

ЭСАГИЛА И ЦАРИ ПЕРВОЙ ВАВИЛОНСКОЙ ДИНАСТИИ

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Храм Эсагила, являвшийся главным храмом города Вавилона и его верховного бога Мардука, был важным религиозным центром Месопотамии со времени установления в городе местной царской династии и особенно после завоеваний царя Хаммурапи. С идеологической точки зрения поддержка храмов и живущих в них богов была главной обязанностью любого месопотамского правителя. Рассматриваются данные клинописных источников о взаимоотношениях главного храма бога Мардука с царской властью в старовавилонский период (2003–1595 гг. до н. э.). Анализируются данные датировочных формул периода Первой Вавилонской династии относительно храмов, в особенности храма Эсагила. Исследуются также отрывки пролога и эпилога Законов Хаммурапи, касающиеся Эсагила. Делаются следующие выводы: цари Вавилона устанавливали культовые предметы в храме, проводили обновительные работы в нем, а также совершали подношения различных предметов богам Эсагила; в Законах Хаммурапи уделяется внимание особым отношениям царя с храмом Мардука; в период правления Хаммурапи в храме осуществлялся суд.

Ключевые слова: Вавилон; вавилонская религия; религиозная архитектура; Хаммурапи.

ЭСАГІЛА І ЦАРЫ ПЕРШАЙ ВАВІЛОНСКАЙ ДЫНАСТЫІ

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Храм Эсагіла, які з'яўляўся галоўным храмам горада Вавілона і яго вярхоўнага бога Мардука, быў важным рэлігійным цэнтрам Месапатаміі з часу ўстанаўлення ў горадзе мясцовай царскай дынастыі і асабліва пасля заваёў цара Хамурапі. З ідэалагічнага пункту гледжання падтрымка храмаў і багоў, якія жывуць у іх, была галоўным абавязкам любога месопатамскага кіраўніка. У артыкуле разглядаюцца даныя клінапісных крыніц аб узаемаадносінах галоўнага храма бога Мардука з царскай уладай у старававілонскі перыяд (2003–1595 гг. да н. э.). Аналізуюцца даныя датавальных формул перыяду Першай Вавілонскай дынастыі адносна храмаў, пераважна храма Эсагіла. Даследуюцца таксама ўрывкі пралога і эпілога Законаў Хамурапі, якія тычацца Эсагіла. У артыкуле зроблены наступныя высновы: цары Вавілона ўсталёўвалі культавыя прадметы ў храме, праводзілі абнаўленчыя працы ў ім, а таксама рабілі дары розных прадметаў багам Эсагіла; у Законах Хамурапі надаецца ўвага асаблівым адносінам цара з храмам Мардука; у перыяд кіравання Хамурапі ў храме ажыццяўляўся суд.

Ключавыя словы: Вавілон; вавілонская рэлігія; культавая архітэктур; Хамурапі.

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ESAGIL AND THE KINGS OF THE FIRST BABYLONIAN DYNASTY

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The Esagila temple, which was the main temple of the city of Babylon and its supreme god Marduk, has been an important religious center of Mesopotamia since the establishment of the local royal dynasty in the city and especially after the conquests of king Hammurabi. From an ideological point of view, the support of the temples and the gods living in them was the main duty of any Mesopotamian ruler. In this article the data of cuneiform sources on the relationship of the main temple of the god Marduk with the royal power in the Old Babylonian period (2003–1595 BC) are considered. The data of the year-formulas of the kings of the First Babylonian dynasty regarding the temples of their kingdom and, in particular, the Esagil temple are analysed. Excerpts from the prologue and epilogue of the Laws of Hammurabi concerning Esagil are also studied. The following conclusions are made in the article: the kings of Babylon installed cult objects in the temple, carried out renovation work in it, and also made offerings of various objects to the gods of Esagila; in the Laws of Hammurabi, particular attention is paid to the special relationship of the king with the temple of Marduk; judicial activity was carried out under Hammurabi, although it is not clear who carried it out, the temple staff or the judges of the king.

Keywords: Babylon; Babylonian religion; religious architecture; Hammurabi.

