

THE BRICKS OF E-SAGIL

By A. R. GEORGE

The intention of this article is to continue the process of comparing modern archaeological data relating to Babylon and its buildings with the ancient written sources. Previous work has produced results for the topography of the city, particularly the location of the city's gates, quarters and temples, and has achieved some success with two individual structures, namely the temple of Marduk under the mound Amran ibn Ali, and the eastern city wall at its junction with the river defences to the south of the same mound.¹ A newly published text adds considerably to the textual material available for study of the cult-centre of Marduk, so that it is useful once again to go back inside E-sagil (E-sangil).²

Given the exalted position of Marduk's temple at Babylon as the supreme sanctuary of Babylonia in the first millennium, it is no surprise that there survives a relatively large number of documentary sources which shed light on this building, its ground-plan and its interior. These include building inscriptions, of course, but such texts are not informative about lay-out so much as the work undertaken. Rituals are also useful, in that they sometimes describe the progress of processions in temples, but the most rewarding texts for those who would wish to know more about the ground-plan of the temple, its architecture and cultic fixtures and fittings, are: a) metrological texts which give measurements of temples, and b) "topographical" and other texts which list the ceremonial names of shrines, gates, throne-daises and other cultic fixtures and fittings. Until now, seven texts which deal with E-sagil — and the complex of buildings around it — have fallen into these two categories:

1. *The E-sagil Tablet*³

This is a metrological text known from Late Babylonian copies from Uruk and now also Babylon or Borsippa. It has a promising name, but, as regards the interior of E-sagil, the text is actually no use at all. As became apparent many years ago, the name given to the tablet since its discovery by George Smith in 1876 is misleading. The only parts of E-sagil treated in the text are two courtyards of the temple precinct, i.e., exterior to the temple building itself; the rest of the E-sagil Tablet is concerned with Marduk's ziqurrat, E-temen-anki.

2. *The Measurements of E-sagil and E-zida*⁴

This metrological tablet from Aššur, seventh century or earlier, gives the measurements of two-cross sections of the main building of E-sagil, from gate to gate, as well as the measurements of other chambers, including the cult-rooms of Marduk. The first cross-section is complete enough to be compared with the extant ground-plan, but, although the overall dimensions tally well with the data retrieved by excavation, there is considerable lack of agreement in the division of the interior space. The discrepancies can best be explained by supposing that the tablet describes the temple as it was before its destruction by Sennacherib in 689 B.C., and not the building put up by the successors of that king.

3. *The New York Metrological Tablet (MMA 86.11.12)*⁵

This Late Babylonian fragment gives measurements of chambers and interior fittings of E-sagil, but is too small and broken a piece to be of more than occasional help.

¹ A. R. George, *Babylonian Topographical Texts (OLA 40; = Topog. Texts)*, pp. 13–29; idem, "Babylon Revisited: Archaeology and philology in harness", *Antiquity* 67 (1993), pp. 734–46.

² In Sumerian *é.s.a.ĝ.il*, "House whose Top is High" (George, *Topog. Texts*, pp. 294–8; idem, *House Most High*, pp. 139 f.), pronounced *Esangil* with nasal /ĝ/ even in the first millennium, as is shown by the pseudo-etymological spellings

of the E-sagil Commentary (e.g., ll. 15: [é.s]a.a.n.ĝ.i.íl; 17: [é.s]a.ĝ.a.n.ĝ.il) and the Aramaic transcription *yysngl* (see George, *Topog. Texts*, p. 296).

³ *Ibid.*, No. 13.

⁴ *Ibid.*, No. 14.

⁵ George, "86.11.12: Measurements of the Interior of the Temple E-sagil", in I. Spar *et al.*, *CTMMA II* (forthcoming).

4. *The Shrines of E-sagil* (Tintir II)⁶

This text *Tintir* = *Babylon* is certainly older than seventh century, and may date back to the twelfth. Tablet II is a list of ceremonial names of over a hundred “seats” and “stations” of the gods in E-sagil, sometimes with information on their whereabouts in the temple.

5. *The Gates and Throne-Daises of E-sagil*⁷

This is a Late Babylonian list of the ceremonial names of gates and throne-daises in the temple, with information on their whereabouts. Its greatest service has been in providing the identification of the temple’s Room 12 as the Chapel of Ninurta, and the platform within it as the throne-dais of Marduk in his manifestation as the god Asarre.

6. *The Gates of E-sagil*⁸

This text is a list very similar to the preceding one, but not so full. It is part of a compendium of topographical and other material known from a Neo-Assyrian manuscript, probably seventh century, as well as a later copy from Babylonia.

7. *A Cultic Compendium of Marduk*⁹

This newly published list, regrettably incomplete, is a collection of items, mostly grouped in sets of seven, related to the cult of Marduk: his seven statues¹⁰ in Babylon (four in E-sagil, one on the ziqqurrat, two in temples of other deities), his seven “seats” in Babylon (E-sagil, the Akitu temple, the ziqqurrat), a related list of such shrines, the seven days special to him, and the sets of six monsters stationed at each of the six principal gates of E-sagil.

In addition to these seven texts there is now an eighth:

8. *The Bricks of E-sagil*

The metrological text that I have so named is the reason for the continuation of our enquiries into the interior of Marduk’s temple. A unique composition inscribed on a multi-column tablet, it has just been published in Egbert von Weiher’s most recent volume of Late Babylonian tablets from Uruk, *SpTU IV*, as No. 220.¹¹ Sadly the tablet is incomplete: parts of the last three columns of the obverse and the first two of the reverse are preserved, but in view of von Weiher’s comment, in the paragraph which introduces his edition, that the tablet’s left half is broken away, it seems likely that several columns are missing from the beginning and the end of the text.¹² Accordingly I refer to the extant columns as i’–iii’ (obv.) and iv’–v’ (rev.). The surviving text comprises a number of ruled-off sections most of which, on the face of it, list the numbers of bricks in the walls of various sacred chambers.¹³ These sections can be numbered §§ 1’–14’. Several sections are introduced by a description of the wall in question, which acts as a kind of heading (e.g. iii’ 1: “wall of the chapel of Uraš”). Other sections include this information at the end (iv’ 3, 11–12). The bulk of each section comprises lines in which a number precedes an architectural feature (e.g. iii’ 6: 9 *hi-ib-šú*). The architectural features found on the tablet as preserved are: *sippu*, *dublu* (written *d u b . l á*),¹⁴ *hibšu* (or *hipšu*), *suḫātu*, and *bābu*, “gateway” or *libbi bābi*, “(space) across a gateway”. Finally, at the end of each section there is given a total (e.g. iii’ 11: “total: 45 bricks”). Those sections which

⁶ George, *Topog. Texts*, pp. 9–11 and 43–55.

⁷ *Ibid.*, No. 6.

⁸ *Ibid.*, No. 7.

⁹ BM 119282, cited in *Antiquity* 67, p. 740, as unpublished but now copied and edited by B. Pongratz-Leisten, *Ina Šulmi Īrub* (Mainz, 1994), No. 6: pp. 218 ff., p. 285 and Pl. 1.

¹⁰ Read of course *šal-mu*, not *er-mu*, at the beginning of these lines (coll.).

¹¹ Egbert von Weiher, *Uruk: Spätbabylonische Texte aus dem Planquadrat U 18* (Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Abteilung Baghdad, Ausgrabungen in Uruk-Warka, Endberichte, Band 12), Mainz am Rhein, 1993, pp. 133–4 and 225.

¹² *Ibid.*, pp. 133–4. I am most grateful to Professor von Weiher for his kindness in supplying photographs of the tablet, W 22656/14, and to Professor R. M. Boehmer and the

Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Abteilung Baghdad, for granting me permission to publish collations from them. Where new readings have been obtained signs so collated are marked in the transliteration given below with an asterisk.

¹³ Note, however, that at places in the text measurements are given in cubits, i.e. iv’ 13 (for a possible reading see footnote 79); and v’ 14–15: [...(x)] + 14 *annat(kūš) šidu(ús)* / [... *amma*]t(kūš) *pūtu(sag)*.

¹⁴ Von Weiher’s *kišib.lá*, “ein (auf Vorrat angefertigtes?) Bauelement”, does not convince. He rejects the reading *dub.lá*, “was wohl *tublu* ‘Fundamentgrube’ wäre,” apparently in the belief that such a thing is unsuited to the context. However, the new evidence that the text presents makes it imperative that the nature of the *dub.lá* be re-examined to see whether it really is part of the foundations. This is done below.

do not identify the wall at the beginning identify it here (e.g. iv' 3: "total: 31 bricks, the wall of the cella").

The identification of the building, no doubt a large and important temple, that housed these walls is helped by various clues in the text. Chapels, cellae or courtyards of the following deities are mentioned: Sín (i' 4: gate of his chapel¹⁵), Ninurta (ii' 3: gate of his chapel), Bēltiya (ii' 6–7: gate of the cella of her chapel; iii' 14–15: courtyard; v' 9'), Uraš (iii' 1: chapel; 3: gate of his chapel?), Ea (iii' 23: gate of his chapel), and Nabû (iii' 32–3, iv' 12: cella).

Further evidence comes from the ceremonial names of two gates mentioned in the text, k á . d l a m m a . r a . b i (iii' 13) and k á . k u . m a ḥ . t i . l a (iv' 15). The former is known as a gate of Marduk's cult-centre at Babylon, namely the north gate of the main building of E-sagil (Gate D), and as a gate of Nabû's principal temple, E-zida at Borsippa.¹⁶ At Babylon the same gate was also known as the Gate of Bēltiya, because it gave access to the chambers around the chapel of Bēltiya.¹⁷ This is of especial interest, because in the present text one of the walls dealt with is "the wall of Ka-Lamma-rabi inside the courtyard of Bēltiya" (iii' 12–15). As for the other gate, k á . k u . m a ḥ . t i . l a is probably not an error for *bāb é . m a ḥ . t i . l a* (so von Weiher), but is to be read k á . d ú r . m a ḥ . t i . l a, "Gate of the Life-Giving Exalted Seat". In this connection one is reminded of a text containing explanations of the ceremonial names of temples and gates, published as *Topog. Texts* No. 28, which contains the fragmentary line [... t] i . l a *bīt šu-bat b[a-...]*.¹⁸ In my edition I restored this as [é . m a ḥ ? . t] i . l a *bīt šu-bat b[a-la-ṭi...]*, but the newly discovered gate name suggests the existence of a TN (é) . d ú r . m a ḥ . t i . l a, and now I would rather reconstruct the line as [é . d ú r . m a ḥ . t] i . l a *bīt šu-bat b[a-la-ṭi šir-ti...]*, "[E-dur-maḥ]-tila, House of the [Exalted] Seat of Life [...]". I commented that the cultic chambers mentioned in this list were mostly associated with Nabû and thus "some, if not all, in Borsippa," but location elsewhere is not excluded.

Do these clues allow a certain identification of the building described? Though one cannot discount the possibility that there was a gate Ka-Lamma-rabi in temples other than E-sagil and E-zida, for the moment we do not know of one, and these temples must therefore be considered as prime candidates. The repeated mention of the goddess Bēltiya is important in this respect, for in the Neo-Babylonian period this is the common appellation of Marduk's consort, Zarpanitum, whose cult in Babylonia appears very much confined to E-sagil. The presence in the text of the cella and courtyard of Bēltiya is thus crucial evidence, for these are very well known from the texts that treat the gates and internal chambers of E-sagil.¹⁹ Thus Marduk's temple emerges as the more likely candidate for identification with the building dealt with in *Sptu* IV 220.

The question then is, do the other chambers and deities found in the text fit with what is known of the cult of E-sagil? We can comment on these in the order that they were extracted above. Sín is known to have occupied at least one shrine (*šubtu*) in E-sagil, in the west part of the temple behind a well, somewhere near Ka-ḥegal (Gate C) at the rear of the cult-rooms of Marduk (*Tintir* II 34, also 50?); in the New York metrological text this shrine is very probably referred to as a chapel (*bītu*).²⁰ The chapel (*bītu*) of Ninurta in E-sagil is known from *Tintir* II 17 ff. and the gate list catalogued above as No. 5.²¹ As far as the extant texts are concerned, Uraš is not yet found in E-sagil itself, but as an important local deity he is not out of place, and his cult in Babylon is known from a Late Babylonian cultic calendar.²² As Marduk's father it is no surprise that Ea is a well-known figure in E-sagil: he occupied at least six *šubtu*'s (*Tintir* II 4–5, 11, 20, 42, 20'), and a chapel of his (*bīt*^didim) is found on the south–north cross-section of E-sagil as described in the metrological tablet from Aššur.²³ Nabû, Marduk's son and vizier, is equally at home in E-sagil, and his cella (*papāḥu*) there,

¹⁵ Restoring [*x bāb bīt*] r^d130; that this line gives the number of bricks across the space of a gateway is clear from the presence in the lines immediately before and after of its jambs (i' 3 // 5: [*x sip-p*]e-e, "[*x* (bricks): the] *sippu*'s"); cf. the discussion of *sippu* below.

¹⁶ For documentation see George, *Topog. Texts*, p. 392.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 96, 9'; cf. p. 126, 10–13. The "chapel of Bēltiya" (*bīt Bēltiya*) is the ancient term for that part of E-sagil which contained Bēltiya's cella, courtyard and other chambers. This complex was more than a "chapel", of course, but

less than a "temple".

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 206, 4'.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 477 f., sub index entries "Court of Bēltiya" and "E-dara-anna".

²⁰ See *ibid.*, p. 279. I have restored *bītu* in the new text also — see footnote 15 — since *bīt DN* is the common usage in it, while *šubat DN* occurs only once, if at all.

²¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 44 ff.; p. 94, 31.

²² *BRM* IV 25, 46 // *SBH* No. VII, 22'.

²³ *Topog. Texts*, p. 126, 9.

called *é.zi.da* after the great temple of Borsippa, is well known from the inscriptions of Nebuchadnezzar II and the rituals of the New Year festival.²⁴ In short, none of the deities or cultic installations mentioned in the text argues against the possibility that the temple described in it is E-sagil, and taken cumulatively the evidence strongly supports such an identification. The presence in Seleucid Uruk of a copy of a text concerned with the interior arrangements of the cult-centre of Babylon may seem odd, but there is of course a famous precedent, namely the principal manuscript of the E-sagil Tablet.²⁵

It is now necessary to turn to the details provided by the text, to see whether the description of any of the walls given there will tally with what is known of the ground-plan of E-sagil. Unfortunately, almost none of the fourteen sections of text, as defined by the rulings, is complete, and the ground-plan of the temple is also not perfectly recovered (see Fig. 1). However, it can be shown that there is one section of wall on which, by good fortune, archaeological data survive for comparison.

The opening of the text, at the beginning of col. i', is too fragmentary to reveal much (§ 1', discussed later), but at the top of col. ii', at the end of the next section (§ 2'), there survives a rubric giving the total number of bricks recorded along a section of wall. The beginning of § 2' is largely lost at the end of column i', but it ran over on to the bottom edge, and, as von Weiher saw, it can be partly restored after the pattern of, for example, § 5'. What survives of § 2' reads as follows:

i'	1'	[x <i>dublu</i> (dub.lá)] <i>qatnu</i> (sig)	[x:] "thin" [<i>dublu</i>],
	2'	[y <i>hi-i</i>]b-šú	[y:] <i>hibšu</i> ,
ii'	1	7 <i>dublu</i> (dub.lá) <i>qatnu</i> (sig)	7: "thin" <i>dublu</i> ,
	2	3½ ¹ 26 <i>hi-pi</i>	3½: (text broken)
	3	4 <i>bāb</i> (ká) <i>bit</i> (é) ^d <i>ninurta</i> (MAŠ)	4: the gate of the chapel of Ninurta,
	4	3½ ¹ <i>sip-pe-e</i>	3½: the <i>sippu</i> 's; ²⁷
	5	<i>naphar</i> (pap) 1,23 <i>libitti</i> (sig ₄)	Total: 83 bricks.

