šiunaš per*) or use É plus a divine name, for example É^dUTU, “temple of the Sun-god.” This term might designate divine accommodations of any size, from a large independent building with many internal subdivisions, such as the Great Temple at Boğazköy,¹ to the more modest establishments recently excavated in Ḫattuša’s Upper City² and the single rooms (“chapels”) devoted to a minor god or goddess within a large complex belonging to a major divinity. In later texts, we also encounter the term É^Ekarimmi-, which seems to be a more general term for a sacred building.³

The building and rebuilding of temples was a royal prerogative, although the king might entrust the repair of a building to a subordinate. It is stated in the Instructions for the Governor of a Border District (*BĒL MADGALTI = auriyaš išḫaš*) (Text 1):

To whatever town the governor of the border district travels, he shall inspect the elders, priests, “anointed priests,” and “mother-of-god priestesses” and shall say to them as follows: “In this town there is a temple of the Storm-god or of another deity and it is now neglected or in ruins. You priests, ‘mother-of-god priestesses,’ and ‘anointed priests’ must give it your attention again!” They shall restore it. They shall rebuild it exactly as it was built before.

Furthermore, reverence must be maintained for the gods and special reverence established for the Storm-god. If some temple leaks, the governor of the border district and the city commandant must repair it. Or if a rhyton of the Storm-god or a cultic utensil of some other deity is ruined, the priests, the “anointed priests,” and the “mother-of-god priestesses” must fix it.

There are nine rites connected with the construction and inauguration of a sacred building among the tablets recovered from the Hittite royal archives. For the Hittites, this category of structure included both temples and palaces, since the King,

¹ P. Neve, “Der Große Tempel in Bogazköy-Ḫattuša,” in *Le Temple et le Culte* (PIHANS 37; Leiden 1975) pp. 73–79.

² P. Neve, *Die Oberstadt von Ḫattuša: Die Bauwerke II. Die Bastion des Sphinxtores und die Tempelviertel am Königs- und Löwentor* (Mainz 2001).

³ H. G. Güterbock, “The Hittite Temple according to Written Sources,” in *Le Temple et le Culte* p. 125.

due to his close association with the gods, was imbued with some of their numinous nature⁴ and his home, like theirs, was considered to be sacred space.⁵

It is important to keep in mind that Hittite ritual texts basically served as *aides memoires* for cultic officiants, recording details difficult to retain in one's memory, such as the particular foodstuffs and other offerings necessary for a ceremony and the precise wording of incantations accompanying ritual actions. They often omit information that would have been obvious to the practitioner, but whose absence makes it difficult for the modern reader to reconstruct the precise course of the activity performed. Note also that since the Hittite language does not differentiate between masculine and feminine, it is on occasion impossible to determine the gender of an actor in the absence of an explicit nominal subject in a sentence.

Although most of the preserved manuscripts are later copies, three of these ceremonies (Texts 2–4) date back to the earliest recorded days of the Hittite Old Kingdom (see the Appendix for details). As such, they display considerable influence from the religion of the indigenous Hattic population, particularly in regard to the deities featured. Indeed, Texts 3 and 4 are Hattic-Hittite bilinguals.

Text 2

This text begins with a colloquy between the King and the divinized Throne affirming that the monarch has a legitimate claim to rule over Ḫatti (§§3–7) and that the King will enjoy a long reign. This is followed by the chief gods of the Hittite pantheon granting sturdy timber for the house of the King (§§8–14). Promises of longevity, health, strength, and valor follow (§§15–18, 21, 24–25, 29–30, 32, and 50–51). It is unclear if this mythological material was recited by an officiant or perhaps constituted the script of a dramatic performance.

The second portion of the text details the necessary supplies for ceremonies marking the departure of carpenters to hew the wood for beams (§34) and rafters(?) (§35), and the laying of the building's foundations (§§36–37) and the installation of the beams (§38). The program concludes with a banquet attended by the future inhabitants of the palace (§§39–54), culminating in offerings to the Hearth, who reciprocates with blessings.

§1 [When the King] builds [a new structure ...] with wood [...] you rebuild. [...] they have worshipped [the Sun-goddess] and the Storm-god properly.

§2 [When] you finish [constructing the building and] you [plaster the building inside, plaster] with long years; [plaster with goodness. When you plaster] outside, [then] plaster with frightfulness; plaster [with lordliness].

§3 [Then the King] says to the Throne: "Come, let us go! [You], step behind the mountains. You shall not become my man. You shall not become my in-law. Be my equal, yes, be my fellow!"

§4 "Come, let us go to the mountain, and I, the King, will give you glassware. We will eat from the glassware and you shall protect the mountain."

⁴ G. Beckman, "Royal Ideology and State Administration in Hittite Anatolia," in J. M. Sasson (ed.), *Civilizations of the Ancient Near East I* (New York 1995) p. 531.

⁵ G. Beckman, "Sacred Times and Spaces (Anatolia)," in S. I. Johnston (ed.), *Religions of the Ancient World: A Guide* (Cambridge 2004) pp. 259–264.

§5 “The gods, the Sun-goddess and the Storm-god, have allotted me, the King, the land and my house, and I, the King, will protect my land and my house. You shall not come to my house, and I will not come to your house.”

§6 “The gods have allotted me, the King, many years. The years are without limit.”

§7 “From the sea, the Throne brought rule and the (royal) cart to me, the King. The land of my mother has been opened, and I, the King, have been designated Labarna (Emperor).”

§8 “In return, I will continually praise my father, the Storm-god.” The King asks the Storm-god for the trees that the rains made strong and tall.

§9 “You spread out beneath the heavens and the lion slept beneath <you>. The leopard slept beneath you. The bear climbed up in you. And my father, the Storm-god, turned evil over to you.”

§10 “Cattle grazed beneath you. Sheep grazed beneath you. Now I, the King, the Labarna, have insinuated myself with you, and I have summoned the Throne, my fellow.”

§11 “Are you not a friend to me, the King? Allot these trees to me, so that I may fell them.” The Throne replies to the King: “Fell them, fell! The Sun-goddess and the Storm-god have allotted them to you.”

§12 “Now you (the trees) come up from this land. The Storm-god has allotted you to the King. They shall place you in service ... And they will speak many incantations up to you.”

§13 “Reveal that which is in your heart. If it is a crack(?), bring it out. If it is an evil ..., reveal it. If it is a curse, reveal it.”

§14 “If sickness is in your heart or the illness of the Sun-goddess is in your heart, clean it out. The King, the Labarna, will come to you. [Let there be] tin and iron in your heart.”

§15 But when the King enters the building, the Throne summons the eagle, “Come, I am sending you to the sea. When you go, spy out the grove in the steppe. Who is present (there)?”

§16 (The eagle) replies, “I have observed. It is Išduštaya and Papaya, the chthonic and primeval ...-deities who are present there kneeling.”

§17 (The Throne) says, “What are they doing?” (The eagle) replies to her, “(One) holds a distaff; (others) hold full spindles.”

§18 “They are spinning the years of the King. There is no limit or number to the years.”

§19 The Throne says to the King, “You will drag your(!) descendants to the window in the palace.”

§20 The skilled weaver-women and the weavers—(the ritual officiant) places glassware before them and scatters figs (thereupon). And (s)he places *kenupi*-vessels before them and scatters raisins and ... (therein), (saying) “Soothe (pl.) the King!”

§21 “Soothe his eyes! Take his illness! Take his fear! Take his ...! Take (his) headache! Take the evil words of the people! Take the hostility! Take the injury of the knees! Take the internal illness!”

§22 “To your post, O Great Star (the Sun-goddess). Establish the mountains in their place. Take your place, O Mount Pentiyara; you shall not dislodge the Great

One. Take your place, O Mount Ḫarga; <you shall not dislodge the Great One>. Take your place, O Mount Tudḫaliya; you shall not dislodge the Great Ones.”

§23 “Take your places, O Mount [...]dueni and Mount Piškuruḫwa; you shall not dislodge the Great Ones.”

§24 “[Then] the King will go [once more] to the mountain and dislodge the great Sun-goddess. [Then] he will conjure and defeat (his enemies). [Furthermore], this one or that one has taken back the illness.”

§25 “He has taken back [the words]. He has taken back hostility. He has taken back [anxiety]. He has taken back fear. He has taken back the internal illness. He has taken his sickness. He has taken his agedness and given him back youthful vigor. He has given him back a victorious nature.”

§26 “Come, you eagle. One thing of mine has disappeared. Go to the ghats and bring a *kenupi*-vessel.”

§27 “In the *kenupi*-vessel, join(?) the *šišai* of the lion and the *šišai* of the leopard, and hold them.”

§28 “Gather them and make them one. Take them to the heart of the human. May the spirit of the King be gathered in his heart.”

§29 “May the Sun-goddess and the Storm-god accept the arrangement of the King, and may their word become one. O Sun-goddess and Storm-god, reallocate the land to the King. They renew his years. They renew (his) frightfulness.”

§30 “They constructed his body of tin. They made his head of iron. They made his eyes those of an eagle. They made his teeth those of a lion.”

§31 “May Telipinu come. May he open [the storehouse] and bring wine, nine *šaptamenzu*-measures. May he carry it to the mountain. All the gods are gathered on the mountain, and they are rejoicing over the King and they acclaim him.”

§32 “The Sun-goddess and the Storm-god looked after the King. They gave him the vigor of youth for a second time. They set no limit to his years.”

§33 “They scattered *šepit* and *ewan* (grain) and milled them. May the gods turn over to evil and crush whoever should seek evil for the King.”

§34 When (the King) builds a palace in a town anywhere, whatever carpenter goes to the mountains to cut the beams takes from the palace one bull, three sheep, three jugs of wine, one jug of *marnuwa*, ten snack-loaves, twenty “tooth”-loaves, and fifty ration-loaves.

§35 When the carpenter goes to cut the rafters(?) and the cross-beams, he takes from the palace twenty “tooth”-loaves and fifty ration-loaves.

§36 When they lay the foundations, they take from the palace one bull, one cow, and ten sheep. They sacrifice the bull to the Storm-god and the cow to the Sun-goddess of the city of Arinna.

§37 They sacrifice the sheep, one to each deity, and they take the loaves and wine from the palace.

§38 When they install the beams, they do the same once more.

§39 When the maintenance personnel begin to plaster the new structure, they speak these words: “The Throne says, ‘When you plaster the building inside, you will plaster with long years. You will plaster with goodness.’”

§40 “‘When you plaster it outside, plaster it with frightfulness. Plaster with lordliness.’”

§41 They take from the palace three sheep, three jugs of wine, three jugs of *marnuwa*, ten snack-loaves, twenty “tooth”-loaves, and fifty ration-loaves.

§42 When the maintenance personnel install the hearth in the new structure, they speak these words:

§43 “The gods have installed the hearth, and have ... it with copper. They have cleansed it with iron. The gods are seated, and the owners of the building—the King and the Queen and the secondary wives—take their seats. And they sway like gazelles(?)”

§44 Then the daughters of the household take their seats. The *tuhhan* are in place and the *šahuwan* is set below. Groats are placed (on them?). The Hearth says, “This is good for me.”

§45 Then the paternal brothers take their seats and they frolic like eagles. The Hearth says, “This is good for me.”

§46 “May the King and the Queen be [...] to the gods. The children of the King [...]”

§47 Then they kneel down at the hearth. “May the male and female children be numerous to the first and second generation.” The Hearth says, “This is good for me.”

§48 Then they take these things from the palace: one *wakšur*-measure of lard, one *wakšur*-measure of honey, one cheese, one rennet, white wool, black wool, one quart of beer bread, one quart of malt, *šamama*-nuts, raisins, *leti*-nuts, *šuwaitar*-nuts, fruit pulp(?), and salt—as much as is determined by the Hearth.

§49 They place ten *walla* and say as follows: “As these *walla* stand upright(?), may the words of the King likewise stand upright(?)”

§50 They place a branch of a grapevine and say as follows: “As the grapevine sends down roots and sends up branches, may the King and the Queen send down roots and send up branches.”

§50a “May [the King] and the Queen likewise be [provided] with long years, [health], strength, and offspring [to the first] and second generation ...”

§51 They plant a yew and say as follows: “As the yew is eternally thriving and does not shed its leaves, may the King and the Queen likewise be thriving and may their words likewise be eternal.”

§52 They plant an *artarti*-tree and a *maršikka*-tree and say as follows: “As they cultivate these, may their descendants to the first and second generation likewise care for the King and the Queen.”

§53 They place all of these things under the hearth.

§54 They take from the palace three sheep, one hundred loaves, three jugs of wine, and five jugs of *marnuwa*, and they make offerings to the hearth.

Colophon: By the hand of Pikku. He wrote it under the supervision of Anuwanza.

Text 3

This ceremony is conducted by the *zilipuriyatalla*-priest, whose title indicates his association with the Hattic god Zilipura, himself identified with the deity Šulinkatte. The final element of this latter divine name, *katte*, is the Hattic word for “king,” and the epithet “King” frequently accompanies the gods here. On the mythological level, the taking possession of throne and cultic utensils by Zilipura/Šulinkatte (§§8–10 and 15) is paradigmatic of the human king’s occupancy of his new palace.

Other themes include the acquisition of only unblemished construction materials (§§3–7) and the exhortation of the deity to be on guard lest evil enter the building. The final paragraphs deal with offerings and supplies (§§18–20). The presence of pegs and a hammer in §19 suggests that “nailing” rites such as those found in Texts 4 and 7 were also performed here.

§1 When they install the door-bolt in a new palace and the *zilipuriyatalla*-priest performs a rite there, he says these words.

§2 “The gods distributed the lands, but they placed the great throne in Ḫattuša so that the Labarna, the King, [might take his seat (upon)].”

§3 “When we put it in order, the house of the Labarna, the King, we will go to the mountains, and we will give him good stones.”

§4 “No poor stone shall be placed therein for him. No loose(?) or worn *alhari*-stone shall (be) therein.”

§5 “On Mount Šakdunuwa let (the gods) hide the [poor] timber, the poor roof (-beam), the poor *huittašša*, and the poor floor-board(?)”

§6 “Let them give the King, the Labarna, the good timber, the good roof(-beam), the good *huittašša*, and the good floor-board(?)”

§7 “In the Dark Earth let them hide the poor [...], but [give] the good one to the King, the Labarna.”

§8 “In the gate the god Zilipura, the King, constructed for himself the throne of [the palace(?)].”

§9 “He took for himself the garments, the wall-hangings(?), and the shoes, and set them on the throne.”

§10 “He took for himself the cheese and the rennet and set them on the throne.”

§11 “The gods observed (this) and they give wealth and abundance to the Labarna, the King.”

§12 “Furthermore, let them give [children] and descendants to the Queen to the first and second generation.”

§13 “At the same time, I command him, ‘O Šulinkatte (=Zilipura), guard each of the four pillars and the wall for the King.’”

§14 “Let the evil man not come. Let the evil man not enter the palace.”

§15 “Šulinkatte, the King, took for himself the utensils. He took them up and set them on the door-bolt.”

§16 “Let him always allow the good to enter, but let him not allow the evil to enter. Šulinkatte, the King, is inside.”

§17 “Somehow you will go in again.”

§18 From the temple, (s)he takes the following: one ram, one male goat, one *wakšur*-measure of lard, one *wakšur*-measure of honey, one cheese, one rennet, three goatskins—among which are one red, one white, and one black, one headband, one pair of leggings, one set of single-ply wall-hangings, one pair of shoes, one skein of white wool, one skein of black wool, one *parīsu*-measure of wheat, one *parīsu*-measure of barley, one *parīsu*-measure of *karš*, one *parīsu*-measure of malt, (and) one *parīsu*-measure of beer bread.

§19 Thirty pegs of iron, (weighing) one shekel each; thirty pegs of copper, one shekel each; one hammer <of iron(?)>, weighing one shekel; one knife of copper, weighing four shekels; one *tupû* of copper, weighing one shekel; twenty standard

loaves, one *huppar*-vessel of *marnuwa*, one *huppar*-vessel of young wine, potter's tools, and [reed-worker's] tools. The *zilipuriyatalla*-priest takes them.

§20 They make offerings as follows: one bull to the Storm-god, one bull to the Sun-goddess of the city of Arinna, one sheep to [Mezzulla(?) ...] they have on hand. One sheep for the mountains, [one] sheep for the rivers, [one sheep] for the Lord of Procreation, one sheep for the Lord of [...], one [sheep] for Ereškigal and the front and rear thresholds(?), one sheep for the male deities, and one sheep for [the female deities].

§21 When they install the door-bolt, they make offerings in precisely this manner.

Colophon. One tablet, complete. When they install the door-bolt in a new palace and the *zilipuriyatalla*-priest says [these] words in Hattic.

Text 4

Here the King's construction activity is again paralleled by divine action, on this occasion by the building and inauguration of a house by the Sun-goddess in the Hattic town of Liḫzina, assisted by the Storm-god, the chthonic deity Lelwani, and Kamrušepa/Kataḫzipuri, goddess of magic. Again, the text closes with a catalog of necessary materials (§14) and foodstuffs (§15).

§1 When the King builds a new structure anywhere and they lay the foundations, the cupbearer-priest performs a ritual and speaks these words:

§2 “The Sun-goddess built (a house) for herself in the city of Liḫzina and the Storm-god, the King, and the god Lelwani, the King, laid the foundations. Then the Sun-goddess built her house and summoned the goddess Kamrušepa.”