Introduction

Kingship and temples of the gods were the two foundational institutions of Mesopotamian civilisation. For a long time it was believed that initially the political power in the Mesopotamian cities was held by the king-priest and the temple was the center of political life. This concept is known by the German name «Tempelstadt» and has not been popular lately (cf. [1, S. 445–447]). The relationship between kings and temples was rather complementary in nature, with a clear dependence of temples on the central government [1, S. 458–459]. In the Mesopotamian cuneiform sources, there are practically no indications of the antagonism between the royal power and the priesthood. As a rule, the king acts as a «patron» (Sum. *saĝ-ús*, Akk. *zāninu*; further in the article, the text in the Sumerian language is not specially highlighted, the text in the Akkadian language is italicised, obscure words or passages are indicated by a question mark (?), broken parts of the text are indicated by square brackets [...]) of the main temples of his state.

However, the Mesopotamian cities and the area surrounding them nominally belonged to the main deities of these cities, while the king acted as a representative of the main god or goddess. This state of affairs was also reflected in the royal titles, for example, in the royal inscriptions of the Babylonian kings of the second half of the 2nd millennium BC the title *šakkanaku*¹ often appears [2, p. 34]. The Akkadian term *šakkanaku* has the basic meaning 'military governor, governor' and in this case indicates the subordinate position of the earthly king in relation to the real king, in this case, the god.

The king's relationship with the gods was an important part of the king's ideology. Thus, the royal inscriptions of the rulers of city-states and empires of the 3rd millennium BC, as a rule, either have a votive character or tell about the construction or renovation of the dwellings

of the gods. Babylonian kings of later periods generally follow the same pattern. We can say that from the point of view of ideology, the support of temples was the main duty of the Mesopotamian ruler [3, p. 726–729].

The king also participated in temple rituals. One of the most famous rituals involving the king is the ceremony of the «sacred marriage» (usually known by its Greek names *ιερός γάμος*, *ιερογαμία*) of the ruler with the goddess, most often Inanna, known from texts and iconography of 3rd and early 2nd millennium BC. This ritual included the king pouring liquid into a special vessel, symbolising the goddess, and had sexual connotations [4, p. 227–245]. Another famous example of the participation of the king in temple rituals is a Babylonian New Year's festival, known from copies of the Hellenistic time, during which the king temporarily lost, and then received from Marduk (through the high priest of Esagil) the attributes of royal power [5, p. 78–87, 215–237]. Mesopotamian rulers often had priestly titles: for example, part of the title of the kings of the Third dynasty of Ur was the title *išib an-na* 'išib-priest of the god An'; at the same time, it is not clear whether the kings actually performed priestly functions or whether these titles were only honorary [6, p. 258].

In addition to renovating and building temples, the king also supplied the temples with precious metal products as offerings and meat and delicacies for sacrifices. The kings also provided temples with land and other sources of livelihood to ensure the permanence of sacrifices [7, p. 273–274]. This policy continued until the Persian conquest of Babylonia.

The Esagil temple (*é-saĝ-il*; sometimes also called Esagila), being the principal sanctuary of Babylon's patron god Marduk and his consort Šarpanitum, was an important religious site since Old Babylonian period.

¹Arno Poebel called this title «religious» (see: *Poebel A. Miscellaneous studies*. Chicago : Univ. of Chicago Press, 1947. P. 5).

The goal of this paper is to examine the relationship of the kings of Babylon with Esagil. Two types of written cuneiform sources can be used for this examination, year-formulas of the kings of the First Babylonian dynasty, and so-called Laws of Hammurabi (Codex

Hammurabi). Accordingly, this paper has two tasks: to analyse data from the year-formulas regarding Esagil and royal temple policy in general, and to investigate relevant passages from the Laws of Hammurabi which mention the temple or its associated cultic personnel.

Year-formulas

The year-formulas (dating formulas) of the kings of the First Babylonian dynasty (ca. 1895–1595 BC) are chronologically the first type of source from which information about the position of Esagil in the 2nd millennium BC can be obtained. In ancient Mesopotamia, there were several systems for dating legal and administrative documents. In Babylonia from the middle of the 3rd millennium BC until the fall of the First Babylonian dynasty (ca. early 16th century BC), a system of dating formulas was used, later replaced by a dating system based on the numerical values of the years of the king's reign. In Assyria, dating by the years of the reign of the king was supplemented by a system of dating by the names of *limmu*-officials, who held office in a certain year [8, p. 277–278].

