

ANCIENT  
NEAR EASTERN TEXTS

*Relating to the Old Testament*

EDITED BY  
JAMES B. PRITCHARD

*Third Edition with Supplement*

PRINCETON · NEW JERSEY  
PRINCETON UNIVERSITY PRESS

1969

COPYRIGHT © 1950, 1955, 1969, BY PRINCETON UNIVERSITY PRESS

COPYRIGHT © RENEWED 1978 BY PRINCETON UNIVERSITY PRESS

ALL RIGHTS RESERVED

SECOND EDITION, 1955

THIRD EDITION WITH SUPPLEMENT, 1969

*Third printing, 1974*

*Fifth printing, 1992*

L.C.C. NO. 78-76499

I.S.B.N. 0-691-03503-2

5 7 9 11 12 10 8 6

PRINTED IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

# Akkadian Myths and Epics

TRANSLATOR: E. A. SPEISER

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 idiom—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 appropriated 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 *Enūma elīš* "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 *Enuma Eliš* (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*, xii (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*, xl-xli (1932 f.), 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.<sup>1</sup> 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,

<sup>1</sup> A metric rendering of Tablet I into Dutch has been published by F. M. Th. Böhl in *JEOL*, ix (1944), 145 ff.

Firm ground below had not been called by name,  
Naught but primordial Apsu, their begetter,  
(And) Mummu<sup>2</sup>-Tiamat, she who bore them all,  
Their<sup>3</sup> waters commingling as a single body;  
No reed hut<sup>4</sup> 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.<sup>5</sup>  
Lahmu and Lahamu were brought forth, by name  
they were called. (10)

Before they had grown in age and stature.  
Anshar and Kishar were formed, surpassing the others.  
They prolonged the days, added on the years.<sup>6</sup>  
Anu was their heir, of his fathers the rival;  
Yea, Anshar's first-born, Anu, was his equal.  
Anu begot in his image Nudimmud.<sup>7</sup>  
This Nudimmud was of his fathers the master;<sup>8</sup>  
Of broad wisdom, understanding, mighty in strength,  
Mightier by far than his grandfather, Anshar.  
He had no rival among the gods,  
his brothers.<sup>9</sup> (20)

The divine brothers banded together,  
They disturbed Tiamat *as they surged back and forth*,<sup>10</sup>  
Yea, they troubled the mood<sup>11</sup> of Tiamat  
By their *hilarity*<sup>12</sup> 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*.<sup>13</sup>  
Then Apsu, the begetter of the great gods,  
Cried out, addressing Mummu, his vizier: (30)  
"O Mummu, my vizier, who rejoicest my spirit,<sup>14</sup>  
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*<sup>15</sup> Tiamat:

<sup>2</sup> Not to be confused with the vizier Mummu, for grammatical reasons. Perhaps an epithet in the sense of "mother," as has long been suspected. On the various meanings of the term see now A. Heidel in *JNES*, vii (1948), 98-105.

<sup>3</sup> i.e. the fresh waters of Apsu and the marine waters of Tiamat "the sea."

<sup>4</sup> In this epic *gipāru* indicates both the primitive building material—as in this passage; cf. E. Douglas Van Buren, *Orientalia*, xiii (1944), 32—and a cult hut (Tablet 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."

<sup>5</sup> The waters of Apsu and Tiamat.

<sup>6</sup> i.e. a long time elapsed.

<sup>7</sup> One of the names of Ea, the earth- and water-god.

<sup>8</sup> Reading *ša-lif*, with one Ashur text, for *a-lid* "begetter."

<sup>9</sup> Var. "fathers."

<sup>10</sup> Reading *na-muṣ-šu-nu*, with a number of interpreters. Others read the ambiguous second sign as *-fir*, thus obtaining the sense "assaulted their keeper"; cf. Heidel, *BG*, 9.

<sup>11</sup> Lit. "belly."

<sup>12</sup> cf. W. v. Soden, *ZA*, XLIV (1938), 38.

<sup>13</sup> For the approximate sense cf. A. L. Oppenheim, *Orientalia*, xvi (1947), 210, n. 2.

<sup>14</sup> Lit. "liver."

<sup>15</sup> This translation ignores a minor grammatical difficulty; the alternative "(spoke) with raised voice" (cf. Tablet III, 125) would have to contend with etymological objections.

"Their ways are verily loathsome unto me.  
By day I find no relief,<sup>16</sup> nor repose by night.  
I will destroy, I will wreck their ways,  
That quiet may be restored. Let us have rest!" (40)

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<sup>17</sup> 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!" (50)

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.<sup>18</sup>  
(Now) whatever they had plotted between them,  
Was repeated unto the gods, their first-born.  
When the gods heard (this),<sup>19</sup> they were astir,  
(Then) lapsed into silence and remained speechless.  
Surpassing in wisdom, accomplished, resourceful,  
Ea, the all-wise, saw through their<sup>20</sup> scheme. (60)  
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,<sup>21</sup>  
As he poured sleep upon him. Sound asleep he lay.<sup>22</sup>  
When Apsu he had made prone, drenched with sleep,  
Mummu, the adviser,<sup>23</sup> was powerless to stir<sup>24</sup>  
He loosened his band, tore off his tiara,  
Removed his halo<sup>25</sup> (and) put it on himself.<sup>26</sup>  
Having fettered Apsu, he slew him.  
Mummu he bound and left behind lock. (70)  
Having thus upon Apsu established his dwelling,  
He laid hold on Mummu, holding him by the nose-rope.  
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<sup>27</sup> he founded.

<sup>16</sup> Not merely "rest," because of the "elative" force of the prefix *š-*, a function as yet ignored in Akkadian grammars.

<sup>17</sup> For this value of *šadādu* cf. Gilg. xii, 32 and the semantic range of the terms listed in Deimel, *SL*, 371, 73.