§3 “‘You mastered the house (construction).’ Then Kamrušepa put it in place, that which she had mastered. Then she summoned the mighty smith, ‘Come, take them, the iron pegs and the copper hammer.’”

§4 “‘Take it for yourself, the [...] of iron, and cut open the earth.’ Ḫašammeli went in and raked up the hearts (=minds?) of the gods, ‘Let them come to belong to the mortal!’ The gods alone will treat the land and us.”

§5 “Kamrušepa took it for herself, the hearth of iron. She set it in place and kindled the *šaḫi*- and the *parnulli*-(aromatics). She kindled the sweet reed and the *ḫap-puriya*. Kamrušepa took her seat upon the throne.”

§6 She took [the skin] of a lion; she took [the skin] of a leopard. But they took it, the *šakriya* [...] They took the *šakriya* [...] They took [...] the Thousand Gods [...].”

§7 “The Storm-god [called] to Lelwani, ‘Come, let us drink! [Let us eat] bread; let us drink [wine(?)]!’”

(The remainder of the Hittite translation of this portion has been almost entirely lost. The Hattic column itself is badly damaged. We can translate only a few words and phrases: “the cupbearer”; “they placed”; “the ox of the Storm-god”; “in Ḫattuša, the King ... his house”; “Tabarna, the King, seats himself. ... Tawananna ...”; “hammer”; “the word of [Tabar]na[?]”; “the word of Kataḫzipuri [=Kamrušepa]”; “evil shall not enter”; and “the gods.”)

§14 The cupbearer-priest takes these things from the palace: one white *kišri*, one [black] *kišri*, [one] loop of blue wool, one loop of red wool, seventy(?) bronze pegs,

each weighing one shekel, ten copper *walla*, each weighing two shekels, one copper ox, weighing five shekels—he places the ox beneath the altar—a dozen copper hammers, each weighing two shekels, one copper door, weighing [...] shekel(s), and [one ...] of copper, weighing five shekels.

§15 [N] standard loaves, one *huppar*-vessel of *marnuwa*, one jug of ordinary beer, one *parīsu*-measure of wheat, one *parīsu*-measure of barley, one *parīsu*-measure of *karš*, one *parīsu*-measure of beer bread, one *parīsu*-measure of malt, [one *parīsu*-measure] of meal, one lump [of salt], one cheese, one rennet, one lion skin, one leopard skin, [one] wild boar [skin], one wooden cover(?), one table, and potter's equipment. The cupbearer-priest takes all these.

Colophon. [One tablet]. Text of the cupbearer-priest. Complete. [Written by ...], Chief of Scribes.

Text 5

The beginning of this text is missing and we join the proceedings with the charge to the sacred place to be loyal only to the god or goddess to whom it has been dedicated (§§1'–2'; compare §§6'–7'), followed by a communal meal (§3'). Next comes the placement of foundation deposits (§§9'–14'): Bronze figurines of the goddess Ninemundu (Sum. "She Who Built the House") are set under each corner of the building and a winged ox of the same alloy is placed beneath the (central) pillar. A bronze lid filled with foodstuffs is put under each image and ear-shaped pastries stuffed in their ears (§§16'–18'), after which they are smeared with the blood of a sacrificed sheep (§20'). Finally, the foundations are filled with additional comestibles and precious objects (§§13'–14'). The festivities continue with repeated offerings to Ea, the Mesopotamian god of wisdom (§§18'–24'), and Ninemundu (§§25'–28') before our text breaks off.

(The first column is almost entirely lost.)

§1' ... (s)he offers three times and afterwards pours out fine oil. At the same time, (s)he says, "O (sacred) place, eat and drink, and rejoice! But you shall not allow in another deity or an evil portent!"

§2' "Look only to the deity to whom you are assigned!"

§3' Then they eat and drink while the musicians sing. They make offerings to that very part of the building, but they do not speak of any particular deity.

§4' When they have finished, (s)he pours out a *tallai*-vessel of fine oil and lowers a silver [ladder(?)] (into the offering pit). Then she anoints that ritual locus all around.

§5' [Then] (s)he asks to drink and libates oil. Thereafter, (s)he asks [again] to drink. (S)he drinks to the altar, the (sacred) place, the throne, the table, [...], and the *huprušhi*-vessel. Then [(s)he drinks to] the Dark Path [...] and crumbles *tappinnu*-loaves. (S)he places [them on] its table.

§6' [But when] they finish drinking, the ritual client does [...] and says as follows: "O (sacred) place, [...]. I have given you an offering of command, and afterwards [I have given] you a burnt offering. Then I have given you an offering for well-being, and I have imposed an oath on you by means of [...]. Furthermore, I have anointed you with fine oil."

§7' "Look only to the deity in connection with whom I have summoned you! [But] you shall not allow in another deity or an evil [portent]!"

§8' [Then] (s)he [flattens(?)] an oil cake. (S)he stops up the pit, and [they place] it on top. The meat and loaves that [are left over] are by no means [sacred]. The one who performs the ritual takes them home. The [Ritual] of Well-Being is complete.

§9' [Then] they excavate(?) that location and lay the foundations. But when they finish [...], they bring(?) four figurines of bronze. [These] are their children. The goddess Ninemundu (^dNIN.É.MU.UN.DÛ) [...] They hold up the [...] of bronze.

§10' [One ox] of bronze, its wings [of bronze, ...], the *ayakki*-shrine [... They take] tin, lead, [..., "Babylon-stone"], carnelian, quartz, [...], *hulla*-stone—all of the stones, each [...]—one shekel of silver, ten *walla* of iron, <ten> *walla* [of bronze(?), ...], ten pegs of iron, ten *enzi* of iron, and one iron hammer.

§11' Furthermore, all of the grain: barley, wheat, peas, chick peas, [broad beans], *parhena*, *šepit*, *karš*, malt, beer bread—all the grain, a handful of each, salt, honey, [..., fine oil, ghee, sesame oil], all the fruits—one-half handful of each, [...], and all the grain—one-half handful of each [they take].

§12' Then they place one bronze figurine of Ninemundu under each corner. [They take] one ox [of bronze], its wings of bronze, weighing one mina, and they place it under the location of the pillar. [They place] a lid of bronze beneath each of the four bronze figurines and the bronze ox.

§13' In each lid (s)he pours a little fine oil, ghee, sesame oil, honey, and salt. Then (s)he takes the seeds of grain, the fruit, all the seeds of garden (plants), the malt, beer bread, two *walla* of iron, two *walla* of alabaster, [two(?)] *enzi* of iron, lapis-lazuli, carnelian, quartz, hematite, "Babylon-stone"—all of the stones and glass, a little of each, and places them on the bronze images and the bronze ox.

§14' Afterwards, they fill all the foundations with the seeds of grain, fruit, all the seeds of garden (plants), fine oil, ghee, sesame oil, honey, salt, malt, beer bread, silver, gold, stones, and glass.

§15' Further: three warm loaves of one-half quart (of flour), one sweet loaf of one-half handful, ten unleavened breads, one jug of beer, one flask of wine, one jug of wine, one jug of beer, one jug of *marnuwa*, one jug of *tawal*, one jug of *walhi*; from the waiter: the stews, all the fruits, three oil cakes of one-half handful; halvah, *haršpauwant*-loaves, a dozen *tappinnu*-loaves of one-half handful, three small cheeses, and one-half handful of meal.

§16' Ten ears are made of bread. (S)he sets up one wooden table for Ea inside, opposite the pillar, and places one warm loaf on it. On top (s)he places the dozen *tappinnu*-loaves, one GÚG-loaf, one unleavened bread, the ten ears of bread, and cedar shavings.

§17' (S)he sets up one reed table before the wooden table of Ea and places all the entrees and all the fruit (on it).

§18' Furthermore, three times she libates [...] wine, beer, honey, and *marnuwa* before the table for Ea and provides food for Ea. [Then] (s)he puts [an ear of bread] into the ears of each bronze figurine, and (s)he puts [an ear of bread] into the ears of the bronze ox.

§19' (S)he takes [...] from the table. [...] the bronze [...] from the door(?) [...] the ears of bread to [...] And they become deities of ...

§20' (S)he offers one sheep to Ea, and smears the four bronze figurines, the bronze ox, and the *ayakki*-shrine with blood. Then (s)he [takes] the raw meat—the head, feet, breast, and shoulder—and places them before the table of Ea.

§21' They roast the liver and heart. (S)he takes the unleavened breads, [...], the [...] of bronze, and the sliced liver and heart and places them on [the table].

§22' Afterwards, (s)he libates wine, beer, *marnuwa*, and *walḫi*—some of each—three times before Ea.

§23' [But] when the entrees arrive, they take their seats to eat, and (s)he drinks three times while seated [to] Ea, Ištar, and Ḫebat. (S)he breaks three *tappinnu*-loaves and places them before Ea on the table.

§24' Afterwards, (s)he drinks once while seated to Ea and [...]agga. (S)he breaks a *tappinnu*-loaf and places it before Ea [on] the table.

§25' [Afterwards], (s)he drinks once while seated to Ninemundu. [(S)he breaks a *tappinnu*-loaf] and places it before Ea [on the table].

§26' [Afterwards], for a second time, (s)he drinks once while seated to Ninemundu. (S)he breaks a *tappinnu*-loaf [and] places [it] before Ea on the table.

§27' [Afterwards], for a third time, [(s)he drinks once while seated] to Ninemundu. (S)he breaks a *tappinnu*-loaf [and] places [it] before Ea on the table.

§28' [Afterwards], for a fourth time, [(s)he drinks once while seated] to Ninemundu. (S)he breaks a *tappinnu*-loaf [and] places [it before] Ea on the table.

§29' [(S)he pours out ...] and [strews] salt on either side of [each] bronze figurine.

(Remainder too fragmentary for translation.)

Text 6

This composition presents an eight- or nine-day regimen for the setting up of a satellite cult of the Goddess of the Night, here identified with the exotic goddess Pirinkir,⁶ as an extension of a pre-existing temple establishment dedicated to the same deity. We are given no details concerning the construction of the building, but are fully informed about the fashioning of the new cult image (§2) and the provision of the necessary temple furnishings (§§3–7) and garments for the divine figure (§8).

Ceremonies feature the evocation of the deity from various terrains (§9), from the underworld (§12) and from distant lands (§24), as well as the consecration of the new temple and its furnishings (§§20, 30, and 32). Most striking is the incantation in which the goddess is asked to “divide her divinity” so that she might inhabit two sanctuaries (§21). The introduction of her numinous quality into the new structure is accomplished through a series of actions in which objects called *uliḫi* are attached first to the old and then to the newly-manufactured cult image (§§10, 21, 26, 27, and 30–31).

In addition, the walls of the new temple are washed with oil brought from the mother institution (§30) and later the image, her cult equipment, and the building itself are smeared with the blood of a sacrificed sheep and thereby sanctified (§32).⁷

⁶ G. Beckman, “The Goddess Pirinkir and Her Ritual from Ḫattuša (CTH 644),” *Ktama* 24 (1999) pp. 25–39.

⁷ G. Beckman, “Blood in Hittite Ritual,” *Hethitica* (Erich Neu Memorial Volume, forthcoming).

§1 Thus says the priest of the Deity of the Night: When a person for whom (the matter) of the temple of the Deity of the Night, that is, (the matter) of the Deity of the Night (herself), have become (incumbent)—When it comes about that (s)he builds another temple of the Deity of the Night from (the base of) this temple of the Deity of the Night, and then establishes the deity independently, while (s)he completes the construction fully,

§2 the smiths fashion the deity in gold. They also set about decking her out with the accoutrements appropriate to her. Stuck on her back like beads are sun-disks of silver, gold, lapis-lazuli, carnelian, “Babylon stone,” chalcedony(?), quartz, and alabaster, as well as life-symbol(s) and morning stars(?) of silver and gold. They set about fashioning them in that manner.

§3 One sun-disk of gold of one shekel—its name is Pirinkir. One “navel” of gold and one set of *burki* of gold—they are set with “Babylon stone.” These the priest assigns to the smiths as her ritual equipment. Stuck on her back are (sun-disks) of silver, gold, lapis, carnelian, “Babylon stone,” quartz, chalcedony(?), and alabaster. One tray of stone,

§4 two iron fibulae plated with gold, two iron pegs, two gold rhyta, two silver goblets, two silver *etmari*-vessels, two bronze *etmari*-vessels, a bronze *zeriyalli*—all this together, six bronze *šittar*, among which three are plated with silver and three with gold, two bronze knives, two bronze GĪR.GĀN-vessels, one set of bronze cymbals, one lute—either of boxwood or of ivory, one drum,

§5 one bovine horn, (containing) fine oil, one comb—either of boxwood or of ivory, one set of *manapnatalla*—either of boxwood or of ivory, two offering tables, two tables, two wooden stands, one throne, six *šekan* in height—it is doubly ..., one throne for sitting, one footstool, and one set of *tarmalla*.

§6 They take red, blue, black, green, and white wool and make it into two pair of *azzalli*. Then they take blue, red, black, green, and white wool and make it into a *šuturiya*. Two bronze pegs—they pound them into the gate of the courtyard of the temple, one on each side, and the *šuturiya* is hung down (from them). One basket—either of reed or of *tamalata*, one *hūpara*-cloth, one red turban(?), (and) two troughs of wine.

§7 (The Mesopotamian priest) Qišti-Adad sent the following: one wooden door, one [...], one serving tray, one tray, [...], one small bed of boxwood, one [...], one set of bronze *šagaru*, one bronze mirror(?), one bronze [...]-vessel, one small copper kettle, seven bronze *takittu*, one small bronze basin of one *mina* for bathing the deity,

§8 one high-waisted garment, one trimmed tunic, one hood, one cap, one petticoat, one *tuḥapšu*-tunic, (and) one gold fibula—(all) this for a female (deity); one garment, one shirt, one Hurrian shirt, one trimmed and decorated sash, one trimmed tunic, one BAR.TE-garment, one *šaturratu*-garment, one *tuḥapšu*-tunic, one bow, one quiver, one axe, (and) one knife—(all) this for a male (deity). And when they finish fashioning the deity, they arrange all of this in place. That ritual patron who establishes the deity independently, the priest, and the *katra*-priestess will bathe themselves the following day, so that (first) day passes.

§9 The next day, the second day, while the sun is still up, they take these things from the house of that ritual patron: one *tarpala* of red wool, one *tarpala* of blue wool, one woolen *kišri*, one shekel of silver, one *gazzarnul*-cloth, a little fine oil, three unleavened breads, and one jug of wine. And they go to the waters of purifica-

tion to draw (some), and they draw water of purification. Then they carry it to the temple of the Deity of the Night from which the (new) temple of the Deity of the Night is built. They place it on the roof, and it spends the night beneath the stars. On the day that they take the water of purification, they draw the old deity from the mountain, the river, the pasture, the sky, and the earth along the seven roads and the seven paths by means of the red wool and the fine oil.

§10 They draw her to the old temple and bind an *ulihī* on the deity. The personnel of the deity take these things: one *tarपाला* of red wool, one *tarपाला* of blue wool, one woolen *kišri*, one white *kureššar*-garment, one bead of *kirinni*-stone, one shekel of silver, a little fine oil, five unleavened breads, two *mūlati*-loaves of one-half handful (of flour), one small cheese, and one jug of wine—they take these things for the Ritual of Drawing Up. One *tarपाला* of red wool, one *tarपाला* of blue wool, one loop of white wool, two *mūlati*-loaves of one-half handful, five unleavened breads, (and) a little fine oil—they take these things for the *duḥapši*-Ritual.

§11 One white *kureššar*-garment, one *tarपाला* of blue wool, one *tarपाला* of red wool, one woolen *kišri*, one set of four-ply wall-hangings, two shekels of silver, among which are one shekel of silver for the offering pit and one shekel of silver for the *gangatatt*-Ritual, ten unleavened breads, two *mūlati*-loaves of one-half handful, one small cheese, a little fine oil, one-half handful of sesame oil, one-half handful of honey, one and one-half handful of ghee, one *wakšur*-measure of wine, and one lamb or kid—they take these things for the Ritual of Blood. They take five unleavened breads, three *mūlati*-loaves of one-half handful, one measuring vessel of wine, and one sheep for the Ritual of Praise. Twenty unleavened breads, two *mūlati*-loaves of one-half handful, one measuring vessel of wine, one-half handful of sesame oil, one-half handful of honey, one-half handful of ghee, one handful of barley flour, and one lamb—they take these for the Holocaust Ritual. They arrange all of these things in place. Second day finished.

§12 On the third day at daybreak, early, when the stars are still out, the ritual patron comes straightaway into the temple. They bring the water of purification down from the roof. Then the ritual patron goes in before the deity and bows to the deity. (S)he sponsors the Ritual of Drawing Up. The priest draws the deity up from the offering pit seven times, and the ritual patron draws (the deity) up seven times.

§13 Then they come forth from the temple to the storehouse, and they perform the *dupšaḥi*-Ritual in the storehouse. They take one *mūlati*-loaf for the *dupšaḥi*-Ritual, but they take back the *mūlati*-loaf that is left over for the *dupšaḥi*-Ritual or the Ritual of Praise. Then the ritual patron goes wherever he wishes. But that day when night falls and a star appears, the ritual patron goes into the old temple, but (s)he does not bow to the deity. (S)he sponsors the Ritual of Blood. They offer the Ritual of Blood with a fish. Afterwards, they offer a kid or a lamb. The ritual patron ... and stands up.

