The material here offered is intended to be representative rather than exhaustive. It is not always possible to draw a sharp line between Akkadian compositions devoted to myths and related material, and those that concern other types of religious literature, not to mention special categories of historical nature. Furthermore, considerations of space and time have tended to exclude sundry literary remains whose bearing on the purpose of this work is not immediately apparent. It is hoped, however, that nothing of genuine relevance has been omitted.

As regards the order of the individual subjects, it was deemed advisable to present in succession the two major survivals of this group of texts, namely, The Creation Epic and The Epic of Gilgamesh. The alternative procedure would have been to group some of the minor subjects with the one epic, and some with the other. The present arrangement has a sound biblical precedent in the order of the books of the Prophets.

In translating material which has come down to us in poetic form, there arises the inevitable conflict between adherence to the force and flavor of the original idioms—as that idiom is understood—and adherence to the given poetic form. In the present instance, preference was given to the demands of meaning, whenever necessary. Elsewhere slight exceptions have been made in an effort to reflect the measures of the Akkadian verse—normally a unit of two distinct halves with two beats in each half. Where the text presents an overlong line as a result of a mechanical combination of two verses, the added verse has been indented in the translation so as not to alter the line count of the text. In lines grown unwieldy for other reasons—such as theological addition in the original, or the helplessness of the translator when confronted with the economy or the elusiveness of the Akkadian idiom—indentation has likewise proved to be a convenient device.

The strong temptation to indicate logical transitions in the context by means of paragraphing has been resisted on the ground that such divisions might be regarded as arbitrary. Where, however, the text suggests paragraphing by means of horizontal lines (as in The Epic of Gilgamesh), the translation has followed suit by resorting to added spacing.

 Virtually all of the material included under this heading has had the benefit of painstaking study over a period of many years. The principal editions of the texts and the latest discussions and translations are listed in the respective introductions to the individual subjects. Each revision is indebted to some extent to its various predecessors. My own debt to my colleagues, past and present, is too great to be acknowledged in detail. I have tried, however, to note explicitly such appropriate improvements and observations as may not as yet have become the common property of Assyriological scholarship. In fairness to others, it was necessary also to call attention to the occasional departures for which I alone must bear the responsibility. The existing gaps in the texts, at any rate, and the lacunae in our understanding of what is extant, are still much too formidable for anything like a definitive translation.

The Creation Epic

The struggle between cosmic order and chaos was to the ancient Mesopotamians a fateful drama that was renewed at the turn of each new year. The epic which deals with these events was therefore the most significant expression of the religious literature of Mesopotamia. The work, consisting of seven tablets, was known in Akkadian as Enûma elîš “When on high,” after its opening words. It was recited with due solemnity on the fourth day of the New Year’s festival.

Portions of this work were first made available in modern times by George Smith, in The Chaldean Account of Genesis (1876). The flow of material has continued intermittently ever since. We owe these texts to three main sources: (a) The British excavations at Nineveh; the relevant texts have been published in CT, xiii (1901) and in L. W. King’s The Seven Tablets of Creation (2 Vols., 1902). (b) The German excavations at Ashur; texts in E. Ebeling’s Keilschrifttexte aus Assur religiösen Inhalts (1915 ff.). (c) The British-American excavations at Kish; texts in S. Langdon’s Oxford Editions of Cuneiform Texts (1923 ff.; Vol. vi). Scattered fragments have appeared in the periodical publications. A convenient compilation of the texts has been given by A. Deimel in his Enûma Elû (2nd ed., 1936). This book contains a useful textual apparatus, but it does not altogether eliminate the need for comparison with the basic publications. In recent years, large gaps in Tablet VII have been filled by E. Ebeling in MAOG, xxi (1939), part 4, and these additions have been supplemented and elucidated by W. von Soden in ZA, xlvii (1942), 1-26. The only part that still is largely unknown is Tablet V.

The various studies and translations of this epic are too numerous for a complete survey. The more recent ones include: S. Langdon, The Babylonian Epic of Creation (1923); E. Ebeling, AOT, 108 ff.; R. Labat, Le poème babylonien de la création (1935); and A. Heidel, The Babylonian Genesis (1942). For the sake of ready reference, I have retained the line count employed by Labat. Heidel’s careful translation could scarcely be overestimated in its usefulness. Except for the portions of Tablet VII, which have appeared since, it constituted the fullest rendering possible at the time of its publication. Attention should also be called to W. von Soden’s grammatical study, Der hymnisch-epische Dialekt des Akkadischen, ZA, xi-xii (1932 ff.), and to A. L. Oppenheim’s notes on Mesopotamian Mythology I, Orientalia, xvi (1947), 207-38.

There is as yet no general agreement as regards the date of composition. None of the extant texts antedates the first millennium B.C. On the internal evidence, however, of the context and the linguistic criteria, the majority of the scholars would assign the epic to the Old Babylonian period, i.e., the early part of the second millennium B.C. There does not appear to be any convincing reason against this earlier dating.

The poem is cast in metric form. One seventh-century copy of Tablet IV, for instance, still shows plainly the division of lines into halves, thus bringing out the two beats of each half. Theological, political, and exegetical considerations have led to various changes and additions, but these are readily recognized for the most part thanks to the underlying metric framework. Unfortunately, a translation cannot make use of this type of evidence, however obvious it may be. In general, the successive revisions have marred the poetic effect of the whole. Nevertheless, enough passages have come down intact to bear witness to a genuine literary inspiration in many instances.

Tablet I

When on high the heaven had not been named,

1A metric rendering of Tablet I into Dutch has been published by F. M. Jh. Böhl in JEO, 18 (1944), 145 ff.
Firm ground below had not been called by name,
Naught but primordial Apsu, their begetter,
(And) Mummu-Tiamat, she who bore them all,
Their waters commingling as a single body;
No reed hut had been matted, no marsh land had appeared,
When no gods whatever had been brought into being,
Uncalled by name, their destinies undetermined—
Then it was that the gods were formed within them.
Lahmu and Lahamu were brought forth, by name
they were called.

Before they had grown in age and stature.
Anshar and Kishar were formed, surpassing the others.
They prolonged the days, added on the years.
Anu was their heir, of his fathers the rival;
Yea, Anshar's first-born, Anu, was his equal.
Anu begot in his image Nudimmud.
This Nudimmud was of his fathers the master;
Of broad wisdom, understanding, mighty in strength,
Mightier by far than his grandfather, Anshar.
He had no rival among the gods,
his brothers.
The divine brothers banded together,
They disturbed Tiamat as they surged back and forth;
Yea, they troubled the mood of Tiamat
By their hilarity in the Abode of Heaven.
Apsu could not lessen their clamor
And Tiamat was speechless at their ways.
Their doings were loathsome unto [ ... ].
Unsavory were their ways; they were overbearing.
Then Apsu, the begetter of the great gods,
Cried out, addressing Mummu, his vizier:
"O Mummu, my vizier, who rejoicest my spirit,
Come hither and let us go to Tiamat!"
They went and sat down before Tiamat,
Exchanging counsel about the gods, their first-born.
Apsu, opening his mouth,
Said unto resplendent Tiamat:

"Their ways are verily loathsome unto me.
By day I find no relief, nor repose by night.
I will destroy, I will wreck their ways,
That quiet may be restored. Let us have rest!"

As soon as Tiamat heard this,
She was wroth and called out to her husband.
She cried out aggrieved, as she raged all alone,
Injecting woe into her mood:
"What? Should we destroy that which we have built?
Their ways indeed are most troublesome, but let us
attend kindly!"

Then answered Mummu, giving counsel to Apsu;
Ill-wishing and ungracious was Mummu's advice:
"Do destroy, my father, the mutinous ways.
Then shalt thou have relief by day and
rest by night!"

When Apsu heard this, his face grew radiant
Because of the evil he planned against the gods, his sons.
As for Mummu, by the neck he embraced him
As (that one) sat down on his knees to kiss him.
(Now) whatever they had plotted between them,
Was repeated unto the gods, their first-born.
When the gods heard (this),
they were astir,
(Then) lapsed into silence and remained speechless.
Surpassing in wisdom, accomplished, resourceful,
Ea, the all-wise, saw through their scheme.

A master design against it he devised and set up,
Made artful his spell against it, surpassing and holy.
He recited it and made it subsist in the deep,
As he poured sleep upon him. Sound asleep he lay.
When Apsu he had made prone, drenched with sleep,
Mummu, the advisery, was powerless to stir.
He loosened his band, tore off his tiara,
Removed his halo (and) put it on himself.
Having fettered Apsu, he slew him.
Mummu he bound and left behind lock.
Having thus upon Apsu established his dwelling,
He laid hold on Mummu, holding him by the nose-robe.
After Ea had vanquished and trodden down his foes,
Had secured his triumph over his enemies,
In his sacred chamber in profound peace had rested,
He named it "Apsu," for shrines he assigned (it).
In that same place his cult hut he founded.