The total figure for this wall is of vital significance, for previous research has demonstrated that the chapel of Ninurta in E-sagil is to be identified with the cult-room Cella C = Room 12, excavated by Koldewey and Andrae off the north side of the temple's central courtyard (see Figs. 2–3).²⁸ As we are informed by the list of cultic daises catalogued above as text No. 5, inside this chapel, opposite its entrance, was situated one of Marduk's shrines, the Dais of Asarre, which is clearly the raised platform of baked brick located opposite the gateway that connected Room 12 with the courtyard.²⁹ The gateway itself is Gate 1, at the eastern end of the north wall of the courtyard. The new text thus confirms that the gate of Ninurta's chapel lay at the end of a stretch of wall, and we are led to expect this wall to be the north front of the great courtyard known to the ancients as the Court of Bēl. What, then, is the significance of the total figure, "83 bricks"? On such rubrics von Weiher comments thus: "Mit dem davorstehenden PAP + Zahl ist man fast geneigt, sig₄ hier nicht einfach als Ziegel zu verstehen, sondern fast in unserem Sinne als 'Bauteil'. Dann wäre auch die jeweilige Angabe 'ingesamt x Bauteile' sinnvoll."³⁰ What led him to such a proposal was no doubt that in the complete section § 5' (iii' 1–11) the total figure cannot be obtained by adding the figures for the individual parts of the wall. However, since one line of that section is marked *hi-pi* (iii' 2), denoting a damaged and illegible original, the discrepancy observed there is of no consequence.³¹ In the only other complete section, § 8' (iv' 4–12), the total is indeed the sum of the individual parts, as von Weiher himself saw. Thus the text means what it says: the wall that ends at the gate of the chapel of

²⁴ Ibid., pp. 281 f., on *Tintir* II 2", where it is listed as a *šubtu*.

²⁵ *TCL* VI 32 = *Topog. Texts*, No. 13.

²⁶ On the advice of M. Civil and E. Reiner, von Weiher read the fraction, *passim*, as BAR, i.e., "*aḫū/aḫītu*, 'äußere (Seite)'. However, these figures do refer to numbers of bricks, as will be shown, and in bricklaying half-bricks are of course an unavoidable necessity wherever a corner is turned.

²⁷ The writing *sip-pe-e* expresses the plural, as also in NB royal inscriptions; contrast the situation at the gate of the cella of Bēltiya, which is flanked by double *sippu*'s,

each listed individually, and written *sip-pi* (§ 3', edited below).

²⁸ George, *Topog. Texts*, pp. 400 f.; *Antiquity* 67, pp. 738 ff.

²⁹ As we also know from the cultic compendium catalogued above as No. 7, a stone (*marḫūšu*) statue of Marduk as Asarre was located in the chapel of Ninurta, and no doubt sat or stood on this platform.

³⁰ *SpTU* IV, p. 134.

³¹ In fact, as will be shown below, the damaged or illegible line can be reconstructed to supply exactly the figure by which the total appears to fall short.

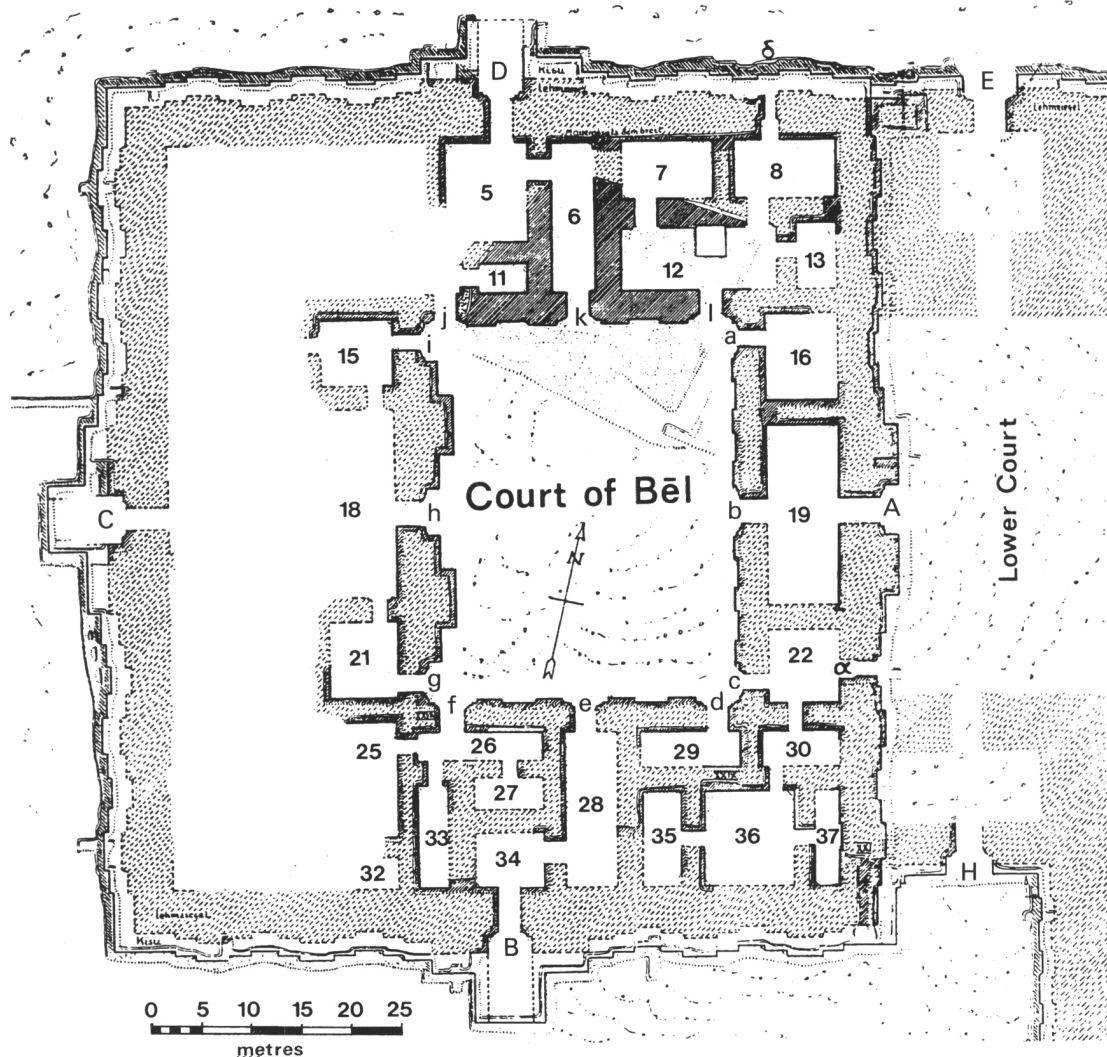


Fig. 1 Ground-plan of the main building of E-sagil, with the adjacent part of the eastern annexe, showing only those walls found by excavation and tunnelling. Adapted from Wetzel, *Hauptheiligtum*, Pl. 3.

Ninurta is 83 bricks long. The use of bricks as instruments of measurement is no surprise, and is a subject briefly discussed elsewhere.³²

It must then be asked, does this number of bricks, 83, correspond with the length of the north front of the central courtyard of E-sagil, as excavated by Koldewey and Andrae? Before the answer to this question can be found, the length of the individual bricks of the temple must be considered. Unfortunately, Koldewey does not report the dimensions of the sun-dried mud bricks used in the construction of the walls of the temple. In the Neo-Babylonian period bricks of the kind used in monumental buildings such as E-sagil were principally of two notional sizes, the full-size brick of $\frac{2}{3}$ cubit, and the half-brick (*arhu*) of $\frac{1}{3}$ cubit. As shown by M. A. Powell, working from the baked bricks of the ziqqurrat at Babylon, in the time of Nabopolassar and Nebuchadnezzar II the cubit in question was the equivalent of about 48–50 cm,³³ and some of the bricks of E-sagil do indeed measure about two-thirds that. My statement in *Topog. Texts* that the bricks of the temple were “a uniform 32 cm square” (p. 437) was based on what Friedrich Wetzel wrote about the temple

³² See my article on MMA 86.11.12 in Spar, *CTMMA* II (forthcoming).

³³ *ZA* 72 (1982), p. 110; *RLA* VII, p. 471.

façade,³⁴ but in fact the reality is much more complex. Nebuchadnezzar II's baked bricks of the last floor of the temple (levels gh) were 33 cm square as measured by the excavators.³⁵ The baked bricks used by Aššurbanipal for the middle of the three floors of the courtyard (levels kl) varied from 30 cm square, rather under two-thirds of a cubit, to 37 cm square.³⁶ The single baked brick of Esarhaddon found just beneath this floor, evidently in fill (layer m), was, at 39 cm square, even more over-size than the longest of Aššurbanipal's bricks, but bricks stamped with the same inscription and a slight variant, found elsewhere in Babylon, measured variously 30, 31.5 and 32 cm square.³⁷ Since the brickwork of the interior walls of the main building was begun, if not finished entirely, by Esarhaddon,³⁸ it looks as if bricks of various sizes in the range 30 to 39 cm could have been used at times, and for our purposes it should be satisfactory if the calculated length of the individual bricks of the wall described in § 2' turns out to be somewhere within this range. Since we should

³⁴ The figure of 32 cm square is given for the baked bricks ("Barnsteine") of the temple's abutment wall (*kisû*) by F. Wetzel and F. H. Weissbach, *Das Hauptheiligtum des Marduk in Babylon* (WVDOG 59), p. 4. The date of this wall is uncertain, since no stamped bricks were found in it, but it was certainly in place by the time of Neriglissar, whose inscription indicates that it already existed (I R 67, i 21: *ki-sè-e bābāt(ká.ká) é.sag.il*). Though such a reinforcement may not have been originally planned for the building finished by Aššurbanipal, and it may have post-dated his reign, there is a letter of Aššurbanipal's superintendent of works, Urad-ahḫēšu, which might anticipate the use of baked brickwork (if *epertu* is only used of bricks that are fired) in the precinct of E-sagil (ABL 119, rev. 12–15): *re-eh-te¹ lu¹ ú-ra-se e-pèr-[tú] ša tarbāšē(tūr) mes ša é.sag.[il] li-iš-ḫu-tu*, "let the rest of the building labourers mould the (baked) bricks for the exterior courtyards of E-sagil." The dictionaries are divided as to whether the Neo-Assyrian phrase *eperta šahātu* means to glaze baked bricks (CAD, s.v. *šahātu* A 4, following an idea of A. Salonen, last presented in *Ziegeleien*, pp. 67 ff.) or to smooth brickwork over with mud (AHw, s.v. *šahātu* IV, 4). Drawing attention to an archaeological problem, namely the lack of glazed bricks at Mari where the idiom *libittam šahatum* is attested nevertheless, M. Sauvage has proposed that this refers to the painting of bricks (NABU 1994/43). However, the common-sense approach of J. N. Postgate, *JRAS* 1974, pp. 52 f., revealed twenty years ago that *šahātu* means simply "to mould" bricks. Such bricks could be treated to a subsequent process, as in Parpola, *LAS* I 283 = *CT* 53 106, rev. 6'–7': *lu¹ uru¹ ak-kad-u-a e-pèr-[tú] i-šah-ḫu-¹ tu¹ i-sa-ak-ki-ru*. In this context the NA verb *sakāru*, "to heat (in an oven)", refers to firing, and not, as proposed by Parpola, to gilding (*LAS* II, p. 278; also CAD S, s.v. *sekēru* B).

³⁵ R. Koldewey, *Die Tempel von Babylon und Borsippa* (WVDOG 15), p. 44.

³⁶ See Weissbach, *Hauptheiligtum*, p. 39, a. A different impression is given by Koldewey, *Tempel*, p. 44; also idem, *Das wieder erstehende Babylon* (5th edition, Munich 1990; = *WEB*⁵), p. 204, according to whom the bricks of Aššurbanipal's floor were a uniform 37 cm square.

³⁷ Weissbach, *Hauptheiligtum*, p. 38, a–b. According to Koldewey, *op. cit.*, the dimension of the brick from below the middle floor of E-sagil was 40 cm square. This brick, BE 8084, specifically refers to the adornment of the pavements (*tal-lak-ti*) of E-sagil and Babylon with kiln-fired bricks (Borger, *Esarh.*, § 13). Among the bricks of Esarhaddon that are 30 cm square is BE 39840 (Koldewey, *WEB*⁵, p. 206, Fig. 127), which according to Koldewey was found "in der Umgegend" (*ibid.*, p. 205), *sc.* of the floors of E-sagil. These stray bricks of Esarhaddon may have been displaced from the lowest floor of the temple (level n). If we accept as fact Sennacherib's account of the temple's destruction and Esarhaddon's report of the radical extent of the rebuilding (*šer uššišu mahṛūti*... *attadi temmenšu*, "I laid its foundation platform directly on top of its ancient footings": Borger,

Esarh., p. 21, 42–6) this floor is not older than the destruction of 689 B.C. and so dates to the beginning of Esarhaddon's work on the temple. In as far as the excavators reached it this floor was otherwise made of unstamped bricks, the dimensions of which are not revealed by Koldewey.

³⁸ The inscriptions of Esarhaddon and Aššurbanipal give the impression that Esarhaddon completed the structure of the temple and Aššurbanipal decorated it and fitted it out ready for the return of Marduk's statue (Borger, *Esarh.*, pp. 21–4; Streck, *VAB* VII, *passim*, note especially p. 230, 12–14: *ši-pir é.sag.il la qa-ta-a ú-šak-lil ina kaspi ḫurāši ni-siq-ti abni^{mes} é.sag.il az-nun-ma ki-ma ši-tir bu-ru-mu ú-nam-mir é.umuša*, "I completed the unfinished work on E-sagil: I decorated E-sagil with silver, gold and precious gemstones and I made E-umuša (Marduk's cella) sparkle like the 'writing of the firmament' (i.e., stars)"). Although the rebuilding of E-sagil is assumed to have begun quite early in the reign of Esarhaddon, eleven years after its destruction by Sennacherib, that is, in 678 B.C., it is now considered probable that the work did not make much progress until the conquest of Egypt in 671 (see S. Parpola in B. Alster (ed.), *Death in Mesopotamia* (Mesopotamia 8 = *CRRA* 26), pp. 179 f.; G. Frame, *Babylonia 689–627 B.C.*, pp. 68, 77 f.). Even so, most, if not all, of the basic work must have been completed by the time that the cult-statues eventually returned to Babylon, at the accession of Šamaš-šuma-ukin in 668 B.C., although some furnishings, notably Marduk's bed and chariot, were not installed until much later (654 and 653 B.C. respectively). Though six months elapsed between the death of Esarhaddon and Šamaš-šuma-ukin's arrival in Babylon with the cult-statue of Marduk, it remains unlikely that the walls of the central courtyard and other structural parts of the main building had yet to be built at the time of Aššurbanipal's accession. What is probable, however, is that some, if not all, of the secondary brickwork known to have been the work of Aššurbanipal, rather than his father — the raising and repaving of the floors, and maybe the addition of the *kisû* on the exterior walls — dated to this time. The raising of the floor, by nearly half a metre, was very likely occasioned by damp rising from the water table, which suggests that Esarhaddon's architects failed to make high enough the mud-brick platform (*temmennu* = level p on Andrae's section) on which they built the temple. (Nebuchadnezzar's later raising of the floor by over a metre must have resulted from the same problem, a perennial difficulty at Babylon.) As is well known, Marduk's return to E-sagil was anticipated by Esarhaddon's inscription which purports to record the event, but in reality it had to be postponed, a change of plan that was put down to bad omens (see W. G. Lambert, "Esarhaddon's Attempt to Return Marduk", *AOAT* 220 = *Fs Deller*, pp. 157–74; Frame, *op. cit.*, pp. 77 f.). An inadequately waterproof floor would have been a sound practical reason for postponement of the ceremony, and might have been exactly what encouraged the king's experts to seek an excuse for the change of schedule in their divination.