§14 Then (s)he sponsors the Ritual of Praise. They offer the Ritual of Praise with a sheep. Further, with silver and the *gangati*-plant they treat the ritual patron together with the deity, but afterwards they burn a lamb as a holocaust. Then the ritual patron bows and goes away to his/her home.

§15 [But] while it is (still) [night on that] day and the sun has not yet risen, the personnel of the deity [take these things: one] red [*tarपाला*], one blue *tarपाला*, one woolen *kišri*, [one shekel of silver, one *gazzarnul*-cloth], three unleavened breads, one jug of wine, and a little fine oil. Then they go to the waters of purification, and

they take water of purification to the old temple. They place it on the roof, and it spends the night beneath the stars. Those persons (the personnel of the deity), however, (take the following things): one sheep, one warm loaf of one-half quart, five GÚG-loaves of one handful, three oil cakes of one-half handful, one *mūlati*-loaf of one-half handful, ten unleavened breads, three *haršpauwant*-loaves of one-half handful of MA.AD.GÁ-flour, *gangati*-soup, porridge, chick pea soup, broad bean soup, pea soup, *ewan*-soup, groats soup—one-half handful of each, dried fruit—a bit of each, cress, nettles(?), a little fine oil, two *tarpala* of red wool, two *tarpala* of blue wool, one woolen *kišri*, one *hūppar*-vessel of beer, (and) one jug of wine—up on the roof they take these things for (the Ritual of) Well-being for Pirinkir. One shekel of silver for the offering pit, two *tarpala* of red wool, two *tarpala* of blue wool, two woolen *kišri*, a little fine oil, one-half handful of sesame oil, one-half handful of ghee, one-half handful of honey, one *gazzarnul*-cloth, one *mūlati*-loaf of one-half handful, three oil cakes of one-half handful, one GÚG-loaf, one sweet loaf of a handful, twenty unleavened breads, two *huthūtalla*-loaves of one-half handful, three *haršpauwant*-loaves of one-half handful of MA.AD.GÁ-flour,

§16 *gangati*-soup, porridge, chick pea soup, broad bean soup, pea soup, *ewan*-soup, groats soup—one-half handful of each, dried fruit—a bit of each, one quart of barley flour, one sheep, one *hūppar*-vessel of beer, one jug of wine, cress, (and) nettles(?)—these things they take inside before the deity for (the Ritual of) Well-being. And the ritual patron prepares a gift for the deity, either a silver life-symbol or a silver morning star(?). Third day finished.

§17 When on the fourth day a star appears, the ritual patron comes into the temple and sponsors the ritual for Pirinkir. They offer the Ritual of Well-being to Pirinkir. But when they finish it, then they bring the deity down from the roof, scatter bread crumbs and fruit beneath her, and carry her into the temple.

§18 And inside they offer (the Ritual of) Well-being before the deity. Then the ritual patron rewards the deity, the priest, and the *katra*-women. The ritual patron bows and goes away. Fourth day finished.

§19 At dawn on the fifth day, they take five unleavened breads, one *mūlati*-loaf of one-half handful, *gangati*-soup, cress, and one *hanišša*-vessel of beer, and offer a *tuhalzi*-(Ritual) to the deity. But the ritual patron does not come again. The ritual of the old temple is finished.

§20 They wave [a kid(?)] and a lamb [over] the new temple that is constructed and [the equipment] that ... therein. Afterwards, they wave [...] And they carry the new deity of gold, together with her equipment, into the new temple. Then they set her down on the table from the tray in just this manner.

§21 But when they finish the *tuhalzi*-Ritual in the old temple, they pour the fine oil into a wooden *tallai*-vessel, and (s)he says before the deity, “O esteemed deity, guard your person, but divide your divinity! Come (along) to that new temple and take possession of the honored place! When you go, take possession of that very place!” Then they draw the deity seven times from the wall with red wool. And (s)he places the *ulihī* into the *tallai*-vessel of fine oil.

§22 The *tallai*-vessel is stopped up, and they carry it into the new temple and set it down separately. They do not set it with the deity.

§23 If it is acceptable to the ritual patron, they draw the new deity into the new temple on the day that they offer the *tuhalzi*-Ritual to the old temple. If it is not acceptable to him, they draw her (in) on the second (=sixth) day. They take the fol-

lowing things for the drawing (ceremony): one *tarpala* of red wool, one red *kureššar*-garment, a little fine oil, a wooden *tallai*-vessel, twenty unleavened breads, [two] *mūlati*-loaves of one-half handful, one small cheese, and one jug of wine. And they go out to the river.

§24 They draw the deity from Agade, Babylon, Susa, Elam, ҲUR.SAG. KALAM.MA (=Kish), the city she loves(!; text: you love), from the mountain, the river, the sea, the valley, the pasture, the spring(?), the sky, and the earth along the seven roads and seven paths. The ritual patron goes behind.

§25 And when they finish drawing (in) the deity, a tent is erected before the river. They carry the *ulīhi* into the tent and they place (the deity) on a reed table. They take a little fine oil, a *nahzi*-measure of sesame oil, a *nahzi*-measure of honey, a *nahzi*-measure of fruit, twenty unleavened breads, three *mūlati*-loaves of one-half handful, three oil cakes of one-half handful, three small cheeses, one handful of barley flour, and three jugs of wine.

§26 Then they offer the Ritual of Blood with a kid, and thereafter they offer (the Ritual of) Praise with a lamb, following which a lamb is burned as a holocaust. Afterwards, they bring in to the deity from the waiters all the soups, one warm loaf of one-half handful, one GÚG-loaf, one sweet loaf of one handful, one *hūppar*-vessel of beer, and one jug of wine. They give (these things) to the deity to eat. Furthermore, they carry a (new) *ulīhi* into the house of the ritual patron, accompanied by drum and cymbals. They scatter sourdough bread, crumbled cheese, and fruit under (the deity), wave *hušti*-material over the deity, and set up the deity in the storehouse.

§27 And for the holocaust are prepared one lamb, twenty unleavened breads, one *mūlati*-loaf of one-half handful, one oil cake of one-half handful, one handful of barley flour, one-half handful of sesame oil, one-half handful of ghee, one-half handful of honey, and one-half handful of fruit. They give the lamb to the deity as a holocaust and bring the *ulīhi* in to the deity. They bind the *ulīhi* onto the new deity. There is no Ritual of Blood or Ritual of Praise. The ritual patron goes away.

§28 (Sixth/seventh day). Those persons take one *tarpala* of red wool, one *tarpala* of blue wool, one shekel of silver, one *gazzarnul*-cloth, one woolen *kišri*, a little fine oil, three unleavened breads, and one jug of wine. They go to the waters of purification, and they carry water of purification into the new temple. They place it on the roof, and it spends the night under the stars. On that day they do not do anything (further).

§29 (Seventh/eighth day). Those persons take twenty unleavened breads, two *mūlati*-loaves of one-half handful, three oil cakes of one-half handful, three *haršpauwant*-loaves of a *tarna*-measure of flour, porridge, *gangati*-soup, *ewan*-soup, chick pea soup, broad bean soup, groats soup—one-half handful of each, cress, nettles(?), one *hūppar*-vessel of beer, one *hanišša*-vessel of wine, one warm loaf of one-half quart, one GÚG-loaf, one sweet loaf of one handful, and a little fruit.

§30 As for the *ulīhi* brought from the old temple, they open that *tallai*-vessel. Then they mix that old fine oil of the *tallai*-vessel [with] the water with which they will wash the wall of the temple. Then they wash the wall with that so that the temple is purified. But the ritual patron does [not] come.

§31 Then they bind the old *ulīhi* onto the red *kureššar*-garment of the new deity.

§32 But when on the evening of the second (=eighth/ninth) day a star appears, [then] the ritual patron comes into the temple and bows to the deity. [Then] they [take] the two knives that were made along with the new deity and dig an offering pit for the deity before the table. They offer one sheep to the deity for *enumašši*, [and] butcher it down in the hole. There is no [Ritual of Drawing] from the Wall. A small table [is in place]. They daub with blood the golden deity, the wall, and all the equipment of the new [deity], so that the [new] deity and the temple become pure. The fat is burned completely; no one eats it.

Colophon. First tablet. Text of the priest of the Deity of the Night. When someone sets up the Deity of the Night separately, this is his/her ritual. Not complete.

Written by Ziti, son of NU.KIRI₆, under the supervision of Anuwanza the eunuch.

Text 7

The central activity described in this text is the placing of models fashioned from several precious materials beneath various important components of the building: corners (§5), columns (§6), altar (§16), hearth (§17), and door (§18). In addition, a copper plate(?) is nailed into the earth where the (central) column will be erected (§§1–2) and a golden lion and two pairs of oxen (bulls?) joined by yokes of gold are buried under the first interior column (§§14–15). Groups of *walla* (meaning unknown) are also set beneath several locations (§12). Two copper foxes are set up in the main doorway (§19), perhaps as apotropaic figures. The use of the metal apes listed in §20 remains unclear, although their number—four groups of four—suggests that they may have been intended for the main corners of the structure.

Interesting features of the incantations here include the attribution of the construction activity to the gods themselves (§7) and the enumeration of the distant locations from which the building materials have been brought (§9).

§1 When a new temple or a new structure is built in another location and when the foundations are laid, they place the following beneath the foundation stones: one mina of ... copper, four bronze pegs, and one small iron hammer. And inside, at the site for the column, (s)he digs up the earth and places the copper therein. Then (s)he nails it all around with the pegs, pounding (them in) with the iron hammer. And at the same time (s)he says as follows:

§2 “As this copper is protected and furthermore eternal, may this temple likewise be protected and may it be eternal upon the Dark Earth!”

§3 (And [s]he calls the ritual patron by name:) “May the one who built this temple likewise be eternal before the gods and in the future may this temple be well sated with life before the gods!”

§4 And as the four corners of the building are permanent upon the earth and do not turn, may the well-being of the ritual patron likewise in the future not turn away before the gods. May this temple be well sated with life, health, and strength before the gods for the sake of rule over the land of Ḫatti and the throne of kingship!”

§5 (S)he places the following beneath each of the four corners: one foundation stone of silver, one foundation stone of gold, one foundation stone of lapis-lazuli, one foundation stone of quartz, one foundation stone of alabaster, one foundation

stone of iron, one foundation stone of copper, one foundation stone of bronze, and one foundation stone of diorite. The four corners are prepared in this manner.

§6 (S)he places the following beneath each of the four columns: one column of silver, one column of gold, one column of lapis-lazuli, one column of quartz, one column of iron, <one column of alabaster>, one column of diorite, one column of copper, and one column of bronze. And at the same time (s)he says as follows:

§7 “This temple that we have just built for you, O deity (she calls by name the deity for whom they build it)—it was not we who built it, (but) all of the gods (who) built it.”

§8 “The male gods built it as carpenters. Telipinu laid the foundations. Thereupon Ea, King of Wisdom, built the walls. All the mountains brought the wood and stone. The goddesses brought mud plaster.”

§9 “They laid down the foundation stones of silver and gold. The gold was brought from the city of Pirundummeya. The silver was brought from ... The lapis-lazuli was brought from Mount Takniyara. The alabaster was brought from the land of Kaniš; the quartz was brought from Elam. The diorite was brought from the Earth, the black iron of heaven was brought from Heaven. The copper and bronze were brought from Alašiya, from Mount Taggata.”

§10 “They have just now laid the foundation stone of gold beneath the foundations, and as gold is eternal, as it is pure and strong, as it is the eternal (material) of the bodies of the gods, as it is dear to gods and men, may this temple likewise be dear to the eternal deity!”

§11 “And in the future may the ritual patron likewise be dear to the life and well-being of the gods down to the first and second generation!”

§12 ([S]he takes) nine *walla* of silver, each weighing one shekel; nine *walla* of gold, each weighing one shekel; nine *walla* of iron, <each weighing one shekel>; nine *walla* of bronze, each weighing one shekel. (S)he places four *walla* beneath the altar, among which are one of gold, one of silver, one of iron, and one of bronze. At the first interior column, (s)he likewise places four *walla*. Beside the column opposite, on the right and left, everywhere (s)he likewise [places] four *walla*.

§13 At each of the four corners, (s)he likewise places four *walla*.

§14 ([S]he takes) one lion of gold of one shekel and two pairs of oxen hitched with a yoke of gold. Each ox weighs one shekel. A single base is beneath them; two oxen stand on a base.

§15 The weight of the base is not important, nor is the weight of the yoke with which the oxen are hitched. (S)he places them under the first interior column.

§16 Beneath the altar: one altar of silver of one shekel, one altar of gold of one shekel, one altar of lapis-lazuli, one altar of quartz, one altar of iron, one altar of copper, one altar of bronze, one altar of alabaster, and one altar of diorite.

§17 Beneath the hearth: one hearth of silver of one shekel, one hearth of gold of one shekel, one hearth of lapis-lazuli, one hearth of quartz, one hearth of alabaster, one hearth of iron, one hearth of bronze, and one hearth of diorite. Four *walla*, among which are one of silver, one of gold, one of iron, and one of bronze. Each *walla* is one shekel by the weights. As for the hearths, each is one shekel.

§18 Beneath the door: one door of silver of one shekel, one door of gold of one shekel, one door of lapis-lazuli of one shekel, one door of quartz of one shekel, one door of iron of one shekel, one door of bronze of one shekel, one door of alabaster <of one shekel>, and one door of diorite, also of one shekel.

§19 (S)he places two foxes of copper in the main doorway. The weight is not at all important.

§20 ([S]he takes) sixteen apples, among which are four apples of gold, four apples of silver, four apples of iron, and four apples of bronze. The weight is not important.

Colophon A: [One] long tablet, incomplete. When the foundations are laid.

Colophon B: One long tablet, complete. When the foundations are laid.

Text 8

This tablet fragment preserves only the offering of sheep and libations at several pillars and the altar (§§1'–4'), followed by a curious ceremony in which the builder several times climbs a rope to the roof of the new structure (§§5'–6').

§1' ... They do not do the slaughtering [at] the pillar before [which] the proprietor of the building is positioned. Rather, they do the slaughtering at three places by a pillar to the right and the left. At each, they slaughter one sheep.

§2' After the blood(-shed), (s)he libates young wine in front of the altar. Before each of the two pillars, (s)he libates three times. And the (cuts of) raw meat—breasts, shoulders, heads, and feet—are placed before the altar. The breasts, shoulders, heads, and feet are placed at the [two] pillars at which the slaughtering was carried out.

§3' Furthermore, thereafter (s)he libates young wine three times before the altar. Before each of the three pillars, (s)he libates three times. (S)he makes the rounds fourteen times. They play the large harp.

§4' The liver and heart [are cooked] over an open fire ...

(Uncertain number of lines lost.)

§5' And [when ... haul up] the beams, [the builder] who is constructing the structure climbs the rope. He [goes] up the rope to [the roof] twice, and he [comes] down twice. While he is climbing it, the rope, the musicians run around the hearth.

§6' [But] the third time, he cuts the loop. When the builder cuts the loop, the crier shouts. A silver axe and a silver knife are tied to [a cloth] that is hanging from the roof. [He cuts] that cloth and the builder comes down the rope and bows to the proprietor of the building. When [he goes] to his house, the builder [takes] the silver axe and the silver knife for himself.

Text 9

The scanty remains of this text describing the renovation of a temple of the important goddess Ḫebat deal only with the installation of a portable brazier, which apparently featured a post to be rammed into the floor of the building. Whether this act alone symbolized the renewal of the sanctuary or whether there followed further manipulations of other cultic furniture must for the moment remain unknown.

§1 Thus say Dākūya, Ašnu-nikkali, and Matiya, the seers: In regard to the temple of Ḫebat that they renovate, they pound in the (portable) brazier.

§2 For the brazier they take (!; text: pound) these things: one lamb, one kid, three geese, thirty unleavened breads, one *mūlati*-loaf of a *tarna*-measure (of flour),

two small cheeses, among which one cheese is for incising and one cheese is for crumbling,

§3 a *tarna*-measure of butter fat (set) on the fat of an entire kid, a few raisins and figs—they slaughter a sheep and take the fat and the sinews—a *tarna*-measure of sesame oil, and a measuring vessel of wine. The brazier (ceremony) is completed.

§4 The next day for the meat-offering (they take) one lamb, one goose, [thirty(?)] unleavened breads, one warm loaf of a *tarna*-measure of wheat flour, [one] warm loaf of a *tarna*-measure of *šēppit*, one warm loaf of a *tarna*-measure of *ḥaršanniliya*, one warm loaf of a *tarna*-measure of porridge, [one ... -loaf] of a *tarna*-measure, one sweet loaf of a *tarna*-measure of porridge, one [*miuumiu*(?)]-loaf of a *tarna*-measure,

§5 six *ḥaršpauwant*-loaves of a *tarna*-measure of flour, ...

(The remainder of the obverse too broken for translation. The fragmentary reverse of Text B lists offerings for Ḫebat, including a goose and a lamb.)

Text 10

This and the following text are entries from shelf-lists prepared by Hittite librarians. The corresponding tablets have not yet been identified.

One [tablet]. When the King builds a structure and [the priest ...], when they summon (the deities?) to the structure, and when an eagle alights on a wood-pile. [Complete(?)].