<sup>18</sup> The Akkadian appears ambiguous as to subject and object. It would seem, however, that as Mummu came down to his knees, Apsu embraced him by the neck.

<sup>19</sup> Var. "The gods were in tears."

<sup>20</sup> That of Apsu and Mummu.

<sup>21</sup> Lit. "caused it to be in the waters," viz. those of Apsu.

<sup>22</sup> cf. F. W. Geers, *JNES*, iv (1945), 66.

<sup>23</sup> Reading *tam-la-ku* with Heidel, *BG*, 10, n. 22.

<sup>24</sup> cf. *JCS*, v (1951), 65 and n. 15.

<sup>25</sup> Following the interpretation of A. L. Oppenheim, *JAOS*, LXIII (1943), 31 ff.

<sup>26</sup> 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 pronominal form (*šu'a*); cf. W. v. Soden, *ZA*, XL (1932), 182.

<sup>27</sup> See above, note 4.

Ea and Damkina,<sup>28</sup> 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<sup>29</sup> was Marduk<sup>30</sup> 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.<sup>31</sup>  
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. (90)

He rendered him perfect<sup>32</sup> and endowed him with a  
double godhead.<sup>33</sup>  
Greatly exalted was he above them, exceeding through-  
out.

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 all four<sup>34</sup> 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. (100)

"My little son, my little son!"<sup>35</sup>  
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,<sup>36</sup>  
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,<sup>37</sup> said:  
"When they slew Apsu, thy consort,  
Thou didst not aid him but remainedst still.

<sup>28</sup> The Assyrian versions substitute here and elsewhere Lahmu and Lahamu for the Babylonian Ea and Damkina; similarly, Anshar-Ashur replaces Marduk.

<sup>29</sup> "The Deep."

<sup>30</sup> Var. "Ashur" here and in the next line.

<sup>31</sup> Var. "she caused him to suck."

<sup>32</sup> The technical term *lutesbū* refers primarily to the final inspection of their work by craftsmen before it is pronounced ready for use. cf. also Th. Bauer, *Das Inschriftenwerk Assurbanipals* (Leipzig, 1933), II, 84.

<sup>33</sup> cf. Oppenheim, *Orientalia*, xvi (1947), 215.

<sup>34</sup> The word play of the Akkadian *irbū erbā* cannot readily be reflected.

<sup>35</sup> Akkadian *māri(ya)ūtu* reflects a double pun: cf. *Orientalia*, xv (1946), 380, n. 6; *ZA*, xxxv (1923), 239, and *ZA*, xxxvi (1924), 77-79. Grammatically, "Our son, our son!" is also possible.

<sup>36</sup> New texts (*LKA*, 3 and *AnSt* II, 32 f.—cf. Addenda) have filled in gaps in lines 104 ff., adding the new line 106a. Space precludes detailed comments on various points. In *LKA*, 3, 106 read *qa-tu!-lu*.

<sup>37</sup> Thus *LKA*, 3.

When the dread fourfold wind he<sup>38</sup> created,  
Thy vitals were diluted and so we can have no rest.  
Let Apsu, thy consort, be in thy mind<sup>39</sup>  
And Mummu, who has been vanquished! Thou art left  
alone!

[ . . . ] thou papest about distraught,  
[ . . . without ce]ase. Thou dost not love us!  
[ . . . ] pinched are our eyes, (120)  
[ . . . ] without cease. Let us have rest!  
[ . . . to batt]le. Do thou avenge them!  
[ . . . ] and render (them) as the wind!"  
[When] Tiamat [heard] (these) words, she was  
pleased:<sup>40</sup>

"[ . . . ] you have given. Let us make *monsters*,  
[ . . . ] and the gods in the mid[st . . . ].  
[ . . . 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,<sup>41</sup> she who fashions all things,  
Added matchless weapons, bore monster-serpents,  
Sharp of tooth, unsparing 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].<sup>42</sup>

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 her decrees, past withstanding 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— (150)  
These<sup>43</sup> 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."<sup>44</sup>  
Verily, thou art supreme, my only consort art thou!

<sup>38</sup> Apparently Anu, to judge from *LKA*, 3.

<sup>39</sup> Lit. "heart."

<sup>40</sup> Reading *i-tib* with F. Delitzsch, *AFO*, vi (1930-31), 222.

<sup>41</sup> For this term, which in its application to a goddess represents in effect a female counterpart of Ea, cf. I. J. Gelb, *Hurrians and Subarians* (1944), 92 ff. and E. A. Speiser, *JAOs*, LXVIII (1948), 12.

<sup>42</sup> Lit. "turn back their breasts." Another possibility is "they will not turn back." For lines 132-139, which recur several times later on, cf. Th. Jacobsen, in *The Intellectual Adventure of Ancient Man* (1946), 175-6. The entire epic is reviewed, and various passages are translated, *ibid.* 172 ff.

<sup>43</sup> Rendering in this fashion the particle *-ma*.

<sup>44</sup> 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<sup>45</sup> sons, [they<sup>46</sup> decreed] the fate:  
 "Your word shall make the first subside, (160)  
 Shall humble the 'Power-Weapon,' so potent in (its) sweep!"<sup>47</sup>

### 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 lapsed 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: (10)  
 "My father, Tiamat, she who bore us, detests us.  
 She has set up the Assembly<sup>48</sup> 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, (20)  
 Sharp of tooth, unsparing 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. (30)  
 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,

<sup>45</sup> Var. "her."

<sup>46</sup> Tiamat and Kingu.

<sup>47</sup> The word play of the original *gašru* : *magšaru* 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 *lit-mu-ru*.

<sup>48</sup> For the all-important place of the *puhrum* or "assembly" in Mesopotamian society, celestial as well as human, cf. Th. Jacobsen, *Primitive Democracy in Mesopotamia*, *JNES*, 11 (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.