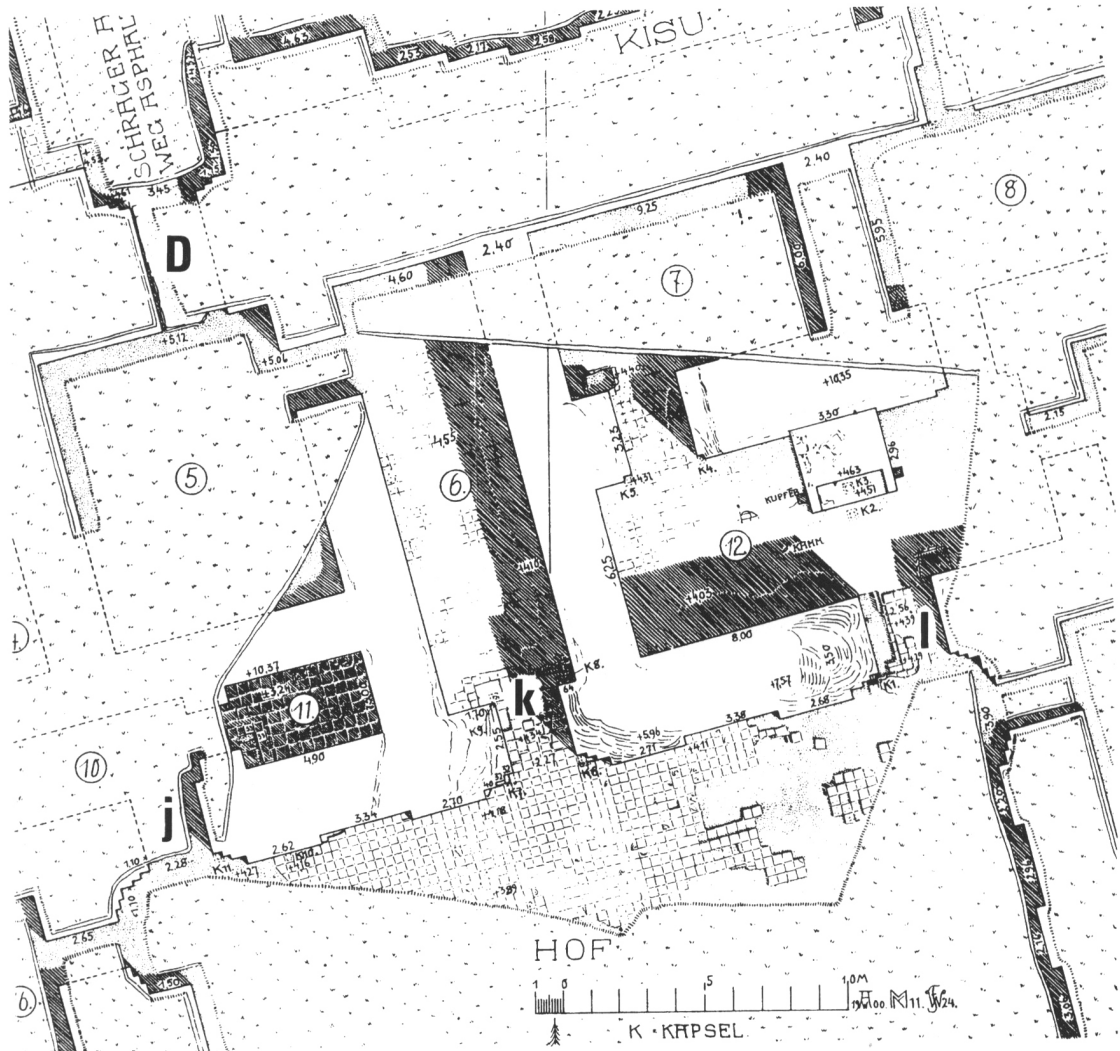


Fig. 2 Plan of the bottom of Koldewey's pit in the mound Amran ibn Ali, showing the north wall of the central courtyard of E-sagil with its three Gates jkl. Beyond Gate l is the chapel of Ninurta (Room 12), with the Dais of Marduk as Asarre against the back wall. Top left is Ka-Lamma-rabi (Gate D). Adapted from Wetzel, *Hauptheiligtum*, Pl. 4b.

expect mud bricks to be a little larger than baked bricks,³⁹ this length ought perhaps to be in the top half of this range rather than the bottom. It can be shown this is in fact how the arithmetic turns out.

The overall breadth of the courtyard, from east to west along the wall of its north front, is given in the text of Wetzel's book as 31·30 m.⁴⁰ Addition of the figures for the individual sections of this wall ("Kurtine" and "Turm"), as given in Wetzel's table of measurements and marked on his plan, yields a slightly lower figure, 31·19 m.⁴¹ Division of the more reliable, overall figure by 83 results in a

³⁹ As I am advised by Professor David Oates, with whom I discussed privately the technology of building with mud brick. On this subject see further A. Salonen, *Die Ziegeleien im Alten Mesopotamien* (AASF B 171); H. Gasche, "Lehm als Baumaterial", *RLA* VI, pp. 550–6; D. Oates, "Innovations in Mud-Brick: Decorative and structural techniques in ancient Mesopotamia", *World Archaeology* 21 (1990), pp. 388–406, with bibliography; P. R. S. Moorey, *Ancient Mesopotamian Materials and Industries* (Oxford, 1994), pp. 302 ff., with references there cited.

⁴⁰ Wetzel, *Hauptheiligtum*, p. 7.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 7 and Pl. 4b. Wetzel remarks: "der Unterschied

zwischen der Summe der Einzelmaße und der Durchmaße erklärt sich aus den schon erwähnten Schwierigkeiten der Messung" (p. 7), sc. "aus den kleinen Unregelmäßigkeiten der einzelnen Einheiten, von denen meist nur wenige Schichten freigelegt wurden, und vor allem aus der großen Behinderung der Maßaufnahme in den engen Stollen, die oft eine genaue Bestimmung sehr erschwerten" (p. 5). Even though the north wall of the courtyard was laid bare almost in its entirety, with only the outer jambs of Gates j and l inside tunnels, the implication is still that the aggregate measurement of the individual sections is likely to be less accurate than the overall measurement.

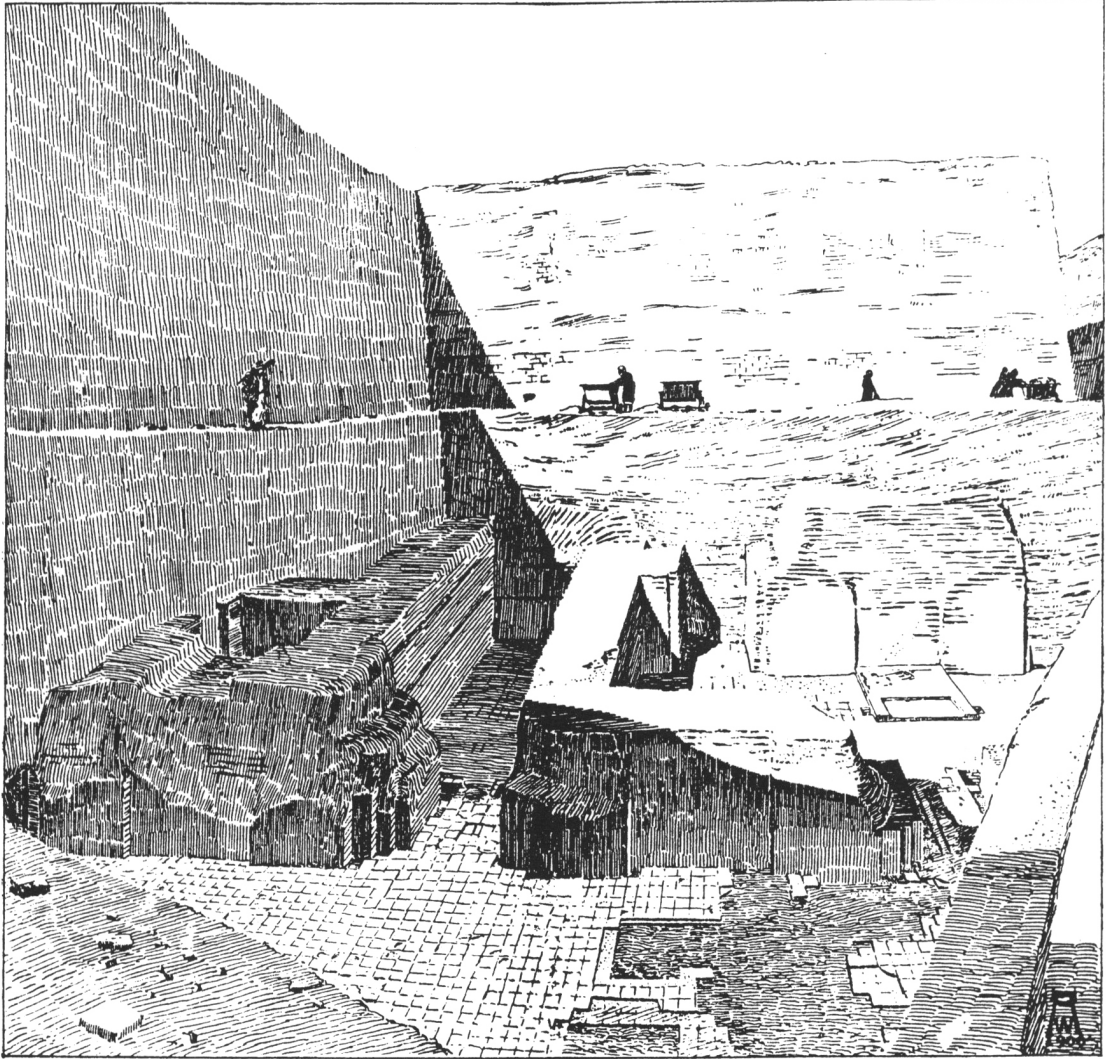


Fig. 3 Walter Andrae's sketch of the exposed walls of E-sagil, looking north, with the central courtyard in the foreground. From *MDOG* 7 (1900), pp. 12–13.

brick-length of 37·71 cm. This figure is towards the top of the expected range, but can be reduced slightly if we allow for the presence of a little mortar between the bricks as well as between the courses.⁴² As we shall see, an emendation in the text will increase the number of bricks and reduce their size proportionately, producing a figure still closer to the notional two-thirds cubit size.

After noting the rough agreement between text and archaeology in the matter of the overall length of the wall, the next task is to check whether the measurements of the individual features of the wall that are preserved in what is left of § 2' match those of the excavated wall. These measurements were 7 bricks for a feature called *d u b . l á*, $3\frac{1}{2}$ bricks in the line where the feature was broken on the original; 4 bricks for the gateway of Ninurta's chapel; and $3\frac{1}{2}$ bricks for *sippu*'s. Of these features

⁴² In traditional building with mud brick a layer of rough mud mortar, typically about 2 cm thick, separates each course (according to the modern evidence collected by Salonen, *Ziegeleien*, pp. 47 ff.). The question of how much mortar separated the individual bricks of a course in a Neo-Babylonian mud-brick building is less well documented. However, it may not be irrelevant to quote evidence gleaned from measurements taken of the baked brickwork of E-sagil. In the abutment wall, which was constructed out of standard 32 cm bricks, mortar (Wetzel's "Lehmzwischenlagen")

could, by my calculations, add between 0·67 and 2·41 cm to the length of a baked brick. These figures are computed from the dimensions given for this brickwork in Wetzel and Weissbach, *Hauptheiligtum*, p. 5, where some sections of the temple's façade are given in both metres and brick-lengths. The width of the westernmost section of "Kurtine" on the north front of the temple is given at 5·85 m (17 bricks), which produces a length of 34·41 cm per brick inclusive of mortar. The lowest rate of centimetres per brick inclusive of mortar yielded by this set of figures is 32·67.

only the gateway needs no further explanation and can be dealt with at once. The width of this gateway, Gate l, was measured at 2.56 m. This dimension is clearly much more than the four brick-lengths of the text. Four standard bricks would measure end to end 1.33 m. Even the largest over-size bricks would only stretch to 1.56 m, excluding mortar. Although the paving bricks of the courtyard, as marked on the plan, were not all preserved *in situ* at this gateway, the position of those that remain makes it very likely that there were about seven such bricks across the width of the floor of Gate l. The other gateways on the wall, Gates jk, were slightly narrower, at 2.28 and 2.27 m across. Wetzel's plan very clearly shows that, at Gate k, where all the bricks of the floor of the gateway were still in position, this space was occupied by just about six and a half brick-lengths, which yields a fair equivalence of one brick to 34.9 cm, including mortar. The same equivalence applied to Gate l would provide a width in brick-lengths of $7\frac{1}{3}$. However, the paving bricks on Wetzel's plan are the standard two-thirds cubit baked bricks of Nebuchadnezzar II's floor. As has been noted, it can be expected that the mud bricks of the wall would have been slightly larger than baked bricks of the same period. Since the text does not employ measurements in brick-lengths other than whole units or halves, it would seem in any case quite in order that it would give the width of this gateway as 7 brick-lengths. If it is correct to identify the wall of § 2' as the north wall of E-sagil's central courtyard, the figure given for the gate of the chapel of Ninurta should thus be 7, not 4. As all cuneiformists know, the former can easily be misread as the latter, by ancient scholars as well as modern.

Nevertheless, the need for emendation might be considered to cast doubt on the identification of this section of wall. In order to confirm or reject the identification it is necessary continue the exercise already begun, by identifying exactly what is meant by the other architectural terms found in § 2', *dublu*, *hibšu* and *sippu*, and to see whether the text's measurements in bricks tally or clash with the archaeological evidence. To demonstrate how these features relate to each other I quote one of the two complete sections, § 5':

iii'	1	<i>i-gar bīt(è) d'uraš</i>	The wall of the chapel of Uraš:
	2	<i>hi-pí</i>	(text broken)
	3	5 <i>bāb qāti</i> ?(šu) <i>d'uraš</i>	5: the gate of the side-room(?) of Uraš,
	4	$3\frac{1}{2}$ <i>sip-pe-e</i>	$3\frac{1}{2}$: the <i>sippu</i> 's,
	5	$6\frac{1}{2}$ ⁴³ <i>dublu</i> (dub.lá) <i>qatnu</i> (sig)	$6\frac{1}{2}$: "thin" <i>dublu</i> ,
	6	9 <i>hi-ib-šú</i>	9: <i>hibšu</i> ,
	7	$6\frac{1}{2}$ <i>dublu</i> (dub.lá) <i>qatnu</i> (sig)	$6\frac{1}{2}$: "thin" <i>dublu</i> ,
	8	$3\frac{1}{2}$ <i>sip-pe-e</i>	$3\frac{1}{2}$: the <i>sippu</i> 's,
	9	4 <i>bāb šu hu lu</i> ⁴⁴	4: the gate . . . ,
	10	$3\frac{1}{2}$ <i>sip-pe-e</i>	$3\frac{1}{2}$: the <i>sippu</i> 's;
	11	<i>naphar</i> (pap) 45 <i>libitti</i> (sig ₄)	Total: 45 bricks.

In this section we see that both gates are flanked by groups of *sippu*'s, which together always measure $3\frac{1}{2}$ bricks on each side; thus in § 2', quoted earlier, the notation *hi-pí*, signifying a broken passage in the original (ii' 2), marks the loss of *sip-pe-e*. If the same restoration is made in the section just quoted, § 5' (iii' 2), as surely it must be, this means that $3\frac{1}{2}$ bricks must be added to the figures preserved for this stretch of wall. The individual sections then add up to the desired total of 45. In each of §§ 2' and 5' the wall described comprises alternate sections of *dublu* and *hibšu*, with the *dublu*'s adjacent to one or other of the *sippu*'s of the gateways, and separated by *hibšu*'s. The range of lengths in bricks given for *dublu*'s in the extant text is $6\frac{1}{2}$ to 10 ($6\frac{1}{2}$ bricks: iii' 5.7; 7 bricks: ii' 1; 9 bricks: iv' 1.2.7.17; 10 bricks: ii' 9). Though only two lines are entirely preserved that give the lengths of *hibšu*'s, the range is similar: either 5 bricks (ii' 8) or 9 (iii' 6). Accordingly, the text tells us that *sippu*'s are narrow features on either side of a gateway, *dublu*'s and *hibšu*'s are wider features which, at least in the sections already quoted, make up the stretches of wall between gateways.

