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Assyrian Royal Titulary in Babylonia

Mattias Karlsson

Introductory remarks

Assyria and Babylonia have varying reputations in history books, with the former being linked to the use of military force and the latter associated with peaceful activities such as temple building (Fuchs 2009).¹ Although somewhat exaggerated,² this difference gets apparent when studying Assyrian and Babylonian royal inscriptions (Tadmor 1997: 334-35). Not only the aspect of violence separates the two ideological traditions, but also the emphasis in Assyria on royal genealogy, the king's physical attributes and moral qualities (such as his wisdom), and his less distinct role in the judicial system serve to differentiate Assyrian and Babylonian propaganda (Garelli 1981: 4-5, Renger 1980-83: 72, Postgate 1974). In relation to the south, Assyrian state ideology was a hybrid creature of old and new elements – partly adhering to southern traditions, partly containing own ideas (Postgate 1995).

The insight that Assyrian propaganda was – at least to some extent – adapted to the spatial context in which it was disseminated has gained strength in recent years. Assyrian royal inscriptions and iconography thus did not function as a monolithic bloc, imposed everywhere in the same manner. Assyrian propaganda in Babylonia is claimed to be especially noteworthy in this respect. For example, the Assyrian state had a special religious policy in relation to Babylonia (Fales 2010: 24). The state god Ashur was not promoted in the south (nor was he taboo). Rather, the cults of southern deities were the centre of attention (Frahm 1997). Also, monuments in Babylonia from the times of Esarhaddon (680-669) and Ashurbanipal (668-c. 627) were adapted to the southern, cultural milieu – with mixed results (Porter 2003a-b).³ The question arises as to *how* and *to what extent* Assyrian propaganda in Babylonia was adapted.

This paper deals with these issues. In terms of primary sources, there are a hundred Assyrian royal inscriptions preserved which have Babylonia as their provenance or centre point.⁴ These texts all derive from Late Neo-Assyrian rulers: some from Sargon II (721-705), a few from Sennacherib (704-681), many from Esarhaddon, quite a few from Ashurbanipal, and some from Shamash-shuma-ukin (667-648)⁵ and Ashur-etel-ilani (c. 626-623). The appendix attached to this paper clarifies this. Royal titles and epithets are great sources when investigating the official ideology of an ancient polity, since their being concise and programmatic in nature. For this reason (and for a delimitation need), I will focus on titles and epithets in this study. Moreover, this stress can serve to complement the iconography-centred studies by Porter (2003a-b).

¹ This is e.g. reflected in the two titles given to the history books authored by Saggs (1984, 1988). It is here told of “The *Greatness* that was Babylon” and “The *Might* that was Assyria” (italics mine).

² Peaceful working for the deities is a common theme in Assyrian royal inscriptions, not the least in the “building inscriptions” of annals and in dedicatory inscriptions. The role of the Assyrian king as “master builder of the great gods” was pivotal in Assyrian state ideology (Karlsson 2016: 103-13).

³ Also the Levant, with the polities Til-Barsip and Sam'al, had spatially adapted propaganda, with one or the other receiving benevolent or coercive themes and motifs (Porter 2003c).

⁴ Following the principles of the RIMB 2 and RINAP-volumes, also Assyrian royal inscriptions from Assyria that overwhelmingly deals with Babylonian issues are regarded as Babylonian texts.

⁵ Shamash-shuma-ukin is here regarded as an *Assyrian* king. After all, he was the son of Esarhaddon and had the role of securing Assyrian interests in Babylonia, in his position as “king of Babylon”.

The aim of this paper is to collect and analyse the Assyrian royal titles and epithets in Assyrian royal inscriptions from (or on) Babylonia, with special attention paid to the relative strength of the ideological themes of violence and peacefulness. The former theme is covered by the types “le roi en campagne et au combat” and “le roi et les ennemis” while the latter one is covered by the types “la silhouette du roi”, “le roi et les dieux”, “le roi sage et juste”, “le roi et son peuple”, and “le roi et le monde” in the epithet classification of Seux (1967: 18-27).⁶ My working hypothesis (based on the discussion above) is that examples of the former types ought to be scarce.

Finally, regarding the disposition of this paper: the next section will present the collection in question, while the directly following one will contain the said analysis.

The evidence

The evidence of this study is presented in full in this section. The table below lists all Assyrian royal titles or epithets attested in the Assyrian royal inscriptions from (or on) Babylonia known to me. It provides information on source codes, the titles and epithets in transcription and translation, place of attestations, and classifications.⁷

code	title/epithet	source	class
SR 1	<i>mu'e'ru māt Aššur u gimir Amurrī</i> (commander of Assyria and all of Amurru)	4:ii6-7	2.2.2
SR 2	<i>nibūt Asari</i> (designate of Asari)	3:i27	3.1.1
SR 3	<i>rubū zāninšu/ša</i> (prince who provides for him/her)	1:23; 3:i15	3.2.3
SR 4	<i>sipa ma-da aš-šur^{ki}-ke₄</i> (shepherd of Assyria)	5:10	2.1.1
SR 5	<i>šakkanakki Bābili</i> (governor of Babylon)	1:6; 2:8-9; 3:i14; 3:i27; 3:ii10; 5:8	2.2.1
SR 6	<i>šar Bābili</i> (king of Babylon)	4:i4; 6:6	2.2.1
SR 7	<i>šar kiššati</i> (king of the universe)	1:5; 2:7; 3:i14; 3:i26; 3:ii10; 4:i3; 5:7; 6:7	2.2.2
SR 8	<i>šar māt Aššur</i> (king of Assyria)	1:5; 2:5-6; 3:i14; 3:i26; 3:ii9	2.2.2
SR 9	<i>šar māt Šumerī u Akkadī</i> (king of Sumer and Akkad)	1:7; 2:10-11; 3:i15; 4:ii5; 5:9	2.2.1
SR 10	<i>šarru dannu</i> (strong king)	1:4; 6:5	1.2.1
SR 11	<i>šarru rabū</i> (great king)	4:i2	1.2.1
SR 12	<i>šarru zāninša</i> (king who provides for her)	3:ii11	3.2.3

⁶ The present study employs a different (but related) classification system, however. For examples of yet other title/epithet classifications, see notably Liverani 1981 and Cifola 1995.

⁷ The titles/epithets are ordered according to ruler and chronology. The following abbreviations apply: SR = Sargon II, SN = Sennacherib, ES = Esarhaddon, AS = Ashurbanipal, SH = Shamash-shuma-ukin, AE = Ashur-etel-ilani. As for the column “title/epithet”, Sumerian forms are given only when there are no corresponding Akkadian ones. Sumerian forms are only rendered in *transliteration*. Only Akkadian forms that are unclear to me are rendered in transliteration. Brackets are given for words that are reconstructed entirely or almost entirely. Broken epithets that give something meaningful are included. Epithets of reigning kings, predecessors (marked by *), and co-rulers (marked by *) are included. Epithets of vassal rulers are *not* included. Divine epithets within royal epithets are ignored (sometimes marked through ...). If five or more deities are enumerated, the writing DNN (divine names) is used. Sometimes it is not perfectly clear if an epithet refers to a current ruler, a predecessor, or a deity. Content and context then decide from case to case. As for the column “source”, references to attestations give abbreviated forms of the text numbers in RIMB 2 (= Frame 1995) and RINAP 3/2 or 4 (= Grayson and Novotny 2014 and Leichty 2011 respectively). Only *completely* reconstructed epithets are placed within brackets. For the classification codes in the column “class”, see the next section.

SR 13	<i>zānin Esagil u Ezida</i> (provider of Esagila and Ezida)	1:8-9	3.2.3
SN 1	<i>šar kiššati</i> (king of the universe)	233:1	2.2.2
SN 2	<i>šar māt Aššur</i> (king of Assyria)	232:2; [233:1]	2.2.2
ES 1	<i>ana nuḥḥu libbi ilūtišu u nupūš kabattišunu šillušunu dārū itrušū elišu</i> (one over whom they extended their eternal protective shade in order to soothe their divine heart(s) and set their mind(s) at rest)	128:6; 129:11-12; 130:8; 133:12-13	3.1.2
ES 2	<i>Anum rabū ana ālišu Dēr u bītišu Edimgalkalama ušēribuma ušēšibu parak dārāti</i> (who made Great-Anu enter into his city Der and his temple Edimgalkalama and had (him) sit upon (his) eternal cult dais)	128:10; 129:19-20; 130:15; 133:20-21	3.2.5
ES 3	<i>apal Šarru-kīn</i> (heir of Sargon (II))	113:6; 128:13; 129:25; 131:10; 133:26; 134:10; 135:10; 136:9; 137:9; [139:8]	1.1.1
ES 4	<i>ardu pālīḥ ilūtišu rabūtim</i> (servant who fears his great divinity)	106:ii24-25	3.2.1, 3.2.5
ES 5	<i>ašru</i> (obedient one)	104:i17; 105:i18; 109:i11'; 117:4'	1.2.2
ES 6	<i>bānū bīt Aššur</i> (who (re)built the Ashur temple)	128:8; [129:15]; 130:11; 133:16; 134:8; 135:8; 136:4	3.2.2
ES 7	<i>bānū Esagila</i> (who (re)built Esagila)	106:iv35-36	3.2.2
ES 8	<i>bukur Sīn-ahḥē-erība</i> (child of Sennacherib)	112:i8	1.1.1
ES 9	<i>ēpiš Bābili</i> (who (re)constructed Babylon)	106:iv33-34	2.2.1
ES 10	<i>ēpiš Esagila u Bābili</i> (who (re)constructed Esagila and Babylon)	128:8; 129:15; 130:11; 133:16; 134:8; 135:8; 136:4	2.2.1, 3.2.2
ES 11	<i>(ša) gimir malikī ušaknišu šēpuššu</i> (who placed all rulers at his feet)	128:7; 129:14; 130:10; 133:15; 136:8	2.1.2
ES 12	<i>ilāni mātāti (ša ana māt Aššur iḥišūni šallūtu) šukuttašunu uddišu</i> (who restored the adornment(s) of the plundered deities of all lands(who had hastened to Assyria))	128:11; [129:21]; 133:22	3.2.5
ES 13	<i>īmuru danānšun</i> (who realized their power)	113:5; 128:5; 129:10; 130:7; 133:11	3.2.1
ES 14	<i>ina emūq Aššur Enlil Bēl u mār-Bēl kullat mātāti ibēlu</i> (who by the force of Ashur, Enlil, Bel, and the Son-of-Bel ruled over all lands)	128:7; 129:13; 130:9; 133:14	3.1.2
ES 15	<i>iškunu ḥegallu</i> (who established plenty)	112:iv5	2.1.1
ES 16	<i>iššakku šīru</i> (exalted vice-regent)	1003:ii2'	1.2.1
ES 17	<i>itpēšu ḥāsis kal šipri</i> (competent one who knows every craft)	128:12; [129:23]; 133:24	1.2.1
ES 18	<i>itūt kūn libbi Enlil</i> (steadfast choice of Enlil)	128:4; 129:8; 130:5; 133:9	3.1.1
ES 19	<i>kanšu</i> (submissive)	104:i17; 105:i18; 109:i11'	1.2.2
ES 20	<i>kāšid ultu tāmtim elīti adi tāmtim šaplīti</i> (conqueror from the Upper Sea to the Lower Sea)	136:7	2.2.2
ES 21	<i>liblibbi Bēl-bāni zēru dārū</i> (descendant of the	113:7-8	1.1.2