Text 11

Two tablets: When they build a new temple [and] pound in [the brazier]; and one tablet: When they pound in the brazier [...].

Conclusion

The Hittites surrounded the (re-)construction of a sacred building with ritual activities—from the initial laying of the foundations (for example, Text 5 §1) and the gathering of construction materials (for example, Text 2 §§8–14) through the taking up of residence by the occupant (for example, Text 6 §27). The most common activities were communal meals (Text 2 §§41–48; Text 5 §3; but likely implied in most texts containing long lists of foodstuffs), offerings to deities (*passim*), and the nailing of objects into the ground (Text 3 §19[?]; Text 4 §§3–4; Text 7 §1), the baptism of the structure and/or ritual materials (Text 5 §20'; Text 6 §§11, 13, 26, and 32) with the blood of a sacrificial victim, and the placing of foundation deposits (Text 5 and §§9'–20'; Text 7 §§5–20).

Interestingly, the excavation of the numerous temples in the Hittite capital has not yielded foundation deposits of the types described in our texts, although the foodstuffs would of course have left little, if any, traces. Rather, archaeologists have recognized such deposits in miniature votive vessels and in a few tiny oracle tablets⁸

⁸ Neve, Die Oberstadt von Ḫattuša p. 89.

discovered in the temples of the Upper City, although to judge from what can be read from the clear published photos of the latter,⁹ the content of these pieces has nothing to do with the construction or dedication of a building.

As is the case with most Hittite religious rites, in the building rituals the word is just as important as the physical action.¹⁰ The incantations included in this body of texts are concerned overwhelmingly with the welfare of the King and his descendants (for example, Text 7 §§3–4). Another notable feature of these speeches is the frequent attribution of the construction to deities rather than the actual human builders (Text 2 §43; Text 3 §8; Text 4 §§2–3; and Text 7 §§7–8).

⁹ P. Neve, *Ḫattuša—Stadt der Götter und Tempel* (Mainz am Rhein 1993) p. 43 Abb. 126.

¹⁰ G. Beckman, “‘The Tongue is a Bridge’: Communication between Humans and Gods in Hittite Anatolia,” *ArOr* 67 (1999) pp. 519–534.

Appendix 1: Selected Aramaic, Akkadian, Hittite, Phoenician, Persian, Sumerian, and Ugaritic Sources

Richard Ellis, to avoid clutter in his discussions of foundation deposits in ancient Mesopotamia with long passages of Sumerian and Akkadian texts, included partial transliterations of forty-six of the most relevant Mesopotamian sources in “Appendix A: Texts Quoted in This Study” (Foundation Deposits pp. 169–186); these texts date from the Presargonic/Early Dynastic Period to the Seleucid Period and represent various text genres, namely royal inscriptions, literary texts, ritual texts, and letters. Each entry comprised select bibliographical information (pertaining to the hand drawn facsimile, text edition, and/or relevant discussion of selected terms) and an edition of the passage treated in the main discussion. Ellis, intending to relieve his Chapter 4 (“Tablets”) of numerous and lengthy footnotes, added a second appendix to his seminal work: “Appendix B: Inscribed Tablets with Building Inscriptions of the Isin-Larsa and Later Periods” (Foundation Deposits pp. 187–197). This appendix lists references for ninety-two stone, metal, and clay (foundation) “tablets”; in total, these were composed under the auspices of twenty-seven Mesopotamian rulers, from Sîn-kāšid of Uruk to Artaxerxes III. This appendix provides details only on the material from which the foundation deposit was made, a very select bibliography, and a useful chronological distribution of the different material types.

Appendices 1 and 2 in the present volume, like those in Ellis’ Foundation Deposits, seek to provide additional information about many of the numerous textual sources (in both cuneiform and alphabetic scripts) that mention, refer to, or describe some aspect of temple building, restoration, enlargement, or decoration, and to minimize the number and length of footnotes pertaining to detailed study of texts. The appendices, however, are not an attempt to duplicate text by text Ellis’ Appendix A and B, thus updating the transliterations, translations, and bibliography. The eighty-four texts included in Appendix 1 and the one hundred and sixteen sources included in Appendix 2 are some of the principal sources used as evidence for temple building and decoration in various periods, cultures, and text genres of the ancient Near East. The sources for each period, culture, or text genre, were selected by the author of the corresponding chapter in Part I.

Appendix 1, as the title of the appendix suggests, includes information on selected Aramaic, Akkadian, Hittite, Phoenician, Persian, Sumerian, and Ugaritic sources; Elamite sources are listed in Appendix 2. Each entry contains information on the date of composition, with the name of the ruler in whose name the text was composed; data on the sources, notably the material, type, and known number of copies of the inscribed object, and often information of provenance (or lack thereof), and excavation or museum number(s); a select bibliography, usually the place where one can find hand drawn facsimiles, photographs, and a text edition or translation; information on the language of the text; and a short statement about the contents of the text. Unlike Ellis’ Appendix A, editions of selected passages of the

relevant sources are not provided here; only twice is a passage presented in translation. For transliterations and/or translations, one can consult the scholarly works mentioned in the bibliographies. Note that the dates for the ritual texts (nos. 9.1–9.10) are for the dates of the copies, not for the date of composition, and bibliography for the Persian sources (nos. 7.1–7.8) is to text editions only. As for the bibliographical references, these are given in abbreviated form only if the citation appears in the corresponding chapter; otherwise, full citations are provided for new entries, with abbreviated citations for subsequent references.

Third Millennium Sumerian Sources

1.1 Ur-Nanše Door Plaque (early twenty-fifth century BC)

Sources: An inscription on a white limestone plaque discovered by de Sarzec in 1888 on Tell K at Girsu (AO 2344).

Selected bibliography: J. Boese, *Altmesopotamische Weihplatten, eine sumerische Denkmalsgattung des 3. Jahrtausends v. Chr.* (Untersuchungen zur Assyriologie und Vorderasiatischen Archäologie 6; Berlin 1971) no. T4; Steible, *ASBW* 2 pp. 82–84 Ur-Nanše 20; Cooper, *SARI* 1 pp. 22–23 La. 1.2; E. A. Braun-Holzinger, *Mesopotamische Weihgaben der Frühdynastischen bis Altbabylonischen Zeit* (Heidelberger Studien zum Alten Orient 3; Heidelberg 1991) no. W 1–4; Suter, *Temple Building* pp. 61, 219, 222–224, and 253 fig. 37; and *RIME* 1 pp. 83–84 E1.9.1.2.

Language: Sumerian.

Contents: This Presargonic Lagash plaque has two scenes, both of which have written labels: (1) the top (and left) scenes show the construction of a temple, with the ruler carrying a work basket on his head; and (2) the bottom (and right) scenes show the ruler at a celebration banquet. The top label refers to Ur-Nanše as the builder of Nanše's temple and other labels name the people facing the king. The bottom label recounts the transportation of raw materials from far and wide for the building of the temple and mentions by name the cupbearer and the other members of the royal family pictured in the scene.

1.2 Ur-Baba Statue (twenty-second century BC)

Sources: A stone statue (AO 9).

Selected bibliography: E. de Sarzec, *Decouvertes en Chaldée* par Ernest de Sarzec, ouvrage accompagné de planches, publié par les soins de Léon Heuzey, avec le concours de Arthur Amiaud et François Thureau-Dangin pour la partie épigraphique (Paris 1884) 2 pp. iv–vi and pls. 7–8; A. Parrot, *Tello: vingt campagnes de fouilles (1877–1933)* (Paris 1948) pl. X c; H. Steible, *Die neusumerischen Bau- und Weihinschriften 1* (=NSBW; FAOS 9/1; Stuttgart 1991) pp. 134–140; and *RIME* 3/1 pp. 18–19 E3/1.1.6.5.

Language: Sumerian.

Contents: This statue of Gudea's immediate predecessor and father-in-law describes the excavation of a foundation pit, the purification of the ground, the filling in and piling up of the foundation, and the building of a retaining wall or terrace platform for the Eninnu temple of Ningirsu and Baba at Lagash.

1.3 Gudea Cylinders A and B (late twenty-second to early twenty-first century BC)

Sources: Two enormous clay cylinders with thirty (Cylinder A) and twenty-four columns (Cylinder B), and twelve clay cylinder fragments.

Selected bibliography: de Sarzec, *Decouvertes en Chaldée* 2 pls. 33–36; F. Thureau-Dangin, *Tablettes d’Uruk à l’usage des prêtres du Temple d’Anu au temps des Séleucides* (TCL 6; Paris 1922); A. Baer, “Goudéa, cylinder B, colonnes XVIII a XXIV,” *RA* 65 pp. 1–14 (cylinder fragments); Jacobsen, *Harps* pp. 386–444; RIME 3/1 pp. 68–106 E3/1.1.7.CylA–Cylfrgms 11(+)² and 12; Averbeck, *COS* 2 pp. 417–433 and the literature cited there; and Suter, *Temple Building*.

Language: Sumerian.

Contents: This long and intricate poetic narrative text takes us step by step from beginning to end through the process of Gudea’s building of a new Eninnu temple for Ningirsu, the patron deity of Lagash, and Baba, Ningirsu’s consort. The whole procedure is saturated with and, to a substantial degree, guided by the various individual ritual practices, some of which reoccur repeatedly at key points along the way (for example: prayers, the offerings accompanying them, dream incubations, extispicies, etc.). These ritual practices are combined with the actual work of preparing the construction area, collecting raw materials, procuring the labour force, constructing the edifice itself, furnishing it properly, and setting up the household functions of the temple leading to the induction of the divine couple into their new home and the celebrations that go with it.

1.4 Gudea Statue B (late twenty-second to early twenty-first century BC)

Sources: A dark green diorite statue of Gudea in the guise of an architect (AO 2; “Architecte au plan”).

Selected bibliography: de Sarzec, *Decouvertes en Chaldée* 1 pp. 134–135, and 2 pp. vi–xv and pls. 15–19; M. Witzel, *Gudea. Inscriptions: Statuae A–L. Cylindri A & B* (Rome 1932); Johansen, *Statues* p. 10 and pls. 19–22; Averbeck, *Ritual and Structure* pp. 713–736; Steible, *NSBW* 1 pp. 157–179, and 2 pp. 6–38; and RIME 3/1 pp. 30–38 E3/1.1.7.StB.

Language: Sumerian.

Contents: Being the largest of the thirty or so Gudea statues, Statue B recounts the same construction of the Eninnu temple as Gudea Cylinders A and B, but without all of the rituals and hymnic elaborations. The building account of the construction is largely limited to the preparations, the gathering of the raw materials, and the actual construction of the temple (Gudea Cylinder A), excluding its dedication (Gudea Cylinder B). The text begins with ritual regulations for the maintenance of the regular cult of the statue itself and ends with the statue’s dedication and curses.

1.5 Gudea Statues C, D, E, F, and G (late twenty-second to early twenty-first century BC)

Sources: Five diorite statues of Gudea: AO 5 (=Statue C; “Statue dite aux épaules étroites”), AO 1 (=Statue D; “Statue colossale”), AO 6 (=Statue E; “Statues aux

large épaules”); AO 3 (=Statue F; “L’architecte à la règle”), and AO 7 (=Statue G; “Statue à l’épaule brisé”).

Selected bibliography: de Sarzec, *Decouvertes en Chaldée* 1 pp. 8–9, 131–133, and 135–138, and 2 pp. XVI–XVII, XIX–XXVIII, and pls. 9–11 and 14–15; Witzel, *Gudea. Inscriptions: Statuae A–L. Cylindri A & B*; Johansen, *Statues* pp. 8–11 and pls. 5–16 and 23–32; Steible, *NSBW* 1 pp. 180–214 and 2 pp. 38–58; and *RIME* 3/1 pp. 38–50 E3/1.1.7.StC–StG.

Language: Sumerian.

Contents: Each of these statues contains helpful descriptions about the making of the (decreed) brick(s), cleansing the site, embedding foundation deposits, collecting the raw materials, constructing the temple, and/or presenting bridal gifts for the respective temples and their deities.

1.6 Ur-Namma B (late twenty-second to early twenty-first century BC)

Sources: Five clay tablets found mainly in Old Babylonian copies, but one school text copy probably from the Ur III Period: Ni 2430; CBS 15168 (+) N 7926 (+) N 6876; 6N-T288 (=IM 61500); VAT 17417; and AO 6316.

Selected bibliography: Flückiger-Hawker, *Ur-Namma of Ur* pp. 183–203; and Klein, *ASJ* 11 pp. 44–56.

Language: Sumerian.

Contents: This *tigi*-hymn praises Ur-Namma for his (re)building of the Ekur temple of Enlil in Nippur and lauds his preparation of the brick mould, prosperity for building, laying the foundations, embedding foundation deposits, gates, decorations, and the dedication of the temple.

Old Babylonian Sources

2.1 Old Babylonian Year Names (late twentieth to late sixteenth century BC)

Sources: Thousands of clay tablets.

Selected bibliography: M. Sigrist, *Old Babylonian Year List* (unpublished manuscript); M. Sigrist, *Isin Year Names* (*Assyriological Series* 2; Berrien Springs 1988); M. Sigrist, *Larsa Year Names* (*Assyriological Series* 3; Berrien Springs 1990); and M. J. A. Horsnell, *The Year-Names of the First Dynasty of Babylon*, 2 volumes and CD-ROM (Hamilton 1990 and 2004).

Language: Sumerian and Akkadian.

Contents: Approximately sixty-five temple construction projects are mentioned in year names of the Old Babylonian Period. Year names, which record a notable royal accomplishment of the preceding year, were primarily used to date administrative documents and served as miniature royal inscriptions.

2.2 Mari Administrative Documents (eighteenth century BC)

Sources: Three clay tablets from Mari: Mari 6672, Mari 72–89, and A 2546.

Selected bibliography: Charpin, *MARI* 1 pp. 137–147; and Charpin, *Iraq* 45 pp. 56–63.

Language: Akkadian.

Contents: These three administrative texts from Mari record the measurements of several undiscovered temples in Northern Syria for the purpose of building, renovating, or perhaps inventorying them.

2.3 A Hymn to Papulegarra (probably eighteenth century BC)

Sources: A single clay tablet.

Selected bibliography: T. G. Pinches, “Hymns to Pap-due-garra,” *JRAS Centenary Supplement* (1924) pp. 63–86 and pls. vi–ix (after p. 72); and Foster, *Before the Muses* p. 94.

Language: Akkadian.

Contents: This hymn describes the temple building duties of a king and the installation of building inscriptions in the form of pegs.

2.4 The Nippur Lament (twentieth century BC)

Sources: Almost seventy individual exemplars.

Selected bibliography: S. Tinney, *The Nippur Lament: Royal Rhetoric and Divine Legitimation in the Reign of Išme-Dagan of Isin (1953–1935 B.C.)* (OPSNKF 16; Philadelphia 1996); and ETCSL no. c.2.2.4.

Language: Sumerian.

Contents: This literary or ritual text contains Enlil’s command to Išme-Dagān to rebuild his temple. The large number of exemplars indicate that this text was an essential part of the Nippur scribal school curriculum.

2.5 The Prologue to the Laws of Ḫammu-rāpi (eighteenth century BC)

Sources: Ḫammu-rāpi stele, Louvre (Sb 8).

Selected bibliography: ANET³ pp. 163–180; and M. T. Roth, *Law Collections from Mesopotamia and Asia Minor* (WAWSBL 6; Atlanta 1995) pp. 71–142.

Language: Akkadian.

Contents: The prologue of this famous monumental inscription gives Ḫammu-rāpi the epithet “restorer of the Ebabbar (temple).” This Ebabbar was the main temple of the conquered state of Larsa; the epithet is meant to reflect divine sanction of the king’s conquest.

Hittite Sources

3.1 A Middle Hittite Instruction (late fifteenth–early fourteenth century BC)

Sources: Two clay tablets: KUB 13.2 ii 26’–41’; and KUB 31.90 ii 7’–iii 12.

Selected bibliography: E. Laroche, *Catalogue des textes hittites* (Paris 1971) no. 261; and F. Pecchioli Daddi, *Il vincolo per i governatori di provincia* (Pavia 2003) pp. 134–141.

Language: Hittite.

Contents: This text describes how the king might entrust the repair of a building to a subordinate, a governor of a border district.

3.2 An Old Hittite Ritual (seventeenth–sixteenth century BC)

Sources: Ten clay tablets or fragments: KUB 29.1; KUB 29.3; KUB 29.2 + Bo 5621; HT 38; H. Otten and C. Rüster, “Textanschlüsse und Duplikate von Boğazköy-Tafeln (71–80),” ZA 71 (1982) pp. 124–125; Bo 3612; KUB 55.50; KUB 52.94; KUB 51.56; and KUB 60.113.

Selected bibliography: Laroche, Catalogue des textes hittites no. 414; and G. Kellerman, Recherche sur les Rituels de fondation hittites (Paris 1980).

Language: Hittite.

Contents: This text begins with a colloquy between the king and the divinized Throne affirming that the monarch has a legitimate claim to rule over Ḫatti and that the king will enjoy a long reign. This is followed by the chief gods of the Hittite pantheon granting sturdy timber for the house of the king. Promises of longevity, health, strength, and valour follow. It is unclear if this mythological material was recited by an officiant or perhaps constituted the script of a dramatic performance. The second portion of the text details the necessary supplies for ceremonies marking the departure of carpenters to hew the wood for beams and rafters(?), and the laying of the building’s foundations and the installation of the beams. The program concludes with a banquet attended by the future inhabitants of the palace, culminating in offerings to the Hearth, who reciprocates with blessings.