2 Not to be confused with the vizier Mummu, for grammatical reasons. Perhaps an epithet in the sense of "mother," as has long been supposed. On the various meanings of the term see A. Heidel in JNES, vii (1948), 98-105.
3 i.e. the fresh waters of Apsû and the marine waters of Tiamat "the sea."
4 In this epic giswû indicates both the primitive building material—as in this passage; cf. E. Douglas Van Buren, Oriantia, xii (1944), 32—and a cult hut (Table I, 77). Both meanings can be reconciled on the basis of W. Andrae's researches into the origin of Mesopotamian shrine architecture; cf. his Das Gotteshaus und die Urformen des Bauens im alten Orient (1930). Note, however, that the initial gi of this word is not to be confused with Sumerian gi "reed."
5 The waters of Apsû and Tiamat.
6 I.e., a long time elapsed.
7 One of the names of Ea, the earth- and water-god.
8 Reading la-lit, with one Ashur text, for a-lit "begetter."
9 Var. "fathers."
10 Reading na-mul-la-nu, with a number of interpreters. Others read the ambiguous second sign as -sù-, thus obtaining the sense "assaulted their keper"; cf. Heidel, BG, 9.
11 Lit. "belly."
13 For the approximate sense cf. A. L. Oppenheim, Oriantia, xvi (1947), 210, n. 2.
14 Lit. "liver."
15 This translation ignores a minor grammatical difficulty; the alternative "spoke with raised voice" (cf. Tablet III, 125) would have to contend with etymological objections.
16 Not merely "rest," because of the "elative" force of the prefix i-.
17 For this value of iššû cf. Gilg., xi, 32 and the semantic range of the terms listed in Deimel, 86, 271, 71.
18 The Akkadian appears ambiguous as to subject and object. It would seem, however, that 22 as Mummu came down to his knees, Apsû embraced him by the neck.
19 Var. "The gods were in tears."
20 That of Apsû and Mummu.
21 Lit. "caused it to be in the waters," viz. those of Apsû.
23 Reading sum-la-nu with Heidel, BG, 10, n. 22.
24 Cf. ICs, v (1951), 65 and n. 15.
25 Following the interpretation of A. L. Oppenheim, IAOS, xxiv (1943), 31 ff.
26 The rich crop of variant readings which the Akkadian versions furnish for this passage, and the consequent variety of interpretations, appear to be due to the use of an archaic phonomial form (Iunu); cf. W. v. Soden, ZA, XL (1932), 172.
27 See above, note 4.
Ea and Damkina, his wife, dwelled (there) in splendor.
In the chamber of fates, the abode of destinies, A god was engendered, most able and wisest of gods.
[(80)]

In the heart of Apsu was Marduk created, In the heart of holy Apsu was Marduk created. He who begot him was Ea, his father; She who bore him was Damkina, his mother. The breast of goddesses he did suck.41
The nurse that nursed him filled him with awesomeness. Alluring was his figure, sparkling the lift of his eyes. Lordly was his gait, commanding from of old. When Ea saw him, the father who begot him, He exulted and glowed, his heart filled with gladness.
He rendered him perfect and endowed him with a double godhead.42
Greatly exalted was he above them, exceeding throughout. Perfect were his members beyond comprehension, Unsuited for understanding, difficult to perceive. Four were his eyes, four were his ears; When he moved his lips, fire blazed forth. Large were all44 hearing organs, And the eyes, in like number, scanned all things. He was the loftiest of the gods, surpassing was his stature;
His members were enormous, he was exceeding tall.
“My little son, my little son!”
My son, the Sun! Sun of the heavens!”
Clothed with the halo of ten gods, he was strong to the utmost,
As their awesome flashes were heaped upon him.
Anu brought forth and begot the fourfold wind Consigning to its power the leader of the host.
He fashioned . . . station[ed] the whirlwind,44
He produced streams to disturb Tiamat.
The gods, given no rest, suffer in the storm. Their heart(s) having plotted evil, To Tiamat, their mother,” said, “When they slew Apsu, thy consort, Thou didst not aid him but remainedst still.

28 The Assyrian versions substitute here and elsewhere Lâmmu and Lânhum for the Babylonian Ea and Damkina; similarly, Anshar-Ashur replaces Marduk.
29 “The Deep.”
30 Var. “Ashur” here and in the next line.
31 Var. “She caused him to suck.”
32 The technical term šutuḫiḫu refers primarily to the final inspection of their work by craftsmen before it is pronounced ready for use. cf. also Th. Bauer, Das Inschreibwerk Assur-Assurapal (Leipzig, 1933), n. 84.
33 cf. Oppenheim, Orientalia, xvi (1947), 215.
34 The word play of the Akkadian arū arēba cannot readily be reflected.
35 Akkadian mūru(n)/[mu]u reflects a double pun: cf. Orientalia, xv (1946), 380, n. 6; Za, xxxvii (1923), 259, and Za, xxxvi (1924), 77-79. Grammatically, “Our son, our son!” is also possible.
36 New texts (LKA, 3 and Accid 132) — cf. Addenda) have filled in gaps in lines 104 ff., adding the new line 1086. Space precludes detailed comments on various points. In LKA, 3, 106 read qa-tul-Iu.
37 Thus LKA, 3.

When the dread fourfold wind he created, Thy vitals were diluted and so we can have no rest. Let Apsu, thy consort, be in thy mind and Mummu, who has been vanquished! Thou art left alone!
[. . .] thou pacest about distraught, [. . .] without ce jase. Thou dost not love us! [. . .] pinched are our eyes, [. . .] without cease. Let us have rest! [. . .] to battle! Do thou avenge them! [. . .] and render (them) as the wind!”
[When] Tiamat [heard] (these) words, she was pleased:46
“[. . .] you have given. Let us make monsters, [. . .] and the gods in the midst! [. . .]! [. . . let us do] battle and against the gods [. . .]!” They thronged and marched at the side of Tiamat. Enraged, they plot without cease night and day, They are set for combat, growling, raging, (130) They form a council to prepare for the fight. Mother Hubur,47 who fashions all things, Added matchless weapons, bore monster-serpents, Sharp of tooth, unsparring of Fang. [With venom] for blood she has filled their bodies. Roaring dragons she has clothed with terror, Has crowned them with haloes, making them like gods, So that he who beholds them shall perish abjectly, (And) that, with their bodies reared up, none might turn [them back].
She set up the Viper, the Dragon, and the Sphinx, (140) The Great-Lion, the Mad-Dog, and the Scorpion-Man, Mighty lion-demons, the Dragon-Fly, the Centaur— Bearing weapons that spare not, fearless in battle. Firm were their decrees, past withstandings were they. Withal eleven of this kind she brought [forth]. From among the gods, her first-born, who formed [her Assembly], She elevated Kingu, made him chief among them. The leading of the ranks, command of the Assembly, The raising of weapons for the encounter, advancing to combat, In battle the command-in-chief—
These to his hand she entrusted as she seated him in the Council:
“I have cast for thee the spell, exalting thee in the Assembly of the gods.
To counsel all the gods I have given thee full power.44 Verily, thou art supreme, my only consort art thou!”

41 Apparently Anu, to judge from LKA, 3.
42 Lit. “heart.”
43 Reading i-šib with F. Delitzsch, AIO, vi (1930-31), 222. For this term, which in its application to a goddess represents in effect a female counterpart of Ea, cf. I. J. Gelb, Harranians and Subarians (1944), 92 ff. and E. A. Speiser, JASOS, xxxvii (1948), 12.
44 Lit. “turn back their breasts.” Another possibility is “they will not turn back.” For lines 132-135, which recur several times later on, cf. Th. Jacobsen, In The Intellectual Adventure of Ancients Man (1946), 175 ff. For this sense the particle -mu.
45 The literal translation of this idiomatic phrase is “Into thy hand(s) I have charged (filled).”
Thy utterance shall prevail over all the Anunnaki!"
She gave him the Tablet of Destinies, fastened on his breast:
"As for thee, thy command shall be unchangeable,
[Thy word] shall endure!"
As soon as Kingu was elevated, possessed of [the rank of Anu],
For the gods, his sons, they decreed the fate:
"Your word shall make the first subside,
Shall humble the ‘Power-Weapon,’ so potent in (its) sweep!"

**Tablet II**

When Tiamat had thus lent import to her handiwork,
She prepared for battle against the gods, her offspring.
To avenge Apsu, Tiamat wrought evil.
That she was girding for battle, was divulged to Ea.
As soon as Ea heard of this matter,
He leaped into dark silence and sat right still.
Then, on further thought, his anger subsided,
To Anshar, his (fore)father he betook himself.
When he came before his grandfather, Anshar,
All that Tiamat had plotted to him
he repeated:
"My father, Tiamat, she who bore us, detests us.
She has set up the Assembly and is furious with rage.
All the gods have rallied to her;
Even those whom you brought forth march at her side.
They throng and march at the side of Tiamat, Enraged, they plot without cease night and day.
They are set for combat, growling, raging.
They have formed a council to prepare for the fight.
Mother Hubur, she who fashions all things,
Has added matchless weapons, has born
monster-serpents,
Sharp of tooth, unspiring of fang.
With venom for blood she has filled their bodies.
Roaring dragons she has clothed with terror,
Has crowned them with haloes, making them like gods,
So that he who beholds them shall perish abjectly,
(And) that, with their bodies reared up, none might turn them back.
She has set up the Viper, the Dragon, and the Sphinx,
The Great-Lion, the Mad-Dog, and the Scorpion-Man,
Mighty lion-demons, the Dragon-Fly, the Centaur—
Bearing weapons that spare not,
fearless in battle.
Firm are her decrees, past withstanding are they.
Withal eleven of this kind she has brought forth.
From among the gods, her first-born, who formed her
Assembly,
She has elevated Kingu, has made him chief among them.
The leading of the ranks, command of the Assembly,
The raising of weapons for the encounter, advancing to combat,
In battle the command-in-chief—
These to his hands [she entrusted] as she seated him in the Council:
"I have cast the spell for thee, exalting thee in the Assembly of the gods.
To counsel all the gods [I have given thee] full power."
Verily, thou art supreme, my only consort art thou!
[Thy utterance shall prevail over all the Anunnaki!]
[She has given him the Tablet of Destinies, fastened on
his breast]:
"[As for thee, thy command shall be unchangeable],
They word shall endure!"
As soon as Kingu was elevated], possessed of the rank of Anu,
[For the gods, her sons, they decreed the fate:
"Your word] shall make the fire subside,
Shall humble the “Power-Weapon,” [so potent in (its) sweep!"