Year-formulas are a description of some event that occurred in the previous year of the reign of a certain king [9, p. 196]. Lists of dating formulas are known, according to which it is possible to restore their chronological sequence. Formulas of the Old Babylonian period (ca. 20–16th centuries BC), as a rule, are written in Sumerian, some of them have variants in Akkadian [8, p. 277]. Different documents used different wordings of the same formula, often abbreviated [9, p. 197–198]. The dating formulas reflected various events related to the royal policy: military operations, digging of canals, construction of fortresses, restoration of temples, royal offerings of cult objects to gods and temples, etc. Descriptions of royal offerings are found in about a third of known formulas of the kings of the First Babylonian dynasty (ca. early 19th – ca. early 16th century BC). First of all, we must analyse the information of the formulas themselves. In order to compare the position of Esagil and other temples in the Old Babylonian period, we must also analyse the dating formulas in which these temples are mentioned. As for the nature of the objects, there are several types of cult objects presented by kings to gods and temples²: ^{ges}ig 'door'; ^{ges}banšur 'table'; ^{ges}gu-za 'chair, stool, throne'; alam 'statue; form', *šalmu* 'statue'; balag li-li-š 'kettledrum'; níĝ na₄ 'precious cups in stone'; túg 'textile, garment'; aga 'tiara, crown'; šu-nir 'emblem'; barag 'dais, seat'; ^dlama '(female) tutelary deity; figurine', *lamassu*; ^{ges}tukul 'stick; weapon'; ki

lugal gub-ba 'royal platforms, royal stall (?)'; níĝ bab-bar-ra 'a shining object'; ^{ges}aš-te 'chair, throne; seat, dwelling; shrine, chapel; a unit of area'; šíta 'a weapon'; aš-me 'radiance; sun-disk ornament'; nim-gír-a 'lightning forks'; gunni 'brazier'; ^{ges}dúr-gar 'throne'; ^{urudu}du₈ throne platform for a deity'.

Dating formulas often indicate the attributes of certain other royal offerings. For example, ^{ges}gu-za is often called barag maĝ 'majestic dais'. Royal statues, the number of which increases significantly under the later Babylonian kings, often contain in their name an indication of the political power of the king, for example, alan nam-lugal 'statue of royalty'.

The materials used in the manufacture of royal offerings were, as a rule, precious and semi-precious metals and stones:

- kug-babbar 'silver';
- kug-sig₁₇ 'gold';
- ^{na4}za-gin 'lapis lazuli';
- ^{na4}nír 'precious stone';
- urudu 'copper';
- ^{na4}du₈-šu₂-a 'stone, turquoise (?), quartz (?)';
- ^{na4}sikil 'stone'.

As for the cities, to whose temples and gods the kings of the First Babylonian dynasty made offerings, it should be noted that the geography of these offerings was practically limited to the original territory of the Babylonian kingdom, even after the conquests of king Hammurabi. There is no mention of offerings to the temples of Sumer, although it is known from royal inscriptions that the kings of Babylon carried out the restorations of many temples in the south [10, p. 349–354].

The following cities are mentioned in formulas in connection with royal offerings:

- Babylon;
- Sippar;
- Kutha (probably; only a temple of Negral is mentioned);
- Dilbat;
- Kish.

The dating formulas refer to a number of temples in the city of Babylon. First of all, we should mention the Esagil temple, the main cult center of the god Marduk and the whole city.

²Information from year-formulas are gathered from the following editions: Recherche de Nom(s) d'année par Dynastie / Roi / Année [Ressource électronique]// ARCHIBAB. URL: <http://www.archibab.fr/4DCGI/recherche11.htm> (date of access: 15.10.2022); Horsnell M. J. A. The year-names of the First dynasty of Babylon. Hamilton: McMaster Univ. Press, 1999. 443 p.; Mesopotamian year names. Neo-Sumerian and Old Babylonian date formulae [Electronic resource]. URL: https://cdli.ucla.edu/tools/yearnames/yn_index.html (date of access: 15.10.2022). Sumerian terms are translated according to the most complete «Electronic Pennsylvania Sumerian Dictionary» [Electronic resource]. URL: <http://oracc.museum.upenn.edu/epsd2/index.html> (date of access: 15.10.2022).