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<sup>49</sup> 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."<sup>49</sup> (40)  
 [Verily, thou art supreme, my only consort] art thou!  
 [Thy utterance shall prevail over all the Anun]naki!  
 [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<sup>50</sup> 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<sup>51</sup> and] bit his lips. (50)  
 [Gloomy was his heart], restless his mood.  
 [He covered] his [mouth] to stifle his outcry:<sup>52</sup>  
 "[...] battle.  
 [The weapon thou hast made], up, bear thou!  
 [Lo, Mummu and] Apsu thou didst slay.  
 [Now, slay thou Kin]gu, 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. (80)  
 [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<sup>53</sup> thus he] addressed him:

<sup>49</sup> cf. note 47.

<sup>50</sup> Tablet I, 159 has "his."

<sup>51</sup> As a sign of distress.

<sup>52</sup> cf. Oppenheim, *loc. cit.*, 220, n.1. Note also the intransitive forms of this verb in the *Legend of Zu* (below), A 23, B 52.

<sup>53</sup> The suffix *-ki* 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 [suffi]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],

(90)

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.

[Giv]ing counsel, he told him what was in his heart:<sup>54</sup>

"O Marduk, consider my advice. Hearken to thy father, For thou art my son who comforts his<sup>55</sup> heart.

When facing Anshar, approach as though in

combat;

(100)

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?

(110)

[*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-ch[ariot] proceed with all speed.

From her [*presence*] they shall not drive (thee)! Turn (*them*) back!"

The lord [*rejoiced*] at the word of his father.

(120)

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 Ubshukinna<sup>56</sup> you have sat down re-joining,

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 gladdenest 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<sup>57</sup> wine;

For Marduk, their avenger, let them fix

the decrees.

(10)

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.

(20)

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, unsparing 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.

(30)

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,

ad[vancing to combat],

(40)

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:

<sup>54</sup> Reading: [*im*]-*li-ka-ma ak lib-bi-su i-ta-mi-su*.

<sup>55</sup> i.e. his father's.

<sup>56</sup> The Assembly Hall.

<sup>57</sup> This use of *paāqu* 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!  
 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 Lahamu, the gods, his fathers,  
 He made obeisance, kissing the ground at their feet.  
 He bowed low as he took his place  
 to address them: (70)  
 "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. (80)  
 Mother Hubur, she who fashions all things,  
 Has added matchless weapons, has born monster-ser-  
 pents,  
 Sharp of tooth, unsparing 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 vipers,<sup>58</sup> dragons, and *sphinxes*,  
 Great-lions, mad-dogs, and scorpion-men, (90)  
 Mighty lion-demons, dragon-flies, and centaurs—

<sup>58</sup> In view of the plurals in this passage (one text, however, retains the singulars), the names of the monsters are this time given in lower case.

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: (100)  
 '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*! (110)  
 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]. (120)  
 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 Lahamu heard this, they cried out  
 aloud,  
 All the Igigi<sup>59</sup> wailed in distress:  
 "How strange<sup>60</sup> that they should have made [this] de-  
 cision!  
 We cannot fathom the doings of Tiamat!"  
 They made ready<sup>61</sup> 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.

<sup>59</sup> The heavenly deities.

<sup>60</sup> Lit. "What has turned strange?"

<sup>61</sup> cf. Oppenheim, *Orientalia*, xvi (1947), 223.



They held converse as they [sat down] to the banquet.  
 They ate festive bread, poured [the wine],  
 They wetted their drinking-tubes<sup>62</sup> 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.<sup>63</sup>  
 "Thou art the most honored of the great gods,  
 Thy decree is unrivaled, thy command is Anu."<sup>64</sup>  
 Thou, Marduk, art the most honored of the great gods,  
 Thy decree is unrivaled, thy word is Anu.  
 From this day unchangeable 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."

Having placed in their midst the Images,  
 They addressed themselves to Marduk, their first-born: (20)

"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,<sup>65</sup>  
 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: (30)

"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,

<sup>62</sup> The term *rātum* "tube, pipe" refers here obviously to the drinking-tubes which are pictured commonly in representations of banquets.

<sup>63</sup> Lit. "for advising."

<sup>64</sup> i.e. it has the authority of the sky-god Anu.

<sup>65</sup> Lit. "outcome of his mouth."

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 Imhullu "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.<sup>66</sup>  
 For a cloak he was wrapped in an armor of terror;<sup>67</sup>  
 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;<sup>68</sup>  
 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],<sup>69</sup> without turning her neck,  
 Framing<sup>70</sup> savage<sup>71</sup> defiance in her lips:<sup>72</sup>  
 "Too [imp]ortant art thou [for]<sup>73</sup> the lord of the gods to rise up against thee!

<sup>66</sup> These two lines, hitherto obscured by breaks, have been filled out and clarified by the fragment transliterated in *Anatolian Studies*, 11 (1952), 27; cf. *LKA*, 6.

<sup>67</sup> The assonance of the original, viz. *naḥlapti apluḥti pulḥāti ḥalipma*, cannot be readily reproduced; for the passage cf. *LKA*, 6.

<sup>68</sup> See now *Anatolian Studies*, 11, 28.

<sup>69</sup> cf. E. Weidner, *A/O*, III (1926), 123 for the reading [*rigm*]a, although [*tāf*]a "her incantation" is not impossible. For lines 64-83 see the fragment published by Weidner, *ibid.*, 122-24.

<sup>70</sup> For a close semantic parallel cf. *Judg.* 12:6.

<sup>71</sup> To give *lullū* the same sense as in Tablet VI, 6-7, and *Gilg.* I, iv 7.

<sup>72</sup> Tiamat's taunt, as recorded in the next two lines, is not transparently clear.