When Anshar heard that Tiamat] was sorely troubled,
[He smote his loins and] bit his lips.
[Glumly was his heart, restless his mood.
[He covered] his [mouth] to stifle his outcry:
"[. . . ] battle.
[The weapon thou hast made,] up, bear thou!
[Lo, Mummu and Apsu thou didst slay.
[Now, slay thou Kigu,] who marches before her.
[. . . ] wisdom."
[Answered the counselor of the gods, Nudimmud.
(The reply of Ea-Nudimmud is lost in the break.
Apparently, Ea had no remedy, for Anshar next turns to Anu:)
[To Anu,] his son, [a word] he addressed:
"[. . . ] this, the most puissant of heroes,
Whose strength [is outstanding], past resisting his onslaught.
[Go] and stand thou up to Tiamat,
That her mood [be calmed], that her heart expand.
[If] she will not hearken to thy word,
Then tell her our [word], that she might be calmed."
When [he heard] the command of his father, Anshar,
[He made straight] for her way, following
the road to her.
[But when Anu was near (enough)] to see the plan of Tiamat,
[He was not able to face her] and he turned back.
[He came abjectly to his father], Anshar.
[As though he were Tiamat] thus he [addressed him:

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40 Var. "her."
41 Tiamat and Kingu.
42 The word play of the original gara : maglara is difficult to reproduce.
For this passage see A. L. Oppenheim, Orientalia, xvi (1947), 219. I retain
however, kit-mu-ru in place of Oppenheim’s kit-mu-ru.
43 For the all-important place of the paḫrum or “assembly” in Mesopotamian
society, celestial as well as human, cf. Th. Jacobsen, Primitive
Democracy in Mesopotamia, INES, ii (1943), 159 ff., and my remarks on
Some Sources of Intellectual and Social Progress in the Ancient Near East,
Studies in the History of Culture (1942), 51 ff. When used in its technical
sense, the word has been capitalized in this translation.
44 cf. note 47.
45 A sign of distress.
46 cf. Oppenheim, loc. cit., 220 n.1. Note also the intrusive forms of
this verb in the Legend of Zu (below), A 24, B 52.
47 The suffix -ār in the next line makes it apparent that the statement
addressed to Anshar is an exact quotation of Anu’s previous speech to
Tiamat. The context bears out this interpretation.
“My hand [suff] ces not for me to subdue thee.”
Speechless was Anshar as he stared at the ground,
Hair on edge, shaking his head at Ea.
All the Anunnaki gathered at that place;
Their lips closed tight, [they sat] in silence.
“No god” (thought they) “can go [to battle and],
Facing Tiamat, escape [with his life].”
Lord Anshar, father of the gods, [rose up] in grandeur,
And having pondered in his heart, he [said to the Anunnaki]:
“He whose [strength] is potent shall be [our] avenger,
He who is keen in battle, Marduk, the hero!”
Ea called [Marduk] to his place of seclusion.
Giving counsel, he told him what was in his heart:
“O Marduk, consider my advice. Hearken to thy father,
For thou art my son who comforts his heart.
When facing Anshar, approach as though in combat;
Stand up as thou speakest; seeing thee, he will grow restful.
The lord rejoiced at the word of his father;
He approached and stood up facing Anshar.
When Anshar saw him, his heart filled with joy.
He kissed his lips, his [own] gloom dispelled.
[Anshar], be not muted; open wide thy lips.
I will go and attain thy heart’s desire.
[Anshar], be not muted; open wide thy lips.
I will go and attain thy heart’s desire!
What male is it who has pressed his fight against thee?
[It is but] Tiamat, a woman, that flies at thee with weapons!
[O my father-]creator, be glad and rejoice;
The neck of Tiamat thou shalt soon tread upon!
[O my father-]creator, be glad and rejoice;
[The neck of Tiamat thou shalt soon tread upon].”
“My son, (thou) who knowest all wisdom,
Calm [Tiamat] with thy holy spell.
On the storm-chariot proceed with all speed.
From her [presence] they shall not drive (thee)!
Turn (them) back!”
The lord [rejoiced] at the word of his father.
His heart exulting, he said to his father:
“Creator of the gods, destiny of the great gods,
If I indeed, as your avenger,
Am to vanquish Tiamat and save your lives,
Set up the Assembly, proclaim supreme my destiny!
When jointly in Ushukinnu44 you have sat down rejoicing,
Let my word, instead of you, determine the fates.
Unalterable shall be what I may bring into being;
Neither recalled nor changed shall be the command of my lips.”

Tablet III

Anshar opened his mouth and

To Gaga, his vizier, a word he addressed:
“O Gaga, my vizier, who gladdest my spirit,
To Lahmu and Lahamu I will dispatch thee.
Thou knowest discernment, art adept at fine talk;
The gods, thy fathers, produce thou before me!
Let all the gods proceed hither,
Let them hold converse, sit down to a banquet,
Let them eat festive bread, poured wine;
For Marduk, their avenger, let them fix the decrees.
Be on thy way, Gaga, take the stand before them,
And that which I shall tell thee repeat thou unto them:
‘Anshar, your son, has sent me hither,
Charging me to give voice to [the] dictates of his heart,
[Saying]: “Tiamat, she who bore us, detests us.
She has set up the [Assembly] and is furious with rage.
All the gods have rallied to her;
Even those whom you brought forth march at her side.
They throng and march at the side of Tiamat.
Enraged, they plot without cease night and day.
They are set for combat, growling, raging,
They have formed a council to prepare for the fight.
Mother Hubur, she who fashions all things,
Has added matchless weapons, has born monster-serpents,
Sharp of tooth, unsurping of fang.
With venom for blood she has filled their bodies.
Roaring dragons she has clothed with terror,
Has crowned them with haloes, making them like gods,
So that who beholds them shall perish abjectly,
(And) that, with their bodies reared up, none might turn them back.
She has set up the Viper, the Dragon, and the Sphinx,
The Great-Lion, the Mad-Dog, and the Scorpion-Man,
Mighty lion-demons, the Dragon-Fly, the Centaur—
Bearing weapons that spare not, fearless in battle.
Firm are her decrees, past withstanding are they.
Withal eleven of this kind she has brought forth.
From among the gods, her first-born, who formed [her Assembly],
She has elevated Kingu, has made [him] chief among them.
The leading of the ranks, [command of the Assembly],
The raising of weapons for the encounter,
[advancing to combat],
In battle the comm[and]-in-chief—
These to his hands [she entrusted] as she se[ated him in the Council]:
[I have] cast the spell for thee, [exalting thee] in the Assembly of the gods.
To counsel all the gods [I have given thee full power].
[Verily], thou art supreme, my [only consort art thou]!
Thy utterance shall prevail over all the [Anunnaki]!
She has given him the Tablet of Destinies, [fastened on his] breast:

44 Reading: [im]-li-ka-ma ak li-bi-ru i-ta-mi-ru.
45 I.e. his father’s.
46 The Assembly Hall.

57 This use of patāqu is attested for metallurgy.
'As for thee, thy command shall be unchangeable,
   Thy word shall endure!'

As soon as Kingu was elevated, possessed of the rank of
Anu,
For the gods, her sons, they decreed the fate: (50)
'Your word shall make the fire subside,
Shall humble the "Power-Weapon," so potent in (its)
   sweep!'

I sent forth Anu; he could not face her.
Nudimmud was afraid and turned back.
Forth came Marduk, the wisest of gods, your son,
His heart having prompted him to set out to face
Tiamat.

He opened his mouth, saying unto me:
'If I indeed, as your avenger,
Am to vanquish Tiamat and save your lives,
Set up the Assembly, proclaim supreme
   my destiny!' (60)
When jointly in Ubshukinna you have sat down re-
joicing,
Let my word, instead of you, determine the fates.
Unalterable shall be what I may bring into being;
Neither recalled nor changed shall be the command of
my lips!' (70)

Now hasten hither and promptly fix for him your
decrees,
That he may go forth to face your mighty foe!'' ''

Gaga departed, proceeding on his way.
Before Lahmu and Ladamu, the gods, his fathers,
He made obeisance, kissing the ground at their feet.
He bowed low as he took his place
to address them:

"It was Anshar, your son, who has sent me hither,
Charging me to give voice to the dictates of his heart,
Saying: 'Tiamat, she who bore us, detests us.
She has set up the Assembly and is furious with rage.
All the gods have rallied to her,
Even those whom you brought forth march at her side.
They throng and march at the side of Tiamat.
Enraged, they plot without cease night and day.
They are set for combat, growling, raging,
They have formed a council to prepare
   for the fight.
Mother Hubur, she who fashions all things,
Has added matchless weapons, has born monster-ser-
pents,
Sharp of tooth, unsparing of jang.
With venom for blood she has filled their bodies,
Roaring dragons she has clothed with terror,
Has crowned them with haloes, making them like gods,
So that he who beholds them shall perish abjectly,
(And) that, with their bodies reared up, none might
   turn them back.
She has set up vipers, dragons, and sphinxes,
Great-lions, mad-dogs, and scorpion-men,
(90)
Mighty lion-demons, dragon-flies, and centaurs—

Bearing weapons that spare not, fearless in battle.
Firm are decrees, past withstanding are they.
Withal eleven of this kind she has brought forth.
From among the gods, her first-born, who formed her
Assembly,
She has elevated Kingu, has made him chief among
them.
The leading of the ranks, command of the Assembly,
The raising of weapons for the encounter, advancing to
combat,
In battle the command-in-chief—
These to his hands she has entrusted as she
seated him in the Council:

'I have cast the spell for thee, exalting thee in the
Assembly of the gods.
To counsel all the gods I have given thee full power.
Verily, thou art supreme, my only consort art thou!
Thy utterance shall prevail over all the Anunnaki!'

She has given him the Tablet of Destinies, [fastened on
his breast]:
'As for thee, thy command shall be un[changeable,
   Thy word shall endure]!'