The formulas mention the Babylonian cult centers of the moon god Sin – the temple of Ekishnugal (é-kiš-nu-ġál) [11, p. 114] and the temple Eniteendu (é-ni-te-endu₁₀) [11, p. 132]. Enamtila (é-nam-til-la) is mentioned in connection with royal offerings to the gods Enlil and Ninurta [11, p. 130]. The deities Ishtar (*Bēlet-Bābili*), Nanaya and Anu are mentioned in connection with the Babylonian temple of Eturkalamma (é-tūr-kalam-ma) [11, p. 151]. Finally, several formulas refer to offerings to the temple of the thunder god Adad, Enamhe (é-nam-ĥé) [11, p. 129–130]. Images of lightning can act as such offerings.

An important place among the temples of Babylonia was occupied by the Ebabbar temple (é-babbar) of the sun god Shamash, which was located in the city of Sippar near Babylon. Many dating formulas are devoted to offerings of kings to the gods of this temple, Shamash and the goddess Aya [11, p. 70]. It is noteworthy that images of the solar disk often served as offerings to Shamash.

One dating formula of Sin-muballit is dedicated to the offering of the throne (é^{es}gu-za) to the god Nergal (lugal-gudu-a). The formula does not indicate either the temple or the city in which this offering was made, but it can be assumed that the offering was made to the Emeslam temple in the city of Kutha, the main cult center of Nergal [11, p. 126–127].

The formulas of the 27th year of king Ammi-ditana and the 16th year of king Samsu-ditana are dedicated to offerings to the god Urash, presumably to the temple of E-ibbi-Anum in Dilbat [11, p. 102].

Several formulas relate to gifts to the temples of the city of Kish.

Thus, according to the data of dating formulas, first of all the kings of Babylon were the patrons of the temples of Marduk in the capital and Shamash in Sippar. Cumulatively, the temples of Babylon received the largest number of royal gifts.

The purpose of these royal gifts can sometimes be understood from the very text of the dating formula. For example, in the formula of the 27th year of king Samsu-iluna, certain «luminous objects» (níġ babbar-ra) for Adad are defined as «a sacrifice worthy of the *akitu*-festival» (sískur-ra me-te a-ki-tum). Royal platforms are called «worthy for nesaġ-sacrifice» (me-te ne-saġ-ġá-šē). The throne for Sin itself can act as a nesaġ-sacrifice. The Akkadian term *šarākum* ‘gift’ is used to describe the throne for Shamash. In this case, the connection with the royal inscriptions is interesting, wherein king Samsu-iluna receives *šeriktum* ‘gift’ (a word derived from *šarākum*) from the gods as a reward for building fortresses [10, p. 382–383]. Finally, the use of precious metals and stones to create cult objects may have more than an obvious prestige value. Royal gifts and statues were part of the cult space of the temple, which, like everything related to the divine, according to Mesopotamian ideas, had a «terrifying glow»; thus, the objects in the temple must also have had such a glow, in this case in a completely physical sense.

Having given a description of the data of the dating formulas regarding all the temples, we will consider the

data of the formulas regarding Esagil specifically. The temple is mentioned numerous times in the formulas, chronologically spanning 226 years, starting from 10th year of the reign of king Sabium (1835 BC) and ending with the 17th year of the reign of king Samsu-ditana (1609 BC). Some of them have different variants that complement each other (see, for example, Hammurabi 22; number after kings’ names refers to their regnal years). Most of the formulas are written in Sumerian, the annual formula of the 14th year of the reign of king Ammi-ditana (1670 BC) also has an Akkadian version. Most often, the temple is mentioned in the formulas of Ammi-ditana (four times). Also of note are the (abbreviated) annual formulas that mention royal offerings to the deities of Esagil without mentioning the temple itself, or with mention of it in the spelling é^damarutu (*bit Marduk* ‘temple of Marduk’). There are two of these formulas in total: Sumu-la-el 22; Samsu-iluna 19.

In the 22nd year of the reign of king Sumu-la-el, we meet the first mention of the royal offering to Marduk in the dating formulas: it is said that the king made (mu-un-na-dím) for the god «a throne on a majestic elevation, finished with gold and silver» (ġis^{gu}-za bárag maġ kug-sig₁₇ kug-babbar-ta šu-du₇-a). M. Horsnell believes that in the full version of this formula, the expression é^dmarduk=ak=ra* ‘for the temple of Marduk’ was used, although it is well known that the dative case indicator -ra is not used with words of the inanimate gender [9, p. 54], so it is more likely that the temple is not mentioned in this formula. The next mention of the temple of Marduk refers to the 10th year of the reign of Sabium, in the dating formula of which the temple first appears in the sources under its usual name: it is said that the king «built» (mu-un-dū) Esagila. In modern studies, however, it is believed that the temple was not built by king Sabium; only renovation works were carried out [11, p. 139; 12, p. 251].