<sup>73</sup> Reading [*ka*]b-ta-t[a a?-n]a *ša*, cf. *CT*, XIII, 17; the third sign does not appear to be adequately reproduced in Deimel, *Enuma Eliš*, 17, and the fifth sign cannot be read *šu* (for [*n*]a) as is done by Labat, *PBC*, 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,"<sup>74</sup> 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! (80)  
 Thou hast appointed Kingu as thy consort,  
 Conferring upon him the rank of Anu, not rightfully his.<sup>75</sup>  
 Against Anshar, king of the gods, thou seekest 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.<sup>76</sup> (90)  
 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<sup>77</sup> 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<sup>78</sup> and her mouth  
 was wide open. (100)  
 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. (110)  
 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.

<sup>74</sup> 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.

<sup>75</sup> The correction of *-ya* to *-lu*, which I proposed in the first edition of *ANET*, is borne out by the Gurney fragment.

<sup>76</sup> For *malmališ* cf. J. Lewy, *Orientalia*, XI (1942), 336, n.1; H. G. Güterbock, *AJO*, XIII (1939), 48.

<sup>77</sup> Reading *id-lu-bu*, with Heidel, *BG*, 30, n.84, but translating the verb in the sense established in *JCS*, V (1951), 64 ff.

<sup>78</sup> cf. Heidel, *BG*, 30, n.85.

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.<sup>79</sup> (120)  
 He took from him the Tablet of Destinies, not rightfully his,  
 Sealed (them) with a seal<sup>80</sup> 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. (130)  
 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 ceiled it as sky,  
 Pulled down the bar and posted guards.  
 He bade them to allow not her waters  
 to escape. (140)  
 He crossed the heavens and surveyed the regions.  
 He squared Apsu's quarter,<sup>81</sup> 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<sup>82</sup> 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. (10)

<sup>79</sup> God of death.

<sup>80</sup> This was an essential act of attestation in Mesopotamian society.

<sup>81</sup> For this rendering cf. A. Schott, *ZA*, XLII (1934), 137.

<sup>82</sup> i.e. the planet Jupiter. This station was taken to lie between the band (*riksu*; cf. I. 6) of the north, which belonged to Enlil, and the band of the south, which belonged to Ea.

In her<sup>83</sup> belly he established the zenith.  
 The Moon he caused to shine, the night (to him) entrusting.  
 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<sup>84</sup> stand in opposition<sup>85</sup> in mid-month.  
 When the sun [overtakes] thee at the base of heaven,  
*Diminish* [thy crown] and retrogress in light. (20)  
 At the time [of disappearance] approach thou the course of the sun,  
 And [on the thir]tieth thou shalt again stand in opposition to the sun."  
 (See Supplement.)

### 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,<sup>86</sup> '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." (10)  
 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.<sup>87</sup>  
 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<sup>88</sup> graciously, he issues instructions.  
 To his utterance the gods pay heed.<sup>89</sup>  
 The king addresses a word to the Anunnaki: (20)  
 "If your former statement was true,

<sup>83</sup> Tiamat's.

<sup>84</sup> Akkadian *šapattu*, the prototype of the "Sabbath" in so far as the injunctions against all types of activity are concerned.

<sup>85</sup> i.e. with regard to the sun. This verb was a technical term in Babylonian astronomy.

<sup>86</sup> For this value of the term, probably a derivative of the ethnic name *Lullu*, cf. B. Landsberger, *Kleinasiatische Forschungen*, 1 (1929), 321-334 and *MAOG*, IV (1928), 320, n. 2; also E. A. Speiser, *Mesopotamian Origins* (1930), 95, n. 35. That the *Lullu* were linked by Akkadian sources with the remote and dim past may be gathered from the evidence which I listed in *JAO*, LXVIII (1948), 8, as well as from the fact that the flood ship (Gilg., XI, 140) lands on Mount Nisir, in *Lullu* country.

<sup>87</sup> Out of his blood.

<sup>88</sup> Lit. "ordering."

<sup>89</sup> Reading *u-paq-qu-ū!* (var. *-šū!*), with W. von Soden, *ZA*, XLVII (1942), 3. 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 (1939), part 4—(see *loc. cit.*, 1-26) have proved very illuminating, as may be seen from the numerous references below; see now *LKA*, 7 and 8.

Do (now) the truth on oath by me declare!<sup>90</sup>  
 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!<sup>91</sup>  
 The Igigi, the great gods, replied to him,  
 To Lugaldimmerankia,<sup>91</sup> counselor of the gods, their lord:<sup>92</sup>  
 "It was Kingu who contrived the uprising,  
 And made Tiamat rebel, and joined battle." (30)  
 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<sup>93</sup> 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.<sup>94</sup> (40)  
 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,<sup>95</sup> O lord, thou who hast caused our deliverance,  
 What shall be our homage to thee? (50)  
 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!<sup>96</sup>  
 On the day that we arrive<sup>97</sup> we shall repose in it."  
 When Marduk heard this,  
 Brightly glowed his features, like the day:  
 "Construct Babylon, whose building you have requested,  
 Let its brickwork be fashioned. You shall name it<sup>98</sup> 'The Sanctuary.'  
 The Anunnaki applied the implement;  
 For one whole year they molded bricks. (60)  
 When the second year arrived,

<sup>90</sup> cf. Oppenheim, *Orientalia*, xvi (1947), 234.

<sup>91</sup> "The king of the gods of heaven and earth."

<sup>92</sup> For lines 28-50 see the fragment published by E. Weidner in *AfO*, XI (1936) 72-74. This material was not available to Labat; von Soden's additions (cf. note 89) came too late to be utilized by Heidel.

<sup>93</sup> Ea.

<sup>94</sup> 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.

<sup>95</sup> Not "O Nannar," as translated by some. For this rebus writing signifying *inanna* "now" cf. *AfO*, XI (1936), 73.

<sup>96</sup> Reading *a-šar!-šū*, with v. Soden, *loc. cit.*, 4.

<sup>97</sup> For the New Year's festival.