As soon as Kingu was elevated, [possessed of the rank
of Anu],
For the gods, her sons, [they decreed the fate]:
'Your word shall make the fire subside,
[Shall humble the "Power-Weapon," so potent
   in (its) sweep!]
I sent forth Anu; he could not [face her].
Nudimmud was afraid [and turned back].
Forth came Marduk, the wisest [of gods, your son],
[His heart having prompted him to set out] to face
Tiamat.

He opened his mouth, [saying unto me]:
'If I indeed, [as your avenger],
Am to vanquish Tiamat [and save your lives],
Set up the Assembly, [proclaim supreme my destiny]!
When in Ubshukinna [jointly you sit down rejoicing],
Let my word, instead of [you, determine
   the fates].

Unalterable shall be what [I] may bring into being;
Neither recalled nor changed shall be the command of
[my lips]!'

Now hasten hither and promptly [fix for him] your
decrees,
That he may go forth to face your mighty foe!''

When Lahmu and Ladamu heard this, they cried out
aloud,
All the Igigii"" waited in distress:
"How strange"" that they should have made [this] de-
cision!
We cannot fathom the doings of Tiamat!''
They made ready"" to leave on their journey,
All the great gods who decree the fates.
(130)
They entered before Anshar, filling [Ubshukinna].
They kissed one another in the Assembly.

"In view of the plurals in this passage (one text, however, retains
the
singualr), the names of the monsters are this time given in lower case.

88 The heavenly deities.
89 Lit. "What has turned strange?"
They held converse as they [sat down] to the banquet.
They ate festive bread, poured [the wine],
They wetted their drinking-tubes with sweet intoxicant.
As they drank the strong drink, [their] bodies swelled.
They became very languid as their spirits rose.
For Marduk, their avenger, they fixed the decrees.

**Tablet IV**

They erected for him a princely throne.
Facing his fathers, he sat down, presiding.\(^{63}\)
Thou art the most honored of the great gods,
Thy decree is unrivaled, thy command is Anu.\(^{44}\)
Thou, Marduk, art the most honored of the great gods,
Thy decree is unrivaled, thy word is Anu.
From this day unchanged shall be thy pronouncement.
To raise or bring low—these shall be (in) thy hand.
Thy utterance shall be true, thy command shall be unimpeachable.
No one among the gods shall transgress thy bounds!\(^{10}\)
Adornment being wanted for the seats of the gods,
Let the place of their shrines ever be in thy place.
O Marduk, thou art indeed our avenger.
We have granted thee kingship over the universe entire.
When in Assembly thou sittest, thy word shall be supreme.
Thy weapons shall not fail; they shall smash thy foes!
O lord, spare the life of him who trusts thee,
But pour out the life of the god who seized evil.\(^{55}\)
Having placed in their midst the Images,
They addressed themselves to Marduk, their first-born:
"Lord, truly thy decree is first among gods.
Say but to wreck or create; it shall be.
Open thy mouth: the Images will vanish!
Speak again, and the Images shall be whole!"
At the word of his mouth the Images vanished.
He spoke again, and the Images were restored.
When the gods, his fathers, saw the fruit of his word,
Joyfully they did homage: "Marduk is king!"
They conferred on him scepter, throne, and vestment;
They gave him matchless weapons that ward off the foes:
"Go and cut off the life of Tiamat.
May the winds bear her blood to places undisclosed."
Bel's destiny thus fixed, the gods, his fathers,
Caused him to go the way of success and attainment.
He constructed a bow, marked it as his weapon,
Attached thereto the arrow, fixed its bow-cord.
He raised the mace, made his right hand grasp it;
Bow and quiver he hung at his side.
In front of him he set the lightning,

With a blazing flame he filled his body.\(^{40}\)
He then made a net to enfold Tiamat therein.
The four winds he stationed that nothing of her might escape,
The South Wind, the North Wind, the East Wind, the West Wind.
Close to his side he held the net, the gift of his father, Anu.
He brought forth Illunullu "the Evil Wind," the Whirlwind, the Hurricane,
The Fourfold Wind, the Sevenfold Wind, the Cyclone,
the Matchless Wind;
Then he sent forth the winds he had brought forth, the seven of them.
To stir up the inside of Tiamat they rose up behind him.
Then the lord raised up the flood-storm, his mighty weapon.
He mounted the storm-chariot irresistible [and] terrifying.\(^{50}\)
He harnessed (and) yoked to it a team-of-four, The Killer, the Relentless, the Trampler, the Swift.
(Their) lips were parted, their teeth bore poison.
They were tireless and skilled in destruction.
On his right he posted the Smiter, fearsome in battle, On the left the Combat, which repels all the zealous.\(^{66}\)
For a cloak he was wrapped in an armor of terror,\(^{67}\)
With his fearsome halo his head was turbaned.
The lord went forth and followed his course, Towards the raging Tiamat he set his face.\(^{60}\)
In his lips he held a spell,\(^{68}\)
A plant to put out poison was grasped in his hand.
Then they milled about him, the gods milled about him,
The gods, his fathers, milled about him, the gods milled about him.
The lord approached to scan the inside of Tiamat, (And) of Kingu, her consort, the scheme to perceive.
As he looks on, his course becomes upset,
His will is distracted and his doings are confused.
And when the gods, his helpers, who marched at his side,
Saw the valiant hero, blurred became their vision.\(^{70}\)
Tiamat emitted [a cry],\(^{69}\) without turning her neck,
Framing\(^{70}\) savage\(^{71}\) defiance in her lips:
"Too [imp]ortant art thou [for]\(^{72}\) the lord of the gods to rise up against thee!"

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\(^{63}\) The term *råsšum* "tube, pipe" refers here obviously to the drinking-tubes which are pictured commonly in representations of banquet.

\(^{64}\) Lit. "for advising."

\(^{44}\) i.e. it has the authority of the sky-god Anu.

\(^{40}\) Lit. "outcome of his mouth."

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\(^{66}\) These two lines, hitherto obscured by breaks, have been filled out and clarified by the fragment transcribed in *Anatolian Studies*, ii (1952), 27; cf. LKA, 6.

\(^{67}\) The assumption of the original, viz. *nasabap ašubās pulubān halipmā*, cannot be readily reproduced; for the passage cf. LKA, 6.

\(^{68}\) See now Anatolian Studies, ii, 28.

\(^{69}\) cf. E. Weidner, AJO, iii (1916), 123 for the reading *zimag*, although *zēmē* "her incantation" is not impossible. For lines 64-85 see the fragment published by Weidner, ibid., 123-24.


\(^{71}\) To give *lulū* the same sense as in Tablet VI, 6-7, and Gil., i, iv 17, is not adequately reproduced in Deimel, *Enpre EED*, 17, and the fifth sign cannot be read *ln* (for *ni₈*) as is done by Labat, *EBC*, 128.
Is it in their place that they have gathered, (or) in thy place?  
Thereupon the lord, having [raised] the flood-storm, his mighty weapon,  
[T]o enraged Tiamat he sent word as follows:  
"Why art thou risen," art haughtily exalted,  
Thou hast charged thine own heart to stir up conflict,  
. . . sons reject their own fathers,  
Whilst thou, who hast born them,  
hast foresworn love!  
Thou hast appointed Kingu as thy consort,  
Conferring upon him the rank of Anu, not rightfully his.  
Against Anshar, king of the gods, thou seest evil;  
[Against] the gods, my fathers, thou hast confirmed thy wickedness.  
[Though] drawn up be thy forces, girded on thy weapons,  
Stand thou up, that I and thou meet in single combat!"  
When Tiamat heard this,  
She was like one possessed; she took leave of her senses.  
In fury Tiamat cried out aloud.  
To the roots her legs shook both together.  
She recites a charm, keeps casting her spell,  
While the gods of battle sharpen their weapons.  
Then joined issue Tiamat and Marduk, wisest of gods.  
They strove in single combat, locked in battle.  
The lord spread out his net to enfold her,  
The Evil Wind, which followed behind, he let loose in her face.  
When Tiamat opened her mouth to consume him,  
He drove in the Evil Wind that she close not her lips.  
As the fierce winds charged her belly,  
Her body was distended and her mouth was wide open.  
He released the arrow, it tore her belly,  
It cut through her insides, splitting the heart.  
Having thus subdued her, he extinguished her life.  
He cast down her carcass to stand upon it.  
After he had slain Tiamat, the leader,  
Her band was shattered, her troupe broken up;  
And the gods, her helpers who marched at her side,  
Trembling with terror, turned their backs about,  
In order to save and preserve their lives.  
Tightly encircled, they could not escape.  
He made them captives and he smashed their weapons.  
Thrown into the net, they found themselves ensnared;  
Placed in cells, they were filled with wailing;  
Bearing his wrath, they were held imprisoned.  

And the eleven creatures which she had charged with awe,  
The whole band of demons that marched on her right,  
He cast into fetters, their hands he bound.  
For all their resistance, he trampled (them) underfoot.  
And Kingu, who had been made chief among them,  
He bound and accounted him to Uggae.  
He took from him the Tablet of Destinies, not rightfully his,  
Sealed (them) with a seal and fastened (them) on his breast.  
When he had vanquished and subdued his adversaries,  
Had . . . the vainglorious foe,  
Had wholly established Anshar's triumph over the foe,  
Nudimmud's desire had achieved, valiant Marduk  
Strengthened his hold on the vanquished gods,  
And turned back to Tiamat whom he had bound.  
The lord trod on the legs of Tiamat,  
With his unsparing mace he crushed her skull.  
When the arteries of her blood he had severed,  
The North Wind bore (it) to places undisclosed.  
On seeing this, his fathers were joyful and jubilant,  
They brought gifts of homage, they to him.  
Then the lord paused to view her dead body,  
That he might divide the monster and do artful works.  
He split her like a shellfish into two parts:  
Half of her he set up and sealed it as sky,  
Pulled down the bar and posted guards.  
He bade them to allow not her waters to escape.  
He crossed the heavens and surveyed the regions.  
He squared Apsu's quarter, the abode of Nudimmud,  
As the lord measured the dimensions of Apsu.  
The Great Abode, its likeness, he fixed as Esharra,  
The Great Abode, Esharra, which he made as the firmament.  
Anu, Enlil, and Ea he made occupy their places.  
Tablet V  
He constructed stations for the great gods,  
Fixing their astral likenesses as the Images.  
He determined the year by designating the zones:  
He set up three constellations for each of the twelve months.  
After defining the days of the year [by means] of (heavenly) figures,  
He founded the station of Nebiru to determine their (heavenly) bands,  
That none might transgress or fall short.  
Alongside it he set up the stations of Enlil and Ea.  
Having opened up the gates on both sides,  
He strengthened the locks to the left and the right.  