3.3 An Old Hittite Ritual (seventeenth–sixteenth century BC)

Sources: Ten clay tablets or fragments: KUB 2.2 ii 37–iv 23 + KUB 48.1; KBo 7.43; KBo 19.162; KBo 21.110; KUB 48.2; KUB 48.3; KUB 48.6; KBo 37.8; KBo 37.7 (+ KUB 9.33); and A. Süel and O. Soysal, “The Hattian-Hittite Foundation Rituals from Ortaköy (I): Fragments to CTH 725 ‘Rituel bilingue de consécration d’un temple’,” Anatolica 33 (2007) pp. 1–22 (Ortaköy fragments).

Selected bibliography: Laroche, Catalogue des textes hittites no. 725; and H. -S. Schuster, Die hattischen-hethitischen Bilinguen 1–2 (Leiden 1974 and 2002).

Language: Hattic and Hittite.

Contents: This ceremony is conducted by the *zilipuriyatalla*-priest, whose title indicates his association with the Hattic god Zilipura, himself identified with the deity Šulinkatte. On the mythological level, the taking possession of throne and cultic utensils by Zilipura/Šulinkatte is paradigmatic of the human king’s occupancy of his new palace. Other themes include the acquisition of only unblemished construction materials and the exhortation of the deity to be on guard lest evil enter the building. The final paragraphs deal with offerings and supplies.

3.4 An Old Hittite Ritual (seventeenth–sixteenth century BC)

Sources: Two clay tablets: KBo 37.1; and KBo 37.2.

Selected bibliography: Laroche, Catalogue des textes hittites no. 726; Schuster, Die hattischen-hethitischen Bilinguen 1–2; and J. Klinger, Untersuchungen zur Rekonstruktion der hattischen Kultschicht (Wiesbaden 1996) pp. 615–680.

Language: Hattic and Hittite.

Contents: Here the King’s construction activity is paralleled by divine action, on this occasion by the building and inauguration of a house by the Sun-goddess in the Hattic town of Liḫzina, assisted by the Storm-god, the chthonic deity Lelwani, and

Kamrušepa/Kataḫzipuri, goddess of magic. The text closes with a catalogue of necessary materials and foodstuffs.

3.5 A Middle Hittite Ritual (fifteenth–early fourteenth century BC)

Sources: Three clay tablets: KUB 32.137 + KBo 15.24 + KBo 24.109 + KBo 39.11; KBo 13.114; and KBo 40.20 (+) KBo 40.167.

Selected bibliography: Laroche, *Catalogue des textes hittites* no. 415; and N. Boysan-Dietrich, *Das hethitische Lehmhaus aus der Sicht der Keilschriftquellen* (Heidelberg 1987) pp. 60–79.

Language: Hittite.

Contents: The beginning of this text is missing and we join the proceedings with the charge to the sacred place to be loyal only to the god or goddess to whom it has been dedicated, followed by a communal meal. Next comes the placement of foundation deposits: Bronze figurines of the goddess Ninemundu are set under each corner of the building and a winged ox of the same alloy is placed beneath the (central) pillar. A bronze lid filled with foodstuffs is put under each image and ear-shaped pastries stuffed in their ears, after which they are smeared with the blood of a sacrificed sheep. Finally, the foundations are filled with additional comestibles and precious objects. The festivities continue with repeated offerings to Ea, the Mesopotamian god of wisdom and Ninemundu before our text breaks off.

3.6 A Middle Hittite Ritual (late fifteenth–early fourteenth century BC)

Sources: Three clay tablets: KUB 29.4 + KBo 24.86; KBo 16.85 + KBo 15.29 (+) KBo 8.90 (+) KUB 29.6 + KBo 34.79 + KUB 32.68 (+) KBo 15.29; and KUB 29.5 (+) Bo 6110 (+) Bo 5630 (+) KUB 12.23 (+) Bo 5320.

Selected bibliography: Laroche, *Catalogue des textes hittites* no. 481; and J. Miller, *Studies in the Origins, Development and Interpretation of the Kizzuwatna Rituals* (Wiesbaden 2004) pp. 259–439.

Language: Hittite.

Contents: This composition presents an eight- or nine-day regimen for the setting up of a satellite cult of the Goddess of the Night, here identified with the exotic goddess Pirinkir, as an extension of a pre-existing temple establishment dedicated to the same deity. We are given no details concerning the construction of the building, but are fully informed about the fashioning of the new cult image and the provision of the necessary temple furnishings and garments for the divine figure. Ceremonies feature the evocation of the deity from various terrains, from the underworld and from distant lands, as well as the consecration of the new temple and its furnishings. Most striking is the incantation in which the goddess is asked to “divide her divinity” so that she might inhabit two sanctuaries. The introduction of her numinous quality into the new structure is accomplished through a series of actions in which objects called *ulīhi* are attached first to the old and then to the newly-manufactured cult image.

3.7 A New Hittite Ritual (mid fourteenth–early twelfth century BC)

Sources: Nine clay tablets and fragments: KBo 4.1 + 1177/v; KUB 2.2 i–ii 36; KUB 9.33 (+ KBo 37.7); KBo 44.16; Bo 3377; KUB 53.27; KBo 54.16; KUB 59.51; and KBo 18.169.

Selected bibliography: Laroche, *Catalogue des textes hittites* no. 413; and Boysan-Dietrich, *Das hethitische Lehmhaus aus der Sicht der Keilschriftquellen* pp. 43–60.

Language: Hittite.

Contents: The central activity described in this text is the placing of models fashioned from several precious materials beneath various important components of the building: corners, columns, altar, hearth, and door. In addition, a copper plate(?) is nailed into the earth where the (central) column will be erected and a golden lion and two pairs of oxen (bulls?) joined by yokes of gold are buried under the first interior column. Groups of *walla* (meaning unknown) are also set beneath several locations. Two copper foxes are set up in the main doorway, perhaps as apotropaic figures. The use of the metal apples listed in §20 remains unclear, although their number—four groups of four—suggests that they may have been intended for the main corners of the structure.

3.8 A New Hittite Ritual (mid fourteenth–early twelfth century BC)

Sources: Clay tablet fragment: KUB 55.28.

Selected bibliography: A. Ünal, “‘You Should Build for Eternity’—New Light on the Hittite Architects and Their Work,” *JCS* 40 (1988) pp. 97–106.

Language: Hittite.

Contents: This tablet fragment preserves only the offering of sheep and libations at several pillars and the altar, followed by a curious ceremony in which the builder several times climbs a rope to the roof of the new structure.

3.9 A New Hittite Ritual (mid fourteenth–early twelfth century BC)

Sources: Two clay tablets: KUB 9.2; and KBo 35.122.

Selected bibliography: Laroche, *Catalogue des textes hittites* no. 702; and R. Strauss, *Reinigungsrituale aus Kizzuwatna* (Berlin 2006) pp. 274–276.

Language: Hittite.

Contents: This fragmentarily preserved text describes the renovation of a temple of the important goddess *Ḫebat*, namely the installation of a portable brazier, which apparently featured a post to be rammed into the floor of the building.

3.10 A New Hittite Library Catalogue (mid fourteenth–early twelfth century BC)

Source: One clay tablet: KBo 31.125 i 9'–11'.

Selected bibliography: Laroche, *Catalogue des textes hittites* pp. 183–184; and P. Dardano, *Die hethitischen Tontafelkataloge aus Ḫattuša (CTH 276–282)* (Wiesbaden 2006) pp. 233–234.

Language: Hittite.

Contents: This text contains entries from shelf-lists prepared by Hittite librarians.

3.11 A New Hittite Library Catalogue (mid fourteenth–early twelfth century BC)

Source: One clay tablet: KUB 30.51 + KUB 30.45 + HSM 3644 ii 11'–13'.

Selected bibliography: Laroche, *Catalogue des textes hittites* pp. 160–161; and Dardano, *Die hethitischen Tontafelkataloge aus Ḫattuša* (CTH 276–282) pp. 130–131.

Language: Hittite.

Contents: This text contains entries from shelf-lists prepared by Hittite librarians.

Aramaic, Phoenician, and Ugaritic Sources

4.1 The Ugaritic Baal Cycle (late thirteenth–early twelfth century BC)

Sources: Six multi-columned clay tablets found in the “House of the High Priest,” Ugarit (Ras Shamra), Syria.

Selected bibliography: CAT 1.1–1.6; Smith, *Ugaritic Baal Cycle 1*; Smith and Pitar, *Ugaritic Baal Cycle 2*; and Pardee, *COS 1* pp. 241–274.

Language: Ugaritic.

Contents: A large narrative poem describing how the storm/fertility god Baal became the ruler of the divine council. The narrative is divided into three related episodes: (1) Baal fights with the Sea-god, Yamm, over which one will become ruler of the council; (2) Baal asks El, the creator god, for permission to build a palace appropriate for his new position; and (3) Baal is challenged by the god of death, Mot, who temporarily defeats Baal, but who eventually recognizes Baal's sovereignty over heaven and earth.

4.2 A Building Report from Ugarit (late thirteenth–early twelfth century BC)

Sources: A tablet (RS 94.2953) found in the House of Urtenu in Ugarit, Syria.

Selected bibliography: Arnaud, *Corpus des textes* pp. 201–202 and pl. XXIX; and del Olmo Lete, *Aula Orientalis* 26 pp. 177–188.

Language: Akkadian.

Contents: This tablet contains a brief, fourteen-line account in first person, describing how the god Ea (=the craftsman god Kothar at Ugarit) commissioned the narrator to build a window in a structure, almost certainly a temple. The narrator affirms that he did as the god instructed.

4.3 The Yehimilk Inscription (late tenth century BC)

Sources: Inscribed on a worked limestone block, now in the National Museum, Beirut, Lebanon.

Selected bibliography: KAI no. 4; TSSI 3 no. 6; and *COS 2* no. 29.

Language: Phoenician.

Contents: This seven-line monumental inscription commemorates King Yehimilk's rebuilding of a temple at Byblos.

4.4 The Zakkur Inscription (early eighth century BC)

Sources: A partially preserved basalt stele discovered at the town of Afis (ancient Apiš) in northern Syria, now in the Louvre, Paris.

Selected bibliography: KAI no. 202; TSSI 2 no. 5; and COS 2 no. 35.

Language: Aramaic.

Contents: This inscription describes how Zakkur, king of Hamath and Lu'aš, was able to defeat a coalition of antagonistic Syrian states with the help of his patron deity Baalšamayn (and probably the Assyrians). Following his decisive victory, Zakkur undertook a major building programme, renovating temples and cities. The inscription closes with a curse on anyone who would remove the monument.

4.5 The Hadad Inscription of Panamuwa I of Ya'diya (mid-eighth century BC)

Sources: Inscribed on the lower part of a monumental statue of the god Hadad, now in the Staatliche Museen, Berlin.

Selected bibliography: KAI no. 214; TSSI 2 no. 13; and COS 2 no. 36.

Language: Aramaic.

Contents: King Panamuwa I of Ya'diya, in northern Syria, dedicates a statue to Hadad, with an inscription that describes the king's successful reign. Panamuwa followed his father on the throne, extended the lands under his dominion, presided over prosperity throughout his kingdom, and, at the commission of Hadad, oversaw many construction projects. The inscription instructs Panamuwa's successors to offer sacrifices to Hadad and to pronounce regular blessings upon the soul of Panamuwa. The king also warns of curses should his successors fail to remember him to the gods.

4.6 The Karatepe Inscription (late eighth or early seventh century BC)

Sources: Three monumental inscribed objects at the site of Karatepe: (1) orthostats within the city's North Gate; (2) orthostats within the city's South Gate; and (3) a large statue of the god Baal that stood in the South Gate.

Selected bibliography: KAI no. 26; TSSI 3 no. 15; and COS 2 no. 31.

Language: Phoenician.

Contents: This long inscription describes the deeds of Azatiwada, a high official of King Awariku of the Danunians in south central Turkey. Azatiwada portrays himself much like a king, talking about the extension of his rule, the pacification of enemies, and the prosperity he brought to the Danunians. He also indicates that he assured that the succession to the throne of the Danunians went to the scion of the royal family. He describes his building of the city of Azatiwadaya (Karatepe) after the gods Baal and Rešeph commissioned him to do so. The inscription closes with the invoking of blessings upon Azatiwada and the city, followed by the threat of curses upon those who would erase his name.

4.7 The Ekron Inscription (early seventh century BC)

Sources: Inscribed on a worked limestone block found at Ekron, now in the Israel Museum.

Selected bibliography: Gitin, Dothan, and Naveh, *Israel Exploration Journal* 47 pp. 1–16; and COS 2 no. 42.

Language: Phoenician.

Contents: A brief, five-line inscription in which Akiš, king of Ekron, dedicates a temple to the goddess PTGYH.

4.8 The Ešmunazor Inscription (fifth century BC)

Sources: Inscribed on a basalt sarcophagus produced in Egypt, but used for Ešmunazor's burial in Sidon, Lebanon, and now in the National Museum, Beirut.

Selected bibliography: KAI no. 14; TSSI 3 no. 28; and COS 2 no. 57.

Language: Phoenician.

Contents: This funerary inscription, written in Ešmunazor's voice, laments the early death of the king at age fourteen, but also reviews the achievements that he and his regent-mother produced during his reign. The latter primarily include the renovations of temples dedicated to several gods throughout the realm. The inscription also mentions the incorporation by Ešmunazor's Persian overlord of the cities of Dor and Joppa into the Sidonian kingdom. It concludes with a warning not to disturb the tomb.

Assyrian Sources

5.1 An Inscription of Šalim-aḫum (Early Old Assyrian vice-regent of Aššur)

Sources: A stone block (VA 8835, Ass 17186) discovered in the oldest stone foundation of the east corner room of the main court of the Aššur temple.

Selected bibliography: RIMA 1 p. 14 A.0.31.1; and W. Farber, "Šalim-aḫum Revisited," *ARRIM* 9 (1991) pp. 13–16.

Language: Akkadian.

Contents: Šalim-aḫum records that Aššur requested of him a temple, which he built. For the sake of his own life, the life of the city of Assur, and for his tutelary deity, he constructed the temple, its shrine, its *temple area*/cattle pens, its House of Beer Vats, and its storage area.

5.2 An Inscription of Ērišum I (Early Old Assyrian vice-regent of Aššur)

Source: Two clay tablets from a private house in Area B (square 20–21–22) at Kaniš (An 201139 and An 20114).

Selected bibliography: RIMA 1 pp. 19–21 A.0.33.1.

Language: Akkadian.

Contents: Ērišum states that he built the Step Gate and cella of the Aššur temple in Assur. With the support of Aššur (likely a reference to a positive response to a haruspical query), he cleared houses from the Sheep Gate to the People's Gate in order to expand the temple grounds. He records also that he constructed/fashioned several items: a high throne decorated with a precious stone (*ḫušāru*), two beer vats, and two duck figures (each weighing one talent and adorned with bronze *moons*). This inscription mentions the Aššur temple by name: *rimum*, "Wild Bull." The names of

the door, lock, and threshold are also recorded here: respectively, “Protective Goddess,” “Be Strong!,” and “Be Alert!”

5.3 An Inscription of Ērišum I (Early Old Assyrian vice-regent of Aššur)

Source: A stone door socket from Assur (BM 115689).

Selected bibliography: RIMA 1 pp. 22–23 A.0.33.2.

Language: Akkadian.

Contents: Ērišum states that he built the Aššur temple in Assur and its *temple area/cattle pens* (*isārū*); that with the support of Aššur (likely a reference to a positive response to a haruspical query), he cleared houses from the Sheep Gate to the People’s Gate in order to expand the temple grounds; and that he had ghee (*himētu*) and honey (*dišpu*) mixed into the mortar of every wall of the temple (*rīnum*, “Wild Bull”). The inscription also contains a reference to the vice-regent making silver, gold, copper, tin, barley, and wool tax-exempt, and to his and his father Ilu-šūma’s plan to build Assur’s wall.

5.4 An Inscription of Šamši-Adad I (Old Assyrian ruler, dynasty of Ekallātum)

Sources: Nine stone tablets from the Aššur temple in Assur (including EŠ 5223).

Selected bibliography: RIMA 1 pp. 47–51 A.0.39.1.

Language: Akkadian.

Contents: The inscription states that Šamši-Adad rebuilt the temple of Enlil (=Aššur) built by Ērišum I, which had become dilapidated. After clearing away its ruins, the superstructure was constructed by a skilled building guild in Assur, who placed (inscribed) tablets silver, gold, lapis lazuli and carnelian under the walls and mixed cedar resin, high-quality oil, honey, and ghee into the mortar. The temple was roofed with cedar beams; its cedar doors were decorated with silver and gold stars; and the temple was renamed Eamkurkurra (“House, Wild Bull of the Lands”).

5.5 An Inscription of Šamši-Adad I (Old Assyrian ruler, dynasty of Ekallātum)

Sources: Nineteen stone cylinder fragments from the Ištār temple (Emašmaš) in Nineveh.

Selected bibliography: RIMA 1 pp. 51–55 A.0.39.2.

Language: Akkadian.