	eternal seed of Bel-bani)		
ES 22	<i>liblibbi dārū ša Bēl-bāni</i> (descendant of the eternal (seed) of Bel-bani)	[127:17']; 128:14; 129:27; 133:28	1.1.2
ES 23	<i>maḥīru kīnu ešēru ebūru napāš Nisaba ušaššū ina māti</i> (who brought stable prices, successful harvests, (and) an abundance of grain to the land)	112:iv6-7	2.1.1
ES 24	<i>malku na'adu</i> (attentive ruler)	109:i3'	1.2.2
*ES 25	<i>mār Adasi</i> (son of Adasi)	128:14; 129:27; 133:28	1.1.2
ES 26	<i>mār Sīn-aḥḥē-erība</i> (son of Sennacherib)	113:5; 128:13; [129:25]; 131:8; 133:26; 134:10; 135:10; 136:9; 137:7; 139:6	1.1.1
ES 27	<i>migir Aššur u Mullissu</i> (favourite of Ashur and Mullissu)	113:3	3.1.1
ES 28	<i>migir bēl bēlē</i> (favourite of the lord of lords)	104:i8-9; 105:i7; 109:i2'	3.1.1
ES 29	<i>migir Irnini</i> (favourite of Irnini)	133:9	3.1.1
ES 30	<i>muddiš Eanna</i> (renewer of Eanna)	133:16; 134:9; 135:9; 136:5	3.2.2
ES 31	<i>muddiš Ekur</i> (renewer of Ekur)	128:8; [129:15]; 130:11	3.2.2
ES 32	<i>muddiš ilāni u ištarāti</i> (renewer of gods and goddesses)	106:iv37-39	3.2.2
ES 33	<i>mūdū puluḥti ilūtišu rabīti</i> (who knows how to fear his great divinity)	116:obv.20'	3.2.1
ES 34	<i>mukīn sattukkī</i> ((re)establisher of the regular offerings)	106:iv42-43; 128:8; 129:16; 130:12; 133:17	3.2.3
ES 35	<i>mupahḥir nišēšu saphāti</i> (reassembler of its dispersed people)	106:iv44-46	2.1.1
ES 36	<i>murappiš ekurrāt ilāni [rabūti]</i> (extender of the temples of the [great] gods)	1002:ii':7	3.2.2
ES 37	<i>mušaklil ešrēti (kullat) (u) māḥāzī</i> (who perfected (all) the sanctuaries (and) cult centres)	128:8; 129:16; 130:12; 133:17; 134:9; 135:9; 136:5	3.2.2
ES 38	<i>mušandil māḥāzī</i> (expander of the cult centres)	1002:ii':6	3.2.2
ES 39	<i>mušēšū nūru</i> (who brought about light)	107:viii23-24	2.1.1
ES 40	<i>muštāpik? karē ašnan</i> (who piles up heaps of grain and cereal)	112:iv3	2.1.1
ES 41	<i>muštē'ū ašrāt ilāni rabūti</i> (who is assiduous toward the sanctuaries of the great gods)	134:7; 135:7; 136:3	3.2.5
ES 42	<i>mutaqqin nišē [dalḥāti]</i> (who reorganized the [troubled] people)	107:viii20-22	2.1.1
ES 43	<i>(ša) narām Šarpanītum</i> (who is beloved of Sarpanitu)	104:i10; 105:i8-9; 109:i4'; 117:2'	3.1.1
ES 44	<i>nibīt Marduk</i> (designate of Marduk)	133:9	3.1.1
ES 45	<i>nibīt Marduk Šarpanītu</i> (designate of Marduk (and) Sarpanitu)	113:2	3.1.1
ES 46	<i>nibīti [...]</i> (designate of [...])	1010:l.e.1	3.1.1
ES 47	<i>pāliḥ [...]</i> (who fears [...])	107:viii18	3.2.1

ES 48	<i>pāliḥ bēl bēlē</i> (who fears the lord of lords)	134:7; 135:7	3.2.1
ES 49	<i>pāliḥ ilūtišunu rabīti</i> (who fears their great divinity)	104:i17-18; 105:i19-20; 109:i12'	3.2.1
ES 50	<i>pāliḥ Nabū u Marduk</i> (who fears Nabu and Marduk)	106:i8; 114:i5	3.2.1
ES 51	<i>per'u Baltil šūquru</i> (valuable scion of Baltil)	127:17'; 128:14; 129:28; 133:29	1.1.2
ES 52	<i>rē'û kēnu</i> (righteous shepherd)	104:i8; [105:i7]; 109:i1'; 113:3	1.2.1, 2.1.1
ES 53	<i>rēšu mutnennû</i> (pious servant)	104:i16; 105:i17; 109:i10'; 117:4'	1.2.2, 3.2.5
ES 54	<i>rēšu šaḥtu</i> (humble servant)	1003:ii5'	1.2.2, 3.2.5
ES 55	<i>rubû enqu</i> (clever prince)	128:12; [129:23]; 133:24	1.2.1
ES 56	<i>rubû [kēnu]</i> ([righteous] prince)	1003:ii3'	1.2.1
ES 57	<i>rubû na'adu</i> (attentive prince)	104:i9; 105:i8; 106:i8; 114:i5; 117:2'	1.2.2
ES 58	<i>rubû pāliḥki</i> (prince who fears you)	135:17	3.2.1
ES 59	<i>ša Aššur Sîn Šamaš Bēl Nabū ana šuklulu māḥāzī udduše ešrēti iptū ḥasīsuš</i> (whose mind Ashur, Sin, Shamash, Bel, and Nabu opened for perfecting the cult centres (and) renovating (their) sanctuaries)	113:22-23	3.1.2
ES 60	<i>ša bēlūssunu [putūqu]</i> (who [is constantly attentive] to their rule)	117:3'	3.2.5
ES 61	<i>ša durugšu Baltil</i> (who is of pure Baltil descent)	113:8	1.1.2
ES 62	<i>ša ina māḥāzu rabūti simāti ištakkanu uštēširu šuluḥḥu</i> (who put appropriate procedures in the great cult centres (and) has purification rites kept in order)	128:12; 129:23-24; 133:24-25	3.2.4
ES 63	<i>ša ina palīšu Elam ula šemū</i> (in whose reign Elam was disobedient)	112:iv8	2.2.2
ES 64	<i>ša ina qerebšina ištakkanu simāti</i> (who put appropriate procedures in them (shrines))	134:9; 135:9; 136:6	3.2.4
ES 65	<i>ša ina ūmīšu sunqu u ḥušaḥḥu ušaššū</i> (who expelled famine and starvation during his days)	112:iv4-5	2.1.1
ES 66	<i>ša ultu šeḥrišu ana DNN u ilāni rabūti ittaklu</i> (who from his youth trusted in DNN, and the (other) great gods)	128:5; 129:9-10; 130:6-7; 133:10-11	3.2.1
ES 67	<i>ša ultu ūmē šeḥrišu bēlūssunu putūquma qurussunu dallu</i> (who from the days of his youth was constantly attentive to their rule and praised their valour)	104:i13-16; 105:i12-16; 109:i7'-9'	3.2.4, 3.2.5
ES 68	<i>šakkanakki Bābili</i> (governor of Babylon)	104:i6; 105:i4-5; 106:i4-5; 113:2; 114:i3; 126:7; 127:16'; 128:4; [129:8]; 130:5; 133:8; 134:6; 135:6; 136:2; 137:5; 139:4; 1003:ii3'	2.2.1
*ES 69	<i>šakkanakki Bābili</i> (governor of Babylon)	113:7; 128:13;	2.2.1