14 For lines 76-83 cf. now Anatolian Studies, ii, 28 as well as the Weidner fragment cited in n. 69. The first (Gurney fragment) supplies the parts which were missing in the Weidner fragment—correcting some of the guesses of modern interpreters.  
15 For malmašši cf. J. Lewy, Orientalia, x (1924), 336, n.11; H. G. Guterbock, AJO, xii (1939), 48.  
16 Reading id-šu-šu, with Heidel, BG, 30, n.84, but translating the verb in the sense established in FCS, v (1951), 64 ff.  
18 God of death.  
19 This was an essential act of attestation in Mesopotamian society.  
20 For this rendering cf. A. Schott, ZA, xxii (1934), 137.  
21 i.e. the planet Jupiter. This station was taken to lie between the band (rēku; cf. l. 6) of the north, which belonged to Enlil, and the band of the south, which belonged to Ea.
In her belly he established the zenith. The Moon he caused to shine, the night (to him) trusting.

He appointed him a creature of the night to signify the days:

"Monthly, without cease, form designs with a crown. At the month’s very start, rising over the land,
Thou shalt have luminous horns to signify six days,
On the seventh day reaching a [half]-crown.
At full moon stand in opposition in mid-month.
When the sun [overs]taketh thee at the base of heaven,
Diminish [thy crown] and retrogress in light.

At the time [of disappearance] approach thou the course of the sun,
And on the third thou shalt again stand in opposition to the sun."

(See Supplement.)

**Tablet VI**

**Tablet VI**

When Marduk hears the words of the gods,
His heart prompts (him) to fashion artful works.
Opening his mouth, he addresses Ea
To impart the plan he had conceived in his heart:
"Blood I will mass and cause bones to be,
I will establish a savage, ‘man’ shall be his name.
Verily, savage-man I will create.
He shall be charged with the service of the gods
That they might be at ease!
The ways of the gods I will artfully alter.
Though alike revered, into two (groups) they shall be divided."

Ea answered him, speaking a word to him,
Giving him another plan for the relief of the gods:
"Let but one of their brothers be handed over;
He alone shall perish that mankind may be fashioned."
Let the great gods be here in Assembly,
Let the guilty be handed over that they may endure.
Marduk summoned the great gods to Assembly;
Presiding graciously, he issues instructions.
To his utterance the gods pay heed.

The king addresses a word to the Anunnaki:
"If your former statement was true,
Do (now) the truth on oath by me declare!"
Who was it that contrived the uprising,
And made Tiamat rebel, and joined battle?
Let him be handed over who contrived the uprising.
His guilt I will make him bear. You shall dwell in peace!"
The Igigi, the great gods, replied to him,
To Luguldimmerankia, counselor of the gods, their lord:
"It was Kingu who contrived the uprising,
And made Tiamat rebel, and joined battle."

They bound him, holding him before Ea.
They imposed on him his guilt and severed his blood (vessels).
Out of his blood they fashioned mankind.
He imposed the service and let free the gods.
After Ea, the wise, had created mankind,
Had imposed upon it the service of the gods—
That work was beyond comprehension;
As artfully planned by Marduk, did Nudimmud create it—

Marduk, the king of the gods divided
All the Anunnaki above and below.

He assigned (them) to Anu to guard his instructions.
Three hundred in the heavens he stationed as a guard.
In like manner the ways of the earth he defined.
In heaven and on earth six hundred (thus) he settled.
After he had ordered all the instructions,
To the Anunnaki of heaven and earth had allotted their portions,
The Anunnaki opened their mouths
And said to Marduk, their lord:
"Now, O lord, thou who hast caused our deliverance,
What shall be our homage to thee?"

Let us build a shrine whose name shall be called ‘Lo, a chamber for our nightly rest;’ let us repose in it!
Let us build a throne, a recess for his abode!"

On the day that we arrive we shall repose in it."

When Marduk heard this,
Brightly gloved his features, like the day:
"Construct Babylon, whose building you have requested,
Let its brickwork be fashioned. You shall name it ‘The Sanctuary.’"

The Anunnaki applied the implement;
For one whole year they molded bricks.

When the second year arrived,

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83 Tiamat’s.
84 Akkadian lapatu, the prototype of the “Sabbath” in so far as the injunctions against all types of activity are concerned.
85 I.e. with regard to the sun. This verb was a technical term in Babylonian astronomy.
86 For this value of the term, probably a derivative of the ethnonym Lulu, cf. B. Landsberger, Kleina Sumerische Forschungen, 1 (1929), 321-334 and MAOG, iv (1938), 320. n. 2; also E. A. Speiser, Mesopotamian Origins (1939), 95, n. 95. That the Lulu were linked by Akkadian sources with the remote and dim past may be gathered from the evidence which I listed in JASR, XIX (1948), 8, as well as from the fact that the flood ship (Gilg., XI, 140) lands on Mount Nisir, in Lulu country.
87 Out of his blood.
88 Lit. “ordering.”
89 Reading α-πα-πα-α-πα-α (av. =-lu), with W. von Soden, ZA, XXIII (1942), 5. Von Soden’s notes on the remainder of Tablet VI and on Tablet VII, together with his translation of the hitherto unknown or obscure parts of Tablet VII—based on new fragments and on corrected readings of the text published by E. Ebeling in MAOG, xii (1949), part 4—(see loc. cit., 1-66) have proved very illuminating, as may be seen from the numerous references below; see now LKA, 7 and 8.
90 cf. Oppenheim, Orientalia, xvi (1947), 234.
91 “The king of the gods of heaven and earth.”
92 For lines 28-50 see the fragment published by E. Weidner in AfO, xi (1916) 72-74. This material was not available to Labat; von Soden’s additions (cf. note 89) came too late to be utilized by Heidel.
93 EA.
94 Here and elsewhere in this epic the Anunnaki are understood to be the celestial gods (normally Igigi) as well as those of the lower regions.
95 Not “O Nannar,” as translated by some. For this rebus writing signifying inanna “now” cf. AfO, xi (1916), 73.
96 Reading α-λα-ε-ια, with v. Soden, loc. cit., 4.
97 For the New Year’s festival.
98 For this and the preceding line cf. v. Soden, loc. cit.
They raised high the head\textsuperscript{109} of Esagila equaling Apsu.\textsuperscript{110}
Having built a stage-tower \textit{as high as Apsu},
They set up \textit{in it} an abode for Marduk, Enil, (and) Ea
In their presence he was seated in grandeur.
To the base of Esharri\textsuperscript{111} its horns look down.
After they had achieved the building of Esagila,
All the Anunnaki erected their shrines.
The three hundred Ifigi . . . . all of them gathered,
The lord being on the lofty dais which they had built
as his abode,
The gods, his fathers, at his banquet\textsuperscript{112} he seated:
“This is Babylon, the place that is your home!”\textsuperscript{113}
Make merry in its precincts, occupy its broad [places].\textsuperscript{114}
The great gods took their seats,
They set up festive drink, sat down to a banquet.
After they had made merry within it,
In Esagila, the splendid, had performed their rites,\textsuperscript{115}
The norms had been fixed (and) \textit{all} [their] portents,
All the gods apportioned the stations of heaven and earth.\textsuperscript{116}
The fifty great gods took their seats.\textsuperscript{90}
The seven gods of destiny set up the three hundred [in heaven].\textsuperscript{107}
Enil raised the bow, his weapon,\textsuperscript{108} and laid (it) before them.
The gods, his fathers, saw the net he had made.
When they beheld the bow, how skillful its shape,
His fathers praised the work he had wrought.
Raising (it), Anu spoke up in the Assembly of the gods,
As he kissed the bow: “This is my daughter!”
He named the names of the bow as follows:
“Longwood is the first, the second is Accurate;\textsuperscript{109}
Its third name is Bow-Star, in heaven 1 have made (90)
it shine.”
(Lines 86-112, hitherto largely or wholly destroyed,
have now been filled in by another Sultantepe duplicate;\textsuperscript{110}
cf. Gurney, \textit{Anatolian Studies}, ii, 33. A translation of lines 91-104 will be found on p. 503. Labat’s assumed lines 98 is to be deleted, following von Soden, \textit{ZA}, xi (1932), 169, but his line count has been retained for convenience.)