<sup>98</sup> For this and the preceding line cf. v. Soden, *loc. cit.*

They raised high the head<sup>99</sup> of Esagila equaling Apsu.<sup>100</sup>  
 Having built a stage-tower *as high as* Apsu,  
 They set up *in it* an abode for Marduk, Enlil, (and) Ea  
 In their presence he was seated in grandeur.  
 To the base of Esharra<sup>101</sup> its horns look down.  
 After they had achieved the building of Esagila,  
 All the Anunnaki erected their shrines.  
 The three hundred Igigi . . . . all of them gathered,  
 The lord being on the lofty dais which they had built  
 as his abode, (70)  
 The gods, his fathers, at his banquet<sup>102</sup> he seated:  
 "This is Babylon, the place that is your home!"<sup>103</sup>  
 Make merry in its precincts, occupy its broad [places].<sup>104</sup>  
 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,<sup>105</sup>  
 The norms had been fixed (and) *all* [their] portents,  
 All the gods apportioned the stations of heaven and  
 earth.<sup>106</sup>  
 The fifty great gods took their seats. (80)  
 The seven gods of destiny set up the three hundred [in  
 heaven].<sup>107</sup>  
 Enlil raised the bow, his weapon,<sup>108</sup> 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;<sup>109</sup>  
 Its third name is Bow-Star, in heaven I have made (90)  
 it shine."  
 (Lines 86-112, hitherto largely or wholly destroyed,  
 have now been filled in by another Sultantepe dupli-  
 cate; cf. Gurney, *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, *ZA*, XL  
 (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,<sup>110</sup> his creatures.  
 To the end of days, without forgetting, let them acclaim  
 his ways.  
 May he establish for his fathers the great  
 food-offerings; (110)  
 Their support they shall furnish, shall tend their sanc-  
 tuaries.

<sup>99</sup> A play on the sense of Sumerian "Esagila."

<sup>100</sup> Meaning apparently that the height of Esagila corresponded to the depth of Apsu's waters.

<sup>101</sup> cf. v. Soden, *loc. cit.*

<sup>102</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>103</sup> Var. "which you love," a virtual homonym of "your home" in Akkadian.

<sup>104</sup> v. Soden, *loc. cit.*, 6.

<sup>105</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>106</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>107</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>108</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>109</sup> lit.: "Achiever."

<sup>110</sup> A common Akkadian metaphor for "the human race." In the preceding line the term *enūtu* has been taken to reflect the primary sense of Sumerian *e n* "lord" rather than "high priest."

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<sup>111</sup> to the goddess.  
 May food-offerings be borne for their gods and god-  
 desses.  
 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:<sup>112</sup>  
 'He whose ways are glorious, whose deeds are likewise,  
 (1) MARDUK, as Anu, his father,<sup>113</sup> called him from his  
 birth;<sup>114</sup>  
 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,<sup>115</sup> 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.<sup>116</sup> They shall look up to him!  
 (2) MARUKKA verily is the god, creator of all,  
 Who gladdens the heart of the Anunnaki, appeases the  
 Igigi.  
 (3) MARUTUKKU verily is the refuge of his land, city,  
 and people.  
 Unto him shall the people give praise forever.  
 (4) BARASHAKUSHU<sup>117</sup> stood up and took hold of its<sup>118</sup>  
 reins;  
 Wide is his heart, warm his sympathy.  
 (5) LUGALDIMMERANKIA 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.<sup>119</sup>

<sup>111</sup> v. Soden, *loc. cit.*, 7 reads *i-piq-qu*; but note Gurney, *ad loc.*

<sup>112</sup> A penetrating discussion of these names has been furnished by F. M. Th. Böhl in *AfO*, 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.

<sup>113</sup> Here and elsewhere "father" is used for "grandfather" or "ancestor."

<sup>114</sup> Lit. "emergence."

<sup>115</sup> cf. Tablet I, 101-02.

<sup>116</sup> Reading *ba!-li-ma* in this line and *a-ba!-tu* in the line above, with v. Soden, *loc. cit.*, 7. For *nannū* "command" see *ZA*, XLIV (1938), 42.

<sup>117</sup> Var. SHUDUNSHAKUSHE.

<sup>118</sup> i.e. those of the land.

<sup>119</sup> For the remainder of this tablet cf. the new fragment published by E. Ebeling in *MAOG*, XII (1939), part 4 and the remarks of W. v. Soden in *ZA*, XLVII (1942), 7-8. cf. now *LKA*, 7.

(6) NARI-LUGALDIMMERANKIA is the name of him  
Whom we have called the monitor<sup>120</sup> of the gods;  
Who in heaven and on earth founds for us retreats<sup>121</sup> in  
trouble,  
And who allots 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<sup>122</sup> of gods  
and land, (150)  
In fierce single combat saved our retreats in distress.  
Asaruludu, secondly, they have named (8) NAMTILLAKU,  
The god who maintains life,<sup>123</sup>  
Who restored the lost gods, as though his own creation;  
The lord who revives the dead gods by his pure incanta-  
tion,  
Who destroys the wayward foes. Let us praise his  
prowess!<sup>124</sup>  
Asaruludu, whose name was thirdly called (9) NAMRU,  
The shining god who illumines our ways."  
Three each of his names<sup>125</sup> have Anshar, Lahmu, and  
Lahamu proclaimed;  
Unto the gods, their sons, they did utter them:  
"We have proclaimed three each  
of his names. (160)  
Like us, do you utter his names!"  
Joyfully the gods did heed their command,  
As in Ubshukinna 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<sup>126</sup> destinies,  
All of them uttering his names in the sanctuary.

### Tablet VII

(10) ASARU, bestower of cultivation, who established  
*water levels*;  
Creator of grain and herbs, who causes vegetation to  
sprout.<sup>127</sup>  
(11) ASARUALIM, who is honored in the place of counsel,  
who excels in counsel;  
To whom the gods hope,<sup>128</sup> not being possessed of fear.  
(12) ASARUALIMNUNNA, 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<sup>129</sup> is plenty, multiply[ing . . . ].  
(13) TUTU is he, who effects their restoration.