The identification of the features in question is made easy by examining the architecture. Wetzel's plan of the north wall of the central courtyard of E-sagil shows the wall to be pierced by three

⁴³ The copy reads so, against von Weiher's transliteration, which has only BAR.

⁴⁴ The unpublished photograph confirms these signs, which remain obscure.

gateways, one at each end and one in the middle (see Fig. 2). As already noted, the eastern gateway, Gate l, is now identified as the gate of the chapel of Ninurta. Looked at face-on, each of these gateways is flanked by a pattern of narrow vertical steps, an effect achieved by staggering the brickwork so that the wall recedes into the gateway. In Neo-Babylonian temple architecture, and generally in ancient Mesopotamia, this device was used to give prominence to important gateways, and is known as “rabbeting”.⁴⁵ In the gateways of the central courtyard’s north wall (Gates jkl), the rabbeting varies a little in width from gate to gate, from 1.04 m (just over three standard brick-lengths) to 1.17 m (roughly $3\frac{1}{2}$ standard bricks).⁴⁶ It is clear enough that stepped rabbeting of the jambs is what is meant by multiple *sippu*’s. As can be seen from the figures available for Gate k and from careful studying of the plan, the outer step of rabbeting was wider on this wall, and in terms of bricks the whole jamb comprised three steps which occupied in width the lengths of one brick and a bit (the outer step), one brick (the middle step) and one brick (the inner step). The text rounds up three bricks and a bit to $3\frac{1}{2}$. Some groups of *sippu*’s in the text attract the comment *malmališ*, “in equal parts” (iii’ 38.40; iv’ *passim*), which must mean that on these occasions the widths of the individual *sippu*’s that make up the group are identical, e.g., one brick’s length each. As we have seen, this was not the case on the north wall of the courtyard, and so, true to our expectations, in § 2’ the text does not use the notation *malmališ*.

As observed by the excavators, the sections of brickwork between the three gateways of the wall are not flat, but relieved by means of central recesses (see Fig. 3). This vertical articulation of the wall, which on a longer stretch forms a pattern of alternating recessed and projecting vertical surfaces, is also common in Mesopotamian monumental architecture, and is a kind of decoration which has been termed “niche and projection”.⁴⁷ The “projection” is a shallow, engaged buttress or pilaster, the “niche” a section of wall that falls between two “projections”, forming a shallow recess. When such a buttress or pilaster, properly called a pilaster mass,⁴⁸ appears at the side of a monumental gateway, it can be a sign that the gateway was flanked by ornamental towers. Whether this was so in the courtyard of E-sagil cannot be proved for certain, of course, but the terminology used by the excavators for the niches and projections found along the walls of the temple’s façades and central courtyard demonstrates that they considered such an arrangement probable.⁴⁹ However that may be, the successive features encountered on the north wall of the courtyard, when seen from above as a ground-plan, are, from western gateway to eastern gateway: three-step rabbeting, gateway of 2.28 metre width (Koldewey’s Gate j), three-step rabbeting, pilaster mass of 2.62 m, shallow recess of 3.34 m, pilaster mass of 2.7 m, three-step rabbeting of 1.04 m, gateway of 2.27 m (Gate k), three-step rabbeting, pilaster mass of 2.71 m, shallow recess of

⁴⁵ See the survey of Muayad Said Basim Damerji, *The Development of the Architecture of Doors and Gates in Ancient Mesopotamia*, transl. Tomio Takase and Yasuyoshi Okada (Tokyo, 1987), pp. 68–70. Though the stepped brickwork is ornamental rather than functional I have retained the term “rabbeting” as the most convenient.

⁴⁶ See Wetzel and Weissbach, *Hauptheiligtum*, Pl. 4b, where the individual figures for the three steps of rabbeting that adorn the west jamb of Gate k are 40, 32 and 32 cm = 1.04 m. The combined measurements of the rabbeting of the jambs of all three gates can be discovered by subtracting the widths of the individual gateways from the figures given under “Kurtine” in the table on *ibid.*, p. 7. Using these figures the two jambs of Gate j together occupy a width of 2.22 m, i.e., 1.11 m each if the construction was absolutely symmetrical; those of Gate k measure 1.17 m each, or, if the figures given in Wetzel’s plan really belong here, an asymmetrical 1.04 m and 1.30 m; those of Gate l work out at 1.045 m each. Since this last figure is almost exactly the dimension recorded in Wetzel’s plan for Gate k, one wonders whether the individual widths of the three steps of rabbeting given there are misplaced, and really belong to Gate l. Comparison with other sections of the text shows that the rabbeting of the gateways on a given stretch of wall was considered to be uniform in width. The excavated remains reveal that the builders did not achieve quite such a

consistency of measurement. On this wall the text assumes the maximum measurement achieved at the rabbeting to be universal; excavation shows that in practice it was not.

⁴⁷ Muayad Said, *Doors and Gates*, pp. 71 ff.

⁴⁸ Reference works in English traditionally favour the term “buttress” (e.g. H. Frankfort, *The Art and Architecture of the Ancient Orient*, p. 18; G. Leick, *A Dictionary of Ancient Near Eastern Architecture*, p. 39). Neither “buttress” nor even “pilaster” seems quite the right word when the projection is simply a flat surface proud of the face of the wall, not load-bearing like a buttress or ornamented like a pilaster. According to Cyril M. Harris (ed.), *Illustrated Dictionary of Historic Architecture* (New York, 1977), p. 420, the correct term for such a projection should be *pilaster mass*: “an engaged pier built up with the wall, usually without the capital and base of a pilaster.” A less wide structure is known as a *pilaster strip* or *lesene*. The thickened section of wall that is produced by the use of a pilaster mass or strip may properly be called a *pier*: “a member, usually in the form of a thickened section, which forms an integral part of a wall; usually placed at intervals along the wall to provide lateral support or to take concentrated vertical loads” (*ibid.*, p. 417).

⁴⁹ The projecting features are described by Koldewey as “schwach vortretende Pfeiler-Türme” (*Tempel*, p. 42). Wetzel termed niche and projection respectively “Kurtine” and “Turm” (*Hauptheiligtum*, pp. 5 and 7).

3.38 m, pilaster mass of 2.68 m, three-step rabbeting, gateway of 2.56 m, three-step rabbeting. This is in agreement with what remains of the section of the text that deals with the wall ending at the gate of Ninurta's chapel, § 2', which, when partly restored after the pattern set in § 5', can be made to present the sequence: [*sippu*'s, gate, *sippu*'s, *dublu*, *hibšu*, *dublu*, *sippu*'s, gate, *sippu*'s,] *dublu*, *hibšu*, *dublu*, break = [*sippu*'s], gate, *sippu*'s. Apart from the gateway and the *sippu*'s, for which the comparison of the ancient and modern measurements has already been made, only the length of the last *dublu* in the sequence survives in the text: 7 bricks. The width of the pilaster mass flanking the gate is 2.68 m, which divided by seven gives a computed brick-length of 38.29 cm, including mortar. For comparison, the three other pilasters on this wall vary in width from 2.62 to 2.71 m, as already noted, and at the same rate of bricks, produce a range from 37.42 to 38.71 cm. This is again towards the top of the range earlier marked as satisfactory, but still inside it. The section of courtyard floor that fronts the longest of these is marked on Wetzel's plan as comprising about $7\frac{1}{2}$ brick-lengths. These are the baked bricks of Nebuchadnezzar's floor, which we expect to have been shorter than the mud bricks of Esarhaddon's wall. So the text's seven bricks is again very close to the observed reality.

Accordingly it seems certain that, at least in the Neo-Babylonian period, *dublu* and *hibšu* are terms that refer to the articulation of a wall in the style dubbed "niche and projection", and are in fact respectively the pilaster mass, or "projection", and the recessed face, or "niche". The qualification of many *dublu*'s in the text, including those of the north wall of the courtyard, as *qatnu*, literally "thin, narrow", refers not to their width, which seems relatively large in proportion to the wall, but to the depth of their projection from the plane of the *hibšu*. In the wall just examined, this depth was indeed very slight, being the length of a single brick according to Wetzel.⁵⁰ So *dublu qatnu* means "shallow pilaster".⁵¹ Confirmation of this nuance of *qatnu* comes from the contrast provided by the other adjective that describes *dublu* in this text, namely *āšū*, "projecting" (ii' 9; iv' 17: d ú b . l á è).⁵²

The figures the text gives for the rabbeted jambs (*sippu*) and the pilaster (*dublu*) match the observed measurements sufficiently closely for me to be certain that § 2' describes the north wall of the central courtyard of E-sagil accurately enough, except for the corruption of a figure 7 into 4. Given the arguments above, and noting that elsewhere in the text the *sippu*'s, *dublu*'s and *hibšu*'s on any given stretch of wall — but not gateways — stick each to the same width,⁵³ it should now be possible to restore the entire section (§ 2'):

	[<i>igar iltāni ša kisal Bēl</i> ?]	[? The north wall of the Court of Bēl:]
	[$3\frac{1}{2}$ <i>sippē</i>]	[$3\frac{1}{2}$: rabbeted jambs,]
	[6 <i>bāb</i> . . .]	[6: the gate . . .,]
	[$3\frac{1}{2}$ <i>sippē</i>]	[$3\frac{1}{2}$: rabbeted jambs,]
	[7 <i>dublu qatnu</i>]	[7: shallow pilaster,]
	[9 <i>hibšu</i>]	[9: recess,]
	[7 <i>dublu qatnu</i>]	[7: shallow pilaster,]
	[$3\frac{1}{2}$ <i>sippē</i>]	[$3\frac{1}{2}$: rabbeted jambs,]
	[6 <i>bāb</i> . . .]	[6: the gate . . .,]
	[$3\frac{1}{2}$ <i>sippē</i>]	[$3\frac{1}{2}$: rabbeted jambs,]
i' 1'	[7 <i>dublu</i>] <i>qatnu</i>	[7:] shallow [pilaster,]
2'	[9 <i>hi</i>] <i>bšu</i>	[9:] recess,

⁵⁰ *Hauptheiligtum*, p. 7: "die Hofwände sind durch einfache Türme, die je 1 Stein vorspringen, gegliedert." This statement holds for the north, east and south walls of the courtyard, but according to the plans the outward projection of the pilaster masses of the west wall, which fronted the cella of Marduk, was much greater.

⁵¹ In the following I render *dublu* as "pilaster" instead of "pilaster mass" or "strip" for the reason that the ancients are unlikely to have distinguished between decorated, wide and narrow: if one such feature was a *dublu*, probably they all would have been.

⁵² With *dublu āšū* in this meaning cf. Nebuchadnezzar II's *di-ma-a-tim a-ša-a-tim*, "projecting towers" — i.e.,

buttresses? — built on the moat wall of Babylon (*CT* 37 12, 27; not *a-sà-a-tim*, "turrets", as erroneously read in *Topog. Texts*, p. 346). It may be that in § 1' a [*dublu*] *širu*, "massive/huge/tall pilaster", should be restored (i' 2). This would be a more substantial pilaster mass that perhaps protruded above the level of the roof, like a tower.

⁵³ For the jambs see above, footnote 46. In the text the four pilasters that relieve the face of the wall, measuring between 2.62 and 2.71 m, would all have been *dublu*'s of a uniform width, i.e., 7 brick-lengths. The two recessed faces, at 3.34 and 3.38 m, are an average 68 cm or 2 standard brick-lengths wider than the average pilaster. So the *hibšu*'s of this wall were both 9 bricks wide.

ii' 1	7 <i>dublu qatnu</i>	7: shallow pilaster,
2	$3\frac{1}{2}$ [<i>sippē</i>]	$3\frac{1}{2}$: [rabbeted jambs,]
3	7 ¹ <i>bāb bit Ninurta</i>	7 ¹ : the gate of the chapel of Ninurta,
4	$3\frac{1}{2}$ <i>sippē</i>	$3\frac{1}{2}$: rabbeted jambs;
5	<i>naphar</i> 86 ¹ <i>libitti</i>	Total: 86 ¹ bricks.

A schematic plan of the north wall of the courtyard, incorporating the information presented by § 2' of our text and the data yielded by excavation, then looks like this:

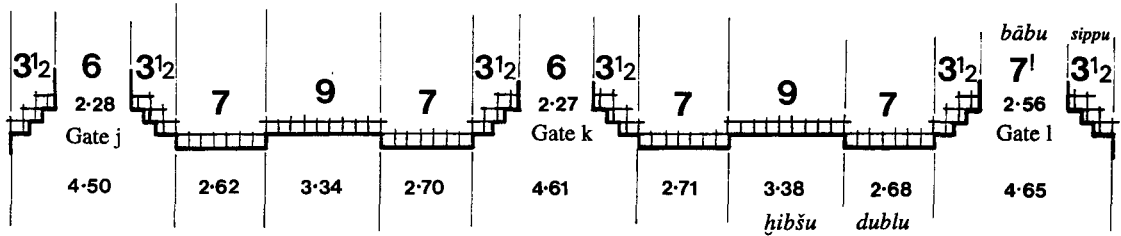


Fig. 4 Plan of the north wall of the central courtyard, marked up with measurements from the text *SpTU* IV 220, § 2' (top, in brick-lengths, partly restored) and the excavations (bottom, in metres).

As a last comment on § 2', it is interesting to note that the new total of 86 bricks,⁵⁴ when divided into the measured length of the wall, 31.30 m, yields a computed brick-length of 36.4 cm. If a further reduction is made for mortar we arrive at a figure still closer to the notional standard of two-thirds of a cubit, and more or less in the middle of the satisfactory range.

It can now also be seen that the articulation of the walls found in §§ 2' and 5', namely alternation between shallow *dublu* and *hibšu*, also appears in § 1':

i' 1	[... <i>h</i>]i-pi	(text broken)
2	[y [?] <i>dublu</i> (dub.lá?)] <i>širu</i> (mah)*	[y [?] :] massive [pilaster(?),]
3	[$3\frac{1}{2}$ [?] <i>sip-p</i>]e-e	[$3\frac{1}{2}$ [?] : rabbeted] jambs,
4	[x <i>bāb bit</i>] ^{r^d} <i>šin</i> (30)	[x: the gate of the chapel of] <i>Šin</i> ,
5	[$3\frac{1}{2}$ [?] <i>sip-pe</i>]e	[$3\frac{1}{2}$ [?] : rabbeted] jambs,
6	[y <i>dublu</i>] <i>qatnu</i> (sig)	[y:] shallow [pilaster,]
7	[z <i>hi-ib-š</i>]ú*	[z: recess,]
8	[y <i>dublu qat</i>]nu(sig)	[y:] shallow [pilaster,]
9	[$3\frac{1}{2}$ [?] <i>sip-pe</i>]e ^r * (remainder broken)	[$3\frac{1}{2}$ [?] : rabbeted] jambs, [etc.]