		[129:26]; 133:27; 134:10; 135:10; 136:10	
ES 70	<i>šar Bābili</i> (king of Babylon)	119:4; 120:4; 121:2; 122:4; 123:5; 124:5; 125:2; 131:5; 132:3; 136:19; 138:2	2.2.1
ES 71	<i>šar kibrāti erbetti</i> (king of the four quarters)	112:i5; 126:6; [127:16']; 128:4; 129:7; 130:4; 133:8; 137:6	2.2.2
ES 72	<i>šar kiššati</i> (king of the universe)	104:i4; 105:i3; 106:i2; 111:viii5'; 112:i2; 113:1; 114:i1-2; 118:B2; 119:3; 126:5; 127:15'; 128:4; [129:7]; 130:4; 131:4; 133:8; 134:6; 135:6; 137:4; 139:3	2.2.2
*ES 73	<i>šar kiššati</i> (king of the universe)	113:6x2; 128:13; [129:25]; 131:9; 131:10; 133:26; 134:10; 135:10; 137:8; 137:9; [139:6]; 139:8	2.2.2
ES 74	<i>šar māt Aššur</i> (king of Assyria)	104:i5; 104:vii46; [105:i4]; 105:x35-36; 106:i3; 106:vi60-61; 108:v11'; 111:viii5'; 112:i2; 113:1; 113:22; 114:i2; 118:B2; 119:3; 120:3; 121:1; 122:3; 123:4; 124:4; 125:1; 126:4; 127:15'; 128:4; [129:7]; 130:4; 131:4; 132:2; 133:8; 134:6; 134:17; 135:6; 136:2; 136:19; 137:4; 138:2; 139:3	2.2.2
*ES 75	<i>šar māt Aššur</i> (king of Assyria)	113:6x2; 128:13x2; 128:14; 129:25x2; 129:27; 131:9; 131:11; 133:26x2; 133:28; 134:10x2; 135:10x2; 136:9x2; 137:8; 137:10; 139:7; 139:8	2.2.2
ES 76	<i>šar māt Šumeri u Akkadī</i> (king of Sumer and Akkad)	104:i7; 105:i6; 106:i6- 7; 113:2; 114:i4; 126:8; 127:16'; 128:4; [129:8]; 130:5; 131:6- 7; 132:3-4; 133:8; 134:6; 135:6; 136:3; 139:5	2.2.1
*ES 77	<i>šar māt Šumeri u Akkadī</i> (king of Sumer and Akkad)	113:7; 128:13; 129:26; 133:27; 134:10;	2.2.1

		135:10; 136:10	
ES 78	<i>šar šarrāni māt [Mušri] māt pa-ta-ri-is u [māt Kūsi]</i> (king of the kings of (lower) [Egypt], upper Egypt, and [Kush])	112:i3-4	2.2.2
ES 79	<i>šarru dannu</i> (strong king)	104:i3; 112:i2; 113:1; 127:15'; 128:4; [129:7]; 130:4; 133:8	1.2.1
*ES 80	<i>šarru dannu</i> (strong king)	113:5; 113:6	1.2.1
ES 81	<i>šarru ēpiš Eanna</i> (king who (re)constructed Eanna)	1010:l.e.1	3.2.2
ES 82	<i>šarru migrišu/ša</i> (king who is his/her favourite)	130:2; 133:4	3.1.1
ES 83	<i>šarru pāliḫša</i> (king who fears her)	135:4	3.2.1
ES 84	<i>šarru rabû</i> (great king)	104:i2; 105:i2; 112:i2; 113:1; 127:15'; 128:4; [129:7]; 130:4; 133:8	1.2.1
*ES 85	<i>šarru rabû</i> (great king)	113:5; 113:6	1.2.1
ES 86	<i>šarru ša ina kullat [mātāti] māḫiri lā [iṣû]</i> (king who [has] no equal in all of [the lands])	112:i6-7	2.1.2
ES 87	<i>šarru ša ina ûmē palīšu Marduk ana Bābili salīmu iršû ina Esagil irmû šubassu</i> (king in whose days of reign Marduk had mercy on Babylon (and again) took up his residence in Esagila)	128:9; 129:17-18; 130:13-14; 133:18-19	3.1.2
ES 88	<i>šarru ša ultu ṣeḫrišu ana Nabû Tašmētum u Nanāya ittaklu</i> (king who from his youth trusted in Nabu, Tashmetu, and Nanaya)	113:4-5	3.2.1
ES 89	<i>šarru šaḫtu</i> (humble king)	104:i12; 105:i11; 109:i6'; 117:3'; 134:7; 135:7	1.2.2
ES 90	<i>šuklulu ešrēti</i> (perfecter of sanctuaries)	106:iv40-41	3.2.2
ES 91	<i>tiriš Enlil</i> (one to whom Enlil has stretched out (his hands))	1003:ii4'	3.1.1
ES 92	<i>tiriš qātī Aššur</i> (one to whom Ashur has stretched out (his) hands)	133:9	3.1.1
ES 93	<i>ukinnu isqušun</i> (who (re)established their income)	128:11; 129:22; 133:23	3.2.3
ES 94	<i>ultu qereb māt Aššur ana ašrišunu utēršunūti</i> (who returned them from Assyria to their (proper) places)	128:11; 129:21-22; 133:22-23	3.2.5
ES 95	<i>zānin Ezida</i> (provider of Ezida)	134:8; 135:8	3.2.3
ES 96	<i>zāninu</i> (provider)	104:vi15; 105:viii21	1.2.1, 1.2.2
ES 97	<i>zēr šarrūti kisitti šāti</i> (one of royal seed and primeval ancestry)	127:17'; 128:14; 129:28; 133:29; 1003:ii1'	1.1.2
*AS 1	<i>aḫi talīme(ya)</i> ((my) favourite brother)	1:13; 2:53; 2:75; [3:10]; 4:12; [4:20]; 5:12; 5:20; 5:21; 6:14; 6:25; 12:11; 12:22; 13:16; 14:31; 14:47; 19:27	1.1.1
AS 2	<i>bēlišu</i> (his lord)	2015:6	2.1.2
AS 3	<i>é-kur...mu-un-na-dù</i> (who (re)built Ekur)	16:8-11	3.2.2

AS 4	<i>eli kullat māḥāzī ukīn andullu</i> (who established (my) protective aegis over all cult centres)	2:18; 14:11-12	3.2.5
AS 5	<i>eli ṣalmāt qaqqadi duššupat rē'ūssu</i> (whose shepherdship is very sweet to the black-headed people)	2:19-20; 14:13-14; 19:11	2.1.1
*AS 6	<i>ēpiš Esagila</i> (who (re)constructed Esagila)	1:5; 2:24; 12:5; [13:9]; 14:17; 19:14	3.2.2
AS 7	<i>gimir malik ušakniš šēpuššu</i> (who has placed all rulers at his feet)	2:12-13; 3:3; 4:4; 5:4; 12:3; 14:7; 19:8	2.1.2
AS 8	<i>gimir ummānīšu tuḥḥudū</i> (whose people are all prospering)	19:13	2.1.1
AS 9	<i>ina tuḥdu u mešrē ištēni''ū nišēšu</i> (who looks after his people with prosperity and wealth)	19:12	2.1.1
AS 10	<i>irusšū dadmēšu</i> (whose settlements rejoice)	19:13	2.1.1
AS 11	lugal-a-ni (his king)	2003:4	2.1.2
AS 12	<i>mār Aššur-aḥa-iddin</i> (son of Esarhaddon)	1:4; 2:21; 3:5; 4:5; 5:5; 6:3; 8:4; 9:2; 10:2; 12:4; [13:8]; 14:14; [15:8]; 19:13; 22:4	1.1.1
AS 13	<i>mār māri Sīn-aḥḥē-erība</i> (grandson of Sennacherib)	1:9; 2:33; 3:6; 4:7; 5:7; 6:6; 12:7; [13:12]; 14:22; 15:9; 19:16; 22:6	1.1.1
*AS 14	<i>muddiš ešrēti kullat māḥāzī</i> (renewer of the sanctuaries of all the cult centres)	1:6; 2:24-25; 12:6; 13:9; 14:17-18; 19:15	3.2.2
*AS 15	<i>mušēšib Bābili</i> (who (re)settled Babylon)	1:5; 2:23; 12:5; [13:9]; 14:16; 19:14	2.1.1
AS 16	<i>pāliḥ ilūtišu [rabīti]</i> (who fears his [great] divinity)	15:22	3.2.1
*AS 17	<i>paršī kidudē kīma labīrimma utēru ašrušsun</i> (who restored the rites (and) rituals according to the original pattern)	1:8; 2:29-32; 13:11; 14:20-22	3.2.4
AS 18	<i>rē'ū kīnu</i> (righteous shepherd)	15:22	1.2.1, 2.1.1
AS 19	<i>rubū lā šanān</i> (prince who has no rival)	2:6; 3:3; 4:2; 5:2; 6:3; 12:2; 14:4; 19:7	2.1.2
AS 20	<i>rubū pāliḥšu/ša</i> (prince who fears him/her)	2:69; 12:20; 14:39; 19:25	3.2.1
*AS 21	<i>sattukkīšina baṭlūtu ukinnu</i> (who (re)established their interrupted regular offerings)	1:7; 2:28; 12:7; 13:10; 14:19-20	3.2.3
AS 22	sipa še-ga-bi (his obedient shepherd)	16:5; 17:7; 18:7	2.1.1, 3.2.5
AS 23	<i>ša eli āl Šurru ša qabal tāmtim elīt u Tilmun ša qabal tāmtim šaplīt nīri bēlūtišu ukinnuma išūtū abšānšu</i> (who imposed the yoke of his rulership upon the city Tyre – which lies in the midst of the Upper Sea – and Dilmun – which lies in the midst of the Lower Sea – so that they bore his yoke)	19:9-10	2.1.2
AS 24	<i>ša epšētušu eli kal ilāni tībā</i> (whose deeds are pleasing to all the deities)	2:19; 14:12-13; 19:10	3.2.5
AS 25	<i>ša ešrēte kalīšina ḥibiltāšina ušallim(u)</i> (who	2:16-17; 14:10-11	3.2.2