After those mentions the temple disappears for a long time from the dating formulas and reappears in the reign of king Hammurabi. The dating formula of his 22nd year speaks of the installation in the temple of «a copper statue of Hammurabi, the king of justice» (urudu₁₇alam ġa-am-mu-ra-bi lugal niġ-si-sá). This formula is remarkable because in it we see for the first time the practice of establishing cult images in the temple; as will be seen below, this was the most common form of royal offerings to the temple. The name of this statue is also noteworthy (see below in the subsection dedicated to the Laws of Hammurabi). During the reign of Hammurabi’s successor, king Samsu-iluna, Esagil is mentioned in the relevant sources four times: in two different variants of the formula of the 6th year, as well as in the formulas of the 7th and 25th years. The formula of the 19th year of the reign of Samsu-iluna also mentions an offering to Marduk and the goddess Šarpanitum, most likely made in Esagil. The first version of the annual formula for the 6th year of the reign of this king is the most detailed description of the royal offering to Esagil: it is said that Samsu-iluna installed (i-ni-in-ku₄-ra) in

the temples of Marduk and Shamash, «created things that they desired, (namely) statues of prayer, guardian gods of gold proclaiming justice (?)». The second version of this year's formula does not mention the offering to Shamash, but specifies the material from which the statue of the king in the prayer position was made (from lapis lazuli; alan... za-gìn-na ì-šùd-dè). In the 7th year of Samsu-iluna's reign, a «strong weapon» (^{gēs}tukul ka-lag) and a «majestic emblem» (šu-nir maḥ) for Marduk were presented into the temple. It is also said that this ritual weapon was covered with «reddish gold and silver» (kug-sig₁₇ kug-babbar huš gar-ra) and that the king «made it shine in Esagil... like a heavenly star» (é-sag-íl-la-ka mul an-gin₇ mi-ni-in-mul). The emblem is also called «the shining thing». In the 25th year of the reign of Samsu-iluna, another statue of the king appeared in Esagil: Samsu-iluna was depicted holding a weapon of reddish gold, and his body parts (or form) showed his heroism. The 19th year formula refers to the offering to Marduk and Šarpanitum of «two thrones of gold and silver on a majestic dais» (^{gēs}gu-za bárag maḥ kug-sig₁₇ kug-babbar-ta).

The next king, Abi-ešuh, marked the 9th year of his reign by erecting a statue in Esagil depicting the heroism of Marduk and Šarpanitum.

Under the successor of Abi-ešuh, king Ammi-ditana, the annual formulas often mention the establishment of various statues in Esagil: in the 5th year of the reign, a statue of the king was erected, depicting him as a rince (alan nam-nun-na-ni), in the 7th year – a statue of a raying king with a scepter and a statue with a sacrificial lamb in his hands, in the 14th year – a statue of the king depicting his courage (alan nam-šul-la-a-ni, *šalam meṭlūtīšu*), covered with reddish gold (kug-sig₁₇ sur-ra, *ša hurašim šāririm*) and beautiful (?) stone (na₄ níḡ diri-diri, *ša abnim atartim*). The last statue was dedicated to the god Nabu (*ana Nabium*), who was first a member of the court, and later the son of Marduk. The last mention of the temple in the annual formulas of Ammi-ditana refers to the 24th year: the king presented Marduk with «the chosen mace and weapon of red gold and *dušú-stone*» (*šita₂ gīs tukul-la-bi-da-ke₄ íb-diri-ge-eš-a kug-sig₁₇ sur-ra na₄ du₈-ši-a-bi-da-ke₄*).

The next king, Ammi-šaduka, mentions Esagil in the formula of the 4th year of his reign: it is said that the king presented Marduk with «a great emblem of gold, silver, lapis lazuli [...]» (šu-nir gal-gal-la kug-sig₁₇ kug-babbar na₄ za-gìn-na [...]).