Now that *sippu*, *dublu* and *hibšu* are identified on the ground, as it were, it has to be asked whether such identifications are in accord with what was already known about them. References for the term *sippu* (Sum. z à . d u₈) were collected by Salonen, *Türen*, pp. 62–6, who headed his discussion with the translations “Schwellplatte mit Angelpfannensteinen”, “Schwellstein”, “Schwelle”. More recently *CAD* has written: “the term *sippu* refers quite generally to the doorframe and even the entire doorway; more specifically, when ‘right’ and ‘left’ are mentioned, it seems to denote the upright doorjambs” (S, p. 303). *AHW* agrees: “(Tür)-Pfosten, Laibung, Gewände usw.” (p. 1049). According to the passages collected by Salonen and in *CAD*, the *sippu* was normally made of brick and covered with plaster. It flanked any kind of doorway, from those of private houses to those of monumental buildings and even city gates.⁵⁵ The *sippu*'s of temples could be lavishly decorated, and

⁵⁴ This figure is not only suggested by the emendation of 4 to 7 in iii' 3 but actually demanded by the need to maintain regular widths of *sippu*, *dublu* and *hibšu*. Since the combined width of the *sippu*'s must be 21 bricks, the total width of the *dublu*'s 28 bricks, and the gateways, after emendation, 19 bricks, which all add up to 68 bricks, the tablet's total of 83 can only stand if the two *hibšu*'s measure $7\frac{1}{2}$ bricks each. However, as seen in the preceding footnote, Wetzel's figures

show that the recesses were of 9 bricks' length, and thus the total is also best raised by three to 86.

⁵⁵ To the references for city gates add *Topog. Texts*, p. 140, 3.6. The translation “(door)-sill” used in that book follows Salonen's “Schwelle” (cf. Landsberger's rendering “threshold” in early *MSL* and *CAD*; also Hebrew *sap*), but is not entirely satisfactory, for the sill is only the bottom of the jamb, not the whole thing.

were often adorned with statues of apotropaic figures.⁵⁶ In a derelict or badly maintained building the plaster might be stripped off (*halāšu*), with the result that the bonding (*riksu*) of the *sippu* became exposed and prone to loosening: a *sippu* in good repair is described as *raksu*, “(well)-bonded”. The *sippu* is thus the “open edge” (the literal meaning of *zā . d u₈*) of a wall, where it is interrupted by the space of a doorway, and thus figuratively the word apparently describes the rim or edge of various other objects. In the case of a stepped or “rabbeted” edge it is easy to understand how a gateway could be provided, as in our text, with multiple *sippu*’s. The translation “doorframe” is too suggestive of a wooden structure to be suitable,⁵⁷ and “(door) jamb” is better.

The word *hibšu* (or *hipšu*) is rare. It occurs in invocations of architectural features, twice in the *tākultu* texts (III R 66 = Menzel, *Tempel* II 54, iv 1–2 // *STT* 88, iv 9’–10’; viii 4’–5’: *še-lu-ru libittu*(sig₄) é.gal⁵⁸ u *hi-ib-šú*, “plaster, brickwork, palace(?) and *hibšu*), and once in a prayer to Nabû (V. Scheil, *RA* 18 (1921), p. 31 = Durand, *Catalogue EPHE*, 341, rev. 9’: *giš dalātu*^{mes} *hi-ib-šú man-za-zu*, “doors, *hibšu*, socles”; NA copy). Nothing in these texts allowed the reader to perceive exactly what kind of feature a *hibšu* was, only that it was probably ornamental. In this regard it may be significant that what we have identified in E-sagil as *hibšu*’s, namely the recesses between the pilaster masses of the courtyard wall, were originally not flat where they met the floor, but decorated with a kind of corrugation that Koldewey describes as “halbrundes Stabwerk”.⁵⁹ It is in fact quite possible that it is this relief work, rather than the recess *per se*, that is properly described as *hibšu*, but while the etymology of the word remains uncertain it is impossible to decide one way or the other. The final repaving of the courtyard by Nebuchadnezzar II, which raised the floor by a over one metre, covered up this decoration, leaving the recessed wall entirely flat and unrelieved.

The meaning and function of the *d u b . l á* (Akk. *dublu* or *tublu*) has most recently been examined by W. G. Lambert in his article on “The Pair *Laḫmu*–*Laḫamu* in Cosmology”,⁶⁰ where he develops the discussion of the function of the hairy *laḫmu*-monster begun a few years before by F. A. M. Wiggermann.⁶¹ Both scholars record the well-known textual association of the *laḫmu* (Sum. *l a . ḫ a . m a*) with the *d u b . l á* of temples,⁶² and its equally well-known association in iconography with “gate-posts” and gateways generally.⁶³ Translations of *d u b . l á* fall into two distinct camps, with some scholars, recognising the close association of the *d u b . l á* with the various parts of a gateway in the Nungal Hymn and elsewhere, rendering it as “Torbau” or “gateway”,⁶⁴ while others, following the evidence of the vocabularies,⁶⁵ see it as part of the temple’s infrastructure, “foundation platform, foundation terrace”.⁶⁶ Lambert attempted neatly to reconcile the apparent conflict between the contextual evidence and the vocabularies, and translated *d u b . l á* as “door socket”.⁶⁷

⁵⁶ In *Tintir* II 29’–30’ the “stations” (*manzāzu*, i.e., socles for statues) of Ababa and Antadurunu, the twin gatekeepers of E-sagil, are situated at a pair of *sippu*’s in the temple.

⁵⁷ In ancient Mesopotamia wooden doorframes comprised various constituent parts, including the *hittu* (Sum. *ḫ é . d u₇*), “lintel”, the *giškanakku* (*g i š . k á . n a*), literally the “wooden part of the gate”, and the *gišallu* (*g i š . d a l*), “wooden cross member”. The equation *g i š . ḫ á . n a* = *sí-ip-pu-um* in Proto-Kagal (*MSL* XIII, p. 88, 68) need not be taken as an exact equation, but may only mean that the *giškanakku* was a wooden item that was fixed to the *sippu* and could fulfil the same function as the upright edge of the wall, i.e. it was the vertical member of the doorframe.

⁵⁸ “Palace” is certainly out of place. Corruption of original *d u b . l á* = *dublu*?

⁵⁹ *Tempel*, p. 43; cf. *WEB*⁵, p. 205.

⁶⁰ *Or* NS 54 (1985), pp. 189–202.

⁶¹ “Exit *Talim!* Studies in Babylonian Demonology, I”, *JEOL* 27 (1981–2), pp. 90–105; idem, *Mesopotamian Protective Spirits. The Ritual Texts* (Groningen, 1992), pp. 164–6.

⁶² Lambert, *Or* NS 54, pp. 192, 194–6; Wiggermann, *JEOL* 27, p. 95²⁷, cites the earlier literature, to which add Jerrold S. Cooper, *The Curse of Agade*, p. 248.

⁶³ Lambert, *Or* NS 54, p. 191; Wiggermann, *JEOL* 27, pp. 101 ff.

⁶⁴ E.g. Å. Falkenstein, W. Heimpel, H. Nissen, as cited by Wiggermann, *JEOL* 27, p. 95²⁷; also W. von Soden, *CRR* 20, p. 141; D. O. Edzard, *ibid.*, p. 156; and now too Jerrold S. Cooper, *op. cit.*

⁶⁵ Specifically entries in which *du-ub-lu* (*An* IX 44) and its variant *du-bur* (*LTBA* II 2, 327) = *išdu*, “foundation”, and *d u b . l á* = *dur-zu-um*, i.e. *dur(uš)šú*, “foundation” (G. Pettinato, *MEE* IV, p. 324, 1162; Ebla). The latter would seem to confirm the previously questionable identity of *d u b . l á* and *dublu*. Note also ^{du-bur}*dubur*, *dubur* = *iš-[du]*, *Ea* V 104–5, = *iš-d[u]*, *A* V/2 126–7. Lambert proposes that *d u b . l á* is a loan from *dublu* (*Or* NS 54, p. 193). It could also be argued that the Sumerian word was properly *dubur*, which was taken over in Semitic as *dublu* and borrowed back again as *d u b . l á* (such a development is not as unlikely as it might at first appear: cf. the reversely analogous sequence of loans *sāpiru* > *šabra* > *šabrū* and *bēlūtu* > *bīlūdā* > *pīludū*). On *d u b u r* see recently B. Alster, *RA* 85 (1991), pp. 9 f.

⁶⁶ E.g. Å. W. Sjöberg, as cited by Wiggermann, following *CAD* D, p. 168; W. von Soden, *AHW*, s.v. *tublu*, “etwa ‘Fundamentgrube,’” followed by von Weiher, *SpTU* IV, p. 134. Note also T. Jacobsen, *The Harps that Once . . .*, p. 419, “socle” (translating *d u b . l á* in Gudea, *Cyl. A*, xxiv 18 and 26).

⁶⁷ *Or* NS 54, pp. 193 f.

The evidence of the new text, demonstrating that $d u b . l á = dublu$ is the pilaster mass commonly found at the side of a monumental gateway, unfortunately demolishes Lambert's solution, and leads us away from infrastructure back to superstructure, but the problem remains of why the lexical texts equate it with *išdu* and *duruššu*. It could be that two similar words of different meaning have become entangled, but if one recalls that lexical entries are sometimes not exact equations but only rough approximations, another solution presents itself. The articulation of the wall as a pattern of "projection" and "niche" would certainly hold for the footings of a wall as well as the part that could be seen above ground. It may thus be that the *dublu* was considered to part of both the superstructure and the infrastructure (cf. English "pier"), and that the lexical entry *dublu = išdu* is to be understood not as an equation at all, but simply as an association of items that could belong together, or even *pars pro toto*, indicating that, as an architectural feature rooted in a building's foundations, *dublu* was something to do with *išdu*, if not in fact a part of it.

At this point one may also re-open the question of the meaning of the ceremonial name $é . d u b . l á . m a ḥ$, which is best known at Ur, but also appears for certain at Nippur and at a town patronized by the Mananā dynasty, probably Urum,⁶⁸ and maybe elsewhere.⁶⁹ The shrine excavated at Ur was originally a monumental gateway into the enclosure of the ziqqurat, and though later it ceased to give such access, its design remained that of an elaborate gate building. As such it was furnished, at least in the rebuilding of Kurigalzu, with multiple stepped jambs (*sippu*) either side of the door-way, which were in turn flanked with walls articulated in a prominent pattern of alternate "projections" and "niches", i.e., *dublu* and *hibšu*.⁷⁰ Thus the building was rightly named the $é . d u b . l á . m a ḥ$, "House of Massive Pilasters".

Another familiar architectural term met in this text is *suḥātu*, literally "armpit". In § 3' (ii' 9.17) a pair of "projecting pilasters" (*dublu āšū*) is separated from the double jambs (*sippu*) of a gateway by a pair of features called *suḥātu*, "armpits". This architectural feature is also found in the E-sagil Tablet and elsewhere, but among the sources hitherto known only the E-sagil Tablet has offered a clue as to its nature. There the *suḥātu* appears to be the area enclosed by a large recess or alcove in the exterior wall of the temple, adjoining one of the courtyards of the temple precinct, and "adjacent to the *arkabinnu*-door". It is described as comprising an area of $2\frac{1}{2}$ *mušaru* in the large cubit-standard (about 200 m²).⁷¹ In the new text the section of wall in question is an important one, namely the wall on which was located the entrance to the cella of Bēltiya. This gateway would have led from the courtyard of Bēltiya's chapel into her cult-rooms. These probably included an ante-chamber, and beyond it, through the gate $k á . ḥ i . l i . s ù$, her cella $é . d á r a . a n . n a$. This was the second most sacred cultic chamber in E-sagil, after Marduk's cella, and we can expect the wall that acted as its monumental façade to have been far from plain. Assuming the gateway to have been located at the middle point of the wall, we can restore this section as follows (§ 3')

ii'	6	<i>i-gar šá bāb pa-pa-ḥa</i>	The wall of the gate of the cella
	7	<i>šá bit^a bēlti(gašan)-ia</i>	of the chapel of Bēltiya:
	8	<i>5 ḥi-ib-šú</i>	5: recess,
	9	<i>10 dublu(dub.lá) āšū(è)</i>	10: projecting pilaster,
	10	$\lceil 1^{?} \rceil \frac{1}{2} * su*-ḥat$	$1\frac{1}{2}$ (or $2\frac{1}{2}$?): alcove,

⁶⁸ George, *House Most High*, p. 79, 203–5, where the name is translated "House, Exalted Door-Socket", following Lambert.

⁶⁹ As noted by C. J. Gadd, *UET I*, p. 22¹², the ceremonial name also appears in an Ur III offering list as the recipient of a sheep (S. Langdon, *RA* 19 (1922), p. 192, No. 4, rev. 6; from Adab or Umma?), and in an OB adoption contract, where a priest of $d u b . l á . m a ḥ$ acts as witness (*BIN* II 75, 34; from Larsa?). Cf. Falkenstein, *AnOr* 30, p. 124³.

⁷⁰ See the photographs in, e.g., Leonard Woolley, *UE VIII*, pp. 4 ff.; *Excavations at Ur*, Pl. 29a.

⁷¹ As discussed in *Topog. Texts*, pp. 416 f. My conclusion there, that "no recess in the exterior walls of E-sagil occupies a space large enough to be identified as the '*suḥātu* adjacent to the *arkabinnu*-door,'" left unresolved the location of the recess, the *arkabinnu*-door and the adjoining courtyard, which is called the Court of Ištar and Zababa. The new

information regarding the nature of the *suḥātu* led me to look again, and I discovered that the size of the *suḥātu* given there, $2\frac{1}{2}$ *mušaru* "in the large cubit standard", fits the recess south of Gate H if in the text "large cubit standard" is an error for the ordinary cubit standard. $2\frac{1}{2}$ *mušaru* in the smaller, Neo-Babylonian standard represents an area of about 90 m². The area of the recess south of Gate H is 90.1 m² if measurements are taken from the abutting walls (*kisū*), or about 95.2 m² if one ignores them. In this analysis the *arkabinnu*-door of the E-sagil Tablet will have been hung in Gate H, and will indeed be the same as the *arkapinnu*-Gate listed as one of the principal gates of the temple in the list catalogued above as text No. 6 (*Topog. Texts*, p. 96, 6'). The Court of Ištar and Zababa will be the area outside this gate, to the south of the main building and west of the protruding façade of the eastern annexe. See Fig. 1.

11	「1 ¹ sip-pi qabli(murub ₄) ⁷²	1: the jamb of the interior,
12	「1 ¹ sip-pi bābi(ká)	1: the jamb of the gate,
13	「7* ¹ bāb pa-pa-ḥa	7: the gate of the cella,
14	「1 ¹ sip-pi bābi	1: the jamb of the gate,
15	「1 ¹ sip-pi qabli(murub ₄) ⁷²	1: the jamb of the interior,
16	「1 ² 1 ¹ / ₂ * su-ḥat	1 ¹ / ₂ (or 2 ¹ / ₂): alcove,
17	[10 dubl]u(dub.lá) 「āšû(è) ⁷³	[10:] projecting [pilaster,]
18	[5 ḥi-ib-šû]	[5: recess;]
19	[naphar x libittu]	[Total: x bricks.]

If I have read the traces correctly the total number of bricks will be not less than 44, but probably no more than 46 (allowing the maximum of 2¹/₂ bricks for each *suḥātu*).