Contents: Šamši-Adad records that he rebuilt the temple Emenue (part of Emašmaš), which the Sargonic king Man-ištūšu had built, which had become dilapidated, and which no ruler had worked on for seven generations. He claims to have constructed the *ziqurrat* with more skill than previously and to have named this structure Ekituškuga (“Her Treasure House”). Šamši-Adad also states that he erected its doorframes.

5.6 An Inscription of Arik-dīn-ili (Middle Assyrian king)

Sources: A stone tablet (VA 5917) from the Šamaš temple in Assur; the object is inscribed on four sides and the text was never finished.

Selected bibliography: RIMA 1 pp. 120–122 A.0.75.1.

Language: Akkadian.

Contents: So that the harvests of Assyria might prosper, Arik-dīn-ili planned to rebuild the sanctuary of Šamaš. When construction began, the site was apparently a mound of dirt inhabited by squatters. The ruins were cleared and the foundations were relaid in the eponymy of Berūtu. The rest of the building account was never finished (six uninscribed lines).

5.7 An Inscription of Adad-nārārī I (Middle Assyrian king)

Sources: Three stone tablets (BM 90978, CBS 9446, and Ass 781) from Assur.

Selected bibliography: RIMA 1 pp. 139–140 A.0.76.7.

Language: Akkadian.

Contents: According to this inscription, the Step Gate of the Aššur temple in Assur—which is opposite the Gate of the Oath of the God of the Land and the Gate of the Judges—had become dilapidated, sagged, and shook. Adad-nārārī records that he cleared the site down to the foundation pit, then rebuilt it with limestone and mortar from the city Ubasē. In (the structure of) the temple, he deposited inscribed objects.

5.8 An Inscription of Adad-nārārī I (Middle Assyrian king)

Sources: Nine stone tablets from Assur (VA 8801 and duplicates); five of the tablets were deposited in the Ištar temple when Tukultī-Ninurta I completed the reconstruction of that structure. The inscriptions are dated to the eponyms of Ša-Adad-nīnu and Aššur-dammiq.

Selected bibliography: RIMA 1 pp. 149–151 A.0.76.15.

Language: Akkadian.

Contents: This inscription not only records that Adad-nārārī rebuilt the temple of the Assyrian Ištar when it had become dilapidated, but also the building's history: Sargon I restored the temple constructed Ilu-šūma and Puzur-Aššur III renovated it when it had become old. That temple, its towers, the *šahūru*-room of the courtyard, the storeroom of the courtyard called “Inn of Ištar,” and the room of the goddess Išhara are reported to have been in ruin when Adad-nārārī became king. He claims to have reconstructed the weakened portions of that temple; strengthened the foundations with limestone; removed the old beams, *supports*, and lashings of the *šahūru*-room, and the beams of the storeroom of Ištar; installed new beams in these rooms; and deposited inscriptions in the temple.

5.9 An Inscription of Shalmaneser I (Middle Assyrian king)

Sources: Numerous stone tablets (including EŠ 6688, EŠ 9510, and EŠ 6689) from Assur (mostly discovered in the Aššur temple); the exemplars are inscribed in two columns on each side.

Selected bibliography: RIMA 1 pp. 180–186 A.0.77.1.

Language: Akkadian.

Contents: Shalmaneser includes in this text details about the history of Eḫursaġkurkurra prior to his rebuilding the Aššur temple: Ērišum I rebuilt the temple which Ušpia had built; one hundred and fifty-nine years later, when it had become dilapidated again, Šamšī-Adad I renovated it; and after five hundred and eighty years, a fire broke out in the extremely old building and this conflagration destroyed the temple, its sanctuary, its chapels, shrines, daises, cult platforms, stools, and all of the temple's property. Shalmaneser claims to have removed the debris down to the bottom of the foundation pit; relaid the foundations on bedrock; and put a great deal of effort into the building of the structure of the temple, making it more cunning than before. This inscription states that stones, silver, gold, iron, copper, aromatic plants were placed at the foundations; and that oil, scented oil, cedar resin, honey, and ghee were mixed into the plaster. He also mentions that inscriptions were deposited in the temple and that he celebrated the completion of the temple with a joyous festival.

5.10 An Inscription of Shalmaneser I (Middle Assyrian king)

Sources: A stone tablet (Ass 2708) from Assur.

Selected bibliography: RIMA 1 pp. 189–191 A.0.77.3.

Language: Akkadian.

Contents: Shalmaneser records that he rebuilt Eḫursaġkurkurra, which had become extremely old and had been destroyed in a conflagration. He claims to have removed the debris down to the bottom of the foundation pit, relaid the foundations on bedrock, considerably enlarged the temple of Aššur beyond its previous extant, built two new towers for the Kalkal Gate, and enlarged the forecourt of the god Nunnam-nir. He also mentions that he returned the gods who dwell in Ekur and that he deposited inscriptions in the temple.

5.11 An Inscription of Shalmaneser I (Middle Assyrian king)

Sources: Numerous clay cones (including BM 123446 and BM 123456) from Nineveh; the cones were discovered in the Ištar temple, the Nabû temple, and in the palace of Ashurnasirpal.

Selected bibliography: RIMA 1 pp. 205–207 A.0.77.17.

Language: Akkadian.

Contents: This inscription records some of the history of the Ištar temple in Nineveh prior to Shalmaneser: Aššur-uballiṭ I rebuilt the temple which Šamšī-Adad I had built; sometime later, the temple was damaged in an earthquake and was in ruin. Shalmaneser claims to have cleared away the debris in its entirety, reconstructed the weakened portions, rebuilt the damaged sections from top to bottom, returned objects inscribed with texts of Aššur-uballiṭ to their place, and deposited his own inscriptions in this building.

5.12 An Inscription of Tukulti-Ninurta I (Middle Assyrian king)

Sources: One massive stone block (VA Ass 2296), two gold tablets, two silver tablets, and five weighty lead tablets from the Ištar temple in Assur.

Selected bibliography: Ellis, *Foundation Deposits* pp. 98–100; and RIMA 1 pp. 253–256 A.0.78.11.

Language: Akkadian.

Contents: The king records here that at the beginning of his reign the temple of the Assyrian Ištar had become dilapidated; he mentions Ilu-šūma as a previous builder and that seven hundred and twenty years had passed since it had last been worked on. At the beginning of his reign, Tukultī-Ninurta had the old structure removed down to its foundation pit, rebuilt Eme (“Temple of Cultic Rubrics”), made the structure better than previously, and made it as beautiful as a heavenly dwelling. He boasts of completing the temple from its foundations to its crenellations. The post-script on VA Ass 2296, which was intended to replace lines 33–34, explains that Tukultī-Ninurta decided to build a second temple, at the request of Ištar (the means of communication is not recorded).

5.13 An Inscription of Tukultī-Ninurta I (Middle Assyrian king)

Sources: A stone tablet from Assur purchased by a German traveller in Iraq in 1917.

Selected bibliography: RIMA 1 pp. 257–258 A.0.78.13.

Language: Akkadian.

Contents: Tukultī-Ninurta states he cleared away the debris of the Assyrian Ištar temple, which had been built by Ilu-šūma and which had become old and dilapidated. He changed the site of the temple and made it more outstanding than before. The king also claims to have built a *šahūru*-room and lofty towers, completed it from its foundations to its crenellations, constructed its dais and sanctuary, and deposited his inscriptions in the temple.

5.14 An Inscription of Tukultī-Ninurta I (Middle Assyrian king)

Sources: A gold tablet (EŠ 3762) and a silver tablet (Ass 6510) found in a small capsule deposited in the temple of Ninuaītu (“The Ninevite Goddess”) in Assur by Shalmaneser III.

Selected bibliography: RIMA 1 pp. 264–265 A.0.78.17.

Language: Akkadian.

Contents: This inscription records that Shalmaneser I rebuilt the temple of Ninuaītu when it had become old and dilapidated; this king cleared away the debris down to its foundation pit, relaid its foundations, and raised the walls seventy-two courses of bricks. Tukulti-Ninurta states that it was he who completed the work: he added to the walls twenty layers of bricks, installed the roofing and doors; constructed a dais, placed the goddess on her dais during a joyous celebration, and deposited inscriptions in the temple.

5.15 An Inscription of Aššur-rēša-iši I (Middle Assyrian king)

Sources: Numerous clay cone fragments from the Ištar temple in Nineveh.

Selected bibliography: RIMA 1 pp. 309–311 A.0.86.1.

Language: Akkadian.

Contents: This inscription records that the tower of the great gate of the main forecourt of the Ištar temple had been damaged in an earthquake that took place during

the reign of Shalmaneser I and that they were severely damaged again in an earthquake that occurred in the time of Aššur-dān I. Aššur-rēša-iši states that he tore down fifteen(?) courses of bricks from the battlements to the roof, rebuilt the walls thirty-five(?) layers higher than before, and decorated the battlements with stone rosettes.

5.16 An Inscription of Tiglath-pileser I (1114–1076 BC, Middle Assyrian king)

Sources: Numerous clay octagonal prisms (including VA 8255) and fragments (mainly from Assur).

Selected bibliography: RIMA 2 pp. 7–31 A.0.87.1.

Language: Akkadian.

Contents: In the building report of this inscription, which was used in the “test-case” to prove that cuneiform had been deciphered, Tiglath-pileser states that he was commanded by Anu and Adad to rebuild their double temple in Assur; apparently sixty years earlier Aššur-dān I had this temple torn down. The king records the making of bricks, the removal of the old temple down to the foundation pit, the construction of a fifty-layer mud-brick platform, the laying of the temple’s foundations, the building of the *ziqurrats*, the sumptuous decoration of the interior rooms which made them shine like the interior of the heavens, and the return of Anu and Adad to their daises. The king also mentions that he rebuilt and decorated the *hamru*-temple of Adad; he deposited inside this temple precious stones from the mountains of the Nairi lands (obsidian, *ħaltu*-stone, and haematite).

5.17 An Inscription of Ashurnasirpal II (883–859 BC, early Neo-Assyrian king)

Sources: Two stone monumental lions (ex. 1=BM 118895) found at the entrance to the temple of Šarrat-nipḫi in Calah.

Selected bibliography: RIMA 2 pp. 283–286 A.0.101.28 and pp. 295–297 no. 32.

Language: Akkadian.

Contents: Ashurnasirpal records that he founded (and refounded) in Calah the temples of Enlil, Ninurta, Ea and Damkina, Adad and Šala, Sîn, Gula, and Šarrat-nipḫi. He decorated them in a splendid fashion: roofed them with cedar beams, hung doors of cedar in their gateways, made bronze replicas of beasts and stationed them in their towers, and made statues of lions from white limestone and *parūtu*-alabaster and stationed them in gateways (as guardians). A text inscribed on the reverse of one of the lions (BM 118895) also records the fashioning of a new divine image for Šarrat-nipḫi and the construction of her temple. The image, which had not previously existed, was adorned with the finest stones, high quality gold, and reddish-gold. As for the temple, it was roofed with cedar beams, had tall cedar doors placed in its gateways, and white limestone lions stationed in its entrances.

5.18 An Inscription of Ashurnasirpal II (883–859 BC, early Neo-Assyrian king)

Sources: A large stone slab found in the North West Palace in Calah (ND 1104; in the Mosul Museum).

Selected bibliography: RIMA 2 pp. 288–293 A.0.101.30.

Language: Akkadian.

Contents: Ashurnasirpal records that he founded in Calah new temples for Enlil and Ninurta, and refounded the temples of Ea and Damkina, Adad and Šala, Sîn, Gula, Nabû, Šarrat-niḫi, the divine Sibitti, and the divine Kidmuri. He decorated them in a splendid fashion: roofed them with cedar beams, hung bronze-banded doors of cedar in their gateways, stationed bronze images in their gateways, and decorated their divine images with reddish-gold and sparkling stones. The king claims to have adorned the cella of Ninurta with gold and lapis lazuli and to have stationed images of wild ferocious gold dragons (*ušumgallū*) by this god's seat.

5.19 An Inscription of Sargon II (721–705 BC, Sargonid king of Assyria)

Sources: A clay cylinder (YBC 2181) reported to have been found at Uruk.

Selected bibliography: RIMB 2 pp. 146–149 B.6.22.3.

Language: Akkadian.

Contents: The inscription, parts of which are copied verbatim from a text of Marduk-apla-iddina II, records the renovation of Eanna, the Ištār temple in Uruk. Sargon claims (falsely) that he was the first ruler since Šulgi to renovate this building, which was now in a dilapidated state (walls buckled, bondings disintegrated, parapet in ruins, and foundations collapsed). After being selected by Marduk and Asari, who gave the king excellent judgment and increased understanding, he tore down the outer enclosure wall of Eanna and laid bare its foundations. The foundations were then relaid while the appropriate rituals and prayers were performed and recited. Sargon boasts that the chief builder, with artisans who know their craft and through the techniques of Kulla, built the walls with (ritually) pure bricks.

5.20 An Inscription of Sennacherib (704–681 BC, Sargonid king of Assyria)

Sources: Two complete cylinders discovered in clay boxes at the northwest and southwest corners of the principal room of Egalammes, the temple of Nergal in Tarbišu, 50 cm below the pavement.

Selected bibliography: E. Frahm, “New Sources for Sennacherib's ‘First Campaign’,” in P. A. Miglus and J. M. Córdoda (eds.), *Assur und sein Umland: Im Andenken an die ersten Ausgräber von Assur* (ISIMU 6; Madrid 2003) pp. 129–163.

Language: Akkadian.

Contents: After reporting in detail events the first campaign, Sennacherib records the rebuilding and expansion of Egalammes. The king describes the project as follows:

At that time Egalammes, the temple of the god Nergal that is inside Tarbišu, which Shalmaneser (III), son of Ashurnasirpal (II), (grand)son of Tukultī-Ninurta (II), a former ruler, had built had become dilapidated. I tore down

that temple in its entirety (and) reached its foundation pit. I filled in a terrace in an area (measuring) 200 cubits along the side (and) 100 cubits along the front, (thus) increasing the size of the former temple. I made Egalammes larger than before and completely (re)built (it) through the craft of clever master builders. For the god Nergal, (the god) who (lives) in Tarbišu, I indeed did a splendid job, which surpassed previous (work) and was worthy of (high) praise. I brought the god Nergal, the lord of exalted strength, powerful (and) perfect, the foremost (warrior who) has no rival, inside it and peacefully placed (him) on his lofty seat. Before him I sacrificed plump bulls (and) fattened sheep, splendid (and) pure offerings, and I held festivities inside that temple. I had (an account of) the might and conquests which with his great support I have been achieving over all enemies written in (my) inscriptions and I deposited (these inscriptions) for posterity, for the kings, my descendants.

5.21 An Inscription of Sennacherib (704–681 BC, Sargonid king of Assyria)

Sources: A limestone stele (EŞ 7847) and an alabaster slab (VA 8248) discovered at Assur (areas iD3III and aA3I respectively).

Selected bibliography: Luckenbill, Senn. pp. 135–139 no. I2; V. Donbaz and H. Galter, “Zwei Inschriften Sanheribs im Istanbul Museum,” ARRIM 3 (1985) pp. 4–8; and Frahm, Einleitung pp. 173–175 nos. T 139–140.

Language: Akkadian.

Contents: This inscription reports that Sennacherib decided to rebuild the *akītu*-house at Assur after being defunct for a long time and it records the circumstances in which the king began the project: his heart moved him and Šamaš and Adad gave his diviners a “firm yes” (*annu kēnu*) to a haruspical query concerning the restoration work. The project is said to have begun in a favourable month and on an auspicious day. Sennacherib boasts of using mountain limestone (*pīli aban šadī*) for the foundations and walls (which are said to have been raised as high as mountains). He then surrounded *akītu*-house with lush and well irrigated gardens and fruit orchards. This inscription also records in detail that Karib-ilu, king of Saba, presented stone for this project and mentions the types and quantity of metal, stone, plants, and organic material deposited with the foundations: the stones listed are *pappardilū*-stone, carnelian (*sāmtu/sāndu*), lapis-lazuli (*uqnū*), *ḫulālu*-stone, malachite (*muššāru*), and *papparmīnu*-stone.

5.22 An Inscription of Sennacherib (704–681 BC, Sargonid king of Assyria)

Sources: An inscription written on single column clay tablet (K 1356) discovered in the Kuyunjik collection of the British Museum, London.

Selected bibliography: Luckenbill, Senn. pp. 139–142 no. I6; and Frahm, Einleitung pp. 222–224 no. T 184.

Language: Akkadian.

Contents: Sennacherib states that he rebuilt the *akītu*-house at Assur after receiving a favourable oracle response from Šamaš; its outer temple is reported to have been destroyed by fire and its cult is said to have been defunct for a long time. In a/the principal entrance, he had skilled metalworkers fashion an ornate gateway from red-

dish bronze (*siparru ruššú*). This work of art is described as depicting an epic battle between Aššur and his entourage and Tiāmat and her horde of monsters. Assyria's chief god is reportedly shown raising his bow and riding in a chariot with Amurrū and the king; at least twenty-five gods and goddess assisted him, on foot and in chariots.

5.23 Esarhaddon Prism “Assur A” (680–669 BC, Sargonid king of Assyria)

Sources: Seven octagonal prisms (including VA 8411+), a stone tablet, and a clay tablet from Assur.

Selected bibliography: Luckenbill, ARAB 2 pp. 271–273 §§703–708 and pp. 276–277 §§713–719; Borger, Asarh. §2 (Ass. A) pp. 1–6; and Nissinen, SAAS 7 pp. 14–34.