“Most exalted be the Son, our avenger;
Let his sovereignty be surpassing, having no rival.
May he shepherd the black-headed ones\textsuperscript{111} his creatures.
To the end of days, without forgetting, let them acclaim
his ways.
May he establish for his fathers the great
food-offerings;
Their support they shall furnish, shall tend their sanctuaries;
(110)
May he cause incense to be smelled, . . . their spells,
Make a likeness on earth of what he has wrought in heaven.
May he order the black-headed to revere him,
May the subjects ever bear in mind to speak of their god,
And may they at his word pay heed\textsuperscript{112} to the goddess.
May food-offerings be borne for their gods and goddesses.
Without fail let them support their gods!
Their lands let them improve, build their shrines,
Let the black-headed wait on their gods.
(120)
As for us, by however many names we pronounce, he is our god!
Let us then proclaim his fifty names:\textsuperscript{113}
‘He whose ways are glorious, whose deeds are likewise,
(1) Marduk, as Anu, his father,\textsuperscript{111} called him from his birth;’
Who provides grazing and drinking places, enriches their stalls,
Who with the flood-storm, his weapon, vanquished the detractors,
(And) who the gods, his fathers, rescued from distress.
Truly, the Son of the Sun,\textsuperscript{114} most radiant of gods is he.
In his brilliant light may they walk forever!
On the people he brought forth, endowed
with life,
(130)
The service of the gods he imposed that these may have ease.
Creation, destruction, deliverance, grace—
Shall be by his command.\textsuperscript{116} They shall look up to him!
(2) \textit{Maru}ku\textit{ku} verily is the god, creator of all,
Who gladdens the heart of the Anunnaki, appeases the Igigi.
(3) \textit{Marutukku} verily is the refuge of his land, city, and people.
Unto him shall the people give praise forever.
(4) \textit{Barashakushu}\textsuperscript{117} stood up and took hold of its\textsuperscript{118}
reins;
Wide is his heart, warm his sympathy.
(5) \textit{Lucaldimmeranka} is his name which we
proclaimed in our Assembly.
(140)
His commands we have exalted above the gods, his fathers.
Verily, he is lord of all the gods of heaven and underworld
The king at whose discipline the gods above and below are in mourning.\textsuperscript{119}

\textsuperscript{109} A play on the sense of Sumerian \textit{“Esagila.”}

\textsuperscript{110} Meaning apparently that the height of Esagila corresponded to the depth of Apsu’s waters.

\textsuperscript{111} cf.\ v. Soden, \textit{loc. cit.}

\textsuperscript{112} ibid.

\textsuperscript{113} Vav. “which you love,” a virtual homonym of “your home” in Akkadian.

\textsuperscript{114} v. Soden, \textit{loc. cit.}, 6.

\textsuperscript{115} ibid.

\textsuperscript{116} ibid.

\textsuperscript{117} ibid.

\textsuperscript{118} ibid.

\textsuperscript{119} A common Akkadian metaphor for “the human race.” In the preceding line the term \textit{ensu} has been taken to reflect the primary sense of Sumerian \textit{en} “lord” rather than “high priest.”

\textsuperscript{111} idem, \textit{ibid.}

\textsuperscript{112} A penetrating discussion of these names has been furnished by F. M. Th. Böhl in \textit{JTO}, xi (1936), 191-218. The text etymologizes the names in a manner made familiar by the Bible; the etymologies, which accompany virtually every name on the long list are meant to be cabalistic and symbolic rather than strictly linguistic, although some of them happen to be linguistically sound. The name count has in each case been indicated in parentheses.

\textsuperscript{113} Here and elsewhere “father” is used for “grandfather” or “ancestor.”

\textsuperscript{114} Lit. “emergence.”

\textsuperscript{115} cf. Table I, i, p. 1-2.

\textsuperscript{116} Reading \textit{ba-li-ma} in this line and \textit{a-ba-tu} in the line above, with v. Soden, \textit{loc. cit.}, 7. For name “command” see \textit{ZA}, xliv (1958), 42.

\textsuperscript{117} Vav. \textit{Shudunshakushu}.

\textsuperscript{118} I.e., those of the land.

\textsuperscript{119} For the remainder of this tablet cf. the new fragment published by E. Ebeling in \textit{MDOG}, xxx (1939), part 4 and the remarks of W. v. Soden in \textit{ZA}, xlviii (1924), 7-8, cf. now \textit{LKA}, 7.
(6) Nari-Lugaldimmerankia is the name of him
Whom we have called the monitor\(^{120}\) of the gods;
Who in heaven and on earth founds for us retreats\(^{21}\) in
trouble,
And who allot stations to the Igigi and Anunnaki.
At his name the gods shall tremble and quake in retreat.
(7) Asaruludu is that name of his
Which Anu, his father, proclaimed for him.
He is truly the light of the gods, the mighty leader,
Who, as the protecting deities\(^{122}\) of gods
and land,
In fierce single combat saved our retreats in distress.
Asaruludu, secondly, they have named (8) Namtillaku,
The god who maintains life.\(^{123}\)
Who restored the lost gods, as though his own creation;
The lord who revives the dead gods by his pure incantation,
Who destroys the wayward foes. Let us praise his
prowess\(^{124}\).
Asaruludu, whose name was thirdly called (9) Namrzu,
The shining god who illumines our ways.\(^{125}\)
Three each of his names\(^{126}\) have Anshar, Lahmu, and
Lahamu proclaimed;
Unto the gods, their sons, they did utter them:
“We have proclaimed three each
of his names.
Like us, do you utter his names!”
Joyfully the gods did heed their command,
As in Ushshkinna they exchanged counsels:
“Of the heroic son, our avenger,
Of our supporter we will exalt the name!”
They sat down in their Assembly to fashion\(^{128}\) destinies,
All of them uttering his names in the sanctuary.

\(\text{Table VII}\)

(10) Asaru, bestower of cultivation, who established
water levels;
Creator of grain and herbs, who causes vegetation to
sprout.\(^{127}\)
(11) Asaralim, who is honored in the place of counsel,
who excels in counsel;
To whom the gods hope,\(^{128}\) not being possessed of fear.
(12) Asaralimmunnna, the gracious, light of the father,
[his] begetter,
Who directs the decrees of Anu, Enlil, Ea and Ninigiku.
He is their provider who assigns their portions,
Whose horned cap\(^{129}\) is plenty, multiply[ing . . . ].
(13) Tuttu is he, who effects their restoration.

\(^{120}\) This verse confirms the equation of alir with Sumerian nari made
by S. N. Kramer, *BASOR*, 79 (1940), 25, n. 25. The meaning “monitor”
for this form and “admonition, instruction” for aliru would seem to fit all
known instances.
\(^{121}\) Lit., “seats.”
\(^{122}\) The Hedu and laminus.
\(^{124}\) Ibid. The reading tii-a in a new fragment brings the numbers into
agreement with the actual enumeration and eliminates the discrepancies en-
tailed in previous mistaken readings.
\(^{125}\) Var. “proclaim.”
\(^{126}\) The ends of most of these lines are provided by *JTT*, 1, No. 10 but
the ancient commentaries are still helpful; cf. King, *STG*, 1, 158 ff. and
11, li ff.
\(^{127}\) Lit., “wait.”

Let him purify their shrines that they
may have ease.
Let him devise the spell that the gods may be at rest.
Should they rise in anger, let them turn [back].
Verily, he is supreme in the Assembly of the gods;
No one among the gods is his eq[u]al.
Tutu is (14) Zikrinna, life of the host of [the gods],
Who established\(^{126}\) for the gods the holy heavens;
Who keeps a hold on their ways, determines [their
courses];
He shall not be forgotten by the beclouded.\(^{131}\) Let them
[remember]\(^{128}\) his deeds!
Tutu they thirdly called (15) Ziku, who establishes
holiness,
The god of the benign breath, the lord who
hearkens and accedes;
Who produces riches and treasures, establishes abundance:\(^{126}\)
Who has turned all our wants to plenty;
Whose benign breath we smelled in sore distress.
Let them speak, let them exalt, let them sing his praises!
Tutu, fourthly, let the people magnify as (16) Agaku,
The lord of the holy charm, who revives the dead;
Who had mercy on the vanquished gods,
Who removed the yoke imposed on the gods, his en-
emies,
(And) who, to redeem them, created mankind;
The merciful, in whose power it lies
to grant life.
May his words endure, not to be forgotten,
In the mouth of the black-headed, whom his hands have
created.
Tutu, fifthly, is (17) Tuku, whose holy spell their
mouths shall murmur;
Who with his holy charm has uprooted all the evil ones.
(18) Shazu, who knows the heart of the gods,
Who examines the inside;
From whom the evildoer cannot escape;
Who sets up the Assembly of the gods, gladdens their
hearts;
Who subdues the insubmissive; their wide-spread [pro-
tection];
Who directs justice, roots [out] crooked talk,
Who wrong and right in his place keeps apart.
(40)
Shazu may they, secondly, exalt as (19) Zisi,
Who silences the insurgent;
Who banishes consternation from the body of the gods,
his fathers.
Shazu is, thirdly, (20) Suhrim, who with the weapon
roots out all enemies,
Who frustrates their plans, scatters (them) to the winds;
Who blots out all the wicked ones who tremble before him.

\(^{129}\) Akk. aq̄ballitu, a word play on the -ukkrina of the name.
\(^{130}\) Another metaphor for “mankind.”
\(^{126}\) For lines 21-45 cf. A. Falkenstein, *Literarische Keilschrifttexte aus
Uruk* (1931), No. 38, obv.
\(^{124}\) Lines 43-130, for which see now the text in *LKA*, 8, have been trans-
lated by v. Soden in *ZA*, XLVII (1942), 10-17.
Let the gods exult in Assembly!

Shazu is, fourthly, (21) **Suhurim**, who insures\(^{136}\) a

hearing for the gods, his fathers,

Creator of the gods, his fathers,

Who roots out the enemies, destroys their progeny;
Who frustrates their doings, leaving nothing of them.

May his name be evoked and spoken

in the land!\(^{(50)}\)

Shazu, fifthly, they shall praise as (22) **Zahirim, the lord of the living,**

Who destroys all adversaries, all the disobedient;
[proxu]ses the evil;
Who all the fugitive gods brought home to their shrines.

May this his name endure!

To Shazu, moreover, they shall, sixthly, render all honor

as (23) **Zahurim**,\(^{(80)}\)

Who all the foes destroyed as though in battle.

(24) **Enbilulu**, the lord who makes them flourish, is he;

The mighty one who named them, who instituted roast-offerings;
Who ever regulates for the land the grazing and watering places;
Who opened the wells, apportioning waters

of abundance.