If a *suḥātu* is a recessed area leading into the gateway, as it seems to be in the E-sagil Tablet, in this text the term is used to describe the section of wall at the back of the alcove, wherever that wall is not articulated by rabbeting (at which points the bricks are counted as *sippu*'s), nor pierced by a gate (at which point the bricks are counted as gateway). It should be instructive to compare the text's description of this wall with the gateway from the central courtyard into Marduk's cella and its antechambers, which, unlike our wall, has been excavated, if only by tunnelling. That wall is of symmetrical plan, with the principal gateway at the mid-point and subsidiary gateways at each end. The articulation of the walls between these gateways is different from that encountered in examining the adjoining north wall of the courtyard, no doubt because it fronts a more important part of the temple. Each gateway sits in a deep recess, well back from the plane of the wall. The wall itself comprises a pattern of recessed and projecting faces, but the amount by which the projections stand proud of the recesses is much greater than was the case on the north wall. Presumably this type of projection is what the new text calls *dublu āšû*, "projecting pilaster", as opposed to *dublu qatnu*, "shallow pilaster". In addition, these projections are not adjacent to the stepped rabbeting of the jambs (*sippu*'s), but separated from them by a recessed length of wall. Since we do not appear to have the section of text that dealt with the wall of the gateway to Marduk's cella it is impossible to be certain as to whether these recessed lengths of wall, intervening between the gateways and the *dublu*'s, would be designated *ḥibšu* or *suḥātu*, but I suspect the latter. This wall would then appear in the text as comprising the following sequence, from north to south, of architectural features: three *sippu*'s, gateway (Gate i), three *sippu*'s, *suḥātu*, *dublu āšû*, *suḥātu*, three *sippu*'s, gateway (Gate h), three *sippu*'s, *suḥātu*, *dublu āšû*, *suḥātu*, three *sippu*'s, gateway (Gate g), three *sippu*'s. The wall fronting Bēltiya's cella differs from this wall in that, as I restore it, it has only one gateway, the central one. Essentially it follows the same pattern, but the deeply recessed subsidiary gateways at either end of Marduk's wall are replaced with more shallowly recessed stretches of plain wall, i.e. *ḥibšu*'s. The numbers of bricks given against the *suḥātu* on either side of the gate into Bēltiya's chapel seems to be quite modest. According to the photograph 1¹/₂ is the likely number; certainly it was no higher than 2¹/₂. So the recess of the gateway may have been deep, but it was not nearly as wide as those on the wall fronting Marduk's cella (the width of the recess of the gateway into Marduk's cella, including the stretches of wall that flanked the jambs, was measured at 11.30 m⁷⁴). Finally, the gate of Bēltiya's cella is adorned with only two *sippu*'s, i.e. steps of rabbeting, on each side, instead of three. The wall was thus similar in pattern to that fronting Marduk's cella, but, in view of Bēltiya's subordinate status, suitably more modest. For a reconstruction see Fig. 5, below.

The section that follows the one just discussed will be § 4', which is lost all except for its total, [*naphar x*] + 26 *libitti* (ii' 36). The next section, § 5', is the wall of the chapel of Uraš, 45 bricks long, already quoted in the discussion of § 2'. Following that is a section, § 6', headed "the wall of

⁷² Von Weiher read k á, but in both copy and photograph the sign is different from the one in the adjacent line. Multiple jambs of equal size are elsewhere grouped together, and followed by the notation *malmališ*. Here the individual jambs are described differently, and are thus kept separate. In a jamb with two steps of rabbeting, as here, the "jamb of the interior" (or, reading *sip-pi qabli*, "the middle

jamb") is clearly the step sandwiched between the flat face of the wall on the one side, and the jamb at the very edge of the gateway on the other.

⁷³ Clearly not st]G₄ (so von Weiher).

⁷⁴ Combining the figures given in Wetzel, *Hauptheiligtum*, p. 7, for the three central stretches of "Kurtine".

Ka-Lamma-rabi inside the courtyard of Bēltiya", which is thus, like § 3', concerned with the walls of the complex of chambers associated with Bēltiya's shrine (§ 6')

iii' 12	<i>i-ga-ri</i>	The wall
13	ká. ^d lamma.ra.bi	of Ka-Lamma-rabi
14	šá libbi(šà) kisallí(kisal) ⁷⁵	inside the courtyard
15	šá ^d bēlti(gašan)-iá	of Bēltiya:
16	3½ sip-pe-e	3½: rabbeted jambs,
17	┌4*┐ ká. ^d lamma	4: Ka-Lamma-(rabi) (or Gate of the Lamassu),
18	[3½] sip-pe-e	[3½:] rabbeted jambs,
19	[x d]ublu(dub.lá) qatnu(sig)	[x:] shallow pilaster,
20	[y hi]-ib-šú	[y:] recess,
21	[x d]ublu(dub.lá) qatnu(sig)	[x:] shallow pilaster,
22	[3½ s]ip-pe-e	[3½:] rabbeted jambs,
23	[z bā]b(ká)* bīt(é) d'idim	[z: the] gate of the chapel of Ea,
24	[3½ sip]-pe-e	[3½:] rabbeted jambs;
25	[napḥar n] + 6*	[Total: n] + 6
26	[libitti(sig ₄)]	[bricks . . .
27-28	[...]	
29	[...]x	
30	[...]x	

The wall is articulated in the same pattern as the walls of §§ 1', 2' and 5'. Its total length will be the sum of four lots of rabbeted jambs, i.e., 14 bricks, + two gateways, between them not less than 8 bricks, + two pilaster masses and a central recess. The figure will thus be no smaller than 36 bricks, and possibly as much as 46.

The sections of the text examined so far seem all to have presented the length in bricks of features on stretches of wall in the sequence in which they were located. This is a logical arrangement, but is not the consistent practice of the text. The section that follows § 6' begins, according to the photograph, at iii' 31 and runs over from the bottom of col. iii' on to the top of col. iv', which is perfectly preserved. It ends with a sequence of right and left *sippu*'s followed by right and left *dublu*'s (§ 7'). Col. iii' is badly broken but also much narrower than the other columns — the scribe judged his space poorly — and this makes restoration easier. The wall in question is known from the subscript to be the wall of a cella, and this is no doubt the cella of Nabû, who is mentioned in the course of the section. Nabû's cella, é. z. i. d a, was the third most important cult-room in E-sagil. The following section deals with a wall of the same length opposite the cella of Nabû, and so confirms our proposed identification. I restore the two sections as follows (§§ 7'–8')

31	[i-ga-r]i ² *	[The wall]
32	[pa-pa]-ḥa	[of the] cella
33	[šá] ^d nabû(nà)	[of] Nabû
34	[šá ki]sallí(kisal) ² *	[on the] courtyard. ⁷⁶
35	[7 bāb pa-p]aḥ ² *	[7: the gate of the] cella,
36	3 sip-pe-e	3: the rabbeted jambs
37	šá imitti(15) bābi(ká)	on the right of the gate,
38	mál-ma-liš ⁷⁷	divided equally,
39	3 sip-pe-e šá šumēl(150)	3: the rabbeted jambs on the left
40	bābi(ká) mál-ma-liš	of the gate, divided equally,

⁷⁵ The sign is *kisal*, definitely not *ḥul* (as read by von Weiber).

⁷⁶ The "cella of Nabû on the courtyard" is the phrase used by Nebuchadnezzar II to describe é. z. i. d a in E-sagil (Weissbach, *WVDOG* 5, Wadi Brisa B ii 2: *pa-pa-ḥi* ^d*nabû(nà) ša ki-sa-al-lum*; *CT* 37 7, 33: *pa-pa-ḥi* ^d*na-bi-um ša ki-sa-al-lam*). The restoration of the location of the wall as a heading must be provisional, however, since the same information is given at the end of the section. Note that

there is room at the end of § 6' for that section, too, to have been equipped with a full description of the wall in both heading and subscript.

⁷⁷ The text appears to be in slight disorder here as a result of the scribe's decision to squash ll. 37–40 on to the lower edge of the tablet. In so doing he has placed ll. 39–40 in the vacant space he left after the ruling at the bottom of col. ii', and has allowed l. 39 to run over into the gap between ll. 37 and 38 at the bottom of col. iii' proper.

iv' 1	9 <i>dublu</i> ¹ (dub.l(á)) <i>šá*</i> <i>imitti pa-pa-ḫi</i>	9: the pilaster on the right of the cella,
2	9 <i>dublu šá šumēl pa-pa-ḫi</i>	9: the pilaster on the left of the cella;
3	<i>naphar</i> 31 ⁷⁸ <i>libitti i-gar pa-pa-ḫi</i>	Total: 31 bricks, the wall of the cella.
4	3 <i>sip-pe-e mál-ma-liš</i>	3: rabbeted jambs, divided equally,
5	5 <i>lib-bi bābi</i>	5: the space within the gateway,
6	3 <i>sip-pe-e mál-ma-liš</i>	3: rabbeted jambs, divided equally,
7	9 <i>dublu šá tar-ši pa-pa-ḫi</i>	9: the pilaster opposite the cella,
8	2 <i>sip-pe-e mál-ma-liš</i>	2: rabbeted jambs, divided equally,
9	7 <i>lib-bi bābi</i>	7: the space within the gateway,
10	2 <i>sip-pe-e mál-ma-liš</i>	2: rabbeted jambs, divided equally;
11	<i>naphar</i> 31 <i>libitti i-gar</i> ^{im} <i>amurri</i> (4)	Total: 31 bricks of the west wall
12	<i>a-na tar-ši pa-paḫ</i> ^d <i>nabû</i>	opposite the cella of Nabû.

In the § 7' the most important feature of the wall is placed first. That this must be restored as a gateway seems inevitable, given the presence of the “*sippu*'s of the gate” in the following lines. The other features of the wall are listed in turn after the gateway. They comprise identical features, rabbeted jambs (*sippu*'s) and pilaster masses (*dublu*'s), on the right and the left. If the figures for the jambs and pilasters are added we arrive at a figure seven bricks short of the grand total, 31. The gateway to such an important cultic location as Nabû's cella is probably not going to be narrower than the length of five bricks, and, as we read the photograph, it looks as though the figure must indeed be seven. For a sketch of the outline of the two walls of §§ 7' and 8' see Fig. 6, below.

The section that comes after these two, § 9', comprises a single, not completely intelligible line (iv' 13), which for the moment I would suggest presents the width of Nabû's cult-room in cubits.⁷⁹ The measurement seems to be $9\frac{1}{3}$ cubits, which is 14 brick-lengths, which with bricks of the standard two-thirds of a cubit should be equivalent to about 4.75 m. The fact that the bricks were not enumerated after the pattern of other sections suggests that the end walls of the cult-room were plain and unadorned, at least in terms of architectural features.

The following section, § 10', is the one that mentions *k á . d ú r . m a ḫ . t i . l a*. As noted above, this ceremonial name can be associated with Nabû, and it would seem that we are still in the part of E-sagil that housed Nabû's cult-rooms. The wall described in this section begins in very much the same way as the immediately preceding one, but after a line that is largely illegible in both copy and photograph, the scribal notation *ḫi-pi*, “break”, appears, and the section concludes. It may have been brought to a premature end, in the absence of a continuation on the broken original. At all events, there is no sign of the usual total (§ 10'):

iv' 14	3 <i>sip-pi mál-ma-liš</i> { <i>šá</i> }	3: rabbeted jambs divided equally,
15	4 <i>libbi ká.dúr.maḫ.ti.la</i>	4: the space within Ka-durmaḫ-tila,
16	3 <i>sip-pi mál-ma-liš</i>	3: rabbeted jambs divided equally,
17	9 <i>dublu āšû</i>	9: projecting pilaster,
18	DIŠ at x x x x UD ⁸⁰	(unintelligible)

————— *ḫi-pi*

The remainder of the text, on col. v', falls into at least four shorter sections, §§ 11'–14'. The first three are very little preserved, the fourth only enough to demonstrate that the text is still dealing with bricks, though not of individual walls articulated in the same patterns of *dublu* and *ḫibsu* as those listed earlier.

It has become apparent in discussing the walls belonging to Bēltiya's and Nabû's chambers that

⁷⁸ Reading with the copy and photograph; von Weier's transliteration: 32.

⁷⁹ From the unpublished photograph I read ^r*i-gar*¹ *šū-bat*, “the wall of the shrine”, at the beginning of the line and ^r $9\frac{1}{3}$ ^l *ammat*(kūš) *pūtu*(sag), “ $9\frac{1}{3}$ cubits wide”, at the end. What is missing can hardly be other than a divine name, since *šubat* DN is so common in E-sagil. Since this part of the text deals with the walls of the cella of Nabû and associated chambers, it would seem likely that this *šubtu* is in fact the cella of Nabû, é . z i . d a. This sanctuary is termed a *šubtu* in *Tintir II*

2', where its occupant, presumably Nabû, bears the name Lugaldimmerankia. That name is much too long to be restored in the middle of the line, of course, and one thinks instead of ^r*nabû*(ná)¹, but this is not confirmed by the photograph and needs collation. Since the walls of the two immediately preceding sections, §§ 7'–8', are the long walls of a *Breitraum* cella and the wall opposite, it would not be inappropriate to include the width of the cult-chamber also.

⁸⁰ Von Weier reads: 1-at-ma² pa²-paḫ ḫa GIŠ(+)²UD.

the text treats more or less consecutively walls belonging to the same complexes of chambers within the temple. This grouping of associated walls implies an order in the text, which may help in the placing of walls whose location is not so certain. Though the text is incomplete, it is highly unlikely that the tablet was ever large enough for every interior wall of E-sagil to be treated in it. What is striking is that most of the walls that were included were those whose faces were relieved by pilaster masses, recessed surfaces and rabbeted jambs, and that this seems to be the special interest of the text, at least in §§ 1'–10'. In E-sagil such decoration was found on the façades of the temple, both main building and eastern annexe, and in the central courtyard, the Court of Bēl.⁸¹ The text tells us that, among others, the walls fronting the cellae of Bēltiya (§ 3') and Nabû (§ 7') were also articulated in this style. Such walls are typical of the façades and courtyards of Neo-Babylonian temples. At Borsippa “niche and projection” decoration was used not only on the temple's façades and the four walls fronting the central courtyard of E-zida, but also on the four walls of each of the courtyards leading to the subsidiary cult-rooms either side of those of Nabû.⁸² Otherwise it was not used. A similar restriction seems to have applied in E-babbarra at Sippar, and it is logical to propose that the same conventions were adhered to in E-sagil. The walls that fronted the cellae of Bēltiya and Nabû are then to be identified as sides of their respective courtyards. The walls of §§ 2' and 6' have already been identified as sides of courtyards. Accordingly, it must be asked whether the other walls described in §§ 1'–8' and 10' also belong to one or other of the temple's courtyards. In view of what we already know of the text it would be sensible to pay special attention to the three sacred courtyards of the main building: the central courtyard, or Court of Bēl, the court of the chapel of Bēltiya, and the courtyard of Nabû.

The wall of § 1' could be a side of the central courtyard, like that of § 2', but not the western or eastern side, where the architecture, as revealed by Koldewey's tunnels, differs from the pattern established for §§ 1', 2', 5' and 6'.⁸³ Since the north side is taken, this wall would have to be the south side of the courtyard. However, the presence of a [*dublu*?] *širu* (i' 2) to one side of what would be the middle gate of this wall, Gate e, is not paralleled on the north wall, where that position is occupied by a [*dublu*] *qatnu* (i' 1'). The gateway in question leads to a sanctuary of Sîn (ii' 4), but identification with Gate e means that this cannot be the chapel of Sîn known to have been in the west of the main building, as described earlier.⁸⁴ Thus two difficulties attend the identification of the wall of § 1' as a wall of the central courtyard.

Since the wall of § 3' is most probably a side of the courtyard of Bēltiya and the wall of § 6' is actually described as such, it would be logical to view the walls of §§ 4' and 5' as the two remaining sides of this courtyard. The wall of § 6' runs from the corner of the courtyard nearest Ka-Lamma-rabi (the Gate of Bēltiya)⁸⁵ to a gateway which gives access to the chapel of Ea. This chapel is known from the metrological text from Aššur to have lain between Bēltiya's courtyard and the central courtyard.⁸⁶ Accordingly, the wall of § 6' will be the eastern end of the courtyard of Bēltiya, and the wall of § 3',

⁸¹ Some jambs of interior doorways are rabbeted, though with a single step only, notably those at the back of Rooms 12 and 15. These chambers were both more than usually sacred.

⁸² For the architecture and lay-out of E-zida see now J. E. Reade's plan, after Rassam and Koldewey, in *Iraq* 48 (1986), p. 107.

⁸³ For the western side, which fronted Marduk's cella, see above, the discussion on § 3'. The eastern side shows a variation on the articulation used in the north and south walls, in that the stretches of walls between the gateways are decorated with three pilaster masses rather than two.

⁸⁴ See footnote 20.