	healed the damaged parts of all their sanctuaries)		
AS 26	<i>ša ina amāt Aššur Šamaš u Maduk ultu tâmtim elīt adi tâmtim šaplīt ibēlu</i> (who at the order of Ashur, Shamash, and Marduk ruled from the Upper Sea to the Lower Sea)	2:7-11; 14:4-6	3.1.2
AS 27	<i>ša ina amāt ilāni ultu tâmtim elīt adi tâmtim šaplīt ibēlu</i> (who at the order of the deities ruled from the Upper Sea to the Lower Sea)	12:2-3	3.1.2
AS 28	<i>ša ina palīšu Adad zunnīšu Ea nagbišu ana mātišu uštabrū</i> (one in whose reign Adad made his rain and Ea his springs last a long time for his land)	19:11-12	3.1.2
*AS 29	<i>ša ina qerbišina išakkanu simāti</i> (who put appropriate procedures in them (shrines))	1:6-7; 2:26-27; 12:6; 13:10; 14:18-19; 19:15	3.2.4
AS 30	<i>ša ultu tâmtim elīt adi tâmtim šaplīt ibēlu</i> (who ruled from the Upper Sea to the Lower Sea)	3:3-4; 4:3; 5:3; 19:8	2.2.2
AS 31	<i>šakkanakki Aššur Enlil u Ninurta</i> (governor of Ashur, Enlil, and Ninurta)	15:10	3.1.1
*AS 32	<i>šakkanakki Bābili</i> (governor of Babylon)	1:4; 2:22; [3:5]; 4:6; 5:6; 6:5; 12:4; 13:8; 14:15; 19:14; 22:5	2.2.1
*AS 33	<i>šar Bābili</i> (king of Babylon)	2:75; 4:19; 5:19; 6:24; 8:6; 9:3; 12:22; 14:47; 19:27	2.2.1
AS 34	<i>šar kibrāti erbetti</i> (king of the four quarters)	1:3; 2:5; 3:2; 4:2; 5:2; 6:2; 12:1; 13:7; 14:3; 16:7; 19:7; 21:3	2.2.2
AS 35	<i>šar kiššati</i> (king of the universe)	1:3; 2:4; [3:1]; 4:1; 5:1; 6:1; 7:3; 8:3; 9:2; 11:1; 12:1; [13:7]; 14:2; 15:6; 17:9; 18:9; 19:7; 21:2; 22:3; 2004:i3; 2015:5	2.2.2
*AS 36	<i>šar kiššati</i> (king of the universe)	1:4; 1:9; 2:22; 2:35; [3:5]; 3:7; 4:5; 4:7; 5:5; 5:7; 6:4; 6:7; 8:5; 9:3; 10:2; 12:4; 12:8; [13:8]; [13:12]; 14:15; 14:23; 15:8; 15:9; 19:14; 19:16; 22:4; 22:6	2.2.2
AS 37	<i>šar māt Aššur</i> (king of Assyria)	1:3; 2:4; 2:69; 3:2; 4:1; 5:1; 6:2; 7:3; 8:3; 9:2; 11:2; 12:1; 12:20; 13:7; 14:2; 15:6; 15:22; 19:7; 19:25; 21:2; 22:3; 2015:5	2.2.2
*AS 38	<i>šar māt Aššur</i> (king of Assyria)	1:4; 1:9; 2:22; 2:35; [3:5]; 3:7; 4:5; 4:7; 5:5; 5:7; 6:4; 6:7; 8:5; 9:3; [10:2]; 12:4; 12:8; [13:8]; 13:12; 14:15;	2.2.2

		14:23; [15:8]; 15:9; 19:14; 19:16; 22:4; 22:7	
AS 39	[šar] māt Šumeri u Akkadī ([king of] Sumer and Akkad)	15:10	2.2.1
*AS 40	šar māt Šumeri u Akkadī (king of Sumer and Akkad)	1:5; 2:23; 3:6; 4:6; 5:6; 6:5; 12:5; 14:16; 19:14; 22:5	2.2.1
AS 41	šar mātāti [...] (king of all lands [...])	23:4	2.2.2
AS 42	šar šarrāni (king of kings)	2:6; 4:2; 5:2; 6:2; 12:2; 14:3; 19:7; 2003:4	2.1.2
AS 43	šarru dannu (strong king)	1:3; 2:3; [3:1]; 4:1; 5:1; 6:1; 12:1; [13:7]; 14:2; 15:6; 16:6; 17:8; 18:8; 19:7; 22:3; 2015:5	1.2.1
*AS 44	šarru dannu (strong king)	1:4; 1:9; 2:22; 2:34; [3:5]; [3:7]; 4:5; 4:7; 5:5; 5:7; 6:4; 6:6; 12:4; 12:8; [13:8]; [13:12]; 15:8; 15:9; 19:13; 19:16; 22:4; 22:6	1.2.1
AS 45	šar(ru) migiriša (her favourite king)	19:4	3.1.1
AS 46	šarru rabû (great king)	1:3; 2:3; 3:1; 4:1; 5:1; 6:1; 12:1; [13:7]; 14:2; [15:6]; 19:7; 22:3	1.2.1
*AS 47	šarru rabû (great king)	1:4; 1:9; 2:21; 2:34; 3:5; [3:7]; 4:5; 5:5; 6:4; 6:6'; 12:4; 12:7; [13:8]; [13:12]; [15:8]; 15:9; 19:13; 19:16; 22:4; 22:6	1.2.1
AS 48	[šarru ša ina kullat] mātāti māhiru [lā tšû] ([king who has no] equal [in all of] the lands)	15:7	2.1.2
AS 49	zānin Esagil (provider of Esagila)	2:13; 14:8	3.2.3
AS 50	zānin māhāzī GNN (provider of the cult centres GNN)	15:11	3.2.3
*SH 1	aḥi talīmeya (my favourite brother)	4:25	1.1.1
SH 2	ašru (obedient one)	1:34	1.2.2
SH 3	ēpiš [Esagila] (who (re)constructed [Esagila])	4:14	3.2.2
SH 4	gīr.nīta šu-an-na ^{ki} (governor of Shuanna)	2:5	2.2.1
SH 5	iššakku šīru (exalted vice-regent)	3:4; 4:13	1.2.1
SH 6	lē'ûm (capable one)	1:3	1.2.1
SH 7	liblibbi Šarru-kīn (descendant of Sargon (II))	3:11; 4:22; 6:8'	1.1.2
*SH 8	mār Adasi (son of Adasi)	4:23	1.1.2
SH 9	mār Aššur-aḥa-iddin (son of Esarhaddon)	3:9; 4:18; 6:5'	1.1.1
SH 10	mār māri Šin-aḥḥē-erība (grandson of Sennacherib)	3:10; 4:21; 6:7'	1.1.1
SH 11	migir Enlil Šamaš u Marduk (favourite of Enlil, Shamash, and Marduk)	1:4-5	3.1.1
SH 12	muntalku (deliberate one)	1:3	1.2.1
SH 13	mušēšib [Bābili] (who (re)settled [Babylon])	4:14	2.1.1
SH 14	muštē''û ašrāt ilāni rabûti (who is assiduous toward the sanctuaries of the great gods)	4:13	3.2.5