Enbilulu, secondly, they shall glorify as (25) **Epadun**,\(^{(60)}\)

The lord who sprinkles the field,

Irrigator\(^{137}\) of heaven and earth, who establishes seedrows,

Who forms fine plow land in the steppe,

Dam and ditch regulates, who delimits the furrow;

Enbilulu, thirdly, they shall praise as (26) **Enbilulu-Gugal**,\(^{(50)}\)

The irrigator of the plantations of the gods;

Lord of abundance, opulence, and of ample crops,
Who provides wealth, enriches all dwellings,
Who furnishes millet, causes barley to appear.

Enbilulu is (27) **Higal**, who heaps up abundance for the people's consumption;\(^{137}\)

Who causes rich rains over the wide earth, provides vegetation.

(28) **Sirin**,\(^{138}\) who heaped up a mountain over her,

Tiamat,\(^{(70)}\)

Who the corpse of Tiamat carried off with his weapon;
Who directs the land—their faithful shepherd;
Whose hair is a grain field, his horned cap furrows;

Who the wide-spreading Sea vaults in his wrath,

Crossing (her) like a bridge at the place of single combat.

Sirsir, secondly, they named (29) **Malah**—and so forth—\(^{139}\)

Tiamat is his vessel and he the rider.

(30) **Ghu**, who stores up grain heaps—massive mounds—

Who brings forth barley and millet, furnishes the seed of the land.

(31) **Gilma**, who makes lasting the lofty abode

of the gods,

Creator of security,
The hoop that holds the barrel together, who presents good things.

(32) **Aqilma**, the exalted one, who tears off the crown from the wrong position,

Who creates the clouds above the waters, makes enduring aloft.

(33) **Zulum**, who designates the fields for the gods,

allocates the creation,

Who grants portions and food-offerings, tends the shrines.

(34) **Mummu**, creator of heaven and earth, who directs...\(^{(100)}\)

The god who sanctifies heaven and earth is, secondly,

(35) **Zulammar**,\(^{(30)}\)

Whom no other among the gods can match in strength.

(35) **Gishnumunab**, creator of all people, who made the (world) regions,

Destroyer of the gods of Tiamat; who made men out of their substance.

(36) **Lugalabubur**, the king who frustrated the work of Tiamat,

Rooted out her weapons;

Whose foundation is firm in front and in the rear.

(37) **Pagalguenna**, the foremost of all the lords, whose strength is outstanding;

Who is pre-eminent in the royal abode, most exalted

of the gods.

(38) **Lugaldurmah**, the king, bond of the gods, lord of the Durmah,\(^{139}\)
Who is pre-eminent in the abode of the gods, most exalted of the gods.

(39) **Aranunna**, counselor of Ea, creator of the gods, his fathers,

Whose princely ways no god whatever can equal.

(40) **Dumuduku**, whose pure dwelling is renewed in Duku,\(^{140}\)

Dumuduku, without whom Lugalkuduga makes no decision.

(41) **Lugalannu**, the king whose strength is outstanding among the gods,
The lord, strength of Anu, who became supreme at the call\(^{141}\) of Anshar.

(42) **Lugalugga**, who carried off all of them amidst the struggle,\(^{142}\)

Who all wisdom encompasses, broad in perception.

\(^{136}\) Lit. “sets up.”

\(^{137}\) For lines 70-76 cf. the discussion by Landsberger in *Die Welt der Orienta,* i (1959), 102 ff., which is affected only slightly by the recently published text in *LKA,* 8. Note especially the variant reading in King, STC, ii, lxiii, 16.


\(^{140}\) “Pure Dwelling,” a sacred chamber in the Temple at Babylon.

\(^{141}\) v. Soden, *loc. cit.,* 32.

(43) IR.KINGU, who carried off Kingu in the thick of the battle,
Who conveys guidance for all, establishes rulership.

(44) KINMA, who directs all the gods, the giver of counsel,
At whose name the gods quake in fear, as at the storm.
(45) ESZKUR shall sit aloft in the house of prayer;
May the gods bring their presents before him,
That (from him) they may receive their assignments;
None can without him create artful works.
Four black-headed ones are among his creatures;
Aside from him no god knows the answer as to their days.

(46) GIBL, who maintains the sharp point of the weapon,
Who creates artful works in the battle with Tiamat;
Who has broad wisdom, is accomplished in insight, Whose mind is so vast that the gods, all of them, cannot fathom (it).

(47) AMU be his name, the whole sky may he cover.
May his beneficent roar ever hover over the earth;
May he, as MUMMU, diminish the clouds;
Below, for the people may he furnish sustenance.

(48) ASHARU, who, as is his name, guided the gods of destiny;
All of the people are verily in his charge.

(49) NEBIKU shall hold the crossings of heaven and earth,
So that they (the gods) cannot cross above and below, They must wait upon him.
NEBIKU is the star which in the skies is brilliant.
Verily he holds the central position, they shall bow down to him,
Saying: ‘He who the midst of the Sea restlessly crosses, Let ‘Crossing’ be his name, who controls its midst.
May they uphold the course of the stars of heaven;
May he shepherd all the gods like sheep.
May he vanquish Tiamat; may her life be strait and short!

Into the future of mankind, when days have worn old, May she recede without cease and stay away forever.

Because he created the spaces and fashioned the firm ground,
Father Enlil called his name (50) ‘Lord of the Lands.’

When all the names which the Igigi proclaimed, Ea had heard, his spirit rejoiced,
Thus: ‘He whose names his fathers have glorified, He is indeed even as I; his name shall be Ea.’
All my combined rites he shall administer;
All my instructions he shall carry out!’ With the title ‘Fifty’ the great gods Proclaimed him whose names are fifty and made his way supreme.

Epilogue

Let them be kept (in mind) and let the leader explain them.
Let the wise and the knowing discuss (them) together.
Let the father recite (them) and impart to his son.
Let the ears of shepherd and herdsman be opened.
Let him rejoice in Marduk, the Enlil of the gods, That his land may be fertile and that he may prosper.

Firm in his order, his command unalterable, The utterance of his mouth no god shall change.
When he looks he does not turn away his neck;
When he is angry, no god can withstand his wrath.
Vast is his mind, broad his sympathy, Sinner and transgressor may come before him.

(See the Supplement for the remainder of the Epilogue.)

The Epic of Gilgamesh

The theme of this epic is essentially a secular one. The poem deals with such earthy things as man and nature, love and adventure, friendship and combat—all masterfully blended into a background for the stark reality of death. The climactic struggle of the protagonist to change his eventual fate, by learning the secret of immortality from the hero of the Great Flood of long ago, ends in failure; but with the failure comes a sense of quiet resignation. For the first time in the history of the world a profound experience on such a heroic scale has found expression in a noble style. The scope and sweep of the epic, and its sheer poetic power, give it a timeless appeal. In antiquity, the influence of the poem spread to various tongues and cultures. Today it captivates student and poet alike.

The Akkadian title of the poem, which was taken as usual from the opening words, is Ša-nāgba-imaru, “He who saw everything.” The prevailing meter has the normal four beats to a line. The work is divided into twelve tablets. The longest of these contains over three hundred lines. It happens to be the so-called Flood Tablet (XI), virtually in a perfect state of preservation. The rest has survived in portions, some of considerable size and others in relatively small fragments. All but a few of the Akkadian lines are preserved.

143 Modifying slightly v. Soden’s suggestion, loc. cit., 23.
144 v. Soden’s suggestion, loc. cit., 23, is supported by the Gurney fragment (cf. n. 59), line 107. cf. Heidel, BG, 58, n. 150.
145 Lit. “heart.”
146 For MUMMU in the sense of “thunder” see A. Heidel, JNES, vii (1948), 104; the accompanying verb, however, has been given its normal meaning, cf. Tablet V, 20.
147 Obviously two verses, combined into one on some of the tablets. The present line count follows Labat’s 24, with him, the count by tens as found in some of the texts.
148 We have here apparently another ancient allusion to a connection between Acc. alāru and Sumerian mar; cf. Tablet VI, 144.
149 Jupiter.
151 Lit. “holds.”
152 v. Soden, loc. cit., 35.
153 i.e. Tiamat “the Sea.” The variant form of the verb is li-iṣī-d-em-a.
156 For the concluding lines cf. A. L. Oppenheim, Orients, xvi (1945), 237.
Akkadian Myths and Epics

TRANS LaTOR A. K. GRAYSON

Since the second edition of this volume was published there has been considerable improvement in our knowledge of Akkadian myths and epics. This improvement is due in part to continuing study of the texts already known and in part to new texts which have come to light. It is unfortunate that, due to his untimely death, Professor E. A. Speiser was unable to undertake the revision of his translations. The present writer, in assuming this task, has tried to follow Speiser’s style as much as possible. Thus no changes have been made in the previously published translations unless these were made necessary by recent research or newly discovered texts. The translations of passages which are still not clear have been left unaltered. All publications which have appeared in the intervening years have been taken into consideration with the exception of the abundant material now being made available for the Atrahasis Epic, an omission which will be explained in the section on that composition. One completely new text, A Babylonian Theogony, has been included.

The Creation Epic

ADDITIONS TO TABLETS V-VII

Research and new discoveries have filled some gaps in this composition and corrected some erroneous ideas. It is now widely held that the date of composition of the Creation Epic is later than the Old Babylonian period. Beyond this there is little agreement for while some would place its origin in the Kassite period, others would date it even later.

Among recent publications of overall significance must be included the composite cuneiform text of the epic edited by W. G. Lambert and Simon B. Parker, Enunma Eli (Oxford, 1966). Also worthy of note is an article by W. G. Lambert, “A New Look at the Babylonian Background of Genesis” in The Journal of Theological Studies, xvi (1965), 287-300. New texts that have appeared come mainly from Ashur and Sultantepe. In the second edition of this volume Speiser was able to incorporate the Ashur material into the translations. The Sultantepe texts had only just begun to appear, however, and he was able to utilize very little of them. Thus most of the changes made in the translation have been occasioned by the Sultantepe material.