<sup>120</sup> 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 *alirtu* would seem to fit all known instances.

<sup>121</sup> Lit. "seats."

<sup>122</sup> The *ġēdu* and *lamassu*.

<sup>123</sup> v. Soden, *loc. cit.*, 7.

<sup>124</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>125</sup> *ibid.* The reading III-AM on a new fragment brings the numbers into agreement with the actual enumeration and eliminates the discrepancies entailed in previous mistaken readings.

<sup>126</sup> Var. "proclaim."

<sup>127</sup> The ends of most of these lines are provided by STT, 1, No. 10 but the ancient commentaries are still helpful; cf. King, *STC*, 1, 158 ff. and 11, li ff.

<sup>128</sup> Lit. "wait."

<sup>129</sup> cf. Landsberger, *Die Welt des Orients*, 1 (1950), 363.

Let him purify their shrines that they  
may have ease. (10)  
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[ual].  
Tutu is (14) ZIUKINNA, life of the host of [the gods],  
Who established<sup>130</sup> for the gods the holy heavens;  
Who keeps a hold on their ways, determines [their  
*courses*];  
He shall not be forgotten by the beclouded.<sup>131</sup> Let them  
[remember]<sup>132</sup> his deeds!  
Tutu they thirdly called (15) ZIKU, who establishes  
holiness,  
The god of the benign breath, the lord who  
hearkens and accedes; (20)  
Who produces riches and treasures, establishes abun-  
dance;<sup>133</sup>  
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 ene-  
mies,  
(And) who, to redeem them, created mankind;  
The merciful, in whose power it lies  
to grant life. (30)  
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.<sup>134</sup>  
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.

<sup>130</sup> Akk. *ukinnu*, a word play on the -UKKINNA of the name.

<sup>131</sup> Another metaphor for "mankind."

<sup>132</sup> Supplying [li-kil-la], with v. Soden, *loc. cit.*, 8-9.

<sup>133</sup> For lines 21-45 cf. A. Falkenstein, *Literarische Keilschrifttexte aus Uruk* (1931), No. 38, obv.

<sup>134</sup> Lines 43-130, for which see now the text in *LKA*, 8, have been translated by v. Soden in *ZA*, XLVII (1942), 10-17.

Let the gods exult in Assembly!  
 Shazu is, fourthly, (21) SUHGURIM, who insures<sup>135</sup> 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) ZAHIRM, *the lord*  
*of the living*,  
 Who destroys all adversaries, all the disobedient;  
 [pur]sues 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) ZAHGURIM,  
 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 water-  
 ing places;  
 Who opened the wells, apportioning waters  
 of abundance. (60)  
 Enbilulu, secondly, they shall glorify as (25) EPADUN,  
 The lord who sprinkles the *field*,  
 Irrigator<sup>136</sup> of heaven and earth, who establishes seed-  
 rows,  
 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,  
 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) HEGAL, who heaps up abundance for  
 the people's *consumption*;<sup>137</sup>  
 Who causes rich rains over the wide earth, provides  
 vegetation.  
 (28) SIR.SIR,<sup>137a</sup> 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 com-  
 bat.

<sup>135</sup> Lit. "sets up."

<sup>136</sup> This meaning of *gugallu* fails to come through in v. Soden's rendering as "Walter." Attention may be called to my translation in *AASOR*, xvi (1936), 95. The term starts out with the value of "inspector of canals" and is thence transferred to the weather-gods (Adad; cf. Ennuge in Gilg., XI, 6). Eventually it comes to be applied to gods of vegetation and fertility, but in most contexts, including the present, the original connection is still apparent. cf. Th. Jacobsen, *JNES*, v (1946), 130.

<sup>137</sup> v. Soden, *loc. cit.*, 20-21; but the text is doubtful.

<sup>137a</sup> For lines 70-76 cf. the discussion by Landsberger in *Die Welt des Orients*, I (1950), 362 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.

Sirsir, secondly, they named (29) MALAH—and so  
 forth—<sup>138</sup>  
 Tiamat is his vessel and he the rider.  
 (30) GIL, 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, (80)  
 Creator of security,  
 The hoop that holds the barrel together, who presents  
 good things.  
 (32) AGILMA, the exalted one, who tears off the crown  
 from the wrong position,  
 Who creates the clouds above the waters, makes endur-  
 ing aloft.  
 (33) ZULUM, who designates the fields for the gods,  
 allots the creation,  
 Who grants portions and food-offerings, tends the shrines.  
 (34) MUMMU, creator of heaven and earth, who directs. . . .  
 The god who sanctifies heaven and earth is, secondly,  
 (35) ZULUMMAR,  
 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. (90)  
 (36) LUGALABDUBUR, 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,<sup>139</sup>  
 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;<sup>140</sup>  
 Dumuduku, without whom Lugalkuduga  
 makes no decision. (100)  
 (41) LUGALLANNA, the king whose strength is outstand-  
 ing among the gods,  
 The lord, strength of Anu, who became supreme *at the*  
*call*<sup>141</sup> of Anshar.  
 (42) LUGALUGGA, who carried off all of them amidst the  
 struggle,<sup>142</sup>  
 Who all wisdom encompasses, broad in perception.

<sup>138</sup> cf. v. Soden, *loc. cit.*, but contrast Landsberger, *ad loc.*

<sup>139</sup> "Great Band." The phrase "Lord of the Durmah" merely reflects the full name. Cf. Tablet, V, 59.

<sup>140</sup> "Pure Dwelling," a sacred chamber in the Temple at Babylon.

<sup>141</sup> v. Soden, *loc. cit.*, 22.

<sup>142</sup> cf. A. Goetze, *Analecta Orientalia*, xii (1935), 184 ff.