SH 15	<i>pāliḫ bēl bēlē</i> (who fears the lord of lords)	3:4; 4:12	3.2.1
SH 16	<i>pāliḫkunu</i> (who fears You)	1:34	3.2.1
SH 17	<i>per'u Baltil</i> (scion of Baltil)	4:23	1.1.2
SH 18	<i>rē'û kīnu</i> (righteous shepherd)	3:4; 4:13	1.2.1, 2.1.1
SH 19	<i>rē'ûm</i> (shepherd)	1:4	2.1.1
SH 20	<i>rubû qardu</i> (heroic prince)	4:12	1.2.1
SH 21	<i>sattukkī Esagil ilāni māt Šumeri u Akkadī ukinnu</i> (who (re)established the regular offerings (in) Esagila (for) the deities of Sumer and Akkad)	3:8; 4:17; 6:4'	3.2.3
SH 22	<i>ša ina palīšu...Marduk salīmu iršû ina rišātu ana Bābili īrumma ina Esagil ša dārāt šubassu irme</i> (one in whose reign...Marduk had mercy, entered Babylon amidst rejoicing, and took up his residence in Esagila for all times)	3:5-7; 4:15-16; 6:1'-3'	3.1.2
SH 23	<i>šakkanakki Bābili</i> (governor of Babylon)	5:14; [5:29]	2.2.1
*SH 24	<i>šakkanakki Bābili</i> (governor of Babylon)	4:19; 6:6'	2.2.1
SH 25	<i>šakkanakku itpēšu</i> (competent governor)	4:12	1.2.1
SH 26	<i>šar Amnānu</i> (king of the Amnanu)	1:2	2.1.1
SH 27	<i>šar Bābili</i> (king of Babylon)	1:2; 3:3; 4:11; 2001:2?	2.2.1
*SH 28	<i>šar kibrāti erbetti</i> (king of the four quarters)	3:12	2.2.2
*SH 29	<i>šar kiššati</i> (king of the universe)	3:9; 3:11; 4:18; 4:20; 4:21; 4:22; [6:5']; [6:7']; [6:8']	2.2.2
*SH 30	<i>šar māt Aššur</i> (king of Assyria)	2:10; 3:9; 3:10; 3:11; 3:12; 4:18; 4:20; 4:21; 4:22; 4:25; [6:5']; [6:7']; [6:8']	2.2.2
SH 31	<i>šar māt Šumeri u Akkadī</i> (king of Sumer and Akkad)	1:5; 2:6; 3:3; 4:11; 5:30	2.2.1
*SH 32	<i>šar māt Šumeri u Akkadī</i> (king of Sumer and Akkad)	3:10; 3:11; 4:19; 6:6'	2.2.1
SH 33	<i>šarru [...]</i> (king [...])	5:l.e.37	-
SH 34	<i>šarru dannu</i> (strong king)	1:1; 3:2; 4:11	1.2.1
*SH 35	<i>šarru dannu</i> (strong king)	3:9; 4:18; 4:20; 4:21; 4:22; 6:5'; 6:6'; [6:8']	1.2.1
*SH 36	<i>šarru rabû</i> (great king)	3:9; 4:18; 4:20; 4:21; 4:22; 6:5'; 6:6'; 6:8'	1.2.1
SH 37	<i>talīm Aššur-bāni-apli</i> (favourite brother of Ashurbanipal)	2:11; 3:12; 4:20	1.1.1
SH 38	<i>zānin Ezida</i> (provider of Ezida)	4:14	3.2.3
SH 39	<i>zēr šarrūti dārû ša Bēl-bāni</i> (one of the eternal royal seed of Bel-bani)	4:23	1.1.2
AE 1	<i>lugal kala-ga</i> (strong king)	4:8	1.2.1
AE 2	<i>lugal ub-da limmu-ba</i> (king of the four quarters)	4:9	2.2.2
AE 3	<i>mār Aššur-bāni-apli</i> (son of Ashurbanipal)	2:9; 3:2	1.1.1
AE 4	<i>muddiš parak ilāni rabūti</i> (renewer of the shrine(s) of the great gods)	3:2	3.2.2
*AE 5	<i>rē'û šalmāt qaqqadi</i> (shepherd of the black-headed people)	3:2	2.1.1

AE 6	<i>rubû migir libbika</i> (your favourite prince)	1:20rev.	3.1.1
AE 7	sag-ús é-kur-ra (supporter of Ekur)	4:7	3.2.5
AE 8	[sipa] še-ga-bi (his obedient [shepherd])	4:5	2.1.1, 3.2.5
AE 9	<i>šar kiššati</i> (king of the universe)	1:10 obv.; 2:8	2.2.2
*AE 10	<i>šar kiššati</i> (king of the universe)	2:9	2.2.2
AE 11	<i>šar māt Aššur</i> (king of Assyria)	1:10 obv.; 1:19 rev.; 2:8; 3:1; 5:1	2.2.2
*AE 12	<i>šar māt Aššur</i> (king of Assyria)	2:9; 3:2	2.2.2
AE 13	<i>šarru migiršun</i> (their favourite king)	3:6	3.1.1
AE 14	ú-a Nibru ^{ki} (provider of Nippur)	4:6	2.2.1

Analysis: titles and epithets in classification

In this section, I will give my analysis of the evidence presented above. A classifying of the royal titles and epithets in question is fundamental to any analysis. Following up on this idea, the said evidence can be divided into three main groups: one which focuses on the king's *person* (group 1) and others which centre on the king's relationships to the worldly/earthly (group 2) and divine (group 3) spheres. In percent, the first group counts to 24,9 %, the second to 35,8 %, and the third to 38,8 %.⁸

To begin with the titles and epithets that centre on the king's person, and which roughly correspond to the epithet types “la silhouette du roi” and “le roi sage et juste” in the titulary classification by Seux, royal lineage (subgroup 1.1) is often a topic in the sources.⁹ Here, close and distant lineage relations may be distinguished.¹⁰ The titulary group centred on royal lineage consists of 9,8 % of the total corpus.

As for the former (subgroup 1.1.1), the two brothers Ashurbanipal and Shamash-shuma-ukin describe each other as “(my) favourite brother” (*aḫi talīme(ya)*) (*AS 1, *SH 1). The relevant word, *talīmu*, speaks of a close and warm relationship.¹¹ Obviously, these expressions of mutual affection were made prior to the outbreak of the civil war. Ashur-etel-ilani calls himself “son of Ashurbanipal” (*mār Aššur-bāni-apli*) (AE 3). The term in use is here *māru*, as is commonly the case.¹² Ashurbanipal and Shamash-shuma-ukin both identify themselves as “grandson of Sennacherib” (*mār māri Sīn-aḫḫē-erība*) (AS 13, SH 10). It may be noted here that Sennacherib (who ordered the destruction of Babylon) is not taboo, since his being brought up. The epithets of the present subgroup make up 5,1 % of the total titulary corpus.

Moving on to subgroup 1.1.2, the reigning king sometimes relates himself to not all too distant predecessors, such as when Shamash-shuma-ukin presents himself as “descendant of Sargon (II)” (*liblibbi Šarru-kīn*) (SH 7). Sargon II was his great-grandfather. Much more distantly, Esarhaddon refers to himself as “descendant of the eternal seed of Bel-bani” (*liblibbi Bēl-bāni zēru dārū*) (ES 21). This Bel-bani is himself referred to as son to a certain Adasi (*ES 25, *SH 8). Adasi is the name of a

⁸ An unclassifiable epithet (SH 33) adds 0,5 %. In gaining the statistics, the title and epithet units of the table above were simply added from one ruler to another. This means that certain titles or epithets were counted several times, in this way reflecting the choice of using them from one reign to another.

⁹ Although focused on relations (to other members of the royal line), the idea on the *essence* of the king is highlighted here, thus distinguishing the relevant titles and epithets from those of subgroup 2.1.2.

¹⁰ By “close” lineage relations, I include grandfather/son-family connections.

¹¹ CAD T, pp. 94-96.

¹² The used logogram is often A, which can be transcribed both as *māru* and *aplu* (MZL, p. 435). I have chosen to use the former on father/son-relations and the latter on grandfather/son-relations. The latter term has a distinct connotation of “heir” (with son status or not) (CAD A II, p. 174).

little-known 16th century BCE-king who functioned as the ultimate ancestor for later Assyrian kings (Kuhrt 1997: 349). The term *liblibbu* apparently refers to relations to dynastic ancestors in the above-mentioned source attestations.¹³ Occasionally, distant descent relations are spoken of while not mentioning a specific predecessor. Such is the case when Esarhaddon speaks of himself as “valuable scion of Baltil” (*per’u Baltil šūquru*) (ES 51). Baltil was the innermost part of the city Assur, and as such it is much related to the notion of the original branches of the Assyrian royal line (Tadmor 1981: 26-30). The term *per’u* literally refers to a “bud/shoot” of a tree or plant.¹⁴ The titles and epithets of the present subgroup make up 4,7 % of the total corpus.

Proceeding with the titles and epithets that centre on the king’s person, the king’s character (subgroup 1.2) is often a topic in the sources. Here, a distinction between personal qualities in worldly/earthly and divine spheres can be made.¹⁵ The titular group centred on the king’s character consists of 15,1 % of the total corpus.

Regarding the first subgroup on personal qualities in the worldly/earthly sphere (1.2.1), these focus both on coercive and benevolent attributes. The coercive attributes are relatively mild, and the closest one gets to a title or epithet that speaks of violence is probably the epithet “heroic prince” (*rubû qardu*), used by Shamash-shuma-ukin (SH 20). The adjective in question (*qardu*) may imply the use of physical force in a military context, if only indirectly so.¹⁶ Personal qualities centred on royal benevolence are clearly attested. Especially the alleged just and wise character of the Assyrian king is focused on. The adjective *kēnu* is highlighted in the epithet “righteous shepherd” (*rē’û kēnu*), claimed by Esarhaddon, Ashurbanipal, and Shamash-shuma-ukin (ES 52, AS 18, SH 18).¹⁷ As for wisdom, Esarhaddon is here “competent one who knows every craft” (*itpēšu hāsis kal šipri*) (ES 17). The linking of the king’s wisdom and the execution of his office is clearly articulated. As already noted, the theme of royal violence is (at best) only *indirectly* expressed. The titles and epithets of the present subgroup make up 11,6 % of the total titular corpus.

Concerning the subgroup on personal qualities in the divine sphere (1.2.2), these all centre on royal piety, either in act or attitude. Regarding the former, Esarhaddon claims that he is “the provider” (*zāninu*), probably in the divine sphere (ES 96).¹⁸ The Assyrian king here fulfills one of his roles in taking care of the deities, in this case providing their required nourishments. More titles and epithets tell of royal piety in attitude. Esarhaddon here refers to himself as “submissive” (ES 19). This attitude is in contrast to the worldly/earthly sphere in which the Assyrian king never would have acknowledged any inferiority (Karlsson 2016: 147-58). Only in relation to the deities, it was proper for the Assyrian king to exhibit the personal quality in question.¹⁹ Royal piety in the shape of humility towards the divine is told of in the epithet “humble king” (*šarru šahtu*), likewise claimed by Esarhaddon (ES 89).²⁰ Unsurprisingly, the

¹³ CAD L, p. 180.

¹⁴ CAD P, p. 416.

¹⁵ This distinction is somewhat anachronistic, since people in Mesopotamia did not believe in distinctly human or divine spheres (Bottéro 2001). Nevertheless, it is useful for the sake of analytical clarity.