Since Tables I-IV were previously well preserved only small changes were necessary. All of these changes have been incorporated in the body of the text. The new sources are:


A few changes have been made in the translation of Tablet IV which require comment. In line 19 the correct translation is “Image,” Akkadian lu-ma-id as shown by STT I, No. 3 and see R. Borger, AJO, xix (1959-60), 113. This constellation, which is also mentioned in IV, 23-26 and in Tablet V, has been discussed by B. Landsberger and Kinnier Wilson, JNES, xx (1961), 170-71. At the beginning of IV, 53 read with STT I, No. 3: pa-ta-nu la ist-ti. At the beginning of IV, 54 read with STT I, No. 3: an-a-ka la i-šu-šu.

The major addition to our knowledge of the epic is in Tablet V. A large portion of the text was published many years ago by L. W. King, CT, xxi, 22-25, but its identity as part of Tablet V was disputed. The recent discovery at Sultantepe of a duplicate, STT I, No. 12, has virtually settled the argument. The sources for Tablet V were recently compiled, edited, and commented upon by B. Landsberger and J. V. Kinnier Wilson, JNES, xx (1961), 154-179. Some changes have been made in the first twenty-two lines of this tablet translated by Speiser. There follows what can be translated of the remainder of the tablet using the line numbering of the Landsberger and Kinnier Wilson edition.

“I [have appointed] a sign, follow its path, . . . [ . . . ] approach and give judgment.”

(Lines 25-44 are too broken for translation. It is clear from the traces, however, that after completing his creation of the moon Marduk turned his attention to establishing the sun.)

After he [had appointed] the days [to Shamash], [45] [And had established] the precincts of night and day.

[Taking] the spittle of Tiamat [mat]
Marduk created . . . . .
He formed the clouds and filled (them) with water.
The raising of winds, the bringing of rain (and) cold,
Making the mist smoke, piling up her poison:
(These) he appointed to himself, took into his own charge.

Putting her head into position he formed the [roen the mountain]s,
Opening the deep (which) was in flood,
He caused to flow from her eyes the Euphrates (and) Tigris,
Stopping her nostrils he left . . . ,

1 For a summary of the Sultantepe sources for the Creation Epic see O. R. Gurney, AJO, xvii (1956), 353-56.

2 Tiamat’s.
3 Tiamat’s. Text: “his.”

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He formed at her udder the lofty mountains, 
(Therein) he drilled springs for the wells to carry off 
(the water).
Twisting her tail he bound it to Durmah, 4
[. . .] . . . Apsu at his foot, (60)
[. . .] her crotch, she was fastened to the heavens, 
(Thus) he covered [the heavens] (and) established 
the earth.
[. . .] . . . in the midst of Tiamat he made flow, 
[. . .] his net he completely let out, 
(So) he created heaven and earth . . . , 
[. . .] their bounds . . . established.
When he had designed his rules (and) fashioned [his] ordinances,
He founded [the shrines (and) handed them over 
to Ea. 
[The Tablet of] Destinies which he had taken from 
Kingu he carried, 
He brought (it) as the first gift of greeting, he gave (it) to Anu. 
[The gods who had done battle (and) been scattered, 
He led [bou]nd into the presence of his fathers. 
Now the eleven creatures which Tiamat had 
made . . . , 
Whose weapons he had shattered, which he had tied 
to his foot:
[Of these] he made statues and set (them) up [at the 
Gate of] Apsu (saying):
“Let it be a token that this may never be forgotten!” 
When [the gods] saw (this) they were exceedingly glad, 
[La]humu, Lahamu, and all of his fathers 
[Crossed] over to him, and Anshar, the king, made 
manifest his greeting,
[Anu], Enlil, and Ea presented to him gifts. (80)
[With a gift] Damkina, his mother, made him joyous,
She sent offerings, his face brightened. 
[T]o Usmi who brought her gift to a secret place 
[He entrust]ed the chancellorship of Apsu (and) the 
stewardship of the shrines.
Being [assembled] all the Igigi bowed down, 
While everyone of the Anunnaki kissed his feet, 
[. . .] their assembly to do obeisance, 
They stood [before him] bowed (and said): “He is 
the king!” 
[After] the gods, his fathers, were satiated with his 
charms. (89)
(Lines 90-106 are too mutilated for translation. In this 
passage the seating of Marduk on the throne with his 
weapons was described.)

Ea and Damkina [. . .]. (107)
They opened their mouths to [speak to the great 
gods], the Igigi:
“Formerly [Mard]uk was (merely) our beloved 
son, 
Now he is your king, proclaim his title!” (110)
A second (speech) they made, they all spoke:
“His name shall be Lugaldimmerankia, trust in him!” 
When they had given the sovereignty to Marduk, 
They declared for him a formula of good fortune and 
success:
“Henceforth thou wilt be the patron of our sanctuaries, 
Whatever thou dost command we will do.”
Marduk opened his mouth to speak, 
To say a word to the gods, his fathers:
“Above the Apsu where you have resided, 
The counterpart of Esharra which I have built over you, 
Below I have hardened the ground for a building site, 
I will build a house, it will be my luxurious abode. 
I will found therein its temple, 
I will appoint cells, I will establish my sovereignty. 
When you come up from the Apsu for assembly, 
You will spend the night therein, (it is there) to 
receive all of you. 
When you descend from heaven for assembly, 
You will spend the night there (it is there) to 
receive all of you. 
I will call [its] name [‘Babylon’) (which means 
‘the houses of the great gods’,” (130) 
I shall build it [with] the skill of craftsmen.” 
[When the gods], his fathers, [heard] this [speech] 
of his,
[They put] the following question [to Marduk, their 
firstborn]:
“Over all that your hands have created, 
Who will have thy [authority]? 
Over the ground which your hands have created, 
Who will have thy [power]? 
Babylon, which thou didst give a fine name, 
Therein [establish our] abode forever! 
[. . .], let them bring-our daily ration, 
[. . .] our [. . .], 
Let no one [usurp] our tasks which we [previously 
performed], 
Therein [. . .] its labor [. . .].”
Marduk rejoiced [when he heard this and] 
He [answered] those gods [who had questioned him, 
He that selew Tiamat sho[wed] them light,


5 “King of the gods of heaven and underworld.” Cf. Tablet VI, 140. 

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The Epic of Gilgamesh

ADDITIONS TO TABLETS V-VIII AND X

Research and new finds have continued to increase our knowledge of the Epic of Gilgamesh. The recent discovery of a fragment of this epic at Megiddo in Palestine provides yet another indication of the diffusion of this popular composition and the appearance at Boğazköy of further pieces of the Hurrian and Hittite versions11 is also of interest in this respect. In recent years there have been significant additions to the Old Babylonian version as well as to the late recension of the epic. Bibliographical details of the new material will be given at the appropriate place. Here only new and significant studies of the work as a whole will be noted. Of particular importance is a revision of Schott's translation of the epic into German published by W. von Soden, Das Gilgamesch-Epos (1958) as well as von Soden's notes to this new edition in ZA, lxxi (1959), 209-35. Also noteworthy is the revised edition of A. Heidel's The Gilgamesh Epic and Old Testament Parallels (1949). An indication that interest in this literary composition is far from waning is the fact that the VII Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale held in 1958 was devoted to a discussion of the Gilgamesh Epic and the numerous and varied papers presented at that time were subsequently edited and published by P. Garelli, Gilgames et sa Légende (1960). In particular note the detailed bibliography compiled by L. de Meyer on pp. 1-30.

Tablet I

Sources for Tablet I have been slightly increased by the recent publication of four Neo-Babylonian fragments by W. G. Lambert, CT, xlvii, 17-20. CT, xlvii, 17 and part of CT, xlvii, 19 were utilized by Thompson in GETA but were not previously published in full. CT, xlvii, 18 and 20 were first published by D. J. Wiseman in Garelli, Gilgames et sa Légende, 126 and 124 respectively. Most changes and additions necessitated by the new pieces have been incorporated in the revised pages of the translation. In II 7 one may now read:

In the rampart of Uruk he [. . .]

To footnote 8 on p. 73 (note to II 10) add: The interpretation of this line and its parallel, II 22, is still a crux. The suggestion of B. Landsberger, WZKM, liv (1950), 125, n. 49 to read ina pu-uk-ki jũ-ub-ŠU (read 'jũ-ub-šu') for his command is possible for II 10 (note that ina pu-uk-ki is preserved in CT, xlvii, 19) but not for II 22 where the text reads: ina pu-uk-ki jũ-ub-šu [. . .].

In Bi. Or., xviii (1961), 62, I. M. Diakonoff has suggested that the designation of the harlot as lamhatu is in fact a personal name. This suggestion does not take into account the fact that the plural of lamhatu occurs in Tablet VI 164 as a synonymous parallel to harimati. Speiser's translation of lamhatu as "the last" has therefore been maintained.

Tablet II

OLD BABYLONIAN VERSION

Some changes in the translation have been made in accordance with the suggestions of W. von Soden, ZA, lxxii (1959), 210-12.

Tablet III

OLD BABYLONIAN VERSION

A few changes have been made in the translation and these have been justified in the footnotes. On III 24 and V 19 see E. A. Speiser, JCS, xxii (1955), 41 ff. 10 A. Goetze and S. Levy, "Fragment of the Gilgamesh Epic from Megiddo" 'Aqiq, ii (1959), 121-28 and for comment see W. von Soden, AFO, xx (1953), 83, n. 1. 11 See H. Otten in Garelli, Gilgames et sa Légende, 139-143, and cf. J. Friedrich Orientalia NS, xxx (1961), 90 ff.