- (43) IRKINGU, who carried off Kingu in the *thick*<sup>143</sup> 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) ESIZKUR shall sit aloft in the house of prayer;  
May the gods bring their presents  
before him, (110)  
That (from him) they may receive their assignments;  
None can without him create artful works.  
Four black-headed ones are among his creatures;<sup>144</sup>  
Aside from him no god *knows* the answer as to their days.
- (46) GIBIL, 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<sup>145</sup> is so vast that the gods, all of them, cannot fathom (it).
- (47) ADDU be his name, the whole sky may he cover.  
May his beneficent roar ever hover over  
the earth; (120)  
May he, as Mummu,<sup>146</sup> diminish the clouds;<sup>147</sup>  
Below, for the people may he furnish sustenance.
- (48) ASHARU, who, as is his name, guided<sup>148</sup> the gods of destiny;  
All of the people are verily in his charge.
- (49) NEBIRU shall hold the crossings of heaven and earth,  
So that they (the gods) cannot cross above and below,  
They must wait upon him.  
Nebiru is the star<sup>149</sup> which in the skies is brilliant.  
Verily he holds the central position, they shall bow down to him,<sup>150</sup>  
Saying: "He who the midst of the Sea restlessly crosses,  
Let 'Crossing' be his name, who controls<sup>151</sup> its midst.  
May they uphold the course of the stars  
of heaven; (130)  
May he shepherd all the gods like sheep.  
May he vanquish Tiamat; may her life be strait and short!<sup>152</sup>  
Into the future of mankind, when days have grown old,  
May she recede<sup>153</sup> without cease and stay away forever.<sup>154</sup>

<sup>143</sup> Modifying slightly v. Soden's suggestion, *loc. cit.*, 23.

<sup>144</sup> von Soden's suggestion, *loc. cit.*, 23, is supported by the Gurney fragment (cf. n. 59), line 107. cf. Heidel, *BG*,<sup>2</sup> 58, n. 150.

<sup>145</sup> Lit. "heart."

<sup>146</sup> 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.

<sup>147</sup> Obviously two verses, combined into one on some of the tablets. The present line count follows Labat's and, with him, the count by tens as found in some of the texts.

<sup>148</sup> We have here apparently another ancient allusion to a connection between Akk. *alāru* and Sumerian *nari*; cf. Tablet VI, 144.

<sup>149</sup> Jupiter.

<sup>150</sup> See Landsberger and Kinnier Wilson, *JNES*, xx (1961), 173 f.

<sup>151</sup> Lit. "holds."

<sup>152</sup> cf. v. Soden, *loc. cit.*, 25.

<sup>153</sup> i.e. Tiamat "the Sea." The variant form of the verb is *li-is-se-e-ma*.

<sup>154</sup> The reading *li-ri-iq* for *li-bi-il* (cf. v. Soden's variant *li-riq*), *loc. cit.*, 25) makes the verse intelligible.

Because he created the spaces and fashioned the firm ground,  
Father Enlil called his name (50) 'LORD OF THE LANDS.'<sup>155</sup>  
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. (140)  
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.<sup>156</sup>  
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. (150)  
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 nagba imuru*, "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 Ak-

<sup>155</sup> Akk. *Bēl mātāti*. This is the fiftieth and last name of Marduk, not counting the honorific identification of Ea as given in line 140.

<sup>156</sup> For the concluding lines cf. A. L. Oppenheim, *Orientalia*, xvi (1947), 237.

# Akkadian Myths and Epics

TRANSLATOR: 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, *Enuma Eliš* (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.<sup>1</sup>

Since Tablets 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:

Tablet I: E. Ebeling, *LKA*, No. 3. O. R. Gurney and J. J. Finkelstein, *STT*, I, No. 1. For the Sultantepe text also see O. R. Gurney, *AnSt*, II (1952), 32 f. Tablet II: *LKA*, Nos. 4 and 5. *STT*, I, No. 2. Tablet III: No new texts. Tablet IV: *LKA*, No. 6. *STT*, I, Nos. 3-8. *STT*, II, No. 115 (joins *STT*, I, No.

8). On the Sultantepe material also see O. R. Gurney, *AnSt*, II (1952), 27 f.

A few changes have been made in the translation of Tablet IV which require comment. In line 19 the correct translation is "Images," Akkadian *lu-ma-šá* 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-tu-nu šap-ti*. At the beginning of IV, 54 read with *STT*, I, No. 3: *a-na-ša la i-du-ú*.

### Tablet V

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*, xiii, 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, (23)  
... [ ... a]pproach and give judgement."

(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  
d[ay],

[*Taking*] the spittle of Tia[mat]

Marduk created [ ... ] ...

He formed the c[louds] and filled (them) with  
[water].

The raising of winds, the bringing of rain (and) (50)  
cold,

Making the mist smoke, piling up her<sup>2</sup> poison:  
(These) he appointed to himself, took into his own  
charge.

Putting her<sup>3</sup> head into position he formed the[re]on the  
mountai]ns,

Opening the deep (which) was in flood,  
He caused to flow from her eyes the Euphr[ates] (and)  
T]igris,

Stopping her nostrils he left ... ,

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

<sup>2</sup> Tiamat's.

<sup>3</sup> Tiamat's. Text: "his."



He formed at her udder the lofty m[ountain]s,  
 (Therein) he drilled springs for the wells to carry off  
 (the water).  
 Twisting her tail he bound it to Durmah,<sup>4</sup>  
 [...] . . . 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 shr]ines (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 (70)  
 gave (it) to Anu.  
 [The go]ds 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]hmu, Lahamu, and all of his fathers  
 [Crossed] over to him, and Anshar, the king, made  
 manifest his greeting,  
 [An]u, Enlil, and Ea presented to him gifts. (80)  
 [With a gi]ft Damkina, his mother, made him  
 joyous,  
 She sent offerings, his face brightened.  
 [T]o Usmi who brought her gift to a secret place  
 [He entru]sted the chancellorship of Apsu (and) the  
 stewardship of the shrines.  
 Being [assem]bled, all the Igigi bowed down,  
 While everyone of the Anunnaki kissed his feet,  
 [...] their assembly to do obeisance,  
 They stood [before h]im, 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.)