¹⁶ The adjective *qardu* used here also carries a more general sense (CAD Q, pp. 129-31).

¹⁷ This word’s connection with justice is clear. More broadly, it can be translated through terms like “true” and “legitimate”, while still speaking of the king (CAD K, p. 389).

¹⁸ In the context of Esarhaddon requesting earthly favours from the divine, he suddenly states: “Truly I am the provider!” (*lū zāninu anāku*) (RINAP 4, 104:vi15). It is thus more likely that he refers to his providership for the deities, although its freestanding position makes this inconclusive.

¹⁹ The other side’s natural, political inferiority in relation to the Assyrian king is clearly expressed in ancient Assyrian propaganda (Karlsson 2017: 119-22).

²⁰ Alternatively translated as “reverent” (CAD Š I, p. 101).

theme of violence from the hands of the king is totally absent here. The titles and epithets of the present subgroup make up 3,5 % of the total titulary corpus.

Moving on to the titles and epithets that centre on the king's relationships with the worldly/earthly sphere, and which roughly correspond to the epithet types "le roi et son peuple", "le roi et les ennemis", "le roi en campagne et au combat", and "le roi et le monde" in the titulary classification by Seux, a share of these centres on the king's relations to *groups and individuals* (subgroup 2.1). Here, a distinction between the people on the one hand and rulers and officials on the other hand can be made. The titulary group centred on human relations consists of 13,2 % of the total corpus.

The Assyrian king's relations to his people is often highlighted in the sources (2.1.1). Practically all attestations speak of royal benevolence. The single attestation that can be at least indirectly linked to coercion is the title "king of the Amnanu", held by Shamash-shuma-ukin (SH 26). The Amnanu were Amorite (?) tribal groups settled in Babylonia (Leick 2001: 156). Otherwise, benevolence permeates the relevant titles and epithets. Ashur-etel-ilani calls a predecessor "shepherd of the black-headed people" (*rē'û šalmāt qaqqadi*) (*AE 5), employing the pastoral theme of shepherding. From a Sumerian cultural context, "black-headed" refers to "mankind".²¹ Esarhaddon, for his part, claims to be "he who brought stable prices, successful harvests, (and) an abundance of grain to the land" (*maḥīru kīnu ešēru ebūru napāš Nisaba ušaššū ina māti*) (ES 23). It may be noted here that the goddess Nisaba (partly associated with grain) is referred to in this stressing of the king's paternalism (Black and Green 1992: 143). The epithets of this subgroup make up 9,1 % of the total titulary corpus.

Regarding the king's relations to rulers (subservient or rivalling) and officials, the titles and epithets that have such a focus are relatively few. This subgroup (2.1.2) of the titulary is arguably the most likely source for expressions of violence on the part of the Assyrian king. Still, the most aggressive epithet is probably the relatively mild "he who placed all rulers at his feet" (*(ša) gimir malikī ušaknišu šēpuššu*), employed by Esarhaddon and Ashurbanipal (ES 11, AS 7). The other side is merely imagined as subordinate in this context. Comparative approaches are also expressed with regard to the king and other rulers. Esarhaddon and Ashurbanipal are also each "king who [has] no equal in all of the lands" (*šarru ša ina kullat mātāti māḥiri lā [īšū]*) (ES 86, AS 47). Only two attestations centre on officials. In a text written in Sumerian, Sin-balassu-iqbi, governor of Ur, refers to his Assyrian overlord as "his (my) king" (*lugal-a-ni*) (AS 11). As hinted at, royal violence is only indirectly expressed. The titles and epithets of the present subgroup make up 4,2 % of the total titulary corpus.

Proceeding with the titles and epithets that centre on the king's relationships in the worldly/earthly sphere, the king is also connected to various *geographic* entities (subgroup 2.2). The ruler partly pictures himself in relation to Babylonia, partly he portrays himself in relation to lands outside Babylonia or to the world at large. The titulary group centred on the king and lands consists of 22,6 % of the total corpus.

The Assyrian king's relationship with the land of Babylonia is often focused on (2.2.1). A common title that speaks of this is "governor of Babylon" (*šakkanakki Bābili*), held by Sargon II, Esarhaddon, and Shamash-shuma-ukin (SR 5, ES 68, *ES 69, *AS 32, SH 23, *SH 24). It is interesting to note that Ashurbanipal did not bear this title. Supposedly, this would have encroached upon his brother's role as king of Babylon.²² Another standard title for Assyrian rulers of Babylonia is "king of Sumer

²¹ CAD S, pp. 75-76.

²² Likewise, the title "king of Babylon" (*šar Bābili*) is not attested for Ashurbanipal. Conversely, Shamash-shuma-ukin did not take the more ambitious titles "king of the universe" (*šar kiššati*), "king of the four quarters" (*šar kibrāti erbetti*), or "king of Assyria" (*šar māt Aššur*) (*SH 28-30).

and Akkad” (*šar māt Šumeri u Akkadī*), held by the same kings as above, with the noticeable addition of Ashurbanipal (SR 9, ES 76, *ES 77, AS 39, *AS 40, SH 31, *SH 32). This title was perhaps not as directly associated with Babylon as the above or was taken *after* the civil war.²³ Ashur-etel-ilani refers to himself as “provider of Nippur” (ú-a Nibru^{ki}) in a Sumerian text (AE 14). The fact that Assyrian kings chose to compose texts in Sumerian is in itself a testimony to their southern commitments. The attestations of the present subgroup talk of coercion (in the sense of having dominion over Babylonia and its constituent parts) but not directly of violence. The titles and epithets of the present subgroup make up 9,5 % of the total titulary corpus.

Moving on to titulary that tells of the Assyrian king’s relationships with other lands and the world in general (2.2.2), these are commonly attested. The closest one gets to hearing of royal violence is probably in the epithet “conqueror from the Upper Sea to the Lower Sea” (*kāšid ultu tām̄tim elīti adi tām̄tim šaplīti*), held by Esarhaddon (ES 20). The act of “conquering” (*kašādu*) at least indirectly speaks of violence.²⁴ Universal dominion is imagined in this epithet’s referring to the Upper and Lower Seas, i.e. to the Mediterranean and the Persian Gulf (and the land between them). Dominion over the world at large is often claimed. Esarhaddon and Ashurbanipal here portray themselves each as “king of the four quarters” (*šar kibrāti erbetti*) (ES 71, AS 34, *SH 28).²⁵ Dominion over specific lands is also spoken of. Esarhaddon calls himself “king of the kings of (lower) [Egypt], upper Egypt, and [Kush]” (*šar šarrāni māt [Mušri] māt pa-ta-ri-is u [māt Kūsi]*), thus hinting at his African campaigns (ES 78).²⁶ Royal violence is still only indirectly articulated in these contexts. The titles and epithets of the present subgroup make up 13,0 % of the total titulary corpus.

Ending with the titles and epithets that centre on the king’s relationship with the divine, and which roughly correspond to the epithet type “le roi et les dieux” in the titulary classification by Seux, some of these centre on the gods’ and goddesses’ concerns for the king’s status (subgroup 3.1). A distinction between the selected and supported status of the king can be made here. The titulary group centred on the deities as active in relation to the king consists of 11,6 % of the total corpus.

The notion of the divinely selected Assyrian king (3.1.1) is quite often articulated in the titulary. Most often, the term *migru*, meaning “favourite”,²⁷ is then used. Shamash-shuma-ukin e.g. calls himself “favourite of Enlil, Shamash, and Marduk” (*migir Enlil Šamaš u Marduk*) (SH 11), in his being selected by several south-based deities, not the least by Marduk, the tutelary god of Babylon. Another commonly used term to express the king’s favoured status in the eyes of the deities is *nibītu*, meaning “designate”.²⁸ Esarhaddon e.g. presents himself as “designate of Marduk (and) Sarpanitu” (*nibīt Marduk Šarpanītu*) (ES 45), referring to the said god and his consort Sarpanitu as the ones enthroning him. As mentioned above, also the Nippur-based Enlil, king of the gods, is suggested as the source for the Assyrian king’s position of power. Esarhaddon is in one epithet described as “steadfast choice of Enlil” (*itūt kūn libbi Enlil*) (ES 18). In other words, the Assyrian king is presented as the divine world’s choice. The epithets of this subgroup consist of 7,9 % of the total titulary.

²³ Sumer and Akkad are ancient geographic concepts, harking back to the 3rd millennium BCE. The kings of the Third Dynasty of Ur were the first to use this title (Hallo 1957: 77).

²⁴ CAD K, pp. 271-83.

²⁵ Its equivalent in Sumerian, lugal ub-da limmu-ba, was taken by Ashur-etel-ilani (AE 2). The standard title “king of the universe” (*šar kiššati*) may also be noted in this context (SR 7, SN 1, ES 72, *ES 73, AS 35, *AS 36, *SH 29, AE 9, *AE 10).

²⁶ Notably, Seux (1967: 303) only recognizes the *šar māt Mušri*-part in his epithet collection.

²⁷ A “person endowed with divine or royal favor, grace” is described thus (CAD M II, p. 48).

²⁸ The literal meaning speaks of a “person called (by the gods)” (CAD N II, p. 201).