Language: Akkadian.

Contents: Esarhaddon reports on the favourable omens that were observed when he came to power: auspicious planetary alignments and movements were observed and messages were received from ecstasies and in dreams. He then describes how he increased the traditional privileges (*kidinnu*) of the citizens of Baltil (Assur) and gives a detailed building history of the Aššur temple: the temple was founded by Ušpia, an ancient ancestor; rebuilt by Ērišum I, then by Šamaš-Adad I one hundred and twenty-six years later, and by Shalmaneser I four hundred and thirty-four years later (after it had been destroyed by fire); and then after another five hundred and eighty years had passed, Esarhaddon sought to rebuild Assur's most holy temple. The king obtained approval from Šamaš and Adad, who gave him a positive answer “in the diviner's bowl” (*ina mākaliti bārūte*). The rebuilding is described in detail: (1) the people of conquered lands made bricks; (2) the old structure was torn down to its foundations; (3) the king personally moulded bricks and mixed oil, honey, ghee, wine, (and) cedar resin into the composition of the bricks, and, in a ceremony held with the workers in attendance, he carried the *libittu mahrītu* (here “first brick”) to the temple grounds and set it in its place; (4) in a favourable month and on an auspicious day, the foundations were laid and gold, silver, stones, antimony, all kinds of aromatics, *pūru*-oil, fine oil, honey, ghee, beer, (and) wine were scattered over them; (5) in the second year of the project, the entire superstructure was rebuilt; (6) the temple was roofed with cedar and cypress beams from Mounts Sirāra and Lebanon, and metal-banded doors were hung in its gateways; and (7) the shrines, daises, and cult platforms were lavishly decorated, which made them shine like the sun. Lastly, Esarhaddon states that he returned Aššur to his dais and offered sacrifices and presented gifts to him; the king, his nobles, and other Assyrians celebrated for three days in the courtyard of this temple.

5.24 Esarhaddon Prism “Babylon A” (680–669 BC, Sargonid king of Assyria)

Sources: Seven fragmentary of seven- and ten-sided clay prisms (including BM 78223 and BM 60032); one exemplar (BM 78223) was purchased by E. A. W. Budge in Babylon, MMA 86.11.342 + CBS 1526 was purchased, while others were discovered at Assur (VA 8420) and Sippar (BM 60032; provenance not entirely certain). BM 78223 has “hieroglyphs” on the top and bottom.

Selected bibliography: Luckenbill, ARAB 2 pp. 244–249 §§647–659; Borger, Asarh. §11 (Bab. A) pp. 10–29; and Finkel and Reade, ZA 86 pp. 244–261 and figs. 2 and 21–22.

Language: Akkadian.

Contents: Esarhaddon describes the pitiful state of Babylonia during the reign of an unnamed previous king (=Sennacherib): for example, its inhabitants lied to each other, its gods had abandoned their earthly residences, the purification priests had abandoned their rites, and the inhabitants of Babylon had sold the possessions of Esagila cheaply to Elam. However, when Esarhaddon became king, Marduk, who had abandoned his temple in anger, changed destiny by changing the order of the two wedges making up the number 70; thus Babylon's abandonment was changed from seventy to eleven years by changing the wedges DIŠ[60]+U[10] to U[10]+DIŠ[1]. Esarhaddon records in detail the circumstances leading up to his restoration of Babylon's principal temple: (1) auspicious planetary alignments and movements were observed; (2) Sîn and Šamaš gave positive responses to haruspical queries; (3) Nudimmud (Ea) put the idea in the king's head; and (4) messages were received from ecstasies and in dreams. The king then obtained approval from Šamaš and Adad, who gave him a positive answer "in the diviner's bowl" (*ina mākalti bārûte*). The rebuilding is described in detail: (1) craftsmen and Babylonians made bricks; (2) the king personally moulded bricks and mixed fine oil, honey, ghee, *kurrunnu*-wine, *muttinu*-wine, and pure mountain beer into the composition of the bricks, and, in a ceremony held with the workers in attendance, he carried bricks in a basket; (3) craftsmen and ritual experts carefully examined the foundations; (4) in a favourable month and on an auspicious day, the superstructure was rebuilt on the old foundations, in exact accordance with the earlier plan, not deviating even a half cubit; (5) the temple was roofed with cedar beams from Mount Amanus and metal-banded cypress doors were hung in its gateways; and (6) the king had the divine statues repaired and placed back on their daises. The rest of the inscription describes the construction of Babylon's walls and the re-establishment of Babylon's status as a thriving metropolis and revered cult centre.

5.25 An Inscription of Esarhaddon (680–669 BC, Sargonid king of Assyria)

Sources: Three clay cylinders from Uruk (AO 6772, BM 113204, and W 4098).

Selected bibliography: RIMB 2 pp. 186–188 B.6.31.17.

Language: Akkadian.

Contents: Esarhaddon records that he renovated Ehiliana, the cella of Nanāia in Eanna (Uruk), which had become old and dilapidated. He sought out its ground-plan and repaired the dilapidated sections with baked bricks made in a (ritually) pure kiln. The king states that he took the hand of the goddess, escorted her inside, and had her take up residence inside.

5.26 Assurbanipal Prism T (668–631 BC, Sargonid king of Assyria)

Sources: One nearly complete hexagonal clay prism ("Thompson Prism"; BM 121006 + BM 127889) and seventeen to twenty-two prisms fragments from Nineveh (Prism T; Ab [V] and Elul [VI] 645).

Selected bibliography: R. C. Thompson, *The Prisms of Esarhaddon and Ashurbanipal found at Nineveh, 1927–8* (London 1931) pls. 14–18; and Borger, *BIWA* pp. 132–133, 137–147, and 167–172.

Language: Akkadian.

Contents: The prologue describes temple building and decoration in five Assyrian and three Babylonian cities: the completion and decoration of Eḫursaġgalkurkurra in Assur, the completion of Esagila in Babylon and the return of statues of Marduk and his entourage, the refurbishing and fashioning of objects for Marduk and Zarpanitu, the setting up of wild bulls in gateways of Ezida in Borsippa, the decoration of Emašmaš in Nineveh and Egašankalama in Arbela, the refurbishing of Šarrat-Kidmuri’s divine image and the renewal of her cultic rites; the setting up of lion-headed eagles and divine emblems in Egalmeslam in Tarbišu, the rebuilding of Eḫulḫul and the construction of Emelamana in Ḫarrān, the completion of Edimgalkalama in Dēr, and the rebuilding and decoration of the Sîn-Šamaš temple in Nineveh. The building account recounts the rebuilding of one of the two *akītu*-house of Mullissu in Nineveh; the one last rebuilt by Sargon II. Most of the reports from the prologue are also known from Prisms I (=Tvar; 648), C (647), Kh (=CND, CKalach; 646), and G (646).

5.27 Assurbanipal’s “Large Egyptian Tablets” (668–631 BC, Sargonid king of Assyria)

Sources: Two nearly complete clay tablets (K 228+ and K 2675; the “Large Egyptian Tablets” or “Ḫarrān Tablets”) and three clay tablet fragments (K 4451, and the possible exemplars are K 5564 and K 6368).

Selected bibliography: H. -U. Onasch, *Die assyrischen Eroberungen Ägyptens 1* (Ägypten und Altes Testament 27; Wiesbaden 1994) pp. 78–79, 103–115, 210–213, 223, 226, 227, pls. I–X, and 2 pp. 54–93; and Novotny, *Eḫulḫul* pp. 30–33, 88–94, and 253–289.

Language: Akkadian.

Contents: The building report describes the rebuilding and decoration of Eḫulḫul and the founding of Emelamana in Ḫarrān. Assurbanipal reports that his workmen tore down the dilapidated walls, exposed the foundations, made the *durgu* (“the innermost part,” the “heart” of the structure) accessible for examination, and raised the walls of the entire temple thirty courses of bricks. To the east, he had an area 350 cubits long and 72 cubits wide cleared, had a 130-course platform constructed, and had limestone foundations laid for a new structure (Emelamana). After the walls of Eḫulḫul were completed, the temple was roofed with cedar provided by kings of the Sea Coast from Mounts Lebanon and Sirāra, and metal-banded doors were hung in principal gateways. The king boasts of lavishly decorating the interior of Eḫulḫul: the walls of the inner sanctum and ante-cella were covered with objects made from seventy talents of *zaḫalû* (a silver alloy), skilfully crafted and inscribed statues of wild bulls and long-haired heroes were set up as gateway guardians, and some of the walls were decorated with friezes of baked-bricks coloured with obsidian-coloured (green, black, white, or red) and lapis-lazuli-coloured (blue) glaze. After the temple was completed, Assurbanipal returned Sîn to his dais in the midst of a joyous festival, during which priests offered sumptuous sacrifices and presented gifts.

5.28 Sîn-šarru-iškun “Cylinder A” (ca. 627–612 BC, Sargonid king of Assyria)

Sources: Three clay cylinders (Ass 13158+; Ass 13595; and LB 1323) and seven clay prisms (Ass 948; Ass 13266+; Ass 13374; Ass 18738; Ass 19423; and SÉ nos. 155–156).

Selected bibliography: Luckenbill, ARAB 2 pp. 414–416 §§1156–1164; and J. Novotny and G. Van Buylaere, “Sîn-šarru-iškun and Ezida in Calah,” in G. Galil, M. Geller, and A. Millard (eds.), *Homeland and Exile: Biblical and Ancient Near Eastern Studies in Honour of Bustenay Oded* (Vetus Testamentum Supplements 130; Leiden 2009) pp. 215–243.

Language: Akkadian.

Contents: Sîn-šarru-iškun states that the Nabû temple in Assur had become extremely dilapidated. The situation is described as follows:

[For a] long [time], it fell into disrepair and (eventually) it became like the ground (itself). (On account of this), the god Nabû and the goddess Tašmētu took up residence in the temple of the Assyrian Ištar and (there) they received strewn offerings. Kings, [predecessors of mine] that came before me, did not think about (re)building that temple; they did not pay (it any) attention. I, Sîn-šarru-iškun, king of the universe, king of Assyria, the one who respects the great gods, the one who is assiduous towards their places (of worship), conceived in my heart (the idea of re)building that temple; my mind urged me (to carry out this project).

Once the ruins were cleared, the king took the necessary measures to ensure this temple was constructed carefully. He states that when the new foundations were laid, the former ground plan was followed exactly; the foundations were set in place in a favourable month, on an auspicious day, and in accordance with the craft of the incantation-priest. The walls were then raised from the foundations to the crenellations and are said to have shone like daylight. When the work was completed, Nabû and Tašmētu were escorted from their temporary home in the temple of the Assyrian Ištar to their daises; the event was concluded with sumptuous offerings.

Neo-Babylonian Sources

6.1 The Eanna Cylinder of Marduk-apla-iddina II (721–710, 703 BC; king of Babylon)

Sources: A clay barrel cylinder originally from Uruk, but removed from its resting place by Sargon II during his “restoration” of Eanna and brought to his residence in Calah (Nimrud).

Selected bibliography: Gadd, Iraq 15 pp. 123–134; and RIMB 2 pp. 136–138 B.6.21.1.

Language: Akkadian.

Contents: This inscription records Marduk-apla-iddina II’s restoration of the Eanna temple in Uruk; this text draws heavily on early Mesopotamian history and mentions Šulgi of Ur and Anam of Uruk.

6.2 The Etemenanki Cylinder of Nabopolassar (625–605 BC, king of Babylon)

Sources: Two clay barrel cylinders from Etemenanki in Babylon.

Selected bibliography: Langdon, NBK pp. 60–65 Npl. no. 1; and P. -R. Berger, Die neubabylonischen Königsinschriften. Königsinschriften des ausgehenden babylonischen Reiches (626–539 a. Chr.) (AOAT 4/1; Kevelaer and Neukirchen-Vluyn 1973) pp. 142–143.

Language: Akkadian

Contents: This inscription records Nabopolassar's restoration of the *ziqurrat* of Babylon, Etemenanki, and gives a very colourful picture of the rituals performed by the king and his family at the foundation pit.

6.3 Ebabbar Cylinder of Nabonidus no. 1 (555–539 BC, king of Babylon)

Sources: Three clay barrel cylinders and a cylinder fragment; at least two of the exemplars were discovered in the Ebabbar temple at Sippar.

Selected bibliography: Langdon, NBK pp. 252–261 Nbn. no. 6; and Schaudig, Nabonid pp. 384–394 no. 2.9.

Language: Akkadian.

Contents: This inscription records Nabonidus' restoration of the Ebabbar temple at Sippar. The king boasts that he restored the dilapidated temple on the foundations laid by Narām-Sîn of Agade and states that he corrected the mistakes of the famous Nebuchadrezzar II, who he claims did not find the original foundation.

6.4 Ebabbar Cylinder of Nabonidus no. 2 (555–539 BC, king of Babylon)

Sources: A clay barrel cylinder, originally from Sippar.

Selected bibliography: S. Langdon, The H. Weld-Blundell Collection in the Ashmolean Museum 1: Sumerian and Semitic Religious and Historical Texts (Oxford 1923) pp. 32–37 and pls. 23–28; and Schaudig, Nabonid pp. 440–445 no. 2.13.

Language: Akkadian.

Contents: This inscription records Nabonidus' restoration of the Ebabbar temple at Sippar. The king boasts that he restored the dilapidated temple on the foundations laid by Narām-Sîn of Agade and states that he corrected the mistakes of the famous Nebuchadrezzar II, who he claims did not find the original foundation.

6.5 The “Royal Chronicle” of Nabonidus (555–539 BC, king of Babylon)

Sources: Fragments of a clay tablet; provenance not recorded. The tablet is a Seleucid era copy of an older, original tablet; this is evident from peculiarities in its script.

Selected bibliography: W. G. Lambert, “A New Source for the Reign of Nabonidus,” *AfO* 22 (1968–69) pp. 1–8; and Schaudig, Nabonid pp. 590–595 no. P4.

Language: Akkadian.

Contents: This propagandistic text reports on the history of Nabonidus's reign, including an account of his restoration of the Ebabbar temple at Sippar, which he rebuilt on the foundations laid by Narām-Sîn of Agade.

Persian Sources

7.1 AmH: A Text Composed in the Name of Ariaramnes, Great-grandfather of Darius I (522–486 BC, Achaemenid Persian)

Sources: A fragment of a gold tablet, which surfaced on the Hamadan antiquities market ca. 1930. It is either a modern forgery or an ancient one commissioned by Darius I (522–486) possibly Artaxerxes II (405–359) as a strategy of legitimation.

Selected bibliography: Kent, *Old Persian* pp. 107 and 116; and Lecoq, *Les inscriptions* pp. 124–126 and 179.

Language: Old Persian.

Contents: This short text (ten lines preserved) contains the titulary and pedigree of Ariaramnes and an invocation of Ahuramazda.

7.2 AsH: A Text Composed in the Name of Arsames, Grandfather of Darius I (522–486 BC, Achaemenid Persian)

Sources: A gold tablet in three fragments, which surfaced on the Hamadan antiquities market just after World War II. It is either a modern forgery or an ancient commission of Darius I (522–486) or possibly Artaxerxes II (405–359), as a means of enhancing legitimacy. A similar gold tablet has floated on and off the market more recently.

Selected bibliography: Kent, *Old Persian* pp. 107 and 116; and Lecoq, *Les inscriptions* pp. 124–126 and 180. For the other similar gold tablet on the market, see Schmitt, *AMI* 28 pp. 269–273.

Language: Old Persian.

Contents: This short text (fourteen lines preserved) contains the titulary and pedigree of Ariaramnes, grandfather of Darius I, and an invocation of Ahuramazda.

7.3 DSf: A “Susa Foundation Charter” of Darius I (522–486 BC, Achaemenid Persian)

Sources: Clay tablets, stone tablets and blocks, barrel-shaped clay cylinders, prisms, and glazed bricks discovered at various locations at Susa, including the Apadana Mound, the Acropole, and the Donjon areas; there are thirteen Old Persian fragments, twelve Elamite fragments, and twenty-six Akkadian (Babylonian) fragments. None of the definitive exemplars of DSf, including the often-illustrated clay tablet Louvre Sb 2789, was found *in situ*.

Selected bibliography: Kent, *Old Persian* pp. 110 and 142–144; Lecoq, *Les inscriptions* pp. 111–113 and 234–237; Stève, *StIr* 3 pp. 135–136, 147, and 151; and Kuhrt, *Persian Empire* pp. 492–495.

Language(s): Old Persian, Elamite, and Akkadian (Babylonian).

Contents: The text begins with a cosmological invocation of Ahuramazda, which is followed by the titulary and an expansive pedigree of Darius. The core of the text is, on a literal level, a litany of (non-Persian) labour and resources relating to the construction of a palace at Susa. In metaphorical terms, this litany is a layered statement

of imperial domain. At the end of the text, Darius requests the protection of Ahuramazda for his father, Hystaspes, as well as for himself and his people.

7.4 DSz/DSaa: A second Susa “Foundation Charter” of Darius I (522–486 BC Achaemenid Persian)

Sources: Two perfectly preserved, precisely square stone tablets excavated at Susa from the sprawling palatial structure on the “Apadana Mound”, in the west and east sides of the passage between rooms 751 and 752. DSz bears an Elamite text in fifty-six lines and DSaa bears an Akkadian (Babylonian) version based on the DSz text, occupying forty lines. Fragments of a third stone tablet not from an excavated context in Susa may possibly represent an Old Persian exemplar of this text.