<sup>4</sup> "Great Band." Cf. Tablet VII, 96.

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,<sup>5</sup> 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 (120)  
 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 cellas, 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 des[cend] from heaven [for assem]bly,  
 You will spend the night there[in] (it is there) to  
 receive all of you.  
 I will call [its] name ['Babylon'] (which means)  
 'the houses of the great gods,'<sup>6</sup>  
 I shall build it [with] the skill of craftsmen." (130)  
 [When the gods], his fathers, h[ear]d 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,  
 Ther[ein] establish our [abod]e forever!  
 [. . . ], let them bring our daily ration,  
 [. . . ] our [. . . ], (140)  
 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 ques]tioned him,  
 He that sle[w Tiamat sho]wed them light,

<sup>5</sup> "King of the gods of heaven and underworld." Cf. Tablet VI, 140.

<sup>6</sup> On this etymology cf. Landsberger and Kinnier Wilson, *JNES*, xx (1961), 178.

He opened [his mouth], his [speech] was noble:  
 "... [ . . . ] them [ . . . ],  
 [ . . . ] will be entrusted to thee."  
 The gods bowed down before him, they spoke [to  
 him],  
 They said to Lugaldimmeran[ki]a: (150)  
 "Formerly the lord [was (merely) our beloved]  
 son,  
 Now he is our king, [proclaim his title]!  
 He whose pure incantation gave us life,  
 [He is the lord of sple]ndor, mace, and sceptre.  
 [Ea who knows the ski]ll of all crafts,  
 Let him prepare the plans, we [will be the workers]."

## Tablet VI

The new texts are: *LKA*, No. 7. *STT*, I, No. 9 (cf. O. R. Gurney, *AnSt*, II (1952), 33 f.).

All of the new material has been incorporated in the body of the former translation with the exception of lines 91-104 which are translated below.

He fixed its<sup>7</sup> position with the gods its brothers. (91)  
 After Anu had decreed the fate of the bow,  
 (And) had placed the lofty royal throne before the gods,  
 Anu placed it<sup>8</sup> in the Assembly of the gods.  
 When the great gods had assembled,  
 They extolled the destiny of Marduk, they bowed down,  
 They pronounced among themselves a curse,  
 Swearing by water and oil to place life in jeopardy.<sup>9</sup>  
 When they had granted him the exercise of kingship  
 of the gods,  
 When they had given him dominion over the gods (100)  
 of heaven and underworld,  
 Anshar pronounced supreme his name, Asarluhi  
 (saying):  
 "Let us do obeisance at the mention of his name,  
 To his utterance let the gods give heed,  
 Let his command be supreme above and below!"

## Tablet VII

Our knowledge of this tablet has considerably improved thanks to the new texts: *LKA*, No. 8. *STT*, I, Nos. 10 and 11. All of the additions and changes have been incorporated in the body of the former translation with the exception of the last few lines (158-62) of the epilogue which are now adequately preserved to deserve translation here.

He wrote down and (thereby) preserved (it) for the future.  
 The [dwell]ing of Marduk which the gods, the Igigi,  
 had made,  
 . . . let them speak. (160)  
 . . . the song of Marduk,  
 [Who] vanquished Ti[amat] and achieved the kingship.

<sup>7</sup> The bow's.

<sup>8</sup> The bow.

<sup>9</sup> *ú-lap-pi-tu' nap-šá-a-ti*. Cf. *Archives Royales de Mari* I, 37 and II, 62, 77 and see W. von Soden, *Orientalia* NS, XXI (1952), 79.

## 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<sup>10</sup> provides yet another indication of the diffusion of this popular composition and the appearance at Boğazköy of further pieces of the Hurrian and Hittite versions<sup>11</sup> 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*, LIII (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, *Gilgameš 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*, XLVI, 17-20. *CT*, XLVI, 17 and part of *CT*, XLVI, 19 were utilized by Thompson in *GETh* but were not previously published in full. *CT*, XLVI, 18 and 20 were first published by D. J. Wiseman in Garelli, *Gilgameš 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 I ii 7 one may now read:

In the rampart of Uruk he [ . . . ]

To footnote 8 on p. 73 (note to I ii 10) add: The interpretation of this line and its parallel, I ii 22, is still a crux. The suggestion of B. Landsberger, *WZKM*, LVI (1960), 125, n. 49 to read *ina puqqišu tebû ru'ûšu* "His companions stand (ready), waiting for his command" is possible for I ii 10 (note that *i-na pu-uq-qî-šu* is preserved in *CT*, XLVI, 19) but not for I ii 22 where the text reads: *ina pu-uk-ki šu-ut-bu-ú* [ . . . ].

In *Bi.Or.*, XVIII (1961), 62, I. M. Diakonoff has suggested that the designation of the harlot as *šamhatu* is in fact a personal name. This suggestion does not take into account the fact that the plural of *šamhatu* occurs in Tablet VI 164 as a synonymous parallel to *harimāti*. Speiser's translation of *šamhatu* as "the lass" 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*, LIII (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*, XII (1958), 41 f.

<sup>10</sup> A. Goetze and S. Levy, "Fragment of the Gilgamesh Epic from Megiddo" *'Atiqot*, II (1959), 121-28 and for comment see W. von Soden, *AfO*, XX (1963), 82, n. 1.

<sup>11</sup> See H. Otten in Garelli, *Gilgameš et sa Légende*, 139-143, and cf. J. Friedrich *Orientalia* NS, XXX (1961), 90 f.