The idea that the Assyrian king received aid from above (3.1.2) is occasionally attested in titulary form. Esarhaddon is “one over whom they extended their eternal protective shade in order to soothe their divine heart(s) and set their mind(s) at rest” (*ana nuḥḥu libbi ilūtišu u nupūš kabattišunu šillušunu dārū itrušū elišu*) (ES 1). The ruler is here protected by the divine “shade” (*šillu*). The same king is also “he who by the force of Ashur, Enlil, Bel, and the Son-of-Bel ruled over all lands” (*ina emūq Aššur Enlil Bēl u mār-Bēl kullat mātāti ibēlu*) (ES 14). Esarhaddon is here helped by the divine “force” (*emūqu*) in his gaining dominion. This is the closest one gets to the idea of royal violence in this subgroup. A special way of supporting the king is mentioned by Esarhaddon in his stating that Marduk was good-tempered in his reign. The ruler is here “king in whose days of reign Marduk had mercy on Babylon (and again) took up his residence in Esagila” (*šarru ša ina ūmē palīšu Marduk ana Bābili salīmu iršū ina Esagil irmū šubassu*) (ES 87). This is of course a reference to the said king’s Babylonian policy, after the destruction of the city by his father Sennacherib (Kuhrt 1997: 582-87). The epithets of this subgroup consist of 3,7 % of the titulary.

Proceeding with the titles and epithets that centre on the king towards the divine, the king is often the active part in this relationship (subgroup 3.2). While the former subgroup corresponds to the subtype “la faveur divine” in the epithet classification of Seux, this one corresponds to “la piété du roi”. The Assyrian ruler is here respecting, building, providing, ritual-enacting, and serving. The titulary group centred on the king as active in the divine sphere consists of 27,2 % of the total corpus.

The king’s piety in question revolved both around action and attitude. As for the latter, the ruler is pictured as respecting the deities (3.2.1).²⁹ The term that is commonly used here is *palāḥu*, meaning “to fear”.³⁰ Ashurbanipal is e.g. presented as “prince who fears him/her” (*rubû pāliḥšu/ša*) (AS 20), referring to his attitude towards the gods Ea, Shamash, and Nabu and the goddess Ishtar-of-Uruk in various building contexts. Another term that speaks of the king’s respecting is *takālu*, meaning “to trust in”.³¹ This term is used in Esarhaddon’s epithet “king who from his youth trusted in Nabu, Tashmetu, and Nanaya” (*šarru ša ultu šehrišu ana Nabû Tašmētum u Nanāya ittaklu*) (ES 88), speaking of all-southern deities, among them the god Nabu. Another way of expressing the king’s respecting is represented by Esarhaddon in his epithet “he who realized their power” (*īmuru danānšun*) (ES 13). The divine sphere’s “power” or “strength” (*danānu*) which the king had “realized” (*amāru*) is spoken of here. Royal violence is not a topic in this subgroup. The titles and epithets of the present subgroup make up 6,7 % of the total titulary corpus.

Turning to piety through *action*, the king often builds for the deities (3.2.2). Participle forms of the verbs *banû* and *epēšu*, meaning “to build/make”,³² are commonly used here. As for the latter,³³ Shamash-shuma-ukin claims to be “he who (re)constructed Esagila” (*ēpiš Esagila*) (*AS 6, SH 3), referring to the temple of Marduk in Babylon. Another common term on the building theme is *edēšu* in the D-stem, meaning “to renew”.³⁴ Esarhaddon uses this term in his epithet “renewer of Eanna” (*muddiḥ Eanna*) (ES 30), speaking of his work on the temple of the goddess

²⁹ The difference between subgroups 1.2.2 (on the king’s personal qualities in the divine sphere) and the present one is that the former does not contain explicit mentioning of deities (not even by suffix pronouns) in its title and epithet corpus, hence being inward and non-relational in character.

³⁰ CAD P, p. 37.

³¹ CAD T, p. 63.

³² CAD B, p. 83 and CAD E, p. 191.

³³ An example of the former is Esarhaddon’s epithet “he who (re)built Esagila” (*bānû Esagila*) (ES 7).

³⁴ CAD E, p. 30.

Ishtar in Uruk. Similarly, Esarhaddon is also “he who perfected (all) the sanctuaries (and) cult centres” (*mušaklil ešrēti (kullat) (u) māhāzī*) (ES 37). The role of the king as master builder could of course include building something new as well as lightly repairing existing structures – and anything in between. Naturally, royal violence is not a topic at all in this context. *Construction* rather than *destruction* is highlighted.³⁵ The titles/epithets of the present subgroup make up 7,7 % of the total corpus.

Another sign of royal piety in actions is his providing for the deities (3.2.3). The words that tell of this role are primarily the participle *zāninu*, meaning “provider”,³⁶ and the verb *kānu* in the D-stem, meaning “to establish (e.g. offerings)”.³⁷ As for the former word, Sargon II presents himself as “provider of Esagila and Ezida” (*zānin Esagil u Ezida*) (SR 13). The latter temple belonged to Nabu in Borsippa. As for the latter word, Shamash-shuma-ukin sees himself as “he who (re)established the regular offerings (in) Esagila (for) the deities of Sumer and Akkad” (*sattukkī Esagil ilāni māt Šumerī u Akkadī ukinnu*) (SH 21), thus displaying his commitment to providing for the deities. The term *sattukku* is commonly used and speaks of offerings of food and drink.³⁸ Esarhaddon, in his turn, is “he who (re)established their income” (*ukinnu isqušun*) (ES 93), speaking of his providing function. Self-evidently, violence from the hands of the Assyrian king is not addressed in this subgroup. The titles and epithets of the present subgroup make up 5,1 % of the total titulary corpus.

There are also titles and epithets that tell of the king as ritual-enacting (3.2.4).³⁹ The terms “procedures” (*simtu*) and “purification rites” (*šuluḥḥu*) are highlighted in Esarhaddon’s epithet “he who put appropriate procedures in the great cult centres (and) has purification rites kept in order” (*ša ina māhāzu rabūti simāti ištakkanu uštēširu šuluḥḥu*) (ES 62). The terms “rites” (*paršu*) and “rituals” (*kidudū*) are centred on in an epithet that is expressed in Ashurbanipal’s texts, namely “he who restored the rites (and) rituals according to the original pattern” (*paršī kidudē kīma labīrimma utēru ašruššun*) (*AS 17). Finally, the ritual of praying is alluded to (through the verb *dalālu*) in Esarhaddon’s epithet “he who from the days of his youth was constantly attentive to their rule and praised their valour” (*ša ultu ūmē šeḥrišu bēlūssunu putūquma qurussunu dallu*) (ES 67). Naturally, royal violence is absent. The titles and epithets of the present subgroup make up 2,1 % of the total titulary corpus.

Royal piety is also expressed through the king’s serving in general (3.2.5).⁴⁰ Esarhaddon e.g. presents himself as “servant” (*ardu*) in his epithet “servant who fears his great divinity” (*ardu pāliḥ ilūtišu rabītim*) (ES 4), while also speaking of respecting in relation to the god Marduk. Another word that is commonly translated as “servant” is *rēšu*.⁴¹ Esarhaddon uses this term as well, here in order to describe himself as “pious servant” (*rēšu mutnennū*) (ES 53), again speaking also of the attitude of respecting deities. A special way of serving deities is spoken of by the same king with regard to accompanying and/or settling deities, just as was expected

³⁵ Destruction is spoken of only as the initial stage of renovations (see e.g. RINAP 4, 2:iv32-53).

³⁶ CAD Z, p. 45.

³⁷ CAD K, p. 159.

³⁸ CAD S, p. 198.

³⁹ The food and drink offerings focused on in the preceding subgroup were also rituals, but arguably less mundane rituals are centred on in the present subgroup, hence the subdivision.

⁴⁰ The titles and epithets sorted in this subgroup are of a “rest”-category, heralded by the epithets which literally speak of the Assyrian king as a servant (*ardu*, *rēšu*) and as being attentive (*na’adu*).

⁴¹ CAD R, p. 277. Suggestively, both this word and *ardu* (CAD A II, p. 243) can also be translated as “slave”, thus conveying the king’s profoundly subordinate status in relation to the deities.

of a good servant in relation to his human or divine master.⁴² The epithet in question appears as “he who returned them from Assyria to their (proper) places” (*ultu qereb māt Aššur ana ašrišunu utēršunūti*) (ES 94). The said ruler here returns godnapped deities.⁴³ The epithets of this subgroup make up 5,6 % of the total titulary corpus.

Concluding remarks

In conclusion, the titulary collected and discussed in this paper clearly shows that there is evidence of a consistent adaptation to the Babylonian cultural milieu in Assyrian royal titles and epithets attested in Assyrian royal inscriptions from or on Babylonia, at least if defining temple building and other peaceful themes as typically southern ideology components, and if judging themes on violence as peripheral in the south.

Firstly, the emphasis on the king’s relationship with the deities (corresponding to Seux’s epithet type “le roi et les dieux” and its two subtypes) is noteworthy. When including the subgroup 1.2.2 (on the king’s character in the divine sphere), the titulary that has such a focus constitute as much as 42,3 %. Secondly (and more importantly), there is not a single title or epithet in the sources that *directly* tells of violence from the hands of the Assyrian king. The closest one gets to this theme is probably through the epithet that centres on the king as “conqueror” (*kāšidu*) (ES 20) of a certain area and the one which states that the king had placed all rulers at his feet (*kanāšu Š*) (ES 11, AS 7). The sources focused on in the present study clearly stand out because of their scarcity of Seux’s epithet types “le roi en campagne et au combat” and “le roi et les ennemis”. Assyrian titulary in Babylonia was greatly adapted to its spatial context.

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⁴² A vital servant quality of a Mesopotamian ruler was his attentiveness (to the wishes and commands of the deities), as evidenced e.g. on the statues of the Sumerian ruler Gudea, with his enlarged eyes and ears (Winter 1989). A common term in Akkadian for “attentive” is *na’adu*, and this word is attested e.g. in Esarhaddon’s epithet “attentive ruler” (*malku na’adu*) (ES 24).