Selected bibliography: Lecoq, *Les inscriptions* pp. 243–246.

Language(s): Elamite and Akkadian (Babylonian); possibly also Old Persian.

Contents: The text begins with the titulary and pedigree of Darius I, which is followed by an invocation of Ahuramazda. The core of the text, giving the litany of (non-Persian) labour and resources in the building of a palace at Susa here gives slightly different dimensions for the structure involved than is given in DSf. At the end of the text, Darius seeks the protection of Ahuramazda for himself and his people, but not for his father Hystaspes. This suggests that in contrast to DSf, Hystaspes had died by the time DSz/DSaa were composed.

7.5 DSe: A Text on Repairing a Wall and an Empire, Darius I (522–486 BC, Achaemenid Persian)

Sources: An almost perfect stone tablet and fragments of clay cylinders, clay tablets, and stone tablets discovered at Susa (not *in situ*).

Selected bibliography: Kent, *Old Persian* pp. 110 and 141–142; Lecoq, *Les inscriptions* pp. 110–111 and 232–234; and Kuhrt, *Persian Empire* pp. 491–492.

Language(s): Old Persian, Elamite, and Akkadian (Babylonian).

Contents: The first part of the text repeats the first section of the tomb inscription of Darius I (DNa 1–28), giving a cosmological invocation of Ahuramazda, the titulary and pedigree of Darius, and a presentation of all the countries outside of Persia ruled by him. The remainder refers to things Darius sets aright: a statement on political strife in the empire, which Darius has resolved, followed by a statement that Darius rebuilt much structural work in Susa, including a wall that had fallen into disrepair. The closing request for protection seeks it for the king, his royal house, and the objects the king has inscribed.

7.6 DPd–DPe–DPf–DPg: Texts on the Wall of the Persepolis Takht by Darius I (522–486 BC, Achaemenid Persian)

Sources: Four texts with different (but interactive) content in three languages inscribed to resemble tablets set into the façade of the stone platform (called in modern Persian Takht-i Jamshid, “Throne of [the hero] Jamshid”) at Persepolis.

Selected bibliography: Schmidt, *OIP* 68 p. 63; Lecoq, *Les inscriptions* pp. 227–230; and Kuhrt, *Persian Empire* pp. 483 and 486–489.

Language(s): Old Persian (DPd–DPe), Elamite (DPf), and Akkadian (Babylonian; DPg).

Contents: DPd contains an invocation of Ahuramazda, greatest of all the gods, and is followed by a statement on the nature of Persia and the Persian people and a request for divine blessings upon them. DPe contains the titulary of Darius, a list of the (non-Persian) peoples of the empire brought together with the aid of Ahuramazda and the Persian army, and an exhortation for the safety of the Persian army so that the structures on the platform will flourish. DPf contains the titulary of Darius, a statement that, with the assistance of Ahuramazda and the other gods, Darius has built a palace on this platform where hitherto one had not been built and precisely as he ordered it to be, and a request for the blessings of Ahuramazda and all the gods on Darius and upon all that is built on the platform. DPg contains a cosmological invocation of Ahuramazda as the greatest of all the gods and a list of all the peoples of the empire including the Persians—peoples from different kinds of lands speaking different kinds of languages.

7.7 DPh and DH: Foundation Texts of Darius I (522–486 BC, Achaemenid Persian)

Sources: DPh comprises two sets of trilingual texts, with each set comprising one silver and one gold tablet. These sets were found in two stone boxes—one under the northeast and one under the southeast corner of the hall of the Apadana in Persepolis, excavated in 1933. Also included in each deposit were four gold and silver coins. The third set of tablets, designated as DH, surfaced on the art market in Hamadan in 1926. It is possible that DH was originally interred in the cavity at the northwest corner of the hall of the Apadana in Persepolis.

Selected bibliography: Kent, *Old Persian* pp. 109 and 136–137; Lecoq, *Les inscriptions* 98–99; Schmitt, *The Old Persian Inscriptions of Naqsh-e Rostam and Persepolis* p. 79; and Kuhrt, *Persian Empire* pp. 476–477.

Language(s): Old Persian, Elamite, and Akkadian (Babylonian).

Contents: Following the titulary of Darius, the king lists the farthest reaches of his empire at the time—as given to him by Ahuramazda, the greatest of all the gods. Darius asks for Ahuramazda’s protection for himself and his house.

7.8 DE: A Text about Creation and Hegemonic Embrace by Darius I (522–486 BC, Achaemenid Persian)

Sources: A trilingual text inscribed on Mount Elvand alongside an identical one in the name of Xerxes.

Selected bibliography: Kent, *Old Persian* pp. 111 and 147; and Lecoq, *Les inscriptions* pp. 126–127 and 217–218.

Language(s): Old Persian, Elamite, and Akkadian (Babylonian).

Contents: The text begins with a cosmological invocation of Ahuramazda, which is followed by a declaration of the titulary of Darius and a reference to his empire composed of peoples of diverse origins.

Seleucid Sources

8.1 An Inscription of Antiochus I (Seleucid king, first half of the third century BC)

Sources: A well-preserved barrel-shaped cylinder inscription from Borsippa (BM 36277).

Selected bibliography: 5 R pl. 66; F. H. Weissbach, *Die Keilinschriften der Achämeniden* (VAB 3; Leipzig 1911) pp. 132–135; and Kuhrt and Sherwin-White, *JHS* 111 pp. 71–86.

Language: Akkadian.

Contents: In the prologue (i 1–6a), Antiochus I presents himself as a Babylonian king, giving himself traditional titles such as “great king,” “mighty king,” “king of Babylon,” and “king of the lands.” It is remarkable that he describes his father in this context not only as “king of Babylon,” but also as a foreigner, “the Macedonian.” In the next section (i 6b–16), Antiochus describes his decision to rebuild Ezida in Borsippa and Esagila in Babylon and states that he made preparations for these projects in Syria; he claims to have moulded bricks with his own hands and to have mixed first quality oil into the mud. On 20 Addar (XII) 43 SE (27 March 268 BC), he was in Borsippa to lay the foundations of Ezida. The rest of the inscription (i 16–ii 29) contains a prayer to Nabû, in which Antiochus prays, among other things, for victory over his enemies, a just reign, long days, and many years for himself and his son (and coregent), king Seleucus. Moreover, he mentions his wife, queen Stratonice; this is exceptional in a Mesopotamian context.

8.2 An Inscription of Anu-uballit̄ (Nikarchos) (governor of Uruk, middle of the third century BC)

Sources: A clay cylinder from Uruk (YBC 2169).

Selected bibliography: *YOS* 1 no. 52 and pp. 81–84; and Falkenstein, *ADFU* 3 pp. 4–5.

Language: Akkadian.

Contents: The inscription begins with the date (Nisan [I] 68 SE = April/May 244 BC) and a brief introduction to the text’s patron: Anu-uballit̄, son of Anu-ikṣur, of the Aḥūtu family, governor (*šaknu*) of Uruk, who received his second Greek name Nikarchos from the previous king Antiochus (II) (lines 1–3). In lines 4–15, he describes in great detail all of the gates, courts, walls, and cellas that he reconstructed in Anu’s *Rēš* Temple at Uruk; the work was undertaken “for the life of the kings Antiochus (II) and Seleucus (II).” It is remarkable that Anu-uballit̄ (Nikarchos) mentions the deceased king Antiochus II in this text. The inscription concludes with a statement about Anu and Antu entering their new dwelling on 8 Nisan (I) (18 April 244 BC).

8.3 An Inscription of Anu-uballit̄ (Kephalon) (governor of Uruk, end of the third century BC)

Sources: Ten poorly preserved stamped bricks from Anu's *Rēš* Temple at Uruk. The known exemplars are: W 34, W 95, W 101a + W 101b, W 102a + W 102b, W 290, W 291, W 435, W 491, BM 90789, and BM 90815.

Selected bibliography: Falkenstein, *Topographie* pp. 6–7; J. Jordan, *Uruk-Warka. Nach den Ausgrabungen durch die Deutsche Orient-Gesellschaft* (WVDOG 51; Leipzig and Berlin 1928) pl. 108; van Dijk, *UVB* 18 p. 47; and C. B. F. Walker, *Cuneiform Brick Inscriptions in the British Museum, the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, the City of Birmingham Museums and Art Gallery, the City of Bristol Museums and Art Gallery* (London 1981) no. 117.

Language: Akkadian.

Contents: Anu-uballit̄ (Kephalon), son of Anu-balāssu-iqbi, introduces himself as the governor of Uruk (*rab ša rēš āli ša Uruk*) and describes the restoration of the cellas of Anu and Antu in the *Rēš* Temple at Uruk on 2 Nisan (I) 110 SE (30 March 202 BC). Due to the poor state of preservation of the individual exemplars, it is not possible to fully and accurately interpret this important text. According to van Dijk, Anu-uballit̄ (Kephalon) placed the origins of the *Rēš* Temple in mythical times, attributing the temple's founding to the *apkallu* u₄-^dan (Oannes according to Berossus).

Building Ritual Texts from the First Millennium BC

9.1 *enūma Kulla ušteššū* (seventh century BC and end of the fourth century BC)

Sources: Four clay tablets from the “library of Assurbanipal” at Nineveh and from the “library of Iqīšā” at Uruk: K 3397 + K 3469 + K 13165 + K 13855 + DT 122 (+) K 11735; K 4592 (+) Sm 706; and SBTU nos. 16–17.

Selected bibliography: Ambos, *Baurituale* pp. 87–116.

Language: Akkadian and Sumerian.

Contents: The aim of “When Kulla is brought out (of the house)” — a “Series A” apotropaic ritual series for various building works on houses and temples — was the purification of a new house. Exorcistic rituals were used to purify the building and to remove the brick-god and divine builder Kulla from the house; Kulla, who played an important role in the construction of the house, is sent away in a small boat by river.

9.2 *enūma IM.DÙ.A tapattiqu* (seventh century BC)

Sources: One clay tablet from the “library of Assurbanipal” at Nineveh: K 48 + K 2579 + K 9049 + K 9439 + K 10071 + K 11827.

Language: Akkadian.

Selected bibliography: R. Borger, “Das Tempelbau-Ritual K 48+,” *ZA* 61 (1971) pp. 72–80; and Ambos, *Baurituale* pp. 117–125.

Contents: The “Series A” ritual “When you establish the base (of a *ziqqurrat*?)” deals with the construction of a particular part of a temple (*parakku*) called

IM.DÙ.A, which is to be read in Akkadian as *pitiqtu* (less likely *pitqu*) or *ziqqur-ratu*. This text offers a detailed description of the erection of twenty-five ritual arrangements for various gods on the building site; these arrangements were oriented toward the cardinal points. Moreover, it states that a figurine of the king was buried on the building site.

9.3 *DIŠ amēlu igāra ša bābu lā šaknu inakkisma bāba ušeššer* (seventh century BC, including the reign of Šamaš-šumu-ukīn, 667–648 BC)

Sources: Five clay tablets from Sippar and the “library of Assurbanipal” at Nineveh: Si. 12; Si. 36; Si. 734 + Si. 841(+) Si.740; PBS 1/2 no. 124; and K 3664 + K 6125 + K 8686 + K 8881 (+) K 7677.

Language: Akkadian.

Selected bibliography: Ambos, *Baurituale* pp. 126–141.

Contents: The “Series A” ritual “If a man cuts through a wall in which no door has been set and establishes a door” is performed while a house is being rebuilt, in particular when its owner wants to add a new door to a wall. Since doors were the principal contact zone between buildings and the outside world, and thus neuralgic and dangerous points for the inhabitants of the house, the performing of this ritual enabled the builder to fend off any evil that would potentially menace the house.

9.4 “Series B” incantations (directed to Kulla and Mušdama) (seventh century BC and first millennium BC)

Sources: Three clay tablets from the “library of Assurbanipal” at Nineveh and in the “Sippar Collection” of the British Museum: K 3354 (+) K 4147; K 4167; and BM 76624.

Selected bibliography: Ambos, *Baurituale* pp. 144–149.

Language: Akkadian and Sumerian.

Contents: This bilingual Akkadian-Sumerian series is very fragmentarily preserved and it contains incantations addressed to the divine builders Kulla and Mušdama. These gods are asked to return to their parents Enki/Ea and Damgalnunna/Damkina in the Apsû after they have successfully completed their building work.

9.5 “Series C” rituals (=Series “Kulla”) (seventh century BC)

Sources: One clay tablet from the “library of Assurbanipal” at Nineveh: K 3472.

Selected bibliography: Ambos, *Baurituale* pp. 152–154.

Language: Sumerian and Akkadian.

Contents: This “Series C” ritual text whose title is lost deals with the induction of the cult image into a rebuilt or newly built temple. The rituals and incantations are the same as those of the mouth-washing ritual.

9.6 “Series C” rituals (=Series “Kulla”) (seventh century BC)

Sources: A small fragment of a clay tablet from the “library of Assurbanipal” at Nineveh: K 7247.

Selected bibliography: Ambos, *Baurituale* p. 154.

Language: Akkadian.

Contents: This poorly preserved, small fragment probably contains a section of “Series C” incantations.

9.7 *ṭuppi ḫišiḫti ušše bīt ili epēšu enūma ušše bīt ili tanaddū* (end of the eighth century BC and seventh century BC)

Sources: Six clay tablets from the “library of Assurbanipal” at Nineveh and from Khorsabad: K 2000 + K 3233 + K 4828 + K 8180 (+) K 11595; K 2400 + Rm 2,284 + 79-7-8,106 + 79-7-8,199 + 81-7-27,82; K 2167 (+) BM 98750; 82-3-23,114; K 3570; and DS 32-29 (H-19) (+) DS 32-42 + DS 43e (H-19).

Selected bibliography: R. Borger, “Tonmännchen und Puppen,” *BiOr* 30 (1973) pp. 176–183; and Ambos, *Baurituale* pp. 155–166.

Language: Akkadian and Sumerian.

Contents: The “Series C” ritual “Tablet for what is necessary to lay the foundations of a temple: When you lay the foundations of a temple” is concerned with the fashioning, consecration, and depositing of a statuette of the divine vizier Ninšubur-Papsukkal and of sixteen other figurines, which are placed in various places in a temple’s foundations. During the ritual performance, the ritual practitioners recited two cosmological incantations describing the building of primeval temples by the gods, the creation of the world, and the appointment of the king as the provider of sanctuaries.

9.8 *enūma sippū kunnū* (seventh century BC and first millennium BC)

Sources: Two clay tablets from the “library of Assurbanipal” at Nineveh and in the “Sippar Collection” of the British Museum: K 3810 and BM 68024.

Selected bibliography: Ambos, *Baurituale* pp. 167–169.

Language: Akkadian.

Contents: The “Series C” ritual “When the ‘doorframes’ have been erected” was performed after the doorframes of a temple’s cella had been erected. Only the first part of the ritual is preserved. At sunrise, the ritual expert is instructed to pour wine for Šamaš into a hole, which had been dug into the door of the cella.

9.9 The building rituals of the lamentation singer (Neo- or Late Babylonian, end of the fourth century BC, 81 SE, and 112 SE)

Sources: Eight clay tablets from Babylon, the *Rēš*-Temple at Uruk, and from the “library of Iqīšā” at Uruk: BE 13987; BM 40736; AO 6472; O 174; J. Van Dijk, *Texte aus dem Rēš-Heiligtum in Uruk-Warka* (Bagh. Mitt. Beiheft 2; Berlin 1980) nos. 10–12; and SBTU no. 141.

Selected bibliography: Thureau-Dangin, *Rituels Accadiens* pp. 34–47; Ambos, *Baurituale* pp. 171–195; and Ambos, untitled paper on BM 40736 in preparation.

Language: Akkadian and Sumerian.

Contents: When the wall of a temple collapsed, this event was considered a very bad omen; it was thought that this expressed divine anger. The rituals included in this composition were used to pacify an angry deity. Before beginning the reconstruction work, the diviner had to obtain the necessary divine consent by performing an extispicy. In order to preserve the sanctuary beyond its demolition, a

an extispicy. In order to preserve the sanctuary beyond its demolition, a “former brick,” which contained the essence of the entire temple, was recovered from the collapsed building and a lamentation-singer addressed it with an incantation. The cosmological incantation addressed to the “former brick” describes the building of primeval temples by the gods and the creation of the world, with its raw materials that would serve as a source for offerings and the temple’s maintenance. After having secured the continuity of the temple, the ruined, dilapidated parts of the superstructure were torn down to the foundations and then rebuilt. At the laying of the new foundations, another cosmological incantation was recited. The entire (re)building process was accompanied by sacrifices and lamentations.

9.10 Ritual performed after the collapse of a temple door (ca. seventh century BC)

Sources: One clay tablet from from Ҫuzirīna: STT no. 232.

Selected bibliography: Maul, *Herzberuhigungsklagen* pp. 46–52; and Ambos, *Bau-rituale* pp. 196–197.

Language: Akkadian and Sumerian.

Contents: This text describes the rituals performed after the collapse and during the reconstruction of a temple door. Damage to a temple, and be it only the collapse of one its doors, was considered a bad omen; this affected not only the city where the sanctuary was located, but also the king and his land. This ritual also served to appease the anger of the god inhabiting that temple. An amulet chain was hung around the restored door.