Year-formulas of the last king of the First Babylonian dynasty mention the presentation of «a mace, a majestic weapon» (*šita₂ gīs mitum maḥ-a*) to Marduk in the 6th year of his reign, erection of the statue of the king in the 12th year and presentation of «brazier of pure hammered (?) silver» (*gunni kug-babbar ù-tu-da dadag-ga*) for the goddess Šarpanitum in the 14th year of the reign. We see that the year-formulas are largely formulary in nature. Thus, the information of these sources regarding the position of Esagil is quite uniform. In general, three areas of royal activity can be distinguished regarding temple:

1) renovation work (mentioned once during the reign of king Sabium);

2) establishment of cult objects. This is first of all various statues (alan, *šalmum*): numerous statues of kings (only eight are mentioned), statues of Marduk and Šarpanitum; images of guardian gods (^dlama);

3) offerings of various objects to the gods of Esagila. Most often it is a cult weapon (^{gīs}tukul, šu-nir, *šita₂, gīs mitum*) for Marduk.

Attention should be paid to the terminology used in dating formulas. Images or statues of kings and gods, mentioned in our sources often have names with different abstract categories, such as alan nam-ur-sag-ga 'statue of heroism'. Often they are given in modern literature descriptive translations («a statue depicting the king as a hero»). It's hard today to say how, for example, the statue of courage differed from the statue of heroism, since this issue is not addressed in the sources. However, it can be said that the names of these statues expressed the ideology of royal power, because all they include positive categories related to the implementation authorities:

- heroism (nam-ur-sag);
- courage (nam-šul; *meṭlūtum*);
- princely state (nam-nun).

In addition, two times our sources mention statues of prayers (alan šùd-(šùd)-dè), probably depicting a prayer gesture of the king (folded hands). Installing a similar statue in the temple, the king was probably emphasising his piety. As regards the royal offerings to Esagil, their character was probably associated with the nature of royal power and the image of the god Marduk. In dating formulas, it is most often indicated from which materials were made or covered with certain cult items dedicated to the temple. Among them are mentioned the following:

- gold (kug-sig₁₇; sometimes its «reddish» (huš) is mentioned shade or high quality (sur-ra, *šārirum*));
- silver (kug-babbar; once there is a mention of «pure and hammered» (*ù-tu-da dadag-ga*) silver);
- lapis lazuli (^{na₄}za-gín);
- *dušú-stone* (^{na₄}du₈-ši-a);
- beautiful (?) stone (^{na₄}níḡ-diri-diri, *abnum atartum*).

Gold, silver and lapis lazuli were often associated with temples and, as a rule, were present in them in one form or another. Gold and silver are precious metals, so their use for offerings to temples and mention in dating formulas can be regarded as a means of maintaining the prestige of the king. Lapis lazuli was one of the most valued (semi)precious stones in ancient Mesopotamia. It symbolised divinity, life, fertility, desire, sexuality, beauty and perfection. The verb most commonly used for installing a statue or other cult object in a temple is ku₄.r. It has basic meanings 'enter; bring inside'; in some cases it can also mean 'to bring into the presence of (someone)'. The compound verb a-ru 'to donate' is also used. In relation to some cult objects, the verb dim 'to make, create' is used.

THE LAWS OF HAMMURABI

Among the royal inscriptions of the Old Babylonian period, which relate to our topic, the most detailed are the Laws of Hammurabi. In this monument of cuneiform legal literature, there are three main parts: the prologue, the actual text of the laws (modern researchers distinguish about 282 separate paragraphs) and the epilogue. The prologue and epilogue are written in the first person, following the type of royal inscriptions, in the Old Babylonian literary dialect of the Akkadian language. In all three parts of the document, information about the Babylonian temple of Marduk can be gleaned. The text of the laws is also notable for the fact that some researchers see in it the first traces of the primacy of Marduk in the Mesopotamian pantheon. At the beginning of the prologue of the Laws of Hammurabi, it is said about the transfer of supreme power to Babylon on three levels: this is, firstly, the receipt by Marduk of «dominion over all people» from the gods Anu and Enlil, and secondly, the recognition by these gods of Babylon as a place of «eternal kingship» (this is a new motif in Mesopotamian ideology; in the Sumerian king list, for example, kingship is transferred from city to city) and, finally, the calling of king Hammurabi to establish justice in the country [13, column I, lines 1–49].

Then in the text there is a description of the state of Hammurabi, which is reduced to listing the various deeds that the king carried out for the cities and their temples [13, column I, line 50, – column V, line 13]. In general, most of the cities in the Laws of Hammurabi are mentioned in connection with their main temples and gods, which in a sense illustrates the place of the temple in the ideology of Hammurabi's time. The first such link is Nippur and the temple of the head of the Enlil pantheon, Ekur, the second is the city of Eridu and the temple of Eabzu, which were the main cult center of the god Ea [13, column I, lines 50–63]. Babylon and Esagila are in third place, while it is said that king Hammurabi is «the one who served Esagila in his days» (*ša ūmīšu izzazzu ana Esagil*) [13, column II, lines 2–12].