⁴³ The term “godnapping” refers to the seizing of cult statues belonging to enemy polities, notably with the purpose of punishing and/or extorting the polities in question (Holloway 2001).

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Appendix

The table below lists all Assyrian royal inscriptions from or on Babylonia known to me. Info on publication, object type, genre, language, and origin are provided.⁴⁴

text	object	genre	language	origin
RIMB 2 B.6.22.1	brick	dedicatory	Akkadian	Babylon, Kish
RIMB 2 B.6.22.2	brick	dedicatory	Sumerian	Babylon
RIMB 2 B.6.22.3	cylinder	dedicatory	Akkadian	Uruk
RIMB 2 B.6.22.4	brick	commemorative	Akkadian	Uruk
RIMB 2 B.6.22.5	brick	dedicatory	Sumerian	Uruk
RIMB 2 B.6.22.6	brick	dedicatory	Sumerian	Uruk
RINAP 3/2, text 232	paving stone	tag/label	Akkadian	Babylon
RINAP 3/2, text 233	lion-head finial	commemorative	Akkadian	Sippar/Nineveh?
RINAP 4, text 104	prism	commemorative	Akkadian	Babylon, Assur, Sippar
RINAP 4, text 105	prism	commemorative	Akkadian	Babylon
RINAP 4, text 106	prism, tablet	commemorative	Akkadian	Babylon
RINAP 4, text 107	prism	commemorative	Akkadian	Babylon
RINAP 4, text 108	prism	commemorative	Akkadian	Nineveh
RINAP 4, text 109	prism	commemorative	Akkadian	Nineveh
RINAP 4, text 110	prism	commemorative	Akkadian	Babylon?
RINAP 4, text 111	prism	commemorative	Akkadian	Babylon?
RINAP 4, text 112	prism	commemorative	Akkadian	Sippar
RINAP 4, text 113	cylinder	commemorative	Akkadian	Babylon
RINAP 4, text 114	cuboid stone	commemorative	Akkadian	Babylon?
RINAP 4, text 115	prism, cuboid stone	caption/epigraph	Akkadian?	Babylon
RINAP 4, text 116	tablet	commemorative	Akkadian	Nineveh
RINAP 4, text 117	tablet	commemorative	Akkadian	Nineveh
RINAP 4, text 118	cylinder seal	dedicatory	Akkadian	Babylon
RINAP 4, text 119	brick	dedicatory	Akkadian	Babylon
RINAP 4, text 120	brick	dedicatory	Akkadian	Babylon
RINAP 4, text 121	brick	dedicatory	Akkadian	Babylon
RINAP 4, text 122	brick	dedicatory	Akkadian	Babylon
RINAP 4, text 123	brick	dedicatory	Akkadian	Babylon
RINAP 4, text 124	brick	dedicatory	Akkadian	Babylon
RINAP 4, text 125	brick	dedicatory	Akkadian	Babylon
RINAP 4, text 126	brick	dedicatory	Sumerian	Babylon
RINAP 4, text 127	cylinder	commemorative	Akkadian	Borsippa
RINAP 4, text 128	cylinder	dedicatory	Akkadian	Nippur
RINAP 4, text 129	cylinder	dedicatory	Akkadian	Nippur
RINAP 4, text 130	cylinder	dedicatory	Akkadian	Nippur?
RINAP 4, text 131	brick	dedicatory	Akkadian	Nippur
RINAP 4, text 132	brick	dedicatory	Akkadian	Nippur

⁴⁴ The inscriptions are ordered chronologically. The classifying according to literary genre is, in some respects, admittedly rather coarse. The difference between dedicatory and commemorative inscriptions is simply that the former starts with the dative pre/postposition “to (DN(N))” (*ana/-ra*). A reader of this article (whose comments I am thankful for) suggested that additional texts can be found in: RINAP 3/2, nos. 230-31; RINAP 4, nos. 44-45, 48-49, 51-53, 1011; BIWA (=Borger 1996), prisms H1-4, prism J7, “Weihinschrift an Marduk”, “Nergal-Laš-Inschrift”; SAACT 10 (=Novotny 2014), no. 18.

RINAP 4, text 133	cylinder	dedicatory	Akkadian	Uruk
RINAP 4, text 134	cylinder	dedicatory	Akkadian	Uruk
RINAP 4, text 135	cylinder	dedicatory	Akkadian	Uruk
RINAP 4, text 136	cylinder	dedicatory	Akkadian	Uruk?
RINAP 4, text 137	brick	dedicatory	Akkadian	Uruk
RINAP 4, text 138	brick	dedicatory	Akkadian	Uruk
RINAP 4, text 139	brick	dedicatory	Akkadian	Uruk
RINAP 4, text 1001	prism	commemorative	Akkadian	Sippar
RINAP 4, text 1002	prism	commemorative	Akkadian	Sippar
RINAP 4, text 1003	prism	commemorative	Akkadian	Sippar/Babylon/ Borsippa?
RINAP 4, text 1004	prism	commemorative	Akkadian	Nineveh
RINAP 4, text 1010	tablet	commemorative	Akkadian	Uruk
RIMB 2 B.6.32.1	cylinder	dedicatory	Akkadian	Babylon
RIMB 2 B.6.32.2	stele	commemorative	Akkadian	Babylon
RIMB 2 B.6.32.3	cylinder	commemorative	Akkadian	Babylon
RIMB 2 B.6.32.4	cylinder	commemorative	Akkadian	Babylon
RIMB 2 B.6.32.5	cylinder	commemorative	Akkadian	Babylon
RIMB 2 B.6.32.6	stele	commemorative	Akkadian	Babylon
RIMB 2 B.6.32.7	brick	dedicatory	Akkadian	Babylon
RIMB 2 B.6.32.8	brick	dedicatory	Akkadian	Babylon
RIMB 2 B.6.32.9	brick	dedicatory	Sumerian	Babylon
RIMB 2 B.6.32.10	brick	dedicatory	Akkadian	Babylon
RIMB 2 B.6.32.11	brick	dedicatory	Akkadian	Babylon
RIMB 2 B.6.32.12	cylinder	commemorative	Akkadian	Sippar
RIMB 2 B.6.32.13	stele	dedicatory	Akkadian	Borsippa
RIMB 2 B.6.32.14	cylinder	commemorative	Akkadian	Borsippa
RIMB 2 B.6.32.15	cylinder	dedicatory	Akkadian	Nippur
RIMB 2 B.6.32.16	brick	dedicatory	Sumerian	Nippur
RIMB 2 B.6.32.17	brick	dedicatory	Sumerian	Nippur
RIMB 2 B.6.32.18	brick	dedicatory	Sumerian	Nippur
RIMB 2 B.6.32.19	brick	dedicatory	Akkadian	Uruk
RIMB 2 B.6.32.20	cylinder	commemorative	Akkadian	Nineveh
RIMB 2 B.6.32.21	brick	dedicatory	Akkadian	Dur-Kurigalzu
RIMB 2 B.6.32.22	brick	dedicatory	Akkadian	Me-Turran
RIMB 2 B.6.32.23	tablet	commemorative	Akkadian	Borsippa?
RIMB 2 B.6.32.2001	door socket	dedicatory	Sumerian	Ur
RIMB 2 B.6.32.2002	cone	dedicatory	Sumerian	Ur
RIMB 2 B.6.32.2003	brick	dedicatory	Sumerian	Ur
RIMB 2 B.6.32.2004	brick	dedicatory	Sumerian	Ur
RIMB 2 B.6.32.2005	brick	dedicatory	Sumerian	Ur
RIMB 2 B.6.32.2006	brick	dedicatory	Sumerian	Ur
RIMB 2 B.6.32.2007	brick	dedicatory	Sumerian	Ur
RIMB 2 B.6.32.2008	brick	dedicatory	Sumerian	Ur
RIMB 2 B.6.32.2009	brick	dedicatory	Sumerian	Ur
RIMB 2 B.6.32.2010	brick	dedicatory	Sumerian	Ur
RIMB 2 B.6.32.2011	brick	dedicatory	Sumerian	Ur
RIMB 2 B.6.32.2012	brick	dedicatory	Sumerian	Ur
RIMB 2 B.6.32.2013	brick	dedicatory	Sumerian	Ur
RIMB 2 B.6.32.2014	cone	dedicatory	Sumerian	Ur
RIMB 2 B.6.32.2015	disk	dedicatory	Akkadian	Ur
RIMB 2 B.6.32.2016	-	commemorative	Akkadian	Ur
RIMB 2 B.6.33.1	cylinder	commemorative	Akkadian,	Sippar

			Sumerian	
RIMB 2 B.6.33.2	brick	dedicatory	Sumerian	Sippar
RIMB 2 B.6.33.3	stele	commemorative	Akkadian	Borsippa
RIMB 2 B.6.33.4	cylinder	dedicatory	Akkadian	Borsippa
RIMB 2 B.6.33.5	tablet	dedicatory	Akkadian	Borsippa?
RIMB 2 B.6.33.6	cylinder	commemorative	Akkadian	Babylon?
RIMB 2 B.6.33.2001	tablet	dedicatory	Akkadian	Ur/Uruk?
RIMB 2 B.6.35.1	tablet	dedicatory	Akkadian	Babylon?
RIMB 2 B.6.35.2	tablet	dedicatory	Akkadian	Babylon
RIMB 2 B.6.35.3	brick	dedicatory	Akkadian	Dilbat?
RIMB 2 B.6.35.4	brick	dedicatory	Sumerian	Nippur?
RIMB 2 B.6.35.5	cylinder, tablet	commemorative	Akkadian	Babylon?