⁸⁵ It is not easy at first to reconcile the heading of § 6', “the wall of Ka-Lamma-rabi inside the courtyard of Bēltiya”, with the known fact that Ka-Lamma-rabi is Gate D, the north gate of the main building, not an interior gateway. What the heading must mean is that the wall in question was an interior wall of the courtyard, and it was in some way connected with Ka-Lamma-rabi. In this analysis the gateway at one end of the wall, *ká dlamma* (iii' 17), will be the gate that gave access from the lobby of Ka-Lamma-rabi to the courtyard of Bēltiya. Whether the name represents an abbreviation of *ká dlammarabi* or is a

hitherto unknown *bāb lamassi*, it is appropriate to a gate in such a position. The implication is that this end of the wall ran into the corner of the courtyard that was nearest Ka-Lamma-rabi.

⁸⁶ See *Topog. Texts*, p. 126, 8–11. In my attempt to reconcile the measurements given in the metrological text from Aššur with the known ground-plan of E-sagil I suggested exchanging ll. 8 and 9 of this text, so that the chapel of Ea fell south of the Court of Bēl (*ibid.*, p. 121). The new text demonstrates that this solution was wrong, and this problem, like others posed by the metrological text, remains unsolved. It should also be noted that one of the *šubtu*'s of Ea listed in *Tintir* II, namely *é . ḫ a l . a n . k i* (l. 20), occurs immediately after the two *šubtu*'s of the chapel of Ninurta and another in the “courtyard of the chapel of [Ninurta or Bēltiya]” (ll. 17–19). There are traces of a topographical order in the list (*cf. ibid.*, p. 10), and so one might expect Ea's *é . ḫ a l . a n . k i* to have been located somewhere near Ninurta's chapel. Very probably it was in fact inside the chapel of Ea, though the cultic focus of this chamber would have been another statue of Marduk, this time of *taskarinnu*-wood (BM 119282, obv. 1b; *cf. B. Pongratz-Leisten, Ina Sulmi Irub*, p. 218, 3).

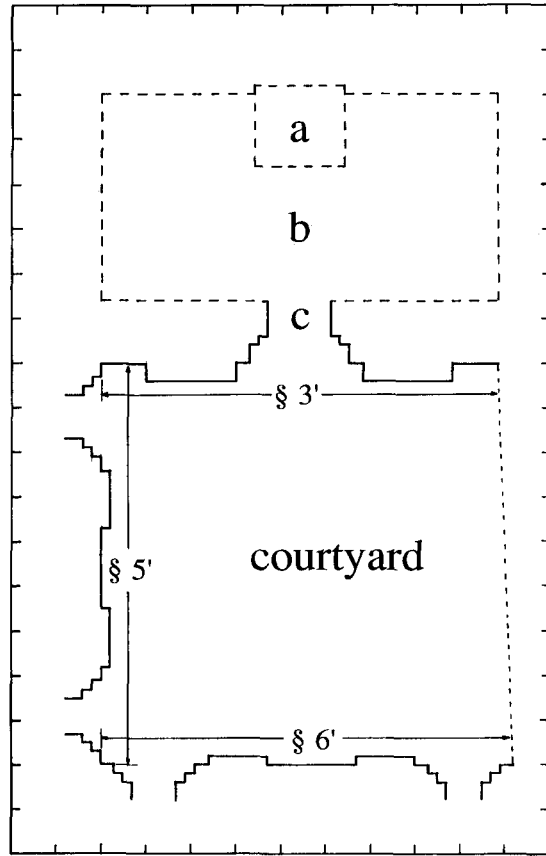


Fig. 5 Conjectural reconstruction of Bēltiya's courtyard, following *SpTU* IV 220 §§ 3'–6', against a grid calibrated in units of five brick-lengths. Restored at the west end of the courtyard are the structures most sacred to the goddess: (a) her shrine E-ḫal-anki, raised on its dais, in (b) her cella E-dara-anna, beyond (c) its gate Ka-ḫilisu.

which fronted Bēltiya's cella, will be the western end. In this reconstruction the courtyard was roughly square measuring $[44 \text{ (or } 46)] (\S 3') \times [x] + 26 (\S 4') \times 45 (\S 5') \times [4]6 (\S 6')$ bricks.⁸⁷ A courtyard of this size would fit across the space between the side-chambers of Marduk's cult-rooms and the temple's north façade, where we expect the complex of chambers known as the chapel of Bēltiya to have been located, but only just.⁸⁸ A plan of this reconstruction would look something like Fig. 5 above.

However, such a reconstruction is also not without problems and must remain highly conjectural. To begin with it implies that the north wall of the courtyard cannot have been served by gates, since it would be the interior face of the north façade, which seems to have been devoid of gates west of Gate D. Even if there were gates here it cannot be imagined that one of them could be described as the "gate of the chapel(?) of Uraš". The wall described in § 5' then has to be south wall, and its gates would inevitably lead into side chambers of Marduk's cult-rooms, one of which would be the chapel of Uraš. This arrangement would be unexpected, for in Neo-Babylonian temples of comparable size and design, namely E-zida at Borsippa and probably E-babbarra at Sippar, access to such side-chambers is to be had from the cult-rooms only.⁸⁹ More damaging is the

⁸⁷ It will be noted that what we are reconstructing as the opposing pairs of sides of a courtyard are not of exactly the same lengths, but one or two bricks' length out. This kind of irregularity appears to have happened in reality: the west side of the central courtyard of the temple, at 37.37 m, was 33 cm, i.e., one brick's length, shorter than the east, at 37.70 m: Wetzel, *Hauptheiligtum*, p. 7.

⁸⁸ The width of this space was just over 15 m: Room 5 is

9.95 m long, Room 11 3.0 m wide (Wetzel, *Hauptheiligtum*, p. 6 and Pl. 4b). The width of the wall that separates them, one of the narrowest excavated in the temple, I read from the plan as 2.15 m. In bricks of E-sagil 46 bricks represents between 13.8 m (using bricks of 30 cm) and 17.02 m (using bricks of 37 cm), but the standard brick of $\frac{2}{3}$ cubit, i.e., 32 cm, yields the figure 14.72 m, not including mortar.

metrological text from Aššur, which suggests that the courtyard of Bēltiya was much narrower than this, at only 7 cubits wide on the north–south axis.⁹⁰ This is a detail which incidentally implies that the cella of Bēltiya would have lain on the east–west axis, behind one of the courtyard’s long sides. Although the metrological text probably describes a building older than the one excavated, the location of Bēltiya’s cella close against the north façade of the temple is suggested by the list of cultic daises in the text catalogued above as No. 5.⁹¹ This is an arrangement of chambers which cannot be reconciled with *SPTU* IV 220. In support of a reconstruction in which Bēltiya’s cella is placed in the west, alongside Marduk’s, it may be said that in E-zida and E-babbarra the cella of the two subsidiary deities also lay either side of the cella of the principal deity and on the same axis.⁹² Until such time as this corner of E-sagil is explored properly, it may be that it will never be possible to explain the conflicting data available at present.

Turning to the sections that deal with Nabû’s part of the temple, it may be noted that the walls described in §§ 7’–8’ are of the same length, 31 bricks (in standard bricks, about 10.54 m), and that the text records that they face each other. These pieces of information certainly suit a situation in which these walls are the opposite sides of Nabû’s courtyard. For reasons advanced earlier, we should expect the cult-rooms of Nabû to lie south of Marduk’s cella, in the south-west corner of the temple’s main building, with the cella behind the west front of the courtyard. This immediately raises a difficulty, since the text describes the wall opposite Nabû’s cella as a west wall (iv’ 11: *i-gar*^{im} 4). To make sense of the ground-plan the wall opposite Nabû’s cella should be an east wall. If the text is emended accordingly, to *i-gar*^{im} 3¹, it is possible to make the lay-out of chambers agree with what Wetzel proposed in his plan, which in this part of the temple was of course mostly conjectural. Only one chamber west of Gate B was reached by the tunnels of Koldewey’s work-force, namely Room 25, which measured about 11.5 m long. Since nothing certain is known of the chambers that lay to its west, Room 25 may have been a room between the gateway that gave access from the central courtyard to Nabû’s part of the temple and his courtyard, as Wetzel suggested, or it may have been the courtyard itself. However, the walls of Room 25 show no sign of the articulation by “niche and projection” that is expected in the courtyard, and it is thus to be seen in the function that Wetzel gave it. The fact that its length more than matches the text’s figure of 31 bricks for the length of the courtyard, about 11 m, indicates that it may have stretched all along the east side of the courtyard. Whether the wall described in the aborted § 10’ was also a side of this courtyard cannot be ascertained, but it is possible to include it in a conjectural reconstruction of this part of E-sagil, too (Fig. 6).

In this plan the complex measures 75 bricks from the back of the cella to the furthest of the two long sides of Room 25, a figure that could be enlarged or reduced depending on the thickness of the two interior walls and the length of the courtyard, which are all unknown quantities. The distance from the assumed position of the interior face of the west façade of E-sagil to the same wall was about 23 m, as read from Wetzel’s plan. This dimension represents a number of bricks somewhere in the range 62 (brick-length of 37 cm) to 77 (brick-length of 30 cm). A median brick-length would thus suggest that the reconstruction is approximately five bricks too long.

⁸⁹ For E-zida see Reade’s plan, *Iraq* 48, p. 107. Hormuzd Rassam’s plan of E-babbarra is presented in modernized form by L. De Meyer (ed.), *Tell ed-Dēr* III, plan 3, and George, *Topog. Texts*, p. 220. The courtyard and rooms north-west of Šamaš’s cella have been further explored by the University of Baghdad, whose plan of this part of the temple is reproduced by W. al-Jadir in L. De Meyer and H. Gasche (eds.), *Mésopotamie et Elam = CRRRA* 36, p. 195.

⁹⁰ *Topog. Texts*, p. 126, 11.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 94, 34, describes a dais of the goddess Nissaba, “on the north wall, behind Bēltiya”. Elsewhere “behind” a deity means at the rear of the cult-statue, by implication behind the cella that housed that statue (e.g., *ibid.*, p. 96, 10’, where the west gate of E-sagil, Ka-ḫegal, is described as the gate “behind Bēl”, i.e., at the rear of his cult-rooms). Whether Nissaba’s dais was inside the temple, in a chamber beyond Bēltiya’s cella, or outside, against the temple’s exterior façade, this description would seem to signify that Bēltiya’s cult-statue stood in front of the temple’s north wall.

In a *Breitraum* cella the statue rests on a dais against a niche in the back wall. If north lay to Bēltiya’s rear, since the back wall must be one of the cella’s long sides, this wall would have to be parallel with the temple’s north front, and thus would have lain east–west, on an axis perpendicular to that of Marduk’s cult-rooms.

⁹² Thus, at E-zida, the secondary cellae (of Tašmētum and Nanāy, or of Tašmētum and Mār-bitī?) are situated either side of Nabû’s cult chambers, each off its own courtyard, but with short sides and long sides along the same axes as those of Nabû’s cella. At Sippar, in the great temple of Šamaš, the arrangement is similar: Šamaš’s cella lies in the middle, between the central courtyard and the temple’s south-west façade. To one side, on the north-west, is a second set of cult-rooms reached from its own courtyard and probably dedicated to Aya, Šamaš’s wife. On the other side, less well explored, there was a similar arrangement, probably for Šamaš’s vizier, Bunene. All the cellae and their antechambers are aligned on the same axes.

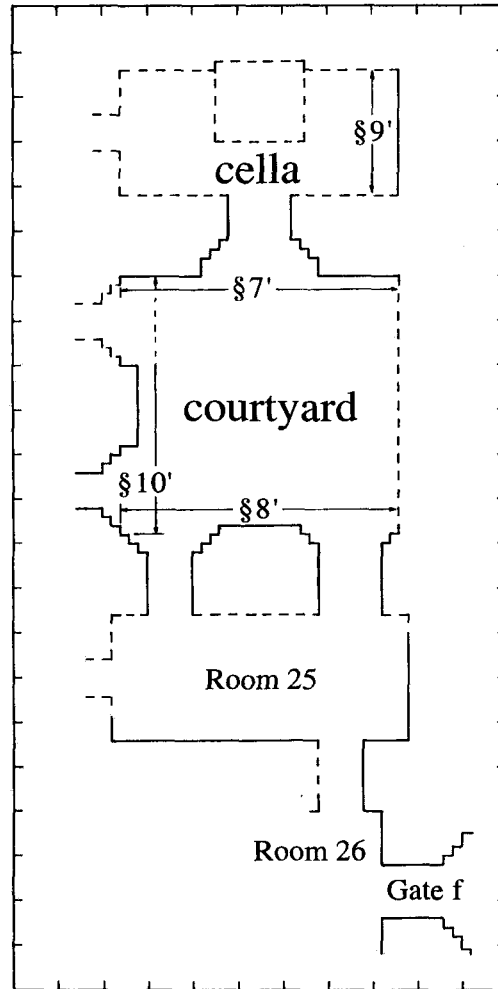


Fig. 6 Conjectural reconstruction of Nabû's courtyard and cella, following *SpTU* IV 220. §§ 7'–10', against a grid calibrated in units of five brick-lengths. The reconstruction also suggests one way in which this complex could be integrated into the ground-plan recovered by the excavators, adjacent to their Room 25.

In conclusion, an order of sorts can indeed be observed in the progress of the survey through E-sagil, but it may not be wise to be too specific. The extant text begins with a wall that cannot be located for certain, perhaps somewhere behind Marduk's cella or perhaps on the central courtyard (§ 1'). It then moves on to the north wall of the central courtyard (§ 2'), to Bēltiya's chambers, also in the north (§§ 3'–6'), and then to Nabû's chamber's, on the opposite side of the building, south of Marduk's cella (§§ 7'–10', at least). Mention of Bēltiya in the fragmentary col. v' (§ 14') need not imply that we are back in her cult-rooms again; the function of this section is uncertain. It may also be noted that the text orders the interior walls of E-sagil not only by associating them with one or other of the three principal groups of cult-rooms in the temple, i.e. Marduk's chambers and courtyard, Bēltiya's chapel and courtyard, and Nabû's cella and associated chambers, but that the order in which these groups of walls appear is itself dictated by the status of the deities worshipped, and reproduces the theological hierarchy, Marduk–Bēltiya–Nabû. However, it is not safely established at present that the walls described in §§ 1'–8' and 10' are necessarily all walls of the three sacred courtyards of the main building. Though some of them certainly are, there are enough problems still unresolved to make us cautious of trying rigidly to impose on the text this particular hypothesis.

A last line of enquiry concerns the provenance of *SpTU* IV 220. It is interesting that this is the second metrological text concerned with the cult-centre of Marduk to have been found in a copy

from Hellenistic Uruk; the other is of course the famous E-sagil Tablet, listed above as No 1. Both texts were no doubt composed in Babylon. The Uruk manuscript of the E-sagil Tablet, AO 6555, was based ultimately on a master copy (*gabarú*) from Borsippa. It belonged to Anu-bēlšunu, son of Anu-balāssu-iqbi, of the family of Aḫī'ūtu. The apprentice who wrote it for him, in 229 B.C., was Anu-bēlšunu, son of Nidintu-Anu, family of Sîn-leqe-unninnī. By 200 B.C. a man of this name had become a *kalû*-priest of Anu and Antu; his tablet collection has been found in a chamber of their temple complex, the Rēš Temple (or (*bīt*) *rēš*), with which his family was closely associated.⁹³ According to its colophon, *SpTU* IV 220 was written by Ištar-šuma-iriš for his father Iqīša, an exorcist of the family Ekur-zākir, who flourished in the reign of Philip Arrhidaeus (323–316 B.C.) and numbered himself among the temple staff (*ērib bīti*) of Anu and Antu.⁹⁴ What survives of Iqīša's library was found in disturbed context in private housing of the Parthian period.⁹⁵

Was the interest of the scholars of Uruk in the temple of Babylon simply learned curiosity, or was there a more practical reason for them to make copies of these texts? It is now common knowledge that the cult of Anu was vigorously promoted during the Persian period, so that by the fourth century he had eclipsed Ištar as the most important deity of Uruk. According to Paul-Alain Beaulieu the rise of Anu went further, with the theologians of Uruk taking the great god list An = *Anum* as inspiration and promoting Anu as chief deity of the pantheon, and rival to Marduk of Babylon.⁹⁶ The most obvious result of this reform was Anu's removal from E-anna, the ancient sanctuary he shared with Ištar, and the provision for him of a new complex, the Rēš Temple. This was rebuilt twice in the Seleucid period, but the original foundation was certainly earlier.⁹⁷ Did the learned men of Uruk use a model for this new foundation and for the new ritual that must have been devised for it? This is a large question, and one which needs a much fuller investigation than can be accorded it here, but the evidence suggests that there may have been at least some conscious emulation of Marduk's cult at Babylon.