The irregular verb *izzuzzu* used in this fragment has the basic meaning 'to stand', but can also mean 'to stand before, serve (a deity)', i. e. denote some ritual or priestly activity. For example, in an Old Babylonian letter from a certain Šalurum to his father, it is said: «...and you know (this) regarding the position of the *pašīšu*-priest: one who does not serve does not receive anything» (*u ša pašīšūtim atta tīde ša lā izzazzu mimma ul ileqqi*) [14, text 27, lines 10–13]. Thus in the laws king Hammurabi presents himself as a priest of Esagil, and at the same time extremely pious man, as indicated by the duration of his «service» (the expression *ūmīšu* 'his days'). Hammurabi's words, however, are not to be taken literally; it is believed that the kings in Babylonia by the time of his reign had already lost their priestly func-

tions. Therefore, our fragment sheds light rather on the ideology of the king and place of Esagil in it; it should be noted that such «priestly» terminology is used only in relation to the temple of Marduk.

The order of cities and temples in the prologue is probably hierarchical. The first place is traditionally occupied by Nippur and Ekur due to their connection with the head of the pantheon, the god Enlil. Eridu was traditionally considered the city that first received royalty, and the god Ea was part of the triad of great gods along with Enlil and Anu. Babylon and Esagila are only in third place in the list of cities and temples, which illustrates their position in the religious system of Hammurabi's time: they are below the ancient cult centers, but they follow right behind them. The rise of Marduk, Babylon and Esagil was most likely associated with the military and political successes of the kings of the First Babylonian dynasty.

The epilogue of the Laws of Hammurabi has more information about Esagil. Three fragments of the epilogue mention the temple. The epilogue begins with the self-praise of king Hammurabi, it talks about the eradication of wars in the country, the establishment of justice, which were committed by the king with the help of various deities, such as Zababa, Ishtar, Ea, and Marduk. In the next paragraph we meet the first mention of Esagil in the epilogue, which refers to the purpose of establishing a stele with laws [13, column XLVII, lines 59–78]: «...so that the strong does not oppress the weak, for the "straightening" of the orphan and widow in Babylon, the city, the head of which is raised by Anum and Enlil, in Esagil, the temple whose foundation is firm like heaven and earth, for the judgment of the country, for the pronouncement of the verdicts of the country, for the correction of the offended, I wrote my precious words on my monument and set it up in front of mine, the king of justice, image».

There are a few things to note in this section. First, we encounter here the «lifted head» motif: Babylon is called the city whose head was raised by Anu and Enlil (*ālum ša Anum u Enlil rēšīšu ullū*); this expression in this case is probably a reference to the name of the main temple of the city. Secondly, Esagil is called «a temple whose foundation is firm as heaven and earth» (*bītim ša kīma šamē u eršetim išdāšu kīnā*). Thus, the strength of the temple is emphasised in this fragment, and its foundation is compared with the unchanging elements of the cosmos. Thirdly, Hammurabi speaks of «the image of me, king of justice» (*šalmīya šar mīšarim*). It is probable that the reference is made to the copper statue of a king (^{urudu}alam lugal nī-si-sá in the Sumerian transmission). The purpose and placement of the stele is laid out in this fragment: it was installed in Esagil³ for the implementation of judicial activities (*dīn mātīm ana diānim, purussē mātīm ana parāsim*).

³D. Charpin believes that steles with the text of the laws were installed in all the main cities of the kingdom (see: Charpin D. Writing, law and kingship in Old Babylonian Mesopotamia. Chicago ; London : Univ. of Chicago Press, 2010. P. 72).

Based on this part of the epilogue of the Laws of Hammurabi, we can conclude that the administration of justice took place in the temple of Marduk. This conclusion, however, raises some questions, main among which is the role of temple personnel in the execution of judgment. There was a so-called «secularisation» of justice under Hammurabi, that is the transfer of legal functions from temple judges to the officials of the king, as evidenced by the data from Ebabbar temple and personal seals [15, p. 120]. However, it is obvious that the practice of temple court existed earlier [15, p. 117]. Perhaps Hammurabi's words are an example of ideological phraseology designed to emphasise royal piety; however, the royal judges could carry out their functions inside the temples.

The next fragment of the epilogue that interests us is the king's prayer with a request to the guardian gods (*šēdu* and *lamassu*), to the gods entering Esagil and the brick of Esagil to «improve my omens every day» before Marduk and Šarpanitum. We present full fragment [13, column XLVIII, lines 48–58]: «May the guardian gods, the gods entering Esagil, the brick of Esagil improve daily my words before Marduk, my lord, (and) Šarpanitum, my lady». If we move away from the literal translation, the expression *igirrē dummuqum* 'to improve omens' used here could simply mean 'speak favourably', in which case the gods and the brick of Esagil are to report favourably on the king's affairs to Marduk and Šarpanitum. It should be emphasised that this terminology applies only to Esagil and its deities, i. e. the king's relationship with the temple is more personal. This is probably due to the capital city status of Babylon. The last fragment of the epilogue, mentioning Esagila, presents another request of the king addressed to Marduk: «At the command of Marduk, my lord, may the one who erases my prescriptions (*uṣur-tum*) not receive (them), in Esagil, which I love, may my name be pronounced favourably forever» [13, column XXIV, lines 89–95]. In this fragment, on behalf of the king, the expression *Esagil ša arammu* 'Esagil,

which I love' is used, emphasising the special relationship of Hammurabi to the temple. The king asks that his name be forever pronounced favourably in Esagil (*šumi ina damiqtim ana dār lizzakir*).

After analysing the text of the prologue and epilogue of the Laws of Hammurabi, we can draw some conclusions regarding the official position of Marduk in the pantheon and royal ideology. In the prologue of the laws [13, column I, lines 1–50] it is said that the main gods of the pantheon, Anum and Enlil, gave Marduk «the dominion of all people» and made his name «great among the Igigi gods». These words should not be considered as a statement of the superiority of Marduk over all the gods of the pantheon in the Old Babylonian period (for a similar position, see, for example, at [9, p. 102–103]). Anum and Enlil give Marduk power over men, not over gods, which is probably a theological reflection of the Babylonian conquest of Mesopotamia. In addition, it seems that the division of the gods into Anunnaki and Igigi during this period was hierarchical; the Anunnaki were the supreme gods and included Anum and Enlil. In support of this, we can cite the lines of the Old Babylonian Epic of Atrahasis, where lines 5–6 of the first table say that the seven great Anunnaki forced the Igigi to work for themselves at the beginning of time before the creation of man, which freed them from this duty (*rabūtum Anunna-ku sibittum dullam ušazbalū Igigi*). Thus, while we can speak of the rise of Marduk in the Mesopotamian pantheon at the time of Hammurabi, we cannot assert his supremacy, as Marduk receives his power from Anum and Enlil. Other passages from the prologue and epilogue, however, speak of the special position of the cult of Marduk in the official ideology of king Hammurabi. Hammurabi, according to him, acts «at the command» of Marduk [13, column XXIV, lines 89–95]; the only temple in which he performs ritual actions is Esagil [13, column II, lines 2–13]; and the very introduction of laws, the «establishment of justice» is given to the king exactly by Marduk [13, column V, lines 14–25].

Conclusions

In general, three areas of royal activity can be distinguished regarding Esagil in the royal year-formulas:

1) renovation work (mentioned once during the reign of king Sabium);

2) establishment of cult objects. This is first of all various statues (alan (alam), *šalmum*): numerous statues of kings (only eight are mentioned), statues of Marduk and Šarpanitum; images of guardian gods (^dlama);

3) offerings of various objects to the gods of Esagila. Most often it is a cult weapon (^{giš}tukul, *šu-nir*, *šita*₂, ^{giš}mitum) for Marduk.

Having examined fragments of the literary parts of the Laws of Hammurabi, we can draw some conclusions: the prologue and epilogue of the laws illustrate the ideology of king Hammurabi rather than the real position of Esagil; this ideology, firstly, emphasises the special relationship of Hammurabi to the temple of Marduk (a request to the gods of Esagila to speak favourably about the king; a request for the eternal favourable pronouncement of the king's name; expression *Esagil ša arammu*), secondly, his piety towards Esagil (expression *ša ūmīšu izzazzu ana Esagil*); judicial activity was carried out under Hammurabi, although it is not clear who carried it out, the temple staff or the judges of the king.

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