Some of the ceremonial names of the Rēš Temple are indeed shared with E-sagil. The main gates of Anu's new temple facing east were called Ka-maḥ and Ka-gal, as also appears to have been the case in E-sagil. Other gate-names held in common were Ka-ḫegal and Ka-sikilla. Both temple complexes had a courtyard called Kīsal-maḥ, though this name is hardly exclusive. One of the courtyards of both temples was equipped with a Dais of Destinies and equated with the Court of the Divine Assembly (Ubšu-ukkinna).⁹⁸ None of these pieces of evidence is decisive in itself, but, taken together, they might be seen to exhibit an acknowledgement of E-sagil as the supreme manifestation of the earthly residence of the king of the gods. More compelling is the evidence of Anu's *akītu* house and procession. According to a ritual of the Seleucid period, the name of this *akītu* house was *bīt ikribi*, "House of Benediction",⁹⁹ which is a direct translation of Marduk's *é. s i s k u r* at Babylon. This is especially significant, for no other known *akītu* temple bore this name. The *akītu* procession of Anu, which, according to the same ritual, proceeded by road and boat through seven distinct stages, was itself clearly modelled on that of Marduk.¹⁰⁰

This kind of borrowing had happened before, of course, in Sennacherib's reform of the cult of Aššur after the same Babylonian model, which resulted in the construction of two new temple buildings (i.e., the eastern annexe of E-šarra to house the Dais of Destinies and the Court of the Divine Assembly, and the *akītu* temple) and the adoption of new cultic practices to go with them.¹⁰¹

⁹³ Published in *TCL* VI and J. van Dijk and W. R. Mayer, *Texte aus dem Rēš-Heiligtum in Uruk-Warka. Bagh. Mitt.*, Beiheft 2 (Berlin, 1980). See further G. J. P. McEwan, *BiOr* 38 (1981), 639, who identifies the two men.

⁹⁴ H. Hunger, *SpTU* I 94, 56.

⁹⁵ See *ibid.*, p. 13.

⁹⁶ See P.-A. Beaulieu, "Antiquarian theology in Seleucid Uruk", *Acta Sum* 14 (1992), pp. 47–75.

⁹⁷ On the Rēš Temple in general see A. Falkenstein, *Topographie von Uruk*, pp. 4–26.

⁹⁸ This, too, was a feature of other temples, which everywhere very likely represents a conscious imitation of the arrangement in Enlil's E-*kur* at Nippur. There was certainly a Dais of Destinies at Uruk long before the foundation of the Rēš Temple (as listed in *KAR* 142, ii 13), no doubt housed in an Ubšu-ukkinna in E-anna. See Falkenstein, *op. cit.*, p. 8².

⁹⁹ *BRM* IV 7, 24: *bīt(é) á-ki-tum bīt(é) ik-rib*.

¹⁰⁰ On the seven stages of the *akītu* procession at Babylon and Uruk see B. Pongratz-Leisten, *Ina Šulmi Īrub* (Mainz, 1994), pp. 40–3. It may be noted that the five incantations chanted by the exorcists as Anu takes up residence in the *akītu* house, as given in *BRM* IV 7 28–31, include the three known to have been used when refurbished divine statues were taken back to their temples, as prescribed in the *mis pí* rituals of Babylon (Sidney Smith, *JRAS* 1925, pp. 40 f. = E. Ebeling, *TuL*, p. 107, 60–1). However, this fact is not necessarily evidence for borrowing, for these incantations may have served this general purpose in all Babylonian temples.

¹⁰¹ See, e.g., W. G. Lambert, *Iraq* 45 (1983), p. 86; A. R. George, *Iraq* 48 (1986), pp. 143 f.; *BSOAS* 52 (1989), p. 119; Pongratz-Leisten, *Ina Šulmi Īrub*, p. 63.

It is legitimate to speculate that something similar happened in Uruk in the fourth century, though this is not to suggest that the cult of Marduk at Babylon provided all the inspiration.¹⁰² According to this theory, copies of texts such as the E-sagil Tablet and the Bricks of E-sagil would have been imported from Babylon and Borsippa by those who were charged with reforming the cult of Anu to provide information about the lay-out and ornamentation of E-sagil. Thereafter, as part of the canonical body of literature extant in the Rēš Temple, these texts would have been copied and recopied by those scholars of Uruk who had access to them, resulting in the tablets which are extant today.

It may be useful to conclude by giving a consecutive transliteration and translation of the entire text.

W 22656/14 = *SpTU* IV 220

obv.

			§ 1'
i'	1	[... <i>h</i>]i-pi	(text broken)
	2	[n dub.lá?] mah*	[y?:] massive [pilaster(?),]
	3	[3½ ^{1?} sip-p]e-e	[3½ ^{1?} : rabbeted] jambs,
	4	[x ká é] ^{r^{d1}} 30	[x: the gate of the chapel of] Sîn,
	5	[3½ ^{1?} sip-pe]-e	[3½ ^{1?} : rabbeted] jambs,
	6	[y dub.lá] sig	[y:] shallow [pilaster,]
	7	[z <i>hi</i> -ib-š]ú*	[z: recess,]
	8	[y dub.lá] sig	[y:] shallow [pilaster,]
	9	[3½ ^{1?} sip-pe]- ^{r^{e1}} *	[3½ ^{1?} : rabbeted] jambs,
10 ff.		broken	

§ 2'

		[i-gar ^{im} 1 šá kisal ^d en?]	[? The north wall of the Court of Bēl:]
		[3½ ¹ sip-pe-e]	[3½ ¹ : rabbeted] jambs,]
		[6 ká . . .]	[6: the gate . . .]
		[3½ ¹ sip-pe-e]	[3½ ¹ : rabbeted] jambs,]
		[7 dub.lá] sig	[7: shallow pilaster,]
		[9 <i>hi</i> -ib-šú]	[9: recess,]
		[7 dub.lá] sig	[7: shallow pilaster,]
		[3½ ¹ sip-pe-e]	[3½ ¹ : rabbeted] jambs,]
		[6 ká . . .]	[6: the gate . . .]
		[3½ ¹ sip-pe-e]	[3½ ¹ : rabbeted] jambs,]
i'	1'	[7 dub.lá] sig	[7:] shallow [pilaster,]
	2'	[9 <i>hi</i>]-ib-šú	[9:] recess,
ii'	1	7 dub.lá sig	7: shallow pilaster,
	2	3½ ¹ <i>hi</i> -pi	3½ ¹ : [rabbeted] jambs,]
	3	4 ká é ^d MAŠ	7: the gate of the chapel of Ninurta,
	4	3½ ¹ sip-pe-e	3½ ¹ : rabbeted jambs;
	5	pap 83 sig ₄	Total: 86 ¹ bricks.

§ 3'

ii'	6	i-gar šá ká pa-pa-ḥa	The wall of the gate of the cella
	7	šá é ^d gašan-ia	of the chapel of Bēltiya:
	8	5 <i>hi</i> -ib-šú	5: recess,
	9	10 dub.lá è	10: projecting pilaster,
	10	^{r¹} ½ ¹ * su*-ḥat	½ ¹ (or 2½ ^{1?}): alcove,
	11	^{r¹} sip-pi murub ₄	1: the jamb of the interior,

¹⁰² To judge by the colophon of AO 6451 (*RAcc.*, p. 80, 46–9), a tablet prescribing the meals offered to “the gods resident in the Rēš Temple, the Ešgal and E-šarra, the exalted dais, the ziqurrat of Anu”, later tradition had it that the daily rites, at least, of Anu’s temple were preserved on old ritual tablets that had been looted from Uruk by Nabopolassar and fortuitously discovered and copied in

Elam by the chief priest of the Rēš Temple in the reign of Seleucus and Antiochus. The anachronism of this claim provokes suspicion that the priests of Anu legitimized his reformed cult in the normal way, by resort to fiction, in this case the production of what were passed off as copies of ancient — and conveniently inaccessible — documents. See Falkenstein, *Topographie*, pp. 8 f.

12	「1 ¹ sip-pi ká	1: the jamb of the gate,
13	「7* ¹ ká pa-pa- <i>ha</i>	7: the gate of the cella,
14	「1 ¹ sip-pi ká	1: the jamb of the gate,
15	「1 ¹ sip-pi murub ₄	1: the jamb of the interior,
16	「1 ¹ ? ¹ * su- <i>hat</i>	1 ¹ (or 2 ¹ ?): alcove,
17	[10 dub.] ¹ á 「è ¹	[10:] projecting [pilaster,]
18	[5 <i>hi-ib-šú</i>]	[5: recess;]
19	[pap <i>x</i> sig ₄]	[Total: <i>x</i> bricks.]
ii'	20 ff. (broken)	§ 4'
ii'	1' [pap <i>x</i>] + 26 sig ₄	[Total: <i>x</i>] + 26 bricks.
<hr/>		
iii'	1 <i>i-gar é^d uraš</i>	The wall of the chapel of Uraš:
	2 <i>hi-pi</i>	[3 ¹ / ₂ : rabbeted jambs,]
	3 5 ká šu <i>d uraš</i>	5: the gate of the side-room(?) of Uraš,
	4 3 ¹ / ₂ sip-pe-e	3 ¹ / ₂ : rabbeted jambs,
	5 6 ¹ / ₂ dub.lá sig	6 ¹ / ₂ : shallow pilaster,
	6 9 <i>hi-ib-šú</i>	9: recess,
	7 6 ¹ / ₂ dub.lá sig	6 ¹ / ₂ : shallow pilaster,
	8 3 ¹ / ₂ sip-pe-e	3 ¹ / ₂ : rabbeted jambs,
	9 4 ká šu <i>hu lu</i>	4: the gate . . . ,
	10 3 ¹ / ₂ sip-pe-e	3 ¹ / ₂ : rabbeted jambs,
	11 pap 45 sig ₄	Total: 45 bricks.
<hr/>		
iii'	12 <i>i-ga-ri</i>	The wall
	13 ká. ^d lamma.ra.bi	of Ka-Lamma-rabi
	14 <i>šá šà kisal</i>	inside the courtyard
	15 <i>šá^d gašan-ía</i>	of Bēltiya:
	16 3 ¹ / ₂ sip-pe-e	3 ¹ / ₂ : rabbeted jambs,
	17 「4* ¹ ká. ^d lamma	4: Ka-Lamma-(rabi) (or Gate of the Lamassu),
	18 [3 ¹ / ₂] sip-pe-e	[3 ¹ / ₂ :] rabbeted jambs,
	19 [x d]ub.lá sig	[x:] shallow pilaster,
	20 [y <i>hi-ib-šú</i>]	[y:] recess,
	21 [x d]ub.lá sig	[x:] shallow pilaster,
	22 [3 ¹ / ₂ s]ip-pe-e	[3 ¹ / ₂ :] rabbeted jambs,
	23 [z k]á* é ^d idim	[z: the] gate of the chapel of Ea,
	24 [3 ¹ / ₂ sip]-pe-e	[3 ¹ / ₂ :] rabbeted jambs,
	25 [pap <i>n</i>] + 6*	[Total: <i>n</i>] + 6
	26 [sig ₄]	[bricks . . .
	27-8 [. . .]	
	29 [. . .]x	
	30 [. . .]x	
<hr/>		
iii'	31 [<i>i-ga-r</i>] ^{i?} *	[The wall]
	32 [<i>pa-pa</i>]- <i>ha</i>	[of the] cella
	33 [šá] ^d nà	[of] Nabû
	34 [šá ki]sal [?] *	[on the] courtyard:
	35 [7 ká <i>pa-p</i>] <i>ah?</i>	[7: the gate of the] cella,
	36 3 sip-pe-e	3: the rabbeted jambs
	37 <i>šá</i> 15 ká	on the right of the gate,
	38 <i>mál-ma-liš</i>	divided equally,
	39 3 sip-pe-e <i>šá</i> 150	3: the rabbeted jambs on the left
	40 ká <i>mál-ma-liš</i>	of the gate, divided equally,
r. iv'	1 9 dub.l(á) <i>šá</i> * 15 <i>pa-pa-<i>hi</i></i>	9: the pilaster on the right of the cella,
	2 9 dub.lá <i>šá</i> 150 <i>pa-pa-<i>hi</i></i>	9: the pilaster on the left of the cella;
<hr/>		
		§ 7'

	3	pap 31 sig ₄ <i>i-gar pa-pa-ḫi</i>	Total: 31 bricks, the wall of the cella. § 8'
iv'	4	3 <i>sip-pe-e mál-ma-liš</i>	3: rabbeted jambs, divided equally,
	5	5 <i>lib-bi ká</i>	5: the space within the gateway,
	6	3 <i>sip-pe-e mál-ma-liš</i>	3: rabbeted jambs, divided equally,
	7	9 <i>dub.lá šá tar-ši pa-pa-ḫi</i>	9: the pilaster opposite the cella,
	8	2 <i>sip-pe-e mál-ma-liš</i>	2: rabbeted jambs, divided equally,
	9	7 <i>lib-bi ká</i>	7: the space within the gateway,
	10	2 <i>sip-pe-e mál-ma-liš</i>	2: rabbeted jambs, divided equally;
	11	pap 31 sig ₄ <i>i-gar</i> ^{im4}	Total: 31 bricks of the west wall
	12	<i>a-na tar-ši pa-pa-ḫi</i> ^d <i>nà</i>	opposite the cella of Nabû. § 9'
iv'	13	^r <i>i-gar</i> ^r ^š <i>u-bat</i> ^r <i>d</i> ^{nà} [!] ⁹ ¹ / ₃ <i>kùš sag</i>	The wall of the seat of Nabû(!): 9 ¹ / ₃ cubits the long side. § 10'
iv'	14	3 <i>sip-pi mál-ma-liš</i> { <i>šá</i> }	3: rabbeted jambs divided equally,
	15	4 <i>šâ ká.dúr.maḫ.ti.la</i>	4: the space within Ka-durmaḫ-tila,
	16	3 <i>sip-pi mál-ma-liš</i>	3: rabbeted jambs divided equally,
	17	9 <i>dub.lá è</i>	9: projecting pilaster,
	18	<i>DİŠ at x x x x UD</i>	(unintelligible)
		<i>ḫi-pi</i>	
v'	1 ff.	(broken)	§§ 11' ff. too fragmentary for translation
v'	1'	[...]x	
	2'	[...]x	
v'	3'	[...]x	
	4'	[...]x-nu	
v'	5'	[(...) a si]g ₄ *	
	6'	[(...) b] sig ₄	
	7''	[...]rni	
v'	8'	[(...)] ^r ^c sig ₄	
	9'	[...]gašan- <i>ía</i>	
	10'	[(...) d] + 8 sig ₄	
	11'	[...] <i>dub-ba-lu-ú</i> ¹⁰³	
	12'	[<i>ra</i>]- <i>pa-áš</i>	
	13''	[...] <i>DIN a-x-ir</i>	
	14'	[(...) y] + 14 <i>kùš úš</i>	
	15'	[(...) z] <i>kùš sag</i>	

Colophon:

see E. von Weiher, *SpTU* IV, p. 134¹⁰³ I.e., *dublū*? Von Weiher read *κ]šIB ma² lu-ú*.